

ANGOLA - GENERAL

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JANUARY - JULY

# Party purge throws Angola into turmoil

5 ROM 6/14/83

By JOSE CAETANO

LUANDA. — Angola's ruling MPLA party has been thrown into a potentially damaging crisis with the suspension of 32 senior members and the arrest of at least one other.

The actions are the result of long-simmering tensions between moderate and radical factions inside the party finally erupting into open confrontation.

Among those suspended is Mrs Ruth Lara, wife of Mr Lucio Lara, who as Secretary for Ideological Education and Party Organisation of the MPLA's Central Committee, is the party's number two figure.

Sources in Lisbon say the developments may have a strong influence on Angola's attitude towards future talks with South Africa and may even result in some sort of accommodation between the MPLA and the rebel Unita organisation led by Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The latest purge seems to indicate that the MPLA's moderate faction, also known as the "Catetes", has gained the upper hand in its power struggle with party radicals, or "ideological purists" as they often describe themselves.

The suspensions follow the recent arrest of Mr Fernando Costa Andrade, another senior party member and known radical.

Mr Andrade, a white ex-guerrilla commander, was detained on instructions from the MPLA's Central Committee following the

staging in Luanda of a play he wrote praising the late President Neto.

The play was considered to contain "disrespectful" references to President José dos Santos.

The apparent leader of the "Catete" faction is Health Minister Mr Mendes de Carvalho.

Another known member of the group is the Minister of the Interior, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexandre Rodrigues, who led the Angolan delegation to last month's talks with a South African delegation on Ilha do Sal.

● Sapa-Reuter reports that rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has called on the Angolan Government to begin immediate peace talks with Unita to consider formation of a government of national unity.

A communique released in Lisbon yesterday by Unita said it had decided to "appeal to the leaders of the MPLA to start direct negotiations with Unita without delay".

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon predicted the Angolan Government would publicly seek to open peace negotiations next month, reports Sapa-AP.

He said the rebels' fighting had reached such a level that the government was anxious for a quick end to the six-year-old war.

The spokesman said he expected the first official request for talks to originate with the "rightist faction" now dominant within the MPLA.

# MPLA purge 'bodes well' for SWA issue

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

THE suspension or neutralising of "radicals" in the MPLA government in Angola augurs well for negotiations between South Africa and Angola on the protracted South West African dispute, well-placed observers in Pretoria said yesterday.

The move against radical ideologues by "moderate pragmatists", reported in the Rand Daily Mail yesterday, includes the suspension of 32 senior MPLA officials and the arrest of a former member of the MPLA central committee, Mr Fernando Costa Andrade.

The drive against radicals is part of an ongoing process, which observers said began before the surprise meeting at the Cape Verde Islands last month of Angolan and South African delegations.

One of the Angolans who took part in the talks is Lieutenant-Colonel Alexandre Rodrigues, who, besides being the Angolan Minister of the Interior, is a member of the MPLA moderate faction. One of the central issues in

the Cape Verde discussions was the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, originally sought by the United States and later set as an absolute condition for a SWA settlement by South Africa.

Commenting on the ousting of radicals in Angola in that context, a foreign observer said yesterday: "If Angola is ready to deal on the Cubans, there will always be men opposed to a deal. If Angola is really serious about the deal, it will have to deal with these men."

His comment should be seen in the light of Angola's decision to grant President Jose dos Santos special emergency powers immediately after the Cape Verde talks.

Two more facts are relevant. President dos Santos is seen as a moderate — while Mr Andrade, a playwright, was arrested after writing a play which praised former President Agostinho Neto and contained "disrespectful" references to President Dos Santos.

Another observer said the reshuffle in Angola's corridors of power improved the

chances of:

- Agreement on US-South African demands for a withdrawal of Cuban soldiers,
- Accommodation between the MPLA and the rebel guerrilla movement Unita which is reportedly backed by South Africa; and
- Co-operation between Angola and South Africa in bringing the protracted war in SWA to a peaceful solution.

The drive against radicals coincides with a Unita claim to have launched a new offensive against the MPLA government and to have opened a second front in northern Angola, near its border with Zaire. Until now Unita attacks have been confined to southern and central Angola.

If true, the latest offensive, specially the opening of a northern front, will increase pressures on the Angolan government to either settle with Unita or to seek more aid from its Cuban protectors.

If the moderate and radical MPLA factions pursue these different remedies for the crisis, polarisation and a power struggle seem inevitable.

# Conflicting reports of heavy fighting in Angola

5. *News*  
2/1/85

LISBON—Angola confirmed yesterday there had been heavy fighting in the south-eastern corner of the country and indicated its forces were encountering Unita rebels in numbers not seen since the 1975-1976 civil war.

The official Angolan news agency Angop quoted local military commanders in Kuando-Kubango province as saying the Angolan Army's 16th Infantry Brigade had killed more than 300 Unita rebels during a two-month offensive.

Angop quoted unidentified sources as saying the rebels had fielded a powerful force of a size not seen since the end of the civil war, adding that two tons of arms had been seized.

Unita said in a communique released last month it had destroyed the 16th brigade on December 24, killing 295 men. It said the dead included 32 Cubans, one of whom was identified as Capt Aguatar Gonzalez.

Yesterday Angop said the rebels had failed in their attempt to destroy the brigade, adding that no Cuban soldiers had been involved in the operation.

In turning what the rebels had claimed as a major victory into a triumph for Government troops, the Angop version of the latest fighting in Kuando-Kubango province confirmed that the bush war was being fought on a much larger scale than before.

The agency said Angolan journalists had recently been taken to visit the brigade, and talk to its commanders, who had shown them arms captured from Unita.

In its account of the clashes, Unita said the fighting had taken place when the Angolan Army tried to attack Mavinga, Unita's forest hide-out in the sparsely-populated province.

### Difficulties

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has often been filmed by television crews at his Mavinga headquarters, surrounded by hundreds of troops drilling in neat uniforms and showing off rows of military vehicles taken from the Angolan Army.

Foreign missionaries captured by Unita have said after their release that the south-east corner of Angola was the only part of the country in which they saw Unita regular forces, as opposed to guerillas, moving freely.

In spite of its triumphal note, the Angop report did not claim a complete victory over Unita. It only said the Angolan Army offensive meant the rebels would face serious difficulties for a long time in the province.

At the same time it admitted Unita forces had been creating difficulties for the authorities.

Angop said, for instance, that 'everything leads one to believe that the most recent criminal and destabilising acts carried out in the centre and south of the People's Republic of Angola are the work of some of these groups trained by South African instructors'.

Unita will soon release an undisclosed number of nuns kidnapped last October with Archbishop Alexandre do Nascimento, according to a statement released in Lisbon yesterday.

The note, signed by Dr Savimbi and issued to news agencies in the Portuguese capital, said 'missionary personnel who accompanied Archbishop do Nascimento on his involuntary odyssey through Unita areas' would be handed over to the Red Cross 'in the near future'.

The archbishop, released in South Africa a month after his October 15 kidnapping, was made a cardinal earlier this week.

Dr Savimbi's statement went on to congratulate the cardinal on his promotion and offered 'guarantees of freedom' for Roman Catholic missionary work throughout Unita's strongholds. — (Sapa-Reuter-AP)

CAPL THE 8/1/83 (5)

# Angola admits heavy fighting

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Unita said last month that it had destroyed the 16th Brigade on December 24, killing 295 men — including 32 Cubans, among them a Captain Aguaiar Gonzalez.

Yesterday Angop said the rebels had failed to destroy the brigade, adding that no Cuban soldiers had been involved in the operation.

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Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has often been filmed by television

crews at his Mavinga headquarters, surrounded by hundreds of troops drilling in neat uniforms.

The Angop report said the Angolan army offensive meant the rebels would face serious difficulties for a long time in Kuando-Kubango. At the same time, it admitted Unita forces had been creating difficulties for the authorities.

Angop said, for instance, that "everything leads one to believe that the most recent criminal and destabilizing acts carried out in the centre and south of the People's Republic of Angola are the work of some of these groups trained by South African instructors".

Angop quoted local military commanders as saying rebel operations in Kuando-Kubango were "part of a plan to create a buffer state in southern Angola to stifle Swapo's struggle for the liberation of Namibia". — Sapa-Reuter

# Heavy losses claimed as Unita steps up bush war

(5) Stan 8/1/83

**Lisbon**  
Angola confirmed today that there has been heavy fighting in the south-eastern corner of the country, and indicated its forces were encountering Unita rebels in numbers not seen since the 1975-1976 civil war.

The official Angolan news agency Angop quoted local military commanders in Kuando-Kubango province as saying the Angolan army's 16th Infantry Brigade had killed over 300 Unita rebels during a two-month offensive.

Angop quoted unidentified sources as saying the rebels had fielded a powerful force of a size not seen since the end of the civil war, adding that two tons of arms and ammunition had been seized.

At the same time the agency revealed that three members of the ruling MPLA party had been detained after staging a political play entitled "Let No One Touch the Old Man".

The play, according to the agency, contained "demands which were damaging to the Party and the State" such as the calling for a new government and ridiculing one of the most powerful Ministers.

A communique from Unita just released claims to have destroyed the Angolan 16th Brigade, killing 295 men including 32 identified as Cubans.

Today Angop said the rebels had failed in their attempt to destroy the brigade, adding that no Cuban soldiers had been involved in the operation.

In turning what the rebels had claimed as a major victory into a triumph for government troops, the Angop version of the latest fighting has at least confirmed that the bush war was being fought on a much larger scale than before.

The agency said local journalists had been taken to visit the brigade and talk to commanders who showed them captured Unita weapons.

In its account of the clashes, Unita had said the fighting took place when the Angolan army tried to attack Mavinga, Unita's forest hideout in the sparsely populated province.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has often been filmed by television crews at his Mavinga headquarters, surrounded by hundreds of troops drilling in neat uniforms and showing off rows of military vehicles taken from the Angolan army.

Despite its triumphal note, the Angop report did not claim a complete victory over Unita, admitting that rebel forces had been creating severe difficulties for the authorities.

## 'SA trained'

They described the "criminal acts" carried out in the centre and south of the country as the work of forces "trained by South African instructors".

It gave no details of these acts but said the rebels' mission was to "attack social and economic targets, ambush civilian supply convoys, destroy railways and roads and mount operations against units of our armed forces." — Reuter

# Andropov faces major test in Angola

By a Special Correspondent  
NEW Soviet leader Yuri Andropov is facing his first major test in Africa as signs grow that a furious struggle for power is under way in Angola between so-called "moderate" and "radical" factions of the ruling MPLA party.

Well-informed sources believe that Mr Andropov has to decide whether to intervene on the side of the widely unpopular radicals — or see them overwhelmed by the moderates who have been in the ascendant in Luanda in recent weeks.

## Serious

As KGB boss Mr Andropov took a close personal interest in the MPLA accession to power in Angola after the Portuguese withdrawal in 1975.

He played a major role in organising the intervention of Cuban forces which effectively installed the MPLA in power.

Commentators in African capitals now believe that the crisis facing Mr Andropov is

every bit as serious as that which confronted him during the early days of Angola's independence.

Its main elements are:

● In recent months moderates within the MPLA, thoroughly disenchanted by the ramshackle poverty that has pervaded the country since independence, have been arguing strongly for closer economic ties with the West.

● The moderates also argue that, if any progress is to be made in Angola, there must be an accommodation with Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Unita movement, which has been waging a successful guerrilla conflict in the south.

● The moderates, significantly, are mainly black Angolans, and have allied them-

selves to President Eduardo dos Santos.

● They have been confronted by hardline communist radicals surrounding the MPLA's top ideologist and No 2 man in the regime, Lucio Lara.

Significantly, they are mostly whites and mulattos (people of mixed race), who are highly unpopular among the overwhelming number of blacks.

● The radicals want to see no change in Angola's close ties with the Soviet Union and Cuba, and oppose all offers of economic aid from the West.

## Choice

A side issue in the conflict is that the moderates favour dialogue with South Africa over Namibia, while the radicals oppose all suggestions of contact with Pretoria.

The choice facing Mr Andropov and the Kremlin is a simple one: either to come down on the side of Lucio Lara and his fellow hardline communists, or to back the moderates.

The rub for the Russians is that Lara and his white and mulatto supporters have little support among the Angolan "broad masses". The moderates — black Angolans — do enjoy mass support.

The conflict has already seen the arrest of senior radical Fernando Costa Andrade, a senior MPLA member, and the removal from a senior post of Lucio Lara's wife.

The influential Lisbon newspaper Expresso sees events in Luanda as a clear indication that an all-out offensive is under way against Lara and his supporters.

# Back me against SA, Machel pleads

PRESIDENT Samora Machel of Mozambique has appealed to the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to support his country against what he termed South African-inspired rebel activity, diplomatic sources said yesterday.

The President, in a move seen by diplomats as reflecting deepening concern over the success of anti-Frelimo guerrillas, singled out the United States, Britain and France — apparently because of their ties with South Africa.

According to the sources, President Machel took aside ambassadors from China, the US, Britain, France and the Soviet Union and the dean of

the diplomatic corps in Maputo, Cuban ambassador Mr Mora Diaz, to make his appeal at a reception.

He urged the five permanent members of the Security Council to use their influence with Pretoria and to give "decisive support" to Mozambique.

President Machel's Marxist Government is fighting guerrillas of the Mozambique Resistance Movement, which it says is backed by South Africa. Pretoria denies the charge. — Sapa-Reuter.

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# Pro-West trio gain favour in Luanda

By James Tomlins,  
Own Correspondent

PARIS — Angola is suffering a violent power struggle among three pro-West colonels known as "The Africans" and a pro-Moscow "Coloured" group led by General Iko Carreiro. The "Coloured" group is on the point of losing, according to West African diplomatic sources.

President Jose Eduardo Santos — who is of African stock — is backing the three "African" colonels.

The events leading to President dos Santos being given "special powers" on December 8 by his ruling MPLA party are gradually being pieced together in Paris. It appears that a theatre play, critical of the President, was produced in Luanda last month and caused violent rows in the party leadership.

## AUTHORISED

The play was authorised by Mrs Ruth Lara, wife of Angola's No 2, Mr Lucio Lara, who is responsible for "information and ideology", together with hardliner marxist, Mr Ambrosio Lukoki. Mrs Lara and Mr Lukoki have since been dropped, weakening the Havana and Moscow elements in Luanda.

This has in turn strengthened the three colonels — Defence Minister Pedro Mai Antonna, Interior Minister Alexandro Rodriguez and Francisco Magalhaes Paiya, the new head of the ideology committee. All three are opposed to the presence of Cuban troops in Angola on the grounds that it is a loss of face for the Angolan Army. West African diplomatic sources in Paris noted.

## WEAKENED

These "Afro-nationalists", as they are being called, are also in favour of talks with the rebel Unita movement led by Dr Jonas Savimbi, the weakened FNLA, and Pretoria.

President dos Santos is believed to back these three colonels, but his hands are tied owing to the immense influence exerted by Havana and Moscow.

The President's main rival for power is General Carreiro, a former Defence Minister, who left abruptly for training in Russia 18 months ago and returned suddenly last October



President dos Santos... criticism caused violent rows.



Dr Savimbi... talks with "Afro-nationalists"?

with the rank of a Soviet general. There is no other Angolan general in the country.

Concern is also spreading in Luanda over reports that the "Father" of Angola, President Agostinho Neto, was deliberately assassinated in September 1979 by the Kremlin as he wanted to turn to the West.

The reports are based on statements in Paris by Dr Neto's personal physician for 15 years. The doctor, a Cuban, fled from Luanda when his patient "died" and told Western intelligence services in Paris that Dr Neto was murdered on the orders of the late Soviet leader, Mr Leonid Brezhnev.



From ANDRÉ VILJOEN

**HARARE.** — Washington's Africa specialist, Dr Chester Crocker, yesterday rejected an accusation by the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, that the United States and South Africa were guilty of "blackmail" over the SWA/Namibian independence negotiations.

Mr Mugabe said at the opening of the five-day Africa-America conference here yesterday morning that the demand by the US and South Africa that Cuban troops be withdrawn from Angola as a precondition to a SWA/Namibian settlement amounted to blackmail.

His accusation followed another attack he made on the West on Sunday night at a dinner for Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang at which he said it was hypocritical of certain countries to criticize human rights in Zimbabwe while remaining silent on "South Africa's acts of naked aggression".

Dr Crocker, the US As-



Sam Nujoma

Andrew Young

Chester Crocker

Robert Mugabe

sistant Secretary of State for Africa, said in an interview yesterday:

"I wouldn't use the same word (blackmail) myself. We think it's a realistic policy. If he (Mr Mugabe) has other ideas, we'd be willing to hear them."

Dr Crocker said he preferred to think of the policy as one of "parallel progress on the two (Cuban and South African) withdrawals".

He intended to talk this week with Swapo representatives at the conference, including the president, Mr Sam Nujoma.

With two of the five closed plenary sessions of the conference to focus on South Africa and SWA/Namibia, the issues of the region seem likely to dominate the conference.

The Mayor of Atlanta and former US ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Andrew Young, said in an interview that he "tended to agree" with Mr Mugabe's blackmail charge.

"I think history will agree with him too. The whole question is whether or not you recognize the MPLA as a legitimate government. Both South Africa and the Reagan administration don't, but all Africa and most of Europe do.

#### 'Catch-22'

"I frankly think it (the linkage policy) is a lost cause. Angola is anxious to get rid of the Cubans but they fear the South Africans. It's a catch-22 situation.

"I think history will show it was the South African invasion of Angola which brought in the Cubans in the first place."

Mr Howard Wolpe, Democrat chairman of the

House Africa sub-committee, said in an interview that Mr Mugabe's opening speech "reflects the growing loss of credibility with the American effort to secure a (SWA/Namibian) settlement".

#### 'Disaster'

"It's the first time I've heard the linkage characterized explicitly as a South African-US proposal. American policy-makers had better realize that Africa sees the US as allied with South Africa and this perception is a formula for political disaster for the United States."

The co-chairman of the conference, the chairman of the Senate sub-committee on African Affairs, Republican Senator Nancy Kassebaum, in her opening speech, focused on declining food production and increasing international debt in Africa.

"Apartheid in South Africa and the continued occupation of Namibia are concerns to all of us. I visited South Africa before the conference and had an opportunity to examine first-hand the conditions in that tragic country," she said.

#### Non-violence

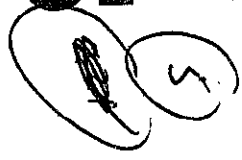
She described the South African raid on Lesotho last month as "tragic" and said nobody in the US Government "sympathises with such activity".

But she said people who simplified the South African problem into "white and black roles" should stay out of the discussion. A non-violent solution should be sought.

In his speech yesterday morning, Mr Mugabe said South Africa continued to assist "Unita bandits" who apparently had a "history of connections with the United States".

# Crocker defends policy on Cubans

CAR TIMES 11/1/83



# New moves for SA-Angola talks



*Star*  
 Own Correspondent  
 LISBON — Press reports and Unita sources have said that Cape Verde's Foreign Minister, Commander Silvino da Luz, has gone to Angola on an unannounced mission — to arrange a second round of Pretoria-Luanda talks.

18/1/83  
 meeting, but no other details were available.

A senior South African delegation, led by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, secretly met Angolan Government officials on Cape Verde's Sal Island last December.

After the talks Pretoria acknowledged they had taken place but gave no details of what was discussed.

The Portuguese news agency Angop, citing "semi-official" sources in the Cape Verdean capital, Cidade da Praia, yesterday reported that Commander da Luz flew to Luanda on Sunday.

"His trip is destined to arrange final details for the next meeting between the Angolans and South Africans," the sources said.

The journey was not announced officially.

An authoritative Unita source in Lisbon, who asked to remain unnamed, said it was known the commander was in Luanda to set up a new

The Unita source said Commander da Luz's trip was preceded "recently" by a visit to Cape Verde by Mr Lucio Lara, generally considered to be the number two figure in Angola's ruling MPLA party.

Diplomatic observers believe the talks centre on South African demands that Cuban troops withdraw from Angola, and Luanda's demands that South Africa cease aiding Unita and launching cross-border operations against Swapo.

Degree/Diploma/Certificate for which you are registered (e.g. B.A., B.Sc.) B Sc

Subject ECONOMICS I A  
 (to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

Paper No. ....  
 (to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

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EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

	Internal	External
(1)	(2)	(3)
1(b)	9	
2(b)	18	
3(b)	19 1/2	
	20 1/2	
Examiners' Initials		

## NOTE CAREFULLY

- The answers only on the right hand pages will be marked. The left hand pages may be used for rough work, but no credit will be given for such work.
- Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
- Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
- Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

## WARNING

- No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
- Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
- No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
- All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

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# Unita claims heavy blows in Angola

LISBON. — The Angolan rebel group Unita yesterday said it had blown up a bridge on the British-owned Benguela railway linking the mines of Zambia and Zaire with the Atlantic port of Lobito.

It has also claimed it killed 62 government soldiers and 19 Cuban troops in a clash at the gates of the south-eastern city of Menongue.

In a communique released in Lisbon it said a bridge over the Saviuila river, 120km east of the city of Bie, was destroyed on January 13.

The Benguela railway has been one of Unita's favourite targets ever since the 1975-

1976 civil war. Only sporadic shipments of manganese and zinc from Zaire have been carried along the line during the past seven years.

In another communique released in Lisbon Unita said its forces had ambushed a convoy as it was about to enter Menongue last week, destroying 25 military lorries.

The communique warned the Luanda Government that waging war against the guerrillas made it impossible to establish dialogue between Unita and the Angolan Government.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi recently appealed for peace talks with the Luanda authorities. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Unita rebels set for Angola peace talks

## Mail Correspondent

LISBON. — Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel movement is likely to start secret talks soon with the Angolan Government, say sources in the Portuguese capital, Lisbon.

However, the South African Government yesterday refused comment on reports that Cape Verde's Foreign Minister, Mr Silvino da Luz, was preparing a second round of Angolan-South African talks on independence for South West Africa, reports UPI.

News reports and Angolan sources in Lisbon said Mr Da Luz flew to Luanda on Sunday to finalise details for the meeting.

South African and Angolan Government Ministers met secretly in Cape Verde early last month for talks about SWA's independence.

Diplomatic observers in Johannesburg said the talks probably centred on United States and South African demands that an estimated 30 000 Cuban troops leave Angola as part of an SWA peace plan.

The observers said yesterday any further meeting would have to take place before the opening of Parliament in Cape Town on January 28.

The talks between Unita and Angola's MPLA government are said to be aimed at ending the country's costly six-year-

old civil war.

There have been indications for several months that Luanda can no longer support the social and economic costs of the guerrilla struggle and the undeclared war with South Africa along the SWA border.

Reliable sources said this week the talks would be highly secret but would involve negotiations between the MPLA and Unita to bring peace to Angola. No venue has been disclosed for the discussions but observers in Lisbon believe Zambia to be the most likely.

The Angolan news agency, Angop, last week described similar reports as "absurd and unfounded".

Dr Savimbi issued a public appeal to the Angolan Government on December 31 to start peace talks and form a Government of National Salvation, embracing all political forces in the country.

Unita has stepped up its armed attacks on targets in southern Angola in the last two months and moved large guerrilla units to the central plateau to stage raids on targets within 210km of Luanda.

The guerrillas are reported to be well equipped and the implication is that South Africa, since installing a *cordon sanitaire* in the Cunene and Kuando Kubango provinces along the SWA border, has brought in large quantities of supplies for Unita.

Late last year, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos admitted Angola had spent billions of rands on defence since the end of the 1975 civil war which followed independence from Portugal.

The money, much of which pays for the Cuban troops stationed in the country, represents an enormous drain on finances which could be better employed in rebuilding the war-shattered economy.

Recent reports from Luanda indicate that for some time now, factions within the MPLA have been juggling for supremacy on the key question of how to bring an end to the war with Unita.

The struggle may have come to a head with the suspension of 32 Leftwing party members earlier this month and the apparent domination of those favouring talks. President Dos Santos is believed to be among these.

One of the key questions, should such talks take place, will be how and when to repatriate the Cubans.

Angolan opposition sources in Lisbon say this problem will be eased for Luanda by the knowledge that the Soviet Union and the United States privately agreed in talks late last year that peace must be brought to Angola.

In London, the British Foreign Office yesterday denied knowledge of plans for talks between Unita and the Angolan Government.



# Secret MPLA-Unita

## talks likely soon <sup>Mercury</sup> <sup>20/1/83</sup> 5

**SOUTH AFRICAN-backed Unita rebels and the Soviet-aligned Government of Angola are likely to start secret talks soon aimed at ending the costly six-year-old conflict between them and bringing peace to the former Portuguese colony.**

The implications of such a move are far-reaching and follow months of indications that Luanda can no longer support the social and economic costs of the guerilla struggle and the undeclared war with South Africa along the Namibian border.

Reliable sources made it clear to me this week that the talks would be highly secret but would involve negotiations between the MPLA and Unita to bring peace to Angola. No venue has been disclosed for the discussions but observers in Lisbon believe neighbouring Zambia would be the most likely place.

The indications that talks are imminent follows a vehement denial by the Angolan news agency Angop last week of similar earlier reports. The agency described the accounts as 'absurd and unfounded'.

On New Year's Eve Jonas Savimbi, Unita's leader, issued a public appeal to the Angolan Government to start peace talks and form a government of national salvation embracing all political forces in the country.

His call followed a meeting at Cape Verde on December 8 last year between Angolan and South African officials on ways of ending the conflict on the Namibian border and

**Ken Pottinger  
LISBON**

resolving the impasse over the territory's independence. A second round of talks between the two sides is believed to be in preparation this week during the visit to Luanda by the Cape Verde Foreign Minister, Silvino de Luz. The Cape Verdians were instrumental in arranging the first meeting.

In the past two months Unita has stepped up its armed attacks on targets in southern Angola and moved large guerilla units on to the central plateau to stage raids on targets as close as 220 kilometres south of the capital, Luanda.

### Well equipped

The guerillas are reported to be well equipped, and the implication is that South Africa, since installing a *cordon sanitaire* in the Cunene and Kuando Kubango provinces along the Namibian border, has brought in large quantities of supplies for Unita.

Late last year Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos told the country that since the end of the 1975 civil war that followed independence from Portugal, Angola had

spent a staggering 10 million dollars on defence. This figure, much of which goes on payment for the 20 000-strong Cuban expeditionary force obviously represents an enormous drain on Angola's finances which could be better employed in rebuilding the war-shattered economy.

Recent reports from Luanda indicate that for some time now factions within the rural MPLA workers' party have been juggling for supremacy on the key question of how to bring an end to the war with Unita. The struggle may have come to a head with the suspension of 32 Left-wing party members earlier this month and the apparent domination by groups favouring talks with Unita. President dos Santos is among these.

One of the key questions, should such talks take place, will be how and when to repatriate the Cubans.

Angolan opposition sources in Lisbon say this problem will be eased for Luanda by the knowledge that the Soviet Union and the United States privately agreed in talks late last year that peace must be brought to Angola.

In London the British Foreign Office denied knowledge of plans for such talks.

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- The answers only on the right hand pages will be marked. The left hand pages may be used for rough work, but no credit will be given for such work.
- Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
- Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
- Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

- No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
- Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
- No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
- All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

# SA-Angola talks likely next month

S  
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Star  
21/1/83

By Peter Honey,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

**Windhoek**  
The South African and Angolan Governments are believed to be negotiating a comprehensive agreement for non-aggression and economic co-operation, which would become effective only if Cuba withdrew its 25 000 troops from Angola.

The negotiations — which began months before the Cape Verde Island talks last month — are to be resumed at another meeting between South African and Angolan officials, probably before the end of the month. South Africa's Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Defence held talks with the Angolan Ministers of the Interior and of Transport on Sal Island in early December.

## Secret talks

Well-placed sources say the Sal talks were preceded by at least two secret meetings, at a lower diplomatic level, in Paris last year.

One of South Africa's interests is known to be the completion and efficient management of the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme which, at present, is entirely dependent on the seasonal rise and fall of the Cunene River.

This month, as Angola's rainy season swells the river, South Africa is receiving hydro-electric power from Ruacana for the first time.

Next month Ruacana is expected to be sending more than 200 megawatts of electricity to the south.

At night and on Sundays most of this power is exported, at a nominal cost, to South Africa.

## Power line

The link to South Africa is the recently-completed power line which joins the South West African Water and Electricity Corporation (Swawec) to Escom's Northern Cape grid at Aggeneis. Angola is understood to have insisted that South Africa should cease its military operations in southern Angola in exchange.

It is not known how far the negotiations have progressed but, after nearly eight years of civil war in the south and east

— where Unita guerrillas conduct sabotage and harassing raids against Cuban and MPLA troops and security forces raid Swapo bases with impunity — the Angolan Government is anxious to begin economic and social reconstruction.

One project is the resumption of iron mining at Cassinga — a Swapo base area well within reach of the South African military salient.

The Cassinga mine is believed to depend on hydro-electric power from another station on the Cunene, near Matala. Matala is not operating to capacity because the large Gove Dam upstream is not being operated efficiently.

## Abandoned

Professional sources say it would cost about R12 million to complete the Calueque Dam, 65 km upstream of Ruacana, which was abandoned when only 70 percent complete in 1975.

If Calueque and Gove were then operated in harmony, Ruacana would receive a constant water flow, and provide relatively cheap electricity to Namibia and South Africa for most of the year.

# Secret deal with Angola taking

ARGUS 21/1/83  
5

# shape

Argus Africa  
News Service

**WINDHOEK.** — South Africa and Angola's MPLA Government are believed to be negotiating an agreement for non-aggression and economic co-operation, to be put into effect only if Cuba pulls out its 25,000 troops in the country.

The negotiations, which began months before the recent Cape Verde Island talks, are to be resumed at another meeting between South African and Angolan officials, probably before the end of the month.

South Africa's Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence held talks with Angola's Ministers of the Interior and Transport on Sal Island in early December.

## Secret

Well-placed sources say the Sal talks were preceded by at least two secret meetings, at a lower diplomatic level, in Paris last year.

One of South Africa's interests is known to be the completion and efficient management of the Ruacana hydroelectric scheme on the Cunene River.

This month, for the first time, South Africa is receiving power from Ruacana, as the Angolan rain season begins to swell the Cunene.

By next month, once the river has reached capacity, Ruacana is expected to be sending more than 200 Mw of electricity to the south.

At night and on Sundays — when Angolan demand is minimal — most of this power is exported, at a nominal cost, to South Africa.

The link to South Africa is the recently-completed power line which links the South West Af-

rican Water and Electricity Corporation to the Escom grid in the Northern Cape.

Angola is understood to have insisted that South Africa cease its military operations in southern Angola in exchange.

It is not known how far the negotiations have progressed. One source says the Sal talks were not very successful — particularly on the Cuban question.

## Reconstruction

However, after nearly eight years of civil war in the south and east — where Unita guerrillas conduct sabotage and harassing raids against Cuban and MPLA troops and South African security forces raid Swapo bases with impunity — the Angolan Government is anxious to begin economic and social reconstruction.

One of these programmes is the resumption of iron mining at Cassinga — a Swapo base area well within reach of the South African military.

An Austrian mining company, Austro-Mineral, has already undertaken to help the MPLA Government in re-opening the mine, which, a year prior to its war-forced closure in 1975, exported 6-million tons of high grade ore.

## Target

Austro-Mineral is understood to have undertaken to mine 1.1-million tons a year, moving the ore along the Mocimedes-Menongue rail line.

This line is also one of the prime targets for Unita saboteurs.

● A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs refused to comment on the rumours of an agreement.

# Angolan<sup>26/1/83</sup> blast ~~(5)~~ kills 10<sup>10000</sup>

MASERU. — Angolan energy officials claimed this week that unidentified South Africans had attacked the second biggest dam in Angola, killing 10 people in subsequent floods and causing millions of rands worth of damage.

The officials said in an interview in Maseru the attack on the Lomaum Dam in Benguela province in central Angola last Tuesday was carried out by "white men with beards", according to witnesses.

"It was South African Boers," one official said.

The Angolans, attending a Southern African Development Conference in Lesotho's capital, said agricultural land had been flooded, industry and homes in three provinces left without power, and valuable generating machinery lost.

The damage could take a year to repair.

The officials added that explosives appeared to have been placed on a bridge over a water conduit and on two pipelines leading from the dam wall to generating machinery 700m away.

After the explosions hydroelectric officials had been unable to contain a gush of water from the dam.

● A spokesman for the SADF said: "The Angolans are obviously hoping to generate international sympathy — and thus more financial aid — by blaming South Africa for what is currently happening in that unfortunate country.

"This way the Angolan authorities can also keep up the pretext that they are still in control of Angola and that Unita and the expanding civil war do not exist."



# Cape Verde hint on SWA settlement

By Peter Sullivan,  
Political Correspondent

Star  
26/1/83

Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

CAPE TOWN — South Africa is to send a special envoy to the Cape Verde Islands to further the search for a settlement in Namibia and a ceasefire on the borders.

And in New York today the South African Ambassador to the US, former Director General of Foreign Affairs Mr Brand Fourie, will meet the head of the United Nations, Mr Perez de Cuellar.

After the meeting the UN Secretary-General will fly to Angola and other African states, but will not visit South Africa. He said he might pay a visit at some future date.

The envoy to the Cape Verde Islands is to discuss the time and place for another meeting between South African and Angolan Government officials.

If agreement is reached on time, place and a protocol level for the next meeting, the man most likely to head the SA team will be the new Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Barend du Plessis.

Most of the groundwork on a possible two-month long ceasefire has already been done by the first team to meet the Angolans — a team headed by the Minister of For-

No date has been set for the ceasefire, but all the parties involved — from South Africa and Swapo to the UN and the United States — have publicly said they are seeking a solution as speedily as possible.

In New York today Mr Perez de Cuellar said he was taking a more active role in the Namibian issue because he feared the conflict was leading Southern Africa into a Middle East situation.

The UN chief said at a Press conference he was prepared to act as a link between South Africa and the Frontline African countries when he visited Africa next week.

In Lisbon, Unita's chief representative in Europe has warned that his insurgent movement will sabotage South Africa's ceasefire negotiations with Angola unless it is directly included in the talks.

Mr Fernando Wilson dos Santos also said yesterday that a pacification of South African-Angolan relations would not hamper Unita's ability to keep alive its seven-year-old guerilla war against Luanda and its Cuban expeditionary force.

"There can be no demilitarisation of southern Angola without Luanda's communist regime talking to us directly," he told a small group of reporters.

# 'Boers' attacked big Angola dam claim

MASERU — Angolan energy officials said today unidentified South Africans had attacked the second biggest dam in Angola, killing 10 people in subsequent floods and causing several million rands worth of damage.

The officials told Reuters the attack on the Lomaum dam in Benguela province in Central Angola last Tuesday was carried out by "white men with beards" according to witnesses.

"It was South African Boers," one official said.

The Angolans, attending a Southern African Development Conference in Lesotho's capital,

said agricultural land had been flooded, industry and homes in three provinces left without power, and valuable generating machinery lost.

The officials added that explosives appeared to have been placed on a bridge over a water conduit, and on two pipelines leading from the dam wall to generating machinery 700 metres away.

After the explosions hydroelectric officials had been unable to contain a gush of water from the dam and 10 civilians were drowned in floods, they said. — Reuter

# Breakthrough in Angolan talks: Negotiations 'sensitive'

Argwa 25/1/83

Says Pik

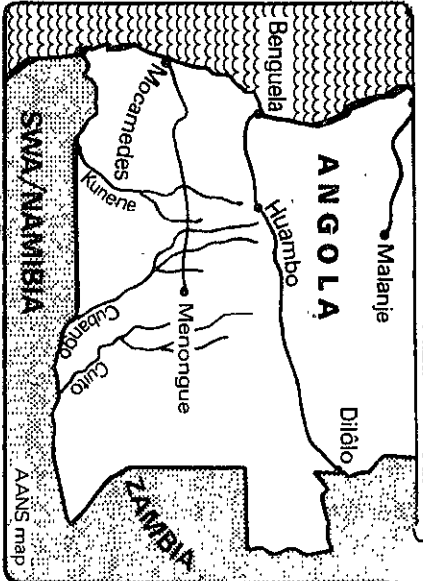
# Ceasefire closer

## Political Staff

NEGOTIATIONS towards a two-month ceasefire on the Namibia/Angola border are advancing fast.

South Africa and Angola have made a breakthrough in their search for a ceasefire, but reports by Portuguese news agencies claiming it was cut and dried and set to start in February are premature.

The two agencies, quoted sources as saying an agreement on a ceasefire had been signed. But this has been discounted, though there has been some definite commitment from the governments concerned.



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It is still too early for South Africa's soldiers to get their hopes too high about coming home before Easter, and the breakthrough should only be seen as the initial impetus on what could be a steep incline.

In Washington, sources close to the Reagan Administration confirmed that the Cape Verde discussions had been "significant".

But they dismissed the tale of a ceasefire being signed.

## "Sensitive"

South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said today: "Negotiations are at a sensitive level."

Diplomatic negotiations were best undertaken in private and not in the Press, he said.

According to news agencies, South Africa promised to cease aiding Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement with weapons and logistical support, while the Angolans pledged to withdraw Swapo guerrillas and Cuban units to a front north of the coastal city of Mocamedes.

## Withdrawing

The agencies make no mention of the South African Defence Force withdrawing from the border or from enclaves along the frontier, nor do they say who negotiated the agreement or where it was signed.

This premature disclosure of a possible agreement is unlikely to harm the negotiations still under way and may in fact show the Angolans are more committed to a solution than the South Africans thought.

News "leaks" to Anop, the Angolan agency, are seldom made without a political motive in mind.

## Cape Verde

The preliminary breakthrough for a possible ceasefire occurred at the first meeting between Angola and South Africa at the Cape Verde Islands and there is speculation of a second meeting taking place soon.

Mr Pik Botha, who headed the South African delegation the first time around, is unlikely to have to go again this time as the principles will already have been thrashed out with only the major details still to be agreed.

# Official may set up new SWA talks

# SA envoy to fly to Cape Verde

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

ROM  
26/1/83

**SOUTH Africa last night appeared to be on the verge of clinching a ceasefire with Angola on the wartorn South West Africa-Angola border.**

A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed in Cape Town last night that "a representative of the department" would visit the Cape Verde Islands this week.

It is understood the representative will arrange further talks on the SWA dispute and the related question of a withdrawal from Angola of at least 20 000 Cuban troops.

Earlier yesterday, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said discussions between South Africa and Angola are at a "sensitive level" and best conducted in private and not through the media.

His statement indirectly confirmed that discussions were continuing since the surprise ministerial-level talks between the two parties on the Cape Verde Islands on December 7 last year.

Mr Botha was reacting to Lisbon-based reports that South Africa and Angola has negotiated a border ceasefire agreement.

Mr Botha is on record as saying a border ceasefire would help settle the vexed question of the Cuban presence. It can thus be inferred that a ceasefire is an immediate South African aim.

According to the Lisbon reports, the ceasefire accord rests on two pillars:

- Angola agreeing to withdraw Cuban troops and Angolan-based Swapo fighters 200km north of the border;
- South Africa agreeing to end the supply weapons to "armed groups operating in southern Angola".

South Africa — with American backing — has made a Cuban withdrawal an absolute settlement pre-condition, while Angola has accused South Africa of aiding Unita rebels in Angola under Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Yesterday well-placed observers rejected reports that a second round of ministerial talks — like the Cape Verde December talks — had been arranged

The December talks were attended by Mr Botha, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and Angola's Minister of Interior, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexandre Rodrigues, and Transport Minister, Mr Faustino Muteka

This week's lower-echelon talks should, however, be seen in the context of a statement made by Mr Botha after he met US Secretary of State Mr George Schultz in Washington in November

Mr Botha said at time. "Let them taste peace first"

His statement was seen as according priority to achieving a ceasefire on the border as a prelude to, first, a Cuban troop withdrawal and, then, a reduction of South African troops in SWA and implementation of the UN plan.

Observers noted yesterday that, although the reported pullback of Cuban forces from the border fell short of South Africa's demand, a pullback could lead to military disengagement and thus create a more congenial psychological climate for substantial settlement talks.

The reported agreement by South Africa to stop supplying arms to Unita was dismissed as "absolute nonsense" by an observer yesterday, particularly as South Africa has denied it equips Unita militarily.

Mr Botha said of Unita after his talks with Mr Shultz: "The position of Unita is very difficult and very delicate. I cannot say today how it will be addressed, but unless it is addressed I believe there can be no settlement."

Pretoria views Dr Savimbi as a "moderate" and ideally would like to see a political realignment in Angola which would see the expulsion of the Cubans and the inclusion of Unita in a national coalition.

Its hopes of achieving that depend on the triumph of the "pragmatists" in Angola's MPLA regime over the "ideologues".

Seen from Pretoria's perspective, the pragmatists under President Jose Dos Santos are more likely to do a deal than the pro-Soviet ideologues under the Minister of Defence, General Henrique Carreira.

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# SA, Angola could agree on ceasefire

CAPE TIMES 26/1/83

5 (2) (4)

## Political Staff

A CEASEFIRE on the border between Angolan and SWA/Namibia could be in the offing and might depend on the outcome of a second round of talks soon between South Africa and Angola on the Cape Verde Islands

A South African Government representative is to visit Cape Verde this week to arrange further talks on an SWA/Namibia settlement

The Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed last night that preparatory talks had taken place.

International wire agency reports yesterday that a two-month ceasefire had already been signed have been discounted as "premature", but a statement by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has confirmed that negotiations are going on.

Approached about the news agency reports yesterday, Mr Botha said: "Negotiations are at a sensitive level and at this stage discussions in the press could only jeopard-

dize their outcome"

The agency reports said the ceasefire had been signed and would take effect from February 1. Part of the agreement was said to be that Angolan, Cuban and Swapo forces were to be withdrawn to about 200km from the border.

● Swapo's office in London was sceptical yesterday about reports of a breakthrough

"We don't know anything about it here," said Swapo's West European information officer, Mr Peter Manning

● Richard Walker reports from New York that the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, says he will try to play the go-between in a bid to crack the SWA/Namibia deadlock when he flies to Southern Africa next week.

He told a news conference that he would seek from the South African Government this week "some clear idea" to convey to the leaders of the frontline States

● SWA Nat leader mum on visit, page 2

# SA, Angolan envoys head for SWA talks

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

THE initiative to achieve a ceasefire on the border between South West Africa and Angola gathered momentum yesterday as both South African and Angolan envoys converged on the Cape Verde Islands.

In South Africa there was speculation in diplomatic circles that Mr Riaan Eksteen, South Africa's former Ambassador to the United Nations, would be the man entrusted with the task of organising a second round of talks between the two parties.

Mr Eksteen, who has acted as a troubleshooter on the South West African dispute in the past, was not in his office in Cape Town yesterday. Mr Eksteen would be a logical choice because of his detailed knowledge of the issues involved, a well-placed observer said.

It is anticipated that the second round of discussions will be held next month. The Cape Verde Islands served as the venue for the first round and may well be chosen for the second.

There was no official confirmation of reports yesterday that the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Barend du Plessis, would lead the South African team at the second round. If he does, however, it could well mean that the ceasefire is still some way off.

In London, a Swapo spokesman commented laconically: "We cannot see anything to get excited about at the moment." He was unwilling to comment further because the negotiations did not involve Swapo.

Meanwhile two more developments added to the general impetus of the peace bid, one in Angola and the second in the United States.

In Angola the United States Ambassador to Zambia, Mr Nicholas Platt, held talks with Angolan officials in Luanda yesterday. Mr Platt arrived in Luanda on Tuesday, the day on which speculation about the ceasefire buzzed furiously as a result of Lisbon-based reports.

A spokesman for the American Embassy in Cape Town, however, rejected the notion that Mr Platt's presence in Luanda could be part of an overall concerted plan.

He said of Mr Platt's presence: "It is part of a series of meetings which we have had over the past few months on regional security. It is not part of anything else, except in the general sense that we are all struggling for regional security."

The United States, however, is committed to persuading the Angolans of the necessity of a withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, which, South Africa, in turn, has set as a precondition to settlement of the South West African dispute.

In the United States itself South Africa's Ambassador to America, Dr Brand Fourie, yesterday briefed the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, on South West Africa in preparation for his trip to Southern Africa next week.

In a speech to the Johannesburg Press Club yesterday Mr Dirk Mudge, who resigned as chairman of the Council of Ministers last week, yesterday attacked the Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, and the South African Government.

After the dissolution of the Ministers' Council and the National Assembly, both of which were controlled by Mr Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Hough reportedly told South African and South West African television that "the man in the street would not even notice that a change had occurred".

Mr Mudge commented: "To maintain that nothing has happened when the right the people had to participate in the legislative process and to take part in decision-making has been revoked is evidence of a lack of understanding which I cannot grasp."

He accused the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, of undermining and ridiculing the DTA and of imposing restraints on it which made it impossible to remove injustices in South West Africa.

He predicted Pretoria's attempts to create a new alliance based on common enmity for Swapo would fail. Mutual hostility for Swapo was an inadequate basis on which to build an alliance.

Invited to give his view of Pretoria's objectives in South West Africa, he said: "I am more confused than you are. I really don't know."

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# Angola and SA discuss Namibia buffer zone

LISBON — Angola and South Africa are close to a basic understanding on the creation of a demilitarised zone on either side of the Namibia border senior African diplomats said yesterday.

But they said many obstacles had to be overcome before a formal agreement could be signed adding that the direct negotiations between the two sides which began in the Cape Verde islands last month, were at a very delicate stage.

They were commenting on reports by a Portuguese news agency suggesting the two countries had agreed to a temporary ceasefire and the establishment of a buffer zone in southern Angola.

Guerillas are based mainly in Marxist-ruled Angola, which has 18 000 Cuban troops in the country.

South Africa has made the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola a condition of a Namibian independence settlement. This stand has been backed by the United States.

The African diplomats said the talks had gone well and had centred on "the pacification of Angola's borders and the establishment of conditions for the application of the United Nations Security Council resolution on Namibian independence."

South Africa announced earlier this week that delegations from the two countries would meet in Cape Verde to arrange another round of talks.

The diplomats said both sides were trying to gain military advantages on the ground in order to improve their negotiating position.

"A ceasefire is a possibility, but this would not be the first time that agreement on one had been reached and it would not necessarily mean that it would be enforced," one diplomat said.

South Africa's Foreign Min-

ister, Mr Pik Botha, said in Cape Town he had sent a special envoy to the Cape Verde islands to arrange talks with Angolan officials aimed at achieving "a situation of peace" on the border between Namibia and Angola.

He told foreign correspondents he was awaiting the return of the envoy, former ambassador to the UN Mr Riaan Eksteen, before the time and level of another meeting could be decided.

The Foreign Minister led his country's delegation to the first ministerial talks with Angola in the west African islands on December 7.

Mr Botha said agreement on a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola would be enough to overcome obstacles to a peace settlement in Namibia.

"We will still have to talk on other outstanding matters, but I do not see anything which could not be speedily resolved," he said.

Replying to a question, Mr Botha said South Africa thought it was up to the US to secure agreement on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

"The withdrawal of the Cubans, we believe, is the task of the Americans. They are working on that," he said.

An American delegation began talks in Luanda, but the official Angolan news agency, Angop, indicated Angola would refuse to discuss the Cuban troops.

Mr Botha said he had not raised the issue in his talks with the Angolans and was hesitant to do so.

He said the presence of the Cuban troops in Angola — which he put at 30 000, against Western estimates of 18 000 — militated against the proposed elections in Namibia. There could be no solution in the former German colony unless this "source of fear" was removed, Mr Botha said. — Reuter.

The Star Bureau  
WASHINGTON — Members of the United States Congress will replace the bedspread that South African security policemen seized from Mrs Winnie Mandela recently.

The new bedspread will be presented to the wife of the African National Congress leader as a symbol of congressional concern over civil rights abuses in South Africa.

Senator Paul Tsongas, the Liberal Democrat who takes a keen interest in Southern African affairs and who is an outspoken critic of the South African Government's actions, and a group of his congressional supporters have already acquired a

## US Congress replaces Winnie Mandela bedspread

bedspread of traditional African design.

The bedspread will be displayed for public signing by members of Congress on Thursday and it is expected scores will put their names on it.

In a letter to his colleagues this week, Senator Tsongas said that the bedspread, which had been banned, detentions and harassment were standard for black political opponents.

## Jurisdiction dispute on sea death

Own Correspondent  
BONN — There is confusion in West German legal circles over who should claim jurisdiction in the killing on the high seas of yachtsman Hans Nagel.

The case could be handled either by the public prosecutor of Itzehoe, where Mr Nagel lived, or that of Borken — where Mr Clemens Ebber, owner of the yacht, lived before emigrating to Australia.

Mr Nagel was taking the Pan Tau from its Dutch mooring to Australia for Mr Ebber when he was killed by two British girls during a fight they said he started during a night watch.

Mr Ebber was a member of the Borken Yacht Club most of whose members usually keep their vessels moored at a Dutch port.

The public prosecutor for Borken is considering claiming jurisdiction on the grounds that this community was the home of the Pan Tau's owner.

If he does not, Itzehoe's public prosecutor, Mr Rolf Schamerowski, will ask the Federal Court to assign jurisdiction to him.

Mr Schamerowski says the case is complicated by the fact that the killing happened on the high seas, that there is no body and there are no witnesses. But he will claim jurisdiction if nobody else does, as Mr Nagel lived in his town.

The director of public prosecutions in London has said the British do not consider themselves to have jurisdiction.

Angie Layne shows the flag since the days they flap were worn with flap.



## Nazi war criminal 'broke'

LA FAD — Wanted Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie, 57, was captured in Bolivia last week after a long hunt.

Office said Altmann had sold his memoirs to a Brazilian publisher some years ago. "We suppose

## 6 Students go hungry

# Turmoil at the top

FM 28/1/83

(5)

A play staged in the Angolan capital, Luanda, this month, ridiculed Mendes de Carvalho, the Minister of Health and unofficial leader of a non-Marxist Afro-nationalist faction within the ruling MPLA called the "Catete group."

The purge that followed, including the

arrest of the playwright, marks the latest round of the struggle inside the MPLA between competing power groups. They include the communists, liberals and traditional nationalists who came together in 1956 to form the Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) from Por-

tuguese colonial rule.

Since independence in 1975 the strains within the party have bedevilled attempts to turn the MPLA into a cohesive government of "national reconstruction." A large segment of the MPLA favoured a policy of "economic diversification" and "non-align-

ment," — meaning more western investment. Indeed, the multinationals in Angola, led by Gulf Oil, have long urged American recognition of the "pragmatic" oil and diamond-rich socialist state.

The official Angolan newspaper, *Jornal de Angola*, saw recent "suspensions" from the party, and the arrest of the playwright who attacked De Carvalho, as a "disciplinary measure" against public criticism of policy. Portuguese newspapers said these purges marked the ascendancy of the "Africanists" over leftists and mestizos (people of mixed descent) in the MPLA.

This may be a premature judgment. MPLA government reshuffles and the political careers of leading figures, such as one-time premier and current planning minister, Lopo do Nascimento, reveal a kind of left-right see-saw as both founding president Agostino Neto and incumbent, Eduardo Dos Santos, sought to balance and accommodate ideological, racial and ethnic differences.

In this light the recent shuffles are not fundamentally different from previous restructurings. They certainly do not in themselves presage a new willingness to bring Unita into government, as some have suggested. For one thing, the MPLA military is highly unlikely to go along. Nor, on this reading, do they seem directly tied to Cuban withdrawal from Angola and steps towards a Namibian settlement.



Angola's President Dos Santos  
... a balancing act

It may be significant that Angola last December offered to supply Southern African states with cheap oil in return for "full military commitment" (for what it is worth) against Unita and SA. Nevertheless, Cuban withdrawal now forms the substance

of Pretoria's negotiations with Luanda, and a ceasefire of some kind seems possible.

## Failed coup

The Catete group is sometimes seen as the rump of the "Nitistas," so named after Nito Alves. Alves was a guerrilla commander who during Neto's time staged an abortive coup aimed at reducing the influence of mestizos like Lucio Lara, MPLA secretary-general (Alves was executed). Neto nevertheless enlarged the central committee to bring in more black ethnic representatives. However, unlike the Catete faction, the Nitistas were ardent supporters of the Moscow link, hence their description as "ultra-left racists."

After the play that attacked him, Carvalho, according to Mozambican sources, pressed for, and got action. The politburo, of which Carvalho is not a member, ordered the arrest of the playwright, Fernando Costa Andrade. He is a white Marxist and a former guerrilla commander.

Some see his arrest as evidence of Dos Santos's increasingly unsure hold on power in the light of economic and military setbacks. Andrade, a former editor of *Jornal de Angola* and Neto's official biographer, was once a member of the central committee, the body that elects the politburo. His arrest and the suspension of the pro-Soviet information and propaganda chief,

Ambrosio Lukoki, and 30 of his officers, was clearly a victory for the "right" and the Catete group.

The apparent leftwing setback must be seen against another government overhaul a bare five months ago. Dropped from the politburo was Carvalho's Catete partner Manuel Pedro Pacavira, and a number of senior officials were suspended.

Another purported signal of the "leftist retreat" was the failure of former defence minister, Henrique "Iko" Carreira, to obtain an important post after a three-year stint at the Soviet Military Academy

in Moscow during which he was made a general — whether by the Angolans or the Russians is uncertain.

Among the mestizos who sit on the politburo are MPLA secretary-general, Lucio Lara, a sort of marxist *eminence grise*, in charge of party organisation and political education. Lara is regarded as second only to the president in the hierarchy but his wife, Ruth, was prominent among those dropped during the recent purge.

Besides being president, Dos Santos is also chief of the army and head of government. He is viewed by some as the unoffi-

cial leader of the moderate nationalists but it may be more accurate to see him as a conciliator. Dos Santos is a Moscow-trained petroleum engineer and radar expert. He lived in Moscow for seven years and is known to have undergone advanced military training and, incidentally, to have married a Russian wife (who has since returned to the Soviet Union).

Luanda-watching is at best trying to reconstruct actual events from changes in office. If, however, reports of an imminent ceasefire with SA prove accurate it may show that the pragmatists are indeed on top.



Section B.

5) 28 NOV 29/1/83  
**Next round of Angolan peace talks a step closer**

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
 THE South African envoy Mr Riaan Eksteen, sent to the Cape Verde Islands to negotiate a time and a place for a second round of peace talks with Angolan delegates, has returned.  
 The Cape Verde Islands, site of the first publicly acknowledged direct talks between South Africa and Angola last December, is still tipped as the most likely venue for the second round.  
 But the talks are unlikely to take place before the second week in February.  
 The expectation, however, is that they will take place before the end of next month, although it was not clear yesterday whether they would be at ministerial or lower level.  
 Mr Eksteen was seen in

Cape Town yesterday. On Thursday the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, confirmed he had been sent to the Cape Verde Islands.  
 A key development since news broke on Tuesday of negotiations to clinch a ceasefire along the SWA-Angola border has been a statement by the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, from Peking.  
 Mr Nujoma said China had agreed to provide arms, ammunition, and humanitarian aid to his Swapo fighters.  
 The anticipated ceasefire along the SWA-Angola border reportedly involves a 200km pull-back on the Angolan side of the frontier by both Angolan soldiers and Swapo fighters.  
 The question posed by Mr Nujoma's statement yesterday

was whether Chinese military support would encourage him to resist a deal between Angola and South Africa.  
 A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman declined to comment yesterday, but diplomats tended to downplay the importance of the Chinese aid to Swapo.  
 Meanwhile Angola yesterday denied it had reached any agreement with South Africa in talks last month on SWA, but said the two countries' first direct talks had been "promising and encouraging", reports Sapa.  
 The official Angolan news agency, Angop, quoted a senior official as saying the discussions had been mainly on the issue of SWA independence and the situation in southern Angola.

ANY CANDIDATE MUST enter in (1) the number of each question asked (in the order in which it has answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

	Internal	External
	(2)	(3)
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Examiners' Initials		

Date ..... 29/1/83 .....

Degree/Diploma/Certificate for which you are registered (e.g. B.A., B.Sc.) ..... B Com .....

Subject ..... ECONOMICS II .....

(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

Paper No ..... .....

(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

**NOTE CAREFULLY**

1. Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
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(5) EDM 31/1/83  
**Angola clamps down on foreign firms**

LISBON. — The Angolan Government has ordered all foreign firms to reapply by December for the right to operate in the country, the official news agency Angop said yesterday.

The decree, affecting all firms formed with foreign capital, would include the Angolan subsidiaries of Gulf Oil, Texaco, Elf Aquitaine

and Petrofina, which are involved in the 140 000-barrel-a-day Angolan oil production.

The decree seems to be linked to a new policy outlined by the President, Mr José Eduardo dos Santos, to cope with the economic crisis caused by a combination of escalating defence costs and falling revenues from oil and diamond exports. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Destabilisation dossiers

Most embassies in South Africa have a dossier, labelled "destabilisation" in their country's language. Some believe absolutely in the dossier's allegations, others are cautious.

Most of the dossiers carry much the same information, gathered by many independent sources.

Essentially, the information accuses South Africa of deliberately preventing her neighbours from becoming stable, so that they cannot build up efficient economies, strong political bases, and competent armies.

The countries involved are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Looking back, proponents of the destabilisation view claim that it was started in 1975, shortly after the fall of the Portuguese in Mozambique. South Africa started the now famous Recce Commando — a super-secret task force run along the lines of the British SAS or Rhodesian Selous Scouts.

Everything about the squad is secret, though overseas publications have listed five recce commandos and guessed at each one's function.

The reces have been blamed for:

- The raid on Matola in Mozambique in which 12 African National Congress members were killed.

- Helping the attempted coup in the Seychelles.

- Attacking the ANC in Lesotho.

- Blowing up an Angolan oil refinery.

- Committing atrocities while dressed in enemy uniform, or while posing as Swapo or the MPLA.

- Assassinations of ANC members Joe Gqabi, Petrus Nzima and his wife Jabu, and killing Ruth First with a letter bomb.

South Africa is said to support a surrogate force in each of the countries listed above.

**ANGOLA:** The obvious South African surrogate in Angola is Unita, the rebel force led by Dr Jonas Savimbi which gives the ruling MPLA so much trouble in the south. The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, admits to having met Dr Savimbi, and often expresses his respect for the black leader.

Those who believe the destabilisation theory point out that South Africa started the destabilisation of Angola with its move into the territory during the short incursion which brought Cuban troops scurrying in.

At first supported overtly by the United States, the South African Defence Force had to withdraw when the US Congress refused to give President Ford and Dr Henry Kissinger the funds they wanted — understood to have been R120 million.

**BOTSWANA:** This seems the least affected by destabilisation, but is nonetheless an ANC escape route from South Africa. No incursions are launched from Botswana, so no raids have been made there.

Now that Sir Seretse Khama has gone, some say South Africa is plotting against his son, Ian Khama, and will support his opponents to get the country destabilised.

**LESOTHO** — The raid into Lesotho last year stunned the world and shocked many people. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was appalled and said one did not go off killing those who simply disagreed with your political views. Innocent people were killed in the crossfire.

But the main destabilisation accusation is that South Africa supports the Lesotho Liberation Army of Ntsu Mokhele. Chief Leabua Jonathan is incensed at the interference, but there is little he can do about it.

**MALAWI** — This country, ruled by Dr Kamuzu Banda, is the one friend South Africa has in Africa.

It is from there that South Africa is accused of launching attacks on

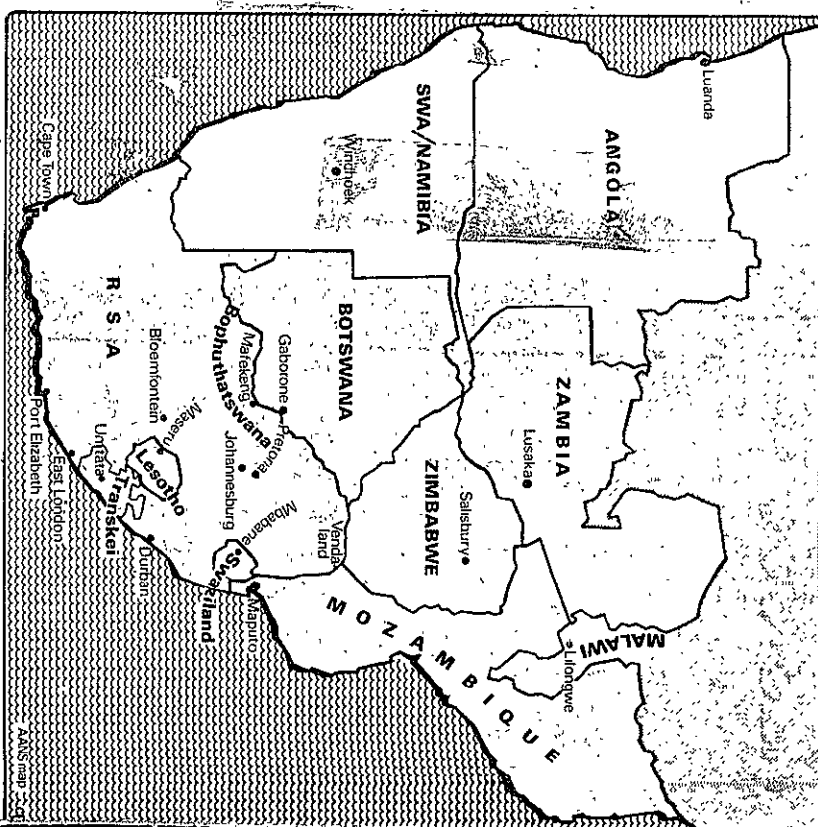
Mozambique, via the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR).

**MOZAMBIQUE** — Besides the support of Unita in Angola, this is probably the chief charge against South Africa. Most embassies seem to believe that South Africa funds the MNR and keeps it supplied logistically and with expertise. Recce commandos are said to be active within the MNR.

South African Government spokesmen say it would be silly to support the MNR because it continually blows up the Cahora Bassa powerlines. The counter-argument is that this is a small price to pay to achieve destabilisation goals.

**SWAZILAND** — Recently a number of ANC sympathisers were summarily detained in Swaziland, then set free. Swazi officials admitted they had been frightened into doing this by the raid into Lesotho.

Swaziland has always toed the South African line, but now that King Sobhuza is dead, South Africa is said to be interfering in the power struggle.



Debate raged on in Parliament this week about whether South Africa destabilises her neighbours. The leader of the Opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, said he denied the allegations, but was horrified to find he was not believed. These are the perceptions shaping Western countries' foreign policy towards South Africa. The Star's political correspondent, Peter Sullivan, examines what the perceptions are.

ZAMBIA: Talks last year between Mr Botha and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia prove that Zambia does not believe South Africa is pursuing a destabilisation policy towards her.

However, the talks must have mentioned the fears of the rest of the sub-continent — and of the Western world — about destabilisation in the southern part of Africa.

Both leaders were content with the outcome of the talks, so one can assume only that Mr Botha satisfied President Kaunda.

ZIMBABWE: Probably the most puzzling of the allegations, and the one that seems to be based on fact, is that South Africa is destabilising the new administration of Mr Robert Mugabe.

In Parliament, Progressive Federal Party MPs and Government spokesmen draw vastly different conclusions from the outcome of the Rhodesian war.

Opposition people say it shows one must move faster towards equality and dismantling discrimination; Government people say it shows what happens if you move too fast.

If Mr Mugabe makes a success, it would vindicate the Opposition view. If not, it would vindicate the Government view.

The SABC continues to use reports favouring the bad incidents in Zimbabwe. It seems to be not so much biased reporting as a genuine belief that all

is about to collapse.

People in the South African Department of Foreign Affairs are equally pessimistic, yet foreign correspondents believe Zimbabwe is doing well.

Accusations about South Africa destabilising the country have been made often, with the main allegation being that South Africa gleefully enjoys driving the wedge between Mr Mugabe and Zapu leader Mr Joshua Nkomo deeper.

South Africa is said to be using its economic might, coupled to secret military incursions, to topple the Mugabe Government. The only reason given for this is that it would prevent a powerful force arising to the north.

As Dr Slabbert said, the problem is not only whether the destabilisation reports are true or not, but that our allies plan their foreign policy believing them to be true.

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ROOM 2/2/83

# Unita killed church workers

LISBON. — Angolan anti-government rebels have killed three Catholic workers in an ambush of a military-escorted convoy, Portuguese radio reports said yesterday.

The reports quoted "Angolan sources" in Lisbon as saying rebels belonging to Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement killed the church workers as they returned home in a convoy guarded by government soldiers.

They did not say when the attack in the Huambo province took place, identify the church workers or refer to other casualties.

The reports said roads around Huambo city, the highland provincial capital

and the country's second largest city, had become "extremely dangerous" in recent weeks because of escalating Unita attacks.

On December 7, Unita welcomed the Vatican's announcement that it would raise Angolan Archbishop Alexandre do Nascimento to cardinal and reversed long-standing threats against mission stations, promising "complete liberty" for mission work in guerrilla operational zones.

Unita insurgents, who have fought Angola's Marxist government and its Cuban allies for seven years, held Archbishop Do Nascimento cap-

tive for 32 days late last year.

They have repeatedly accused the government of turning Catholic and Protestant mission stations into military garrisons.

Portuguese radio also quoted its sources as saying that Benguela and Lobito, two important coastal cities, were receiving electric power "only a few hours daily" because of Unita sabotage.

Two weeks ago, Unita claimed responsibility for the destruction of Angola's second largest hydro-electric complex at Lomaum.

The government blamed the attack on South African commandos. — UPI.



# US promises Angola aid if Cubans go

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**Pretoria Correspondent**  
The Reagan Administration has offered the Angolan Government a package of sweeteners — including qualified promises of massive economic aid and investment funds, if Luanda agrees to a phased withdrawal of Cuban troops.

The American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Chester Crocker, and a senior aide, Mr Frank Wisner, have assured the Angolans that any retreat by the estimated 20 000 Cubans will be matched in time and numbers by a pull-out of South African troops from neighbouring Namibia.

The Americans have not insisted that the retreating Cubans should go home at once. Initially, like the South Africans, they could be confined in designated areas in what would be portrayed as a confidence-building disengagement of forces.

At the same time, efforts would be launched to promote a truce and possible political reconciliation between the Angolan Government and Unita, the rebel group led by Jonas Savimbi.

If this complex disengagement process goes smoothly and so clears the way for a Namibian settlement, the Americans

have offered a major programme of economic aid and investment to develop Angola's substantial mineral resources. A parallel US aid programme is foreseen for post-independence Namibia.

The plan also envisages the formation of a demilitarised zone along much of the Namibia-Angola frontier to prevent continued attempts by the South Africans or their surrogates to destabilise southern Angola.

The MPLA regime, since the civil war, has been crippled by economic and military difficulties. Shortages of food, machines, technology and capital have been compounded by Pretoria's invasions and raids launched ostensibly in hot pursuit of Swapo, and by Savimbi's rebels.

President Reagan has long set a Cuban withdrawal from Angola as one of his priority objectives.

American officials acknowledge that the President — like South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha — would find it hard, if not impossible, to "sell" a Namibian independence settlement without simultaneously being able to achieve a Cuban pull-out.

**EVERY CANDIDATE MUST** enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

	Internal	External
(1)	(2)	(3)
1(b)	9	
2a	9	
Examiners' Initials		

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Savimbi and his South African-backed guerrillas are said to be on the point of taking Huambo, Angola's second largest city.

If so — while the source is impeccable, Unita's claims often aren't — it represents a telling change of strategy and capability.

The hit-and-run, swim-in-your-opponent's sea method, is a good deal less demanding than occupying his towns.

It also suggests the chances of a South Africa-Angola ceasefire followed by a South West African settlement, which some optimistic reports set for February 1, are receding.

Furthermore, there is considerable speculation, even among supporters of constructive engagement, that this is exactly the way Pretoria wants it.

As one analyst with close ties to the Reagan administration explained, "Pik Botha's announcement of new talks with the Angolan government may be a smokescreen."

Angola has become the Gordian Knot of SWA's future. Whether South Africa leaves the disputed territory or stays put, depends heavily (and almost exclusively, if Washington's and Pretoria's public positions are sincere) on political stabilisation within the former Portuguese colony.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos will agree to the withdrawal of Cuban troops, upon which SWA independence is now conditional, only if he can do so without risk to himself or the MPLA.

That means, among other things, either the removal of or an accommodation with Dr Savimbi.

Should Unita prove powerful enough to establish itself in Huambo, neither would appear likely.

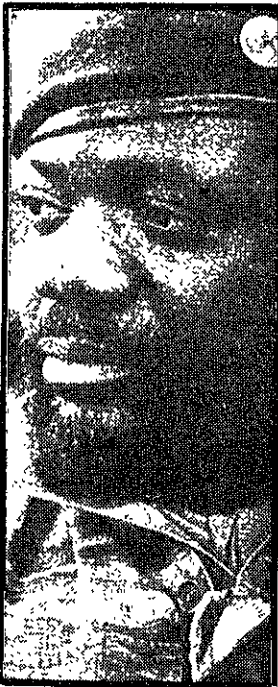
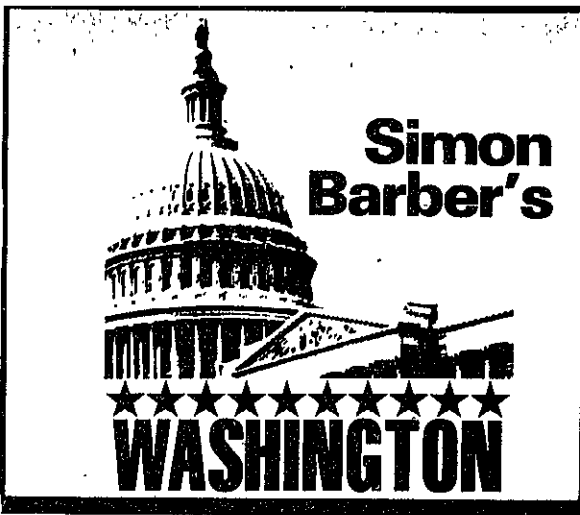
Recent interviews with US officials have painted — perhaps intentionally — a rather contradictory picture of what the Reagan administration thinks is going on inside Angola.

On the one hand, State department spokesmen have said that in the absence of a US mission in Luanda, information is very sketchy; on the other, senior diplomats have expressed confidence that Unita and the MPLA will come to terms, and that everything will therefore turn out for the best.

Is that the distant sound of someone whistling in a graveyard? Or have the various US emissaries — General Vernon Walters, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Frank Wisner, and the ambassador to Zambia, Mr Nicholas Platt — really sized up who they've been talking to? It's hard to tell.

The easier question — and therefore the one that seems to be the point of departure for current diplomatic efforts — is whether bidding the Cubans and their Soviet masters adieu would be in Luanda's interests.

Obviously it would.



**DR JONAS SAVIMBI**  
the pretender

Some examples: Analysts estimate it costs the Angolan government some R5 050 000 a year to house and feed its 20 000 Cuban guests.

And, at a more emotional level, no-one likes being occupied by a foreign army, however sympathetic.

The Soviets, meanwhile, are merely greedy.

They see Angola as a money maker.

According to Heritage Foundation specialist, Mr Ian Butterfield, they buy the country's prime agricultural product, coffee, at 34% of its world value and then keep half the price as repayment of the "war debt" incurred during the revolution.

The same goes for fishing rights.

Soviet factory ships trawl the coasts, vacuuming the spawning grounds wholesale "on the presupposition" — Mr Butterfield's phrase — "that they aren't going to be there forever, so who cares?"

The Angolans, already pitifully short of food, are granted a mere 25% of the catch.

The upshot is an economy in which not even significant oil wealth can keep pace with the cost of having Moscow for a lodger and fighting a permanent war.

There is little doubt, therefore, that even the most fire-eating MPLA cadre can see some advantage in opening to the West and establishing detente with Pretoria.

Ideology aside, the one thing preventing it is Dr Savimbi.

The unpleasant fact for both the MPLA and the Reagan administration, as the respected Africanist Mr Ian Smiley reported last week in the New York Review, is that "Unita would muster a bigger vote than the MPLA" if — in the unlikely event — an election were held.

This is where even Dr Chester Crocker's staunchest cheering section begin to have dark thoughts about South Africa's true intentions.

The theory is as follows: Pretoria will go along with Dr Crocker's diplomacy so long as it ensures a friendly, Dr Savimbi-led Angola, which many experts agree would be the outcome of an MPLA-Unita pact.

As one put it: "Even if they make him Minister of Sewage Works, he's going to be President very quickly."

In the meantime, there is nothing much to be gained from an independent SWA. Swapo is still a sure winner in any internationally supervised election, and that means big political trouble for Prime Minister Botha back home.

Domestic reform is far too important to be sacrificed for the minimal applause South Africa would get for leaving the territory.

Besides, there is much to be said for maintaining a turbulent status quo.

Dr Savimbi as pretender is probably a lot more convenient than he would be as president.

The complaisant opportunist might be very different once in power.

Solution: Encourage Dr Savimbi to expand his control over Southern Angola and the central plateau.

Let him help keep Swapo in check.

Force the MPLA to refuse to deal on the Cuban issue.

Blame the collapse of the SWA negotiations on the Americans, since it was they, as Mr Pik Botha informed Senator Nancy Kassebaum, who put Angola in the middle of the table to start with.

**Savimbi as president less useful to SA**

4/2/83

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# Angolans seek SA <sup>(S)</sup> star pledge on <sup>4/2/83</sup> peace bid

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South African and Angolan representatives are preparing for a second round of peace talks in the Cape Verde Islands, according to reports from Lisbon.

The Portuguese national news agency Angop quoted Western sources as saying high-level delegations from the two countries would meet at the South African-built airport on the Ilha do Sal, venue of the first meeting on December 7, "before the weekend."

Angop said the Angolans have arrived at Sal and the Pretoria contingent is expected any moment.

The sources said the Angolan group was headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Venacio de Moura but did not say who would lead the South African team.

In Cape Town today a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs declined to comment on the Lisbon reports.

A report quoted a senior Portuguese official as saying Angola was asking only for proof that Pretoria was acting in good faith in negotiations on the future of Namibia.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ernesto Melo Antunes, a former Foreign Minister, said on his return from a trip to Luanda that if such proof was given he was sure there could be lasting peace.

Meanwhile Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerilla movement warned Pretoria to take it seriously if South Africa was committed to finding a solution.

In a communique issued yesterday Unita said it would intensify its political and military campaign against the Cubans, Russians "and their lackeys."

Without Unita's participation no general or local ceasefire was possible.

## Intensifying campaign

And a statement yesterday by the SWA Territory Force Command said that peace in Namibia was still far away.

Closer links were being formed in Angola between Swapo and the ANC armed political commissars operating in northern Namibia at night were intensifying the anti-South African propaganda campaign, as were African and East Bloc radio stations.

While the low rate of Swapo-Security Force contacts had continued last month — only nine were reported — Swapo's actions against civilians had shown little or no decrease in intensity, the Territory Force said.

Landmines were no longer laid singly, but now in pairs. Up to four landmines in a cluster had recently been discovered.

The recent death by landmine of Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba and the subsequent deaths of eight South African soldiers in another landmine incident highlighted the intensifying campaign, it said.

● A bomb exploded in the entrance hall of the Oshakati post office in Ovambo last night, injuring no one but causing substantial structural damage.

A post office spokesman said he could give no further details except that "we have irrefutable proof that Swapo saboteurs were responsible". He would not elaborate.

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# Unita advises SA to take it seriously

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LISBON — Unita has warned Pretoria and Luanda to take the rebel movement "seriously" if they are committed to finding a solution for Namibia.

In a communique issued here last week,

Unita said it would "intensify" its political and military campaign against the Cubans and Soviets and their lackeys in the immediate future.

"Those who are interested in a solution for Southern Africa's problems; especially the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola and independence for Namibia, should take Unita's point of view seriously," the statement said.

"Without its participation, no general or local ceasefire is possi-

ble along the Namibian-Angolan border," it warned.

The Communique also confirmed early reports that the guerillas killed three Catholic priests in an ambush of a military convoy near Huambo on January 19.

It "deplored" the deaths of the priests, one of whom was simply identified as a Swiss national, but said 52 soldiers, including 11 Cubans, were killed in the attack.

Six other Government

troops were allegedly captured.

The Communique reiterated Unita claims it would seek to safeguard the lives of civilians, working for church or humanitarian institutions, but added the rebels could give no guarantees for those living or travelling through "war zones".

It listed all the country's provinces as operational areas, except for Luanda and two other extreme northern provinces.

Unita  
Sowetan  
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# Cuba units: Angola and UK to talk

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The Star Bureau

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LONDON — The Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, arrives in London today for top-level talks on Namibia with senior British officials.

A Foreign Office spokesman said the Foreign Secretary, Mr Francis Pym, and Mr Cranley Onslow, the Minister of State with a special brief on Southern Africa, would "explore and exchange ideas" with Mr Jorge on the latest stage of the Namibia negotiations.

"The issue of the Cuban presence in Angola is bound to come up ... it is one of the central issues," said the spokesman.

Sum  
The last visit to Angola by a senior British Foreign Office representative was in 1981 when Mr Richard Luce went to several Southern Africa states to lobby opinion on South African proposals for a Namibia settlement.

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Mr Luce had lengthy discussions then with Mr Jorge on the Cuban presence, and it is understood these contributed largely to the new assurances on their withdrawal.

The British Labour Party, meanwhile, has strongly attacked United States policy of linking a Namibia settlement to the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

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"Linkage has been rejected by the British Government and by all other members of the Contact Group except the US," said Labour's Southern Africa spokesman, Mr Stanley Clinton Davis, in the House of Commons yesterday.

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"It is intolerable that the US should aid and abet the racist regime of South Africa to prevent democracy coming to Namibia as soon as possible.

Mr Onslow said he was unable to share this view. "If this (US negotiation with Angola) is an opportunity to get a wider settlement in the region, it is not one that we should reject."

Subj  
● In the talks with Mr Jorge, another plea is certain to be made (t for the release of six British mercenaries jailed in Angola in 1976.

Paper No. ....  
(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

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1a	6	
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Examiners' Initials	DH	

## NOTE CAREFULLY

- The answers only on the right hand pages will be marked. The left hand pages may be used for rough work, but no credit will be given for such work.
- Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
- Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
- Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

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- No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
- Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
- No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
- All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

# 'Essential' for SWA accord

# Bush adamant over Cuban troop pull-out

11/2/83

ROOM 5

By BRUCE STEPHENSON  
London Bureau

LONDON. — The United States Vice-President, Mr George Bush, reaffirmed yesterday that the linked withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola was a political imperative before South West Africa can get independence.

Mr Bush was speaking to reporters at the US Embassy in London at the end of his European tour, at the same time as the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paolo Jorge, arrived in London for talks with the British Government.

Mr Bush made it clear there was strong resistance by Frontline states to the linkage plan, but in the absence of a better idea the US would push ahead with linkage.

"The United States remains committed to the United Nations resolution which calls for the independence of Namibia. When I travelled around eight countries in Africa I kept saying, 'Look, here is what we are trying to do. We are trying to couple Cubans going out of Angola with South Africans going out of Namibia.'

"I did not hear anyone giving me a better way. We will continue to work on these tracks."

Asked about the state of the negotiations, he replied: "I can't tell you whether I'm optimistic or pessimistic."

He had a pat on the back for South Africa for setting up direct talks with Angola, even though the Cape Verde talks last December bypassed the Western Contact Group.

"I have been pleased with the South Afri-

cans for sitting down with the Angolans in Cape Verde and we ought to be grateful to the Cape Verdeans for their role," Mr Bush said.

Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Paolo Jorge, an influential member of the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, is the most senior representative of the MPLA government to visit Britain since independence in 1975.

Mr Jorge met junior Foreign Minister Mr Cranley Onslow yesterday and will be having a working lunch today with the Foreign Secretary Mr Francis Pym.

The main points of his discussion with Mr Pym will be on the Cuban troops issue, the prospects of Luanda releasing five British mercenaries who were jailed by the Angolans in 1976 and who are still in prison in Luanda, and the possibility of Angola opening an embassy in London, government sources said.

The British Government has tried unsuccessfully in the past to persuade the Angolans to release the mercenaries.

Mr Bush's European tour has centred on nuclear disarmament and the attitude of the Nato governments, Sapa reports:

At his Press conference yesterday he called on the Soviet Union to begin negotiating "in earnest" at the Geneva disarmament talks.

"Based on my consultations with European leaders, there should be no misunderstanding about the resolve of the Nato alliance. We are determined to begin deployment of Nato's intermediate-range ground forces at the end of 1983 if negotiations are not successful," he said.

"This is not a threat, but a joint reaffirmation of the commitment to the Nato decision of December, 1979."

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

	Internal	External
(1)	(2)	(3)
1a)	7-	
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Examiners' Initials		

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Finance Minister Mr Owen Wood said: "The principle of giving fringe benefits has been enshrined in our tax laws ever since its inception."

The parliamentary committee studying the problem was expected to report before the end of next month, but the treasury had its own ideas on how the tax should be introduced, officials said.

Taxman Mr Mickey van der Walt has long argued he would be quite within the existing law to tax people on their total remuneration which would include all forms of perks such as free cars, subsidised housing loans and large expense accounts.

The difficulty in introducing the tax lay with the problem of placing a monetary value on such benefits.

Mr van der Walt said the tax on cars and housing loans would not bring in substantial amounts as the tax authorities were keen to get onto the "expense account Johnnies" who were receiving millions of rands in the guise of company expenses.

Some companies allowed employees to spend up to R500 a month on their company credit cards before they needed to account for what they considered legitimate expenses, yet none of that remuneration was taxed.

The authorities believed the issue had been approached democratically and wide spectrum of viewpoints had been studied — it was now time to act.

*Star*  
**'Berlin Wall' in Botswana**  
*18/2/83*

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — The Soviet Ambassador in Botswana is raising his wall for the third time.

Originally the official Soviet residence had a decorative 1 m-high wall.

Then, obviously desiring greater security, the embassy erected a 2 m-high solid wall.

And now, approaching Berlin Wall dimensions, a third layer is being added.

But then, Ambassador Nikolai Petrov does not live in the most comfortable surroundings, observers note. He has the US ambassador, Mr Theodore Maino, to the one side of him and the US Third Secretary on the other.

Recently unknown agitators painted the name of the Polish trade union, Solidarity, in bright red letters on Mr Petrov's white wall.

# SA-Angolan talks could seal Namibia ceasefire — report

*Star*  
*18/2/83*  
*227* *5*

Ceasefire negotiations are under way between Angola and South Africa, a US State Department official said today. He thought the border war had already slowed down.

In comment on a Washington Post story that a de facto ceasefire already existed on the Namibian border, US spokesman John Hughes said: "Our understanding is that no formal cease-fire is yet in place, but that, complementary to the negotiations under way between Angola and South Africa, all sides may have seen some advantage in showing a degree of military restraint in recent months."

John D'Oliviera of The Star's Washington Bureau reports that a Cape Verde meeting next week between representatives of South Africa and Angola could set the seal on an informal Namibian ceasefire.

If the ceasefire is a success, it could pave the way for the formal truce which would precede the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for Namibian independence.

No official statement could be obtained in the U today from either the State Department or the South African Embassy. However, it is understood that the South African Ambassador in Washington, Mr Brand Fourie, left yesterday for South Africa — and that he will be present at the discussions.

The discussions next week follow the

talks in the Cape Verde islands in December between a South African Government delegation headed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, and a delegation representing Angola's MPLA Government.

Some observers in Washington believe any ceasefire between Angola and South Africa might eliminate the incentive for a Namibian settlement. However, it is understood the US Administration is encouraging the ceasefire as part of a process of building trust and confidence between South Africa and Angola.

Reports published in The Star (and other reports from different sources reaching The Star) that a ceasefire on the Angolan border is imminent have been consistently denied by South African official sources.

But today both the National Party newspaper, Die Beeld, and the SABC carried similar reports.

Yesterday the Washington Post, with which The Star has a contract for rights to its news reports, carried a front-page report that Angola and South Africa had put a de facto ceasefire into effect along the frontier and that a formal disengagement pact was expected soon following direct negotiations between the two countries.

The Star referred this report to authoritative sources and, after being told that it was "inconceivable that they (the Washington Post) could be misinformed," decided against carrying the report.

## 'Terror' brigade to stay

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Zimbabwe's Zanu (PF) won't go through the barrel and would do the same to the nation from behind by dissidents the Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe said.

For this reason the brigade would not leave the country until every dissident has been routed, Mr Mugabe said at Chipinge on the eastern border.

The Prime Minister is referring to the 6000 Korean-trained unit reportedly killed 1000 men, women and children in the latest anti-dissident Matabeleland.

Mr Mugabe said the unit were fighting a tribal war into power. But this will happen, he said.

● See Page 2.



This week's R10 000 Bonanza prize has the holder of certificate 1105058662, bought from the post office.

### The Star Bureau

LONDON — Ten of the West Indian cricketers who took part in the outlawed South African tour arrived back here today with the unanimous message: "We have no regrets."

Captain Lawrence Rowe said: "We have no regrets about going whatsoever. We expected the West Indian cricket authorities to ban us for life. I can't see any chance of them changing their minds, but that doesn't bother me at all."

## Windies have no regrets

The West Indian captain also said the apartheid system in South Africa was not as bad as he had been led to believe. "It was a lot better than I thought it was going to be. We all read and heard things before we went — but it's not as bad as it's painted."

He disagreed that the cricketers had

helped shore up apartheid. "By going there we don't support the regime. We feel that by going and playing we are helping to break it down."

He confirmed that the tour was an even stronger one next year.

## Reach for The Star and save 5c a

Your copy of The Star will be priced at 25 cents from March 1. But you can still receive it for 20 cents — and also save yourself a great deal of inconvenience.

As a special offer to subscribers receiving home-deliveries, the price remains at 20 cents for all those who renew subscriptions in the next six weeks. Current subscribers who sign up again

before March 31 can save up to R15 — regardless of the expiry date of their present subscription.

In other words, all those who renew or take out subscriptions to The Star before March 31 will receive home-delivered copies at 20 percent below the March 1 cover price. A year's subscrip-

tion saves R15.03. A year's subscription saves R7.51.

This offer is open to all subscribers residing in the Pretoria, Vereeniging triangle. The rates for other subscribers. The rates for those enjoying home delivery of The Star PWV remain unchanged.

Shell loses



DIRK MUDGE .. discussed "plan".



JONAS SAVIMBI .. leader of a new state in northern SWA?

# President Savimbi of new Ovimbundu?

~~2/2~~ (5) RDM

22/2/83

EVER heard about a new sovereign state comprising northern South West Africa — Ovambo, Kavango and Caprivi — and southern Angola, with the name of Ovimbundu?

A state where Dr Jonas Savimbi, of Unita, will be president and Mr Peter Kakangula, Chairman of the Ovambo Legislative Assembly, and Mr Mishake Muyongo, a former Swapo official who broke away to form the Caprivi National Union (Canu), will be given top ministerial positions?

Rumours are rife in SWA that such a plan is on the cards in negotiations between South Africa and Angola: and that — after a ceasefire — the Angolan army, the Cubans and Swapo would withdraw deep into Angola, leaving the control of the south to Dr Savimbi.

Rumours have it also that

## From KOOS COETZEE in Windhoek

the United States fully backs this plan.

At a political meeting last week, the leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Dirk Mudge, asked whether a part of SWA would be cut off, while another former Ministers' Council member, Mr Tara Imbili, of Ovambo, said such a plan could not work.

And the DTA mouthpiece, Die Republikein, said in an editorial such a "speculation or story or leakage or fabrication about such a state has assumed proportions that can no longer be ignored".

The newspaper asked that the speculation be officially confirmed or denied.

The theatre of the absurd, fact or fiction?

Though investigations could provide no proof that

such a plan was on the cards in current negotiations, or that the US was backing it, it was reliably learnt that such a plan was indeed drawn up by top South African representatives in SWA in 1981.

The plan was drawn up after these representatives came to the conclusion that Swapo would definitely win an international election and that an alternative to Resolution 435 had to be sought.

According to the plan, Swapo's main source of support — Ovambo — would be cut off from the rest of the country.

The plan was also rationalised by the fact that the tribes in Ovambo, Kavango and Caprivi were ethnologically related and that these tribes extended into southern Angola.

Which made the picture complete as far as homeland politics was concerned.

It was also reliably learnt that Dr Savimbi, Mr Kalangula and Mr Muyongo met on at least two — but probably three — occasions in Gaborone in Botswana in 1981 and 1982 to discuss such a plan.

It is strongly believed that the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha — and probably the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan — attended one or more of these meetings.

Observers who believe the plan is still on the cards said in interviews that President Dos Santos of Angola was economically on his knees and wanted to get rid of Dr Savimbi.

They also said that the US had a stake in the Angolan economy.

They believe that Dr Savimbi is prepared to settle for a limited form of recognition — having a part of SWA incorporated into his "state" — as he does not enjoy any recognition at all at this stage.

In exchange for such a deal, South Africa would get assurances that Swapo would not be allowed to operate from Angolan soil.

The foundation of such a state would then allow South Africa to pursue its homeland politics in the rest of SWA, pacifying its own Rightwing voters who would be upset by an international "sell-out", these observers believe.

But the sceptics or outright disbelievers of any such plan point out that South Africa signed for independence of SWA "as a whole" and that the Frontline States, the Organisation of African Unity, the Western world, the United Nations — the whole world, in fact — would vehemently oppose such a scheme.

It could plunge the whole of Southern Africa into war and chaos and could rule out any peace in the area for decades.

If the US indeed backed such a plan it would be totally discredited in the eyes of the world and would probably lead to the downfall of President Reagan, they said.

Fact, fiction or the theatre of the absurd?

## A certain dreadful logic

THE "plan" to Koreanise or partition Angola has been greeted in Washington with uneasy befuddlement.

Everyone concedes that Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Unita insurgents are the wild card in a South African-Angolan ceasefire.

But no one can quite bring themselves to believe that the solution would be a separate Ovimbundu/Ovambo/Kavango/Caprivi state.

One source privy to United States Administration thinking went as far as to term the

## From SIMON BARBER in WASHINGTON

inventor of such a plan "an idiot".

The objections are numerous.

First, if there is one thing the OAU agrees on it is the inviolability of borders as currently drawn. And no one wants to see a repetition of the separatist havoc wreaked in Biafra, Eritrea and the southern Sudan.

Second, Dr Savimbi is unanimously viewed as wanting the whole cake.

It is hard to see how he could accept partition, because it would destroy his claim to be the rightful popular choice of the whole country.

It is even more difficult — thirdly — to see how the United States could countenance such a plan. The outcry in black Africa would be immense.

Besides, Washington effectively recognises the MPLA as the legitimate government of all Angola and is negotiating with it as such.

Its goal — apart from Cuban withdrawal — is national reconciliation. That said, the Africa-watching establishment here agrees that there is a certain dreadful logic to the plan.

From the South African point of view, analysts say, it makes a great deal of sense.

It solves the problem of where Dr Savimbi fits in with the MPLA. It provides for a new, supposedly friendly buffer state that would keep the godless forces of Marxism and Swapo at more than arm's length.

And it allows for an independent SWA ruled by the right kind of people, the DTA.

But is it real? Well, look at what happens if the projected negotiations between Mr Brand Fourie and the Angolan Government on Cape Verde run their proposed course.

A ceasefire goes into effect, Angolan and Cuban forces withdraw north of the Benguela line and Swapo is removed to above the 14th parallel.

That leaves a substantial gap filled with Dr Savimbi's and South African forces.

This, of course, is just an intermediate step in a longer process. But what if it isn't?

# Angola is not begging for peace: Rodrigues

5

Stan

24/2/83

LISBON — Delegations from South Africa and Angola have finished a second round of talks on ending an undeclared war on Angola's southern border and official sources said a new meeting would be arranged.

The sources, contacted by telephone from here, said the two delegations would leave Cape Verde, venue for the talks, early today.

Angolan Interior Minister Alexandre Rodrigues who went to the Cape Verde island of Sal for the talks did not take part because South Africa did not send a Minister.

In an interview with the Portuguese news agency Anop, Lieutenant-Colonel Rodrigues said his delegation had not come to the talks to beg for peace along the trou-

bled Namibian-Angolan border.

But it would welcome a solution to the Namibia problem on the lines of Rhodesian independence, he added. "Angola believes Zimbabwe is a good example for South Africa," Anop quoted him as saying.

"Angola would not oppose a Rhodesian solution for Namibia because it is sure that Swapo is the legitimate representative of the Namibian people and would win the elections," he said in the interview.

Yesterday's talks lasted more than two hours and sources close to the discussions said South Africa used them to test the goodwill and seriousness of the Angolans.

The two sides' first talks took place in December 1982.

SA-ANGOLA FM 25/2/83  
**Fetching a reply**

It is ~~difficult~~ to tell whether long-term hopes for a ceasefire, and eventual Namibian settlement, can be built around this week's talks in Cape Verde between SA and Angola. Diplomatic sources say the Pretoria team's mandate remains simply to discuss conditions that must be met before a ceasefire can be implemented.

In the first round of talks last year, attended by both Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, SA outlined its conditions. This time around the Angolan team, led by Deputy Foreign

Affairs Minister Venancio de Moura, is expected to give Luanda's reply.

Some Western contact group sources are doubtful that SA will get all it wants. As, seemingly, is Pik Botha, who has been publicly sceptical about the outcome. It has been pointed out that Angola can't afford to appear to "knuckle under" to Pretoria.

Some international circles, however, see the talks as a litmus test of SA's seriousness about a settlement. Their judgment will be based on whether SA continues to negotiate seriously or whether it milks the talks for domestic political points — possibly by stating that their continuation is dependent on Angola's willingness to stop Swapo incursions into Namibia.

Possibly in an attempt to signal its displeasure at the latest Swapo raids, SA has downgraded the status of its team. Instead of the two senior Ministers who attended last time the SA team is headed by Han van Dalsen, Director-General of Foreign Affairs who is accompanied by the Ambassador to the US, Brand Fourie, plus other Foreign Affairs officials and SADF personnel. Fourie and Van Dalsen are, of course, key figures in the negotiating process — but the absence of the Foreign Minister is regarded as significant.

The opening of the talks was preceded by leaks in Washington and Windhoek seemingly "inspired" by interested parties. Last week's leak in the *Washington Post* trum-

peting an imminent ceasefire was certainly inaccurate. It's regarded as an attempt by unspecified factions in the US to convey urgency by hyping the situation. Equally, rumours are rife in Windhoek about a never-never land of Ovimbundu to be partitioned out of southern Angola, the Caprivi, and Ovamboland and to be ruled by Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

Diplomats and officials dismiss this notion as "rubbish," "unthinkable," and "out of the question" — the kind of thing cooked up by "a lot of loonies." Sources point out that every war generates factions and "maybe some wild men in Windhoek fancy the notion."

It's true that of all factors in the negotiations, Savimbi remains the square peg. But US Assistant-Secretary of State Chester Crocker told the Congressional Sub-committee on Africa last week: "Quite apart from the diplomatic problem, it would not be desirable to bring Namibia to independence in circumstances that held the prospects for greater regional instability and turmoil." He was referring to a continued Cuban presence — but the point is also valid for dreams of providing Savimbi with his own private fiefdom.

As Crocker has also pointed out, however, the US policy of constructive engagement with SA has something to its credit. During the Carter administration Pretoria

hardly talked to Washington and not at all to Luanda.

That, at least, has changed.

Angola's decision to take part in the coming negotiations for the third Lome Convention — whereby 63 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Common Market states receive aid — is the latest sign that the marxist government in Luanda wants to move closer to the Western economic camp and play a bigger role in Southern Africa.

Angola, once seen as the future Brazil of Africa, has yet to emerge from the economic quagmire it plunged into when nearly 500 000 Portuguese — almost its entire skilled manpower force — fled to exile at the height of the 1975/6 civil war.

The war continues, and the cost to Luanda is exorbitant. With an oil output of 7 million tons in 1982, the country's exports bring in twice the revenue paid out in imports. But this plentiful trade surplus is not spent on capital goods and development. Most of it is used to pay for nearly 20 000 Cuban troops.

And the country is also losing out on aid and investment. Potential American investors cannot get subsidies and credit facilities because the White House refuses to have diplomatic relations with Angola while the Cubans remain. Nor, obviously can Angola receive United States aid. Luanda has also missed out

# Peace is the prerequisite to prosperity in Angola

**Angola, with its vast mineral resources, has the potential to play a major role in the economic development of Southern Africa. Jasper Mortimer, of The Star's Africa News Service, reports.**



Dos Santos... sent out several pro-West signals recently

on Common Market aid and trade as its ties with the Soviet bloc drew it away from the Lome Convention.

However, the past months have seen several pro-West signals from Luanda. Pro-Western members of President Jose dos Santos' Cabinet have reportedly won a power struggle against the pro-Soviet hardliners led by Moscow-trained General Iko

Carreiro and Mr Lucio Lara. The victory saw the president being granted "special powers" on December 8, and the demolition of 32 alleged hardliners.

Angola has announced that it will shortly open an embassy in London, and a visit there was made earlier this month by the Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge — the first since independence in 1975.

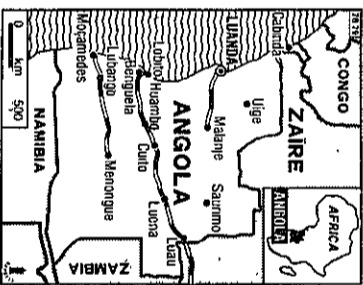
At the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference in Lesotho last month, the European Economic Community Commissioner for Development, Mr Edgard Pisani, announced that Angola and Mozambique would take part in the next round of EEC-ACP negotiations in Brussels in September.

The two countries are widely expected to sign the next Lome treaty, because the Soviet bloc version of the EEC — Comecon — has not been able to provide the aid they need.

The move is important to the SADCC states because all the other members of the nine-nation body are parties to Lome.

The exclusion from Angola and Mozambique from Lome was resented at the 1980 SADCC meeting in Maputo when the other members realised they would have obtained more EEC aid if the two states had joined.

Mr Pisani said he invited Angola and Mozambique to join when he saw that the two coastal states, on either side of the SADCC bloc, were not members.



"I approached them, not for political reasons, but for economic and technical reasons. It would be more efficient for the landlocked countries (of the SADCC) to have Angola and Mozambique in the framework."



Both... backing Unita in the Angolan war

He said the two states began receiving about R9 million a year each from EEC as non-associate parties a few months ago. With membership, this aid would rise by 100 percent, he guessed. The aid would also be pledged over a five-year period.

The SADCC, aimed at reducing its members' dependence on South Africa, is destined to play a considerable role in the

sub-continent's affairs. It gives members a common objective and a forum to address themselves and the world.

Angola's influence in the SADCC could rise dramatically as members take up its new offer to sell oil at preferential prices. Already Malawi and Tanzania spend 30 percent of their foreign exchange on petrol. Zimbabwe spends more than 20 percent, and Zambia 15 to 20 percent.

However, the prerequisite to Angola's fulfilling its "Brazilian" destiny in Africa, as both an economic and political heavyweight, is the ending of its war.

The pro-Western Unita rebels hold large parts of the southern and east-central provinces. In addition, the New York Times says, there are 500 to 1 500 South African Defence Force troops in southern Angola fighting Swapo.

Owing to Luanda's support for Swapo, and Pretoria's widely accepted backing for Unita, peace in Angola has become inextricably linked to a settlement in Namibia.

There is no indication when the complicated negotiations under way will be resolved successfully. But when peace does come, Angola will be free to pursue its enormous development potential.

Only 2 percent of Angola's arable land is cultivated at present, and much of the fertile

ground is in the war-torn south. Before independence in 1975, Angola was Africa's second largest producer of coffee and sisal.

The coffee industry employed about 200 000 people. Its 1980/81 output was less than half the 1974 level.

The production of sisal has fallen by a third, according to the latest figures. But the sugar crop has returned to pre-independence levels.

Angola's mineral wealth, according to renowned economist Rene Pelissier, is "truly astonishing." The dominant products are oil, diamonds and iron.

Diamond mining fell sharply after 1975 with the withdrawal of white technicians and rampant smuggling. But lately output has grown impressively and should reach the 1974 level this year.

The Cassinga iron mines in the south have proven reserves exceeding 1 000 million tons. However, they were damaged badly during the civil war and in subsequent SADF attacks. With peace, they could lead to the creation of thousands of jobs.

Existing and planned hydro-electric schemes in the south could satisfy Angola's needs, and provide water and power to Namibia as well.

It all depends on the resolution of the war.



Post Focus

5 WK END POST 26/2/83

# Jonas Savimbi looms large in Angola's future

This week, talks between Angolan and South African Government officials on a possible ceasefire in the SWA/Namibian bush war continued on the Cape Verde Islands. In this article, a Special Correspondent in Washington assesses the crucial role which Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement is playing behind the scenes.

THE doughty Dr Jonas Savimbi and his guerrillas are said to be on the point of taking Hnambo, Angola's second largest city.

If so, while the source is impeccable — Unita's claims often aren't — it represents a telling change of strategy and capability.

The hit-and-run, swim-in-your-opponent's sea method, is a good deal less demanding than occupying his towns.

It also suggests the chances of a South Africa-Angola ceasefire followed by a South-West African settlement, which some optimistic reports set for February 1, are receding.

Furthermore, there is considerable speculation, even among supporters of constructive engagement, that this is exactly the way Pretoria wants it.

As one analyst with close ties to the Reagan administration explained: "Pik Botha's announcement of new talks with the Angolan government may be a smokescreen."

Angola has become the Gordian knot of SWA's future.

Whether South Africa leaves the disputed territory or stays put, depends heavily (and almost exclusively, if Washington's and Pretoria's public positions are sincere) on political stabilisation within the former Portuguese colony.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos will agree to the withdrawal of Cuban troops, upon which SWA/Namibian independence is now conditional, only if he can do so without risk to himself or the MPLA.

That means, among other things, either the removal of or an accommodation with Dr Savimbi.

Should Unita prove powerful enough to establish itself in Hnambo, neither would appear likely.

Recent interviews with US officials have painted — perhaps intentionally — a rather contradictory picture of what the Reagan administration thinks is going on inside Angola.

On one hand, State Department spokesmen have said that in the absence of a US mission in Luanda, information is very sketchy.

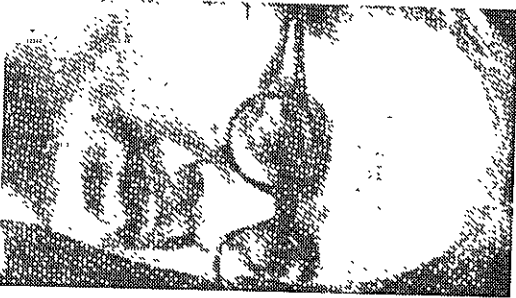
On the other, senior diplomats have expressed confidence that Unita and the MPLA will come to terms and that everything will, therefore, turn out for the best.

Is that the distant sound of someone whistling in a graveyard? Or have the various US emissaries — General Vernon Walters, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Frank Wisner, and the ambassador to Zambia, Mr Nicholas Platt — really sized up who they've been talking to? It's difficult to tell.

The easier question — and, therefore, that which seems to be the point of departure for current diplomatic efforts — is whether bidding the Cubans and their Soviet masters adieu would be in Luanda's interests.

Obviously it would. Some examples: Analysts estimate it costs the Angolan government about R3 050 000 a year to house and feed its 20 000 Cuban guests.

And, at a more emotional level, no one likes being occupied by a foreign army, however sympathetic. The Soviets, meanwhile, are merely greedy. They see Angola as a money-maker.



DR CHESTER CROCKER



DR JONAS SAVIMBI

According to Heritage Foundation specialist Mr Ian Butterfield they buy the country's prime agricultural product, coffee, at 34% of its world value and then keep half the price as repayment of the "war debt" incurred during the revolution.

The same goes for fishing rights. Soviet factory ships travel the coasts, vacuuming the spawning grounds wholesale "on the presupposition" — Mr

Butterfield's phrase — "that they aren't going to be there forever. So who cares?"

The Angolans, already pitifully short of food, are granted a mere 25% of the catch.

The upshot is an economy in which not even significant oil wealth can keep pace with the cost of having Moscow for a lodger and fighting a permanent war.

There is little doubt, therefore, that even the most fire-eating MPLA cadre can see some advantages in opening to the West and establishing detente with Pretoria.

Ideology aside, the only thing preventing it is Dr Savimbi.

The unpleasant fact for both the MPLA and the Reagan administration, as the respected Africanist, Mr Ian Smiley, reported last week in the New York Review, is that "Unita would muster a bigger vote than the MPLA" if — in the unlikely event — an election were held.

This is where even Dr Chester Crocker's staunchest cheering section began to have dark thoughts about South Africa's true intentions.

The theory is as follows: Pretoria will go along with Dr Crocker's diplomacy so long as it ensures a friendly, Dr Savimbi-led Angola, which many experts agree would be the outcome of an MPLA-Unita pact.

As one put it: "Even if they make him Minister of Sewage Works, he's going to be president very quickly."

In the meantime, there is nothing much to be gained from an independent SWA.

Swapo is still a sure winner in any internationally-supervised election, and that means big political trouble for Prime Minister Botha back home.

Domestic reform is far too important to be sacrificed for the minimal applause South Africa would get for leaving the territory.

Besides, there is much to be said for maintaining a turbulent status quo.

Dr Savimbi as pretender is probably a lot more convenient than he would be as president.

The complaisant opportunist might be very different once in power.

Solution: ● Encourage Dr Savimbi to expand his control over Southern Angola and the central plateau.

● Let him help keep Swapo in check.

● Force the MPLA to refuse to deal on the Cuban issue.

● Blame the collapse of the SWA negotiations on the Americans, since it was they, as Mr Pik Botha informed Senator Nancy Kassebaum, who put Angola in the middle of the table to start with.

# Angola is <sup>CAPE TIMES 28/2/83</sup> 'still ready to talk'

LISBON. — Angola was prepared to resume talks with South Africa on independence for SWA/Namibia in spite of the cutting short of the two nations' second face-to-face negotiations on the Cape Verde Islands last week, the Interior Minister, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexandre Rodrigues, said at the weekend.

A report from the official news agency Angop, monitored here, quoted Colonel Rodrigues as saying Angola had not "turned its back on the talks" and was willing to restart negotiations "at any time".

The Cape Verde meeting between South Africa and its Marxist neighbour last Thursday ended after only two hours and 20 minutes, with Angola reportedly protesting against the down-grading of the South African delegation from the cabinet-level team that attended the first negotiations in December.

According to Angop, Colonel Rodrigues, who headed both Angolan delegations, said the lack of government ministers at the second meeting came as a surprise and the negotiations had produced no positive results because they did not follow on logically from the December talks.

The first South African negotiating team included the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan. Last Thursday the Foreign Affairs Director-General, Mr Hans van Dalsen, headed the delegation.

Colonel Rodrigues said Angola had expected to discuss South Africa's re-

sponse to counter-proposals Angola had made to the original positions put forward by Pretoria, the agency reported.

But by not matching its commitment to the first round of talks, Colonel Rodrigues told Angop, South Africa had tried to use "carrot and stick politics" to test our intentions. Nevertheless, he added, Angola had maintained its goodwill throughout.

He said that on both occasions the talks had focused on a cessation of South African hostilities against Angola and the implementation of a United Nations resolution calling on South Africa to withdraw from SWA/Namibia.

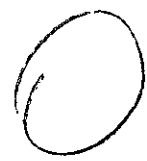
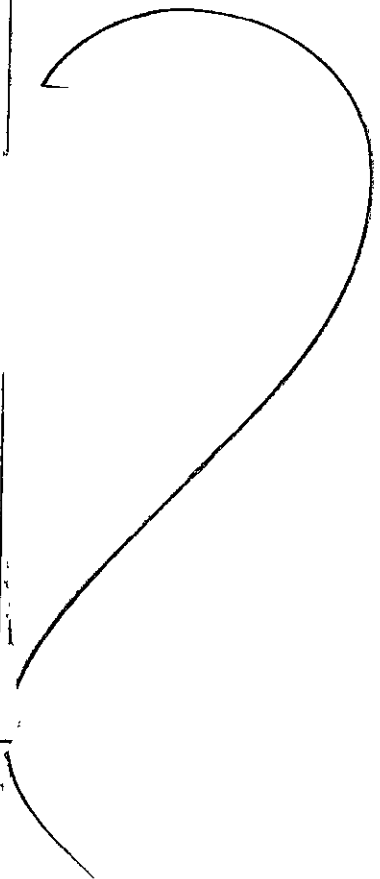
The agency quoted him as saying Angola did not need to sign a ceasefire with Pretoria because it had never declared war on South Africa. The minister said the ceasefire should be signed between South Africa and Swapo.

According to Angop, Colonel Rodrigues restated Angola's support for Swapo as the only legitimate representative of the SWA/Namibian people.

He said there was no foundation to reports that Angola was negotiating an independence settlement for SWA/Namibia in return for an end to South African support for Unita.

The Angop report made no mention of South Africa's demand, backed by the United States administration, that an estimated 30 000 Cuban troops withdraw from Angola parallel to a South African pull-out from SWA/Namibia. — Sapa-AP

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5 204

# Swapo man had Angolan uniform

By KOOS COETZEE  
Mail Africa Bureau

11/3/83

WINDHOEK. — The Swapo insurgent shot dead on the farm Hortentia, 40km northwest of Tsumeb on Wednesday, was wearing part of the uniform of the Angolan Army, Fapla, the SWA Territory Force said yesterday.

It was an indication of the direct support Swapo received from Angola, the statement said.

Weapons and ammunition found on his body and on the body of another insurgent who was also shot dead on Wednesday on the farm Hugelund, were of Eastern Bloc origin, while medical supplies were of Italian origin, the SWATF said.

The two insurgents were members of a group of seven who were responsible

for an attack on the homestead of the farm Vergenoeg on Sunday.

SWATF also announced the death of another insurgent in northern Owambo, bringing the Swapo toll for the past month to 188.

During the present operation, 14 members of the Security Forces and at least 27 civilians have been killed.

The SWATF also reported that 127 schoolchildren had been abducted from Owambo to southern Angola.

In New York, the UN Council for Namibia has approved a document endorsing the Swapo raids into SWA, reports Sapa-AP.

The document was a memorandum for the information of non-governmental organisations that will attend the International Conference in Support of

the Namibian People for Independence in Paris on April 25-29.

The Belgian delegate, Mr Robert Vanreusel, told the council he had reservations about some of its contents.

"Faced with continuing illegal occupation of their country by racist South Africa," it said, "the people of Namibia, under the leadership of Swapo, their sole and authentic representative, have intensified their legitimate struggle for national liberation and genuine independence."

The memorandum recalled that the 1982 UN General Assembly had firmly rejected attempts by the United States and South Africa to establish a link between the independence of SWA and "any extraneous issues, in particular the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola".

# Unita claims capture of 64 Czech technicians

Jan  
14/3/83  
5

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces in Angola claim to have captured 64 Czechoslovakian technicians, and say they will hand them over in exchange for six British mercenaries held by the Angolans.

This has been disclosed by British journalist Fred Bridgland who has returned home after spending two months behind the lines with Dr Savimbi.

He said the capture of the technicians was a major coup for Unita forces. "I don't think there is any doubt about it," he said today. "He's never captured East bloc prisoners in such large numbers before. He had two Russians at one stage and had Cubans before, and he's had Brazilians and Portuguese — but this is a really big move forward for him."

Mr Bridgland said Dr Savimbi was trying to exchange the Czechs for "propaganda reasons. He wants to show the world that he is a powerful force in Angola."

Asked if he was sure that Unita had captured the Czechs, he said: "I wasn't there, but I am sure. On February 26 Savimbi told us he had been capturing big fish in Angola."

# A dramatic first-hand report of Africa's 'Vietnam' At Savimbi's side

Our VISCOUNT dipped across the vast forests and savannahs of Central Africa. The Portuguese pilot was trying to locate landmarks which would guide him to a thin olive-green airstrip hidden like a needle in the endless foliage below.

The target suddenly appeared alongside a lush green river valley. At first it appeared deserted and hemmed in by thick bush. Then shadowy figures began to emerge carrying Soviet-made AK-47 Kalashnikov rifles and RPG-7 anti-tank missiles.

The Viscount rolled to a stop and as its doors were opened we were hit by an explosion of sound — three African choirs, a pop group and a dance team competed against each other.

My journalist colleague Gwynne Roberts, a reporter/cameraman for BBC's Panorama, was stunned by the colour of it all.

The singers and dancers were flanked by platoons of troops at unyielding attention. Big lorries began moving up to the aircraft to unload several tons of medicine and aviation fuel we had carried from our departure point, a black African capital many hours flying time to the north.

Further down the runway stood the man who had invited us, Jonas Savimbi — a graduate of the guerilla warfare course at China's Nanking military academy and leader of the Angolan rebel movement Unita.

He sported a general's three gold stars on his forage cap and he was surrounded by a phalanx of colonels and majors from Unita's army.

The object of our trip

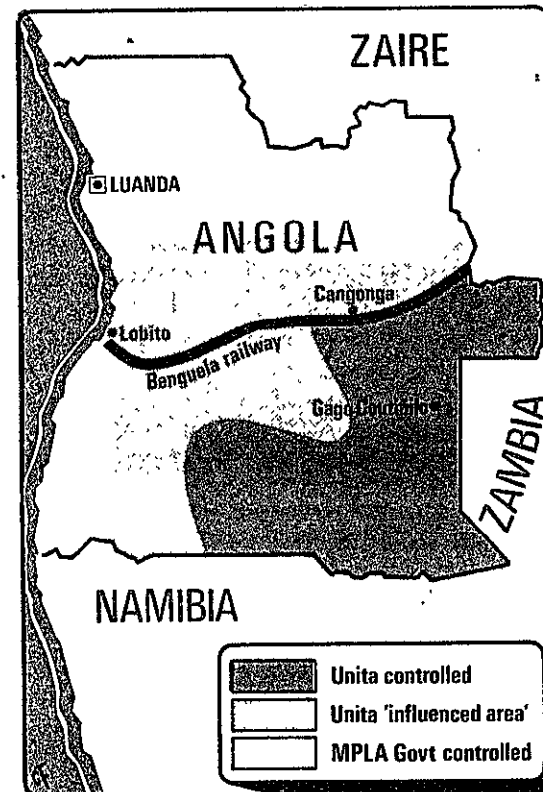
In the last eight years, no Western reporter has witnessed at first hand the bloody clashes between the Cuban-backed Angolan army and the forces of the rebel commander Jonas Savimbi. Last week Fred Bridgland, a top British freelance journalist, emerged from the sprawling battle zone of "Africa's Vietnam" with this the first of a three-part graphic account of Savimbi's astonishing advance and his suspicion that South Africans are about to review their commitment to him.



Dr Jonas Savimbi... rolling remorselessly onwards



Unita forces in action... now concentrating on economic targets in their ever deepening thrust into MPLA territory in Angola.



and myself and half a dozen of Unita's overseas representatives based in Europe, the United States and black Africa.

The diamond merchant was surprisingly frank about his purposes. He had come to buy Unita diamonds, some panned from Angola's rivers and others smuggled out of mines in the north-east jointly run by the Angolan Government and South Africa's De Beers company.

More importantly, he had come to tell Savimbi that he had commitments of West European investment for Angola worth hundreds of millions of dollars should Unita ever come to power.

Money was also immediately available for Savimbi's struggle at rates of between 20 000 and 100 000 dollars per company — sidestakes by European fat cats against possible future shares in Angola's immense potential mineral and agricul-

We would travel through that area. Unita would show us battle sites and take us to towns captured from the MPLA that the government in Luanda had never publicly admitted losing. Last time I visited Angola, Chilingutilla's operational base was 200 km inside the country. This time I would find it 500 km from Angola's southern border.

Beyond Unita's "area of control", in what it describes as its "area of influence" and "areas of expansion", there had been a major push of boundaries northwards and a great intensification of activities.

Within the "area of influence" (see map), where the movement claims control over the countryside and most villages, Unita was concentrating attacks on economic targets. Particular targets

were the Mocamedes railway and the one remaining operational stretch of the Benguela railway between Lobito, a port on the Atlantic, and Huambo, the country's second largest town high on the agriculturally rich central plateau.

Only one train, with heavy troop escorts, was getting through every three months to Menongue at the end of the Mocamedes line. The last train to get through to Huambo arrived in September 1982 with an escort of 1 200 MPLA troops. Half of the consignment was destroyed en route by 517 Battalion, one of two battalions of regular troops that Unita has already established permanently north of the Benguela railway.

Unita now had several well-established guerilla groups (different from

the regular forces) operating in the provinces of Cuanza Norte, Malanje and southern Luanda — 400 km north of the Benguela railway and within 200 km of the capital city of Luanda. Many members of the Kinbundu, Seles and Songo tribes, traditional MPLA supporters in the pre-independence period, were now joining Unita as guerillas because of the parlous state of the Angolan economy.

Unita had extended its "areas of expansion" for the first time into the far northern province of Uige, the Kikongo tribal homeland of the now moribund FNLA. Unita political commissars reached the province in November last year to begin recruiting support.

Unita guerilla groups, salted with Kokongo tribesmen, had already moved into Uige ready to

launch fighting on the new front.

The war had become so serious that the Cubans, having kept out of the fighting since 1980, acting only as military advisers to the MPLA and defending the big towns, had had to re-enter the fray from last July.

In addition to Unita's regular forces, organised in battalions 500 to 1 000-strong, and its guerillas, operating in groups of 15 to 30 or in company strength of 120, a new type of unit had begun entering action from early 1982. These were the "special forces" — roughly equivalent to Britain's SAS, though it's not a claim made by Unita, who said they fell far short of the British force on a wide range of technical and educational skills. Nevertheless each 45-strong special force platoon is a tight-knit unit of well-proven soldiers trained for nine intensive months in sabotage and other military "arts".

We would be accompanied all the way to the Benguela railway, said Colonel Sapalalo, by special force Gamboa, named after a Unita hero who died fighting the Portuguese.

I asked Colonel Sapalalo if I could borrow a small knapsack for my cameras. When it arrived I noticed some writing in ballpoint on the khaki canvas. It read: "Natal Command — Lance Corporal Kuhn".

It did not greatly surprise me, though it was a timely reminder that there are many strange thumbs stuck in the Angolan pie. And I couldn't help wondering how I would explain the pack if, by mischance, we were ever picked up by an MPLA patrol.

● Tomorrow: On the march.

are destined to become the  
growth point from which  
development will extend. The  
centres in brackets  
Mount Coke (Zwelitsha-  
antsane), Peddie (Peddie),  
Middel drift (Middel drift), Sey-  
mour (Seymour) and Hewu  
(Hewu).

ombaza — Ciskei's main in-  
dustrial growth point — and its  
rural neighbour, Middel drift,  
roughly at the territory's  
centre and have the highest po-  
tential for immediate growth  
because of their favourable  
availability of water, manpower and  
communication lines. The re-  
port recommended that the  
priority development of hous-  
ing and industry be concentrat-  
ed there.

Almost two-thirds of Ciskei's  
1 000 000 people rely directly on  
agriculture for their livelihood  
and the great majority were



Lennox Sebe

not interested in commercial  
farming. Severe soil and veld  
erosion had put livestock farm-  
ing in jeopardy and a reduction  
of the people in rural areas  
was necessary to put farming  
on a professional and economic  
level.

An urgent urbanisation pro-  
gramme was needed if the de-  
population of Ciskei's rural  
areas was to succeed. However  
the present lack of money to  
create jobs will retard urban-  
isation leaving the establish-  
ment of subsistence villages as  
the most feasible alternative.

These villages would be  
made up of:

- Collections of irrigated quar-

was simple. Unita wanted  
to prove that it had  
won big victories in re-  
cent months against  
troops of the Soviet-  
backed Angolan Govern-  
ment and its Cuban  
allies, and that it exer-  
cised complete control  
over big chunks of the  
mineral-rich and strate-  
gically important coun-  
try.

With Unita troops we  
would penetrate 800 km  
into the very centre of  
the country to a point on  
the Benguela railway,  
which bisects Angola  
from west to east.

Our journey to and  
from the railway would  
be completed in a month,  
said Savimbi. It took two  
months, by which time  
we had covered 3 200 km,  
more than 480 of them on  
foot.

Though we did not  
know it at that early  
stage, we would also be-  
come the first Western  
journalists to witness a  
major battle in the Ango-  
lan civil war which,  
fanned by the world's big  
powers and by regional  
powers in Africa, has  
now been raging for al-  
most eight years.

Our initial meeting  
with Savimbi was brief.  
However he was in espe-  
cially ebullient form. He  
said his forces had ad-  
vanced spectacularly  
over the last six months  
and we would see the  
gains. He was confident  
of many more major  
victories before the year  
was out.

We were escorted to  
our huts in a military  
base near the airstrip at  
Likuwa, in the north-east  
of Angola and 128 km  
north of the border with  
South African-ruled Na-  
mibia.

One important change  
had been made since my  
last visit to the base 18  
months earlier — electric  
light had been installed,  
provided by a small gen-  
erator which chugged on  
through the night. We  
would see electric light in  
several bases.

You meet unexpected  
people in Angola. I want-  
ed to speak to one of  
them, an English dia-  
mond merchant based in  
Antwerp who had flown  
into Angola with Roberts

forced resettlement pro-  
grammes) rapidly destroying  
the resource most needed to  
produce food and income.

tural wealth.

The last we saw of the  
diamond merchant was  
as he changed in his hut  
from bush jacket and  
trousers into pinstripe  
suit, waistcoat and tie for  
his jungle business meet-  
ing with Savimbi. He  
flew out again next  
morning after just 12  
hours in Angola.

Our own work began  
that same morning with  
a briefing on the military  
situation by Unita's chief  
of staff, or senior field  
commander, Brigadier  
Demosthenes Chilinguti-  
la, and the chief of logis-  
tics, Colonel Bok Sapalao.

Chilingutilla was for-  
merly in the Portuguese  
army in Angola and rose  
to the highest rank open  
to blacks — staff ser-  
geant. An artillery spe-  
cialist, he was at one  
time posted to eastern  
Angola operating against  
Unita.

Chilingutilla joined  
Unita after the Portu-  
guese revolution of April  
25, 1974, when it became  
clear that Lisbon would  
give independence to its  
African colonies. He was  
appointed chief of staff in  
April 1980, replacing  
Brigadier Samuel  
Chiwale, a veteran mem-  
ber of Unita from the  
days when Chilingutilla  
was part of the enemy.

Sapalao was a bright  
high school graduate who  
in the early 1970s decided  
to join Unita in the bush  
rather than go to univer-  
sity. Like many of his ac-  
ademic peers, he speaks  
near-fluent English  
though he has never lived  
in an English-speaking  
country. Sapalao's left  
arm is missing below the  
elbow. He lost it in 1979  
while defusing a faulty  
anti-personnel mine when  
he was in charge of sabo-  
tage training.

The gist of the briefing  
these two men gave us  
was as follows:

In the past six months  
Unita had doubled the  
area of Angola under its  
total control in a series of  
fierce battles with the  
MPLA and Cuban troops  
which had ranged over an  
area equivalent in size to  
the United Kingdom, ex-  
tending all the way to the  
Benguela railway.

after a Soviet first-strike.

The officials quoted this year's guidance as say-  
ing: "Our fundamental aim is to restore a safer  
balance of deterrence." — Reuter.

The Reagan Administration  
R1 800 000 million on defence  
00 000 million more than pre-  
ceding to a secret military

document, Defence Guidance,  
by Defence Secretary, Mr Cal-  
was an official statement of

last year's guidance document  
of "protracted nuclear war",  
got struck out early on," one

stock waves through US allies  
who thought it meant the US  
and win a nuclear war.  
Berger and other officials as-  
e was no plan to fight a nucle-  
e phrase simply meant Wash-  
n order to be able to fight on

# Unita holding 64 Czechs

# UN chief in plea to SA to help hostages

5  
SA 18/3/83



Jonas Savimbi... "a major coup".

New York.

The Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has asked South Africa to help to negotiate the release of 64 Czechoslovak citizens kidnapped by Unita guerillas in Southern Angola.

An official spokesman for Mr Perez de Cuellar said the Secretary General's plea was based on humanitarian grounds and made at the request of the Czechoslovakian Government whose UN delegate, Mr Stanislav Suja, he saw yesterday.

The Unita movement has confirmed the capture of 64 Czechoslovak and 20 Portuguese citizens in an attack on an industrial complex in central Angola last weekend.

Unita has offered to swap the Czechoslovaks for one Irish and six British mercenaries imprisoned in Luanda.

The Secretary General also sought information about the case from the International Committee of the Red Cross, his spokesman said.

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Pretoria today the UN appeal had not yet reached the Government.

In Prague a daily newspaper reported yesterday that there are 21 children among 64 people abducted by Unita.

The newspaper said three of the children were younger than 5, while eight others were aged between 6 and 10 years.

Also abducted were a woman doctor, two nurses and 12 other women — wives of Czech technicians working for the Angolan Government.

The newspaper said the Czech Government had appealed to a foreign government for help in getting the release of the captives. The country was not identified in the report.

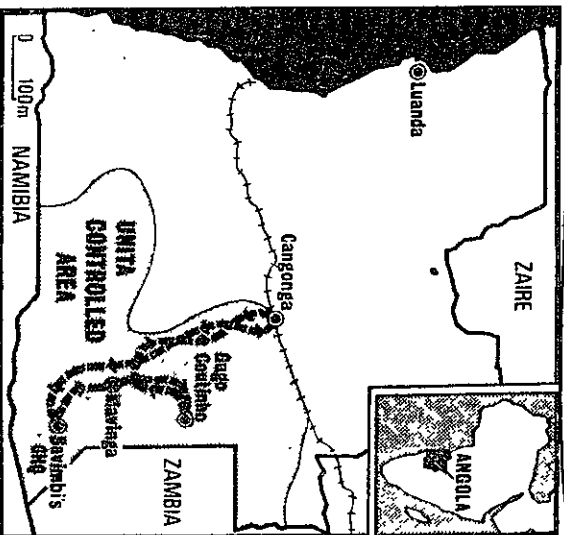
The newspaper also confirmed the Czech Government's appeal to the International Red Cross and Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The daily denied reports that the technicians had been armed.

The Unita swoop on the technicians was disclosed in London on Monday by British journalist Mr Fred Bridgeland, who returned to London last weekend after spending more than two months with Dr Jonas Savimbi's guerillas.

He said the swoop was a major coup for the rebel group in its efforts to prove that it was a force to be reckoned with.

● See page 8 for the first in a series of reports on Angola



Fred Bridgland accompanied one of the many Unita guerrilla units in Angola which creep out of the bush regularly to attack positions held by the ruling MPLA forces, helped by their Cuban allies. This one, launched in darkness and rain, was on the garrison town of Cangonga.

At the headquarters of Unita's military region 57, just 64 km south of Benguela Railway, Colonel Ben-Ben Arlindo Pena introduced us, at a rally, to the battalion we would follow in their attack on an MPLA garrison scheduled for the next day.

The propaganda was powerful. Infant Angolan girls presented Ben, Gwynne Roberts of BBC "Panorama" and myself with bunches of wild flowers as a choir of 50 women sang a soft African lullaby. And-Battalion 017, their adrenalin pumping at the prospect of battle, launched into song too.

It was February 8, marking the anniversary of the day in 1976 when Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, ordered his forces to leave the towns and retreat to the forests in the face of a relentless Cuban Army. "Those were dark days," said Ben in his oration. "Today we can see the light. After seven years we've passed through a hard school. We've been running a marathon, but from now we begin to sprint."

On February 9 the attack force moved — 520 soldiers of Battalion 017 armed with B-10 75 mm cannons, 81 mm mortars, RPG-7 anti-tank missiles and, of course, AK-47 Kalashnikov rifles which the Soviets have bestowed in abundance on the peoples of the Third World: our 45-strong bodyguard of Special Forces; our 50-strong logistics team; a unit of 25 explosives experts; an uncountable number of guerrillas; and a long chain of boys and women, some carrying rifles, mines and anti-tank rockets on their heads.

We moved up to a transit base 48 km from the railway and there Ben told us and the battalion that Cangonga, a garrison 128 km west of the major town of Luso, was the target. A model of Cangonga and its approaches — five times the size of a table-tennis table — had been prepared by Lieutenant-Colonel Antonino Philippe, a veteran Unita guerrilla.

He had arrived a fortnight earlier to collate intelligence collected by guerrillas over several months. The model used different coloured sands, ash, bark, mosses

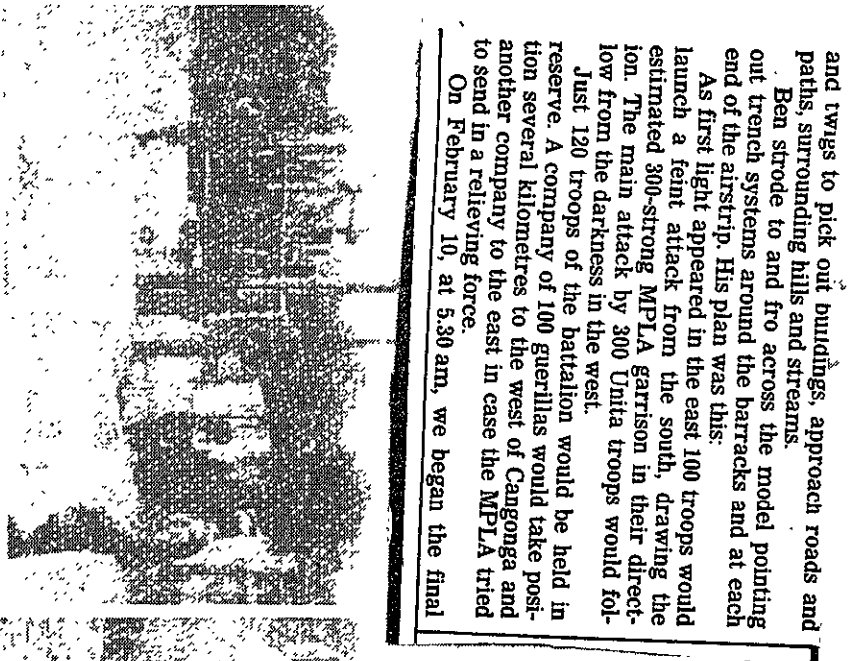
and twigs to pick out buildings, approach roads and paths, surrounding hills and streams.

Ben strode to and fro across the model pointing out trench systems around the barracks and at each end of the airstrip. His plan was this:

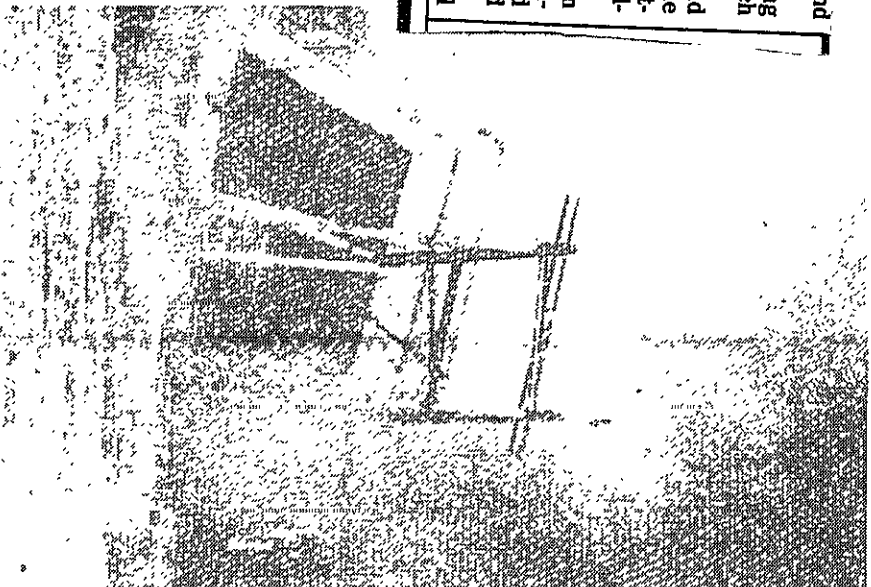
As first light appeared in the east 100 troops would launch a feint attack from the south, drawing the attention. The main attack by 300 Unita troops would follow from the darkness in the west.

Just 120 troops of the battalion would be held in reserve. A company of 100 guerrillas would take position several kilometres to the west of Cangonga and another company to the east in case the MPLA tried to send in a relieving force.

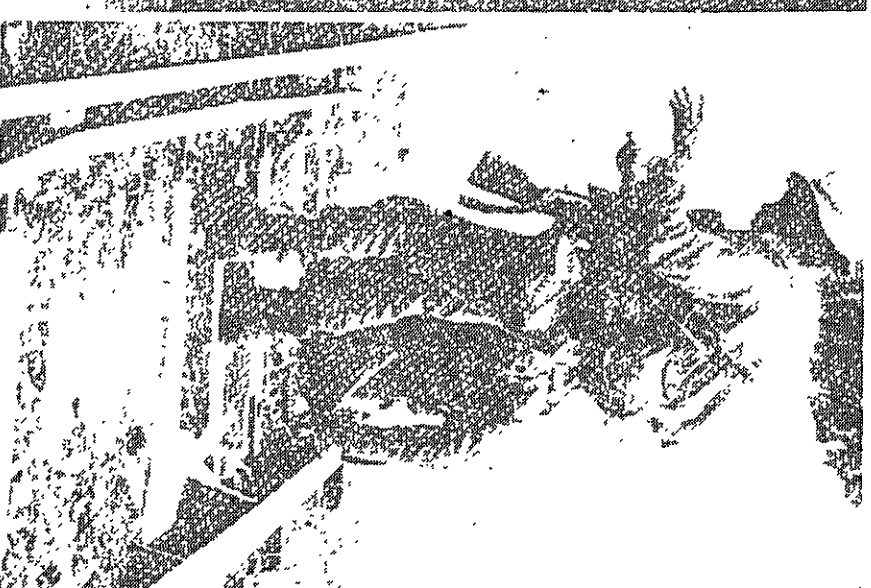
On February 10, at 5.30 am, we began the final



After putting the MPLA garrison to flight, Unita guerrillas moved in on a railway water tank. They set explosives (left) and minutes later (right) it was gone.



Unita guerrillas' target was Cangonga, on the vital Benguela railway line linking Zaire to the sea.



# First a songs, then bloodshed

day's march to Cangonga. It was a dramatic sight as three lines of troops streamed across grassland in the river valleys. We stopped after three hours for a breakfast of cold rice and chicken. Tension rose suddenly as a succession of shots rang out nearby.

Ben, though, hardly looked up from the chicken bone he was gnawing as he said: "It's probably an MPLA patrol doing some hunting."

How far away? "A kilometre maybe."

But Lieutenant-Colonel Philippe and the major in charge of operations in region 57 rapidly organised 30 guerrillas to pursue the patrol and, if necessary, kill them. Scouts moved to and fro giving reports to Ben as he completed his breakfast. The MPLA patrol was moving down a valley away from our resting place.

Soon after it began to pour with rain, and the enforced delay meant we had to move towards our final position before the town in pitch darkness.

Without a moon I could see nothing. A guerrilla guided me by the hand as we groped through underground growth and slithered down muddy slopes.

On February 11 at 3 am a single rifle shot signalled to Ben that all his forces were in position. We began our final short hike to Cangonga. The rain had now stopped. Just after 5 am Ben gave radio orders to section officers of the battalion to begin the attack.

We were about 3 km south-west of the town when the mortar and cannon fire began. Huge flames shot up in the distance, outlining buildings. Then we began to hear the crackle of Kalashnikovs. Walking in strict single file as a precaution against anti-personnel mines, we reached the Benguela railway, crossed it to the north and began closing on the town.

To our right, huts were ablaze. To our left, a building that was clearly the MPLA's arsenal was burning and exploding periodically with great violence.

As we walked along the runway, Unita officers urged us to keep moving and not stop to film and take

photographs. The centre of the town was under Unita control but firefights were going on in all directions around, though we could not see the men involved.

Concentrated firing came from about 100 metres to the south. Some MPLA soldiers had regrouped and launched a direct counter-attack.

Gwynne Roberts stood filming in the direction of the firing before he was smashed to the ground by Unita soldiers. Ben quickly led me to long grass beyond the runway. I did not need his command to get down — I was already trying to burrow into the earth like a demented ostrich as bullets whooshed overhead.

Then, a moment later, I saw a dead MPLA soldier. He was sprawled on his back, looking almost peaceful with a neat bullet hole in his forehead. While many of his comrades seemed to have run, he had paid a heavy price for standing and fighting.

Now we moved into the church which had been stripped of pews and altar and being used as a military barracks. The troops had been sleeping on the floor — blankets and been flung aside and all personal belongings left behind in their flight.

Jorge Valentim screamed tedious propaganda into our ears about how we were the first Western journalists to see how the MPLA desecrated churches.

In civil wars churches are often used as shelter for troops. Anyway it was unlikely that a priest had been in Cangonga for years. And though the MPLA's constitution has anti-religious clauses, there were several bibles in tribal languages among the abandoned possessions of the "marxist" MPLA soldiers.

It was a reminder of the danger of buying "package deals" about any group in Africa: nothing on that continent is straightforward close up.

Then there was a moment of horror. Three Unita soldiers appeared dragging a body with the kind of respect normally accorded a struck

pig. The body moved and emitted a groan: the MPLA soldier, who was barely 18, had a gaping head wound. I shouted at the soldiers to put the boy down; he was clearly dying.

Though they understood no English they responded to the shout by laying him face down in the dust. If it's true that any man's death diminishes one, then observing callous treatment of badly wounded fellow humans makes one feel unclear. Journalists can say they are there only to observe, but that cannot always be an excuse for inaction.

When the opportunity arose we asked Ben what his policy was towards enemy wounded. The slightly wounded are treated and taken prisoner, he said. The badly wounded are left to die. What would happen to the wounded boy? "We'll leave him."

Roberts and I decided we had to attempt to do something for the soldier. Roberts asked Ben if his wounds could be treated, using the justified subtitle that it would be good propaganda for Unita to be seen caring for the enemy injured. A couple of hours later, when the action had become less frantic, three male nurses went to work on the MPLA soldier's head wound in front of the cameras. A closer look at the injury showed it might not be fatal.

Ben gave us his guarantee that he would be cared for and taken prisoner: but despite later inquiries we received no further news of his fate.

Meanwhile, the action continued. Troops ransacked the town for every possible useful item of material. A team of saboteurs began demolishing the rail line.

It had been a day that was both professionally exhilarating and profoundly sobering. A final analysis of the battle had to be made, but a deep tiredness overcame us. It became almost impossible to put one foot in front of the other: we could not remember when we had last slept or eaten.

Monday: Struggle for villagers' hearts and minds.



After the battle of Cangonga we faced a return journey from the Benguela railway of some 208 km on foot and 643 km by truck back down the Savimbi Trail. There would be plenty of time to think about Cangonga and the significance of things we had seen in the previous five weeks of travel.

First, the aftermath of Cangonga. Colonel Ben-Ben Arlindo Pena, commander of the operation, said 35 MPLA soldiers were confirmed killed, seven were taken prisoner. One Unita soldier had died after being shot in the stomach and six were wounded.

The figures seemed plausible. The attack had been almost clinical in its efficiency. Unita had amassed a force which outnumbered the enemy and had hit it by surprise from the forests.

Ben said he had left several avenues of escape for the MPLA — "It is always so in our attacks. If the enemy feel trapped they resist heavily and our casualties increase. In our kind of war we must keep our soldiers' morale high so it is more important to keep our casualties light than to inflict total losses on the enemy."

A column of 180 porters had moved into Cangonga to bring out the booty.

Nearly 600 civilians, including 200 children, had been rounded up from the town and brought to the forest bases. They would be distributed two or three families to a village in Unita's area of control.

Political commissars would keep an eye on them until they were fully integrated.

We spoke to the civilians. But though many of them told us they were Unita supporters who had been taken to Cangonga against their wills, I suspect much of the conversation, through a Unita interpreter, was pretty meaningless.

How do European journalists on fleeing visits assess the real feelings of

5



Unita guerillas manhandle an MPLA soldier during the battle for the Benguela railway town of Cangonga last month.



A Unita guerilla at Kwere base at the end of the Savimbi trail.



Unita male nurses treat a badly wounded MPLA soldier after the battle for Cangonga in February.

# MPLA faces formidable task

In this, the last of a series on the Angolan civil war, Fred Bridgland looks at the aftermath of the battle of Cangonga.

Its main value, he says, lies in propaganda for Unita.

Luso, 128 km west of Cangonga, a day or so before the attack. There

to counter MPLA propaganda that Unita were no more than a handful of "fantoches" (bandits) and that attacks against MPLA/Cubans posts and convoys were by South African forces and "mercenaries."

It was clear that Unita was making other significant military gains. We had visited the site of the battle of Gago Coutinho, whose capture gives Unita control of most of the border with Zambia.

There is concrete evidence of significant military activity in Unita's claimed "area of influence." For example, as we headed north along the Savimbi Trail, Unita announced that it had blown up the second biggest dam in Angola on

the Catumbela River between the country's second and third biggest cities, Huambo and Lobito. The dam supplied electricity to these cities.

A few days later, on Luanda Radio, the MPLA confirmed the destruction of the dam by "Portuguese-speaking white mercenaries." Unita says it attacked the Lomaoum Dam on January 17 with troops of 517 Battalion, based in mountains north-west of Huambo, a company of 200 guerillas

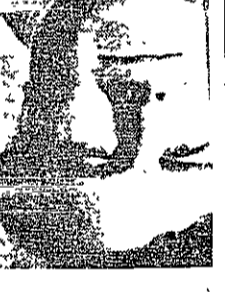
and a Special Force platoon. When the attack began at 4 am the Special Forces went straight to the house of the chief engineer, a Portuguese, and told him 900 kg of explosives had been brought in

to blow the dam: he would live if he showed them where to place the charges. He complied and he was due to arrive with his wife and daughter and four other Portuguese engineers at Jonas Savimbi's general headquarters in south-east Angola shortly after our departure for Britain. Savimbi said the Portuguese would be released shortly after they had given their stories to Western journalists.

Other corroborative accounts of military actions in the "area of influence" suggest that any serious analysis of the continuing Namibian-Angolan crisis required a recognition of the scale of civil warfare in Angola.

The MPLA and Cubans face a formidable task in reoccupying Unita's controlled area. Not only is the zone vast and heavily forested, but the rebels have built up a sophisticated infrastructure. Unita trading officers barter clothing and salt for villagers' surplus food and for ivory and animal skins. Unita agricultural specialists provide the villagers with seed and advice on farming techniques.

strip on Lupire Hill on January 24 and filmed Unita troops. It was still in Unita hands when we returned on February 20. We inspected a BRDM-2 armoured car on one of the battlefields between Lupire and Cutio Cuana-



Wen Fergusson is devising a system of administrative engagement to all constructive engagements. He said, was aimed at the long-term objective of US policy in South Africa.

South Africa movement through a process of evolutionary change away from apartheid addresses the needs of all groups, and minorities. Fergusson was brought on the road by Britain's continuing



war, and whose culture and language are so different?

But we'd got the basic picture. The civilians looked bewildered rather than happily liberated, and no wonder.

The MPLA rounds them up from the countryside and concentrates them in towns from where they can till the surrounding field to feed the garrison.

Unita moves them out and scatters them around its areas where they learn another line in political slogans. They're like chaff in the wind.

One happy outcome was that, despite Ben's predictions there had been no civilian casualties. The MPLA garrison was smaller than expected, 155 against intelligence assessments of 300.

Prisoners under interrogation said a company of troops had moved to

the garrison.

The capture of Cangonga was significant, said Ben, because it allowed Unita to punch a secure logistics line through to a regular battalion and several companies of guerillas who had already infiltrated 321 km north of the Benguela railway from the Cangonga area. One of Unita's 1983 military objectives is to push a corridor right up the centre of the country to where a salient of Zaire juts into north central Angola; this would cut off MPLA-held territory in the east from its areas in the west.

But Cangonga's main value was as Unita propaganda. The movement wanted to show that its soldiers were skilled and highly motivated and that they could strike successfully at MPLA targets deep in the heart of Angola. It also wanted

whole line of small towns Unita says it has taken in the last nine months north of Gago Coutinho to a point about 32 km south of the major MPLA/Cuban garrison at Luso.

We saw the victory at Cangonga and also visited Lupire, the site of a bigger battle last Christmas Eve. Lupire was captured by Unita from the MPLA in January 1982. It is little more than a hilltop trading post, but it has a strategic value outstripping its size because it has an airstrip and it commands a view in all directions over the surrounding countryside.

While we were in Angola an MPLA Defence Ministry statement on Luanda Radio said Lupire was still under MPLA control and that 300 Unita troops had died in the battle for the hilltop. We visited the air-

President Reagan's campaign against drugs and organised crime has been justified by a survey which shows that a third of prison inmates had used a drug when they committed the crime for which they were sentenced.

# Survey

# links

# drugs

# to crime

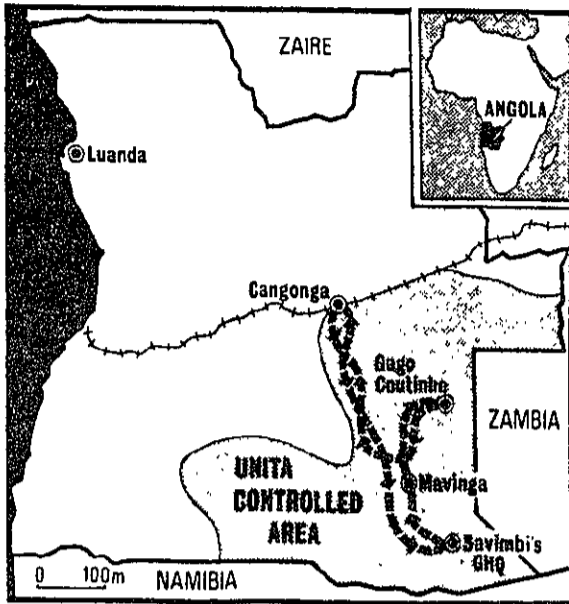
WASHINGTON — A survey of 12,000 prisoners in US jails has shown that about a third of them were under the influence of an illegal drug when they committed the crime for which they were sentenced.



These soldiers, who are there to keep an Arab trader, who is there to keep business off for simpler things amidst the

5

# Unita guerrillas win battle for Cangonga



GUERRILLAS manhandle a captured MPLA soldier.

We moved up to a transit base 48 km from the railway and there we were told that Cangonga, a garrison 128 km west of the major town of Luso, was the target.

A model of Cangonga and its approaches — five times the size of a table-tennis table — had been prepared by Lieutenant-Colonel Antonino Philipe, a reconnaissance specialist and a veteran guerrilla from Unita's fight against the Portuguese.

He had arrived a fortnight earlier to collate intelligence collected by guerrillas over several months.

There were several rows of concrete barracks, the railway station and a radio mast to the north of the railway line.

Houses, shops and a Roman Catholic church lay to the south and a little further south was a gravel air-

strip. Sandwiching the garrison to the north and south were strategic hamlets of tightly grouped mud and thatch huts for civilians.

Ben strode to and fro across the model, pointing out trench systems around the barracks and at each end of the airstrip.

His plan was this:

At first light 100 troops would launch a feint from the south, drawing the estimated 300-strong MPLA garrison in their direction.

The main attack by 300 Unita troops would follow from the darkness in the west.

One hundred and twenty troops of the battalion would be held in reserve. A company of 100 guerrillas would take position several kilometres to the west of Cangonga and another company to the east in case the MPLA tried to send in a relieving force.

But what about the MiG aircraft and Mi-8 helicopters at Luso? Surely they would be over Cangonga within minutes of learning of the attack?

"They know they get shot down by our anti-aircraft specialists. There is a Special Force unit near Luso with Sam-7s," we were told.

When asked about civilians in the town, Ben replied in his direct manner: "It will not be possible to avoid civilian deaths, but I have instructed my troops to do their best to keep civilian casualties low."

On February 10, at 5.30 am, we began the final day's march to Cangonga.

It was a dramatic sight as three lines of troops streamed across grassland in the river valleys. We stopped after three hours for a breakfast of cold rice and chicken.

Tension rose suddenly as a succession of shots rang out nearby.

Ben, though, hardly looked up from the chicken bone he was gnawing as he said: "It's probably an MPLA patrol doing some hunting." How far away? "A kilometre maybe."

But Lieutenant-Colonel Philipe and the major in charge of operations in Region 57 rapidly organised 30 guerrillas to pursue the patrol and, if necessary, kill them.

We did not move for four hours as the guerrillas continued to shadow the patrol, eventually established as between five and 10 men.

Ben now instructed that they should not be attacked — there was a risk that some might escape and raise the alarm.

It began to pour with rain, and the enforced delay meant we had to move towards our final position before the town in pitch darkness.

On February 11 at 3 am a single rifle shot signalled to Ben that all his forces were in position and we began our final short hike to Cangonga. The rain had stopped.

Just after 5 am Ben gave radio orders to the battalion's section officers to begin the attack.

We were about 3 km south-west of the town when the mortar and cannon fire began. Huge flames shot up in the distance, outlining buildings.

Then we began to hear the crackle of Kalashnikovs.

Walking in strict single file as a precaution against anti-personnel mines, we reached the Benguela railway, crossed it to the north and began closing the town.

To our right, huts were ablaze. To our left a building that was clearly the MPLA's arsenal was burning and exploding periodically with great violence, prompting us to hit the ground.

As we walked along the runway, Unita officers urged us to keep moving and not stop to film and take photographs.

The centre of the town was under Unita control but firefights were going on in all directions around, though we could not see the men involved. Concentrated firing came from about 30 m to the south.

Some MPLA soldiers had regrouped and launched a counter-attack against the command party.

Now we moved into the church which had been stripped of pews and altar and had been used as a military barracks. The troops had been sleeping on the floor — blankets had been flung aside and all personal belongings left behind in their flight as Unita's attack began.

We moved across the centre of the town where the Special Forces had taken possession of an 81 mm mortar abandoned by the MPLA.

Then, just past the modern school building which was devoid of furniture, there was a moment of horror.

Three Unita soldiers appeared dragging a body with the kind of respect normally accorded a stuck pig.

The body moved and emitted a groan. The MPLA soldier, who was barely 18, had a gaping head wound which looked fatal.

I shouted at the soldiers to put the boy down; he was dying.

Though they understood no English they responded to the shout by laying him face down in the dust.

When the opportunity arose we asked Ben what his policy was towards enemy wounded. The slightly wounded were treated and taken prisoner, he said. The badly wounded were left to die.

What would happen to the wounded boy? "We'll leave him."

## We wanted to help

Roberts asked Ben if his wounds could be treated, using the justified subterfuge that it would be good propaganda for Unita to be seen caring for the enemy injured.

Ben promised us the boy would be cared for and taken prisoner but in spite of later inquiries we received no further news of his fate.

Meanwhile the action continued.

Troops ransacked the town for every possible useful item of material while a Unita demolition squad began set about its destruction.

A large iron water tank that had fed the Benguela railway's great steam locomotives was blown up.

Then work began on the destruction of the railway line.

## Left burning huts

After six hours in Cangonga we left with Colonel Ben, accompanied by a platoon of Battalion 017, our logistics men and the soldiers of Special Force Gamba. We passed between burning huts as firefights still continued in the far distance.

It had been a day that was both professionally exhilarating and profoundly sobering.

A final analysis of the battle had to be made but a deep tiredness overcame us and it became almost impossible to put one foot in front of the other. We could not remember when we had last slept or eaten.

● The aftermath of the battle, the final part of the series, will appear in The Argus tomorrow.

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# Inside Angola: Africa's Vietnam

FRED BRIDGLAND,  
in the second of his  
series, gives the  
first on-the-spot  
account by a  
Western  
journalist of a major  
battle in Angola's  
civil war.

AT the headquarters of Unita's Military Region 57, just 64 km south of the Benguela railway, Colonel Ben-Ben Arlindo Pena introduced us, at a rally, to the battalion we would follow in its attack on an MPLA garrison.

The propaganda was powerful.

Young Angolan girls presented Ben, Gwynne Roberts of BBC Panorama and myself, with bunches of wild flowers as a choir of 50 women sang a soft African lullaby.

Battalion 017, their adrenalin pumping at the prospect of battle, launched into an electric song-and-dance routine.

### 'Your're dead'

"Cubans, if you hear a small noise you know Unita has arrived: if you hear a second, you're dead," said one song.

It was February 8, marking the anniversary of the day in 1976 when Dr. Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, ordered his forces to leave the towns and retreat to the forests in the face of a relentless Cuban Army advance through Angola.

"Those were dark days," said Ben in his oration.

"Today we can see the light. After seven years we've been running a marathon, but from now we begin to sprint. We've learned to deal with the planes and armoured cars of the Cubans and MPLA. What else have we to fear?"

On February 9 the assault force moved out — 520 soldiers of Battalion 017 armed with B-10 75 mm cannons, 81 mm mortars, RPG anti-tank missiles and, of course, AK 47 Kalashnikov rifles which the Soviets have bestowed in abundance on the peoples of the Third World.

Marching with them was our 45-strong bodyguard of Special Forces; our 50-strong logistics team; a unit of 25 explosives experts; an uncountable number of guerrillas and a long chain of boys and women, some with children on their backs, carrying rifles, mines, mortar bombs and anti-tank rockets on their heads.

French veterinary Academy for its work to eliminate the tsetse fly in Africa. — Sapa.

tourist attraction in the centre of the Simpson Desert. — Sapa-AP.

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dy Murphy was sec-  
in 10 hr 39 min 13 sec

Angolans, Cubans told to 'back off'

# Hostages face the worst, says Unita

(S) Star 21/3/83

**PRAGUE** — Czechoslovakia has been warned by Unita that if Cuba mounts a military operation with Angolan forces in a bid to release the 64 Czechs and 20 Portuguese snatched by the rebels earlier this month, the "worst could happen".

The official Czechoslovak news agency, Ceteka, reported yesterday that the Prague Government had asked Cuba to co-ordinate efforts to free its citizens captured by guerillas from an industrial complex in central Angola.

The captured technicians and their families, including 21 children, are in good health, Ceteka said quoting information received by the Prague authorities.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry was in constant contact with international organisations and governments of several countries, and a special emergency group has been set up in the Angolan Foreign Ministry, the agency added.

Several thousand Cuban soldiers are stationed in Angola helping government troops fight guerillas.

The Unita movement said on March 14 its guerillas had captured 20 Portuguese and the 64 Czechoslovaks two days earlier. Unita has offered to swap the Czech nationals for one Irish and six British mercenaries jailed in Luanda.

Yesterday in Lisbon a spokesman for the rebels asked the Prague Government to order Cuban and Angolan troops to call off a major offensive aimed at recovering the captives.

The Unita spokesman said Angola had mobilised all its forces and that Soviet-built MiG fighters were bombing areas through which the hostages may be passing.

A communique, said to have been signed by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, promised that all the children captured in the raid would be handed over to the Red Cross as soon the column, escorting them, reached "safe areas". — *Reuter*

● South Africa was willing to act as an intermediary, but there appeared to be no necessity for this, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said today. The Red Cross was in contact with all sides, and coping adequately.

● See Page 12

# New Angolan talks may lead to ceasefire <sup>(5)</sup>

The Star's Foreign News Service 21/3/73

PARIS — A third Cape Verde meeting between South Africa and Angola on Namibia will be held towards the end of the month to finalise the first phase of a ceasefire which could start on April 1, according to Angolan diplomatic sources in Paris.

The second meeting, held on Cape Verde's Iha da Sal, was downgraded by Pretoria from ministerial to senior official level.

"The Western Press has given an inaccurate account of the Pretoria-Luanda Cape Verde talks on Namibia up to now," an Angolan diplomat said.

"Pretoria agreed initially to send a high-level delegation, including several Ministers and generals, to the second Cape Verde meeting while Angola planned to do the same. But, at the last moment, Pretoria cancelled its arrangements, giving as its reason the Swapo infiltrations in a new drive against white farmers in northern Namibia."

"The result was that South Africa's delegation was headed by Mr Johannes van Dalsen, secretary-general of the Foreign Ministry, and his Angolan counterpart was Vice Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Moura," the diplomat said.

Luanda is still uncertain as to why Pretoria dragged its feet at that stage.

An April 1 deadline for a

ceasefire first phase could have been agreed at the second round of talks but it is felt in Luanda that a third round, at a higher level, will agree to such a move later this month.

Peter Honey of The Star's Windhoek Bureau reports that the chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), Mr Dirk Mudge, flew to West Germany at the weekend en route to the United States where he is to spend about 10 days.

Mr Mudge is visiting America at the invitation of the American Council for National Policy's foreign relations committee.

Among government officials he is expected to meet is the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

During his brief stay in West Germany Mr Mudge is to meet leaders of the CDU-CSU alliance, including Dr Frans-Josef Strauss.

Informed sources say Mr Mudge's primary aim is to raise foreign funds for his alliance.

From Washington comes a report that, on Saturday, South African and American officials concluded their discussions on Namibia without either side making a public statement.

The two teams met on Thursday and Friday to exchange views on Southern African issues.

The discussions were dominated by Namibia.

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This would entail bringing the health level and mortality rate of all races to parity and to the level in developed Western countries before the end of this century — only 17 years away.

By the year 2020 the fertility rate of the whole country should be brought to a parity of two children per woman on average, the report recommends.

New educational models and health services would have to be evolved; there would have to be a nationwide family planning effort launched by a multiracial family planning congress; population control would have to be given priority in all spheres of Government planning, but especially in education and housing.

### Squatter areas

The report recommends economic development programmes aimed at low-income groups, and urges co-ordination between authorities responsible for population and urbanisation planning

A key recommendation states that "if provision for housing in controlled squatter areas is contemplated, such provision be made in accordance with minimum standards, and on a temporary basis, to at least help create a climate for reaching these people with a view to population planning"

There is no specific recommendation on contraception, and it would appear that the committee regards a literacy programme and socio-economic upliftment as being by far the best way of coping with the crisis.

But it does call for the creation of a Population Planning Council which would administer the national population programme.

● See Page 3.

## ILO asked to help free 84 Unita hostages

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A column of Unita guerillas escorting 64 Czechoslovakian and 20 Portuguese hostages from central Angola into the south-east of the country has been surrounded by Angolan forces and is under constant air attack, a news agency in Portugal reported today.

The report has led to urgent moves in Geneva by Czech and Portuguese diplomats who have appealed for help to several countries and world organisations to secure the release of the hostages

The Czech Government, describing all its nationals in Unita hands as workers, has appealed to the International Labour Organisation to help out. A spokesman for the ILO said in Geneva its representative in Luanda has asked the Angolan authorities for further information about the abduction and the military operation that has been mounted against the rebels.

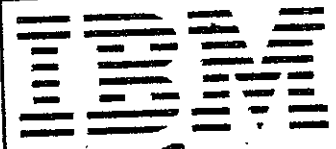
The 64 Czechoslovaks, including 21 children, were taken captive along with 20 Portuguese by Unita guerillas on March 12.

The Czech Government has also asked the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere, and the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, to intercede on behalf of the prisoners.

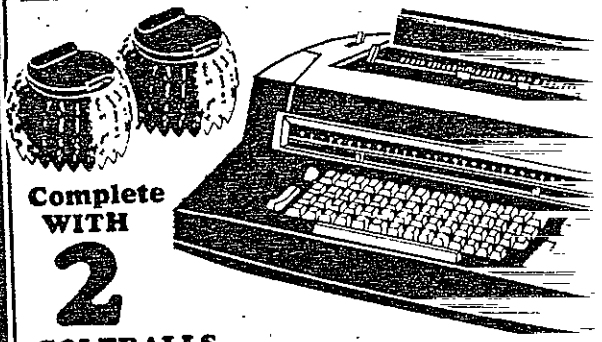
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## WINSTON'S CHARMER

Elizabeth II... Winston Churchill's Queen of Hearts. The story's in...

TODAY!

## WICKED ROLE

Who's starring in a remake of the scandalous film, The Wicked Lady? See Thursday's...

tonight!

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, in the only working political session since the visit...  
...to spend almost three hours...  
...at No 10 Downing Street review...  
...African problems as well as Zam...  
...and political ties with Britain...  
...and State visitors...  
...port yesterday and were greeted by the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester. They travelled by train to Victoria station where they were met by the Queen and Prince Philip.  
...Crowds watching their carriage ride to Buckingham Palace from the station were thinned by the sudden snap of icy and windy weather.  
...Yesterday afternoon he had tea with the Queen Mother — a traditional first-day appointment for all State visitors.

The Star Bureau

# Downed Helicopters Claims Unita

Step  
2-23/68  
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WASHINGTON — In a communique issued here today, the Unita movement said Angolan Government forces had lost two helicopters in attempts to rescue the 64 Czechoslovakian prisoners taken by Unita guerrillas on March 12.

The aircraft were identified as Alouettes with the communique quoting the names of five aircrew, all officers, and the registered numbers of the helicopters.

The communique was one of several reassessed worldwide by the radio which warned Czechoslovakia to call off Cuban and Angolan troops from chasing the Unita group that is escorting the hostages to "safe" areas under the control of Mr. Jonas Savimbi.

The other statements were issued in London and Lisbon with the British spokesman for the movement claiming that Angolan aircraft were strafing and bombing indiscriminately in huge areas in an attempt to cut off the Unita group.

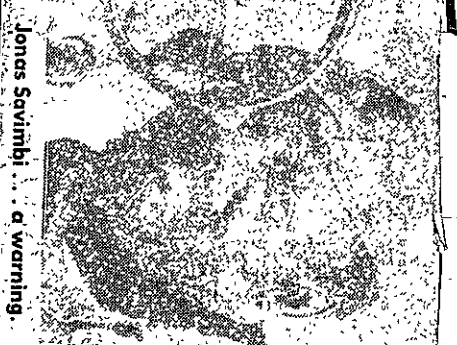
The Washington communique, said Unita was not "in conflict with the Czech people, but wanted to exchange some of the captives for seven British subjects being held in Luanda prisons."

The statement said the prisoners were not yet in that part of Angola controlled by the rebels but once they arrived, all the children in the party would be handed over to the International Red Cross.

"The question of children will not be subject to any negotiation, and their freedom will be based on humanitarian principles which Fidel Castro refuses to respect," it said.

The communique said any attempt by Cuban and Angolan forces to attack the Unita escort party could end in the loss of the hostages.

In London, Unita's Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Tito Chingunji, told a Press conference here yesterday that MIGs and helicopters were being used in the "massive" random bombing raids on Benguela, Bie, Cuando Cubango, and Huila provinces.



Jonas Savimbi ... of warning.



ANGOLA FM 28/3/83

**Unita's reach**

5

Unita's abduction of 64 Czechoslovakians and 20 Portuguese from an industrial complex in Angola is a surprising demonstration of its ability to strike effectively outside its traditional areas of support. It is also a propaganda coup of the first order that has reaped headlines around the world.

SA's involvement is peripheral but interesting. To have a Warsaw Pact government asking SA's help — even if indirectly, to rescue its nationals — must be highly satisfying to Pretoria.

In the event the Department of Foreign Affairs acted with neutral correctness. SA is quite willing to help, it says, but there appeared no necessity as the International Red Cross is coping adequately.

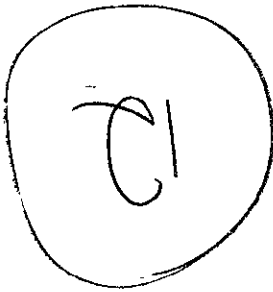
No doubt — but the chances are that a helping hand from Pretoria will eventually be necessary. Previous releases of Unita prisoners have been negotiated by the Red Cross and by Portuguese parliamentarians, but facilities on the Angolan border were provided by the SADF.

It may, of course, not come to that. Unita admits that the column escorting the prisoners has not yet reached safe territory and that the area through which it is passing is under attack from Luanda's airforce. Unita's claim to have shot down two heli-

copters indicates the column itself may be under attack.

What Unita has done is to establish the length of its reach at a time when SA has negotiated with the Angolan government and when more talks are expected.

In doing so it has reinforced its contention that no settlement on the Namibian Angolan border, which means no Namibian settlement, is possible unless Unita's Jonas Savimbi agrees.



# Meeting dwells on Angola

ROOM  
26/3/83  
5  
Mall Correspondent

LISBON. — The Foreign Ministers of Mozambique and Angola were among the speakers at the opening session yesterday of a three-day international conference of solidarity with the Frontline States held in a packed Lisbon theatre.

The three-hour public meeting dwelt on the crucial issues facing Southern Africa and the particular problems of the two former Portuguese colonies, Angola and Mozambique, whose Marxist regimes are under constant harassment from guerrilla movements.

Demonstrators opposing the conference, which is largely supported by Soviet-linked organisations, paraded with banners decrying Moscow's involvement in Africa outside the theatre.

The Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, in an interview published shortly before the opening session, accused South Africa of maintaining its "aggressiveness" against Angola and its support for the Unita rebels. "Despite this," the Minister added, "Swapo guerrillas have redoubled their actions inside Namibia and attracted stiff reaction from Pretoria."

A report from Angop, official Angolan news agency, published in Lisbon yesterday, warned South Africa that continued support for Unita could jeopardise progress in the bi-lateral talks between Angola and South Africa, which began in Cape Verde last December.

The two countries are due to meet at the same venue over the Easter weekend for a third round of talks.

Angop accused South Africa of using Unita as its "Trojan Horse" in the negotiations on ways of bringing peace to the region.

Earlier, the agency had warned that Angola might "revise its relations" with its main Western trading partners if they continued allowing Unita and other rebel groups to operate with impunity in those countries.

Angop said the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Portugal ignored Luanda's protests about rebel plotting in their countries. "Is it not just that Angola should reserve the right to revise its relations with countries which ignore the elementary rules of international co-existence?" the agency asked.

AN EMINENT American political scientist casts a fresh eye on the importance of Unita in a political settlement in Namibia. One man dominates ...Jonas Savimbi.

By JOHN MARCUM

UNITA leaders and guerrillas have become a significant factor in the complicated quest for an internationally sanctioned political settlement in Namibia.

In the eyes of many, Unita is synonymous with its leader, Jonas Malheiro Savimbi. It is Savimbi's tenacity, Savimbi's ambition and Savimbi's nationalism that define the movement.

Savimbi was born in 1934. His parents had been converted to Protestant Christianity in their youth. As a lay preacher, his father, Lote Savimbi, founded a series of small churches and schools along the Benguela railroad.

After the United Church sent him to Lisbon in 1958 to study medicine, the political police pressed Savimbi to inform on other Angolan students.

He refused and at the outset of 1961, shortly before anti-colonial insurgency broke out in Angola, fled to Switzerland, where he completed a licence in political and legal sciences.

Then as an associate of the Zaire (Congo)-based Bakongo leader, Holden Robert (1961-1964), and as head of his own movement (1966 onwards), Savimbi entered the realm of exile politics.

Characterised by intrigue, self-delusion, frustration and factional conflict, exile politics requires special gifts of guile, resilience and luck. Savimbi's survival attests to an uncommon endowment.

Along the way, he has surmounted many setbacks.

In August 1967, his guerrillas disrupted traffic on Angola's Benguela railroad, which carried significant amounts of Zaire's and landlocked Zambia's mineral exports to the sea and world markets.

He assured Zambian authorities he had sent orders not to cut the railroad but that the orders had arrived too late.

However, a combination of factors led the Zambian government to expel him.

But Unita did not die. In 1968, with the help of Namibian nationalists of the South West Africa People's Organisation, Savimbi successfully slipped back through Zambia into Angola.

He renounced exile and undertook to lead a war of attrition against Portuguese rule.

In due course, Savimbi's forces were challenged by rival anti-colonial guerril-



● Jonas Savimbi — now he's a key man in the Namibia power struggle.

las. Equipped with Soviet arms, the MPLA infiltrated from Zambia into eastern Angola. Superior weaponry and training gave the MPLA a distinct military advantage.

But with the military coup that toppled the Lisbon government of Marcello Caetano in 1974, the door to political decolonisation in Angola seemed to open.

Savimbi, who had always excelled in political as opposed to military strategy, seized the chance to win politically what lack of external support had made impossible militarily.

With profitable wisdom, he suggested the need for a period of political education to prepare Angolans for free elections and set out to organise broad political support.

But after the MPLA took control of the reins of the central government in 1976, Savimbi returned to the against-the-odds bush war of pre-independence, continuing a long-term strategy to prove that Unita was essen-

# The power of the Savimbi Myth

tion of an independent state (1974-75), Unita actively recruited white membership.

Of special relevance in the search for diplomatic solutions in Angola and Namibia are Unita's fluctuating relationships with Swapo and South Africa.

Swapo's traditional political base lies in the Ovambo community. Since access to Ovamboland from Swapo's exile headquarters in Zambia lies across south-east Angola, geography has provided a basis for Unita-Swapo collaboration, which for a full decade was close.

Collaboration persisted after South Africa intervened in Angola, but ended, according to Unita, in 1976 after Cuban forces drove into Swapo areas.

As he watched Soviet arms and Cuban instructors building the MPLA into a certain winner, Savimbi turned to South Africa.

Impressed by South African military power, convinced that Nato countries shared South Africa's determination to keep Angola free of Soviet influence and apparently believing that South Africa's policy of detente towards Zambia, Zaire and even Mozambique had reduced the liabilities of association with Pretoria, Savimbi took the plunge.

According to American intelligence sources, Unita undertook to provide information on Swapo bases as a quid pro quo for South African arms, instructors and commandos.

For reasons that were political rather than military, South African forces stopped short of taking Luanda.

Then, in the face of a growing Cuban expeditionary force that had been given international legitimacy by the threat of South African conquest, the South African military drew back into Namibia from where it has continued to provide Unita with logistical support and arms.

Despite all this, the affinities which underlay the long operational alliance, between Unita and Swapo still persist. Unita sources have recently quoted Savimbi as saying that he would expect Unita to have good relations with a future Swapo government.

For the MPLA in 1983 it may be difficult to decide whether a politically supple

Savimbi is more dangerous within or without. For the Soviet Union the entry of Unita into the Luanda government would be an embarrassing political setback.

For South Africa, a role for Unita in Luanda would vindicate the earlier decision to assure Unita's survival. And for the US, Unita par-

ticipation in the government would be perceived as a political gain.

As for Savimbi and Unita they could be expected, if brought into the government, to league with black nationalists in the MPLA in the quest of expanded power. If kept out, they could be expected to fight on, forcing

the retention of Cuban other foreign garrisons.

● Excerpts from 'The Politics Survival: Unita in Angola', by John A. Marcum, academic vice-chancellor of the University of California. Published by 'African Studies', a publication of the African Studies Programme of Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies.

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Vervaardig in Suid-Afrika

**Jonas Savimbi has friends who continually supply him with cash, arms, munitions, medical equipment and other support in his ongoing war against the MPLA government and their communist allies. But who are they? Stephen McQuillan and Joao Santa Rita speak to those who believe they know.**

Dr Jonas Savimbi — the Angolan Pimpernel — has friends as elusive as his whereabouts.

They supply the hardened Unita bushfighter with cash, arms, munitions, medical equipment and other support to help sustain his present successes in southern and eastern Angola.

It is not clear who these sympathisers are or to what degree they strengthen him and his estimated 15 000 hard-core fighters in their war against the MPLA Government in Luanda and its "imported" communist allies.

But a South African expert on international affairs said Unita was getting substantial amounts of cash from black African countries and that Morocco and Zaire had been mentioned.

Probably equally important was the American connection, he said, as the resistance movement was "quite clearly" receiving money from well-wishers in the US.

Other Western conservative organisations were also believed to be contributing to Unita and the presence of a representative of the guerillas in London indicated that this was so.

There had also been suggestions of a South African connection but it was not clear what, if anything, this involved.

Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, said that much of Unita's equipment dated back to the time of Chinese support and that, at the time of the civil war, there was South African support and US involvement.

Journalists in the country when the civil war broke out in 1975 said the withdrawing Portuguese army left behind large quantities of arms. Unita militiamen are armed with G-3 assault rifles, the standard issue of the Portuguese army.

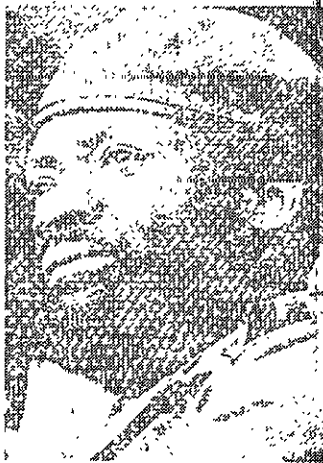
Professor Hough added that a Saudi Arabian connection had been reported and that the French were involved up to the time of the Mitterrand Government.

If Unita could get the foreign currency, it could easily buy weapons. There were many countries and dealers willing to sell to anyone who could pay for them.

Professor Hough said South Africa had never admitted that it supplied arms to Unita and Dr Savimbi had never claimed that he received them from South Africa.

But he had recently said he received food and medical equipment from this country.

## Savimbi and the sinews of war



Unita has also established a business operation within the movement to provide itself with cash.

This involves smuggling diamonds, ivory, and valuable teak out of Angola.

A British journalist who was recently in Angola with Unita based in Antwerp, had reports that a British diamond merchant,

It is known that teak logs from the forests of Angola's timber-rich Cuando—Cubango province have found their way to the South African market.

Dr Savimbi himself has admitted these operations but denies any official South African involvement.

# Vital rail

link hit,

<sup>ROOM</sup>  
claims ⑤

29/3/83  
Unita

LISBON. — Angola's main rebel movement yesterday said it had attacked four towns along the British-owned Benguela railway earlier this month as part of an offensive against economic and military targets.

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) issued a communique in Lisbon giving details of the attacks which, if confirmed, would mean the guerrillas had cut the main supply route to Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa), Angola's second city.

Guerrillas occupied the town of Quinjeje on the eastern edge of Benguela province last Tuesday a week after attacking the nearby town of Babaera further west along the line, the statement said.

Until the Angolan civil war broke out in 1975, the Benguela railway was the main outlet for exports of copper, cobalt and manganese from Zaire and Zambia.

The line runs through the territory of the Ovimbundu tribes of central plateau, the most densely-populated part of Angola from which Unita has traditionally recruited its supporters.

The railway is normally heavily guarded by Angolan and Cuban troops and it is used to run supplies up to the important garrison city of Huambo.

According to the communique the offensive was a follow up to a raid in the same area on March 12, during which guerrillas captured 64 Czechoslovaks and 20 Portuguese technicians. — Sapa-  
Reuter.

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By Stephen Frequentin

he "forgotten" FNLA guerilla movement appears to be regrouping and active in northern Angola. Reports an American television journalist who recently visited the area.

The movement, which has not played a major part in the Angolan power struggle for years, seems to be making its new presence felt with such effect.

Stan Atkinson, a presenter and reporter for CTR TV, Sacramento, California — part of NBC — said the guerillas claim to control or have influence in six of the 14 provinces.

If appeared they had disrupted food supplies which had contributed to famine in Angola's provincial cities.

"The guerillas have the support of people in the provinces and have hammered the MPLA to maintain control over food supplies. We saw a map who were united, doing something effective."

# 'Forgotten' FNLA still a force in Angola

Guerillas told him they could take him within 70 km of the capital.

He had already travelled with the guerillas 40 km into the country and visited several operational areas.

"We were with a group of guerillas for five days and planned to go deeper into the country, but there had been a major ambush of an MPLA convoy and FNLA was regrouping at great strength," he said.

Atkinson, who was travelling with his cam-

eraman, Gilbert Rios, and 20 of the bushfighters, was in Angola 11 days ago.

"We were laden with TV equipment and this made progress difficult," he said. "Nobody seems to have paid much attention to FNLA for some time. But what we found impressed us."

"Nobody is helping these guerillas with funds or equipment. Having said that, they are managing extremely well."

Their weapons were captured from the MPLA and Cubans. Photographs taken by Rios show West German G-3 assault rifles, Russian AK auto-

matic rifles, Israeli Uzi submachine-guns, Belgian FN rifles and Russian Siminov rifles.

On the face of it, FNLA seemed a rag-tag outfit. "But one thing seems clear from our visit. FNLA is alive and well and functioning effectively in Angola — with good results," he said.

Atkinson was told that FNLA was 14 000 strong, with about 6 500 trained, active guerillas. They were all inside Angola.

"They are guerillas in the true sense of the word," he said. "They try to avoid contact with the MPLA until they are ready to ambush."

He said Unita was in a much better position than FNLA internationally and had support and weapons from outside — benefits not available to FNLA forces.

FNLA was also handicapped by having its leadership based outside the country.

The visit took two months to arrange. Atkinson would not say how he entered Angola or which areas he visited.

## Unita captives face 1 000 km march

The Star's Foreign News Service

ISBON — Angolan Government troops appear to have effected a "stand-off" with Jujia guerillas who are marching with a group of 84 prisoners, according to the fighting Portuguese newsagency, O Dia.

It gave its source as "reliable informants in Luanda."

The newspaper said that a government MIG fighter plane had overflown the column of 800 guerillas and their hostages on March 18 in the central Angolan mountains of Chikuma, south of Upper Culumbeia, near where the hostages were taken.

The group was later surrounded by government MPLA troops. But, the paper said, the Angolans decided not to mount a military operation against the "for humanitarian rea-

# Shadowing MPLA force keeps hands off hostages

1 000 km to Unita's rear guard base at Kuando Kubungo in the south-east of Angola. The group includes 17 women and 42 children.

The report said the hostages were in good health, but that the

Cross in Switzerland last week.

It has proposed an exchange for seven British mercenaries imprisoned in Luanda.

The Portuguese Government has also been active. The Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo



Yasser Arafat

## PLO talks with king postponed

BAGHDAD — PLO leader Yasser Arafat postponed his talks on Middle East peace with Jordan's King Hussein for the second time in two days — and met Iraqi leaders here yesterday.

## Howa affair won't influence MCC ballot

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The refusal of a passport to Sacos president Mr Hassa Howa will not influence the ballot of MCC members on whether to restore links with South Africa.

That is the view of those engaged in the fight to get the Springboks back into world cricket — and an MCC tour would be the first skirmish in that battle.

Campaign leader, MP Mr John Carlisle said: "MCC members will base their judgment on the actions of the English cricket authorities rather than on the deeds of the South African Government."

"There must have been some sort of internal security reason for refusing Mr Howa his passport and I would not presume to question that decision."

"But what I will question is this sudden eagerness of Mr Howa to come to Britain to de-

## High costs force US grand prix

# De Beers tread carefully as

By Stephen McQuillan

Angolan diamonds — mined with the indirect help of the giant De Beers organisation — are being spirited away as smuggling runs rife.

But the world's biggest diamond empire is loath to discuss the problem for what appear to be sensitive political reasons.

A De Beers spokesman said he could not comment on reports of smuggling in north-east Angola. "This is a matter for the Angolan Government," he said.

He denied mines were run jointly by the Angolan Government and De Beers, but admitted the organisation helping Angola mine diamonds was "a De Beers offspring."

It is not clear how extensive the smuggling operations are, but they are unlikely to have any serious effect on De Beers.

The report from Angola said a British diamond merchant based in Antwerp had flown to Angola to "buy Unita diamonds".

Some had apparently been panned from Angola's rivers, but others had been smuggled

# Diamond smugglers hit Angola hard

out of mines in the north-east, according to the merchant. He said he was heading for a jungle meeting with rebel commander Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The company involved in helping the Angolans mine diamonds is Mining and Technical Services (Mats), which is incorporated in Liberia and has offices in London and Lichtenstein.

Mats is believed to be supplying technicians, engineers and manpower. It entered the country after independence to put the industry back on its feet.

It is believed Mats supplies expertise in return for allowing

De Beers to market diamonds through the Central Selling Organisation.

"The Central Selling Organisation paves the way for Mats to go into a country," said the De Beers spokesman.

"Mats exists to provide technical services and operates separately from this office."

De Beers, who were involved in mining diamonds in Angola for about 40 years before independence, produced more than 2 million carats a year in the seventies.

But production fell catastrophically after the civil war.

"De Beers' shareholding was less than one percent at the time of independence," said the De Beers spokesman.

It is believed Angola then approached various sources to help put the industry back on its feet.

The spokesman said there were no South Africans working in Angola, but reports in 1979 suggested South African mechanics, electricians and experts in direct recovery were working in Angola on British passports.

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# Kaunda offers to 'help settle' Angolan civil war

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*Murray*

11/4/83



SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON—Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, in the second day of his official talks here, said yesterday that he would be prepared to help negotiate a settlement between Angola's MPLA Government and its Unita opponents.

Such a settlement is now regarded by Administration officials as a critical first step in a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, which in turn has become a precondition of South West African independence.

Dr Kaunda added, however, that he would become involved only at the MPLA's invitation. 'If President dos Santos said "help us find a political solution", we might help. But we cannot do anything until then.'

The Zambian leader was speaking at a breakfast hosted by the Georgetown Centre for Strategic and International Studies. His remarks coincided with a growing realisation within the Administration that Angola's civil war must be settled if there is any hope of implementing UN resolution 435 in South West Africa.

## Unita

It is reliably understood the recent talks between the State Department and a high-level South African delegation here dealt almost exclusively with the Unita issue.

Dr Jonas Savimbi's continuous military successes, including the capture of 64 Czechoslovaks on March 12, have brought home to the US that there can be no movement on the Cuban problem until Unita is somehow accommodated.

Dr Kaunda, who has publicly reiterated the front-line State position against linking independence of the territory with the departure of Cuban forces, and who made the point very firmly in his talks on Wednesday with President Reagan, is in an embarrassing position.

Privately, he sympathises strongly with Dr Savimbi and is very anxious to see the Cubans out. But as he pointed out in a recent letter to the Unita leader, there is little he can do.

He refused to be drawn further yesterday on the topic of MPLA-Unita reconciliation, and defended the Cuban presence as the MPLA's only resort against the South African forces in southern Angola.



# Angola claims 20 <sup>21</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>83</sup> Unita rebels killed (5)

LISBON — Angola said yesterday it had repulsed an attack by rebel Unita guerillas in the centre of the country, killed 20 of them and accepted the surrender of leaders of another rebel group, the FNLA, in the north.

The official news agency, Angop, said Unita had attacked a hydro-electric station at

Camacupa, in the central Bie province.

Unita rebels attacked a bus travelling between Chipata and Huambo on March 22 killing 25 civilians, the agency said.

Eight leaders of the FNLA had surrendered on the border with Zaire on March 10. — Sapa-Reuter.



Soviet aid to black states takes the form of cash, technicians and troops — the latter shown training for battles to come.

By John D' Oliveira  
The Star Bureau

**WASHINGTON** — There are almost 39 000 Communist soldiers, military advisers and economic technicians in South Africa's neighbouring states of Angola and Mozambique.

This is one of the points made in the latest State Department assessment of Soviet and East European aid to the Third World, published in Washington.

The statistics deal with 1981 and show an overall sharp drop — from 15 000 million dollars in 1980 to 8 000 million dollars in 1981 — in Russian military agreements with so-called Third World countries.

However Moscow's military sales to sub-Saharan Africa increased to a record level of 1 900 million dollars in 1981 as Soviet military relations

# 39 000 Reds aid SA's neighbours

*Star 4/14/83*

with key clients "matured" and as Moscow consolidated its position with pledges of greater arms support.

In contrast, economic agreements with the area reached only 125 million dollars — although there were some indications that Russia was considering increasing its economic support for Africa.

In Southern and Central Africa, most Russian and other Communist aid went to Angola and Mozambique. ● Angola currently has a ten-year 2 000-million dollar economic co-operation agreement

with Russia.

However this is insufficient to assist Angola to economic recovery and even the presence of 10 500 Communist technicians has not been enough to bring production of basics to pre-war levels.

While there was criticism in Angola and resentment of Communist exploitation of the economy, Luanda had signed with several Communist countries to move ahead with economic projects that had been under discussion for some time.

Bulgaria would build assembly and maintenance shops for

road transport equipment and complete a project to process rock phosphates.

Czechoslovakia would provide credits for unidentified projects and East Germany had agreed to aid energy and mining projects.

There were 23 000 Cuban and 1 600 Russian and East European troops and military advisers in Angola in addition to 6 500 Cuban and 3 900 Russian and East European economic technicians in the country.

In addition, 1 655 Angolan students and 180 military officers were being trained in Russia and Eastern Europe.

There were 1 000 Cuban and 550 Russian and East European military advisers and soldiers in the country, together with some 1 000 Cuban and 1 800 Russian and East European economic technicians.

A total of 2 535 academic students and 530 military officers were studying in Russia and Eastern Europe

## DIRECT LINKS

Tanzania, with 2 125 military officers training in Russia and Eastern Europe in 1981. And Zambia, with 600, were the only other Southern African countries with direct military links to the Communists.

In addition, Russia and its East European allies had 200 economic technicians in Zambia and 475 in Tanzania.

Russia and Eastern Europe also accommodated 80 academic students from Botswana, 45 from Lesotho, 450 from Tanzania and 335 from Zambia.

● Mozambique considered Communist countries its natural allies. South African cross-border raids and intensified South African supported dissident activities in 1981 had pushed Mozambique to greater dependence on Russia and its allies for security assistance.

Communist countries had not gained much influence over Mozambique's economic affairs because Maputo had followed more pragmatic policies and had encouraged Western aid, trade and investment.

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Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification. Univer

# 'Forgotten' FNLA hits hard — claim

ARGUS 5/4/83  
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## American TV team tells of Angola operations

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The "forgotten" FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) appears to be regrouping and active in northern Angola, according to reports by American television journalists who have just visited the area.

The guerrilla movement, which has not played a major part in the Angolan power struggle for years, seems to be making its new presence felt with striking effect.

Mr Stan Atkinson, a reporter for KCRA-TV of Sacramento, California — part of the National Broadcasting Company — said the guerrillas claimed to control or have influence in six of the country's 14 provinces.

It appeared they had disrupted food supplies, which had contributed to famine in provincial cities.

Mr Atkinson was told that up to 5 000 people had starved to death.

"The area they claim to control is productive in terms of agriculture. The FNLA are well fed. Luanda probably couldn't get the food out of there," he said.

It also means the Cubans and Russians have failed to re-supply Luanda with essential food.

"The guerrillas have the support of people in six provinces and have hammered the MPLA (the ruling party) to maintain control over food supplies. We saw men who were united, doing something that was effective," Mr Atkinson said.

Mr Atkinson travelled with his cameraman, Mr Gilbert Rios, and 20 of the bush fighters.

"No one seems to have paid much attention to the FNLA for some time. But what we found impressed us."

He said weapons were captured from the MPLA and Cubans. Photographs taken by Mr Rios showed West German G-3 assault rifles, Russian AK automatic rifles, Israeli Uzi submachine-guns, Belgian FN rifles and Russian Siminov rifles.

On the face of it, the FNLA seemed "a rag-tag outfit" said Mr Atkinson.

### Results

"But one thing seems clear from our visit: the FNLA are alive and well and functioning effectively in Angola with good results."

Mr Atkinson was told the FNLA was 14 000 strong with about 6 500 trained, active guerrillas. They were all inside Angola.

He said Unita, the guerrilla movement active in the south of the country, was in a much better position than the FNLA internationally and had support and weapons from outside — benefits not available to the FNLA forces.

(2) 10/11/85

## Unita issues health report on prisoners

PARIS. — Unita, the anti-Marxist Angolan guerrilla group, yesterday issued a statement on the health of 82 Czech and Portuguese nationals captured last month.

Unita said on March 14 it was willing to exchange the prisoners, including 64 Czechs, for government prisoners in Luanda. The International Red Cross was

asked to act as intermediary.

The Unita spokesman in Paris said at present the matter was at a standstill. The offer, he said, still stood.

A statement signed by Mr Paulo Da Costa Chindombe of Unita's health services said 29 of the prisoners were healthy, 26 physically exhausted, 12 suffering from

dysentery, nine from fever and six from gastritis.

To ensure the health of the prisoners and to protect them from ambushes, the statement said, they had been divided into six groups. One group, made up of the 26 weakest, was taken to a "safe zone." The others were to be gathered at Unita's central base by April 20. — Sapa-AP.

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# Ceasefire could cut off Savimbi from supplies

13/4/83

By BRUCE STEPHENSON  
London Bureau

UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, in a London TV broadcast on Monday night, confirmed he obtains vital supplies from South West Africa.

In a rare interview filmed by the BBC inside Angola, the leader of the small guerilla army fighting the Marxist MPLA regime said Unita might have a few problems on its hands if the ceasefire he understood was being negotiated between South Africa and Angola had the effect of sealing the South West Africa border.

"We are getting a lot of supplies from a lot of countries. But the only door we have to get those supplies into Angola, is through Namibia. I think if that border is closed it will give us some headaches. From Namibia we are getting diesel, and many facilities. We are getting weapons and medical supplies from other countries.

"We have information that the ceasefire agreement, which was prepared previously on Sal (Cape Verde), went beyond what the West thinks, so we are a little worried."

Dr Savimbi added he understood the provisions were for a ceasefire between South

African security forces and the MPLA and the retreat of Cuban and Swapo forces to a line somewhat less than 200 kilometres from the Angola (South West Africa) border. Unita's concern is that a ceasefire would relieve some MPLA divisions which could be used against Unita.

His comments featured in the "Panorama" programme showing dramatic filmed coverage of Unita successes along the Benguela Railway line shot by reporter Gwynne Roberts during a two-month, 3 200km journey with the guerillas into the Angolan war zone.

Dr Savimbi expressed confidence that Unita would continue to receive support from friendships it had forged since the disastrous invasion of Angola by South Africa in 1976.

He was insistent that his Unita troops were doing the fighting against the MPLA and not the SADF, and that Unita could continue if South Africa withdrew support.

"If the Cubans had not come to Angola we Angolans and Africans could have solved the problem. But today the problem is beyond the capabilities of the OAU and Africa to solve. We are part of a very big problem we have to resolve," Dr Savimbi said.

# Savimbi can carry on without SA's backing

LONDON — Unita chief Dr Jonas Savimbi said in a British television interview that his movement could continue its guerilla war against the Angolan government even if South Africa withdrew support.

His comments came in the BBC Panorama programme screened this week, which featured dramatic filmed evidence of Unita successes shot by reporter Gwynne Roberts during a two-month, 3 200 km journey with the guerillas into the Angolan war zone.

Panorama presenter Fred Emerey said: "Despite the presence of an estimated 20 000 to 30 000 Cuban troops in Angola, Savimbi's forces are now pushing into the more densely populated regions in central Angola, attacking at will the Benguela Railway..."

"After a series of fierce battles with MPLA and Cuban troops Unita has doubled the territory under its control and now claims to move at will through a region roughly equivalent in size to the United Kingdom."

But Emerey said the Unita advances had come at a particularly sensitive time because for the past seven years South Africa had been vital to the movement's existence.

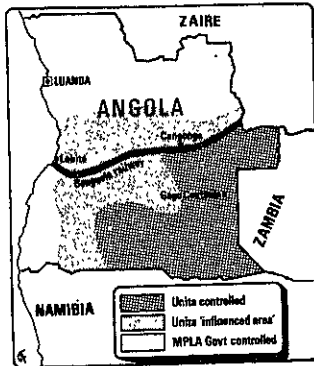
Referring to pressures for a SWA/Namibian settlement, he said: "This time the Americans are pushing the South Africans to make a deal with the Angolan government to secure the withdrawal of the Cubans."

"If the deal worked out the Luanda government would agree to stop guerillas from Swapo using camps inside Angola to raid across the border, while South Africa would have to agree to cease supporting Savimbi's forces."

Pressed about what would happen to Unita if South Africa and Angola struck such a deal, Dr Savimbi admitted that he was "a little bit worried" but he insisted that he would be able to continue his guerilla war.

The Unita leader rejected suggestions that history might repeat itself and the movement could find itself as it did dur-

**South Africa's backing has been vital to Unita's successes, but with the pressure on for a Namibian settlement a deal between SA and the Luanda government is likely — a deal which will create problems for the rebels.**



ing the Angolan civil war, suddenly without supporters.

"At that time we did not have our own friends. The friends we had were friends of our friends. Today we have created our own friends, they understand us and they believe in what we are doing. I don't believe they will drop us as they did in 1976 when they did not know us."

"Secondly, we have gained experience and we have troops. Our people understand why we must fight for this cause and I think our people will not be demoralised as happened in 1976."

"So I don't think an agreement will upset the plan of our own war."

Dec 13/14/83  
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Pressed about what sort of support he would lose, Dr Savimbi said: "I think we are getting a lot of support from various countries, but as you know the only door that we have to get that support into Angola is through Namibia."

"If that border is closed it will give us some headaches, but anyway we will have to find an alternative."

In his filmed report with Unita inside Angola, Roberts showed guerilla forces capturing a settlement on the Benguela Railway and holding a village which is on an important access route to Zambia.

Other sequences showed a Unita medical team performing an operation, mechanics repairing vehicles and an English diamond dealer from Holland buying diamonds from the movement.

"He represents big business interests in Western Europe who are ready to invest heavily in Angola should Unita win," said Roberts.

Roberts said Unita received supplies from various countries, including South Africa, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Egypt. Secret backing also came from Zambia and Zaire.

Roberts said he was flown to Unita's secret base camp in south-eastern Angola in an aged Viscount on a route protected from Angolan and Cuban MiG fighters by ground batteries of Soviet-made SAM-7 missiles.

"The journey had begun at an African capital many hours to the north and most of Unita's top foreign representatives were with me on the plane," he said.

Unita also admitted having taken 64 Czechs and 20 Portuguese it captured into the Angolan bush.

And in the first news to emerge since the capture a Unita spokesman told Panorama that a group of the hostages was now seriously ill, suffering from dysentery, fever and exhaustion.

Twenty-five of them had been split off from the main group, many for treatment in a bush hospital, he said. — Sa'a.

April 14, 1983

53

# Captives are ill — claim

ROM  
14/4/83

VIENNA. — Prague newspapers reported yesterday that most of the 64 Czechoslovaks captured last month by anti-government guerrillas in Angola were suffering from exhaustion and illness.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, Mr Bohuslav Chroupek, has renewed a plea to the UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar to secure the release of the captives, said the official news agency, Ceteka.

The newspapers said the Czechs, including 15 women and 21 children, were being forced to walk up to 20km daily in rain through inhospitable terrain in southern Angola.

Twelve people were suffering from diarrhoea, nine had fever, and six had stomach ailments, while 26 were suffering from physical exhaustion.

The anti-government Unita has indicated it wanted to hold all or some of the group as hostages to be exchanged for guerrillas captured by the Angolan authorities, Ceteka said.

The agency said the Czechs and a group of Portuguese taken captive with them, had been split into six groups and were heading for Unita bases. — Sapa Reuter.

cc / (7)

Bochard

Escorting firms have a scale advantage over new comers in that their technology and mechanisation is more advanced. They have already reached the minimum point on their LMC and are generally larger than the new comers.

(2) Scale Advantage

# Czechs refute Unita's claims

D. N. S. Label  
15/4/83  
5

NEW YORK — Czechoslovakia has refuted Unita claims that its captives in Angola are in good health and has insisted that most are ill — some gravely.

Of 66 Czech men, women and children seized on March 13, "only 29 are still in normal health, "according to a Czech statement that branded the group's continued detention "shocking and unprecedented."

"In view of this serious physical condition of the seized persons and the alarming fact that 21 of them are small children, the Czechoslovak Government stresses again the extraordinarily grave humanitarian problem of this situa-

tion," it asserted.

The statement was released at the United Nations, where officials have said that South Africa has been cooperating with a request for help from Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar. The Czechs first turned to the UN as go-between and South Africa, in turn, suggested that the International Red Cross was the best negotiating forum.

In its latest statement, Czechoslovakia dropped all political rhetoric and directly referred to "Unita" without adding any conditional or perjorative phrase. Unita has admitted to holding 64 Czechs — two fewer than the Czech Government total. — DDC.



Star 6/11/78

## Unita warns of danger to hostages in attack

LISBON — The 64 Czech and Portuguese hostages held by Unita will perish if Angolan and Cuban forces attack the guerilla troops holding them in Bie, Moxico and Cuando Cubango, a Unita spokesman has warned here.

The statement is seen as confirmation that the hostages and their captors are on the run in these areas.

Information given to Unita forces by local inhabitants had enabled the guerillas to avoid direct confrontation and to protect the lives of their prisoners, he said.

The spokesman also claimed that none of the captives is seriously ill and that the first group will arrive at an unspecified Unita base on Wednesday.

# Trade with West may be key to Angola's next move

(5) C. Times 18/4/83

LONDON. — Last week there appeared yet again on British television an account of a media-man's long visit to that part of Angola in which the forces of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement are able to move at will. It is apparently a huge area, practically three-quarters of the country by some accounts, or just about half according to others.

In recent days Unita has been on the offensive and has been extending the area in which it has this apparently free movement, throwing back the inefficient government forces of Fapla even further than they have been before. There was even mention of a possibility that Unita might make a move to complete its occupation and take Luanda.

## Optimism

Now there is a suggestion that this optimism among the Unita forces has received a sudden check. Dr Savimbi appeared before the cameras to admit that he had received information from allies abroad and from "papers" that had fallen into his hands that his chief supplier of arms, South Africa, may be on the point of letting him down and ceasing to supply his forces with the generous amount of modern arms and provisions that has kept them going so actively for the last seven years.

The supply has even included the industrial equipment required for making running repairs to guns and transport. For international political reasons, we were left to understand, South Africa may be going "to run out on Unita".

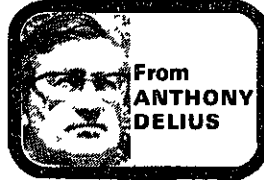
It seems fairly obvious that South Africa must be Unita's main supplier. Dr Savimbi's men appear to be fully in charge of a

great deal of scrub and light sandy area on the south-eastern side of Angola right up to the border with Namibia and the Caprivi Strip.

This makes a marvelous bridgehead for transmitting any amount of arms and provisions. No doubt quite an amount of supplies must pass over to the rebel Angolans across the immensely long border with Zaire, a country which has considerable obligations to America, which also sends Unita part of its weapons requirements.

And it is even reported that Saudi Arabia sends what it can, via this route. Whispers have it that some small contributions

Their supplies from South Africa must be regular and plentiful, even if economically used. Without such supplies Unita would simply peter out. Even so, the continued



existence of Unita in the field is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of modern guerilla war in Africa. Its leaders control, and to some extent administer, the territory of about four million Ovimbundu (rela-

prise points to a certain amount of anti-government complicity.

Then again there is the remarkable inability of the Cubans and the East European military advisers and instructors to make any notable improvement among the official forces.

These seem to be amazingly inefficient in dealing with the Unita soldiers, who appear to be able to maintain themselves and advance on government positions many hundreds of miles beyond their bases. This inadequacy in training ability seems to be the mark of Cuban and Russian military men in Africa.

The failure of the Ethiopian army to break the Eritrean forces no matter how great a superiority in numbers the Ethiopian soldiers may have in addition to the amount of back-up and training given them by Cuban and Russian instructors, is a notable case in point.

Of course in Angola the Unita forces at least have their left flank protected by conscript and professional South African forces as well as by experienced guerillas, well-provided with aircraft and artillery.

## Fapla failure

The government forces must be distracted by continual expectation of the South Africans making diversions or incursions during their operations against the Unita troops. But the Fapla men should be able to depend on the professionalism of Cuban regulars.

The explanation given for the continued Fapla failure to succeed in beating Unita out of the field is that the best Cuban and Fapla forces are busy in the north, in Cabinda, protecting the American oil-men in their operations, as well as on guard round the capital, Luanda, and Lobito, the main port, ensuring the safety of the government and the handling of essential exports and imports.

How is it then that the Unita leaders feel it necessary to voice fears that the South Africans will

desert them and leave them unsupplied against the Cuban and Russian supplies and advisers?

The sad truth is that whereas the Unita forces and the South Africans have effective possession of the greater part of the country, the government and its military support maintain possession of the main part of the economy.

The government controls the main part of the central part of Highlands and all the coast worth having. All the coast from the Cabinda in the far north to below Mossamedes in the south is either already producing oil or is regarded as potentially oil-rich.

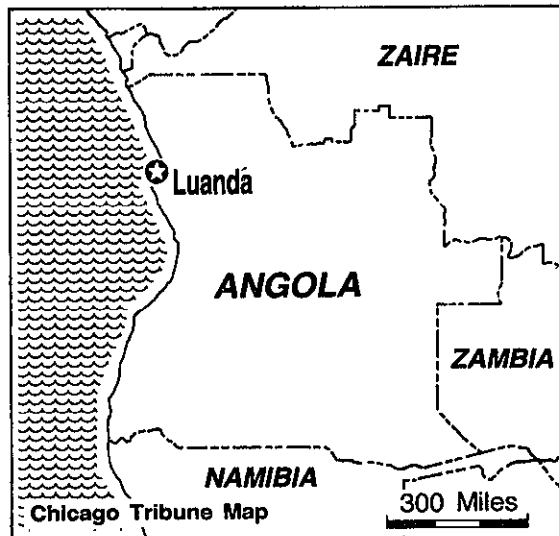
And way up in the north there is a considerable amount of diamond deposits from which, with the help of South African expertise, the Angolans are mining a handy contribution to their revenues. If it were not for this oil and these diamonds the Angolan economy would be in a very parlous condition indeed.

The oil wells of Angola are already producing 135 000 barrels a day with good hopes of production rising to 300 000 barrels a day. This along with the diamonds, and considerable quantities of sugar and coffee as an added possibility, makes the Angolan government anxious to do trade with the West.

In spite of their marxist affiliations, the temptation to get out of the communist "hegemony" is great for the Angolan rulers. In fact, for the group of them that is more interested in uncommitted African nationalism than remaining tied to marxism, the urge to become neutral in international politics is very strong indeed.

Couple this with the possibility of sending their unpopular Cuban military protectors back home in some deal with the Americans whose nationals pump out most of the oil in any case, and the sands of loyalty to Moscow become very shifty indeed.

The South Africans who would like to be included in the deal with the Americans are also suspected by Unita of being likely to be more accommodating to the American point of view than careful of Unita's aims and objects in Angola.



are made from neighbouring Zambia. But it is generally admitted that the bulk of Unita's fighting necessities reach it from South Africa.

Added to which Pretoria is fairly reliably reported to have a battalion of its own forces fighting in Angola alongside the Unita group, and this formation will have to be supplied, so why not include help for Unita in these regular "drops" across the Zambesi.

Certainly there is no question of Unita being able to last out against 19 000 Cubans and 50 000 Fapla troops, all adequately supplied with arms from Russia and Cuba simply by using captured enemy ammunition, weapons, transport and petrol.

tives of Namibian Ovambu).

They must depend to a great extent for basic provisions on what these village people can produce out of what is mainly rather poor soil, served by an erratic rainfall.

Although the MPLA government in Luanda contends that Unita keeps this territory and all these villages and villagers in order by brutal terror tactics, the Unita forces must be able to rely on a certain amount of popular compliance and willing provisioning from their tribal relatives, as well as their compliance in keeping quiet about headquarters and marshalling points.

The number of times that Unita is able to take government forces by sur-

# Savimbi in call for new swop deal on hostages

20 APR 1983

LISBON — Angola's Unita guerilla movement has warned that negotiations for freeing 84 Czech and Portuguese hostages would be "difficult and slow" and made new prisoner swop demands.

But the anti-communist rebels, in a statement issued in Lisbon yesterday, also said 21 children among the captives would be freed "immediately".

The statement reiterated Unita demands that seven British mercenaries held in a Luanda prison be freed in exchange for "some" of the Czechs.

But the statement included new demands. It said a Czech woman doctor, Maria Hudeckova, will be freed only if Afghanistan releases French physician Philippe Augoyard (35), who was captured by Soviet troops last January and jailed on charges of spying and aiding Islamic rebels.

The movement also altered earlier statements by saying "some" of the 20 Portuguese hostages would remain in Unita hands on suspicion of having collaborated with Disa, Angola's security police.

The statement said an International Red Cross commission would be allowed to visit the captives, but only after they were all reunited at Unita's central base.

The 21 hostage children, apparently Czech and Portuguese, would be freed "immediately", it said without specifying when or where.

The "negotiations to free the (other) Czechs will be difficult and slow," the statement said, adding that Unita continued to be "understanding and open to all proposals".

The 84 hostages were seized on March 12 in a rebel attack on the Alto Catumbela cellulose complex. The captives are industrial technicians and their families.

In earlier statements, Unita said the hostages had been split up into several groups to help elude the chase mounted by government forces backed by Cuban troops.

Since the attack on the industrial centre — about 400 km

south of Luanda in Benguela province — the guerillas have been force marching their captives southeast to Unita safe areas.

An earlier statement said the first group, apparently the healthiest and strongest, would arrive in Unita-controlled zones, some 500 km from Alto Catumbela, today.

The Unita spokesman in Lisbon, Mr Fernando Wilson dos Santos, told reporters he could not estimate when all the hostages would reunite and he declined to identify the base they were marching to.

"They are taking different routes and the reunion will not be quick, not in two or three days," he said.

The latest Unita statement, signed by the movement's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, said the movement was not insensitive to clemency calls by UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Pérez de Cuellar. It also said it did not want to ignore the efforts of the Red Cross with whom the rebels have cordial relations.

Unita said the demand involving Afghanistan was made "in solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the heroic Afghan people".

"We can not forget that the Czechs are direct allies of the Soviets, who, with Cuban help, seek to expand totalitarian hegemonism throughout the world," the statement said.

~~23 APR 1983~~ (S)

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

(5) 20/4/83

# Unita offer to trade Czech hostage

BRUSSELS. — Angolan rebels holding more than 80 Czech technicians yesterday offered to free one of the hostages in return for the release of a French doctor jailed in Afghanistan last month.

The Unita guerrilla movement captured the Czech technicians five weeks ago during a raid on the Angolan industrial centre of Alto Catumbela.

In a statement published in Brussels, the anti-communist group said it was prepared to release Dr Maria Hudeckova in exchange for Frenchman Dr Philippe Augoyard, who is serving an eight year jail sentence in Afghanistan on spying charges.

A Unita spokesman said yesterday 21 children in the captured group would be freed when they reached rear guerrilla

bases, probably in the next few days.

Unita has already offered to exchange some of its prisoners for seven British mercenaries given long jail sentences in Angola in 1975.

In a statement released in Lisbon, Unita said an International Red Cross team would be allowed to visit the hostages, including 15 women and 20 Portuguese citizens or Angolans of Portuguese descent, "but only when all of them are reunited at Unita's central base".

In earlier statements Unita said the captives, who were seized on March 12, had been divided into at least six groups.

They said the first group was scheduled to arrive at Unita "base areas" (about 500km south-east of the attack site) today.

Unita spokesman Mr Wilson dos Santos said it was "difficult to estimate" when all the hostages would be brought together and declined to identify the "central base" destination.

The statement said negotiations "to liberate the Czechs will be difficult and slow".

It said Unita "reiterates our efforts to free the Czech children immediately", but added new demands for the release of the other hostages, industrial technicians and their families.

"The largest part of the Portuguese citizens will also be freed without any conditions with the exception of some suspected of collaborating with Disa (Angola's security police)," the statement said. — Sapa-Reuter, UPI.

Withdrawal plans believed to be taking shape

# Angola: US talks may see Cubans on way out

By John D'Oliveira,  
The Star Bureau

**WASHINGTON — A tentative timetable is believed to exist for the withdrawal of between 20 000 and 30 000 Cuban troops from Angola.**

While no official comment on this could be obtained here yesterday, it is understood that the intensive discussions last week between the Angolan Minister of the Interior and top Administration officials ended with a proposed plan for Cuban withdrawal.



Mr Bush

It is widely held — both in the United States and in South Africa — that the one remaining obstacle to a Namibian settlement is the presence of the Cuban troops in Angola.

It is also accepted in Washington that the Reagan Administration has a commitment from the South African Government to implement United Nations Resolution 435 on Namibian independence as soon as the security threat posed by the Cubans is eliminated.

So the United States has been concentrating its diplomatic efforts on the issue of the Cuban troops — while South Africa and Angola have held talks aimed at an informal cease-fire in Southern Angola.

Last month Mr Frank Wisner, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, held talks in Paris with Lieutenant Colonel Manuel Alexandre Rodrigues, the Angolan Minister of the Interior.

### Meetings held

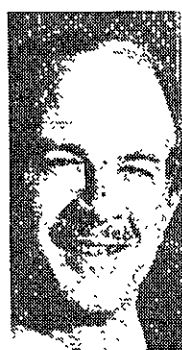
These discussions led to meetings here last week involving Colonel Rodrigues, Mr Wisner, Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr George Shultz, Secretary of State, and Mr George Bush, Vice President.

Apart from conceding that the discussions had taken place State Department officials would say nothing.

However, it is understood that Colonel Rodrigues came to Washington willing to discuss a timetable for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops — a major advance in the long Namibian negotiations.

It is impossible to say whether the tentative timetable is acceptable to the Angolan Government — or the South African Government.

However, the fact that Colonel Rodrigues, representing a country with which the United States has no diplomatic relations, could see both the Secretary of State and the Vice President confirms that fairly substantial progress was made last week.



Dr Crocker



Mr Shultz

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(S) WDM 21/4/83  
**'Western Press ignores Unita hostages'**

VIENNA. — The Secretary General of the Prague-based International Union of Journalists (IOJ), yesterday accused Western media of ignoring the fate of more than 80 Czech and Portuguese hostages captured by Angolan rebels.

"The abduction of more than 60 Czechoslovak and 20

Portuguese citizens in Angola is perhaps the most terrible in post-war history," Mr Jiri Kubka said in yesterday's Czechoslovak Communist Party daily, Rude Pravo, quoted by the official Ceteka news agency.

He said lack of information in the West was the result of

the media's unwillingness to publish anything that could affect what he called "South African racists and terrorists".

The hostages, technicians and their families, including 21 children, were captured during a raid on the industrial centre of Alto Catumbela in central Angola on March

12 by Rightwing Unita forces.

A Unita statement issued in Brussels on Monday said the hostages were on a 500km trek through difficult terrain to Unita bases.

Last week, Unita said 18 prisoners had dysentery or gastritis, nine had fever, 26 suffered from exhaustion and 29 were well. — UPI.

# World focus on Unita over kidnappings

Argus 2/14/83

Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. —  
The kidnapping of 84  
Czechoslovakian and  
Portuguese civilians  
in Angola, and their  
forced march across  
mountains, bush and  
swamp have become a  
worldwide propagan-  
da exercise involving  
at least 14 govern-  
ments.



Dr Jonas Savimbi

Dr Jonas Savimbi's  
Unita guerrilla move-  
ment has also man-  
aged to involve the  
United Nations, the  
OAU, the Internation-  
al Red Cross and Isla-  
mic guerrillas in the  
far-flung mountains of  
Afghanistan.

The human drama  
now drawing to a cli-  
max in the forests of  
southern Angola be-  
gan on March 12 when  
the prisoners, who in-  
clude 21 children,  
were seized during a  
Unita attack on an in-  
dustrial complex at  
Catumbela, 400 km  
south of Luanda.

## SPLIT

They were split into  
six groups to evade  
Angolan and Cuban  
troops and marched  
south-east to "safe"  
areas under Unita  
control.

Angola says it sur-  
rounded the hostages  
and their Unita escort,  
reported to total 800  
men, but had avoided  
closing in for fear of  
endangering the pris-  
oners.

Unita, on the other  
hand, said government  
troops had not hesitat-  
ed to ambush and  
bombard the parties,  
which were due to

meet at Savimbi's  
"main base" shortly.

A Unita spokesman  
warned the Czechoslo-  
vakian Government  
that if an attempt was  
made to free the pris-  
oners by force "the  
worst" would happen.

Luandan officials  
have told Czecholova-  
kia the hostages were  
likely to be exhausted  
and extremely uncom-  
fortable, as heavy rain  
has fallen in the area  
since they were taken.

The youngest chil-  
dren — several are  
under five — are be-  
lieved to have been  
carried for much of  
the distance on impro-  
vised stretchers. Unita  
stated soon after the  
kidnappings that the  
women would be freed  
as soon as they  
reached a rear base.

## DOCTOR

However a move-  
ment spokesman has  
now stated that a  
woman doctor, identi-  
fied only as Maria Hu-  
deckova, would be  
held until she could be  
exchanged for a  
French physician Phi-  
lippe Augoyard, who  
was captured by Rus-  
sian troops in Afghanis-  
tan last January.

UAT

# US in Angola peace talks

NDM  
2/4/83

## Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON. — Following talks with South African and MPLA officials, the US is believed to be offering a compromise plan for the withdrawal of Cuban and South African forces from the conflict in Angola.

It is understood the proposal was put to Angola's Interior Minister, Lieutenant-Colonel Manuel Rodrigues in meetings here last week with the US Secretary of State George Shultz and Vice President George Bush.

US officials adamantly refused to give even the slightest hint about the proposal's specifics.

There was no indication of Col Rodrigues' Reaction.

Informed sources outside the State Department would only say that there were some grounds for optimism.

Commented one, "reports of constructive engagement's imminent demise appear to have been premature".

The secrecy with which the State Department has shrouded the process reflects the extreme delicacy of the negotiations.

Officials are afraid that anything that might prematurely tip the MPLA's hand could set the negotiations back indefinitely.

Meanwhile, it is also understood that the plan has yet to be put to Pretoria.

The US seems to be seeking a bilateral agreement with Luanda on the conditions under which the MPLA would be willing to let the Cubans go, which will largely depend on relations with Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

Once agreement has been reached, South Africa will be invited to play its part in the fulfilment of those conditions. Parallel withdrawal could then begin.

The development of this labyrinthine strategy began after the collapse of the last round of South African-Angolan talks on Cape Verde.



# SA accuses Russia of blocking peace bids

12 1 APR 1983

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The South African Ambassador in Washington, Mr Brand Fourie, has accused Russia of trying to prevent a peaceful settlement in Namibia by keeping Cuban troops in Angola.

The Russians, he said, had speeded up their active military assistance to Swapo, and in Zimbabwe they were trying to cultivate the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, though previously they had supported the Patriotic Front of Mr Joshua Nkomo.

He said they were the main suppliers of weapons to the ruling MPLA in Angola, and had also become the main weapons supplier to Mozambique.

Mr Fourie was defending South Africa against charges that it was actively engaged in destabilising its neighbours.

He said it was Russia which was responsible for destabilising Southern Africa. South Africa had little to gain from confrontation ... "and we seek to avoid any not thrust upon us".

There have been numerous allegations in the United States recently that South Africa is behind destabilisation in the region — one of the most prominent appearing in a Washington Post report on Mozambique's guerilla war.

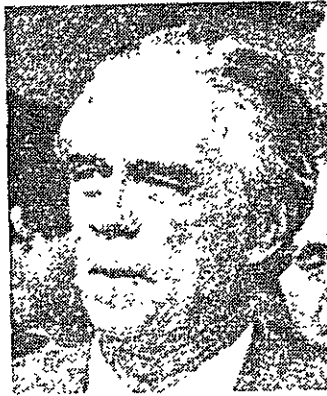
Mr Fourie's counter-claim appears in a letter, not yet published, to the Christian Science Monitor, which also examined the issue in an article last week.

Mr Fourie wrote: "The East German, Cuban and Soviet presence in Southern Africa is a disturbing, disrupting and destabilising factor. It also presents a security threat to those favouring free enterprise.

"Needless to say, for South Africa it is a matter of grave concern and a direct threat."

He said South Africa desired to live at peace with its neighbours and to co-operate with them in every appropriate way. But it was in the interests of Russia to create confrontation and "keep the pot boiling".

Mr Fourie said Russia's Africa policy had changed dramatically in the 1970s — partly from its claim that it needed military and naval strength to protect its global interests, which followed its assertion of superpower status in the 1960s.



Mr Brand Fourie....defending South Africa.

Southern Africa had been receiving increasing attention from the Russians in recent years.

He quoted a US Bureau of Mines report which said that in 1975 the Soviets had depended on imports for only six major minerals, and been self-sufficient in 21.

But the situation had changed in the past few years, according to some experts, and the Soviets were moving to dependence on imports.

This had added a "new dimension" to Soviet strategy. It was no longer a case of simply trying to deny resources to the West to weaken it. The Russians now had to compete with the West for the mineral resources of Africa and the rest of the Third World.

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

Angola is prepared to meet South Africa again to discuss Namibia only after Pretoria clarifies the level at which negotiations are to take place, Luanda's Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, said yesterday.

In an interview with Radio Mozambique monitored in Johannesburg, Mr Jorge said February's second meeting between South Africa and Angola in Cape Verde had not produced results because Pretoria had at the last minute sent a low-level delegation.

"Unfortunately it was not possible to discuss what had been agreed on at our first meeting because South Africa found a pretext to send a delegation at a level lower than ours," he said.

Angola sent a ministerial delegation to the February talks but South Africa had sent the Director General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Hans van Dalsen, and the Ambassador to the United States, Mr

# Angola proviso for next talks

Brand Fourie.

Mr Jorge confirmed that both sides had agreed to meet for a third time. "But South Africa must first tell us at what level it wants the talks to be held," he told Radio Mozambique.

The meetings had been requested by South Africa. Pretoria had informed the Angolan authorities through a third country "that it wanted both countries to create an atmosphere of mutual trust with the aim of finding a solution to end the war."

"At our first meeting (December 7) we exchanged ideas and it was agreed that for the second meeting both sides would come with concrete proposals," he said.

UJG

# Secret US report on SA troops in Angola leaked

22 APR 1983

22 APR 1983

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A top-secret intelligence report that is purported to prove that Reagan Administration officials had advance knowledge of South African military build-up for a proposed attack on Angola last August has been leaked to the Press here.

It says that the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, warned the US Embassy that South Africa might feel compelled to launch an attack if its mid-August deadline for certain developments on Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal were not met.

It also purports to show that the Americans are able to monitor by satellite South African troop movements — even down to the number of tents put up.

Attached to the document is a photocopy of a satellite photograph, meaningless to the untrained eye, but which is said to depict a troop and equipment build-up at the South African military base at Operet, Northern Namibia, in July last year.

In an attempt to embarrass the administration, copies of the report and the picture were released here by Mr Randall Robinson, director of Transafrica,

a black research and lobbying organisation which is bitterly opposed to the Reagan policy of constructive engagement with South Africa and which has called for firmer US action to speed up Namibian independence.

Administration officials have refused to comment on the authenticity of the document.

The report and photograph, released yesterday, were taken from the highly classified daily intelligence newsletter circulated among a select group of top officials, including the President, by the State Department's intelligence and research department.

Dated July 28 1982, the report states: "Satellite photography taken yesterday showed an additional 92 tents and 33 armoured vehicles at the South African military base at Operet in Northern Namibia, indicating that as many as 1200 troops have recently arrived or are expected there."

"Ten South African helicopters observed on Sunday at the Southern Angola town of Ngiva and as many as 16 Mirage fighters seen at Ondangwa airfield in Northern Namibia are still there."

"Foreign Minister Botha recently warned the US Embassy that Pretoria would feel compelled to launch a large-scale attack if its deadline of mid-August for completing negotiations on Namibian independence and withdrawal of Cubans from Angola is not met."

Under the headline "Comment", the report continues:

"Pretoria's build-up in Namibia and its current deployments in Southern Angola, involving a mechanised infantry unit of about 1000 men, is similar to those that preceded the 5000-man incursion into Southern Angola last August and September."

"The targets of a new attack possibly would be South West Africa People's Organisation guerilla units as well as Angolan and Cuban forces and support installations as far north as the Mocamedes-Menongue railway, Angola's main line of defence against South African incursions."

RD 25/4/83

# Unita claims strategic town (5)

LISBON. — Angolan rebels said yesterday they had killed 214 government soldiers and captured a strategic town on the Benguela railway.

A Unita statement issued in Lisbon said its guerrillas attacked Munhango, on the line between the eastern city of Luena and central Kuito, capturing more than 300 weapons and destroying four trains.

A Unita communique said the attack on Wednesday

lasted 45 minutes. It said an international television crew and foreign journalists witnessed the strike.

Although Unita claimed it killed 214 soldiers and captured 15 of the garrison's 570-man force, it made no reference to its own casualties.

The communique also said large quantities of weapons were seized, including a train filled with arms and produce. Four locomotives and four fuel tanks were destroyed by Unita forces.

"About 10 200 civilians were liberated from government oppression," it claimed.

The communique made no mention of 84 Czech and Portuguese civilian hostages Unita captured on March 12 in an attack against the Alto Catumbela industrial complex.

An earlier Unita statement said the first group of hostages would reach the guerrillas' base areas by last Wednesday. — Sapa-Reuters and UPI.

# Unita's long-running guerilla kidnapping drama is nearing its end

5

The Star Monday April 25 1983

## The Star's Foreign News Service

**LUANDA** — The kidnapping of 84 Czech and Portuguese civilians in Angola and their forced march across 1 000 km of mountains, bush and swamp, has become a worldwide propaganda exercise involving at least 14 governments.

Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerilla movement has also managed to involve the United Nations, the OAU, the International Red Cross and Islamic guerrillas in Afghanistan.

The drama now drawing to a climax in the forests of Southern Angola began on March 12 when the prisoners, who

include 21 children, were seized during a Unita attack on an industrial complex at Catumbela 400 km south of Luanda.

They were split into six groups to evade pursuing Angolan and Cuban troops and marched southeast to "safe" areas under Unita control.

A Unita spokesman warned the Czech Government that if an attempt were made to free the prisoners by force "the worst" would happen.

Luandan officials have told the Czech Government that the hostages were likely to be exhausted and extremely uncomfortable as heavy rain has fallen in Southern Angola since they were taken.

On April 11 Unita issued a statement in Paris saying 29 of the prisoners were healthy, 26 were exhausted, 12 had dysentery, nine had fever and six gastritis.

Possibly with its international image in mind the movement hastily amended its diagnosis and issued a fresh statement on April 15 saying none of the hostages was seriously ill.

A Savimbi spokesman said the sick were being cared for by a Czech woman doctor and two nurses.

The youngest children — several are under five — are believed to have been carried for much of the distance on improvised stretchers. Unita said the women would be freed as soon as they

reached a rear base.

However, a movement spokesman has now stated that the doctor identified until she can be exchanged for a French physician, Philippe Augoyard, who was captured by Russian troops in Afghanistan last January.

Unita representatives in Europe say they expect the fittest of the hostages to arrive at Dr Savimbi's rear base this week.

A spokesman in Lisbon said the children would be released immediately. Negotiations for the release of the rest would be difficult and slow, he added.

Neil was an African Food and Cann was detained in November, 1981, and dead in his cell. He had hanged

In a statement made the day before awake since the morning of 28 Jan They made me sit down and handcuffed shocked through the handcuffs."

At the inquest for Dr. Aggett, Au gave evidence:

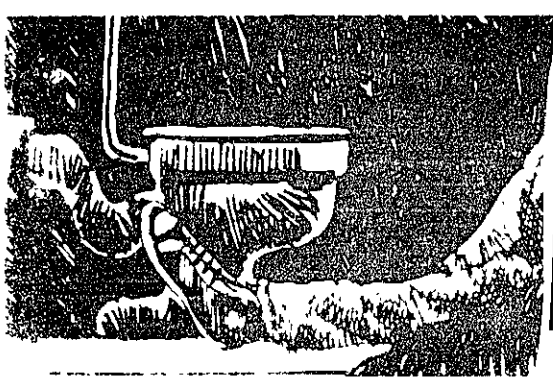
"They closed the door and put nobody could come in. He was and made to run on the spot. like press-ups and star jump

At the inquest, 14 people handed of torture. Shirish Nanabhai scars on his arm from being ele Naidoo claimed that a canvas bag interrogation; he was made to do heavy exercises; he was hit on and had elastic bands shot at testified that he was hand-cuffed to squat continuously. He was minutes. Neil Aggett faced 6 after was found hanging in his

According to the magistrate, support the claim that police death. He even accused Aure responsible' for Dr. Aggett's as Dr. Aggett's suicidal stat

The Detainee's Parents Support the following statement:

"We regret the findings of of Dr. Neil Aggett as in of the evidence. Our of detainees shows a wide-s which Neil was a victim, was responsible for his until our demand is met





# Claim of SA raid on Angola oil refinery

From BRUCE STEPHENSON

PARIS. — A South African raid deep inside Angola had caused damage of R46-million to the Luanda oil refinery and only an accident had prevented it from being completely destroyed, United Nations officials said here yesterday.

Previously undisclosed details of the alleged raid by SADF commandos were disclosed at the UN conference on SWANambia by Mr Mohamed Sahnoun, Algerian Ambassador to the UN and head of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid. "There have been South

African commando attacks deep inside Angola, in particular one daring attack on the Luanda refinery," he said.

Mr Sahnoun said that during a visit to Angola last month the manager of the refinery had told him that if a bomb had not blown up in the hand of one of the commandos, the refinery would have been destroyed.

However, the raid had been so successful that the commandos had caused damage of 46-million. Mr Sahnoun did not say when the raid had been carried out. Turning to the broader

picture of South Africa's involvement in Angola, Mr Sahnoun told a press conference on the second day of the conference that South Africa had 5 000 troops in occupation of the Angolan towns of Kasenga and Kahama, in Kunene province. Between 1975 and 1982 about R9,2-billion in damage had been inflicted on Angola's infrastructure.

South African troops had sown landmines on most of the common borders between South Africa and Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Angola. He said South African jets regularly flew low along the borders "with the in-

tention of terrorizing the population". South Africa also gave encouragement and support to movements like Unita, the MNR (Mozambique's National Resistance Movement) and to a movement in north-west Zambia whose leader, a certain Mashala, had been killed recently.

Mr Sahnoun repeated charges, denied by South African authorities, that a group of Bishop Abel Muzorewa's supporters were undergoing military training in the Northern Transvaal.

"South Africa's aim is to show that no peaceful society is possible under African majority rule," Mr Sahnoun said.

He recently led a team of UN investigators on a tour to several "frontline States", whose findings will soon be published by the UN.

The Benguela-Lobito railway, he said, was now practically useless to Zambia, which previously exported 70 percent of its exports that way. Now Zambia was reliant on the goodwill of South African Railways.

He also accused South Africa of beaming radio propaganda to Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola in local languages.

"All this underlines the very explosive situation in Southern Africa today. The economic situations of South Africa's neighbours, which are very dangerous, have been exaggerated by the severe drought.

"Today I appeal to the international community to put pressure on South Africa to stop its acts of destabilization and to assist South Africa's neighbours to get through the storm," Mr Sahnoun said.

Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister, Mr Witness Mangwende, called for an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council to consider the "consequences

for international peace and stability" caused by South Africa's "campaign of regional destabilization".

Observers believe there is a strong possibility of a Security Council hearing later this year, as Zimbabwe takes over the Security Council chairmanship in June and Mr Mangwende's appeal would have strong backing from the Organization of African unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and other countries represented in Paris.

● A South African Defence Force spokesman said last night that the

Defence Force could not be expected to react to the "blatantly biased and totally expected allegations emanating from this conference".

He said: "The South African Government and the SADF have repeatedly made the facts of the Southern African situation perfectly clear, but certain organizations choose to ignore these facts in favour of their own biased opinions.

"Most of these allegations were refuted at a press conference in Windhoek on Monday." ● Pik Botha attack on UN talks, page 6

# First group of Unita hostages are 'safe'

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

LISBON— The Unita guerilla movement says the first group of a total of 84 Czech and Portuguese hostages has arrived safely at rebel headquarters.

The Angolan insurgents also claimed yesterday they had killed more than 56 government troops and downed two air force helicopters in two attacks in the south of the country.

Spokesman Mr Fernando Wilson dos Santos said the first group of captive Czech and Portuguese civilians, seized on March 12, arrived safely, as planned, at Unita's central south-eastern base last Wednesday.

He said the group included the "healthiest and strongest marchers" but gave no further details. The remaining hostages, whom he declined to number, would also arrive at the same base "in the near future".

In earlier statements, Unita promised that all the hostages would be visited by an International Red Cross team, and the 21 children among the captives released as soon as all were reunited at the unspecified central headquarters.

5

7 APR 1981

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Angolans have been told that Angolan youths, sent to Cuba for education and training, are being castrated to prevent them from making Cuban women pregnant.

The claim was made on April 25 in a clandestine early morning Unita radio broadcast by the "Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel" and monitored by a US Government listening station.

Even by the standards of African Radio propaganda, the message was spectacular. It accused the "vagabonds and the chieftains of the MPLA" of setting up an anti-Angolan process of poisoning the minds of youth.

2 MAY 1983

# Cubans castrating Angolan youths claims rebel radio

It also named one of the "chieftains" as Lucio Lara and accused him of preparing a programme of deception in his "criminal laboratory" and passing it on to his lackeys for implementation.

The broadcast also named a man called Simoes as one of the chief lackeys and said he was as a member of the PIDE police under the colonial authorities; and that he killed and ordered the killing of many blacks on plantations and in

villages and cities.

The Voice of the Cockerel warned Lara and Simoes that Angolans were not ignoring the crimes carried out against the 2,000 youths sent to Havana, Cuba.

People were aware of the physical and psychological abuse of the youngsters.

"Who will not react when their children are castrated in Cuba to avoid making Cuban

women pregnant?" asked the Voice.

"This is what is happening in that country. As soon as the boys reach the age of 16 they undergo medical examination for cruelly destructive aims."

Terming the MPLA chieftains as "cannibals", the Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel asked young people to join Jonas Savimbi and advance to the north to ... "free our country from the foreign mob and criminals".



# UN delegates agree Namibian struggle has not progressed

2 MAY 1983

By James Tomlins,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

PARIS — Delegates to the United Nations Namibian conference here were returning home today embittered and divided, believing that independence for the territory is as far away as ever.

The conference "in support of the struggle for the Namibian people for independence" was the second since 1981 to be held in the headquarters of Unesco.

Delegates from about 100 nations — not including South Africa — debated the key UN 435 resolution, adopted in 1978, on Namibian independence, and agreed little progress had been made in five years to implement it.

Several UN officials said that two years ago they had been appointed as part of a UN team to fly to Windhoek to prepare the way for a UN military contingent.

"But something went wrong at the last moment and we didn't budge," they explained. Other things have also not budged — including the views of Mr Sam Nujoma, head of Swapo, that that organisation alone represents "the people of Namibia".

At the second UN conference since 1981 to be held in support of the struggle for Namibian independence, delegates concluded that it is no closer, despite their efforts.



Dr Jonas Savimbi... France is considering recognising his Unita movement.

The conference adopted a 30-point resolution which will be ultimately submitted to the UN General Assembly, criticising the United States for its policy over Namibia.

It said: "The conference rejects categorically the repeated attempts by the United States and South Africa to establish a link between Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola."

The five-nation Namibian contact group was fiercely attacked as being an "instrument of western imperialism", in the words of Mr Nujoma, although the majority of delegates gave France the benefit of the doubt within the contact group as being more ready to listen to the Swapo side.

Observers claimed that the resolution had been toned down from its harsh draft form and represented a victory for moderates, who want the contact group to continue its efforts.

Many delegates could only have been angered by reports in the French Press on Saturday that "France is considering the recognition of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement, and permitting him to open a bureau in Paris shortly."

In the grim words of one African moderate delegate: "Back to square one."

The conference received only bare coverage in the French Press, and none at all on radio and television.

*Handwritten notes:*  
1) Efforts loss  
2) Positive aspect - some form of  
3) Kennedy letter  
4) Algeria - certain countries of scale

# 'Old man' Nujoma meets the Press and flops

## BRUCE STEPHENSON reports from Paris

THE FRENCHMAN held no false illusions about his government or the United Nations.

Claude Cheysson's speech was, how do you say, ambiguous. He demonstrated what he was saying about the speech by the French Foreign Minister with an expressive rocking motion of his hand and throwing me a knowing Gallic look.

We were standing in the crowded banquet room on the seventh floor of the Paris headquarters of the United Nations Scientific and Education Council (Unesco) where the Director General, Mr. Amadou Mahtar Mbow, was throwing a cocktail party in honour of Swapo president Sam Nujoma and delegates to last week's "international conference in support of the struggle of the Namibian people for independence."

After two large whistles, the Frenchman — a high-ranking United Nations official — was not particularly impressed by either the formidable name of the conference or the dark, saturnine figure of Nujoma standing a few paces behind him.

Nujoma — or "the old man," as his party faithful refer to him — was surrounded by fawning admirers and beaming like a bishop bestowing blessings upon his flock.

Enlightening me about the speech of welcome given by the French Foreign Minister at the opening of the conference, he said: "The important thing to remember is what Cheysson did not say."

"That is the way with French politicians (and others, I might have added). He said the he did not say. France's work had finished."

Another knowing look.

"Look around at who is here. Everybody in the Third World, in South America, Africa, Eastern Europe, Scandinavia and the Middle East."

"But who is the chairman? The Prime Minister of Senegal... a French-speaking country, of course."

"When Cheysson said the French decided not to leave the Contact Group because prominent African leaders asked him to stay, I can tell you that what he meant was that Angola asked him to stay in."

"The reason why Cheysson is so keen to move alone, even by passing the Americans — and especially by passing the Americans — is that President Mitterand desperately needs a victory in Africa."

"He is not going to leave the whole show to the Americans."

As to the outcome of the conference, he was in no doubt that South Africa would be roundly condemned and that sanctions would be asked for.

"But that is not so easy. South Africa pays cash. Cash," he repeated.

"All these people here" — and he indicated the room — "want credit. French politics is very simple, if you think about cash."

The impact the conference was having on the side of Unesco was difficult to judge.

The French Press reported Mr. Cheysson's speech on the first day, but interest waned as speaker after speaker mumbled ritual denunciations of South Africa ("militaristic Pretoria regime"... "racist, fascist imperialists," etc... and worse) and of President Ronald Reagan.

Last week the French were occupied with the far more immediate threat of 8 000 Paris students on the rampage and the rocketing cost of living under their Socialist government.

Western interest was also restricted because the other members of the Contact Group — the United States, Britain, West Germany and Canada — opted to attend only as observers and not to take part in any way.

They were displeased with Mr. Cheysson for criticising South Africa and the United States for demanding that independence for SWA/Namibia be linked to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from neighbouring Angola.

They were aware of France's view on the matter, but believed that it was neither the time nor place to say it publicly.

Cheysson set the stage for an outpouring of Third World anger and frustration with the West — with the United States in particular — until then voiced only in private.

Britain and Canada, as usual, kept their counsel and waited to see which way France and West Germany would go.

The observers from Bonn were in a flat spin. The newly-installed Helmut Kohl administration has no recognisable Africa policy as yet.

They were acutely aware of the opposing pressures from Hans-Dietrich Genscher's Foreign Ministry to side with the black Africans — and Swapo — and the pressure from Dr. Kohl's coalition partner, the Bavarian rightwinger Josef Strauss... who wants a more sympathetic approach, Reagan-style, to South Africa and the reopening of the West German Consulate in Windhoek.

Cheysson's speech was the signal for a number of meetings between France, Swapo and Angola, held in secret throughout the week.

All three parties resolutely refused to reveal details of their discussions and would barely acknowledge that meetings were underway.

Angola's Foreign Minister, Mr. Paulo Jorge, made frantic signals from the rostrum that his country was in deep trouble after more than a decade of one war after another.

Damage to Angola's economy is reckoned by the UN to have cost the MPLA government US\$10-billion between 1975 and 1982 alone.

It is worth quoting Mr. Paulo Jorge's appeal for food aid: "The international community must give a favourable response to the appeal food aid from the Angolan government for immediate food aid."

"Let us hope that, at this crucial time which we are now experiencing in Angola, that our cry of alarm has been listened to and that we do not end up believing that international solidarity has become an expression with no meaning and that we might, alas, be reduced to a choice between annihilation and submission."

While details of the trilateral discussions are not known at this stage, observers believed Swapo's Sam Nujoma was under heavy pressure from France and Angola.

"Things are not going too well for him," remarked one Swapo confidante.

A disastrous Press conference last Thursday indicated that the pressure was indeed heavy.

Normally on public occasions, Nujoma is calm and composed, with a disarming little-boy smile carrying a hint of threat, which often puts off questioners.

On this occasion, however, his smile vanished in the first few seconds when a South African reporter pressed him for an alternative to the Contact Group, which Nujoma wants dismantled.

Nujoma answered the question... but not without berating the reporter for being "a tax-paying South African, supporting the Pretoria military regime."

Moments later he was snapping at a Zambian reporter who asked him about Andreas Shipanga, Nujoma's former close colleague who now leads Swapo-Democrats and who was expelled from Unesco for registering as a delegate.

"Are you his spokeswoman? Shipanga is an agent of the South African racists. We do not accept agents of South Africa here," he barked.

His threat to "discipline" the internal parties "after the liberation" was ominous, alarming South African, SWA/Namibia and frontline states journalists present.

His apologists maintained that Nujoma had said it in the heat of the moment and that he could not be serious.

However, an unimpressed white South West African present said: "If PW Botha said something like that, he would be taken seriously."

Nujoma has been leader of Swapo for 21 years, so he has to be taken as seriously."

European observers concluded that the Press conference had been a disaster and would have little echo in Africa.

Nujoma announced that he was entirely happy with the proceedings and conclusions of the Paris conference.

Indeed, attendance had been unusually high, with representatives from all but a handful of the 157 UN member states, several dozen interested organisations — such as church bodies and political pressure groups — the non-aligned movement and the "liberation" organisations, such as the PLO, ANC and PAC.

The conference's offspring was the "Paris Declaration"... a 30-point document which calls on the UN Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa at the earliest possible opportunity and that the Security Council itself take over negotiations with South Africa on SWA/Namibia instead of leaving this business in the hands of the Western Contact Group, its occupation since 1977.

The main demands are: the imposition of mandatory sanctions, the termination of agreements between South Africa and the International Monetary Fund, the halting of uranium and other mining in the territory, the unconditional release of SWA/Namibian political prisoners and the recognition by South Africa of prisoner-of-war status for captured Swapo troops.

The "Paris Declaration" strongly criticised the United States for the first time in an UN document on SWA/Namibia, for the linking of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola to the implementation of the UN peace plan, as prepared by the Contact Group.

In spite of the high level of attendance, observers concluded that the call for sanctions was highly unlikely to be granted by the UN Security Council.

Previous demands for sanctions have been met with an immediate veto by the United States, and observers saw no reason to believe that the situation would change in the light of President Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa.

One judgement of the conference — echoing the view of US Ambassador to the UN, Jeane Kirkpatrick, that the UN is a "sound-and-light show" — was offered by Mr. Andreas Shipanga before being shown the door.

"Is this a United Nations conference on South West Africa or a meeting of the Swapo political bureau?" he asked in disgust.



SAM NUJOMA... guest of honour at a Paris cocktail party

3/16/83 Mercury  
Correspondent

PARIS—Angola was ready to meet South Africa for fresh talks on South West Africa, Angolan Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge revealed in an interview published here yesterday.

In the Paris daily, Liberation, Mr Jorge denounced the lack of progress in the current negotiations. This, he maintained, was frustrating South Africans.

He also criticised what he called the American obsession over the presence of Cuban troops in Angola and described the United States as the biggest obstacle to a speedy resolution of the South West African question.

### Critical

For several months Angola had been negotiating simultaneously with South Africa and the United States over South West Africa. Mr Jorge said talks with the latter had centred on ways of resolving the problem and bringing about an eventual normalisation of the country.

He was sharply critical of the United States linking Angola and the South West African question.

Its insistence on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition to opening normal relations was unacceptable, Mr Jorge said.

His country and South Africa had already had two meetings.

At South Africa's request Angola had accepted the idea of helping to contribute to the solution of the South West African problem.

Would there be a third meeting, he was asked?

### Frustration

'Yes, during the second meeting ... the South Africans proposed a third meeting, because at that meeting the level of their delegation was lower than ours and they were not sufficiently mandated to analyse a number of aspects.'

On the question of next month's Security Council meeting on South West Africa, Mr Jorge said: 'There is a feeling of frustration among Africans, especially those in the front line, over the fact that the South West African question has been dragging on for years with grave consequences for southern Africa.'

'We thought it was time the affair was raised again in the Security Council. One must know when it will be possible to put the UN resolution into force.'

Later in the interview he raised the possibility of 'global sanctions' against South Africa.

A spokesman for South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs told Sapa: 'We have no comment.'

# Angola 'ready for further talks' with SA on SWA issue

The Natal Mercury, Tu

# Angola and SA may renew SWA peace talks

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed today that there may be a third meeting between South Africa and Angola.

A spokesman for the department said in Cape Town that a firm date for such a meeting had not yet been set.

He was reacting to a report from Paris of an interview with the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr. Paulo Jorge, who said that his country was waiting for South Africa to propose a date for the third meeting and to know the level of the South African delegation.

The two previous meetings were held on the Cape Verde Islands.

Angolan officials recently held talks with US State Department officials in Washington and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola was a main point of discussion.

Mr Jorge said in Paris that the linkage of Namibian independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola was one of the unacceptable conditions being put by the US.

Mr Jorge was asked whether progress had been made which could lead to a solution to the Angolan problem. He replied: "One only starts talks to reach a solution or at least to make progress."

# Angola wants new SWA talks

**Own Correspondent**  
PARIS. — Angola is ready to meet South Africa for fresh talks on SWA/Namibia, the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, said in an interview published here yesterday.

In the Paris daily, Liberation, Mr Jorge denounced the lack of progress in the current negotiations. This, he maintained, was frustrating South Africans.

He also criticized what he called the "American obsession" about the Cuban troops in Angola and described the US as the biggest obstacle to a speedy resolution of the Namibia question.

For several months, Angola had been negotiating simultaneously with South Africa and the US over Namibia.

Mr Jorge said talks with the latter had been about ways of resolving

the problem and bringing about an "normalization" of the country.

In the interview, he was sharply critical of the US linking Angola with the SWA/Namibian question. Its insistence on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition for opening normal relations is "unacceptable", Mr Jorge said.

His country and South Africa had already had two meetings. At Pretoria's request, Angola had accepted the idea of contributing to solving the SWA/Namibian problem by taking complementary steps.

But the results of these meetings had been very slight, he said in the interview.

Would there be a third meeting, he was asked?

"Yes. During the second meeting ... the South Africans pro-

posed a third meeting, because at that meeting the level of their delegation was lower than ours and they were not sufficiently mandated to analyse a number of aspects (of the problem)."

## African frustration

On the question of next month's Security Council meeting on SWA/Namibia, Mr Jorge said: "There is a feeling of frustration among Africans, especially those in the 'front line', over the fact that the Namibian question has been dragging on for years with grave consequences for Southern Africa.

"We thought it was time that the affair was raised again in the Security Council. One must know when it will be possible to put the UN resolution into force."

Later in the interview he raises the possibility of "global sanctions" against South Africa.

## SA 'no comment'

● A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday had no comment to make on a possible third meeting between South Africa and Angola to discuss SWA/Namibia.

In Pretoria a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs told Sapa: "We have no comment."

# 'Optimism' over latest SWA talks

From KOOS COETZEE

WINDHOEK. — The Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Dr Willie van Niekerk, has said he is optimistic about the outcome of his current talks with political parties in Windhoek after press reports questioned the viability of his election plans.

In a press release Dr Van Niekerk said that because of newspaper reports it was necessary to "put the record straight".

Dr Van Niekerk said that during the first round of talks there had been considerable consensus among political parties about the need for constructive constitutional development before independence.

During the second round of talks several practical constitutional possibilities had been investigated in order to reach a common goal.

Neither he nor the South Africa Government had a blueprint at its disposal, and different proposals by political parties had been compared in order to identify points of agreement, Dr Van Niekerk said.

The large measure of agreement already reached was encouraging, and the talks would continue until consensus was reached among the majority of political parties.

## 'Completed in next few weeks'

All parties were treated as equal and the progress made so far could be ascribed to the contributions of 10 political parties. It was desirable that the current series of discussions be completed within the next few weeks, Dr Van Niekerk said.

Details of Dr Van Niekerk's election plan emerged during talks with political leaders. A constituent assembly which will draw up a new constitution for the country will be elected, as well as partially appointed.

Fifty members will be elected on a one-man, one-vote basis, while 22 others will be appointed by the 11 ethnic authorities.

● The Windhoek Advertiser newspaper said in a front-page lead article yesterday that chances of a new general election under South African supervision later this year were waning fast as talks between the Dr Van Niekerk, and most internal parties "flounder".

The newspaper said the views came from a survey made among politicians at the weekend.

● Different versions of election purpose, page 12

Limitation of applications

No Wage Regulatory Machinery Workers.

Provisions governing workers Wage Act:

Public Service: T  
Public Service Act

Post Office: Post Office Service Act. Instead provisions governing their working conditions and remuneration are found in the Post Office Act.

South African Railways and Harbours: These workers are governed by the regulations of the Railways and Harbours Act.

Police: The Police Force is covered by the Police Act.

Seamen: Merchant Sailors are covered by the Merchant Shipping Act.

Nurses: Nurses are covered by the Nursing Act.

Doctors: Medical personnel are covered by provisions within the Medical, Dental and Supplementary Health Service Professions Act.

# Czech hostages tell of horrifying trip

# Unita prisoners <sup>(5)</sup> 'in 2 000 km trek'

By James Tomlins, The Star's Foreign News Service

**PARIS —** A French newsman has just returned here from the Unita-held area of Southern Angola, bringing the first direct news of 64 Czech and 20 Portuguese prisoners captured by Unita forces on March 12.

Mr Yves Loiseau, of the France-Inter State radio was, "somewhere in Southern Angola at Unita headquarters" when eight weary Czechs arrived there.

They told a horrifying tale of a 33-day trip over nearly 2 000 km in rough country, often sick and hungry.

Two other groups were following them. They were all captured by Unita forces at Alto Catumbela in south-west Angola and split into groups to avoid falling into ambushes.

A Czech translator, Mr Alexander Ivan, told Mr Loiseau: "We marched for 1 150 km and then went by heavy lorry for another 700 km. The 84 prisoners were initially split into six groups and then into three groups.

"Our small group was the fittest, and so we arrived first. We reached Unita's central base on April 13 and were 10 days overdue."

In Paris the Radio-Inter editor would not say how Mr Loiseau and a French television team arrived or left Unita territory.

Observers believe this confirms reports in Paris that Unita now controls an airfield in Southern Angola large enough to take long-range planes flying in from Europe.

The day before the eight Czechs arrived at Unita's headquarters in Southern Angola, a statement issued by the movement in Paris said that 53 of the prisoners were ill and exhausted.

The statement said about a dozen of the prisoners were suffering from dysentery, six from other stomach complaints, nine from fever and the rest from fatigue.


This paper is intended only as an information document. All organisations constituting themselves as unions have been included and no attempt has been made to assess whether or how these of their members. Thus though this paper numerical strength of unions, this is not strength. Questionnaires were sent to all unions at to figures available from other sources. Information from the TUCSA Trade Union D These figures do not always reflect members The Unions have been grouped according to December, 1981. The information regarding membership of status and area of operation is as at Agreements recognising Unions have been of these agreements has not been amplified. It is stressed that they are by no means complete ly on reported agreements and these do not agreements between unions and employers negotiating system. These have been est

INTRODUCTION

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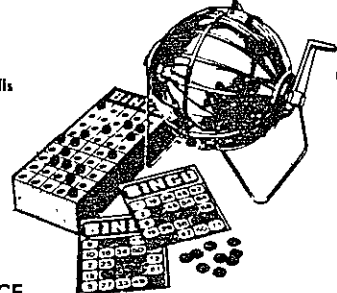


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# Fears for safety of Unita hostages

⑤ STAR 6 MAY 1983

• From Page 1

"There were no Cuban soldiers but we soon realised there were many foreigners there. We grouped them together to take them off to a safe zone. We left the town in the afternoon."

The group of prisoners and Unita troops, numbering 1 250 in all, headed south and were attacked at the village of Chicuma. The group changed direction and went north for five days until they were attacked again, this time by MiG planes.

Just north of Huambo they were again attacked. By this time many prisoners could not march and many were ill. There was little to eat. For security reasons, the column marched mostly at night, without lights. And it rained incessantly.

The colonel then told the prisoners that to pass through enemy lines it was necessary to split the group into three. In his group he took the eight fittest — all Czechs.

Fighting flared on April 22 and again three days later. There were three government ambushes on April 27. By this time the Unita guerillas were carrying some of the children on their backs. Some sick Czechs were put on stretchers made from boughs of trees. Fortunately there was a woman doctor and two nurses.

Dr Savimbi is convinced that the other two groups are still a

long, long way from his headquarters.

Alexander Ivan said: "We are really worried about the women and children. After all, we were the fittest and one of us arrived on a stretcher. It must be unbearable for the others."

He added: "Nobody told us we were prisoners. It was only after three or four days that we discussed our situation and asked the Unita officers what was happening. We were told nothing would happen to us. We presume negotiations with Prague will take some time but we have been promised we will not be exchanged for other prisoners."

They did not know that Dr Savimbi had offered to exchange the Czech woman doctor for a French doctor jailed in Afghanistan and to exchange other Czechs for seven British mercenaries jailed in Luanda.

Dr Savimbi is hoping that, by bringing in half a dozen Western governments to negotiate over his prisoners, he will, in effect, have obtained recognition of his Unita movement.

Unita is building a prison complex in Southern Angola.

Czech Embassy sources in Paris said that there were 85 prisoners — 17 women, 23 children and 24 men from Czechoslovakia, 20 Portuguese and a Cuban.

President Mitterrand, who will visit Nanking and Shanghai before returning home tomorrow.

During the visit France and the United Kingdom will provide 10 power plants in China.

The French premier told a Franco-Chinese summit that Vietnam and Cambodia agree that Vietnam will provide 10 power plants in China. — The Star's Foreign News Service

## Hearst kidnap

SAN FRANCISCO — William H. Harris, a former member of the Liberation Army soldier who pleaded guilty to the kidnap of Patricia Hearst, has been working as a legal aide, his attorney said.

Harris was released last month from San Luis Obispo and is now in San Francisco with his wife Emilylys due to be released. The couple pleaded guilty in 1976 to the kidnap of Patricia Hearst and were sentenced to 10 years in prison. — The Star's Foreign News Service



TRANSVAAL — Till 6 pm tomorrow and warm but cool overnight

	Max	Min	Rain mm
Bryanston	26	12	—
S Suburbs (Hill Ext)	21	10	—
West Suburbs (Melville)	21	13	—
Nelspruit	26	13	—
Pretoria	26	10	—
Krugersdorp	23	9	—
Springs	27	7	—

JOHANNESBURG CENTRAL — Today 8 deg C, minimum, 11 deg C. Rainfall so far 25 mm. Total rainfall for May over 25 years 25 mm.

SUNSET today, 17 35, sunrise tomorrow, 06 25.

MOONRISE today, 00 26

ROUND THE WORLD

	Mx	Mn
Rome	21	9
Lisbon	19	10
New York	21	15
Athens	27	14
Taipei	28	21
Amsterdam	18	14
Geneva	17	9
Hong Kong	28	24
Vienna	17	11
Copenhagen	9	6

WEEKLY ROUND UP

Hottest spot	Alexander Bay
Colest spot	Sunderland
Wettest spot	Ceres

EXPECTED FOR 1

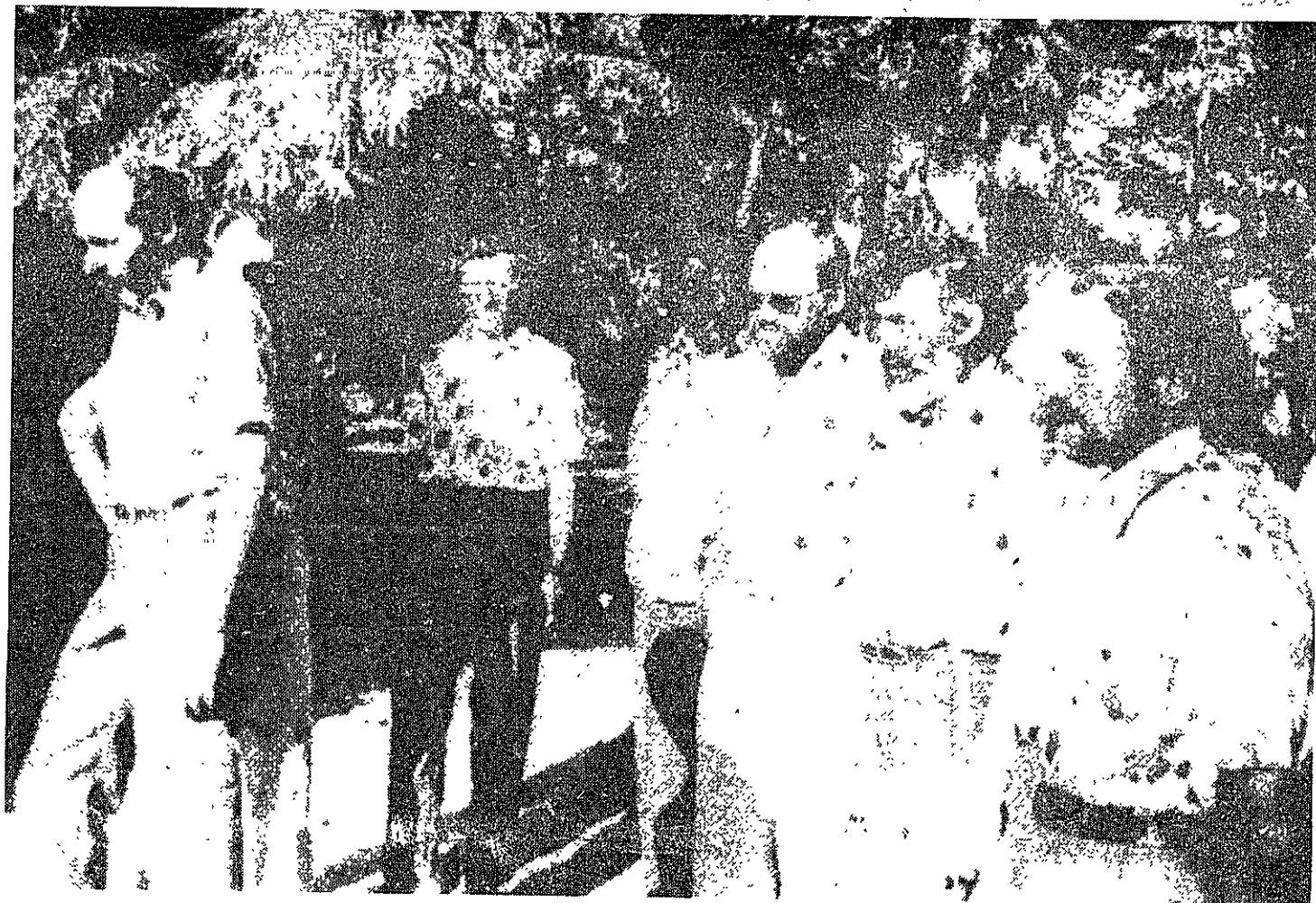
	Min
Johannesburg	11
Pretoria	11
Durban	18

# Over draft constituency Controversy explodes

NRP could be only opposition party bac

304th Star

By Bruce Cameron



It is the end of a 1 000 km trek for these eight Czech hostages now resting at a Unita camp in Southern Angola. They were among 85 Czech and Portuguese prisoners taken when the city of Alto Catumbella was attacked by Unita forces in March.

PARIS — Mystery surrounds the fate of more than 70 hostages captured on March 12 by Unita rebels in southern Angola.

They include 17 Czech and Portuguese women and 23 children — the youngest is a two-year-old girl who was last seen on a rough stretcher.

Their plight has been described by eight Czech men, aged between 31 and 54, who arrived at Unita headquarters after a gruelling march through bush and over mountain tracks, always with the fear of falling into ambushes by Angolan Government troops or being bombed by MiG fighters.

The eight Czechs, the fittest of all those seized, had a horrifying trip of more than 1 500 km which lasted for 33 days during which they worried constantly over the fate of the others.

French journalist Yves Loiseau, who spent seven weeks in Southern Angola with Unita and met the eight Czech prisoners, reports:

They have all one thing in common. They are bearded. Their skins are tanned by the sun and they shine in front of me like new pennies. They are all wearing new flowered shirts, well-pressed new trousers, blue shoes and dark socks. They look almost like a group of holidaymakers except their eyes are sunken and their faces reflect great fatigue.

Alexander Ivan, the oldest of them, tells of their ordeal:

## Fears for Unita hostages

By James Tomlins, The Star's Foreign News Service

"We arrived here on April 13 after travelling three days and nights without any sleep. We were crowded into a Mercedes truck with 25 Unita guerillas. We made a final dash of about 700 km over rough tracks, taking compass readings and guided by guerillas who often had to hack a way through the bush with their machettes.

"We did 700 km in 72 hours at a speed of about 10 km an hour.

"Some of the route, in fact most of it, was just a narrow path through tropical forests, just about wide enough to let our truck pass. We had to make many turns to avoid big trees. The smaller trees had been torn out by their roots by trucks which had gone before."

While the interview was taking place, General Josef Savimbi, the Unita leader, stood a short distance away, imposing in his battledress with three stars on

each shoulder. At his waist there was a magnum .347 revolver. He was ready to fight at a second's notice, like all his men.

He said: "The Czechs are not prisoners or hostages. We took them with us for their own safety after we attacked the town of Alto Catumbella."

The women and children are "somewhere" — probably about 1 000 km from Unita headquarters in the middle of a dense forest or in thick bush.

The Czechs came to Angola a year ago as "co-operative assistants". They were sent by one communist nation in Europe to another in Africa.

For them there is no night and no day, they said. They have to avoid ambushes set by the Angolan army and make forced marches of sometimes up to 40 km a day.

Colonel Mario Kanhali (27) was called over by Dr Savimbi to tell the story of the prisoners from the beginning.

He said: "It started on March 12, more than 50 days ago, at dawn. I ordered my 750 men to attack Alto Catumbella. I told them to destroy the electric power plant, a paper-making factory, two railway bridges and a road bridge. We were completely successful.

"We also destroyed a locomotive and 36 trucks. The fighting was over in 90 minutes. We lost one man dead but the government troops had 30 killed. We took 10 prisoners.

● To Page 2, column 5.



# Angolan pilots held <sup>(5)</sup> ~~for~~ for diamond smuggling

Mercury Correspondent  
LISBON—Four pilots of the national Angolan airlines had been detained in Luanda and accused of smuggling diamonds out of the country, the Angolan news agency, Angop, reported here yesterday.

One of those detained is the personal pilot of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. Only three of the four were identified.

The agency said that the contraband trade in diamonds between Luanda

and Lisbon had reached epidemic levels and was now estimated to be worth more than R120 million a year

This is practically equal to the annual production of the national diamond mining corporation, Diamang, and represents a massive loss of revenue to the marxist government which is fighting a costly guerilla war against an opposition movement, Unita.

The volume of smuggled diamonds, as revealed by

Angop, placed Angola fourth in the ranks of the world's illicit diamond traders.

Angop said Angola's chances of putting a stop to the trade were hampered by lack of legislation in Portugal where the State diamond processing factory was authorised to buy c o n t r a b a n d diamonds.

Portuguese authorities have repeatedly promised to tighten up the loopholes but so far nothing has been done in spite of

pressure from the De Beers diamond-selling organisation responsible for marketing Angola's stones.

De Beers also runs the Diamang concession in Luanda province.

The situation is further complicated by the alleged existence in Lisbon of a 'diamond club' which acts as a pressure group on anyone attempting to halt the illegal trade and by repeated reports that leading figures in Angola and Portugal have monetary stakes in the trade.

Per 1/6/83

5

# Chief Key

# On Namibia

## Angola waits for SA on third round of talks

LISBON — The Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, has said his country is waiting for South Africa to come up with proposals for a third round of peace talks.

In a statement to the Portuguese News Agency, Angop, Mr Jorge said no progress had been possible at a second meeting between the two sides in the Cape Verde Islands last February because of the different level of the two delegations.

Angola's team was led by the Interior Minister,

Mr Alexandre Rodrigues, while Pretoria was represented by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Hans Van Dalsen.

Mr Jorge told Angop it was agreed that South Africa would present proposals for the level and date of a third meeting but so far it had not done so.

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has said the aim of the talks was to seek peace along the borders of Angola and Namibia.

Mr Jorge was speaking during a stopover in Lisbon on his way home from New York, where he had attended a United Nations Security Council debate on Namibia.

Commenting on the debate, he said some 30 members of the non-aligned movement "rejected in categorical terms the United States' attempt to establish a link between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola". — Sapa-Reuter.

Secretary-General of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar, was yesterday to try to speed up his future.

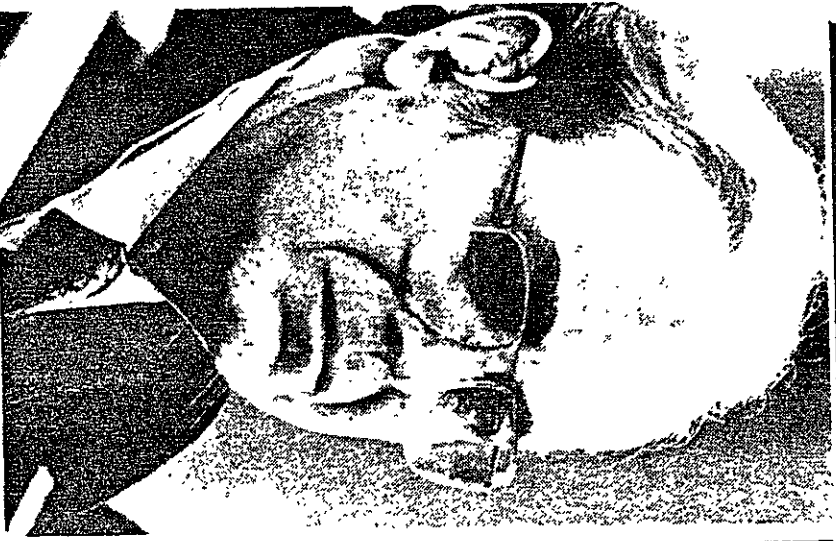
He will unanimously adopted a resolution on the UN chief to negotiations with all parties to the conflict with the initial aim of the bush war.

After Mr Perez de Cuellar's visit to Africa for talks with the governments or whether he will return to Africa here.

At the secretary-general's meeting on August 31, the council also condemned South Africa's occupation of Namibia and the efforts by the West to secure a settlement on the UN on the council — the UN Secretary-General — voted for it.

Resolution 435, must form part of the settlement on South Africa and called on South Africa to withdraw its troops and commitment on Namibia.

Namibia have a right to self-determination.



Mr Perez de Cuellar... to lead the UN initiative.

By Donald Knowler, The Star Bureau

## Slatter: I was tortured into a confession

By Brendan Seery, The Star Bureau

HARARE — Hooded and handcuffed, and made to lie face-down on the back seat of a car, the Zimbabwe Air Force chief of staff, Air Vice-Marshal Hugh Slatter, was given powerful electric shocks until he admitted his involvement in the Thornhill air base sabotage, he told the High Court here yesterday.

Dressed in a conservative grey suit, blue shirt and blue air force tie, thin-faced Air Vice-Marshal Slatter told the hushed gallery in measured tones: "It was an experience I have never been through and I never wish to have it repeated. I was confused, bewildered, hurt and fearful".

The airman said he had been taken from police custody at the

pricks" at the top and base of his back.

His interrogators then asked him questions about the sabotage and, if they received an answer they did not like, gave him electric shocks which increased in strength and made his back, and then whole body, go into muscular spasms, he said.

"It was a helpless situation and I could not see any point in taking further punishment at that stage," said the chief of staff, explaining why he had then begun confessing and telling his questioners what they wanted to hear.

Air Vice-Marshal Slatter said he made out a written statement to officers of the Criminal Investigation Department the following day, but deliberately made errors of a minor nature, in his signature and in the con-

... of the in-

## Victim of SS hid under slain friends, he tells court

EAST BERLIN — A Frenchman told a war crimes trial here today he survived a Nazi massacre in his village, concealed among the bodies of his slain friends.

Mr Jean-Marcel Dathoux (59) said he was hit by machine-gun fire in a barn at Oradour-sur-Glane from which 57 bodies were later recovered.

"I was lucky that I was one of the first to fall. The other bodies fell on top of me," he said.

"Then they came to give the coups de grace. They shot a friend who was on top of me. I stayed without moving. Then they left."

Mr Dathoux was giving evidence at the trial of former SS officer Heinz Barth (62), accused of taking part in the massacre of 642 people in 1944.

Other survivors told how SS troops had rounded up women and children into the local church and men into six or

# 'Noose (5) tightens around Luanda'

By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — Unita forces are now operating throughout Angola to the point where "the vice is slowly tightening around Luanda", a recently expelled French journalist has reported.

Citing "military experts", the Agence-France-Press representative, Jean-Luc Porte, attributed a surge of "successes" to Unita commandos trained in South West Africa by the South African Defence Force, and to "anarchy and disorganisation" in the Angolan army.

While the Luanda government appeared to pin its hopes on the recent arrival of Cuban units specialising in anti-commando operations, Unita moved out of its traditional tribal strongholds and carried the fight to coastal towns, the north and the north-east, he said.

Luanda, despite practically impregnable defences, could become ungovernable through lack of food, inadequate sanitation and overpopulation from the flood of refugees, he suggested.

"While Unita guerrillas enjoy the logistic support of Pretoria's forces, recent recruitment by the government army has been hasty," according to Porte. "The first results were disastrous and whole units of recruits got themselves massacred," he said, quoting an Angolan military source.

Further aiding Unita were large numbers of SADF troops in the southern province of Cunene, which had forced the Angolan government to concentrate most of its troops there, Porte said.

# Hostages reach Unita camp

SMC

13 MAY 1983

war, Zambia has been at pains to avoid confirming publicly that Unita controls much of the Angolan side of its western border.

Lusaka-based diplomats have been quietly involved in efforts to secure the release of Unita prisoners on previous occasions, and Zambia, as the nearest neutral territory, may be asked to help this time.

It appears likely that South Africa may be asked to provide a military or civil aircraft on humanitarian grounds to fly the hostages to safety.

central Angola on March 13. Eight arrived at the camp on May 1. Another group is still on its way.

The Star's Foreign News Service reports that the arrival of 30 hostages at the camp, near the Zambian border, may prove embarrassing for President Kenneth Kaunda's government.

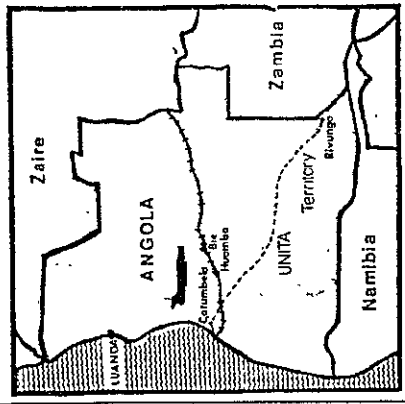
He was one of several African leaders who originally supported the pro-Western movements of Unita and Mr Holden Roberto's FNLA in their fight against the MPLA government.

Since the end of the Angolan civil

VIENNA — A group of 30 Czechoslovakians captured by Unita guerrillas in Angola has reached one of the movement's base camps near Rivungo in the south-eastern part of the country, according to the official Czech Ceteka news agency.

Reuter reports that Ceteka said the Red Cross had told the Czech Embassy in Luanda of their arrival.

The hostages are the second group of a total of 64 technicians and their families captured with 20 Portuguese in a raid on an industrial complex in



The route taken by the hostages.

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**THESE MEN MAY KNOW HELEN SMITH'S KILLER**

**A REMARKABLE NEW BOOK FOCUSES ON THE MYSTERY SURROUNDING THE MURDER OF A BRITISH NURSE IN SAUDI ARABIA. IT'S IN THE STAR . . .**



**THE WEEK OF THE MG**

**Authority bans 'gay' advert**

LONDON — A planned TV commercial for a London counselling organisation for homosexuals has been banned. Earlier this week the Independent Broadcasting Authority banned an advert urging teenage boys to use contraceptive. Unlike that advert, the gay item has not been filmed, but its script was rejected because the IBA considered it would offend many viewers. — The Star Bureau

**Man charged with 5 murders**

LONDON —

Social Democratic leader Mr Roy Jenkins told a television interviewer that the polls were unreliable. But he added that he did not think that Labour, from which he split two years ago to form the Social Democratic Party, could win.

In the House of Commons, former Conservative Minister Mr Enoch Powell, now aligned with the official Unionist Party in Northern Ireland, suggested that "behind the press"

"Opinion polls do not win elections. Hard work does," she told 180 Tory politicians last night — the eve of the dissolution of Parliament.

Mrs Thatcher told them to expect a "smear an hour" from the Labour Party opposition, and rejected suggestions of any hung Parliament after the election because of the intervention of the Gentrist Liberal-Social Democratic alliance.

"We're going to win, and

part of their camp and their transport.

Ten women were arrested yesterday when Newbury District Council enforced the eviction order it won in the High Court two months ago.

Police helped bailiffs to drag away singing and jeering women who were sitting on three vehicles the bailiffs were towing away to sell to pay the council's legal costs.

an unofficial peace group

scow.

ens MP Miss Petra Kelly

ive party colleagues were

in East Berlin yesterday

displaying a peace banner

rowed square.

s Kelly and two other MPs

d the diplomatic passes is-

o West German MPs and

released.

others were released

ve hours.

# Mercenaries wounded in jail blast

MAY 1983  
LISBON — Two <sup>some</sup> mercenaries from England and Ireland were among 11 prisoners slightly wounded when an arms dump blew up in the main prison in the Angolan capital of Luanda, the Angola news agency Angop said today.

The agency, quoting official sources in Luanda, named the two wounded mercenaries as John Nammock from Ireland and Colin Evans from England, but gave no other details.

It said the explosion, apparently caused by the accidental detonation of mines, rockets and grenades stored in the Sao Paulo jail, occurred yesterday.

The two men are among seven mercenaries held in Luanda since 1976 and jailed for serving in the Angolan civil war.

— Reuter.

# 2-Unita hostages said to be dead

14 MAY 1983

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The long ordeal of the 84 white hostages seized eight weeks ago by Angolan rebels is assuming sombre overtones. Although almost half have reached a rebel base, unconfirmed reports say two small children have died on the march through the African bush.

The hostages have been forced to trek at gunpoint for nearly 1,100 km since the town in which they were working was overrun. The party is made up of 64 Czechs and 20 Portuguese.

The Czechs include more than 30 women and children. Eleven of the children are less than 10 years old and the youngest is only 19 months. They have been taken over mountains and through swamps, much of the time in torrential rain.

The report that a child of two and another of three have become the first victims originates from Lusaka.

Although news from within Angola has been scant, it is known the rest of the hostages are still hiding in the forest while their Unita captors look for a route to the rebel stronghold that will evade concentrations of Angolan troops.

Eight Czech technicians were the first to reach relative safety within Unita-held territory. They were hurried on in advance, travelling by truck for three days and nights over rough tracks to be shown off to a group of French journalists.

Then the International Red Cross, which has a representative on the spot, reported that a further 30 Czechs had got through. No more details were given.

Anger has heightened in Prague as the weeks have passed. Government officials and relatives of the captives have sent impassioned pleas to the heads of various African countries and to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar. But nobody can help.

The women and children are promised a speedy release by Unita. Their menfolk may face a long wait in their bush prison. The rebels want to swap them for prisoners, including seven British mercenaries.

The Czechs were in Angola to work on aid projects in the town of Alto Catumbela, near the strategic Benguela railway.

Among the hostages is a woman doctor, Maria Hudecková. With the aid of two Czech nurses and Unita medical assistants, she has been battling to keep the children alive during their ordeal. Some were reported weeks ago to be suffering from malaria and intestinal complaints.

Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, recently said all aid workers in government-held territory should get out. These include Britons, Americans, French and Germans.

(5) ROM 14/5/83

# Luanda blast 'accident'

LISBON. — An apparently accidental arms depot explosion at the main political prison in Angola's capital Luanda "slighted wounded" 11 prisoners, including two British mercenaries, on Wednesday this week, the official Angolan news agency reported in a dispatch monitored yesterday.

"All the inmates" of the fortress-prison of Sao Paulo, overlooking Luanda were transferred to "another locale" after the explosion that "partially destroyed the arms depot and eight vehicles," said the Angop agency. It also said the explo-

sion of RPG-7 rockets, hand-grenades, anti-tank mines and other ammunition appeared to be accidental and that a "group of experts" was investigating its cause.

The monitored dispatch did not say how many prisoners were held at the prison at the time of the explosion and only identified the two Britons.

Among the "slightly wounded" prisoners were John James Nammock and Colin Clifford Evans, serving 16 and 24-year sentences, respectively, for fighting alongside nationalist groups during the country's 1975-76 war

with Portugal.

Nammock and Evans are two of seven imprisoned British mercenaries whom the anti-communist Unita guerrilla movement demands be freed in exchange for "some" of the 64 Czech civilian hostages it holds captive.

The high-walled, white-washed Sao Paulo prison was first used as a political prison by Portugal's colonial authorities and taken over for similar use by the Marxist Angolan Popular Liberation Movement (MPLA) after it seized power with Cuban military help during the civil war. — UPI

17 MAY 1983

# SA buying Red arms, says report

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A report this week in the Washington Post alleges that Bulgarian arms dealers have for years been supplying communist weapons to South Africa, which passes them on to anti-government rebels in Angola.

Writing from Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, Washington Post reporter Jonathan Randal claims that the Bulgarian authorities have started to crack down on international arms and drugs traffickers — because they are evi-

dently embarrassed by allegations of Bulgarian participation in the 1981 shooting of the Pope.

The arms and drugs trafficking has been going on for a decade, he says. Now the Bulgarians are tightening up at airports, inland frontiers and seaports, and there has been a series of arrests.

Regarding South Africa, Randal writes: "Last (northern) winter, Danish authorities uncovered a vast traffic that had been going on for years involving Bulgarian arms sales to Arm Scor, the South African state arms firm.

"Bulgaria, they said, sold ship-

loads of Soviet bloc weapons to South Africa, which passed them on to anti-government rebels in Angola.

"The investigations established that not only were Danish companies defying a United Nations ban on arms sales to South Africa, but also that Bulgaria was providing weapons for use against the Angolan Government.

"Thousands of Cuban troops have been there for years as a symbol of the Soviet Bloc's concern for that government's survival."

The report says that the Sunday Times of London alleged the deal was arranged in Vienna by Mr Ivan Slavkov, the head of the Bulgarian Olympic Committee, who was once married to the late daughter of Bulgarian communist leader Mr Todor Zhikov.

"Much of the arms business centres on Kintex, an official import-export firm with headquarters in a Sofia building that is off-limits to foreign diplomats accredited to Bulgaria," Mr Randal writes.

The weapons have also gone to other non-communist destinations, the Post report says. For instance, Bulgaria sold several shiploads of arms to rightwing Christian militias in Lebanon in 1974 and 1975, just before the civil war in that country.

These shipments stopped when the local Communist Party protested that the weapons would be used against its members and their leftwing and Palestinian allies.

Mr Randal cites allegations that Bulgaria tried to destabilise the two NATO countries of Italy and Turkey with arms and drugs supplies and says this pattern of politically motivated wrongdoing suggests Bulgaria may have been willing to attempt the silencing of the Pope because of his support for the Solidarity Union in Poland.



# Warning to SA on strategy

ARGW  
18/5/83  
~~22/5/83~~  
~~22/5/83~~

Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Militarily, South Africa did well in 1982, pushing Swapo bases back deep into Angola, says the International Institute for Strategic Studies in its survey for 1982-83.

## SA a key problem for US, Russia

Argus Foreign Service  
LONDON. — The balance of superpower interests in Africa remains strongly influenced by the problem of South Africa, according to the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

In its strategic survey 1982-83, to be published here tomorrow, the institute says most African states seek better economic and political relations with the West, but want the West to be far tougher in its approach to apartheid and the South African Government.

It views the Reagan Administration's policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa as simply a euphemism for reducing American pressure for internal political change in South Africa.

Also, it thinks the link the United States forged in 1982 between withdrawal of Cuban troops in Angola and the granting of independence to SWA/Namibia has allowed South Africa to postpone a decision on that issue.

### UNHAPPINESS

In spite of this unhappiness with the Reagan position, however, Soviet efforts to gain influence at Western expense have not been successful. The Soviet Union has supported Angola, Mozambique, Algeria and Libya, but her position in Africa is still not strong.

The continuing conflicts in Chad and Western Sahara have created further possibilities for increasing Soviet influence, but Moscow must work through Libya and Algeria rather than by taking direct action with its own forces.

The study notes that severe political and economic problems arose in many African states in the past year, and that Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania all had a difficult time.

But the use of Soviet military strength or military aid, the most useful tools the USSR has, would be of little help in solving their problems.

But the survey adds that the events of the year made it even clearer that the only acceptable settlement which would earn international recognition would be political, not military.

On the Cuban "linkage" issue, the study says the problem was that continued South African incursions into Angola kept the Cuban forces there.

But for persistent South African actions, the Angolan government might have asked the Cubans to leave some years earlier.

### Provoked

The presence of South African forces provoked Angola to ask a question which the United States found difficult to answer: Who would protect her when the Cubans left?

There was no guarantee that the US could give. She seemed to have little leverage over South Africa and, in view of the Reagan Administration's support for Unita, was unlikely to provide the Luanda government with military support.

The US linkage policy had two other results that could not have been foreseen, says the survey.

First, the Soviet Union — largely excluded from the peace process in Southern Africa since 1978 and humiliated over her diplomatic defeat in Zimbabwe after the Lancaster House settlement — again became an important force in the diplomatic negotiations.

### Hardening

She was not only Swapo's chief financial and military backer, but also Angola's last line of defence.

The extent of Soviet influence is difficult to assess, says the survey, but it may explain a hardening of Swapo's attitude last year.

In the negotiations leading to the abortive Geneva conference in 1981 Swapo, encouraged by Mr Robert Mugabe's landslide victory in Zimbabwe, had been anxious to stop haggling over the procedural details and move on to an election as speedily as possible.

Yet last year, Swapo began dragging its feet, in spite of the obvious difficulties confronting the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

# SA action in Angola forecast

From BRUCE  
STEPHENSON

LONDON. — Heavier South African military activity in Angola and a consequent strengthening of Soviet and Cuban influence in the region has been forecast, if the impasse on a SWA/Namibia settlement continues.

South African military activity in Angola and a consequent strengthening of Soviet and Cuban influence in the region has been forecast, if the impasse on a SWA/Namibia settlement continues.

In its publication "Strategic Survey 1982-83" published here yesterday, the influential International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) says the balance of super-power interests in Africa remains

strongly influenced by the problem of South Africa.

The IISS report said most African states view the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa as an excuse for its reduction of pressure on internal political change in the Republic. And the link which the US formed in 1982 between a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the granting of independence to SWA/Namibia was seen as allowing South Africa to postpone a decision on the issue.

The US linkage policy had the unforeseen result of giving the Soviet Union an important role in the diplomatic process. The USSR was not only Swapo's chief financial and military backer, but was Angola's last line of defence.

The IISS report says: "The problem with linkage was that continued South African incursions into Angola kept the Cubans there. But for persistent South African actions, the Angolan Government might have asked the Cubans to leave some years earlier.

"The South African presence (in southern Angola) provoked Angola to ask a question which the US found difficult to answer: Who would protect her when the Cubans left?

### 'No guarantee'

"There was no guarantee the US could give... Luanda thus continued to rely on the Cuban troops, some 10 000 more of whom were flown into Angola in the course of the year (making a total Cuban presence of 30 000)".

"Without a negotiated settlement, there is a mounting threat of more and perhaps heavier South African activity inside Angola, with a consequent strengthening of Soviet and Cuban influence in the region," the IISS says.

While the extent of Soviet influence was difficult to judge, it was known that an Angolan delegation visited Moscow last year to brief Soviet leaders on Angola's talks with the US.

5  
Angola

— SA  
(9/5/83)  
build-up  
forecast

By BRUCE STEPHENSON  
London Bureau

LONDON. — The International Institute for Strategic Studies, IISS, has forecast heavier South African military activity in Angola and, as a result, stronger Soviet and Cuban influence, if the impasse on a South West Africa settlement continues.

In its publication "Strategic Survey 1982-83" published yesterday, the IISS says most African states view the Reagan administration's policy of constructive engagement with South Africa as a euphemism for reducing American pressure for internal political change in South Africa.

And they believe the link between a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and SWA independence has allowed South Africa to postpone a decision on the issue, the IISS reports.

"But for persistent South African actions, the Angolan Government might have asked the Cubans to leave some years earlier.

"Luanda thus continued to rely on the Cuban troops, some 10 000 more of whom were flown into Angola in the course of the year, making a total Cuban presence of 30 000."

While the extent of Soviet influence was difficult to judge, it was known that an Angolan delegation visited Moscow last year to brief Soviet leaders on Angola's talks with the US and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is currently visiting the Soviet Union, the report says.

The USSR was not only Swapo's chief financial and military backer, but was Angola's last line of defence.

Meanwhile, UPI reports from Lisbon that Angolan guerrillas claimed on Tuesday that the Marxist government had mobilised a 3 000-man force, including two Cuban brigades and Soviet-supplied jetfighters and tanks, in eastern Moxico province, to retake positions seized recently by the rebels.

A statement issued by the National Union for Angola's Total Independence (Unita), which claims to have a force of 45 000 men, says a clash on Saturday cost the government the loss of three armoured vehicles and three planes, including a Soviet-built Antonov-26 transport.

There was no comment from independent or government sources.

# Unita hostages are 'safe' in rebel zones

LISBON. — The 84 Czech and Portuguese civilian hostages held in bush captivity in Angola for 68 days had safely reached rebel-controlled zones, Angola's Rightwing guerrilla movement said yesterday.

Negotiations for their release could begin "within a few days", the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) said.

In a statement, Unita denounced "the Soviet campaign of disinformation" and said "all" the Czechs, including 17 women and 21 children, were "healthy and out of danger".

It denied media reports that three of the hostage children, ranging from infants to teenagers, had died during their 1 850km. forced march.

The 64 Czechs and 20 Portuguese in-

dustrial technicians and their families were seized by Unita on March 12 in an attack on the Alto Catumbela paper works in western Angola and then marched and trucked to rebel-controlled zones in the south-east.

Government and allied Cuban troops pursued the 1 000-man guerrilla column with its hostages for much of the way, Unita and government sources said.

The Unita statement said the movement's central committee "within a few days" would authorise a representative outside Angola to begin "immediate negotiations" for freeing hostages whose release was "unconditional".

The guerrillas have made no demands for freeing the children and women, with one exception.

But in earlier statements Unita said it would demand the release from Angolan

prisons of seven British mercenaries and scores of Unita militants and soldiers in exchange for the 26 Czech men.

A Czech woman doctor, Mrs Maria Hudekova, would only be freed in return for Afghanistan releasing imprisoned French doctor Philippe Augoyard, 30, seized last January with Islamic rebels, Unita said.

The latest statement, signed by rebel chief Jonas Savimbi, said all the hostages were "out of any danger because all zones where the army and the Cubans could intercept (them) have been crossed".

It said the Portuguese Government could contact Unita to verify the identities of the Portuguese captives.

The Portuguese Foreign Ministry so far has identified only one of the 20 as a Portuguese citizen, saying the others were Portuguese-Angolans. — UPI.

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see next page

6 (11)

# Unita's 84 hostages 'healthy, in no danger'

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

5  
19/5/83

LISBON — Unita says its 84 Czech and Portuguese hostages are healthy and out of danger in guerilla sanctuaries, and that it will begin negotiations for their release in a few days.

A Unita statement yesterday said the 64 Czechs and 20 Portuguese held hostage since March 12 were out of reach of government and Cuban military interception in rebel "safe" zones.

The captives — mostly industrial technicians and their families — include 17 women and 21 children.

Unita's Central Committee will authorise a representative outside Angola "to negotiate with interested parties" for the release of those hostages against whom the guerillas make no demands — the women and children and most of the Portuguese men.

The statement denounced "the Soviet media campaign of disinformation" and denied that any of the Czech children had died during the two-month forced march from the capture site near the Atlantic coast to Unita-controlled zones.

"All the hostages are healthy and out of any danger," the statement said.

Signed by Unita chief Dr Jonas Savimbi, it indicated earlier conditions still remained.

Previous statements said the guerillas would free only the 26 Czech men in exchange for

seven British mercenaries held in Luanda prison since 1976 and several scores of Unita sympathisers and soldiers imprisoned in a coastal prison camp.

Unita also demanded that Afghanistan should release an imprisoned French doctor accused of aiding Islamic rebels, in return for a Czech doctor.

The only Portuguese men who might not be freed are suspected of collaboration with Disa, Angola's security police.

The statement came 24 hours after the guerillas announced fierce fighting in eastern Moxico province against a combined government and Cuban force of 3 000 men backed by Soviet-built MiG jets, helicopters and tanks.

Reuter reports from Lisbon that the Angolan government yesterday claimed that its troops have destroyed several Unita guerilla camps in the south of the country, capturing arms and freeing hostages.

The official Angolan news agency, Angop, said that over the past month troops had dismantled Unita's 71st region, a group of rebel bases in Huambo and Benguela provinces.

"In the bases the rebels were holding more than 300 people including 230 children under constant armed threat."

Angop said many of the prisoners were ill and "in a lamentable state of malnutrition" and government troops captured large quantities of South African weapons.

Date: 1983 May 19 11:11

5

# Grateful Unita to free 3 Brazilians

LISBON. — Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerrillas, in a gesture of "gratitude" to a Brazilian Catholic missionary, said yesterday they would release three Brazilian civilian technicians held captive in the African bush for up to six months.

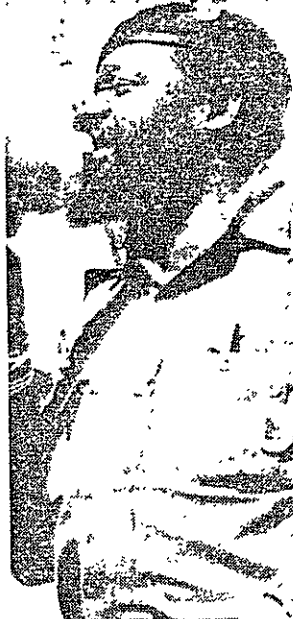
In a statement, the National Union for Angola's Total Independence said they would free agronomer Alberto Gentil Bessa Filho, topographer Alvaro da Cunha Oliveira and commercial representative Romeu Costa "Immediately and unconditionally"

The movement's central committee had decided to free the three men "for humanitarian reasons and especially in gratitude" to Catholic Brother Armando Cordeiro, also a Brazilian

Unita invited Brazilian Government and Red Cross authorities to contact the missionary to secure the hostages' release.

Unita seized the three men last November in an attack on the town of Calulo, 220km south of Luanda

Unita, which has waged an



MR JONAS SAVIMBI  
Leader of Unita

eight-year guerrilla war against Luanda and its estimated 20 000 allied Cuban troops, also holds 64 Czech and 20 Portuguese civilian hostages seized on March 12,

and another 21 Portuguese taken in other actions

The official Angolan news agency Angop reported that Angolan government troops had destroyed several Unita camps in the south of the country, capturing arms and freeing hostages

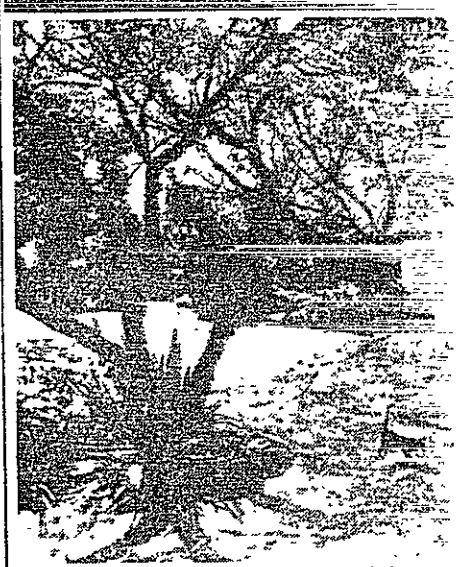
The agency, quoting a government Central Committee member, Mr Kundi Payama, said that over the past month troops had dismantled Unita's 71st region, grouping rebel bases in Huambo and Benguela provinces.

"In the bases the puppets of the South African racists were holding more than 300 people, including 230 children, under constant armed threat," Angop said.

Angop said many of the prisoners were ill and "in a lamentable state of malnutrition."

It said the government troops captured large quantities of arms as well as stores of food that the local population had been forced to collect for the guerrillas.

Unita guerrillas recently captured several strategic sites along the Benguela railway — UPI and Sapa-  
Reuter.



Bargain of the week at Bedfordview yours for a mere R750 000.

By IAN REID

AS "PADS" go, it is not so bad — that "lavish Mediterranean villa" in Bedfordview which was advertised in the Mail's "Midweek Home Finder" on Wednesday. Its asking price is R790 000.

So I asked the agent Audrey Acar if I could see it.

In no time at all I was walking through this brand new Italian-built home on 8 000m<sup>2</sup> of what was once a chicken farm

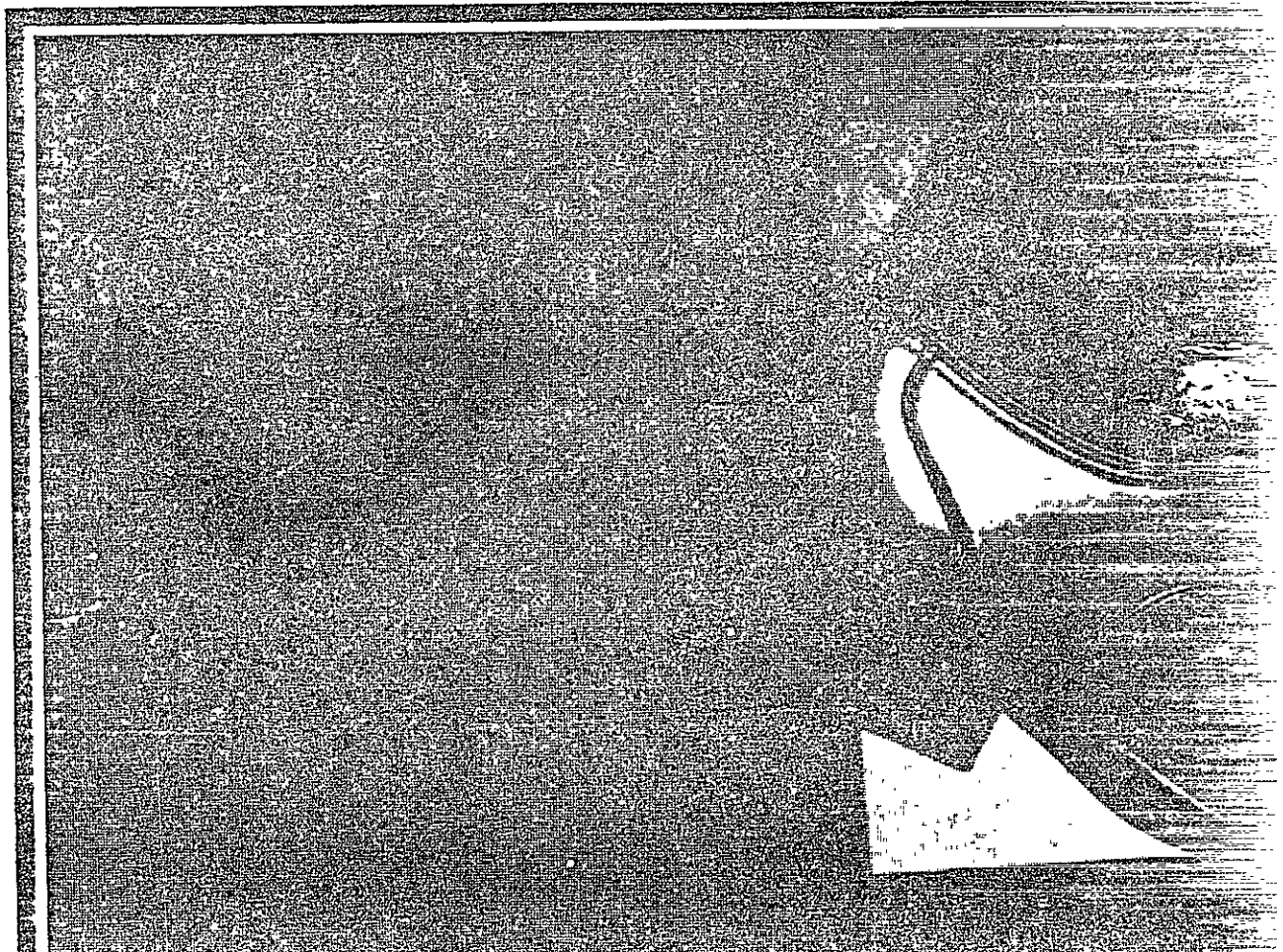
In fact the huge egg-shaped building from which they used to sell the fresh

A C

eggs is still den. Perhaps probably — by the time Mind you, house (ha, ha, as a convert

It is a bit with four bathrooms about those and two stairs

Now, quite



# Unita guerrillas pledge unconditional release of 21 Czech children

BERNE — Unita guerrillas in Angola will soon free 21 children and their mothers who are among the 64 Czechoslovaks they took hostage in March, a Unita official was yesterday quoted as saying.

Mr Tito Chimunji, Unita's Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs, told the Swiss news agency SDA that they would be released unconditionally when the 28 Czechoslovak technicians and their families reached Unita-controlled territory. He said two groups had already com-

pleted the 1 000 km journey to Unita territory, and the third and last group was expected there in the next few days.

Mr Chimunji, who is currently touring European capitals to drum up support for Unita, said men and childless women hostages, would be held as bargaining power for the release of Unita guerrillas and seven British mercenaries detained by the Angolan Government.

He also recalled that Unita last month proposed exchanging a Czechoslovak

doctor for a French doctor, Philippe Augoyard, jailed in Afghanistan. Mr Chimunji said Unita forces intended to seize every foreigner they came across.

In Lisbon Unita has confirmed the death of four Protestant missionaries last week and expressed regret over the incident, according to reports which reached here on Monday.

In a statement issued by rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, Unita said the Angolan missionaries were killed when their car hit a landmine laid by the group.

The statement, distributed to reporters here, denied that the United Methodist Church of Angola officials had been killed in an ambush by Unita guerrillas as reported at the weekend by the government-run news agency Angop.

The missionaries died on May 16, the report said.

Mr Savimbi's statement repeated earlier Unita claims that the group "guarantees religious freedom in Angola", but called on all church organisations to report to rebels in their areas. — Reuters. Associated Press.

# 30 Lebanese kidnap victims still detained

BEIRUT — Between 30 and 40 Lebanese kidnap victims remained in captivity yesterday despite a series of releases negotiated between rival Druze and Christian communities, security sources said.

Most spectacular of the abductions was Sunday's seizure of Christian Maronite Archbishop Josef Al-Khoury by Muslim Druze gunmen at Khalde, south of Beirut.

He was released a few hours later after urgent appeals to President Amin Gemayel.

The spate of kidnappings started last Saturday in the Shouf mountains overlooking Beirut. Christian and Druze militiamen vied with each other to seize hostages from the rival "community".



## Photographs reveal clues on killing of Pressmen

LIMA — Pictures taken by a photographer shortly before he and seven journalist colleagues were bludgeoned to death in a remote Peruvian hamlet apparently disprove official views on the killings, sources at the State Prosecutor's office said yesterday.

A government-appointed commission concluded that Quechua-speaking Indians had mistaken the reporters they killed last January for members of the Maoist guerrilla group Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path). But a roll of film found a few days ago near the scene of the killings showed the journalists handing over their credentials and cameras to the peasants through their Quechua-speaking guide.

The journalists were probing

**WORLD AGENTS**

## Carpenter kills

WARSAW — A Polish carpenter with a knife and a metal wooden cross which he stood Express Wiecezorny reported spent two periods in a mental old man after he came to Reuters.

## 80 held after

MADRID — Eighty people in coup in Equatorial Guinea, was yesterday quoted as saying ment representatives in Mal which took place 10 days ago

## US planes in

WASHINGTON — US Hercules have made spy flights over ning to El Salvador's leftist Administration said last night sensors designed to spot the Pentagon said. — Reuters

## Six Chinese hi

SEOUL — South Korea yes jackers of a Chinese airlin which provides for the maxir said. The hijackers comman May 5, after flying over con gers and crew. — Reuters.

## Red medical s

MOSCOW — People living emergency medical service and because ambulances at transport farm produce, Izv ernment committee of the 15 Soviet republics, issued a services in rural areas, and — Reuters.

Top State officials will put ... Urban foundation, and ...

# Unita <sup>24/1/89</sup> to free Czech <sup>204</sup> hostages

BERNE. — Unita guerrillas in Angola will soon free 21 women and children among the 64 Czechoslovaks they took hostage in March, Unita said yesterday.

Mr Tito Chimunji, Unita's Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said they would be released unconditionally when the 28 Czechoslovak technicians and their families reached Unita-controlled territory.

Two groups had already completed the

1 000km journey to Unita territory, and the third and last was expected there in the next few days, he said.

Mr Chimunji, who is currently touring European capitals to drum up support for Unita, said men and childless women in the party, as well as 20 Portuguese hostages, would be held as a bargaining counter for the release of Unita guerrillas and seven British mercenaries detained by Angola. — Sapa-  
Reuter.



# Czechoslovak hostages 'beyond recapture'

LONDON — The Prague Government has accepted that 64 Czechoslovakian hostages taken by the rebel movement Unita are beyond recapture by Angola's MPLA Government.

Through diplomats of a central European country in London, Czechoslovakia has said it is willing to negotiate with Unita for their release.

Czechoslovakia has told Unita through the intermediary that the Angola Government is willing to release foreign nationals imprisoned in Luanda.

Unita's original offer was to free "some" of the Czechoslovaks in return for the freedom of one Irish and six British mercenaries jailed by the MPLA since January 1976. That demand has since been hardened.

Now six of 26 men among the Czechoslovaks are being offered for the mercenaries. The other 20 men will be released in exchange for the freedom of an unspecified number of Unita supporters imprisoned by the MPLA, some under sentence of death.

The 21 children (the youngest aged 18 months) and 17 women in the Czechoslovak party will

# Pawns in the Unita-MPLA power game

27/5/83 (5) Star

By Fred Bridgeland, a British writer who was recently in Angola with Unita forces.

be released unconditionally within the next few weeks through the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) — with one exception.

A Czechoslovak woman doctor has been offered in exchange for Philippe Augoyard, the French doctor captured on January 16 this year while working with rebel tribesmen in Afghanistan and now imprisoned in Kabul. Through the intermediary, Prague has said such an exchange is negotiable.

So far, 26 of the 64 Czechoslovaks have arrived in secure Unita areas after a 1 100 km journey, most of it on foot. Within the next few weeks the rest of the hostages will arrive in camps near Unita's general headquarters in south-east Angola.

Attempts by MPLA and Cuban forces to intercept the Czechoslovaks after their capture on March 12 — along with 20 Portuguese civilians and a Cuban army lieutenant — have failed.

## DETECTION

The hostages, taken from the industrial centre of Alto-catum-bela, between Huambo and the port of Lobito, were divided into six parties to reduce the chances of detection.

At the end of March Prague asked the Cubans and MPLA to stop trying to intercept the columns in order to preserve the captives' lives. The Cubans withdrew their forces, but Unita claims that 6 000 MPLA troops are still deployed in a hunt for the hostages.

Exhaustion and illness (gastro-enteritis and malaria) have

been a problem among the 38 women and children.

But the problems have been contained by the woman doctor and two nurses among the Czechoslovaks and by Unita nurses. Many of the women and children are being carried in kipoias (rope hammocks slung between poles and carried by four bearers).

The capture of the Czechoslovaks and the offer by Unita to exchange them for the mercenaries has greatly embarrassed the British and Angolan Governments.

Successive British ambassadors in Luanda have worked assiduously to establish good relations with the MPLA to secure the release of the mercenaries.

There were predictions that Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Paulo Jorge would take the opportunity during his visit to London in January to announce clemency for the mercenaries — but nothing happened.

The MPLA is in a cleft stick. It cannot now unilaterally release the mercenaries as an unconditional act of goodwill towards Britain, because that would mean the continued detention of the Czechoslovaks, to the anger of its allies in Prague.

And to enter a formal agreement to exchange the mercenaries for the Czechoslovaks would be to surrender the propaganda victory so assiduously sought by Unita, whose threat as a serious opposition force has been denied by the MPLA.

Britain is keeping its distance from the negotiations.

It is anxious to demonstrate to the MPLA and Czechoslovak Governments that it does not approve of the taking of hostages. And London knows that relations with Luanda will not be improved if the mercenaries are released on terms which humiliate the MPLA.



## First picture of Unita's Czech hostages

On March 12 this year UNITA, the Angolan rebel movement abducted 66 Czechoslovaks from the commune Alto Catumbela in Angola. Among them were technicians, their wives and families and friends. Now two journalists, Christophe de Ponfilly and Edward Girardet, have been allowed to interview eight of the captives somewhere in the bush near the Namibian border. Unita President, Jonas Savimbi, said the operation had a two fold purpose. "To exploit the hostage issue for propaganda, showing that we are involved in a

full scale war here", and secondly "to trade the hostages for political detainees in Afganistan." According to the rebel leader the woman and children among the captives would be released without condition "as soon as possible". The men, however, would be used as "barter." In the picture above six of the eight captives were photographed with their Unita watchdogs, resting up after the long trek through the bush. All appeared to be in good health and spirits.

# PW and the Nats — 35 years on

By Peter Sullivan,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — This week Parliament celebrated two intimately connected anniversaries: The National Party has been in power for 35 years, and Mr P W Botha has been an MP for the same amount of time.

Opinions on what the party achieved during that time differ strongly, from those who think it has been "the worst Government with which God ever cursed a country," to those who think it had a divine mission which it has fulfilled.

Mr Botha himself thinks it has done its job well, but would be the first to admit it made mistakes.

Nobody is perfect, and political perfection does not exist this side of the grave, he is fond of saying.

There are few differences of opinion on how much Mr Botha has achieved personally, for becoming Prime Minister of a country is a hard act to beat.

Setting aside that personal triumph, where is the National Party now, and where has Mr Botha taken it?

Since it first surprised the country and won an overall majority of seats in 1948, the National Party has consolidated its power, grasping every bit of power it could.

It won the 1948 election in terms of seats won, but actually came to power with a minority of votes.

Now Mr Botha controls two-thirds of the seats in the House, and facing him is a divided opposition, the PFP to the political left and the Conservative Party to the right.

He has never sat in the opposition benches, never felt the arrogance of a government returned to power in triumph.

But Mr Botha did work as a young party organizer at a time when the United Party was at its peak, and he helped his party fight its way to power.

Once it was there, the National Party managed to alienate almost the entire world with its racist apartheid philosophy, putting laws on the books to stop human beings being judged by any other way than the colour of their skins.

It removed the coloured people from the voter's roll, and tightened up security legislation to the extent that people are now detained indefinitely with hardly a murmur from the public.

Things are accepted as being "in the interests of the state" with virtually no questions asked, and anyone who dares to stand up for habeus corpus or simple human rights is viewed suspiciously by

even the enlightened.

Yet it would be foolish to suggest this Govern-

ment, being the National Party for 35 years, has done only evil.

Because of its stability, it has built up an infrastructure second to none in Africa.

Dams, roads, telecommunications. Industries, business giants and gold mines. Iscor, Sasol and Escom.

It has provided housing for masses of people, although this has been done on the basis of racial purity. Slums have been cleared. People have been 're-settled' often in agony but with occasional beneficial results.

The Defence Force has grown strong. We export arms, and when not crippled by a drought, food as well.

Education on the basis of race, has improved dramatically for whites but been pathetic for blacks.

Financially the country is secure.

This week, 35 years after it was elected to power, the National Party was looking at itself more critically than it had in decades.

With Mr Botha in charge, it has weathered an Information scandal that would have brought down any Government unable to depend on support of the blood, but to get through that crisis it used up its credit.

No longer do voters believe National Party politicians are morally beyond reproach, no longer is their church urging them to vote Nat or be damned.

Politicians are seen as fallible, and it is now as patriotic to vote Conservative Party as it is to vote Nat.

The National Party is at some sort of crossroads, to labour an overworked metaphor, and Mr Botha has to lead them.

In the by-election battle he used his 35 years as an M P to prove his loyalty to those who were livid because he had gone "liberal" but results showed he was still not trusted in the North.

In Parliament he was called a Cape liberal, and Transvaal conservatives distrust him.

Many are saying the party has served its purpose and succeeded in elevating Afrikaners to top levels, but that the time has now come for a genuine political re-alignment.

Strangely enough, there was no great celebration in Parliament this week, and no special praise for Mr Botha.

It seemed churlish of the Opposition not to say anything but neither did his MP colleagues.

Perhaps they are waiting to see if he does make a 36th year before he is showered with praise, and to see whether he can get the country

to endorse the first real reforms on political levels that the National Party has ever proposed.



## We are in need of help to carry on helping

By Malcolm Fothergill

The crunch has arrived for Johannesburg welfare organisations, especially those working with down-and-outs.

Since last year the number of people needing help has trebled, but the organisations' facilities have not grown and less money is being given to charity.

At the Salvation Army Men's Home in Simmonds Street, up to six men a night are being turned away because there is no shelter available.

The situation is the same at the Salvation Army's Goodwill Centre in Benoni, where three or four individuals or families are turned

away every day.

At the Jesse Mission in Johannesburg, where out-of-work tradesmen and building workers are given a place to sleep and a meal, men lucky enough to be admitted are sleeping on the floor.

At St Mary's Anglican Cathedral in the city centre, as many as 500 people a day line up at a lunch-time soup kitchen — three times as many as lined up last year.

The same increase is reflected in the amount of money paid out by the State in unemployment benefits. In March last year the figure was R3 503 944. In March this year it was R9 149 684.

"It's a pretty frightening

situation," says Mr Howard Ferreira, director of the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society.

"Our expenses have escalated in line with the cost of living, but our income has not kept pace. The gap is widening."

Mr Toni Wood, director of the Hillbrow Ecumenical Centre, which runs Genesis and Hillbrow House, agrees. "We're getting less but we need more," he says.

"We're strained physically and just can't cope. The whole welfare scene is suffering."

The Rev Stuart Cook, of the Aletheia Christian Centre, says the number of

people needing help but unable for one reason or another to get it from the State has mushroomed in the past few months.

"There has been a constant flow of people and phone calls all the time.

"We don't feel we can put people on the street, but our survival is threatened."

Mr Eric Galli, welfare worker at St Mary's Cathedral and chairman of an inter-church welfare workers' group set up in February to seek ways of dealing with the situation, says there's a "massive need for a stirring of the public conscience".

"These are people we're talking about. They should

not be thrown on the dungh-eap of the unwanted."

Mr Galli agrees with the Salvation Army Men's Home's Captain William Kerwan and other welfare workers that there has been a change in recent months in the type of person asking for help.

"We're still getting the hoboes, but we're also getting decent, respectable people, some of them in their 20s," says Captain Kerwan.

"These days they come from all walks of life. Some have very good qualifications."

Many of those seeking help from Johannesburg welfare organisations come from

outside the city, particularly from Durban. Some have come from as far away as South West Africa and Kuru-man.

Because work is so hard to find, Mr Bert Lees of the Salvation Army's Goodwill Centre in Benoni has been forced to relax the centre's rule that people may stay only seven days unless they find work. They may now stay for 14.

"At one time anyone who wanted to work could find a job," says Mr Cook, of the Aletheia Christian Centre. "Now we see people working their heads off, without being able to find anything."

# Land of killers pushers, pimps and corruption in high places

Australia is reeling from a series of scandals involving murder, drugs, prostitution, espionage, organised crime and police and political corruption. No section of the community appears exempt. PHILLIP KNIGHTLY and ROBERT MILLIKEN chart the moral decline of a nation.

Mr Justice Moffitt, president of the New South Wales court of appeal, a distinguished jurist and not by nature a man to sound false alarms, shocked Australians last week with a warning about the spread of corruption in their country. "No group, professional or political, is free from the likelihood of infection," he said. "Time is short. In five years, maybe less, it could be too late to launch any effective defence."

The judge's statement followed an interim report by one of the 10 official groups currently investigating crime and corruption in Australia. A commission headed by Frank Costigan, an eminent QC, said: "Organised crime is unchecked, out of control. Assault on it, if at all, is a mere fleabite. To overcome it is one of the challenges of this decade."

Figures support this view. Official estimates show that organised crime had a turnover last year of 2 219 million Australian dollars, almost equal to the national defence budget. Illegal bookmaking took 1850 million, casino gambling (still illegal in most states) 1370 million, fruit machine "skimming" 151 million and narcotics 151 million. Bribes to senior police and politicians from the operators of illegal casinos were estimated at 1 800 000.

Australia has, historically, always been anti-authoritarian. Out-of-date drinking and gambling laws in the postwar period opened the way for crime syndicates whose path was smoothed by public tolerance and demand. A police crackdown on marijuana-growing after the murder of an anti-pot campaigner in 1977 encouraged a flood of heroin from south-east Asia. When Sydney was a convict colony, the currency was rum. Today it is heroin.

Scandal has touched the highest offices. The New South Wales premier, Neville Wran, stood down voluntarily last week while his own attorney-general appointed a royal commission to investigate allegations that Wran tried to influence the outcome of a court case. This involved a football official charged with misappropriating more than 128 000 from one of Sydney's biggest football clubs.

Sinclair, well-known in Sydney Labour Party circles and a one-time consultant to a Labour-controlled council, was released on health grounds and returned to Sydney last year. Hayward and Fellows are serving life sentences. The NSW royal commission on drugs later reported that Sinclair's operations in Bangkok accounted for 15 percent of NSW's 1978 heroin consumption.

#### The brave cop

In 1978 drug-squad officers got wind of a big shipment of cannabis heading for Australia from south-east Asia in a yacht. They intercepted it as it tried to berth at a small seaside resort on the east coast. They found 4.1 tons of hidden cannabis with a street value of more than £28-million.

The yacht crew told the drug-squad officers that the cannabis was to be collected by a Sydney man who was driving north to meet them. Three weeks later they traced and arrested this man. He was Murray Riley, a former Sydney detective who had won a Queen's commendation for bravery. Riley, was convicted and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.

#### The missing heiress

Juanita Nielsen, heiress of a big Sydney retailing family, ran a community newspaper in the suburb of Kings Cross. In her newspaper she campaigned against the activities of deve-

lopers, and thugs who were trying to force residents out of their Victorian homes to build high-rise office blocks.

At the height of the battle, in July 1975, she went to meet a businessman who said he wanted to place a large advertisement in her newspaper. She has never been seen since. A few days later her handbag, address book and chequebook were found near a motorway being constructed west of Sydney. Her supporters, claiming that she was murdered and her body buried under the concrete of the motorway, finally forced the NSW government to agree to an inquest into her death. This will start in August.

#### The Bangkok connection

In October 1978, a Sydney businessman, William Sinclair, was arrested in Bangkok with two other Australians, Paul Hayward, a famous Sydney football star, and Warren Fellows, a Sydney hairdresser. Sinclair was charged with financing the export of 8.4 kilos of pure heroin to Australia and using the other two men as couriers.

#### Banker to the CIA

The bank run by Frank Nugan and Michael Hand collapsed in 1980 owing millions. Nugan was found dead in his car outside Sydney a few weeks later, an apparent suicide. Hand fled Australia five months later and has not been seen since.

Two inquiries (federal police task force, and NSW corporate affairs commission) found that the bank was not all it appeared. They revealed that it had been used by the CIA in connection with arms deals in Southern Africa — in Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola — and to supply a spy ship to Iran. Drug and exchange-control offences were not proved, but the federal government last week set up a royal commission into Nugan Hand's affairs.

#### The leaked files

Two weeks ago a Sydney newspaper began publishing articles based on thousands of documents from the files of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (Australia's MI5). These revealed that the organisation had been keeping dossiers on prominent Australians and had been passing them to the CIA. They also revealed that Australia had been spying on two close northern neighbours, Indonesia and Papua New Guinea, two countries which the prime minister, Bob Hawke, plans to visit next month, and that there had been widespread illegal practices among security officials in their operations.

Last week Hawke announced there would be a royal commission into the country's security and intelligence services and that a national commission would be formed to fight organised crime. Australians, always prepared to joke about anything, say that there are now so many commissions that there are no longer enough judges to go round.

Another royal commission found that an officer of the solicitor-general's department in the State of Western Australia was running a call-girl racket using the department's telephone.

Anti-corruption campaigners simply "disappear", important witnesses are found dead of "suicide" on the eve of trials in which they are to give evidence, prostitutes solicit in Sydney's streets at 10 in the morning, detectives and gangsters shoot it out in residential areas, and in the past 20 years 500 police have been charged with criminal offences in NSW alone.

These are just a few of the cases that have intrigued law-abiding Australians in the past few years.



Mr Bob Hawke

# EXPOSED: THE UNITA CONNECTION

**SENSATIONAL** claims about British espionage and undercover operations in Africa are made in a new book which has survived an attempt to get it banned.

The book, co-authored by a South African exile living in London, alleges that Britain secretly armed Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement in its bid for power during the 1976 Angolan war.

It also claims that British secret services co-operated closely with their South African and Rhodesian counterparts.

"British Intelligence and Covert Action" was written by Cape Town-born journalist Jonathan Bloch, who has lived in London since 1976, and Patrick Fitzgerald.

It was published in spite of protests of the D-Notice Committee that its detailed accounts of secret service operations and personnel could harm the "national interest".

The D-Notice Committee chairman, Rear Admiral William Ash, has complained that the book contains "extensive and serious breaches" of the traditional silence about MI6.

Included in the book, which took the authors about five years to research, is an extensive list of MI5 and MI6 staff active overseas since the Second World War.

Many of the people listed have never been named before.

## Prime task

The theme of the book is that, behind a veil of secrecy, one of the prime tasks of the British secret services since the war has been to suppress insurgents or topple governments in former British colonies.

These include Malaya, Aden, Iran, Egypt, and, most recently Oman.

The section on Angola reveals for the first time Britain's extensive role in supporting Unita in its power struggle against the communist-backed MPLA.

The claims made are:

● Before the war the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, was promised British aid during a visit to the British embassy in Lusaka.

● When fighting started,

# How British secret agents meddled in Angolan war



**JONAS SAVIMBI**  
Help from the West

By RAY JOSEPH  
London

covert aid was supplied by an MI6 agent at the Lusaka embassy.

● Britain supplied seven radio stations which were set up at strategic points across the sprawling Unita area.

The crates of equipment were flown into Lusaka airport, addressed to Unip, the Zambian ruling party, but went straight into a plane bound for Angola.

## Bottled up

● British intelligence arranged for wounded Unita officers to be treated at private London clinics.

● Britain replenished Zambian army inventories from which Unita were supplied small arms and ammunition.

● Airlifts of aid into Angola were supplied by a Hong-Kong-based company and the British multinational group, Lonrho, headed by Mr "Tiny" Rowland.

The book says that Dr Savimbi concluded an agreement with South Africa, which, with American encouragement, sent in regular troops in a force known as the Zulu Column.

The MPLA was bottled up

in a narrow stretch of territory east of Luanda when it called on Cuban troops for help.

It was about this time that Britain became involved in the war because American support was meeting stiff opposition in Congress.

Britain had for years given political and financial support to Unita, the book claims.

## Savimbi's jet

As soon as the power struggle between Unita and MPLA broke out, Dr Savimbi "cashed in" on British promises.

Among the means of shipping British aid into Angola was an airlift organised by Lonrho.

The authors said Mr Rowland had already supplied a Lear jet for Savimbi, which he used for making diplomatic trips to secure support for Unita.

When it seemed likely that there was no chance of stopping the MPLA advance, the West then decided on military intervention.

"British aid ended as soon as defeat seemed inevitable," the book says.

The authors also focus on relations between British undercover agencies and the South African intelligence services.

"On the whole the South Africans were given a free run in Britain until the mid-1970s when relations under-

went a severe deterioration," say the authors.

Quoting previously published sources, this is credited to "SA-inspired smear campaigns against liberal politicians or a series of burglaries of premises belonging to black nationalists and anti-apartheid groups".

The reaction to this by Britain was to publish guidelines between British intelligence and the South African security services.

There is still an exchange of "hammer and sickle material" on an intelligence level ... information on Communist Party and Soviet activities.

## Shock claims

Other startling claims made in the book

● During the Lancaster House talks on Zimbabwean independence British and Rhodesian intelligence services worked together on the surveillance of black nationalists.

The Rhodesians helped with the translation of African dialects from intercepted phone calls.

● During UDI two senior Rhodesian intelligence officers, Ken Flower and Derek Robinson, made frequent visits to the UK, all of which were announced beforehand to the British embassy in Pretoria.

Both always received escorts through customs and immigration in London.



Sherilene Swane...  
one of...

# Surf-it 'snake'

By VAL  
CARTER-JOHNSON

A KEEN woman suffers tends spending 67 days nights with 40 dangerous snakes ... just to snake to stay on at the coast.

Sherilene Swanepoel, Durban, had never touched a snake until a week ago she decided she would do a marathon "snake-sit".

Sherilene, who is in with the snakes against family's wishes, is doing it one reason only —

"My mom is moving to Johannesburg and I do not to go," she said.

# SA's biggest baby is growing up

Sunday Times Reporter

ONE of the world's biggest babies has celebrated his first birthday at a hospital near Mount Frere, Transkei.

Sinchanblive (We are blessed) Semana weighed 10kg when born at Sipefu Hospital, Mount Frere, by caesarian section to 32-year-old Mrs Christina Semana, who has five other children.

Sinchanblive, who now weighs 23kg and starting to walk, is the biggest baby ever in South Africa. Extensive medical tests Durban revealed he was a "pituitary giant".

An 11kg baby was born in June 1966 Turkish woman, but the Guinness Book of Records said the information could not be regarded as reliable. A 13kg baby born in Illinois in May 1839 died after a few days.

**Sunday Times**  
MAGAZINE  
**THE SECRETS OF THE MAFIA**

Per 1/6/83 5

# Chief Key

# On Namibia

## Angola waits for SA on third round of talks

LISBON — The Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, has said his country is waiting for South Africa to come up with proposals for a third round of peace talks.

In a statement to the Portuguese News Agency, Angop, Mr Jorge said no progress had been possible at a second meeting between the two sides in the Cape Verde Islands last February because of the different level of the two delegations.

Angola's team was led by the Interior Minister,

Mr Alexandre Rodrigues, while Pretoria was represented by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Hans Van Dalsen.

Mr Jorge told Angop it was agreed that South Africa would present proposals for the level and date of a third meeting but so far it had not done so.

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has said the aim of the talks was to seek peace along the borders of Angola and Namibia.

Mr Jorge was speaking during a stopover in Lisbon on his way home from New York, where he had attended a United Nations Security Council debate on Namibia.

Commenting on the debate, he said some 30 members of the non-aligned movement "rejected in categorical terms the United States' attempt to establish a link between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola". — Sapa-Reuter.

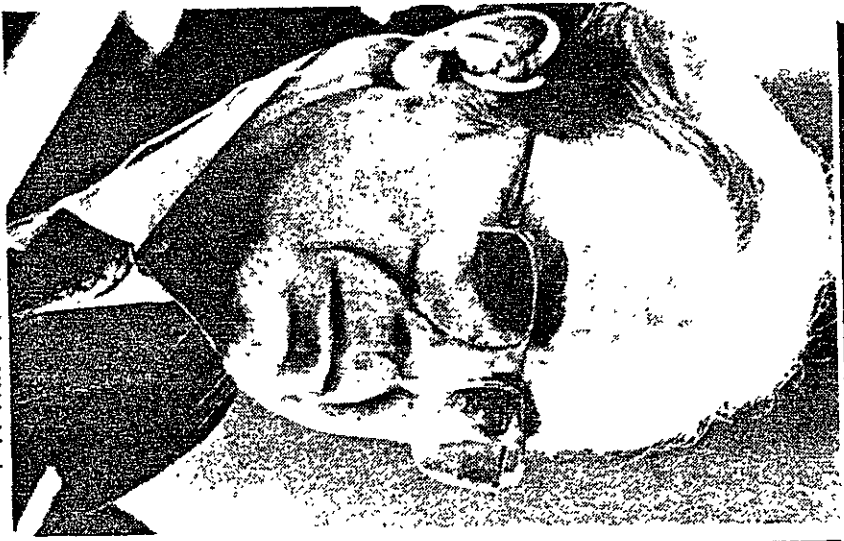
Secretary-General of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar, was yesterday to try to speed up his future.

He will unanimously adopted a resolution on the UN chief to negotiations with all parties to the conflict with the initial aim of the bush war.

After Mr Perez de Cuellar's visit to Africa for talks with the governments or whether he will return here.

At the secretary-general's meeting on August 31, the council also condemned South Africa's occupation of Namibia and the efforts by the West to secure a settlement on the UN on the council — the UN Secretary-General — voted for it.

Resolution 35, must form part of a settlement on South Africa and called on South Africa to withdraw its troops from Namibia.



Mr Perez de Cuellar... to lead the UN initiative.

By Donald Knowler, The Star Bureau

# Slatter: I was tortured into a confession

By Brendan Seery, The Star Bureau

HARARE — Hooded and handcuffed, and made to lie face-down on the back seat of a car, the Zimbabwe Air Force chief of staff, Air Vice-Marshal Hugh Slatter, was given powerful electric shocks until he admitted his involvement in the Thornhill air base sabotage, he told the High Court here yesterday.

Dressed in a conservative grey suit, blue shirt and blue air force tie, thin-faced Air Vice-Marshal Slatter told the hushed gallery in measured tones: "It was an experience I have never been through and I never wish to have it repeated. I was confused, bewildered, hurt and fearful".

The airman said he had been taken from police custody at the

pricks" at the top and base of his back.

His interrogators then asked him questions about the sabotage and, if they received an answer they did not like, gave him electric shocks which increased in strength and made his back, and then whole body, go into muscular spasms, he said.

"It was a helpless situation and I could not see any point in taking further punishment at that stage," said the chief of staff, explaining why he had then begun confessing and telling his questioners what they wanted to hear.

Air Vice-Marshal Slatter said he made out a written statement to officers of the Criminal Investigation Department the following day, but deliberately made errors of a minor nature, in his signature and in the con-

Victim of SS hid under slain friends, he tells court

EAST BERLIN — A Frenchman told a war crimes trial here today he survived a Nazi massacre in his village, concealed among the bodies of his slain friends.

Mr Jean-Marcel Dathoux (59) said he was hit by machine-gun fire in a barn at Oradour-sur-Glane from which 57 bodies were later recovered.

"I was lucky that I was one of the first to fall. The other bodies fell on top of me," he said.

"Then they came to give the coups de grace. They shot a friend who was on top of me. I stayed without moving. Then they left."

Mr Dathoux was giving evidence at the trial of former SS officer Heinz Barth (62), accused of taking part in the massacre of 642 people in 1944.

Other survivors told how SS troops had rounded up women and children into the local church and men into six or

CALL Thanks 1/6/83

# Talks: Angola 'waiting' for (S) SA proposals

LISBON. — The Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, has said his country is waiting for South Africa to come up with proposals for a third round of peace talks.

In a statement to the Portuguese News Agency, Anop, last night, Mr Jorge said no progress had been possible at a second meeting between the two sides in the Cape Verde Islands last February because of the different level of the two delegations.

Angola's team was led by the Interior Minister, Mr Alexandre Rodrigues, while Pretoria was represented by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Hans van Dalsen.

Mr Jorge told Anop it had been agreed that South Africa would present proposals for the level and date of a third meeting but so far it had not done so.

The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has said the aim of the talks was to seek peace along the borders of Angola and SWA/Namibia.

This area has been the main battleground in a 17-year bush war between South African-led forces and the Angolan-based South West Africa People's Organization (Swapo).

## Security Council debate

Mr Jorge was speaking during a stopover in Lisbon on his way home from New York, where he had attended a United Nations Security Council debate on SWA/Namibia.

Commenting on the debate, he said some 30 members of the non-aligned movement had "rejected in categorical terms the United States attempt to establish a link between the process of decolonization or independence of SWA/Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola."

But the South African representative had renewed "the permanent position of defiance by Pretoria with regard to the international community," he said.

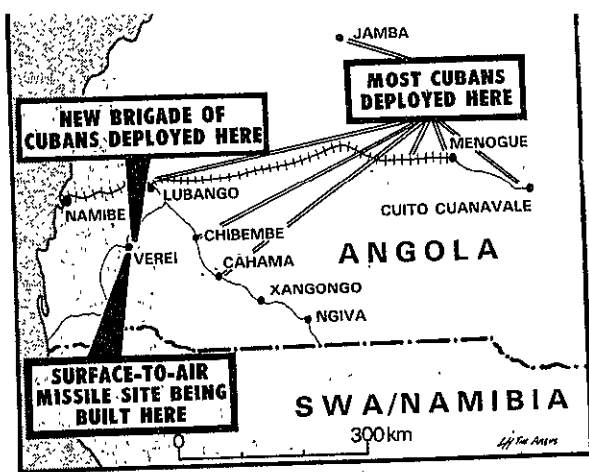
## Ball in Angola's court

● A South African Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said last night that "the ball was in the Angolans' court" regarding the third round of talks.

He said "there was an indication from both sides at the end of the February meeting that further meetings would take place".

He added that South Africa had sent a letter to the Angolans in April setting out its requirements for a further meeting.

No reply had been received, he said. — Sapa-Reuter and Staff Reporter



# Cubans build missile site <sup>ARGUS</sup> 2/6/83 170 km from SWA border

Argus Africa News Service

OSHAKATI. — Cubans in southern Angola have advanced to within 150 km of SWA/Namibia, a Defence Force intelligence officer has disclosed.

He also announced a new deployment of a Cuban brigade and preparations for a surface-to-air missile site at the remote south-west Angolan town of Virei, about 170 km north of SWA/Namibia.

While most of the Cuban emplacements in the south are geared to defend the railway line between Namibe (formerly Mocamedes) and Menogue, the Virei position is well away from the main rail and road routes.

## "SHUTTING THE BACK DOOR"

It was described as an Angolan attempt to "shut the back door" against any theoretical attack on the southern capital of Lubango (formerly Sa da Bandeira) and the port of Namibe.

Most of the Cubans in the south were deployed in brigades or regiments along the Namibe-Menogue railway and even farther east towards the borders of Unita territory, the town of Cuito Cuanavale, the officer said.

More recently, however, the Cuban presence south of the railway appeared to have been consolidated.

Cuban regiments were stationed at Jamba and Chibembe, while farther south a Cuban brigade was positioned at Cahama, about 150 km north of SWA/Namibia.

Cahama, according to the officer, is also the southernmost position of Angolan forces.

## SHIELD AGAINST ATTACKS

The major towns south of Cahama — Xangongo and Ngiva — were cleared of Government forces in the 1981 Protea operation.

Swapo, he said, regularly made use of these Angolan (Fapla) and Cuban facilities as a shield against South African attacks.

There were, however, still about 12 detachments of Swapo fighters deployed in three zones — west, central and eastern — adjoining the SWA/Namibian border.

It was against these "regular" guerrillas that security forces operated in hot-pursuit sallies, the officer said.

## "THREE WEEKS AWAY"

Swapo's next war thrust could be less than three weeks away, said a senior Defence Force officer.

It was likely to be the first of many low-intensity sallies by the guerrillas, timed to coincide with political events and anniversaries.

The next significant date for Swapo, he said, was the June 21 anniversary of South Africa's mandate over SWA/Namibia, terminated by the United Nations.

Swapo appeared to have chosen a new tactic of "offensive waves" in an effort to escalate the bush war in northern SWA/Namibia, he said.

This was unlikely to succeed because Swapo's logistical and manpower problems remained unsolved and South African forces continually dispersed the guerrillas.

This week Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, warned in New York that Swapo would do all it could to escalate the guerrilla war while continuing to seek ways of finding a political settlement for the territory.

Following Swapo's infiltration of northern SWA/Namibia by more than 700 of its specialist fighters in February, the organisation had planned a "second-wave" attack into Ovamboland to coincide with Casinga Day on May 4.

Pre-emptive security-force action had, however, dispersed a considerable number of the enemy before the attack could be launched.

In spite of this the number of war incidents in Ovamboland and Kaokoland at that time had risen slightly.

## BOTH "WAVES" FAILED

Both military waves launched so far had been unsuccessful in escalating the bush war, said the officer.

The February offensive had cost many of Swapo's top fighters and the organisation was being forced to step up its abduction campaign for recruitment in Ovamboland. Many of those abducted were children.

Added to its manpower problems, the 8 000-strong guerrilla organisation had to depend on over-extended logistics since moving its operational headquarters 150 km deeper into Angola following South African operations in Angola.

"I doubt Swapo will ever again be able to launch an attack on the scale of the February operation," the officer said.

Cuban forces massing near Namibia border

# New 'war thrust' by Swapo expected soon

Oshakati. Cuban forces have taken up positions in Angola within 150 km of the Namibian border and are building a surface-to-air missile site at the nearby town of Virei.

This was revealed yesterday by the South African Defence Force.

It warned that Swapo is expected to launch a new "war thrust" within three weeks.

While most of the Cuban emplacements in the south are geared to defend the Namibe-Menongue rail line, the Virei position is well away from main rail and road routes.

An SADF intelligence officer described the Cuban move as an Angolan attempt to "shut the back door" on any theoretical attack on the southern capital of Lubango (formerly Sa da Bandeira) and the port of Namibe.

Most of the Cubans in the south are deployed in brigades or regiments along the Namibe-Menongue rail line, and even further east to the borders of "Unita territory" — the town of Cuito Cuanavale — the officer said.

But recently the Cuban presence south of the rail line appears to have been consolidated.

Cuban regiments are stationed at Jamba and Chibemba, and further south a brigade is positioned at Cahama — about 150 km north of the border.

Cahama, the officer said, is also the southernmost position of Angolan forces.

The towns south of Cahama — Chingongo and Ngiva — were cleared of government forces in the 1981 Proleta operation.

The officer said Swapo regularly made use of these Angolan and Cuban facilities as a shield against South African attacks.

There were, however, still about 12 detachments of Swapo fighters deployed in three zones adjoining the border.

It was against these "regular" guerrillas that Security Forces operated in hot pursuit salies, he said.

A senior officer in the operational area said the new Swapo thrust was likely to be the first of many low-intensity salies by the guerrillas — timed to coincide with political events and anniversaries.

An intelligence officer attached to Sector 10 Military Headquarters at Oshakati said the next significant date for Swapo was June 21 — the anniversary that South Africa's mandate on Namibia was ter-

## By Peter Honey, The Star's Foreign News Service

minated by the United Nations.

He said Swapo appeared to have chosen a new tactic of "offensive waves" in an effort to escalate the bush war.

This was unlikely to succeed because Swapo's logistical and manpower problems remained unsolved, and South African forces regularly dispersed the guerrilla fighters.

The officer was one of three to brief journalists at the Security Force headquarters responsible for operations in Owambo and Kaokoland.

In New York this week, Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma warned that the movement would do all it could to escalate the guerrilla war while continuing to seek ways of finding a political settlement for Namibia.

After Swapo's massive infiltration into Owambo in February by more than 700 specialists

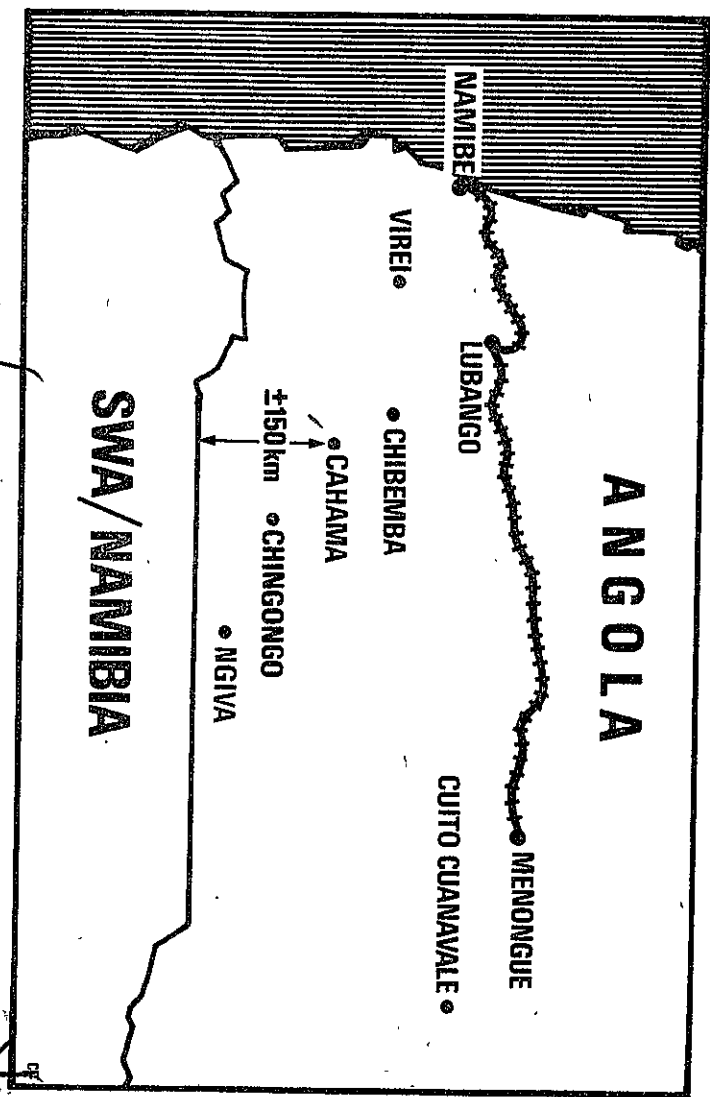
fighters, it had planned a second attack to coincide with Cassinga Day — May 4.

But pre-emptive Security Force action had "dispersed a considerable number of the enemy" before the attack could be launched.

Both operations had been unsuccessful in escalating the bush war, said the senior staff officer (operations) of Sector 10.

The "war" offensive had cost many of Swapo's top fighters, and the organisation was being forced to step up its abduction campaign for recruitment in Owambo.

Added to its manpower problems, the 8 000-strong guerrilla organisation had to depend on over-extended logistics, since moving its operational headquarters 150 km deeper into Angola after South African opera-



## UN chief begins peace talks with SA envoy today

By Donald Knowler, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, begins a new initiative on Namibia today when he confers with South Africa's representative to the UN.

The UN chief was this week mandated by the UN Security Council to consult all parties to the Namibia question with a view to the speedy implementation of a ceasefire in the Namibian war.

The Secretary-General is scheduled to meet the South African Ambassador to the UN, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, today before flying to Africa to consult with African leaders.

A UN spokesman confirmed today that the Secretary-General would attend the Organisation of African Unity summit in Addis Ababa on June 8. In Addis he will meet leaders of the "frontline" African States and the president of the South West Africa People's Organisation, Mr Sam Nujoma.

A six-day Security Council debate on Namibia ended here yesterday. One of the last speakers was Mr Johnny Makatini, of the African National Congress of South Africa.

More than 60 nations, represented by 30 Foreign Ministers, took part in the debate. A resolution, passed unanimously, gave the Secretary-General until August 31 to report back to the council on the results of the new initiative.

The resolution will not cut across efforts by the Western Contact Group on Namibia to achieve a settlement.

Observers here doubted whether the Secretary-General would have much success. Interest remains focused on the Western initiative, which is viewing a settlement in Namibia in a wider context. One of the Western countries, the United States, is attempting to link a settlement in Namibia with negotiations on improving security in the whole of Southern Africa. A withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is included in these negotiations.

● The Secretary-General was welcome to visit South Africa and Namibia, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Cape Town yesterday.

"He would, of course, be welcome to visit South Africa on the assumption that he would also visit South West Africa and have proper discussions with the parties of the territory," the Minister said.

dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

in South Africa

PSL / PD UCT

Vervaardig in Suid-Afrika



(221)(5) Star 3/6/83

# Who will protect us, asks Angola

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Angola intends to send Cuban troops packing as soon as its security concerns are met in full, says the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge.

He said this in New York yesterday while some newspapers in South Africa were reporting the presence of two Cuban brigades close to the Angola-Namibia border.

Mr Jorge, who is in New York for the United Nations Security Council debate on Namibia, said the United States had not presented concrete proposals to Angola that addressed his country's main concern: "Who will protect us, and how,

against South African military incursions?"

He said this issue had not been resolved at his meeting with the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, this week.

In an interview published in the Christian Science Monitor, Mr Jorge set out his government's position concerning the presence of Cuban troops in Angola:

- The presence of Cuban troops in Angola is no more shocking than the presence of US troops in Germany or US bases in Turkey and the Philippines. A sovereign nation that feels threatened has the right to ask a friendly nation to station troops in its territory for defensive purposes.
- The Cuban troops (25 000 by Western estimates)

threaten none of Angola's neighbours. They are essentially meant to shield Angola from a feared South African attack.

● Luanda, as a token of goodwill, had started sending some Cuban troops home in 1976, and it was then that South Africa launched a new, devastating raid into Angola.

● Angola is ready to ask Cuba to withdraw its troops "as soon as South Africa will no longer be in a position to threaten Angola". That means once Namibia has become independent and forms a buffer state between the two countries.

● Various ideas of replacing Cuban troops with French, Portuguese, Brazilian and African troops have been talked about. None is acceptable to

Angola. As long as it feels threatened, Angola will rely only on an ally to look after its security.

Mr Jorge added that the Americans had told Angola that once the Cubans were gone they would be "in a good position to talk South Africa into letting go of Namibia".

"This is tantamount to asking us to throw ourselves on the mercy of South Africa."

Mr Jorge said Angola's economy was in a dire straits.

"The war imposed on us by South Africa bleeds us. World prices of coffee, oil and diamonds have fallen and further hurt us. We lack foreign currency for crucial imports. There are serious problems in the area of food."

## 'Havana is wooing Europe'

# Cuban drive for support from West

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — There is strong evidence that Cuba is trying to outflank the United States diplomatically by strengthening its ties with key Western countries, including staunch US allies in Western Europe.

While the main thrust of Cuba's foreign drive appears to be aimed at building up opposition to the Reagan Administration's support for anti-leftist groups in Central America, Havana could also be seeking understanding for its commitment of troops in Angola.

Removal of the Cubans from Angola is one of the key objectives of the Reagan Administration for Southern Africa. Washington maintains that there can be no possibility of peace in the region while the Cubans are there.

While it has been known for some time that the Cubans have been seeking markets for their minerals in Europe, Washington Post Reporter Karen De Young has written from Havana that the Cubans are now strenuously pursuing a strategy of improving political, diplomatic and economic ties with key Western European and Latin American countries.

This, she said, is an open bid to intensify opposition to US actions in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

She quotes a diplomat as saying that the Falklands war was a miracle for Cuba. By supporting Argentina, Cuba was able to strengthen its ties with her.

The Post report said that Cuba has aimed its diplomatic efforts particularly at France, Spain, Sweden and West Germany. It also quotes European diplomats as saying that, however close their countries may become, they have no plans to change their overall global view of Cuba as a Soviet surrogate.



Guerrilla leader Dr Jonas Savimbi ... aiming for greater control of Angola in order to strengthen Unita's "bargaining" position.

## Savimbi is wary of MPLA

# Unita goes flat out for political win

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Unita guerrilla leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has rejected the popular notion that a settlement in Namibia would have disastrous results for his Angolan rebel group.

However he did admit that a Namibian settlement would affect Unita, particularly where supply lines were concerned.

He said it was therefore trying to get control of as much of Angola as possible to strengthen its hand in post-settlement bargaining with the MPLA Government in Luanda.

Speaking in an interview in Jamba, Dr Savimbi said Unita has the ability to wage a protracted guerrilla war — and that war could be ended only if the MPLA Government agreed to negotiate with and work together with Unita.

He said he was confident the Cuban troops protecting the Luanda government would be withdrawn.

Many Angolan specialists believe a Cuban withdrawal will expose the Luanda government to an inevitable defeat by Unita.

Dr Savimbi said it would be meaningless for Unita to take Luanda by force.

"Luanda must be taken politically, not militarily," he said. "If there is a peaceful settlement (in Angola) then we shall find ourselves in Luanda."

The real problem, he said, was getting the Cubans out. That was Unita's immediate objective as the loss of the Cuban protection would force the Luanda government to come to terms peacefully with Unita.

Dr Savimbi said Unita was advocating a different political and economic system from the one adopted by the MPLA.

"We must establish a pluralist system that will enable different opinions to exist side by side."

# UN chief's task 'impossible'

By Donald Knowler, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Achieving a settlement in Namibia — the task given to Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary-general — is considered here to be an impossible mission.

This week the Security Council instructed the United Nations chief to consult all parties to the Namibia conflict in order to bring about a ceasefire in the Namibia bushwar, which in turn would pave the way for the territory's independence.

The resolution instructing the UN chief to undertake the Namibia mission was

passed unanimously by the Security Council on Tuesday, but the initiative will not cut across Western efforts to achieve a settlement.

Mr Perez de Cuellar was given an August 31 deadline to report back to the council. Observers here, however, doubt that he will be successful.

The stumbling block is the presence of Cuban troops in Angola — and South Africa reiterated yesterday that it would not agree to any plan for a settlement as long as they remained.

Against a background of general pessimism the UN chief yesterday held talks with South Africa's UN Ambassador, Mr

Kurt von Schirnding.

South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said this week Mr Perez de Cuellar was welcome to visit South Africa on the assumption that he would also visit Namibia and have proper discussions with the parties of the territory.

It is understood this message was delivered personally by the South African Ambassador during their meeting.

The secretary-general is to discuss Namibia when he meets the presidents of the Frontline African states in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa next week during an OAU summit meeting.

The Argus Friday June 3 1983

# UN 'partiality' a block to SWA independence

ARGUS 3/6/83 (5)

Argus Africa  
News Service

WINDHOEK. — The presence of Cuban troops in Angola is no longer South Africa's only objection to SWA/Namibian independence. The United Nations' alleged pro-Swapo stance is again an issue.

This is clear from the response by South African officials to this week's UN Security Council mandate for Mr Perez de Cuellar to seek a settlement.

Last night, the new director of the Administrator-General's Department, Mr Sean Cleary, told the SWA-Namibia Foundation: "Blatant UN partiality for Swapo, to which we have been treated twice in the past two months, in Paris and New York, will come under increasingly sharp scrutiny."

## "Hot potato"

This follows a torrent of anti-UN propaganda from South African Government-controlled media since the UN-sponsored Paris conference in April.

South Africa stopped all mention of its original objections to UN partiality when the Cubans became the major stumbling block.

Previously, the UN's "partiality" was one of South Africa's major objections to an internationally supervised independence election in the territory.

Mr Cleary said South Africa was not prepared to grant "independence" simply for the sake of an international "hot potato".

# Cubans go when Angola is 'safe'

Argus Foreign Service  
NEW YORK. — Angola intends to send Cuban troops packing as soon as its security concerns are met in full, says the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge.

Mr Jorge made this comment here today while some South African newspapers were reporting the presence of two Cuban brigades close to the border between Angola and SWA/Namibia.

Mr Jorge, in New York to attend the Security Council debate on SWA/Namibia, which ended yesterday, said the United States had not presented concrete proposals to Angola that addressed his country's main concern: "Who will protect us, and how, against South African military incursions?"

## 'PROMISES'

In spite of a year of meetings with American officials, Angola had received only "promises, promises".

Mr Jorge set out, in an interview published in the Christian Science Monitor, his government's position concerning the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

- The presence of Cuban troops in Angola is no more shocking than the presence of American troops in Germany or of American bases in Turkey and the Philippines.

- Cuban troops (25 000 by Western estimates) threaten none of Angola's neighbours.

- Luanda, as a token of goodwill, started sending some Cuban troops home in 1976 and it was then that South Africa launched a new, devastating raid into Angola.

D. DISPATCH 4/6/83

# Improved prospects of Cuban withdrawal

WASHINGTON — The chances of a breakthrough on a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola are beginning to show marked improvement.

The positive signs, according to highly-placed sources, are:

● During Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos's recent trip to Moscow, the Soviets left the door open for the Cubans' departure, stressed only that they would like to maintain "good party ties" with the MPLA, and appeared unwilling to commit further military and economic resources to the Luanda regime.

● Cuba, which currently fields an estimated 20 000 to 30 000 troops in Angola, is starting to place heavy emphasis on the February 4, 1982, communique issued jointly with the MPLA, stating that "it shall implement, without hesitation, any decision adopted by the sovereign government of the people's Republic of Angola on the withdrawal" of its forces.

● The MPLA is altering its rhetoric against Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Unita rebel forces, referring to him as a "serious problem" rather than — the previous terminology — a "bandit."

● Angolan Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge told Secretary of State, George Shultz at their meeting at the UN last week, that his government was ready to send the Cubans home so long as its "security concerns" were met.

● Dr Savimbi, in recent

interviews with Western journalists, is reiterating that his goal is not a military, but a political solution, and "a peaceful settlement," albeit one negotiated from strength.

Following the impasse reached in the Angolan-South African talks on Cape Verde, the US has been seeking to broker an agreement calling for the parallel withdrawal of South African and Cuban forces from Angola.

By seeking to address the "security concerns" of both Luanda and Pretoria. In a series of high-level contacts with Angolan officials, the Reagan Administration has sought to persuade the MPLA that the so-called "linkage" between Cuban departure and Namibian independence is not, as is often claimed, a concession to Pretoria, but is an even-handed means to remove the threats each side perceives.

With South Africa out not only of Angola, but also of Namibia, the MPLA would no longer have to fear external attack. Furthermore, the removal of direct South African support for Dr Savimbi would lead to a more balanced atmosphere for domestic accommodation. The need for the Cuban and East-bloc presence, which places a heavy burden on Angola's fragile economy, would thus be obviated.

The critical question now on the drawing will accept the scheme now on he drawing boards. The Reagan

Administration's major concern is that South Africa may block the process by launching fresh strikes across the Angolan border, or by supporting Dr Savimbi. The Unita leaders appear to be stepping up his operations in order perhaps to position himself for a possible MPLA-Pretoria settlement

## Unita is confident

NEW YORK — Unita will be in Luanda whenever the Cubans leave Angola, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi predicts. "It is my profound belief that they will leave," he told the Christian Science Monitor.

But he also offered to "work together" with the MPLA authorities to end the war and establish "a pluralist political system that will enable different opinions to exist side by side." — DDC.

## Immigration gain

PRETORIA — South Africa gained a total of 3 969 immigrants in September last year, according to figures released here yesterday by the central Statistical Services office

During the same month, 393 people left South Africa to settle elsewhere. The number of foreign visitors to South Africa during last September totalled 47 013. — SAPA.

**Law calls  
the tune  
on Larry**

**BIRMINGHAM** — Non-stop whistler Larry Parry is behind bars for whistling in a court where he was charged with whistling to the annoyance of neighbours.

On Wednesday a court ordered Parry, a 63-year-old bachelor, to keep the peace in the block of flats where his whistling was described as akin to the sound of a high-pitched kettle.

But he failed to obey the order and kept whistling even when he was brought back before the court on Friday. He was jailed for 14 days for contempt of court.

Explaining why he will not stop whistling, Parry said: "I have always loved whistling — and I don't even know when I'm doing it." — Sapa-  
Reuter.

# SADF homes in on Cuban missile sites

*5/6/83*

By **DAVID PIETERS**

**WINDHOEK** — On the eve of further talks between American negotiators and the South African Government on a Namibia ceasefire, the spotlight has again focused sharply on advanced Cuban-manned, radar-linked ground-to-air missile sites in Southern Angola.

The talks are aimed at the implementation of UN Resolution 435 — and the prior withdrawal of communist forces from Angola.

This week's SADF disclosures about the protective shield and logistical back-up provided to a military wing of Swapo, the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN),

contained little that is new.

But the military layout in southern Angola has been consolidated while joint US and South African insistence on a Cuban pull-out continue, and as an expected plan of offensive looms later this month.

In Oshakati on Republic Day, officers briefed newsmen on the set-up.

Cuban forces are stationed at Chibemba, Jamba and Cahama. They manned several radar and SAM-3 surface-to-air missile installations defending the railway line from Namibe (Mocccamedes) to Menongue. Cahama is 130km from the Namibian border.

And another missile site is under construction at Virei, about 100km south-west of Lubango on the rail-line and close to the headquarters of Plan as well as the Cuban command.

At all six of PLAN's operational bases common logistics are shared by Cuban and Angolan forces.

PLAN's 'Volcano' base near Lubango is the training centre for its elite detachments geared for deep infiltration into Namibia's white farming areas.

Following two unsuccessful PLAN offensives during this year's rainy season, security forces now expect a possible third thrust about June 21 — the anniversary of the termination of South Africa's mandate over Namibia in 1966.

But the offensive is more a propaganda ploy than a military reality, senior security force officers said.

They said PLAN was still suffering after successful pre-emptive operations heading off the first two thrusts.


During the last one starting in April, PLAN lost more than 300 of its 700 elite troops deployed for Namibia, according to the Defence Force.

**The Salem debate — checking credentials**

THE Sunday Express on March 13 quoted Mr P T C du Plessis, the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, as saying during the debate in Parliament on the Salem affair that "if you are embarrassed and have only so many days' supply of oil left, you don't check a man's credentials back to his grandmother and great-grandmother".

In fact, the statement was made by Mr F W de Klerk, the Minister of Internal Affairs, when he was referring to the R10-million 'fixer' in the Salem oil transaction, Mr Johan Christiaan Janse van Vuuren.

The Sunday Express apologises for the error.



**CHAMPAGNE POOLS  
(PTY) LTD**

The most experienced pool builders in South Africa are still offering the best value and guarantee for money. Now is the time to start thinking about a Pool before the big rush

**Bailey blow**

THE romance between soccer star Gary Bailey and Miss United Kingdom Della Dolan, is still going strong.

This was confirmed by Bailey, when he arrived in Johannesburg last week en route to Swaziland for yesterday's game between rival English teams Manchester United and Tottenham Hotspur.

But while Bailey, the Manchester United player, acknowledged

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## Unita claims killing 302 ⑤

LISBON — Angolan rebels say they have killed 275 government troops and 27 Cubans — wiping out a complete battalion — in recent guerilla action in the centre and south of the country.

In a communique in Lisbon, Unita said its guerillas had captured 436 weapons during the offensive from May 25 to 31. It had lost only six of its own men.

The communique said the action was in response to attempts by government troops to recapture lost positions in Moxico province.

On May 25, Unita destroyed the government's 43rd Battalion in the province near Cangamba Tempue, it said.

Later Unita captured the villages of Lunge, in Huambo province, and Kaparó, 95 km north-east of Menongue, it added. — Reuter

# Diamond scandal rocks Dos Santos

LONDON — Reports from within the ruling MPLA suggest that the authority of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola may be undermined by a diamond scandal implicating his senior officials.

Five pilots of the Angolan airline TAAG are said to have been arrested and five others have chosen to remain outside Angola.

More significantly, five or six senior MPLA officials are said to have been detained.

The scandal, which has not yet been made public, is threatening to bring into the open the whole question of the national leadership.

There are suggestions that President dos Santos may stay in titular control but that some of his executive powers may be devolved upon a college of veterans within the 11-man MPLA political bureau, the country's senior organisation.

This would forestall the risk of a coup reported to have been under discussion among younger army officers frustrated by an alleged lack of direction and decisiveness at the top.

The diamond scandal came to a head when the Minister of Mines and Industries, Lieutenant-Colonel Bento Ribeiro, called in British mining police to help stop smuggling in the eastern Lunda Province bordering Zambia and Zaire.

Diamond smuggling had been costing the State up to R80 million a year, and the mine police were reported to have had some success in stopping it.

The political crisis broke just before President dos Santos made an official visit to Moscow on May 16. He was handed a report, written to protect se-



President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola . . . His leadership is threatened by a looming scandal and talk of lack of decisiveness at the top.

nior MPLA officials involved in smuggling, which accused the British mine police of being spies and demanding the arrest of Angolans trying to uncover the scandal.

But the Minister of Planning, Mr Lopo do Nascimento, considered one of the more pragmatic members of the leadership, took the opposite line.

He told Sir Philip Oppenheimer, chairman of the London-based Diamond Trading Company, which buys Angola's diamonds and markets them through De Beers' Central Selling Organisation, that the British mine police were most welcome and that the Diamond Trading Company should be given greater freedom in its technical management of Diamang.

Mr Do Nascimento apparently accepted expert opinion that Angolan political and managerial interference, along with smuggling involving MPLA officials, had retarded output. — The Times News Service.

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**Unita in strikes**

LISBON. — Unita said yesterday it had killed 275 Angolan government troops and 27 Cubans, wiping out a complete battalion, in a recent action in the centre and south of Angola.

In a Unita communique issued in Lisbon, Sapa- Reuter reports that Unita said it had captured 436 weapons from May 25 to 31, losing only six men.

It said the action was in response to attempts by government troops to recapture lost positions in the province of Moxico.

On May 25, Unita destroyed the government's 43rd Battalion in the pro-

vince near Cangamba Tem-pue, it said. Later, it captured the villages of Lunge in Huambo province and Kaparo.

From Windhoek, Tony Weaver reports that a black member of the Security Forces has been killed in action in the war zone, the South West Africa Territory Force headquarters announced in the capital yesterday.

The name and family details of the 23-year-old soldier were not released for fear of reprisals against his family, a SWATF spokesman said.



1966/83

# Sullivan code may become law in US

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — United States Government officials believe that unless all American firms operating in South Africa with more than 20 workers agree to sign the voluntary Sullivan Code of Fair Employment Practices in the next few weeks they will be forced to do so by law.

They say there is so much pressure building up in Congress to pass anti-apartheid legislation that a law to make adherence to the Sullivan code mandatory is inevitable — unless the non-signatory companies pre-empt it by signing the code voluntarily.

A highly placed Reagan Administration official said yesterday: "We cannot go to the Hill (the Congress) much longer to argue against mandatory adherence."

This week, the State Department took the unexpected step of naming publicly the 25 largest non-signatory companies at a congressional committee hearing. They had never been named by the administration before — not even during the Carter administration.

## FAIR PRACTICES

While the State Department softened the impact by saying that many of the non-signatories employed fair practice codes of their own and understandably rejected outside interference in the running of their affairs, the public naming is seen as direct pressure on the companies to change their minds as soon as possible.

The Sullivan code, named after its author, the Rev Leon

Sullivan, was drawn up seven years ago and has been signed voluntarily by 146 of the more than 300 US corporations with businesses in South Africa

Mandatory adherence is part of a Bill introduced by Congressman Stephen Solarz

Congressional sources expect that some parts of the Solarz legislation will be dropped — such as a ban on US sales of Krugerrands and a ban on new bank loans to South Africa — but that adherence to the Sullivan code will be accepted as a reasonable compromise

A senior State Department official agreed with this view.

He said the Sullivan code had acquired an important political significance which had to be recognised by the administration.

## NO CHOICE

Another official said that unless the non-signatory companies reconsidered their position, they would be faced by a law which would give them no choice.

The 25 largest non-signatories have been named as:

Getz Bros, Oak Industries, Echlin Manufacturing, International Playtex, Cheseborough Ponds, AM International, Marent Corp, Chicago Bridge and Iron, Alexander and Alexander International, BBDO International, Dun and Bradstreet International, Associated Metals and Minerals, Newmont Mining, Chicago Pneumatic Tool, Pepsi-co International, Columbus-McKinnon, Ingersoll Rand, Blue Bell, Eaton Corp, Timken Company, Wyeth International, V F Corp, Dresser Industries, Precision Valve, and City Investing International.

In terms of the Solarz legislation, American companies that fail to adhere to the code — which includes equal pay for equal work, recognition of labour unions and desegregation of all facilities — would be liable to have their exports to South Africa stopped, their South African tax deductions rejected by the US, and their use of the Export Import Bank stopped.

Other penalties are also established in the Bill.

# New hope for Cuban pullout

Star 5  
14/6/83

BONN — The United States and Angola have reached a substantial measure of agreement on withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola that could soon lead to elections in the neighbouring disputed territory of Namibia, West German diplomatic sources said today.

They said the talks had reached a highly sensitive level and had faced two severe tests recently. These were the United Nations Security Council debate on Namibia, which was opposed by Angola, and the visit to Moscow by Angolan President, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

The West German sources said that once Cuban troops left Angola, South Africa would withdraw from Namibia and agree to elections there. South Africa currently controls the former German colony, in defiance of a United Nations resolution calling for its independence.

The US—Angolan negotiations indicated that Cuban troops could leave Angola "in the really near future", a diplomat said. Sources added that the talks had reached such a delicate stage that the United States was providing the barest information even to its allies in the Namibian Contact Group set up by the United Nations. Britain, Canada, France and West Germany are the other members.

Fears that the Contact Group was falling apart, with France threatening to quit and the Unit-

ed States showing little interest, had now been completely dispelled, the sources said.

France had responded favourably to an appeal from Front-line African states in the region not to leave the group and US Foreign Secretary, Mr George Shultz, was heavily involved in a Namibian settlement, they said.

UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, had also provided new impetus towards a settlement.

Mr Perez was due to meet West German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, in Bonn today and the subject of Namibia was certain to be discussed, the sources said.

The Contact Group has met twice in the last two weeks, firstly during the economic summit at Williamsburg and then during the Nato foreign Ministers' meeting in Paris this week.

The sources added that the latest developments had also ended a dispute on Namibian policy within the West German coalition government of West German Chancellor, Mr Helmut Kohl.

Right-wing leader Mr Franz-Josef Strauss, who heads the Christian Social Union (CSU), the second biggest coalition party, has demanded that Bonn break off contacts with the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) in Southern Africa.

Mr Strauss, who has warned about Soviet ambitions in the area with its rich strategic metals deposits, also wants West Germany to re-open its consulate in Windhoek, the Namibian capital, and seek closer ties with South Africa.

The sources said Mr Kohl had decided against such policies and thrown his support behind Mr Genscher, who leads the junior Free Democratic (FDP) coalition partner. — Reuter.

5 0/e ARGUS 11/6/83

# What if the Unita rebels v

WHAT happens when one of the Soviet-Cuban expeditionary forces in Africa gets into serious trouble? We may be about to find out in Angola.

Seven years after they first opened the war, Angolans fighting under the banner of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) seem to be prevailing against the government forces supported by the communist powers.

### Acute problem

Units of the Unita army, now some 40 000 strong, are wriggling like eels through Angola's endless forests between the main towns, picking off government garrisons, destroying dams and bridges, and making hostages of foreign contract workers.

Unita's resistance has helped bring the Angolan economy to its knees. In a series of battles over the past nine months, Unita has doubled the area under its control, which now totals about a third of the country.

This turn of events poses an acute problem for the Angolan Government's Soviet and Cuban allies. The 30 000 Cuban troops that have been in

Angola since its independence have mainly confined themselves to the defence of the main towns and advising the government on military strategy.

Soon Havana and Moscow will have to decide whether to send in more Cuban or Eastern Bloc troops in an attempt to stem Unita's advance.

This would bring an angry reaction from a US Government that has demanded the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as the price for Washington's help in securing a South African withdrawal from Namibia next door. A Soviet-Cuban escalation in Angola could also have wider repercussions in Africa and elsewhere.

The Angolan fighting now is on a much bigger scale than at any time since the country became independent.

### Assessment

It is a complex war, with many nations and corporations giving clandestine support to Unita. It is a difficult war to observe because the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) rarely allows Western journalists

beyond Luanda, the capital.

I base my assessment of the situation in Angola on a recently completed 3 200 km, two-month journey through Angola with Unita soldiers. We penetrated 800 km deep into the country, to the eastern edge of the central plateau and the Benguela Railway, which bisects the country west to east.

My journey began with an airplane flight into Unita's territory in south-east Angola from a black African capital.

We reached the Kandende operations base camp of Unita's chief of staff, Brigadier Demostenes Chilingutula. Kandende lies in dense forest near the town of Muie, captured in 1982, some 500 km inside Angola from the country's southern border with South African-ruled Namibia. Two years ago Chilingutula's operations camp was only 200 km inside the country.

From Kandende we struck due east with Chilingutula by Soviet-made Ipan truck to the town of Lumbala. We drove along a new branch of the Savimbi Trail, a rough track crossing plains, river valleys and forested hills — Angola's version of the Ho Chi Minh Trail, which the Vietcong used to carry supplies to South Vietnam.

### Captured

Lumbala, a substantial town with a big airfield, was captured by Unita last November. Chilingutula described the victory.

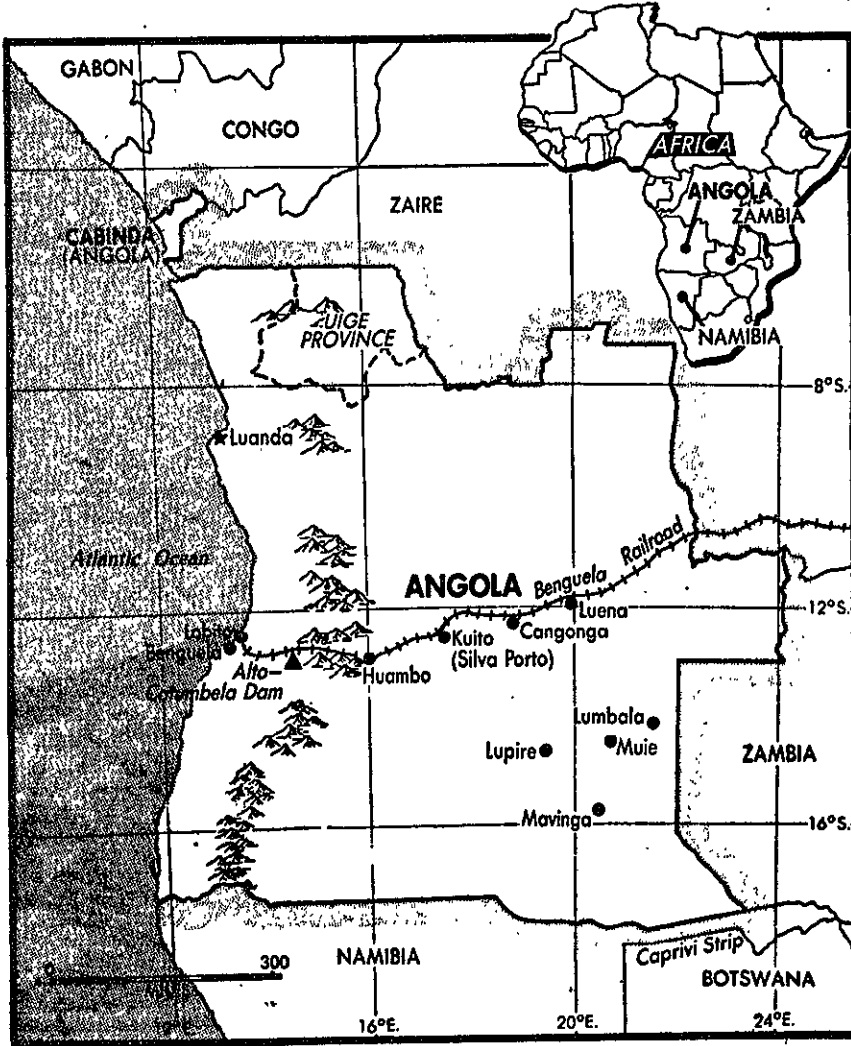
After guerrillas had collected intelligence and harassed the garrison of 1 200 MPLA and 90 Cuban troops for several months, Unita launched its decisive assault with 3 000 regular troops at first light on November 8, 1982. Within two hours the town was littered with more than 200 dead defenders, including 16 Cubans. The rest of the government forces fled north. Unita admitted only 12 dead and 23 wounded.

Lumbala has great strategic importance for Unita. It controls the main access route to Zambia, whose president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, sympathises with Unita's cause. "Kaunda knows this border is cleared," Chilingutula told a rally of local tribespeople. "You will be given Unita passports so that you can go to trade in Zambia."

A month later we reached the headquarters of Unita's military region 57, within 550 km of the Benguela Railway. We had driven to the end of the main branch of the Savimbi Trail, some 650 km inside Angola, and had then walked for more than 240 km. Now we were introduced to a battalion which had been ordered to prepare for an attack against a government garrison on the railway at Cangonga.

Battalion 017, their adrenalin pumping at the prospect of impending battle, launched into an

**UNITA appears to have the Cubans and their allies on the run, writes FRED BRIDGLAND in the Washington Post. Bridgland, who was a Reuters correspondent in Angola in 1975-76, recently completed a 3 200 km journey through Angola with Unita soldiers.**



electric song-and-dance routine.

"Cubans, if you hear one small noise you know Unita has arrived. And if you hear a sound, you're dead," they sang.

Colonel Ben-Ben Arlindo Pena, 28, was to command the attack. A relief model of the town and its approaches, the size of a badminton court, had been prepared on the forest floor for Colonel Ben's pre-battle briefing. Buildings and other features were picked out with coloured sands, ash, bark, twigs and moss. Ben said there were 300 MPLA defenders, but no Cubans.

The force that moved up to the Cangonga consisted of 520 regular soldiers of Battalion 017 armed with Soviet-made 75 mm cannons, 81 mm mortars, RPG-7 anti-tank missiles and AK-47 Kalashnikov rifles; the journalists' bodyguard, a 45-strong platoon of "Special Forces"; a 50-strong logistics team; 25 explosives specialists; some 300 guerrillas; and a long chain of boys and women carrying ammunition on their heads.

### Inferno

On February 11 at 3 am a single rifle shot signalled that all Unita forces were in position. At 5 am company commanders were ordered to attack. Mortar and cannon fire began. Huge flames pierced the darkness, outlining buildings. Then we began to hear the crackle of Kalashnikovs

We entered Cangonga with Colonel Ben's command group in the grey light of dawn, just after the birth of a terrible inferno. The MPLA's arsenal was exploding, buildings were ablaze and firefights multiplied.

Walking eastward along the gravel airstrip, we were unaware that government soldiers were regrouping. The counter-attack came minutes later at the end of the runway. Ben flung me into long grass edging the airstrip, where I tried to bury my head in the soft earth as bullets whooshed overhead.

The firing intensified as the colonel led me, crawling, towards a trench and ordered a nearby Unita section to retaliate. I dropped gratefully into the trench, moving cautiously past newly opened crates of mortar shells. Rounding a bend, I came across a dead MPLA soldier, a bullet hole punched neatly through his forehead.

Thirty-five MPLA troops died in the battle for Cangonga and seven were taken prisoner. The rest fled. One Unita soldier was killed and six were wounded.

Unita troops ransacked the town. Booty was heaped in courtyards near the railway line — blankets, small generators, radios, sewing machines, rubber buckets, drinking bottles, cooking pots, uniforms, boots, Cuban carnival hats and suitcases. Then Unita's saboteurs began demol-

ishing the town. A huge iron water tank for feeding steam engines was blown up, along with the station.

The capture of Cangonga was significant, said Colonel Ben, because it allowed a secure supply line to be pushed through to a regular battalion and several companies of guerrillas who had already infiltrated 320 km north of the railway line.

One of Unita's 1983 objectives is to push a corridor of "liberated" territory right up the centre of the country to where a salient of Zaire juts into north-central Angola. This would cut off MPLA-held territory in the east from its areas in the west.

Unita is making other significant military gains. A whole line of small towns between Lumbala and the major MPLA-Cuban garrison of Luena, on the Benguela Railway, have been taken since last December.

### Corroborated

The key to Angola lies high on the Central Plateau, around the towns of Huambo and Kuito (Silva Porto). This is the economic heartland of the country and its former bread basket. Major fighting is going on there, but the MPLA rarely allows Western journalists to enter the region.

However, some battle engagements have been corroborated from both sides. For example:

● The blowing up of Angola's second biggest dam — the Alto-Catum-

bela, between Huambo and the Atlantic port of Lobito — on January 17 by Unita.

● On March 12, Unita announced the taking of 64 Czech and 20 Portuguese hostages and the capture of a Cuban Army officer in an attack on an industrial plant near Huambo.

At the end of our trip, back at headquarters, Unita's leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said rebel attacks were now being concentrated on economic targets. The war would be intensified throughout 1983, he said. Guerrillas had begun moving into the northern province of Uige for the first time and would soon open up a new war front.

### Hostage-taking

Savimbi said Unita had begun a deliberate policy of hostage-taking. The intention was to indicate that no region of Angola was safe for foreigners who took up contracts with the MPLA.

When we met Savimbi in early March he was in sombre mood. He felt there was a 50-50 chance of an impending rapprochement between South Africa and the MPLA, which would mean the end of South African logistical support for Unita.

This support is substantial. It includes diesel for Unita's fleet of more than 200 trucks and probably also military supplies, though Unita denies this. But during March the possibilities of an MPLA-South African agreement receded dramatically: Unita can rely on a secure logistics line from Namibia for at least another several months.

The alliance with South Africa has put on Savimbi the mark of Cain. We asked him how he justified the link with the apartheid state.

### Without remorse

"First, I do not get help only from South Africa. There is support from many black African and Middle East states and from China. But I am absolutely without remorse that I have dealings with South Africa. They are the only real military and economic power in this region, and every black African state is trading with them, including the MPLA."

Savimbi said he accepted help from South Africa because there was a coincidence of interests. It was not something new in international politics. It was a question of survival, and Unita intended to survive against a regime imposed by Moscow and which had scuttled agreed elections.

"My critics in the West are hypocritical," he said. "Do they believe that black men like us want to import apartheid to Angola? It is unthinkable. Against whom would we apply it? Ourselves? These Westerners say we should not take aid from South Africa for our struggle. But they will never give us aid themselves."

Table with multiple columns and rows, mostly containing horizontal lines, possibly a placeholder or a very faint table.

"They seem to be asking us to commit suicide to accept being crushed by the Cubans and the Russians in our own country. We do not want to be an African Hungary. To avoid it, we have to take help from wherever it is on offer."

The Unita leader said Western liberals seemed to him to be guilty of an almost unconscious racism in their attitudes towards Angola. Many of them argued for the continuation of a regime in Luanda of a kind they would not tolerate for themselves. They also believed black Angolans were incapable of initiating an effective resistance of their own against a government supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba. "We will go beyond the understanding of the West how to fight this battle," he concluded, "because for us it is the battle for our physical and spiritual survival."

Angola (5)  
Spec 11/6/83  
accuses SA  
of killings

LISBON — Angola has accused South Africa of killing four Angolan soldiers in an incident last month near Cahama in southern Cunene province.

The Angolan news agency, Angop, said the incident was part of increased attacks against Angola.

Angop said the South Africans had landed troops by helicopter on several occasions and had intensified reconnaissance flights over southern Angola.

It also accused the South Africans of close co-operation with Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement in the area. — Sapa-  
Reuter

# Hints of new accord on Cuban withdrawal

The Star's Foreign News Service

of Unita in the agreement — would have to be solved."

BONN — West German diplomatic sources say members of the five-nation Namibia Contact Group believe the United States and Angola have achieved "measurable progress" during recent talks.

But the sources declined to go as far as a news report which spoke of a substantial measure of agreement between the US and the Angolans, which could soon lead to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and an early election in Namibia.

The German sources said the Western Contact Group — the US, Canada, Britain, France and West Germany — had no mandate to deal with the question of Cuban troops in Angola, although there was an obvious political connection.

Asked why the Contact Group was kept alive, the sources said it at least helped maintain an atmosphere in which other talks could usefully be conducted.

In Johannesburg, Joao Santa Rita reports that an agreement between the United States and Angola on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola may not mean a quick solution to the Namibian problem.

Two senior international affairs analysts, Professor John Barratt, of the Institute of International Affairs, and Professor Mike Hough, of the Institute of Strategic Studies, yesterday reacted to the reports from Bonn.

"Such an agreement would remove one of the main obstacles but not all the stumbling blocks," said Professor Hough.

"It would have to be regarded with cautious optimism, because other questions — such as the position

Professor Barratt said he did not believe such an agreement would lead to the immediate solution of the Namibian problem.

He said there were other important factors which would also have to be solved. An agreement on Cuban withdrawal could mean some sort of accommodation for the Unita rebel group in Angola had also been found, but there were other obstacles to be faced.

"The question of South African troop positions before an election can take place is one of the problems. One also has to take into account relations between South Africa and Unita, and the internal political situation in Namibia — including the position of the several parties there," he said.

A Cuban withdrawal, however, would mean a dramatic increase in US pressure on South Africa.

"The Cuban withdrawal was a pre-condition for any agreement, and the cause of the talks deadlock. So, if the Cubans pull out, the US will expect South Africa to make major concessions on other issues," said Professor Barratt.

## SWA National Party to join State council

WINDHOEK — The SWA National Party has decided to join the Administrator-General's proposed State council.

The only other parties

which have accepted membership so far are the 11 members of the DTA alliance. — The Star's Foreign News Service.



# US agreement with Angola 'on the cards'

Mail Correspondent

BONN. — The United States Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, has told the Western Contact Group on South West Africa an agreement between the US and Angola could be reached within the next few months, diplomatic sources in Bonn have claimed.

An official, who asked not to be named, said Dr Crocker had presented a rather optimistic view about the negotiations with Angola during a meeting of the contact group in Paris early this month.

The official added that the Americans had taken a very realistic view in their talks with Angola and seemed to be close to a solution, which took into account the security interests of Angola's MPLA Government and was presentable to South Africa.

He confirmed the US in the past had kept the results of their talks with Angola very secret and still regarded the talks as a very delicate matter.

The extent of agreement between the two also had not been in any way impeded by the recent visit of Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos to Moscow and had not been harmed by the recently concluded SWA debate of the United Nations Security Council, the official said.

Concerning the fate of the Western Contact Group it was confirmed that late last year and early this year a breaking up of the group had been a distinct possibility due to France's criticism of the American-inspired linkage policy of Cuban withdrawal from Angola and SWA independence.

This critical period had been overcome during the talks of the five Foreign Ministers in Williamsburg, US, and during their discussions in Paris this week.

The official also said that in Paris the contact group had held extensive talks about the co-ordination of development aid to an independent SWA. These discussions had arisen from an initiative by US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, who had previously

discussed the subject with Mr Sam Nujoma, president of Swapo.

Mr Nujoma had expressed a keen interest in technical aid from the West.

The optimistic view of the SWA problem coincided with the upcoming visit of a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance delegation to Bonn.

The delegation, led by DTA chairman Mr Dirk Mudge and DTA president Mr Kuaima Riruako, is to get top level recognition in Bonn.

Diplomatic sources added the Bonn Government had always regarded the DTA as an important political party, and as "the most important legal political party inside Namibia" and had never endorsed the view of the UN's general assembly that Swapo was the "sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people".

The mouthpiece of the DTA, Die Republikein, reported in Windhoek yesterday Mr Mudge and Mr Riruako are to leave for Bonn on Monday for the first ever meeting between leaders of an "internal party" from SWA and the government leader of any of the Western powers, according to Sapa.

The DTA leaders will meet the West German Chancellor, Mr Helmut Kohl, and also the West German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans Dietrich Gentscher.

They are expected to meet Mr Gentscher on Tuesday and Mr Kohl on Wednesday.

According to Die Republikein, the DTA leaders will inform Mr Kohl and Mr Gentscher on the present initiative of the Administrator-General, Dr Willie van Niekerk, and the DTA's standpoint on the proposed State Council.

And UN General-Secretary Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar said yesterday he had begun a new round of intensive negotiations seeking the independence of SWA, UPI reports.

Speaking to journalists in Bonn after a morning of talks with Chancellor Kohl, Mr Perez de Cuellar said he had established new contact with South Africa and other African states in an attempt to give life to UN resolutions seeking progress on the issue.

More negotiations would follow, Mr Perez de Cuellar said.

# in Kenya

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# Historic talks on wages underway

Labour Reporter

A dispute over wage increases for black mineworkers marks the start today of historic negotiations between the National Union of Mineworkers and the Chamber of Mines.

The union, which only last week won recognition for about 12 000 miners at eight mines, yesterday issued demands for a 30 percent pay rise and an end to racial discrimination on Chamber mines.

The Chamber last night described the demands as "unrealistic" and "totally unacceptable" in light of the economic situation.

The NUM is the first black union to gain wage-negotiating rights.

The Chamber statement said the abolition of racial discrimination was something it was working towards but which could not suddenly and unilaterally be adopted.

The wage talks are to be completed by the end of the week.

A NUM statement said they had taken into account the economic climate in making their demand and said it was reasonable because the Chamber was supposedly committed to narrowing the wage gap between black and white mineworkers.

# US talks on Cuban pullout progress

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States Government yesterday reported steady progress in its discussions with Angola on a withdrawal of Cuban troops — regarded in Washington as a key to a settlement of Namibia's independence.

The State Department said it was hopeful the "intensive" discussions would soon provide a basis for a settlement.

The statement was in response to West German reports that the US-Angola talks had moved into a "crucial phase" which could lead to elections later this year and pave the way for Namibian independence.

West German diplomats have said that a Cuban pullout was imminent.

But a senior Reagan Administration official, close to the Angolan talks, said nothing was imminent and the US was waiting for Luanda's next move.

Although a Cuban withdrawal is not directly linked to a formal Namibian settlement plan, the US and South Africa insist that the Cubans must go before independence for the disputed territory is feasible.

The Angolans say the Cubans are necessary for their country's defence against South Africa.

The thrust of US diplomacy has been to get the Cubans out while easing Angolan security fears.

In Munich yesterday, the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, complained of a lack of co-operation by the South African Government in his efforts to solve the Namibia problem.

He said he was ready to visit South Africa at any time to help in efforts to lead Namibia to independence.

# the boot by former IV



The Star Bureau

LONDON — Manchester United's South Africaner, Gary Bailey (above, left), has been given beauty queen girlfriend, Miss Della Dolan.

Della, the blonde former miss UK, broke her ace just before he left for Swaziland with

The striking couple were together for the first time seen hugging and kissing after Manchester Cup.

Della (21) says she has gone back to her bar owner Mr Craig Draper. A Manchester Evening News reporter says: "We've had no team reports, so I don't know about Gary".

Della said of him: "Gary is a nice guy, but such as it was — is over".

# ELINE GE REPORT

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 These awards  
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# ARCHITECTURE

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# 14 440 km row to 'failure'

BRISBANE — An Australian Navy patrol boat plucked lone Pacific rower Peter Bird from his 12 m rowboat yesterday as rough seas and high winds threatened to sweep him on to coral reefs.

Bird, a 36-year-old Londoner who set out from San Francisco on August 23, was just 60 km short of the Australian coast after a 14 500 km voyage. He was in good health but bitterly disappointed.

Bird, who failed in a similar attempt in 1980 when his boat was wrecked in the Hawaiian islands, radioed for help when he was only one nautical mile (1,8 km) outside the Great Barrier Reef. He was picked up as his boat was being swept towards the rocks. — Associated Press.

# WEATHER

TRANSVAAL — Till 6 pm tomorrow. Places today over eastern parts with showers. Otherwise partly cloudy and cool over the highveld today with fog patches in morning. It will clear tomorrow becoming and warm over the entire area.

Temperatures and rainfall for the 24-hour period ended 8 am today

	Max	Min	Rain	
			mm	
Bryanston	13	-6	4.1	Vereeniging
S Suburbs (Hill Ert)	11	5	10.0	Cape Town
West Suburbs (Melville)	N/A	N/A	N/A	Durban
Nelspruit	22	8	-	Port Elizabeth
Pretoria	13	7	1.2	East London
Krugersdorp	10	5	6.5	Bloemfontein
Springs	12	6	6.0	Pietersburg

JOHANNESBURG CENTRAL — Today 8 am, 8 deg C Wind 13 deg C, minimum, 5 deg C Rainfall so far this month, 14.5 Average total rainfall for June over 25 years 6.5 mm (Average)

SUNSET today, 17h24; sunrise tomorrow, 06h51; sunset tomorrow, MOONRISE today, 10h06.

ROUND THE WORLD.

	Mx	Mn		
Rome	30	14	Clear	Paris
Miami	29	25	Rain	London
New York	33	20	Clear	Frankfurt
Athens	28	18	Cloudy	Tokyo
Tel Aviv	27	20	Cloudy	Vancouver
Amsterdam	20	14	Cloudy	Brussels
Geneva	26	11	Clear	Moscow
Hong Kong	31	27	Clear	Sydney
Vienna	22	14	Cloudy	Peking
Copenhagen	18	14	Cloudy	Beirut

EXPECTED TEMPERATURE FOR TOMORROW

	Min	Max	
	Early AM	PM	
Johannesburg	4	17	Maritzburg
Pretoria	4	19	Port Elizabeth
Durban	12	25	Cape Town



have  
 C readers

The Star Bureau

20/6/83

LONDON — A "tragic fate" now threatens 64 Czechoslovak civilians taken hostage in Angola, say authorities in Prague.

The group, captured more than three months ago, is being held by Unita.

The hostages, including 33 women and children, have been at a guerilla base since mid-May after a 1 100 km forced march through the bush.

"The base is completely closed and nobody is allowed in," Prague said at the weekend.

This has been confirmed by the International Red Cross, which has been trying to negotiate the release of the hostages.

"We are still waiting to be given the green light by the gue-

## Tragic fate awaits Unita hostages, say Czechs

rillas for our representatives to go in," said a Red Cross spokesman, Mr Pascal Goudrand, in Geneva. "Nothing is possible yet."

In Prague it is claimed some of the hostages are ill and that the guerillas fear a hostile world reaction when they free them.

Latest news of the hostages was given four weeks ago in Berne by Mr Tito Chingunji, a member of the Unita leadership.

He said then that the children and their parents would be freed unconditionally. Czech men and women and 20 Portuguese captives would be held as "bargaining counters" with the Angolan Government, he added.

An unsung heroine of the long march from Alto Catumbela, where the victims were seized on March 12, is Dr Marie Hudeckova. With the help of two Czech nurses and guerilla medical auxiliaries, she had the task of combating tropical diseases on the trek.





3

# Unita rebels' strike claim

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BELGRADE. — Opponents of Angola's ruling MPLA regime have carried out several strong attacks in the central province of Huambo, and MPLA officials there have appealed for help, a Yugoslav report from Luanda said yesterday.

In its report from the Angolan capital, the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug quoted the local Angop news agency, which carried the appeal.

Angop cited the officials as saying the population of the town of Hungo was in a particularly difficult situation because Unita rebels had

burned down 4 000 houses there.

MPLA officials called for urgent help for the "victims of the barbaric attack" and the party provincial committee announced a week's campaign in Huambo until July 2 "mobilising the population for the defence of the country and destruction of all bandit groups", Tanjug reported.

The report did not say when the Unita attacks took place.

In Lusaka, meanwhile, Angola, Zambia and Zaire ended a brief summit meeting in the south-east Zairean town of Lubumbashi with a com-

munique saying talks had focused on border security and refugee problems.

They also condemned what they called the occupation of parts of southern Angola by South African troops.

The communique, issued after a meeting between Presidents Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, said communications between the neighbouring countries were also discussed.

Thousands of Zairean refugees live in camps in Zambia and Angola, and many want to return. — Sapa-Reuter.

US still

blocking

loan for

Angola

27/6/83

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A senior Reagan Administration official says there has been no significant change in the human rights situation in Angola in six years.

That was when President Carter named it as one of the countries that would be denied American assistance.

The official, Mr Frank Wisner, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, was replying to criticism of the Administration by liberal Democrats in the US Congress.

The Democrats slammed the Administration for opposing a R4 million loan request by Angola because of human rights violations there while supporting other countries with poor human rights records.

The criticism came during a joint congressional committee hearing called by the Democrats.

Congressman Howard Wolpe of Michigan, chairman of the House of Representatives sub-committee on Africa, told the hearing:

"South Africa represents the clearest form of the institutionalisation of human rights violations in its policy of apartheid.

"Yet while we have pursued quiet diplomacy for change in South Africa and have increased diplomatic co-operation with Pretoria, we refuse diplomatic recognition of Luanda and oppose development assistance loans to Angola on human rights grounds."

The loan that sparked off the row was requested by Angola from the Multilateral Development Bank to improve its roads system.

According to Mr Wolpe it was the only loan out of 81 requests to be opposed by the US in the first quarter of 1983.

LONDON — The writing has been on the wall for Chile's General Pinochet for most of the year, and the current round of strikes and demonstrations is a reminder of how precarious his position has become.

But he may still be able to soldier on for a while yet. It is going to be difficult for the widespread and growing civilian opposition to military rule in Chile to capitalise on the present discontent — unless it can show that a straightforward and clear alternative exists.

At the moment this embryonic civilian alternative is underdeveloped, leaderless and lacking a firm outline in the public mind. Only a revolt within the armed forces can lead to a change of regime.

General Pinochet has ruled Chile for a decade. On September 11, if he survives that long, he will celebrate the 10th anniversary of his coup d'etat against the elected government of Salvador Allende.

Pinochet seized power with the initial support and encouragement of Chile's comparatively large middle class, organised politically in the Christian Democrat Party.

Their enthusiasm slowly melted away as Pinochet abandoned all forms of parliamentary democracy, political organisation and trade union activity, and extended and maintained his power

# Writings for C

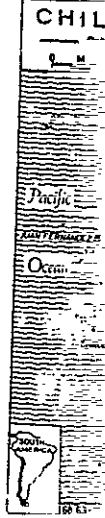
through a policy of repression and control on a scale rarely seen before in South America.

Some of these erstwhile middle-class supporters soon found their own economic power whittled away as Pinochet embarked on a counter-revolutionary programme that reversed the economic policies not just of the Allende era with its experiment in socialism but of the previous 30 years.

With an extensive programme of privatisation, with the reversal of the enlightened land reform schemes of the previous decade, and with the opening of the country to the full force of the international market, Pinochet dramatically changed the course of Chilean history.

For a while, with opposition leaders dead or in exile, many Chileans appeared to accept the new deal with equanimity.

But after Pinochet's success in 1980 with a constitutional referendum that appeared to legitimise his place at the top until at least 1989 things began to come unstuck.



The economy in ruins. The old "social democracy" was Banks' great middle-class ruined. The



Britain's finest quality  
Menthol snuff.

**BOTSWANA'S** revenue from diamonds this year is expected to top R360-million — a staggering rise of R135-million on the 1982 earnings, a Ministry of Mineral Resources spokesman has announced.

The increase is largely due to the coming on stream of the Jwaneng mine, Botswana's third and most important diamond pipe, though it has been helped by the upturn in the diamond market.

The news is good for a country that enjoyed the highest growth rate in Africa during the 1970s but suddenly suffered a negative growth rate in 1981/82 because the slump in the high-priced gem market cut its earnings by 40 percent.

Until 1981 diamonds had been an unmitigated marvel for Botswana. When the country took independence in 1966 it was one of the world's 25 poorest nations. The Gross Domestic Product was R37-million and there was not one State-owned high school.

The next year De Beers discovered Orapa, the second biggest pipe in the world. Orapa came into production in 1971, its satellite pipe Lethakane in 1977, and the GDP leapt from R102-million in 1974 to R671-million in 1980. Real economic growth in 1970-78 was a dramatic 13 percent.

However, heavy dependence on diamonds and beef, the traditional export, left Botswana distinctly vulnerable.

"What happens to (beef and diamonds) determines what happens to employment, the balance of payments and GDP growth," said the Governor of the Bank of Botswana, Mr Festus Mogae, in 1981.

Today the diamonds are still being stockpiled in Gaborone as the market has not improved sufficiently for the Central Selling Organisation to lift the 60 percent quota it imposed in 1981. But the output is increasing and will match SA's 9.5-million carats in 1985. Moreover the State receives about 75 percent of De Beers-Botswana's profits.

The economic problem of Botswana, it is agreed, is not shortage of capital, but finding the best way to use it.

In the early years the Government wisely invested the income from diamonds and foreign aid in infrastructure. The 900-km road from Francistown to Nata was tarred. Boreholes were sunk for water. Primary schools were built for 90 percent of school-aged children and health clinics are now within reach of 85 percent of the population.

Though these measures have improved living standards, they have not raised the incomes of the nearly 1-million Batswana. The wealth

# Botswana builds future on gems

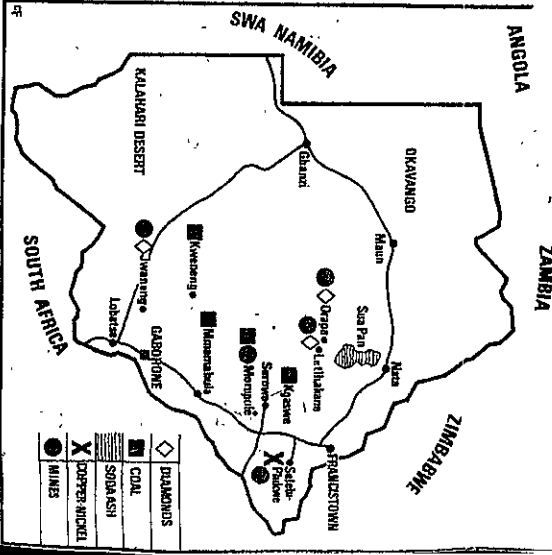
## SOWETAN FOREIGN SERVICE

has been concentrated among the few who earn wages (only 83 400 in 1980). The mines make money but employ few — about 10 000.

"Little of the new prosperity has filtered through to the rural population," writes a TWK Scott, a former EEC adviser to Botswana. A 1974-75 survey found that 45 percent of rural households did not own the most important asset: cattle. A mere five percent of these households owned half the national herd (3-million cattle). Perhaps the sharpest

and agricultural sectors. Beef products will reach R105-million in export revenue this year, Botswana Meat Commission chairman Titus Madise has said. The problem lies in the non-cattle area.

Crop outputs have stagnated. Botswana is importing more than half its grain. The Government placed much attention on the ALDEP scheme to upgrade small-scale farming, but so far the results have not been "unambiguously successful" as one observer put it — and the drought has almost stalled it.



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# Hostages may go via SA

The Star Bureau  
29/6/83

LONDON — The Portuguese hostages held by Unita will probably be freed via Pretoria, according to speculation in Lisbon.

What Lisbon has learned so far has all come from Paris sources.

Another Lisbon source said that recent talks with Unita spokesmen in Portugal indicated that Unita wanted to limit its use of the Namibian border.

Because of this he thought the Portuguese hostages could come out in Zambia.

Late yesterday the Geneva correspondent of The Star said the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) had not received any word yet from its delegation in Angola.

"We still have no confirmation that the women and children have been handed over," a spokesman said.

It is understood that to communicate with its Angolan team the ICRC headquarters in Geneva uses its Pretoria office.

Similarly, the Angolan team radios reports back to Geneva via Pretoria.

● The death of Czech hostage Mr Jaroslav Navratil, a diabetic, has added a tragic dimension to an East-West hostage drama which so far has involved the Czech government in frantic efforts to secure the release of its citizens.

Efforts to persuade Unita to free the Czechs have been channelled through the Vatican, the Red Cross and the UN.

Although his death occurred in April, it took Unita two months to reveal that their kidnapping operation had cost one of the hostages' lives.

Dr Savimbi, Unita's president, maintained: "They had entered a dangerous



A Czech woman and her child on the way to freedom yesterday.

area and the column was out of radio contact with our people. We also wanted a report from the Czech doctor before telling the world about the cause of death."

Unita's sensitivity to Western public opinion may be a more telling reason behind the delay.

The death not only helps blunt what can only be seen as a spectacularly conceived propaganda coup, but also illustrates precisely what high risks to life and limb women and children were exposed to in such an operation.

Asked whether or not the kidnapping of "innocent people" would only help alienate the West at a time when Unita was looking for Western support, Dr Savimbi replied:

"What constitutes innocent people in Western thinking? Is it only Czechs? Not Angolans? Have we no women or children who are dying, tortured by the Cubans?"

● See Page 11, World section.

ORIGINAL RUN CARD: @RUN,Z/NR DUMMY,A0118-R201/BUD,CHARL,5,20

EFFECTIVE RUN CARD: @RUN,Z/NR  
 ASSUMED PROGRAM FILE: BUD  
 WORK AREA: CHARL21  
 STARTED BY \*BATCH\* ON THURSDAY 30 JUN 1983  
 PRINTS, RMTENG  
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ARGUS 28/6/83 (5)

# Force-march!

**GWYNNE ROBERTS, in Jamba (Unita headquarters, south-east Angola), tells of a harrowing hike by hostage families**

Every day during the forced march across Angola. Czech technical adviser Jaroslav Navratil, 36, carved a notch in his walking stick to mark the passage of time.

The day after he notched the end of his stick, he died.

"He was in a state of acute depression," said one of the other 66 Czech and 20 Portuguese hostages captured with him by Unita guerrillas loyal to Dr Jonas Savimbi.

News of Navratil's death was broken to me during a week-long visit I made to Unita's base camp where I was allowed to interview the Czech hostages.

I learned the remarkable story of the hostages' epic march through Africa when I met them at their prison camp three hours' drive north of Jamba.

## Kalahari

The camp, a series of widely scattered huts, is located in parched savanna which marks the beginning of the Kalahari Desert.

The hostages appeared fairly well when I saw them some weeks after the end of their 2 300km journey, 1 300 km of which was on foot. They were force-marched towards Unita's headquarters in south-east Angola, about 80km north of the SWA/Namibian border.

## Women and children

The group included 21 children and 17 women.

Among the hardships and hazards they described were:

- An attack by an MPLA patrol searching for them;
- Illness, including dysentery, malaria and pneumonia;
- Shortage of food, cold and driving rain;
- Lack of information about what was happening to them.

The hostages told me that while walking through the mountains of Central Angola, Navratil, an active sportsman, collapsed exhausted and told fellow Czechs he had gone "beyond his endurance".

"His hands and feet were trembling, his pulse and blood pressure were high. He had respiration problems but then lapsed into a coma and died," said Dr Marie Hudcekova, a Czech doctor who treated him during the march.

"I believe his death was caused by diabetes. We had had no sugar for 15 days so a condition was created in which even a normal person would begin to suffer."

Navratil, whose wife and two children live in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, lapsed into the coma on April 19, five weeks after capture.

He was buried at the confluence of two rivers in Central Angola, his grave marked by a mound of stones.

## Attack

The hostages' remarkable story begins on March 12 when Unita troops used field artillery, heavy mortars and assault rifles to attack the industrial centre of Alto Catumbela.

They rounded up all the foreign technicians and their families, who had been assured by the MPLA's 600-man army garrison there that they were in control of security in the region.

"After all the shooting we were taken out of the houses and led through the woods to the mountains," said Alexander Ivan, 54, a translator from Bratislava.

"We were under great stress. We had expected to be killed. We had to leave everything behind and it was cold and raining. We spent the first night huddled together in the bushes. We had hardly any blankets. Some people were wearing only shorts, others had no pullovers.

## Children cried

"Parents carried their children on their backs and the little ones cried because they sensed their parents' fear."

Gradually the realisation dawned on them what lay ahead — a mammoth journey through what Unita considered to be "enemy territory" open to ambush and attack by the MPLA and Cubans.

There was little to eat and the hostages were unaccustomed to walking. Soon, some of the women had to be carried on stretchers when they grew weak. Children — the youngest was just over 18 months old — were transferred to the backs of Unita's woman porters.

Torrential rain made the going very hard.

When it rained the hostages, to keep their clothes dry, stripped and walked practically naked through the forest.

Disease posed an additional problem. Illnesses ranged from simple blisters and tonsillitis to dysentery, pneumonia and malaria.

Once, after a burst of sub-machinegun fire at the head of the column, the hostages saw tracer bullets and flares in the night sky.

The column split into three early on. Eight Czechs either unmarried or whose families were not in Angola volunteered to move ahead at speed to "prepare the arrival" of the main group.

## Journalists

In fact the real purpose was to meet a group of French radio and television journalists in Unita's main base area.

Taking a more direct and dangerous route through MPLA-controlled areas of Angola, they reached Unita's base camp on April 29, 48 days after setting out from the start.

The others arrived more than a month later. The march had taken them through mountains, thick bush and insect-plagued swamps. They had lived on a sparse diet of gruel made from ground maize and beans, and some canned meat. On rare occasions there was antelope, rhinoceros and even elephant meat.

A major problem for the hostages was that Unita held them totally incommunicado from the outside

world. They were — and still are not — allowed radios.

Unita's Secretary of Information said this decision had been taken out of consideration "for their own health and morale".

On June 23, the day I arrived at their camp, the hostages were told they would be separated next morning. Women and children would be allowed to go free, while the men would continue to sit out their ordeal in captivity.

The families were in no doubt about what should be done.

"I don't want to leave him, but for the health and safety of our two children we must go," said Martha Novotny. "School is also very important for them."

The separation, when it came at 7 o'clock next morning, was highly emotional. The women and children climbed on to a lorry after saying their farewells and drove off, several wiping tears from their eyes as they saw their husbands recede in the distance.

That afternoon at a parade ground rally at Jamba, held by Unita to mark the official hand-over of the Czechs to the red Cross, I saw them again.

## Hand-in-hand

In a dusty area festooned with banners carrying political slogans and huge pictures of Dr Savimbi, they marched out two abreast, hand-in-hand, with small children leading the group.

Wearing summer dresses and bright, floppy, wide-brimmed hats, they appeared bewildered and fearful.

Behind them, standing rigidly to attention with rifles cradled in their arms, were hundreds of khaki-uniformed Unita troops in two formations.

In front lay the podium on which Dr Savimbi stood flanked by leading political and military officials. Thousands of cheering and chanting Unita supporters ringed the arena.

Dr Savimbi stepped down towards the Czechs and shook everyone's hand, repeating: "You are now free."

Late that evening four Swiss Red Cross representatives arrived at Jamba for negotiations with Dr Savimbi.

Before flying out with the hostage women and children, they have asked to visit the men who are to remain.

The group is scheduled to leave Angola today and fly to Czechoslovakia, possibly via either South Africa or Another African country such as Zambia or Zaire.



**CZECH mother and child trekked across Angola as captives**



**WOMEN and children board a truck on their journey home to Czechoslovakia**

**UNITA CAPTIVES**



Some of the 38 Czech women and children released by Unitá in Angola

# Epic march in bush with death as their companion

5 Star 28/6/83

## Porters carried hostages too ill or weak to walk alone

**GWYNNE ROBERTS**, a freelance journalist on special assignment for *The Star*, visited the exhausted and bewildered hostages at Jamba, Unita's headquarters deep in the Angolan bush. They were often short of food (eating elephant meat at times) and under immense psychological stress as they dodged MPLA and Cuban patrols.



Unita Leader Jona Savimbi, flanked by a bodyguard and lieutenant, tells the Czech hostages they are free.

Every day during the forced march across Angola, Czech technical adviser Jaroslav Navratil (36), carved a notch in his walking stick to mark the passage of time. The day after he notched the end of his stick, he died.

"He was in a state of acute depression," said one of the other 66 Czech and 20 Portuguese hostages captured with him by Unita guerillas loyal to Dr Jonas Savimbi.

News of Mr Navratil's death was broken to me during a week-long visit I made to Unita's base camp where I was allowed to interview the Czech hostages.

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The group included 21 children and 17 women.

Among the hardships and hazards they described were:

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- Illness, including dysentery, malaria and pneumonia;
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- Lack of information about what was happening to them.

The hostages told me that while walking through the mountains of Central Angola, Mr Navratil, an active sportsman, collapsed exhausted and told fellow Czechs he had gone "beyond his endurance".

He was treated for a heart condition, but the next day collapsed again.

"His hands and feet were trembling, his pulse and blood pressure were high. He had respiration problems but then lapsed into a coma and died," said Dr Marie Hudcekova, a Czech doctor who treated him during the march.

"I believe his death was caused by diabetes. We had had no sugar for 15 days so a condition was created in which even a normal person would begin to suffer.

"It was the first time he had had any serious medical problems in his life, but he probably had a diabetic condition before without noticing it."



Simple pleasures in rough surroundings ... mother and children at a makeshift table and chessboard.

Mr Navratil, whose wife and two children live in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, lapsed into the coma on April 19, five weeks after capture.

He was buried at the confluence of two rivers in Central Angola, his grave marked by a mound of stones.

The hostages' remarkable story begins on March 12 when Unita troops used field artillery, heavy mortars and assault rifles to attack the industrial centre of Alto Catumbela. They destroyed the town's hydro-electric plant, extensive paper mill, power lines, three bridges, a locomotive and railway points.

They rounded up all the foreign technicians and their families, who had been assured by the MPLA's 600-man army garrison there that they were in control in the region.

"After all the shooting we were taken out of the houses and led through the woods to the mountains," said Mr Alexander Ivan (54) a translator from Bratislava.

"We were under great stress. We had expected to be killed. We had to leave everything behind and it was cold and raining. We spent the first night huddled together in the bushes. We had hardly any blankets.

"Some people were only wearing shorts, others had no pullovers.

"Parents carried their children on their backs and the little ones cried because they sensed their parents' fear."

Gradually the realisation dawned on them what lay ahead — a mammoth journey through what Unita considered to be "enemy territory" open to ambush and attack by the MPLA and Cubans.

There was little to eat and the hostages were unaccustomed to walking. Soon, some of the women had to be carried on stretchers when they grew weak. Children — the youngest was just over 18 months old — were transferred to the backs of Unita's woman porters.

Torrential rain made the going very hard.

"I've never been so cold in all my life," said Mr Ivan. "We got wet through every day and slept on the bare earth."

When it rained the hostages, to keep their clothes dry, stripped and walked practically naked through the forest.

Illnesses ranged from simple blisters and tonsillitis to dysentery, pneumonia and malaria.

The single-file column spanned several kilometres. At times 400 porters carried litters bearing the sick and weak, each litter supported by up to 20 people. There were an estimated 1 200 Unita soldiers and porters.

Czechs and Portuguese hid when spotter planes were overhead. Helicopters were seen hovering at tree-top level on several occasions.

Once, after a burst of sub-machinegun fire at the head of the column, the hostages saw tracer bullets and flares in the night sky.

"We were made to lie down and then run back to safer positions," said Ivan. "The column then retraced its steps to a point 30 km further back along the trail which we'd reached two days before."

The column split into three early on. Eight Czechs — either unmarried or whose families were not in Angola — volunteered to move ahead at speed to "prepare the arrival" of the

main group.

In fact the real purpose was to meet a group of French radio and television journalists in Unita's main base area.

Taking a more direct and dangerous route through MPLA-controlled areas of Angola, they reached Unita's base camp on April 29, 48 days after setting out from the start.

The others arrived more than a month later. The march had taken them through mountains, thick bush and insect-plagued swamps. They had lived on a sparse diet of gruel made from ground maize and beans, and some canned meat.

On rare occasions there was antelope, rhinoceros and even elephant meat.

The Czechs were told they would be freed as soon as possible, and were given no clear indication of their status.

Until I talked to them they had no idea they were being offered in exchange for prisoners held in MPLA jails.

Unita rebels referred to them as "captives", not hostages or prisoners.

Apart from food shortages, there were immense psychological stresses. "There was considerable tension among the families," said Dr Hudcekova.

"Women held up very well during the march, but their morale collapsed when we stopped. People began to lose their appetites."

A major problem for the hostages was that Unita held them totally incommunicado from the outside world. They were — and still are not — allowed radios.

On June 23, the day I arrived at their camp, the hostages were told they would be separated next morning.

Women and children would



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be allowed to go free, while the men would continue to sit out their ordeal in captivity.

The families were in no doubt about what should be done. "I don't want to leave him, but for the health and safety of our two children we must go," said Mrs Martha Novotny. "School is also very important for them."

As she put her two children to bed on the straw mattresses inside the hut, her husband, Lurim, grew pensive and sad as we chatted outside.

"It's difficult to believe that as I sit here under the stars my family is together but tomorrow will be separated and I will be alone. But there is no choice - they must go."

The separation, when it came at 7 o'clock next morning, was highly emotional. The women and children climbed on to a lorry after saying their farewells and drove off, several wiping tears from their eyes as they saw their husbands recede in the distance.

That afternoon at a parade ground rally at Jamba, held by Unita to mark the official hand-over of the Czechs to the Red Cross, I saw them again.

In a dusty area festooned with banners carrying political slogans and huge pictures of Dr Savimbi, they marched out two abreast, hand-in-hand, with small children leading.

Wearing summer dresses and bright, floppy, wide-brimmed hats, they appeared bewildered and fearful.

Behind them, standing rigidly to attention with rifles cradled in their arms, were hundreds of khaki-uniformed Unita troops in two formations.

In front lay the podium on which Dr Savimbi stood flanked by leading political and military officials. Thousands of cheering and chanting Unita supporters ringed the arena.

Dr Savimbi stepped down towards the Czechs and shook everyone's hand, repeating: "You are now free."

Still no news of Portuguese prisoners

By Joao Santa Rita

Unita has still to announce the fate of a group of 20 Portuguese prisoners who were taken hostage in central Angola in March — 64 Czech nationals were captured in the same raid in the area.

Reports during the week said there were some Portuguese citizens among the group of 38 women and children freed by the Angolan rebels last Friday, but this was denied today by the Portuguese consulate in Johannesburg.

"The group that was due to fly out of Angola into Jan Smuts today included no Portuguese citizens," a spokesman said.

#### STANDBY

The Portuguese diplomatic mission in South Africa had been put on standby for the possible release of Portuguese citizens, but there had been no confirmation that they would be allowed to leave Unita areas in southern Angola, the spokesman said.

"We don't know if they will be allowed to leave later in the week. We have to wait and see what happens," he added.

# Release of 38 Unita hostages is postponed

The liberation of a group of Czechoslovakians held in southern Angola by Unita, which should have taken place today, has been delayed, a Red Cross spokesman said today.

The hostages are still under Unita control and will remain the movement's responsibility until released.

The International Committee of the Red Cross, which is organising the release, is taking steps to work out the last difficulties in freeing the 38 hostages.

Sources in Pretoria were optimistic that the hostages could be free as early as tomorrow.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information in Pretoria said this morning that the arrangements to receive the hostages in Johannesburg today were "all off."

"We cannot give reasons for the postponement because the department is not acting as an agent in securing the release of the hostages," he said.

The hostages were scheduled to arrive at Jan Smuts Airport at 2.40 pm today from a bush airfield aboard a civilian aircraft chartered by the the Red Cross.

# Czech hostages are delayed in Savimbi's camp

By DONALD MARSHALL  
Pretoria Bureau Chief

YESTERDAY's scheduled release of a group of 38 Czechoslovak women and children, held hostage by Unita guerrillas in Angola, suffered a last minute delay for ill-defined reasons.

A spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, said last night the group were due to be released by Dr Jonas Savimbi's men in Southern Angola yesterday and returned to Europe after a brief stop-over in South Africa.

This was confirmed by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs and Information.

But the chartered aircraft which was to have picked them up never took off from Jan Smuts Airport, near Johannesburg.

The ICRC said the delay was due to Unita objections that the freed hostages were due to fly from rebel-controlled Angolan territory to Johannesburg and on to Zimbabwe. Socialist Zimbabwe is a firm ally of the Angolan government.

Meanwhile Sapa reports that Unita said yesterday it

would free an unspecified number of ailing Czech men along with the previously announced release of 38 Czech women and children held captive since March 12.

In a statement, Unita said "a certain number" of the 25 Czech male technicians "whose health requires special care" would be freed "immediately" with the women and children.

The statement, signed by guerrilla chief Dr Savimbi, said, "the remaining men" whose state of health had been checked by Red Cross personnel would continue to be held captive until Angola's Cuban-backed government freed jailed "Unita leaders and seven English mercenaries".

The statement made no reference to the delay in the hostages' release.

For the first time, Unita said its demand for the release of seven British mercenaries, who were captured during the country's 1975-76 civil war, depended on whether London "wanted it so".

London, which has been seeking the release of its citizens through diplomatic channels, was reportedly embarrassed by its involvement in Unita's demands.

# Rebels heading for clash

The Star, Friday, July 1, 1983

## with Britons

### Red Cross had secret deal with Unita

By Joao Santa Rita

Three Brazilian citizens held prisoner by the Angolan rebel movement Unita were recently released in South Africa in a secret operation, International Red Cross sources said yesterday.

The hostages were handed over to Brazilian government representatives at Lauseria Airport near Pretoria two weeks ago, the sources said.

"It was all very quiet and practically nobody knew anything about it. The whole operation was arranged between the Brazilian Red Cross and Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi," the sources said.

The Brazilians were agricultural experts working in a rural area where they had been captured by Unita, the sources added.

One of the Portuguese hostages released yesterday, Mr Manuel Gonçalves, said there had been one Brazilian citizen at one of the Unita bases where he had been.

"Then, not long ago, I was told he had been released. I don't know what happened," he said.

At the same time, other Portuguese hostages released yesterday made the startling disclosure that most of the 10 Portuguese citizens who stayed behind had been prisoners of the Cuban-backed MPLA government.

They had been taken by Unita rebels attacking a "re-education camp" thought to be in Lunda province.

They could not say why the men who had been MPLA prisoners were not released by Unita.

International Red Cross officials refused to comment on negotiations for other Portuguese and Czech hostages held by Unita, saying they were still at a secret meeting in a private station.

UNITA — A British security force, using helicopter gunships, is policing the diamond-rich regions of Lunda province in northern Angola, says Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the rebel Angolan guerrilla movement Unita.

In an interview with Western journalists at his headquarters at Jamba, south-east Angola, Dr Savimbi warned that his forces had orders to attack on sight.

"If we capture a British policeman, he is a prisoner of war. We have proof that the British police are involved here," he said.

Dr Savimbi claimed that 50 policemen had arrived recently. They had been called in by the MPLA to combat diamond smuggling.

giers operating in Lunda province which borders Zaïre and Zambia in north-east Angola.

Unita claims that its forces are now pressing hard into Lunda province with about 3 000 men in compact guerrilla groups.

Dr Savimbi admitted that Unita had been heavily involved in diamond smuggling in the region.

After oil, diamonds are Angola's biggest foreign currency earner and most of them come from the Lunda mines.

Smuggling is estimated to have cost Diamang, the State diamond company, between R65 and R30 million a year.

Earlier this year Unita estimated

its income from skins, ivory and diamonds to be about R2.5 million but in recent months, this seems to have been substantially exceeded.

Unita's guerrillas have increased their activities in the region since April, according to Dr Savimbi, and more diamonds are now being channelled through the rebel movement.

"Diamonds in the Lunda area are almost everywhere and we're in a better position than the MPLA to know where they are," said Dr Savimbi.

"Some areas we know through the local population, others we've learnt about from Portuguese technicians who have returned home with their own maps and who are not working

### By Gwynne Roberts, a special correspondent for The Star

120 Britons and a handful of West Germans and Dutch.

The second objective is to destabilise the area.

Dr Savimbi estimated that about 20 percent of the technicians had already moved back to Luanda from the outlying regions of the province.

Referring to the Britons, Dr Savimbi said: "We don't want to run into any problems with these technicians. We let them know we are in charge so they'd better leave."

"But if the British people there are police and we come across them, that's a bad thing. That's a war situation, we can't help it."

Dr Savimbi said that many smugglers in the area were Unita agents

who were being encouraged to dig and smuggle diamonds, and that an attack against them would be an attack against Unita interests.

"Everyone has to understand that the MPLA arrested the British mercenaries because they were fighting on the side of the FNLA. If we find British police fighting on the side of the MPLA then I think the case is the same."

"If we find a French or a British technician we let him go. But a man handling a gun — that's a different story."

"This sort of encounter could happen in the next few days."

A British Foreign Office spokesman confirmed that British mining

police were working in Lunda but added that they were not government-sponsored.

Asked to explain British involvement in the region, the spokesman said: "This is a question you should be asking the Angolan Government. They have employed a British company to help deal with illicit diamond smuggling in Angola."

A London-based company, Mining and Technical Services, which has been named as having helped provide the security forces in Angola, denied any involvement.

"We have a contract with Diamang to provide technical staff for the mines but we have not contracted any security personnel there."

## SA Czechs try to talk hostages into remaining

By Stephen McQuillan

Leaders of the Czech community in South Africa made frantic attempts to persuade some of their fellow countrymen to stay in the West after their mercy flight from Angola.

South African tourist brochures were taken to the Czechs as they were meeting the world's Press, Red Cross officials and representatives of the Department of Foreign Affairs at Jan Smuts Airport.

Mr Jan Drahotra, chairman of SA Sokol — the Czech organisation in South Africa — said he had not much time to tell the hostages what life was like in the West.

"I spoke to them about the life in South Africa and I appealed to them not to go back," he said. "I told them it would be better if more Czechs were living in South Africa."

"They didn't understand what was happening in other countries. They were shocked at how nice things were here."

Very good. Basically we ate potatoes and porridge. But then that's what the guerrillas ate."

Contrary to reports, not all 20 Portuguese citizens were captured in Alto Catumbela along with the Czechs.

Mr A Neves (47) was captured two months before the Czech hostages made the headlines on January 19, and 53-year-old Mr Manuel Gonçalves on January 17, in areas near Alto Catumbela.

Mr Neves said that during his ordeal they had only twice encountered MPLA troops. "We heard shooting but the guerrillas



A group of Czech children look bewildered as they enter the VIP lounge at Jan Smuts airport yesterday. They were soon smiling after officials presented them with chocolates and other goodies.

## Unita nurses were tops

By Joao Santa Rita

For Mr Angelo Matanza (44), a stay in an Angolan hospital in the town of Alto Catumbela proved disastrous.

Mr Matanza, a machine operator, was in hospital for treatment of a foot infection when Unita guerrillas stormed the town on March 12.

"I was the first one to be made prisoner. The hospital was the first place they went to, probably to look for medicines. They told me to get off the bed and march with them," he said shortly after his arrival at Jan Smuts airport yesterday.

Mr Matanza praised the work of the nurses who treated him throughout his captivity and had no complaints.

had cured the foot infection even though he was forced to march hundreds of kilometres.

"I have been in Angola since 1964 — and I can tell you the nurses were better than either those of the former Portuguese or the present MPLA regimes," he said.

"I spent only one day with the Czech hostages taken prisoner at the same time. Then we were separated and I only saw them again a few hours before we were told that we were free."



Mr Jan Drahotra, leader of the Czechoslovakian community in South Africa, hands out sweets to some of the younger hostages after their freedom flight from Angola. The children were later flown to Kinshasa.

## Guerrillas carried the sick

By Stephen McQuillan

Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerrillas carried Czech children on their backs during a 2 300 km cross-country trek, according to a heroine of the ordeal, Dr Marie Hudeckova.

Dr Hudeckova, the only doctor on the trek, said the guerrillas had been co-operative in every way and tried hard to make their captivity as comfortable as possible.

As many as 23 stretchers were used to carry the sick or weak among the 64 Czechs and 20 Portuguese — through the Angolan bush.

Many fell sick as tropical rains lashed the party during the trek. 1 300 km of which was made on foot.

Dr Hudeckova, assisted by Unita nurses, provided the only medical assistance.

She treated one of the Czech technicians who was believed to be suffering from diabetes. Because of the rough conditions and lack of medicine, Mr Jaroslav Navratil died of exhaustion.

"We were pleased with the help we were given," Dr Hudeckova told an official of the body representing Czechs in South Africa.

"We didn't have much medicine. When people became sick, very often we could offer only sympathy."

Some of the children had celebrated their birthdays in captivity and people tried their best to make an effort to celebrate. She said the hostages were very happy to be "out of this hell!"



# VIP hostages are ready to head home

By Joao Santa Rita  
and Stephen McQuillan

Forty-five Czechs, held hostage for 110 days in the Angolan bush, are expected to complete their 10,000 km flight to freedom when they leave Kinshasa for Prague today.

Their 10 Portuguese fellow-captives — men, women and children — are in a Johannesburg hotel, enjoying their first day of freedom.

The releases were the outcome of intensive negotiations between their captors — Unita guerrillas — and the International Red Cross.

Looking more like an Olympic sports team, than people who had walked for 1,300 km through the Angolan bush, the 55 fit and tanned hostages stepped out of a Safair Hercules transport plane to be met by the world's Press.

The freed hostages, wearing maroon track suits, walked from the aircraft that had flown them from an unspecified airstrip in southern Angola to Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport and into a VIP reception.

A medical team was there to check the condition of the hostages before they had a meal.

The Portuguese are expected to leave for Lisbon on Saturday. The Czechs have already flown to Kinshasa where they were met by Czech officials.

Before the plane arrived there was chaos, with dozens of pressmen, diplomatic representatives and South African officials waiting to greet the hostages.

The aircraft was scheduled to arrive at 2.40 pm but it did not land until 4.26 pm. Until then Portuguese diplomats did not know how many of their nationals were on board.

Mr N Derougement, International Red Cross representative in South Africa, said that, because there were still hostages with Unita, he could not answer journalists' questions.

● See Page 11, World section for more reports and pictures.

A tray of sweets for an innocent victim of war... with a chocolate bar in one hand and a sweet bun in the other, this Czech youngster enjoys a

taste of freedom after 110 days as a captive of Unita in Angola.

Picture by Sarel van den Berg

# Botswana warns 'hostile' refugees

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GABERONE — Botswana will return those refugees "we find possessing arms and those engaged in hostile activities against neighbours," President Quett Masire has said.

Re-iterating his country's policy of not allowing the launching of cross-border attacks, the President said refugees were expected to obey Botswana's laws and that those who absconded from the Dukwe refugee camp, "will be returned to their countries of origin if apprehended."

Some people came to Botswana "under false pretences" to spy on their fellow refugees from South Africa.

Botswana's relations with Zimbabwe were "very good" despite the efforts of the newspapers in that country to sour relations," the President said. The Zimbabwean Government had gone on record to "disown the adverse publicity." — SFS.

1004  
Angola warns  
of SA attack

Mail Correspondent

LUSAKA — South Africa was massing its troops in Cunene for an eventual military thrust deep into Angolan territory, the Angolan Ambassador to Zambia, Mr André Miranda, said yesterday.

In a war communique, the ambassador said Pretoria "plans to use the area in Southern Angola as a launching pad from where its troops will advance with their aggressive activities to other parts of Angolan territory . . .

In May, we witnessed a campaign aimed at preparing international public opinion to justify the armed actions against the territory.

"And in June, Angola also witnessed an increased number of reconnaissance flights as far as 250km inside Angola."

# SA 'prolonging the Angola war'

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

SOUTH AFRICAN attacks on Angola prolong rather than shorten the Angolan civil war and thereby delay rather than advance the attainment of independence for South West Africa, according to Professor Gerald Bender of the University of Southern California.

Professor Bender makes these assertions in a scholarly article in which he challenges what he calls the "conventional wisdom" of many officials in Washington and Pretoria that South African attacks promote reconciliation in Angola and thus facilitate settlement of the SWA dispute.

Originally published in the journal "Current History", the article has been reprinted by the SA Institute of International Affairs in the latest issue of its bulletin.

The "conventional wisdom" rests on the belief that military pressure on the ruling Cuban-backed MPLA in Angola will encourage its "moderate faction" to take over from the "hardliners," if necessary by means of a coup.

The moderate faction is held to favour settlement with the anti-MPLA and South African-backed guerrilla movement Unita, which in turn adamantly insists on expulsion from Angola of the Cubans.

Settlement between MPLA moderates and Unita will lead, the conventional wisdom believes, to a coalition government determined to expel the Cubans.

Finally, according to this scenario, expulsion of the Cubans will meet the condition

set by Pretoria and the United States for settlement of the SWA dispute and the granting of independence to the territory.

Professor Bender contends that this theory is based on a false assumption that increased military pressure will lead to the ascendancy of MPLA moderates or pragmatists who favour ending the continuing dual war against South Africa and SA-backed Unita rebels.

Professor Bender says: "While there are fluid factions (in the MPLA) over many issues, nearly total consensus prevails over one of them — reconciliation will be dealt with only after South African support for Unita greatly diminishes or ceases, not before."

Thus, in Professor Bender's view, South African military pressure, which includes direct and indirect assistance to Unita, works against, rather than for, reconciliation between MPLA and Unita.

"The MPLA is no more anxious to negotiate with Unita while she carries South African baggage to the table than Unita is interested in negotiating with the MPLA and its Cuban baggage.

"Yet the MPLA maintains that it will not ask the Cuban troops to leave until South Africa ceases its attacks against Angola, while Unita insists that there can be no ceasefire or peace until the Cubans leave."

If Pretoria were to discontinue its attacks, Unita would be deprived of its most important external backer and the MPLA would be confident enough of its own position to request the Cubans to leave, Professor Bender argues.



17/11/78 (5) 120PM

# Unita hostages back in Lisbon

LISBON. — Ten Portuguese nationals held hostage by Angolan rebels for more than three months arrived in Lisbon yesterday to an emotional welcome from relatives. They said they felt "tired, but fine".

The 10, five adults and five children, were released on Thursday by guerrillas of the rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola with 45 Czechoslovakian hostages and flown from southern Angola to Johannesburg by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

All those released, as well as another 23 Czechs, 10 Portuguese and an unknown number of Brazilians thought still to be held by Unita, were forced to walk more than 1 000km to rebel-held areas in south-eastern Angola.

Contrary to reported claims by Unita during the forced march through Angola, Angolan government troops never attacked the rebel column taking the hostages south, they said, but they had heard sporadic shooting in the distance on occasion.

Mr Mario Manuel de Oliveira, 42, a personnel manager at the Alto Catumbela

plant, was captured with his wife and three-year-old daughter. He told reporters at Lisbon's Portela Airport on arrival he thought his family had been taken because there was no one else at home in his neighbourhood at the time.

There was no violence when they were taken by Unita guerrillas, he said. "They knocked on our door. We answered it. They came in and told us we had to go with them."

Mr Manuel Augusto Goncalves has returned with three of his own children, aged 10, 13 and 14, and a 13-year-old godson.

Mr Goncalves said another couple, whom he did not identify, had been captured with him and that the wife, a woman in her 60s, had died while being held by Unita. The woman had been ill when the group was captured by the guerrillas. Other members of her family were still being held by the rebels.

Unita has said it will release the remaining Czechs and Portuguese in exchange for Unita members and seven British mercenaries held by the Luanda government. — Sapa-AP.

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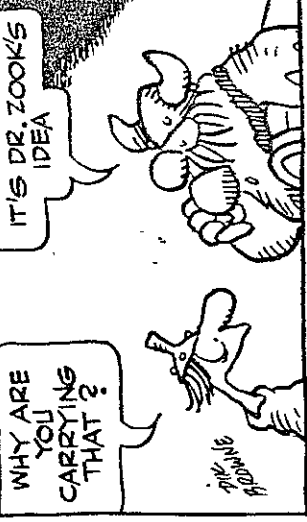
major dissident grievance —  
that Mr Arafat has tended to act  
on his own initiative.

But there was no indication  
that Mr Arafat was prepared to  
let a proposed interim emergen-  
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core of the PLO, pending a  
Fatah convention to debate his  
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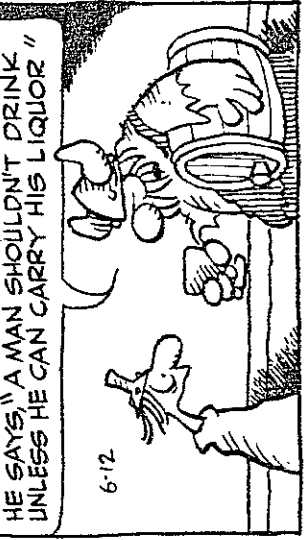
The mutineers also accuse Mr  
Arafat of neglecting the armed  
struggle against Israel and be-  
coming too involved in pursuing  
US peace proposals.

The Reagan Administration  
has proposed Palestinian auton-  
omy in the West Bank and Gaza  
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Palestinian state as the PLO  
and the Arab League demand.  
— Reuter.

### HÄGAR the Horrible



### By Dik Browne



Kadash is one of 14 beauties competing ...  
contest. The winner will be crowned on Friday night.

# Unita seizes town in 'total war'

**The Star's Foreign News Service**  
**LISBON** — Unita rebels claim to have cap-  
tured a third town along the vital Benguela  
railway line in a two-month-old offensive  
aimed at forcing Angola to form a "govern-  
ment of national unity".

The guerillas, using a "strategy of total  
war", also said the government's decision  
last week to limit travel by foreigners out-  
side the capital city was public "acceptance  
that the civil war boils in more than half  
the country".

Dr Jonas Savimbi's movement claims its

forces occupied the eastern railway town of  
Cangumbe last Friday, "irreparably de-  
stroying" about 250 km of Benguela railway  
track "between Luuso (the capital of Moxico  
province) and the Cuanza river.

In late April and early May, Western  
journalists confirmed seizure by the rebels  
of the towns of Munihang and Cangonga  
along the same section of the international  
railway line

A Unita statement said they were "put-  
ting in practice a strategy of total war to  
abort all attempts to reorganise the coun-  
try's security forces and oblige the MPLA  
government to talk to us about the forma-  
tion of a government of national unity"

The statement claimed that in the Can-  
gumbe strike, located "at the entry to Luuso  
(now called Luena)": 57 government troops  
had been killed and four captured against  
five Unita dead and 13 wounded.

The guerillas also claimed to have des-  
troyed the civilian railway infrastructure,  
and seized a freight train full of weapons  
and food.

The defence was closed out-

## OAU raps Zaire for aiding Chad

**ADDIS ABABA** — Zaire's decision to send troops to Chad, where the  
Government of President Hissene Habre is fighting rebels, was de-  
plored yesterday by the chairman of the (OAU)

The chairman, Mr Mengistu Haile Mariam, who is Ethiopia's  
head of state, said in a statement that the Zairean troops would only  
make the situation worse

A contingent of Zairean commandos and air force fighter aircraft  
arrived in Chad's capital of NDjamena at the weekend to bolster  
President Habre's troops  
against the southward drive of  
rebels led by former President  
Goukouni Oueddei.

Libya has denied Chad's claim  
that it is backing the rebels.

After talks in Addis Ababa  
with heads of missions repre-  
senting Chad, Zaire, Libya,  
Egypt, Sudan, Cameroon, Nige-  
ria and Niger, Mr Mengistu  
reaffirmed the right of indepen-  
dent States to call for help to  
maintain their sovereignty and  
territorial integrity.

But he said that in Chad, "a  
viable solution can come only  
through peaceful means on the  
basis of national reconciliation".

Mr Mengistu said a represen-  
tative of Zaire told him recently  
that Chad might ask some Afri-  
can countries to send troops to

## Kenya accepts some via SA

**The Star's Foreign News Service**  
**NAIROBI** — Kenya's immigration ban on  
visitors with South African stamps in their  
passports has been relaxed following the  
personal intervention of President Daniel  
arap Moi, tour operators here have re-  
vealed.

Holidaymakers whose passports were  
stamped in the Republic are now being ad-  
mitted provided they are not South African  
passport holders and are not residents of  
South Africa.  
The relaxation follows fears of tour op-  
erators that Kenya tourism would slump  
by more than 30 percent if the restrictions,  
introduced without warning by the Kenya  
immigration department on June 3, contin-  
ued.

## Malawi's new Cabinet

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# US waits for Angolan reply on Cuban troops

*Stew*  
*6/5/83*

WASHINGTON — US State Department officials disclosed yesterday they were still waiting for Angola's reply to the US call for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the country to clear the way for Namibian independence.

One official, who asked not to be identified, said there was nothing to confirm a report in the London Observer that the United States now expects to get all Cuban combat forces out of Angola this year in return for withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia.

The State Department officials said Angolan officials have been told the government of South Africa will not yield its control of Namibia, until there is an arrangement for the withdrawal of about 20 000 Cuban troops.

"As a practical matter we are no further along than we were two and a half months ago," another well-placed official said. "We don't in fact have an agreement."

This official said an Angolan delegation that visited Washington earlier this year "took back a basic understanding of what we thought was required" to move the situation forward.

The United States was promised an answer as quickly as possible after necessary consultations had taken place, the official said. He said Angola's president, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, is believed to have raised the issue with Soviet leaders during a recent visit to Moscow.

But he said Angola has still not replied to Washington's concern over the Cuban troop presence.

Associated Press

# Swapo is warned against attacking Unita

## Savimbi claims 'access corridor' through diamond area

LONDON — "We know where the Swapo bases are located, and if the order of Sam Nujoma is carried out by his forces to attack Unita, they will be destroyed in less than three months," claims Dr Savimbi.

"They are fighting in our country. They should not forget we gave them the base here."

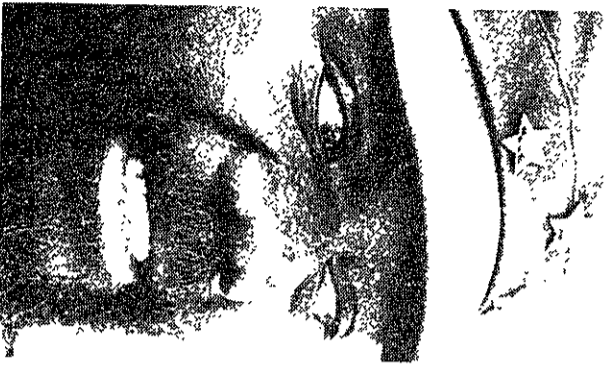
"We told our people, 'These are the people of Swapo. Give them food, give them medicines.' We are the people who took them in in June 1975, and they are still in that area."

"If they don't attack us, we don't attack them. If they launch an attack on us, then we crush them for the simple reason that our soldiers will never accept without answering an attack by Swapo whom we have given shelter."

"If we did that, the soldiers might well come back here and say, 'You people are not serious.'"

"In guerilla terms, Swapo is strong enough to cause South Africa headaches. If they did it in compact units, they could not be a match for South Africa."

"When they come to our country and launch an attack on Unita on a guerilla basis, we are far better than Swapo and they know it."



Dr Savimbi

The Star's special correspondent, Gwynne Roberts, recently travelled to Angola to cover the release by Unita of the Czech and Portuguese hostages.

While he was there, he talked to Dr Jonas Savimbi, the leader of Unita, about a number of issues. This is his interview with the guerilla leader.

LONDON — Dr Savimbi's rebel forces claim to have achieved one of their long-term objectives — a corridor of access in Angola from the Namibian frontier to southern Zaire.

But Government troops backed by the Cubans have launched a major offensive against Unita in eastern Angola, a Unita military intelligence chief said at the movement's main base at Jamba, just north of the Namibian frontier.

Unita's push to the north has come through Angola's diamond-rich Lunda Province where Dr Savimbi claims to have placed a total of 3 000 men, composed mainly of 100-strong guerilla squads — but also including a 600-man force of special commandos.

"Our people have already crossed from the Kangula area in the north and have entered 50 km into Zaire at one point," said the intelligence officer at a Press briefing.

Whether Unita's assessment of its strength in Lunda is accurate is difficult to tell because guerilla movements tend to exaggerate their forces for propaganda purposes.

But the diamond-rich regions of the north are known to be a priority target for two reasons.

● Success in Lunda Province would allow Dr Savimbi to bolster his movement's own finances and increase its political independence.

● Another supply line would make Unita less vulnerable. Large stretches of the Zambian frontier are already controlled by Unita forces, and the movement is introducing its own passport procedures along this border.

Anywhere we find them, we destroy them."

Asked about the prospective agreement between South Africa and Angola which at one time Dr-Savimbi feared could lead to a cut-off in supplies, the Unita leader said:

"The South Africans and the MPLA are still talking about

that, but I don't think there is a possibility of them achieving a ceasefire in the near future."

Discussing a possible Namibian settlement, Dr Savimbi said:

"What I heard is the statement of Mr Eagleburger in California saying that the agreement on the independence

of Namibia is almost complete and that what is left is only the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola.

"That's what we heard on June 22, the last statement from an American official."

"So I don't know if the agreement for withdrawal of the Cubans is close from what he

In March, Dr Savimbi and his commanders were worried that a political agreement was on the cards between Luanda and Pretoria which would have brought about a ceasefire excluding Unita from any future settlement in the country.

If supplies could be channelled to Unita across other frontiers, it would be more difficult to isolate the movement militarily and politically should any agreement be reached over Dr Savimbi's head, say observers.

A force of 3 000 men, however, in a province the size of Lunda presents a security problem for the authorities. But a Western visitor to the region who returned last week said the threat had yet to manifest itself.

Unita also disclosed that the Government and its Cuban allies had launched a major offensive against their positions in eastern Angola. The offensive started in May and continued into June — a time when the Czech hostages were still struggling to reach Unita rear bases in the south-east.

One of the main targets was Gago Coutinho, a frontier settlement on the main access route to Zambia, whose capture was never officially acknowledged by Luanda. Unita commanders took me on a guided tour of the town in January to prove they held it.

Unita maintained its troops had held the offensive at the Lungue Bungo River at a point south of the Benguela railway but well to the north of Gago Coutinho. A counter-offensive was taking place, said Dr Savimbi.

said.

"He could say everything is just geared to the agreement, but now he is saying, 'Every-thing is ready in Namibia.'"

"We are waiting for a move towards the total withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola."

"So I don't really know whether they have made such

substantial progress as we have heard two weeks ago."

Asked whether Unita would be included in or excluded from any deal affecting Angola, Dr Savimbi said: "I don't think there is anyone who, to my knowledge, wants to include Unita in any dealings."

"I don't see what the South

Africans can gain by selling out Unita. I don't have an assurance from them.

"But what has South Africa to gain — to buy the MPLA which has been built up by the Russians for years?"

"Why all of a sudden would the MPLA be friends of the Americans and South Africans? 'I don't think South Africa has an interest to sell out Unita."

"Secondly when the big powers are organising these dealings, if they leave out Unita it is not so important to me — as long as the Angolan people don't leave us out."

"I am confident the people of Angola want us to be in, and we are going to be in because the people want us — that is decisive."

"Even if there is an agreement somewhere today, even if we don't get a single bullet from today, we cannot only survive, we can launch a major attack to reverse the total situation."

"We are prepared for everything," he said.

"If the situation goes on as it is, then we go on fighting. We have enough to create upheaval. We have units which are in reserve and not fighting. "If they enter (the battle), they will be put to good use..."

# Unita ploy may have dashed Britons' hopes

The Star Bureau  
LONDON The kidnap-  
ping of Czech and Portu-  
guese workers by Unita  
rebels could have delayed  
the release of seven Brit-  
ish mercenaries jailed in  
Luanda since 1976.

When he visited Lon-  
don last February, Ango-  
la's Foreign Minister, Mr  
Paulo Jorge, delighted  
his hosts by saying his  
government was waiting  
for an opportune moment  
to release the Britons —  
hopefully this year.

An editorial from the  
official Angolan Press  
Agency (Angop), howev-  
er, published here this  
week, indicated that the  
moment may be delayed

14/1/80  
5  
by Unita's act of "terror-  
ism".

Angop condemned as  
useless Unita's attempt  
to exchange "selfless,  
working people" for mer-  
cenaries serving well de-  
served prison terms.

The clear implication  
is that the MPLA gov-  
ernment cannot be seen  
to be bartering with  
Unita, an organisation  
which it refuses ever to  
recognise by name.

The agency underlined  
the official Angolan  
stance that any release of  
the mercenaries is a bi-  
lateral matter which is  
being discussed by the  
Angolan and British gov-  
ernments.

U

14/1/80

5 *S. Times*  
**Angola** *1/12/83*  
**declares  
amnesty  
for rebels**

**Sunday Times Reporter  
Lusaka**

**ANGOLA** has declared a general amnesty for all Unita and FNLA dissidents in and outside the country.

This was disclosed at a Press conference by an Angolan member of the Central Committee of the MPLA, Mr Celestino Shinhama, at Solwezi in the Northwestern Province of Zambia.

Mr Shinhama, who is also Governor of Moxico Province, said his government was ready to receive with "open arms any dissidents who returned to Angola, be they Unita or FNLA rebels".

### **Revealed**

"We have extended invitations to all Angolan nationals outside the MPLA so that we unite and work together in the reconstruction of the country," he said, according to the official Zambian Government news agency, Zana.

Mr Shinhama revealed that former commanders of the FNLA had surrendered their guns and had been rehabilitated without any harassment.

"Any dissident who decides to come back to Angola will be received with open hands. It is the wish of the MPLA Government to have all her people within the country," he said.

Mr Shinhama arrived in Solwezi on Wednesday at the head of an eight-man delegation which hopes to mobilise more than 10 000 Angolan refugees at Maheba settlement camp to return to Angola.

# Angola's rebels given amnesty

Mail Correspondent

LUSAKA. — The Angolan Government has declared a general amnesty for all Unita and FNLA dissidents in and outside that country.

This was disclosed at the weekend by an Angolan member of the central committee of the MPLA, Mr Celestino Shinhama, in Solwezi, north-western Zambia.

Mr Shinhama, who is also governor for Mexico province, said his government was ready to receive with "open hands any dissidents who return to Angola, be they Unita or FNLA rebels."

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Mr Shinhama arrived in Solwezi last Wednesday at the head of an eight-man delegation. The plan of his delegation is to mobilise more than 10 000 Angolan refugees in Maheba settlement camp to return to Angola.

# Kidnappers confirm death threat

VATICAN CITY — The kidnapers of a schoolgirl have confirmed that today is the deadline for their threat to kill her unless the Turkish gunman jailed for trying to assassinate the Pope is released.

An anonymous caller last night told the Italian news agency Ansa that the kidnapers of Emanuela Orlandi (15), the daughter of a Vatican employee, had repeated the deadline in a telephone conversation with Vatican officials.

A Vatican spokesman said the kidnapers, speaking on a special line set up to open contact with them, urged the Vatican to use its influence to publicise their request for the release of Mehmet Ali Agca, who shot and wounded the Pope in 1981.

The spokesman said the kidnapers to release the girl.

# Savimbi ready to talk after bush meeting

PARIS — The Angolan guerilla leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has proposed unconditional negotiations for a pact of "national reconciliation" with the Cuban-backed Angola Government, Mr Savimbi's Paris representative, Mr Joseph Furtado, announced today.

Mr Furtado said Dr Savimbi made the proposal earlier this month at a meeting at Djamba, his command post in the bush of southern Angola, with a four-man committee of the European Parliament.

The committee consisted of Mr Olivier d'Ormesson of France, Mr Elmar Brook of West Germany, Mr Luc Beyer de Rycke of Belgium and Mr James Scott-Hopkins of Britain.

Mr Furtado said the first official contact between the European

Community and Unita, Mr Furtado said.

Mr Savimbi told the European parliamentarians that the departure of Cuban troops from Angola would be one of his first conditions for a national reconciliation with the Angolan Government, but that Unita posed no prior conditions for opening negotiations with the MPLA.

While in Djamba, the committee was allowed to talk to the 19 Czechoslovakian prisoners still held by Unita. — Sapa-Associated Press.

● The Star's London Bureau reports that Sir Scott-Hopkins, speaking on his return from Angola, expressed concern for the safety of British security men working in diamond mines in north-eastern Angola and he has expressed concern over attacks planned by Unita.

By Dik Browne



# Polish police will be freer to shoot without martial law

The Star's Foreign News Service

WARSAW — The wide powers of the Polish police to shoot at civilians in certain circumstances have been formalised in a new law.

Details of the law passed last week emerged

yesterday. It is part of legislation designed to replace martial law.

The law says militia commanders may give the order to shoot if the situation requires. This means they need not wait for instructions from the Communist Party leadership.

Firearms, the law says, may be used to prevent attempts on the lives of militiamen or security agents, to prevent attacks on important state buildings and facilities, against anyone who attacks a convoy carrying people or money and to prevent the escape of an arrested person.

# Argentine Falklands protest

AIRES — Argentina, in a move at the United Nations, said a new British airport in the Falkland Islands threatened Latin American security.

The protest was in a letter sent yesterday to the UN Secretary-General, Perez de Cuellar.

Argentina also accused Britain of installing a naval base in the Falklands to supply warships and nuclear submarines, and repeated earlier charges that the UK was intending to put nuclear weapons in the area.

Argentina seized the Falkland Islands on April 2 last year, but Britain recaptured them on June 14.

Argentina also implicitly attacked South Africa for allowing British firms building the new airfield to use its territory as a transit point — Reuter.

Both the self-defence and protection of buildings clauses make it possible for militiamen to shoot during demonstrations.

Policemen can also use guns while chasing someone suspected of committing a serious crime — that is terrorism, espionage, subversion, murder or robbery. The new law is seen as a warning to Poles in advance of the lifting of military rule.

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# Families overjoyed at release of men

● From Page 1

And wives of some of the other men were overwhelmed at the news.

Mrs Carey, of Maritzburg, broke down with relief.

"Oh, I'm so happy, I always cry when I'm happy," she said between sobs. "Is it really true? It's been such a long time."

Mrs Ina Dolinchek was thrilled when told that her husband was coming home.

"That's beautiful," said the ecstatic high school teacher from her Nylstroom home.

She said their youngest child, Ann (2), did not know her father because she had not seen him since she was two months old.

The couple also have a nine-year-old son.

S T P L P T



# Danger <sup>5</sup> to UK <sup>non</sup> men — <sup>2/7/83</sup> Savimbi

LONDON — The Foreign Office is investigating a claim by Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, that British workers at three diamond mines in Angola are at risk because he plans to launch attacks.

The warning was given to the Foreign Office by British European parliamentarian, Sir James Scott-Hopkins, who returned from a five-day trip into the Angolan bush where he met the Unita leader.

He said Dr Savimbi told him the lives of 50 Britons were in danger, and that he had 3 000 guerrillas ready to attack the mines.

"Dr Savimbi is anxious that the Britons should come to no harm and my view is that they should be pulled out immediately," Sir James said in an interview.

A Foreign Office spokesman said his report was being studied. "We maintain close contact with the Angolan government and the companies concerned," he said.

Whitehall sources noted it was not the first time Unita had warned about danger to the lives of expatriates. — Sapa.



Dos Santos

# Diamond purge rocks Angola

## President dos Santos in 'Catch 22' situation

By Richard Hall

A PURGE of Angolan politicians, after the uncovering of a vast diamond smuggling network, threatens to bring down the tottering regime of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

This could lead to sudden changes that could alter the whole political balance in Southern Africa.

Gemstone diamonds are a vital export for Angola. Official diamond exports earn more than R120 million a year - but diamonds worth an estimated further R50 million go out illegally.

The diamond scandal is now being reported openly by the State-controlled Angolan news agency, Angop. It is hinted that key party figures have been involved.

Still more unsettling for President Santos is evidence that many of the best stones are trickling down from the diamond fields near the Zaire border to Unita's headquarters at Jamba in the south-east of the country. Several diamond merchants from Antwerp make regular visits to Unita territory.

The stress inside the Angolan Government has been reflected in a series of ministerial dismissals. The latest was reported 10 days ago.

The best hope Dos Santos has for restoring confidence and unity is to bring an end to the war. His army is being pressed back daily by Unita, which was operating last month only some 160 km from the capital, Luanda.

It is draining Angola of about half its revenue.

Dos Santos is in a "Catch 22" predicament. To get South African forces out of southern Angola and persuade Pretoria to jettison Savimbi, he must yield to United States urgings to send home the 18 000 Cuban soldiers on his soil. If he does that, however, his own demoralised forces will be overrun by Unita.

Despite US "disinformation" on the subject, there is scant likelihood that Dos Santos will come to terms on the Cuban issue. But if the diamond scandal now provokes the younger army officers into action, there may be sudden changes that could alter the whole political balance in Southern Africa. — Observer News Service

## Umfolozi black rhinos for Texas

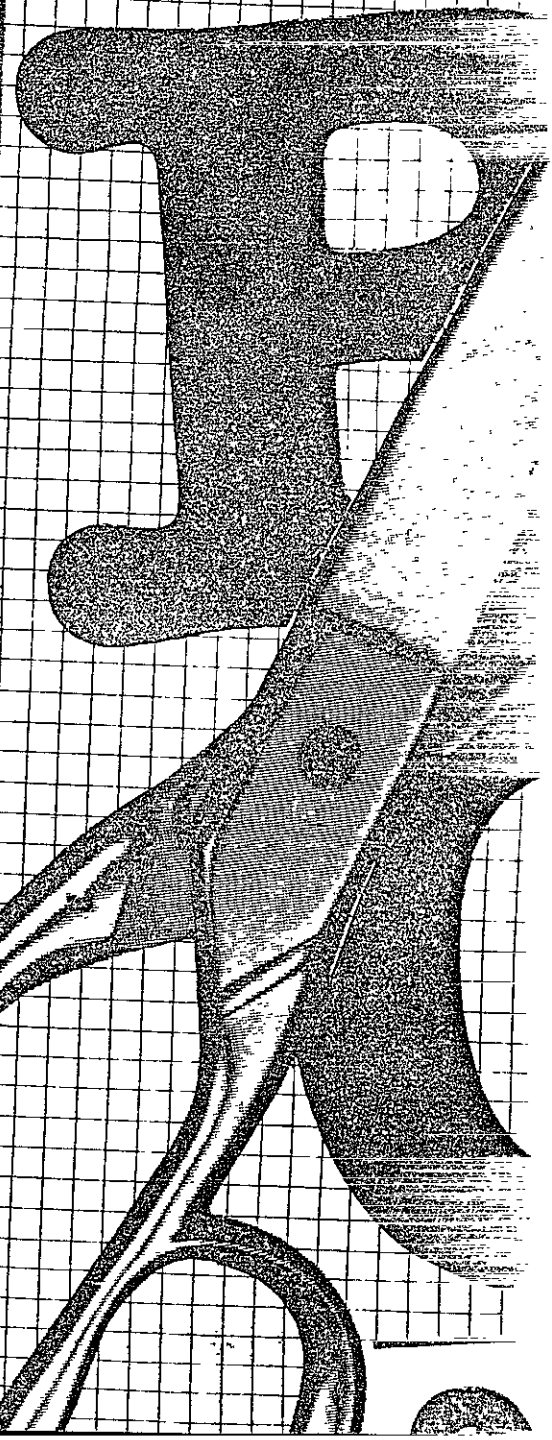
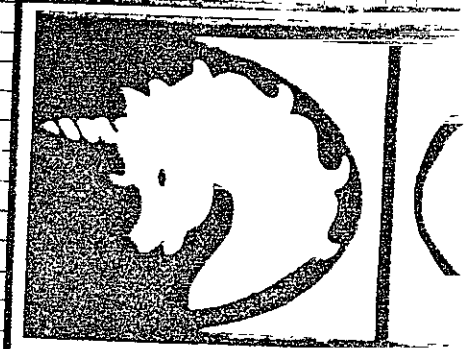
Tribune Reporter

FOUR black rhinos are to be translocated from the Umfolozi Game Reserve to Texas as part of a plan to build up the breeding stock of this endangered animal.

The animals, two males and two females, will go to a massive private ranch on permanent loan as part of a joint project by the Natal Parks Board and Game Conservation International (Gamecoin), a body which promotes the interests of the hunter and international conservation projects.

The executive director of Gamecoin, Bill Askins

# YOU



Smuggling backlash may  
change political balance

# Gem crisis threatens Angolan regime

5  
Nov 25/73

By Richard Hall of The Observer, London

**LONDON** — A purge of Angolan politicians, after the uncovering of a vast diamond smuggling network, threatens to bring down the tottering regime of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

This could lead to sudden changes that could alter the whole political balance in Southern Africa.

Gemstone diamonds are a vital export for Angola. Official diamond exports earn more than R120 million a year, but diamonds worth an estimated further R50 million go out illegally.

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It is draining Angola of about half its revenue.

President Dos Santos is in a "Catch-22" predicament. To ensure that South African forces do not

mount operations into Southern Angola, and in an effort to prevent outside support reaching Dr Jonas Savimbi and Unita, he must yield to United States urgings to send home the 18 000 Cuban soldiers on his soil. If he does that,

however, his own demoralised forces will be overrun by the rebels.

Washington's "linkage" concept — that Namibian independence depends on doing away with the Cuban presence — would create difficulties for President Dos Santos. The presidency he gained six years ago is closely linked to support from Dr Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader.

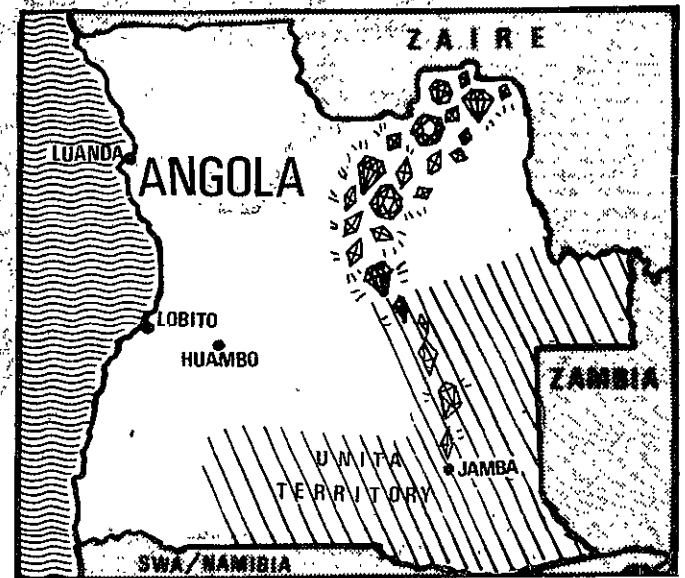
The Cubans are keeping low in the present fighting. There is also little visible activity from the Angola-based Swapo guerrillas.

Despite US "disinformation" on the subject, there is scant likelihood that President Dos Santos will come to terms on the Cuban issue. But if the diamond scandal now provokes the younger army officers into action, there may be sudden changes that could alter the whole political balance in Southern Africa.

● See Page 6, World section.

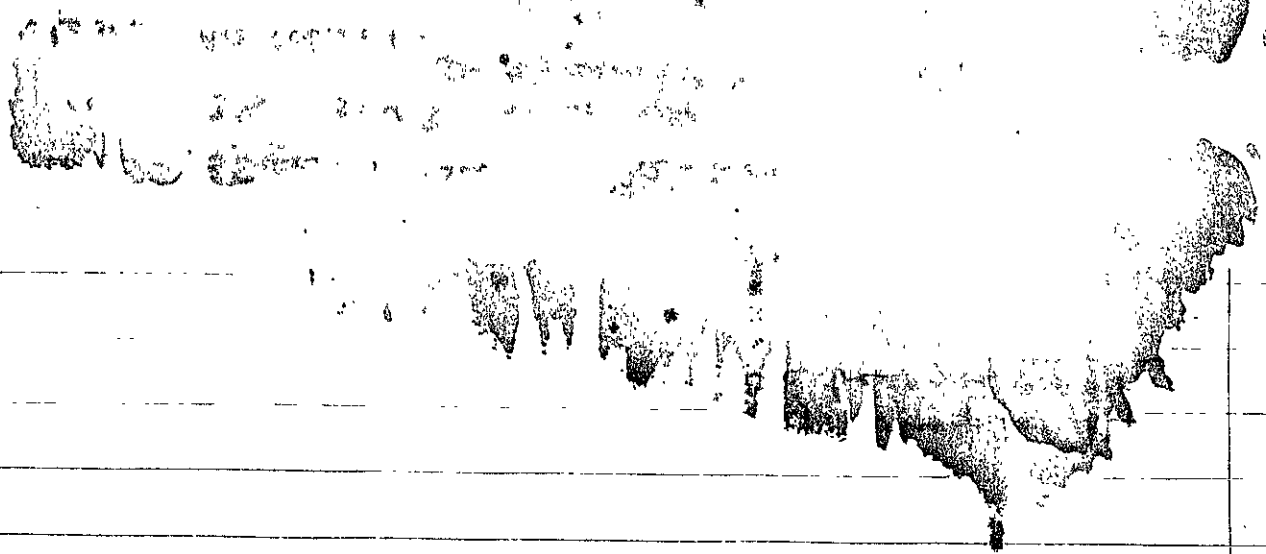


President dos Santos



# ANGOLA - GENERAL 1983

AUG. — DEC.



(5) 20M 1/8/83

# 'Angola waits for SA to give talks date'

By JOSE CAETANO

ANGOLA is interested in continuing negotiations with South Africa and is waiting for Pretoria to suggest a date and a venue for another round of talks between the two countries.

This was said by the Angolan Minister of Energy and Petroleum, Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunen, during an ex-

clusive interview with the Rand Daily Mail in Maputo recently.

The Angolan Minister was in the Mozambican capital to chair the meeting of Energy Ministers of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

According to Mr Van Dunen, Luanda is "interested in continuing these discussions because we feel that the

only way we can achieve a coming together is, in fact, by means of a dialogue which should be conducted in an open and frank spirit".

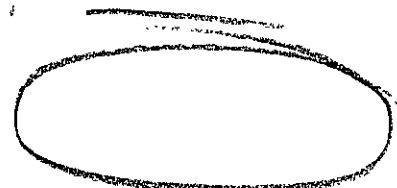
He added: "We are, nevertheless, convinced that in the near future we will be able to continue with the process of dialogue with competent representatives of the South African Republic".

The last meeting, held in

Cape Verde in February, ended in failure after Angola objected that the South African delegation led by Mr Hans van Dalsen, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, was not truly "representative" because it did not include any Cabinet Ministers to conduct the SA side of negotiations.

**Full Interview**  
● See Page 6

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(5)

Army councils to have political control

# Angolan Govt to set up military rule

The Star's Foreign News Service

**LISBON — The Angolan Government plans to establish direct military rule in several key provinces to counter fresh attempts by Unita rebels to capture and hold towns in the east of the country.**

In a report monitored by Associated Press in Lisbon the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said President Jose Eduardo dos Santos would assume direct control over military councils to be set up in critical areas of conflict.

The report did not say which provinces would be affected.

The new laws, already approved by the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly, establish regional military councils with full control over political, military, economic and social affairs.

The councils would be empowered to requisition people and goods and to restrict movements in the interests of defence and security, Angop said.

Military courts would be set up to hear charges of economic sabotage, speculation and disobedience of the new regulations.

## Garrison routed

Early in April Unita claimed to have routed the garrison at the key south-eastern road junction of Alto Cuita Tempue in Moxico Province, giving the rebels access to the Benguela Railway from areas in the south completely under guerilla control.

Later in April and early in May Western journalists confirmed that the rebels had taken the rail towns of Munhangó and Cangonga.

It is not known if Unita has managed to hold these towns against Government counter-attacks.

The strategically-vital but highly vulnerable Benguela line has been the main economic target of Dr Savimbi's men since 1975.

About 100 steam and diesel locomotives and 9 wagons have been out of action in constant ambushes and landmine attacks. Last week it was reported that 50 people had been killed and 210 others injured when a passenger train on the line hit a landmine.

The Benguela attacks have had a damaging ripple effect on the economies of Zambia and Zaire.

Their vital copper and cobalt exports, which were to be shipped out through the Angolan ports are now carried far south to East London in South Africa.

Unita appears to be supported by Ovimbundu tribespeople who make up 35 to 40 percent of the Angolan population.

The Angolan Government is under pressure not only from Unita but also from other forces on its southern and northern borders.

The activity of the South African Defence Force in the south cannot be publicly estimated as all reports are censored by the military authorities.

In the north what was the FNLA continues to fight on as Comira since its leader, Holden Roberto, was ousted last year.

Comira is supported by mainly the Kongo peoples who make up about 13 percent of the population.

# Angola wants joint defence

LUSAKA (S) Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos said here Zambia and Angola should work out a joint defence pact to protect installations threatened by South Africa.

Mr dos Santos said the Benguela railway needed a co-operative defence approach. The railroad crosses Angola from Zaire to the Atlantic port

of Lobito and once carried a major share of Zaire's and Zambia's copper exports.

Unita rebels opposed to his government, have kept the line from operating for several years.

Mr dos Santos said the rebels carried out subversive activities on behalf of white-ruled South Africa.

Unita on the other hand denies that it is acting for South Africa.

"The strategy is to force us all to be dependent on the South African route for imports and exports," Mr dos Santos said.

"We feel it is necessary for us to co-ordinate our defences against the common enemy." — Associated Press.

100 (P)

100 (P)

IT IS difficult to equate the short and stocky, urbane, mild-mannered man, wearing a casual yet expensive-looking white short-sleeved shirt and black trousers, with the senior MPLA guerrilla commander who for years saw duty on the eastern front during the 14-year war against Portuguese rule in Angola.

Pedro van Dunen listens intently to your questions, his eyes locked on you, and delivers his answers in slow, perfect Portuguese.

During the interview he answered questions on his government's attitude to various aspects of the on-going conflict between Angola and South Africa, as well as the chances of a negotiated solution for the problem which for years has eluded the some of the most experienced diplomatic "brains" of the Western Contact group.

He also spoke on how the conflict has seriously affected his struggling country.

How does your government view future talks with South Africa following the latest round of talks in Cape Verde?

Mr van Dunen: "Well, the meeting resulted in a failure because the South African authorities did not make themselves properly represented at the meeting.

This did not make it possible for us to advance with our discussion of the problems which characterise the present conflict". (The South African delegation at the February talks was led by Mr Hans van Dalsen, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, and did not include any Cabinet representatives).

"But we await new opportunities for discussion and this time it is the South African Republic which is expected to say when, and where it will be prepared to sit with us.

"We are interested, we have always manifested interest in continuing these discussions, because we feel that the only way we can achieve an approximation is, in fact, by means of dialogue conducted in an open and frank spirit, without any of the preconceptions which generally characterise the South African leaders".

"We are, nevertheless, convinced that in the near future we will be able to continue with the process of dialogue with the competent representatives of the South African Republic in order to find the correct platform of mutual understanding of the process which will take us to a definite solution to the problem."

A communiqué issued recently by the Angolan Minister of Defence, Colonel Pedro Maria Tonha (Pedalé), alleged that South Africa was preparing for another major incursion into Angola in the near future. What provoked this allegation?

"Well, in reality our country is under constant threat from the South African troops. This, in addition to the situation which has prevailed since 1981 in the Cunene province.

"Lately we have observed large concentrations of South African troops whose objective is, once again, to unleash by means of its war machine hard blows against our country and our population, particularly against the southern region of our country.

"This happens at a time when there is an intensification of attempts at finding a platform for a peaceful solu-

# The trouble with Angola

Pedro de Castro van Dunen, a 43-year-old Russian-trained petroleum engineer, is the Angolan Minister of Energy and Petroleum and a senior member of President José Eduardo dos Santos' Cabinet. He was previously minister of Provincial Co-Ordination. As Angola's minister in charge of petroleum, by far the most important source of revenue for his struggling country, he has been responsible for some highly sensitive negotiations with American oil executives who hold the majority of Angola's oil producing concessions. Mr Van Dunen is also the Chairman of the Ministerial Energy Commission of the Southern Africa Development Co-Ordination Conference (SADCC). Mr Van Dunen will represent the organisation at the forthcoming 12th Congress of the World Energy Conference, due to be held in New Delhi in September. In the first interview granted to a South African journalist by a member of the Angolan government, Mr Van Dunen spoke to JOSÉ CAETANO.



PEDRO VAN DUNEN ... we want to talk

tion for the problem, by means of negotiations, be these bilateral negotiations with the South African Republic or indirect discussions, such as those with the United States.

"We understand, though, the internal difficulties with which South Africa has had contend lately. We know that the military wing, with strong militarist characteristics, has in fact been trying to impose a solution which will necessarily consist of the use of force."

"This, naturally, makes it difficult for the South African Government to carry the negotiations to a successful conclusion, which could bring a peaceful solution to the conflict in our region of the Southern African continent.

"This situation is extremely worrying because it shows the increasing influence that the South African military wing appears to be gaining. This can seriously endanger the possibility of a viable solution that will in fact benefit

our respective peoples in this part of our continent, and of all countries of the region, including South Africa.

"It is necessary that South Africa make an effort to put the brakes on the bellicose impetuosity of its militarist wing because it is not, by any means, through brute force of the South African militarists that we will be able to solve the problems of Southern Africa.

"On the contrary, we think that the South African Republic will be digging the grave for her self-liquidation by pursuing this militarist and bellicose strategy.

"We think that the moment has arrived for us to negotiate, to talk and show respect for the interests of all the people that make up the southern part of our continent. Because there is no way that the wish of one country can be imposed on all the other nations of the region."

To what extent have the military activities of Unita and of the South African

army inside Angola affected the economy of the country?

"One of the main objectives of the enemy is the destruction of the basic infrastructures of our country, namely the energy infrastructures.

"Initially, with the active support of the South African Army, the puppet hands destroyed electrical transmission systems and power pylons, but lately, with the active participation of commandos of the South African Army, they have concentrated their actions against actual hydro-electrical production centres, dams, electrical energy stations and substations.

"This is the case, for example, the destruction of the hydro-electric station of Lemum, at the beginning of this year, and the attempted destruction of the small electrical station of Puns, in the Bié Province, as well as various other attempts on energy producing stations in other parts of our country.

"Clearly the repercussions of these actions are terrible because, once the sources of electrical supply to industrial centres are destroyed, life stops, and this naturally results in an extremely difficult situation for the areas affected".

"I should also mention the destruction of the Luanda refinery in November 1981, the only one in the country, which has created a difficult and complicated situation concerning the supply of petrol-derived products, not only to our industry and population, but also to other countries which benefited from the products of our refinery.

"This was done with the objective of causing difficulties to the functioning of our economy."

"Another example is the case of the Ruacana hydro-electric station, which at the moment, is under the complete control of South African troops. This a situation which we consider to be an element of permanent aggression against our people and against the energy infrastructure of our country. The Ruacana dam is at the moment in the service of South Africa".

What is the military situa-

tion, at present, in the Cunene province?

"A part of the Cunene province is occupied by the South African forces who have imposed their control. Clearly this is an extremely difficult situation, it is in fact a colonial situation, because South Africa *de facto* occupies vast areas of our country.

"This has created a very difficult state of affairs. It has forced on us, firstly, a refugee problem because the population has abandoned the centres under the control of the South African Army.

"This is in addition to other serious consequences, such as the destruction of cattle, of agricultural products and civilian property; not to mention the infrastructures, such as bridges, roads etc. All this creates an impossible situation for the populations of the affected areas."

What sort of international aid has the Angolan Government managed to obtain in order to alleviate and compensate for the damage suffered as a result of the conflict?

"The international help that our country has received will never be sufficient to compensate for the destruction suffered. Some aid from international organisations, such as the International Red Cross, has in fact been given to our country and this has made possible for us to minimise, to some extent, the difficulties under which the refugees, from the areas under permanent occupation by the enemy, live.

"We have attempted to intensify contacts with philanthropic organisations as well as other freedom and peace-loving institutions in order to obtain effective support for the populations which are suffering from these provocations of the enemy.

"But I must emphasise that no amount of international aid can compensate for the damages caused. Up to now these have amounted to over 6 000-million dollars. This means, in fact, that no amount of foreign aid can compensate for these losses. ● A South African Defence Force spokesman, reacting to allegations directed at the SADF, said yesterday: "This is another typical example of the absurd statements coming from Angola in support of the Swapo terrorist movement.

It is also a re-hashing of the same old boring theme which has been trotted out with monotonous regularity over the past few years.

"The facts of the situation are that Angola is involved in a civil war which it obviously can't win and in typical Marxist fashion is now blaming South Africa for Unita's much publicised successes.

"Their dismal failure to cope with their own situation despite the presence of Russia and its surrogates like Cuba is an indictment of their own system and their competence in trying to apply it.

"This Minister obviously does not care or is completely unaware of the desperate state of his fellow countrymen because of his government's support for Russian expansionism. It has been repeatedly stated that South Africa has no quarrel with Angola and is not at war with them.

"It has also been repeatedly stated that neighbouring countries harbouring terrorists will have to carry the consequences of their actions. "The SADF is in South West Africa to protect the local





It is difficult to equate the short and stocky, urbane, mild-mannered man, wearing a casual yet expensive-looking white short-sleeved shirt and black trousers, with the senior MPLA guerrilla commander who for years saw duty on the eastern front during the 14-year war against Portuguese rule in Angola.

Pedro van Dunen listens intently to your questions and delivers his answers in slow, perfect Portuguese. During the interview he answered questions on his government's attitude to various aspects of the on-going Namibian conflict. The conflict, he said, has seriously affected his struggling country.

**How does your government view future talks with South Africa after the last round of talks in Cape Verde?**

"Well, the meeting was a failure because the South African authorities were not properly represented. We could not advance with our discussion of the problems which characterise the present conflict". (The South African delegation at the February talks was led by Mr Hans van Dalsen, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, and did not include a Cabinet representative).

"But we await new opportunities for discussion and this time it is South Africa that is expected to say when, and where it will be prepared to sit with us.

"We are interested — we have always shown interest in continuing these discussions — because we feel that the only way we can achieve a compromise is by means of dialogue conducted in an open and frank spirit, without any of the preconceptions which generally characterise the South African leaders.

"We are convinced that soon we will be able to continue with the dialogue with competent representatives of South Africa in order to find a

# Angola



**Angola's Minister of Energy and Petroleum, Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunen — interested in continuing discussions with South Africa.**

platform that will take us to a definite solution of the problem".

A communique issued recently by the Angolan Minister of Defence, Colonel Pedro Maria Tonha, alleged that South Africa was preparing another major incursion into Angola. What provoked this allegations?

"Well, our country is under constant threat from the South African troops. Lately we have observed large concentrations of SA troops.

"This happens at a time when there is an intensification of attempts at finding a peaceful solution for the problem, by means of negotiations, be these bilateral negotiations

with South Africa or indirect discussions, such as those with the United States.

"We understand, though, the internal difficulties with which South Africa has had to contend lately. This, naturally makes it difficult for the South African Government to carry the negotiations to a successful conclusion.

"This situation is extremely worrying because it shows the increasing influence that the South African military wing appears to be gaining.

"It is necessary that South Africa make an effort to put the brakes on its militarist wing because it is not through

Angola is interested in continuing negotiations with South Africa and is waiting for Pretoria to suggest a date and a venue for another round of talks between the two countries. This was said by the Angolan Minister of Energy and Petroleum, Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunen, in an interview in Maputo with Jose Caetano. Mr van Dunen was in the Mozambican capital to chair the meeting of Energy Ministers of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) which preceded the summit meeting of the organisation's member states last month.

**wants talks with SA to continue**

*D. Inapara*  
4/18/83

brute force that we will be able to solve the problems of Southern Africa. On the contrary, we think that South Africa will be digging her own grave by pursuing this militarist strategy.

"We think that the moment has arrived for us to negotiate, to talk and show respect for the interests of all the people that make up the southern part of our continent. There is no way that the wishes of one country can be imposed on all the other nations of the region."

To what extent have the military activities of Unita and of the South African army affected the economy of your country?

"One of the main objectives of the enemy is the destruction of the basic infrastructures of our country, namely the energy infrastructures.

"Initially, with South African support, the puppet bands destroyed naturally makes it difficult for the South African Government to carry the negotiations to a successful conclusion.

"This situation is extremely worrying because it shows the increasing influence that the South African military wing appears to be gaining.

"An example is the destruction of the hydro-electric station of Lemum, at the beginning of this year, and the attempted destruction of the small electrical sta-

tion of Puns, in the Bie Province, as well as various other attempts at energy-producing stations in other parts of our country.

"Clearly the repercussions are terrible because, once the sources of electrical supply to industrial centres are destroyed, life stops. This naturally results in an extremely difficult situation for the areas affected.

"I should mention, also, the destruction of the Luanda refinery in November, 1981, the only refinery of our country. This has created a difficult and complicated situa-

tion for the supply of petrol and petroleum products, not only to our industry and population, but also to other countries which benefited from the products of our refinery.

"Another example is the case of the Ruacana hydro-station, which at the moment is under the complete control of South African troops. This is a situation that we consider to be permanent aggression against our people and against the energy industry. The Ruacana dam is at the moment at the service of South Africa".

"The facts of the situation are that Angola is involved in a civil war which it obviously can't win and in typical Marxist fashion is now blaming South Africa for Unita's much-publicised successes. Angola's dismal failure to cope with its own situation despite the support of Russia and its surrogates like Cuba is an indictment of their own system and their competence in trying to apply it.

## Same old story — SADF

A SADF spokesman commented:

"This is another typical example of the absurd statements coming from Angola in support of the Swapo terrorist movement. It is a re-hashing also of the same old boring theme which has been trotted out with monotonous regularity over the past few years.

"The facts of the situation are that Angola is involved in a civil war which it obviously can't win and in typical Marxist fashion is now blaming South Africa for Unita's much-publicised successes. Angola's dismal failure to cope with its own situation despite the support of Russia and its surrogates like Cuba is an indictment of their own system and their competence in trying to apply it.

"This Minister obviously does not care, or is completely unaware, of the desperate state of his fellow countrymen because of his government's support for Russian expansionism. It has been

What is the military situation at present in the Cunene province?

"A part of the Cunene province is occupied by the South African forces. Clearly this is an extremely difficult situation.

"This has created a very difficult state of affairs. It has forced on us, firstly, a refugee problem.

"This is in addition to other serious consequences, such as the destruction of cattle, of agricultural products and of civilian property — not to mention the infrastructure, such as bridges, roads etc. All

this creates an impossible situation for the populations of the affected areas."

What sort of international aid has the Angolan Government managed to obtain in order to alleviate and compensate for the damages suffered as a result of the conflict?

"The international help that our country has received will never be sufficient to compensate for the destruction suffered. Some aid from international organisations, such as the International Red Cross, has been given to our country and this has made it possible for us to minimise, to some extent, the difficulties under which the refugees live.

"We have attempted to intensify contacts with philanthropic organisations, as well as other freedom and peace-loving institutions in order to obtain effective support for the people who are suffering from enemy action.

"But I must emphasise that no amount of international aid can compensate for the damage caused. Up to now this has amounted to more than six billion dollars. This means, in fact, that no amount of foreign aid can compensate for these losses."

repeatedly stated that South Africa has no quarrel with Angola and is not at war with the Angolans.

"It has been repeatedly stated also that neighbouring countries harbouring terrorists will have to carry the consequences of their actions.

"The SADF is in South West Africa to protect the local people from marauding bands of callous killers who prey on the innocent by abducting children, murdering non-supporters, laying mines on roads which kill or maim the civilians in their merciless blasts.

"At the same time these terrorists flee like whipped curs at the first hint of a confrontation with the Security Forces. It is obvious to us that Swapo's humiliating defeat in their action against the Security Forces and Angola's total inability to cope with the anarchy within its borders, generated this kind of rubbish which the Defence Force is expected to comment ad nauseam."

to this potential. Actual labor pressure is exerted in India because such activity is inherent in India's political system.

Other countries are oppressed through political parties in India because such activity is inherent in India's political system.

# 5 Euro MPs 'Illegal'

The Minister said the even more urgent need exists... LISBON — Angola yesterday criticised a visit by members of the European Parliament to guerrilla camps in the country, saying they broke the law and provided publicity for Unita. A commentary carried by the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said, "The four parliamentarians who represent countries that have

# visit angers Angola

The agency said the four had invited their host Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, to the European Parliament in November, "so he can crow about the crimes he is ordered to carry out by Pretoria against Angola". An Angop report yesterday said many bodies were still lying in the wreckage of a passenger train blown up by

# potty posy

MELBOURNE — A 58-year-old woman has been fined R100 by a Melbourne court for presenting Princess Diana with a posy of marijuana (dagga) when the Princess was on her way to a ball in the city in April. Outside the court, the woman said she had chosen the marijuana for the posy because it was the prettiest and healthiest plant growing in her garden at the time.

# R9 600 CAN BE WON

There was no correct solution received for Jackpot No 706 — so up it goes to R9 600. NOTE: Post your entry on a postcard to "Mail" Saturday Jackpot No 707, PO Box 1485, Johannesburg 2000. Unstamped entries may be left in the Jackpot box in the foyer of the Rand Daily Mail Building, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg, or at the city office of the Rand Daily Mail, 29 Kerk Street (between Loveday and Harrison Streets). The closing date for Saturday Jackpot No 707 will be midnight on Thursday, August 11, 1983. The solution and the winners' names will be published on Saturday, August 13, 1983. For rules to Jackpot No 707 see Page 17.

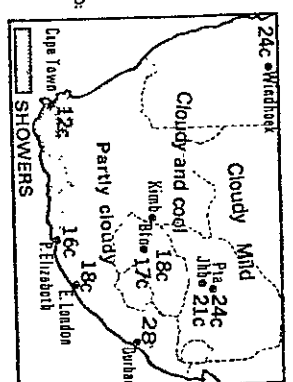
## DAILY MAIL DAILY MAIL SATURDAY JACKPOT No 707

B	A	R	T	E	R	F	R	M
A	R	U	T	T	G	A	M	L
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O	S	E	R	I	V	I	N	E

- ACROSS**
- 1 Temperament is something a... should keep under strict control.
  - 2 Sleep decline in prices might well spell swift disaster for...
  - 3 After election, politicians supporters may criticise him for serious...
  - 4 Sport
  - 5 First woman.
  - 6 ... and pepper.
  - 7 Donkey
  - 8 ... would be expected to be more or less oblong in shape.
  - 9 Orator's... suggests that the cause he is supporting is a pretty poor one.
  - 10 Beautiful... might well be much admired.
  - 11 There's seldom much to gain from criticising a...
- DOWN**
- 1 Famous... can look forward to a substantial income
  - 2 Fleisty underground fungus, much esteemed in cookery.
  - 3 The harm done by... can be severe indeed.

# Weather Mail

THE Weather Bureau's forecast for today: — **TRANSVAAL:** — Fine and mild to warm but partly cloudy over the southern parts. It will become colder over the southern lowveld. **FREE STATE and CAPE north of the Orange:** — Fine to partly cloudy and cold but mild over the north-eastern parts at first. **CAPE south of the Orange:** — Cloudy and cold with showers over the western and southern parts, clearing partially in the west later. **NATAL:** — Cloudy and cold with a possibility of snowfalls over the southern Drakensberg. **SOUTH WEST AFRICA:** — Partly cloudy and cold over the central and southern parts, otherwise fine and warm. **BOTSWANA.** — Fine and warm but cold over the southern parts. — **Saba**



**Rand Daily Mail Weather Station**

Friday, August 5, 1983

Temperature: 09h00 20°C, 13h00 18°C, Humidity: 85%

Max temp: 20°C, Min temp: 8°C, Rain 24 hours to 20h00: Nil, Sunrise today: 17h44, Sunset tomorrow: 08h44

**SOUTH AFRICA YESTERDAY**

Temperatures at 14h00

Bloemfontein	22	Jan Smuts	20	Potchefstroom	25
Cape Town	12	Nelspruit	30	Pretooria	32
Durban	28	Pieterburg	23	Skukuza	32
East London	17	Port Elizabeth	14	Standerfontein	22

**SOUTH AFRICA: Hottest at 14h00: Skukuza 32°C. Coldest at 08h00: Bethelton 1°C. TSWANAAL: Hottest at 14h00: Skukuza 32°C. Coldest at 08h00: Thabazimbi 3°C.**

# THE WORLD YESTERDAY

Min. Max. Weather

# Mr O gives Angola Smuggling list — claim

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Mr Harry Oppenheimer has supplied a list of 400 illicit diamond smugglers to Angola's President, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, says the Lisbon weekly Expresso.

Smuggling is rife in Angola because of the food shortage, the newspaper reports, quoting sources in Luanda. Diamonds are being exchanged for food.

Mr Oppenheimer, it said, met Mr dos Santos during a recent visit to Angola and told him that if his government genuinely wanted to stop diamond smuggling, it should act on the list of names.

The report has been denied by a De Beers spokesman in Johannesburg.

"The newspaper story is simply not true," he said.

He could not comment on how the newspaper got the story.

Expresso's unidentified source claimed that South African, Israeli and West German secret services were involved in

the smuggler-busting operation, along with important officials of the Angolan Government, acting on a presidential memorandum.

Angola recently uncovered a diamond smuggling network in Luanda.

A former employee at the Angolan Embassy in Lisbon has been jailed for smuggling.

Also serving sentences are two Angolan airline TAAG pilots, and Expresso says some have large bank accounts overseas. One of the pilots has a Portuguese bank account "with one million dollars."

Angolan investigators had received anonymous death threats and had asked the President for his personal support for their probe.

Last week a member of the European Parliament, Sir James Scott-Hopkins, said Angola's rebel guerilla movement Unita could endanger the lives of British security men working in the country's diamond mines.

Sir James has just returned from a five-day visit to Unita with three other MEPs.

He said Unita's leader,



Mr Oppenheimer...a claim he gave list of diamond smugglers to Angola

Dr Jonas Savimbi, had told him he had 3 000 well-armed troops preparing to attack the mines in a government-controlled area.

Dr Savimbi, he said, "was anxious that the Britons, brought in to end smuggling at the mines, should come to no harm in the attacks."

Sir James said he planned to warn the British Foreign Office and De Beers, which owns a small share in the nationalised mines.

A De Beers spokesman said everything was "quiet at the moment".

The Union

August 1983

1.6. 1.000

745

1.7

SA accused  
of 'racist  
aggression'

Case  
Title  
12/8/83  
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From TONY WEAVER

WINDHOEK. — Angola has again accused the South African Defence Force of occupying "large portions" of southern Angola and has accused the United States of directly backing South Africa in its "racist aggression".

A Radio Angola news commentary monitored in Windhoek yesterday by the Africa Bureau said there was "a state of undeclared war" against Angola, and there was an "international imperialist conspiracy" to "crush the Angolan revolution".

A spokesman for the SADF said last night that he was "not prepared to comment on the same, boring old propaganda".

"Since independence, the Peoples' Republic of Angola has not known peace, which is necessary for the construction of the country and for the creation of better living conditions for the population," the radio commentary said.

"Aggressions" against Angola were being launched from SWA/Namibia, and South Africa aimed to establish a "satellite State" run by the Unita rebel movement of Dr Jonas Savimbi in the southern Cunene Province.

"Since the invasion of 1981, code-named Protea, a large portion of the Cunene Province has been under occupation and transformed by the racist occupiers into a logistical and other support base for the Unita bandits in their sabotage actions against civilian and economic targets important for the country's development," the commentary said.

"Daily aerial and land attacks aimed at terrorizing the population and destroying the infrastructure of the southern provinces" were taking place.

14/8/83

~~SECRET~~ ~~SECRET~~

S. Esthers

# Soviet missiles now on SA borders

THE Soviet Union has deployed Sam-8 surface-to-air missiles in Angola and Mozambique in a military build-up along South African borders.

Mr Pieter Marais, chairman of Armscor, said yesterday the presence of two Sam-8 missile sites in Angola and one in Mozambique were confirmed three weeks ago through information received from "people in those countries".

He said Soviet personnel were in Angola and Mozambique to operate the missiles.

The newly-developed Sam-8 is a descendant of the Sam-6, which proved effective against Israel's American and French-made assault jets in the 1973 Middle East war.

The Sam-8 climbs as fast as any plane below the speed of sound and flies at altitudes of up to 10 000m. It has a range of 20km, and uses heat-seeking and radar devices to find its target.

It has not been fired in combat, according to Nato handbooks. — Sapa-AP.

# SADF chief denies jet raid into Angola

5 2084 E. Post 15/8/83

PRETORIA — The Chief of the SA Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, today denied claims that South African fighter jets had destroyed the Angolan town of Cangamba at the weekend.

The official Angolan news agency, Angop, quoted Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos as saying eight South African planes had attacked Cangamba in Angola's eastern Moxica province at dawn yesterday, completely destroying the town.

General Viljoen said today it was obvious the Angolans were making maximum use of accusations and propaganda against South Africa.

The current stream of accusations were "obviously coupled to apparent successful offensives by Unita," he said.

"To demonstrate the absurdity of the allegations that the Air Force attacked towns with Impala aircraft, I can mention that those towns fall completely out of the action range of an Impala with a weapons load," General Viljoen said. The official Angolan news agency, Angop, reported that South Africa was intensifying its war, attacking Government positions as well as reinforcing its occupation of part of southern Cunene province.

It said the bombing attack was carried out by four Canberra bombers and four Impala Mk2 fighter-bombers

Word of the claimed air attack came a day after Angop reported Angolan Government troops as defeating Unita rebels in fighting over eight days.

Angop said 1 100 Unita guerillas were killed and

that 53 army regulars died.

Meanwhile, Unita rebels said today they had taken Cangamba in an assault by three brigades after an 11-day siege, killing 709 of the defenders, including 120 Cuban soldiers.

A communique issued in Lisbon by Unita said 165 Government troops had been taken prisoner. It gave Unita losses as 63 dead and 200 wounded.

Unita said its forces withstood 321 napalm and phosphorus bomb attacks by Angolan planes and helicopters before capturing Cangamba yesterday.

Five Government MiG fighters and four helicopters were shot down by Unita, the communique said, while the remnants of a Cuban brigade in the town were evacuated by helicopter, leaving Angolan Government defenders to their fate. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

# Teachers' tuition fees to be doubled

5A 11/11/73

Arms 15/11/73  
Education Reporter

TUITION fees at all white teacher training colleges in the Cape will double from January next year.

A notice in today's edition of the Education Gazette states that fees will be increased for students from R120 a year to R240 a year as from January 1.

Mr Willem Bouwer, MEC in charge of education in the province, said the last increase in tuition fees at training colleges in the Cape was in 1973.

## Total fee

Even with the new increase our total fee of R950, which includes boarding fees, is lower than any of the other provinces.

"We have done our best to keep fees down for as long as possible, but the economic climate has made this move necessary", he said.

He said at this stage it seemed unlikely that boarding fees at the colleges, presently pegged at R718, would also increase next year.

The total fee paid by students at Natal colleges is R1 500, R700 of which is for tuition. Transvaal students pay a total of R1 245, of which R180 is for tuition and students at colleges in the Orange Free State pay a total of R980, R440 of which is for tuition.

## "Lowest fees"

"If the Transvaal also increases tuition fees, it is likely the Cape will still have the lowest class fees," Mr Bouwer said.

Mr Malcolm Powell, president of the South African Teachers' Association, said he did not think the increase in fees would decrease the intake at teachers' colleges as the majority of students were bursary holders.

2) (Arms 15/11/73) 5A  
for  
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SATA

"The amount of the bursaries takes cognisance of the related increases.

"The SATA remains more concerned that the continued refusal to admit English-speaking males to the Cape Town Teachers' College adversely affects the number of English-speaking males entering the profession at junior school level," he said.

Mr John Stonier, rector of the Cape Town Teachers' College in Mowbray, also said he did not think the increase would deter anyone from entering the profession as the fees were extremely low.

"In fact I am surprised there have not been more regular increases," he said.

These reflect the effect of the welfare in that they are



# Viljoen denies SA napalm raid on Angola town

Star 15/8/83

By Trevor Jones

The chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, today denied that South African jets had bombed Angolan towns with napalm.

General Viljoen was reacting to overseas reports in which Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos claimed that eight South African bombers had destroyed an eastern Angolan town on Sunday.

"It is obvious that the Angolans are making the maximum use of accusations and propaganda against South Africa," the general said.

He said the current stream of claims was obviously coupled to apparently successful offensives by Unita guerillas.

The official Angolan news agency, Angop, quoted a statement made by Mr Dos Santos when he arrived in Brazzaville yesterday for the celebrations of the Congo's 20 years of independence.

Angop quoted Mr Dos Santos as saying that the eight jets raided Cangamba - recently won from Unita guerillas - at dawn and completely destroyed the town.

Today the British Broadcasting Corporation carried similar reports of the alleged South African raid.

General Viljoen said it was equally obvious that, by using psychological pressure through the media, the Angolans were trying to force South Africa to reveal its activities in southern Angola.

"In the light of operational

risks the Defence Force will not reveal such details but categorically denies, for example, that towns were bombed with napalm," said the general.

"It is common knowledge that, from time to time, South Africa is forced to undertake actions such as reconnaissance flights in the south of Angola because the Angolan regime allows and actively supports Swapo aggression from their territory," he continued.

Another Angop report, monitored in Lisbon, said South Africa was intensifying military action against Angola, attacking various government positions and reinforcing its occupation of part of southern Cunene province.

Quoting official sources, Angop claimed South Africa was rushing to the aid of Unita guerillas who had been defeated in a battle for Canagamba.

But General Viljoen said the towns mentioned in the reports fell completely out of the action range of an Impala with a weapons load.

He said that, in any case, South Africa would never act against Angolan civilians by attacking towns with fire bombs.

"The present reconnaissance flights by the Air Force, in which Canberra reconnaissance aircraft were used, are directly coupled to the build-up of Fapla and Cuban forces in southern Angola and, especially, to the recent deployment of sophisticated Russian weapons such as the SAM-8 missiles," said General Viljoen.

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advances in the  
This is no long  
maintain its po-  
take place that  
making.

forms of w  
New Zealand, but  
joint consultat-  
have continued  
willing to see  
stages of the de-  
Government differ  
and the forms of  
unions are prepar-  
powerful, effective  
has as its office  
promoting small  
but only slowly

A strong tradition of legal arrangements within a framework of consultation and arbitration, have meant that both unions and employers have had little experience of collective bargaining. Greater emphasis on the nature and the nature and extended collec- In decision-making.

The development of worker participation in New Zealand is closely related to the development of the industrial relations system.

SUMMARY

SC-A/Sec.1/C.1

# SA planes watch build-up in Angola

ARC 45  
15/8/83

5

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — South Africa is flying reconnaissance missions to monitor the build-up of FAPLA and Cuban forces in southern Angola.

The Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, said today the Air Force was also keeping a check on the deployment of sophisticated Russian weapons such as the Sam-8 missiles.

He made these points in a statement after the South African Defence Force had been asked to comment on claims by Angolan president Jose Eduardo Dos Santos that President Dos Santos claimed eight South African aircraft had attacked Cangamba in Angola's eastern Moxico province, destroying it.

In his statement General Viljoen said: "It is equally obvious that by using psychological pressure through the media, the Angolans wish to force South Africa to reveal its activities in southern Angola."

"In the light of operational risk the Defence Force will not reveal such details but categorically denies, for example, that towns were bombed with napalm."

"It is common knowledge that from time to time South Africa is forced to undertake actions like reconnaissance flights in the south of Angola only because the Angolan regime allows and actively supports Swapo aggression from their territory."

## French

## troops ready to fight in Chad

PARIS. — Heavily-armed French paratroopers have drawn a battle line across war-ravaged Chad.

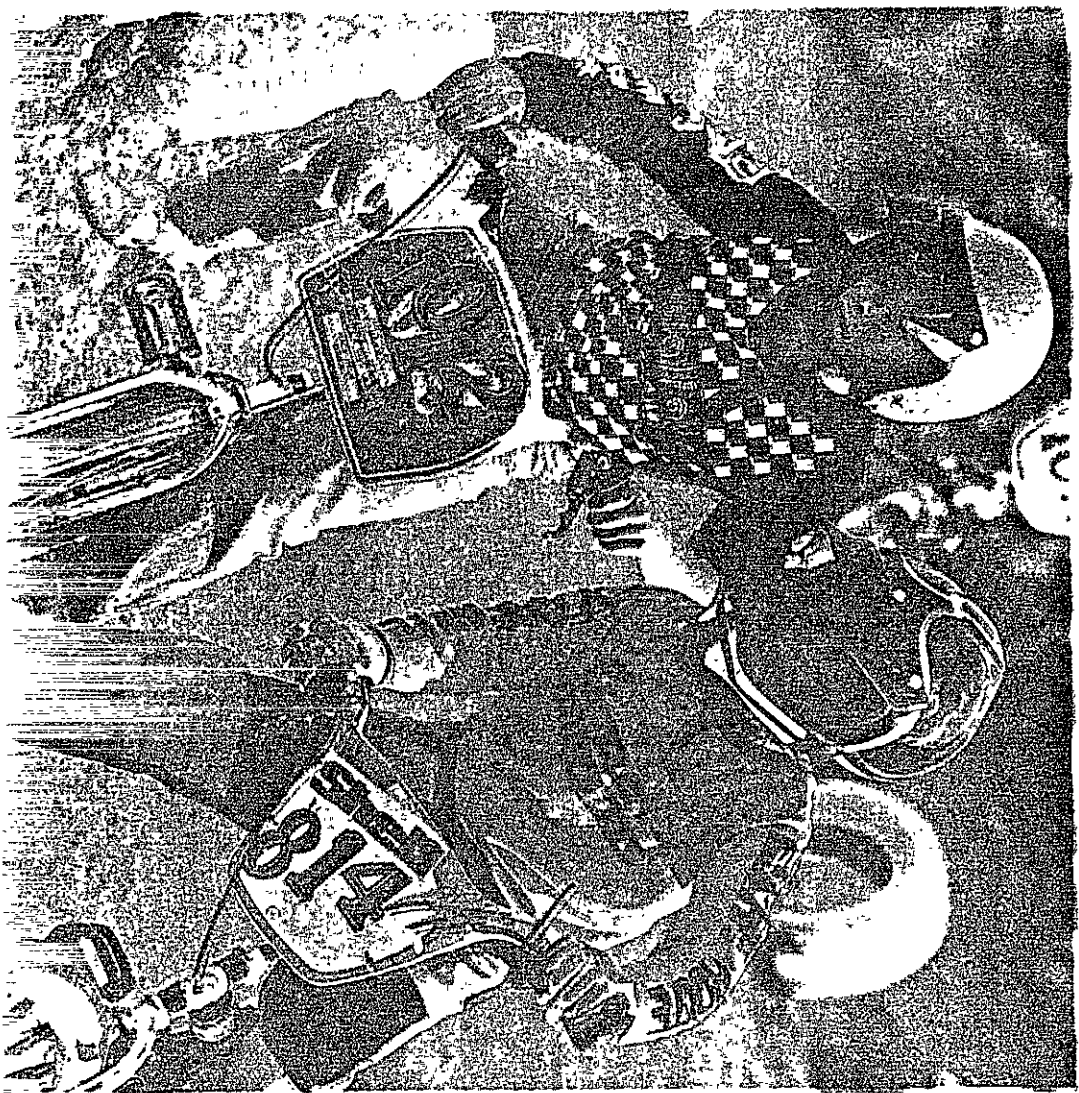
The soldiers, officially there only as advisers, have sent out a warning to rebels backed by Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi: "If you try to cross the line, we fight."

The 300 troops have been ordered to defend the capital N'Djamena from the rebel thrust south.

### "FIGHT BACK"

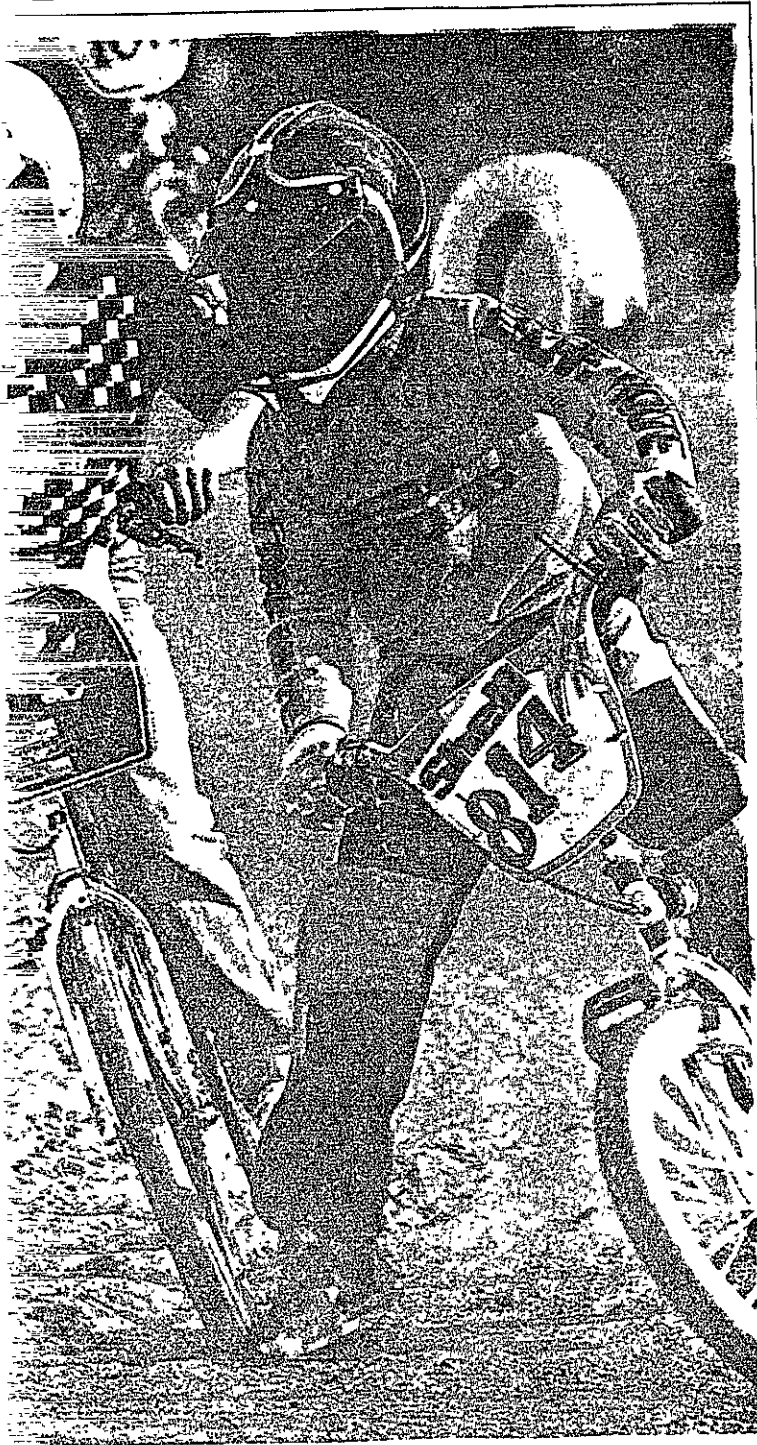
They have been told by their commander: "Fight back if you're fired on by Libyan planes or tanks."

France's Socialist Government was forced to take a hardline military stand on its former African colony after the rebels seized two key towns, steam-rolling their way towards the capital. French national radio and



# nes watch p in Angola

ARGUS  
15/8/83



Picture: JOHN YELD, The Argus

Two riders in yesterday's Western Province BMX championship take a turn. John Pierre Bonzonello (1012) came second in the 1000m heat. Following closely is Peter Kenmuyer (814). Both riders from all over the Peninsula took part in the fifth round at the newly-designed Aroma Inn track. (See page 5).

en Smith

16 students in court after

## Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — South Africa is flying reconnaissance missions to monitor the build-up of FAPLA and Cuban forces in southern Angola.

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"In the light of operational risk the Defence Force will not reveal such details but categorically denies, for example, that towns were bombed with napalm

"It is common knowledge that from time to time South Africa is forced to undertake actions like reconnaissance flights in the south of Angola only because the Angolan regime allows and actively supports Swapo aggression from their territory.

"To demonstrate the absurdity of the allegations that the Air Force attacked towns with Impala Aircraft, I can mention that these towns fall completely out of the action range of an Impala with a weapons load

"The RSA would in any case never act against Angolan civilians by attacking towns with firebombs.

"The present reconnaissance flights by the air force in which Canberra reconnaissance aircraft were used are directly coupled to the build up of FAPLA and Cuban forces in southern Angola and especially the deployment of sophisticated Russian weapons like the SAM-8 missiles.

"I want to emphasise again that the RSA undertakes no actions against the Angolans other than those regarded as necessary to combat Swapo — and these regardless of the blatant and hostile action and aggression from the Angolans' direct involvement with Swapo's cowardly actions against the civilians of SWA."



General Constand Viljoen

## Forces in control

In a report from Lisbon, the Argus Foreign



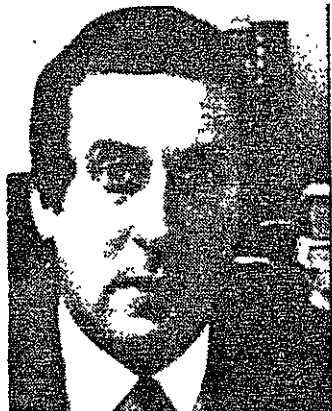


Picture: JOHN YELD, The Argus

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 -ke a turn. John Pierre Bonzonello (1012) came sec-  
 -nd heat. Following closely is Peter Kenmuyer (814).  
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## Smith given fiancée

espondent  
 here is a chance Mr  
 ear-old father of con-  
 een Smith, may give  
 al commission which  
 al being re-opened.



Mr Ray Wood

Mrs Smith's unusual ally has  
 the full support of his second  
 wife, Linda, as he campaigns  
 on her behalf.

## 16 students in court after squatter demo

Court Reporter

SIXTEEN members of the Stu-  
 dent Union for Christian Ac-  
 tion (Suca) who demonstrated  
 in Claremont on Saturday  
 against the plight of KTC  
 squatters appeared briefly be-  
 fore Mr G Hoffmann in Wyn-  
 berg Magistrate's Court today.

No charge was put and the  
 hearing was postponed to Sep-  
 tember 29.

They were Mr Michael Paul  
 van Graan, 21, of South Ave-  
 nue, Gleemore, Athlone; Mr  
 Jacobus Martinus Klopper, 22,  
 of Syringa Road, Bergvliet;  
 Miss Catherine Joan Brookes,  
 22, of Alma Road, Rosebank;  
 Mr Richard Gosnell, 19, of  
 Smuts Hall, UCT, Rondebosch;  
 Mr Neil Mark Anderson, 23, of  
 Cathay View, Devonshire  
 Road, Rondebosch; Mr Anton  
 Gerhard Krone, 23, of Bellevue  
 Terrace, Kenilworth; Miss Sus-  
 san Cloete Uys, 21, of Harion  
 Court, Albion Road, Ronde-  
 bosch; Mr Nathaniel John-  
 stone, 22, of Main Road, Glee-  
 more, Athlone; Mr Stephen  
 Mark de Gruchy, 21, of Christo

(Turn to Page 3, col 7).

Crat had attacked Cangamba in Angola's eastern province, destroying it.

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General Constand Viljoen

## Forces in control

In a report from Lisbon, the  
 Argus Foreign Service says  
 Unita claimed here today that  
 its forces were in control of  
 Cangamba after 11 days of  
 intense fighting that left more  
 than 700 Angolan soldiers and  
 about 120 Cubans dead.

The Unita communique released  
 here contradicted a report by  
 the official Angolan news  
 agency (Angop) claiming that  
 South African Canberra and  
 Impala Mk-2 bombers destroyed  
 the town in a dawn raid on  
 Saturday.

The Angop report said Cangamba,  
 450 km south of Luanda, had  
 been "destroyed" in the at-  
 tack.

It added that the "South African  
 attack" came after Angolan  
 government forces had retaken  
 Cangamba from Unita.

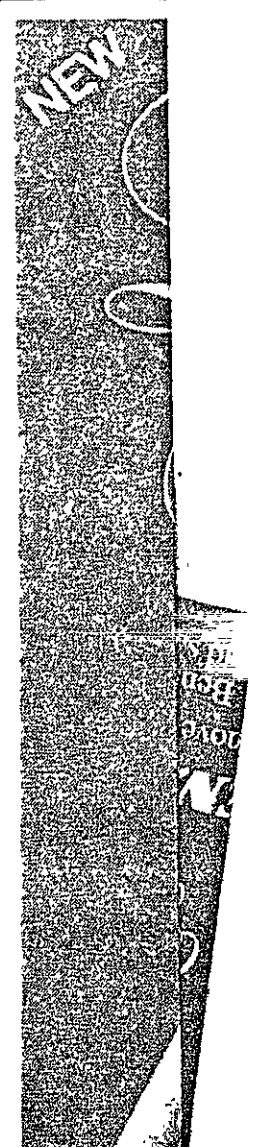
## Stepped up sharply

It is reported from London  
 there are indications that  
 the civil war in Angola is  
 being stepped up sharply.  
 Reports from Cuba, which has  
 more than 20 000 troops in  
 the country, appeared to  
 substantiate this.

A notably frank survey of  
 Angola from Havana last  
 week said that the "independ-  
 ence and sovereignty of the  
 heroic African country" might  
 soon be in danger.

It said that the regional  
 military councils just set up  
 by President Dos Santos were  
 intended to improve "rapid  
 replies to destabilising ac-  
 tions".

Reports claim that 10 000  
 Unita troops are now pressing  
 towards Luanda, the capital.  
 The purpose is not to take  
 Luanda, but to force President  
 Dos Santos to negotiate with  
 Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi,  
 according to observers.



1 100 (5)  
rebels <sup>rebel</sup>  
killed <sup>15/8/83</sup>  
Angola

LISBON. — Angolan Government troops have beaten off a Unita guerrilla attack in eastern Angola, killing 100 rebels and capturing quantities of South African-made arms, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

The agency said Unita attacked the village of Cangamba in Moxico province, where troops were stationed on August 2.

During the fighting, which lasted eight days, 53 government troops were killed, it said.

Angop said many guerrillas were wounded and government troops captured several prisoners and Western arms and ammunition, mainly from South Africa.

Meanwhile, the chairman of Armscor, Mr Pieter Marais, has said the Soviet Union has deployed Sam-8s, one of its newer surface-to-air missiles, in Angola and Mozambique in a military build-up along South African borders.

Mr Marais told reporters yesterday the presence of Sam-8s in Angola and Mozambique was confirmed three weeks ago through information received from people in those countries.

The Sam-8 is a descendant of the Sam-6, which proved effective against Israel's American and French-made assault jets in the 1973 Middle East war.

The missile climbs as fast as any aircraft below the speed of sound. It is carried by an all-terrain vehicle. It has never been fired in combat, according to handbooks issued to Nato infantry and armoured forces.

Mr Marais told journalists Soviet personnel were in Angola and Mozambique to operate the missiles.

There are two Sam-8 sites in Angola and one in Mozambique, he said. — Sapa-  
Reuter-AP.

# SADF onset in the south, says Angola

5 2011 17/8/83

By TONY WEAVER  
Mail Africa Bureau

**WINDHOEK.** — South African troops have invaded Angola, Impala fighters levelled the town of Cangamba and reinforcements are being poured into southern Angola, according to claims emanating from Luanda.

According to the Angolan Defence Ministry communique and an official Angolan news agency (Angop) report monitored in Windhoek, South Africa was pouring troops into the southern Cunene province and "had strengthened its military positions" in the south of Angola.

A spokesman for the South African Defence Force said yesterday he had "nothing to add to General (Constand) Viljoen's statement" on some of the claims, issued on Monday.

Gen Viljoen, the chief of the SADF, said in his statement that the current accusations were "obviously coupled to apparent successful offensives by Unita", the rebel movement under the command of Dr Jonas Savimbi.

He said in Pretoria that South Africa would never launch air strikes on civilian targets and added "It is equally obvious that by using psychological pressure through the media, the Angolans wish to force South Africa to reveal its activities in southern Angola."

He strongly denied that

Angolan towns were being bombed with napalm by South African fighter jets, saying the towns named by Angop were beyond the range of Impala jets.

Yesterday's Angolan Defence Ministry communique stated that "a squadron of racist South African war planes, Impala MK2's, bombarded Cangamba", which was "totally destroyed".

Cangamba is just under 450km due north of South Africa's nearest major military base, Rundu in the Kavango.

The communique said that since last Wednesday "air commandos", presumably a reference to paratroopers had struck the towns of Cutteve and Mulundc 150km from the Angolan-Ovambo border in Cunene Province.

South African military units "stationed" at Evale Xangongo (formerly Rocadas) and N' Giva (formerly Pereira d' Eca) had been "strengthened with about 10 000 troops".

A major battle for Cangamba has taken place over the past 11 days with Unita claiming 709 MPLA troops and 120 Cuban soldiers killed, while the Angolan Government claimed 1 100 Unita troops had been killed.

Angola also claimed 53 MPLA men had been killed when South African jets allegedly bombed the town, "totally destroying" it.

● Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday publicly linked Unita-MPLA negotiations in Angola with South West Africa's independence.

# Invasion claim by Angola

Cape Times  
17/8/83  
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**From TONY WEAVER WINDHOEK.** — South African troops have invaded Angola, Impala aircraft have levelled the town of Cangamba and reinforcements are being poured into southern Angola, according to claims emanating from Luanda.

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General Viljoen added: "It is equally obvious that by using psychological pressure through the media, the Angolans wish to force South Africa to reveal its activities in southern Angola."

He denied strongly that Angolan towns

were being bombed with napalm by South African fighter-jets, saying the towns named by Angop were beyond the range of Impala jets.

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merly Rocadas) and N'Giva (formerly Pereira d'Eca) had been "strengthened with about 10 000 troops".

These towns all fall within a 150-km radius of the Oshikango border post in the Ovambo war zone, and lie some 100 to 250km in a roughly straight line from the

Unita guerillas had been killed.

Angola said only 53 MPLA men had been killed when South African jets allegedly bombed the town.

● The leader of the Angolan guerilla movement Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi, yesterday publicly linked negotiations in Angola with SWA/Namibian independence.

A statement by Dr Savimbi from Unita's Paris office was published in Windhoek, after fighting between Unita guerillas and MPLA government troops for the strategic town of Cangamba.

## Control riddle

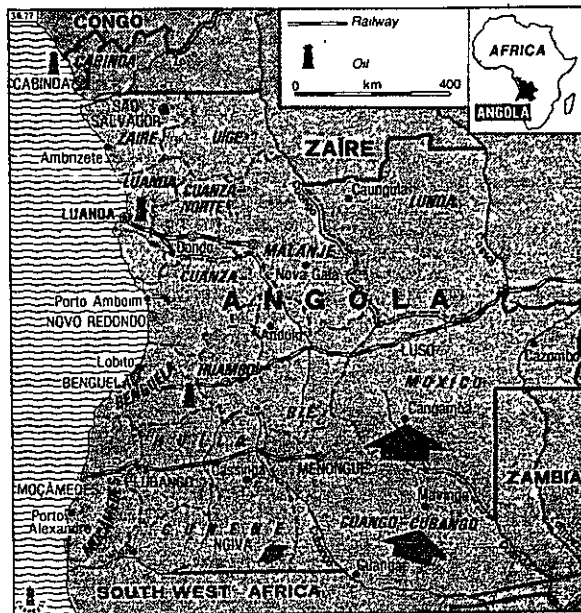
Both sides claimed to have scored major successes in the offensive, but there has been no independent confirmation of who is in control of Cangamba.

Dr Savimbi's statement yesterday said:

"Unita's position remains that direct negotiations with the MPLA, leading to the formation of a government of national unity, could put an end to the civil war (in Angola) and pave the way for independence for Namibia."

Political observers in Windhoek said Dr Savimbi's statement could indicate future trends in negotiations over the region.

They pointed out that the statement came at a time when the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, had yet to announce whether he had decided to travel to South Africa, SWA/Namibia and possibly Angola on a fact-finding mission aimed at speeding up SWA/Namibian independence.



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Cangamba is about 450km due north of South Africa's nearest major military base, Rundu in the Kavango.

The Angolan communique said that since August 10 (last Wednesday), "air commandos" had struck the towns of Cuiteve and Mulundo, which is 150km from the Angolan/Ovambo border in Cunene Province.

South African military units "stationed" at Evale, Xangongo (for-

merly Rocadas) and N'Giva (formerly Pereira d'Eca) had been "strengthened with about 10 000 troops".

Angop also claimed that there had been an incursion by "regular forces" in the region of Mavinga, a major town in Cunado Cubango Province, halfway between Rundu and Cangamba.

A major battle for Cangamba took place over the past 11 days, with Unita claiming 709 MPLA troops and 120 Cuban soldiers killed, while the Angolan Government claimed 1 100

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# Invitation 'interests' Di Bishop

ACG US  
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## The goalie nearly ended up in gaol

**Staff Reporter**  
CAPE District 'keeper, Steven Adriaanse, had two unusual visitors during a super league soccer match at the William Herbert sports ground last night — a pair of prison warders who thought he should be in gaol rather than in goal.

The mistake occurred when District's regular 'keeper, Adeeb Abrahams, went down with 'flu and Adriaanse was promoted to take his place in the WPFB Virginia Super League game against Mitchell's Plain.

The change was reported in The Argus and within minutes of the start of the game last night, the two prison warders arrived — accompanied by a uniformed policeman and policewoman.

### ESCAPED

They had a copy of The Argus and said they wanted a word with Steven Adriaanse because a man by that name had escaped from Pollsmoor prison.

The two warders walked to the end of the field where Adriaanse was keeping goal and looked him over very carefully. Satisfied he was not their man, the warders and police left the ground.

Adriaanse only discovered at half-time that he had been under surveillance as a suspected escaped convict.

Nevertheless, he kept his goal intact and Cape District FA won the match 1 — 0.

**Staff Reporter**  
MRS Di Bishop, MPC for Gardens, said today she was interested in an invitation to visit the operational area as "I have never before visited Angola".

She was reacting to an invitation issued in a Press statement yesterday by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, to have an "in loco" inspection tour of the operational area to acquaint herself with circumstances there.

General Malan invited Mrs Bishop to see how the Defence Force operates and how its machinery for investigating allegations of atrocities works.

"I shall respond as soon as I receive the invitation and see what it includes," Mrs Bishop said.

The invitation follows a talk she gave to stu-



**ANTON van Riet, 16, photographed in action during the BMX Western Province Championships at the Aroma Inn, Brackenfell, at the weekend. In The Argus on Monday he was incorrectly identified because of an error in the official competition list.**

dents at the University of the Orange Free State recently in which she referred to alleged SA Defence Force actions against the local population of SWA/Namibia.

Mrs Bishop said today General Malan had referred to the SADF's one-man board of inquiry to hear complaints.

In this regard she mentioned a Press report referring to a threat by the board's chairman, Brigadier B de Wei Roos, to newspapers, politicians and others to the effect that they could be prosecuted for publishing information on alleged atrocities.

"It is not the role of the SADF to warn outside representatives to keep from the public information that has already been published world-wide," she said.

### Criticised

In his statement General Malan strongly criticised Mrs Bishop for making public allegations of atrocities. He said a board established to investigate such matters had already completed four major investigations.

These included a probe into 40 allegations between March and June last year.

Serious cases were referred to the South West African Police. In the Ovambo area, it was found that not a single case needed to be referred to the Attorney-General.

In the Kavango area, the board found that certain complaints of assault and intimidation were well-founded. Those involved would be prosecuted.

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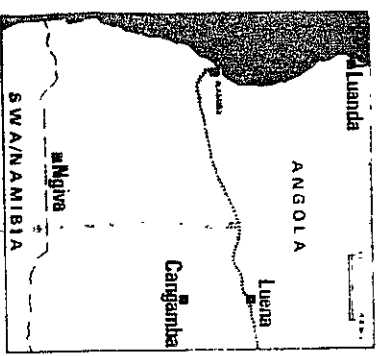
# Crucial battle for Key area in Angola

Argus 17/8/83 (5) ASD

Argus Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Government troops and rebel Unita forces are locked in a make or break battle for control of key areas in Eastern Angola.

And, says Radio Luanda, the rebels are being supported where necessary by South African troops and aircraft.



The SADF has dismissed the Angolan claim as simply a reaction to a successful offensive by Jonas Savimbi's Unita troops.

Angola has admitted that the strategically important southern town of Cangamba has fallen after a battle lasting more than two weeks.

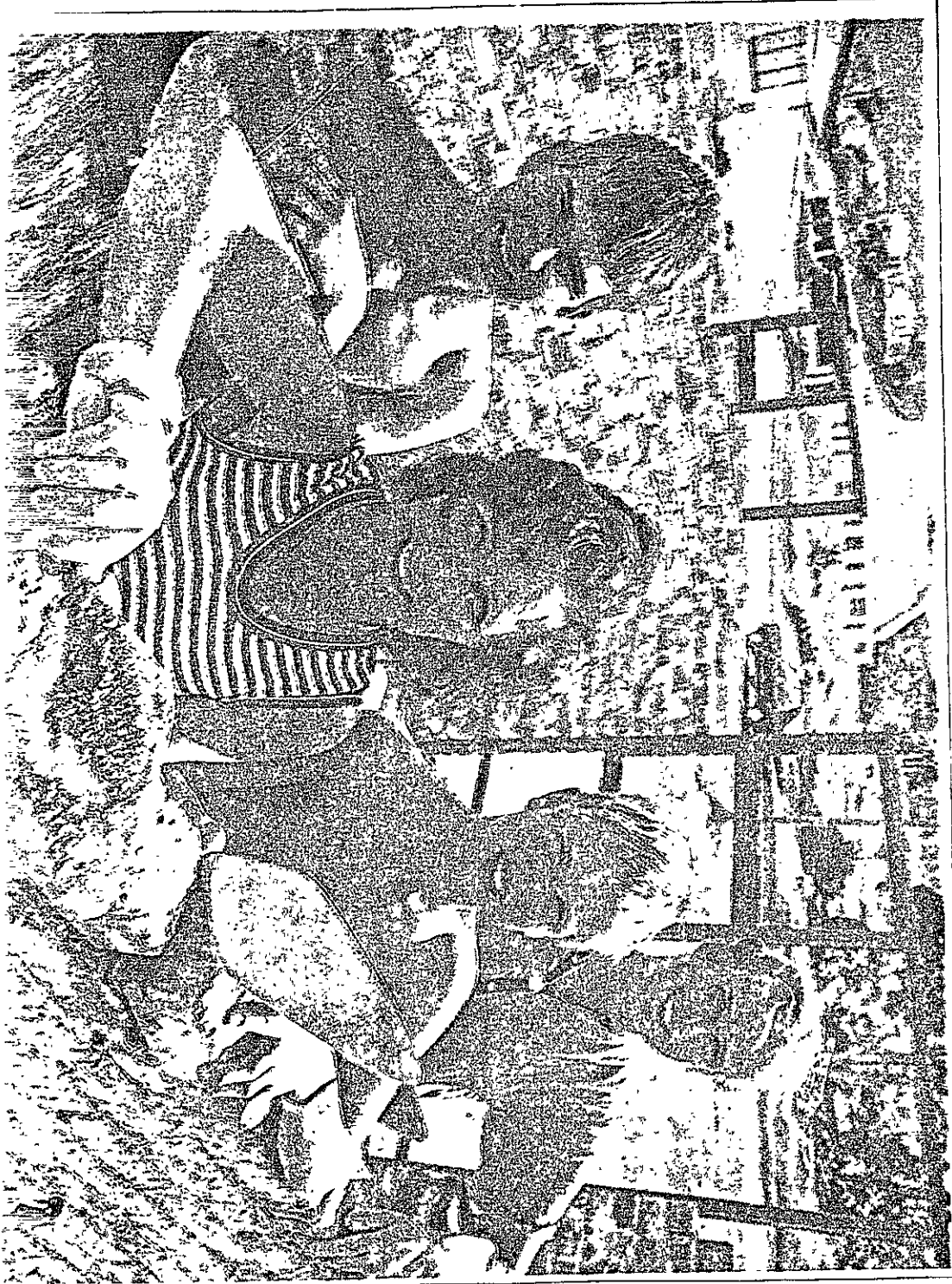
Officials in Luanda have claimed that the town, of about 16 000 population, was destroyed by eight South African Impala Mark II jets on Sunday and taken by South African troops in a helicopter assault the next day.

Dismissing the Angolan claim, SADF Chief General Constand Viljoen said South Africa would never launch air strikes on civilian targets.

The Angolan Government has established direct military rule in several of the affected provinces to counter Unita attempts to extend its offensive by moving guerrillas out of the

**Barclays**  
**home rate**  
**upped by**  
**1.5 percent**

By TOM HOOD,  
Property Editor



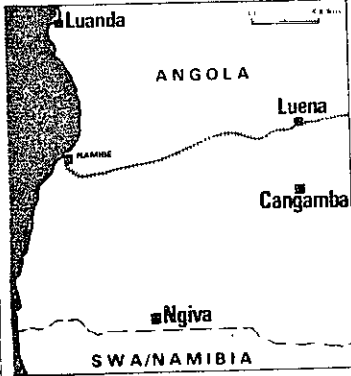
# key area in A

ARGUS 17/8/83 (5) 254

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Angola has admitted that the strategically important south-eastern town of Cangamba has fallen after a battle lasting more than two weeks.

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Dismissing the Angolan claim, SADF Chief General Constand Viljoen said South Africa would never launch air strikes on civilian targets.

The Angolan Government has established direct military rule in several of the affected provinces to counter Unita attempts to extend its offensive by moving guerrillas out of the bush to capture and hold towns and villages.

### Last 'island'

The elimination of the government garrison at Cangamba has removed one of the last major "islands" held by Luanda in the south-eastern corner of Angola, which is generally considered to be under the firm control of Savimbi's guerrillas.

The town stands on the main road running north-south through the east of the country and its capture opens the way for a Unita advance on the vital and highly vulnerable Benguela railway.

### Set-pieces

Unita has already been involved in major set-piece battles with concentrations of government troops around the line of rail towns of Luena (formerly Luso) and Chikala.

The official Angolan news agency, Angop, has claimed that South Africa has "reinforced" troops based at Ngiva, formerly Pereira de Eca, just north of the SWA/Namibian border.



Picture: JOHN YELD, The Argus

## Barclays home rate upped by 1,5 percent

By TOM HOOD, Property Editor

THE cash squeeze forced Barclays Real Estate to raise its interest rate on home loans from today by another 1,5 percent for the second time in less than four weeks.

The rates are back to what they were when Barclays entered the home loans market a year ago and are now between 2 and 3,5 percent above building society rates, which have also increased over the past four weeks.

On an average Barclays loan of R35 000, repayable over 20 years, the home owner will have to pay an extra R81 a month, up to R543 from R462 four weeks ago.

The owner with a R42 000 bond, which is not enormous in these days of inflated house prices, must now pay R685 or R97 more than the R588 he paid a month ago.

Barclays rates are now 18 percent on loans up to R40 000, compared with building societies' 15 percent. Above R40 000 the rate is 19 percent, while societies charge from 15,5 to 17,5 percent, depending

## Laying the foundation for a happy family

Staff Reporter

THERE are several distinctly unusual features about the new house that's being built in Dolphin Road, Hermanus.

The bricklayers are a mother and three of her five children. And the building is an "insurance policy" that the children will be able to go to university.

The force behind this unusual family enterprise is Mrs Margaret Lawrie, sometime baking champion, dressmaker, secretary of the local high school — and now property developer and bricklayer extraordinary.

The event which "caused this revolution in our lives" came after 17-year-old David

"Our worst moment one night, with winds howling for three hours. When we arrived day three walls had fallen."

Mrs Lawrie is quite the wall of another nation nearby also convinced people to think the blow down they thought she said.

### CHILDREN ENJOY BUILDING

Louise, 15, says she believes her when building a house. She enjoys building.

Picture: The Argus

# Unita rebels win fight for key Angola town SADF accused of supporting battle

The Star's Foreign News Service

Angola has admitted that the strategically important south-eastern town of Cangamba has fallen to Unita rebels after a battle lasting more than two weeks.

Officials in Luanda have claimed that the town, of about 16 000 people, was destroyed by eight South African Impala Mark II jets on Sunday and finally taken by South African troops in a helicopter assault the next day.

The SADF this week dismissed the Angolan claim as simply a reaction to a successful offensive by Unita.

In dismissing the Angolan allegations, SADF Chief General Constand Viljoen said South Africa would never launch air strikes on civilian targets.

The defeat of the Government garrison at Cangamba has removed one of the last major "islands" held by Luanda in the south-eastern corner of Angola generally considered to be under the firm control of Dr Jonas Savimbi's guerillas.

The town stands on the main road running north-south through the east of the country and its capture opens the way for a Unita advance on the vital and highly vulnerable Benguela Railway.

Unita has already been involved in major set-piece battles with concentrations of government troops around the line of rail towns of Luena (formerly Luso) and Chikala.

The Angolan government has established direct military rule in several of the war-torn provinces to counter Unita attempts to extend its offensive.

A spokesman for the South African Defence Force said in Pretoria today that the SADF had nothing to add to the statement issued on Monday by General Viljoen.

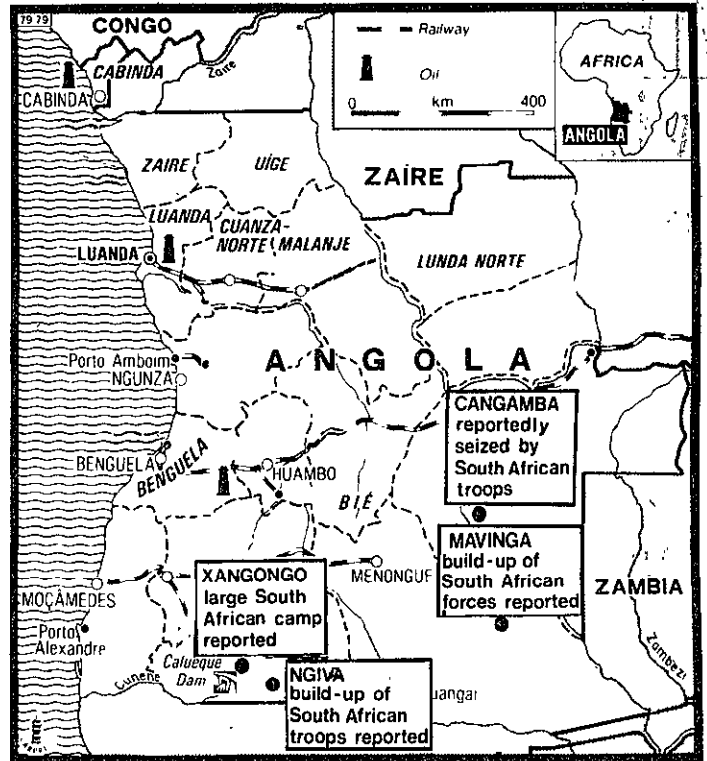
The general said it was obvious that by using psychological pressure through the media the Angolans were trying to force South Africa to reveal its activities in southern Angola.

Angop, the official Angolan news agency, also has recently been reporting a buildup of South African forces in Cunene province around the town of Ngiva, formerly Pereira de Eca, just north of the Namibian border.

The Journal de Angola, the Government newspaper, yesterday speculated that the aim of the Unita and South African offensive is to cut off the whole of eastern Angola by seizing the road which runs north-south through Cangamba.

The Angolans have an army of 40 000 troops (supported by 20 000 Cubans and East European advisers and technicians).

The frontline fighting is done largely by Angolan troops.





Mr Perez de Cuellar



Mr Piki Botha

# Angolans pull out after 'raid'

LISBON. — Angolan Government troops have withdrawn from a strategic town in the east of the country after devastating South African air raids, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said yesterday.

The agency said the troops had evacuated Cangamba, a vital rail and communications centre 500km north of the SWA/Namibia border, to save civilian lives.

Helicopters then landed South African regular forces, mercenaries and Angolan rebel guerillas in the town, according to Angop.

The agency said Cangamba had "ceased to exist" after attacks by South African Canberra

and Impala aircraft operating from Rundu in northern SWA/Namibia.

South Africa has already denied earlier Angolan reports that its air force had been involved in fighting for the town.

The Angop report was the first official confirmation that government forces had withdrawn from Cangamba.

Last Sunday the agency said the troops had beaten back a full-scale assault by Unita guerillas, but that South Africa was rushing to the aid of the rebels. Unita in turn reported it had taken Cangamba.

Statements by the two

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To page 2



sides made it clear there had been heavy fighting for Cangamba, and indicated the battle could mark a decisive phase in the struggle for power in Angola, a country rich in oil and diamonds.

The South African Defence chief, General Constand Viljoen, in rejecting charges of his country's involvement, has said Angola was trying to disguise Unita successes.

Angop, however, yesterday contradicted General Viljoen's reported statements that Cangamba was out of operational range for South African aircraft.

## 'Murderous cargoes'

It said Canberras and Impalas could operate from Rundu and refuel there before returning to unload their "murderous cargoes".

Before admitting the loss of Cangamba, Angop said the air raid proved South African strategists had taken command of the Unita offensive.

It said South Africa had massed about 10 000 troops in occupied areas of southern Angola in preparation for a new military drive.

Unita has said its offensive will continue, while renewing its offer of direct talks with the ruling MPLA for the formation of a government of national unity.

Unita, led by pro-Western guerilla leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, says this is the only way to bring peace to Angola and speed an independence settlement for neighbouring SWA/Namibia.

## 'Propaganda'

Commenting on Angop's claims in Pretoria this week, General Viljoen said it was obvious that the Angolans were making maximum use of accusations and propaganda against South Africa.

The current stream of accusations were "obviously coupled to apparent successful offensives by Unita", he said.

"It is equally obvious that by using psychological pressure through the media, the Angolans wish to force South Africa to reveal its activities in southern Angola.

"In the light of operational risks, the Defence Force will not reveal such details, but categorically denies, for example, that towns were bombed with napalm (fire-bombs)." — Sapa-Reuter

● Angolan war: New obstacle to SWA accord, page 13

# A new Namibian stumbling-block?

5 JGA RDM 18/8/83

"THE full-scale military offensive launched on August 1, 1983, against the minority regime of Luanda and its Cuban allies continues.

"Unita's position still remains that only direct negotiations with the MPLA, leading to the formation of a government of national unity, could put an end to the civil war and pave the way for independence of Namibia."

With these words, issued from Angola on Monday, Unita President Dr Jonas Savimbi confirmed the worst fears of battle-weary Namibia.

A new obstacle has been found to delay the territory's achievement of independence from South African neo-colonial domination.

First it was the issue of United Nations impartiality; then the presence of Cuban troops in Angola; then, as an added stumbling block, South Africa's claims to the enclave of Walvis Bay.

Now the demand — issued by Dr Savimbi during what could be the heaviest fighting yet of the eight-year-old Angolan civil war and which Angola claims holds heavy support for Unita from South African Defence Force ground troops, paratroopers, helicopter gunships, fighter jets and bombers — has the ominous ring about it of the death knell for any short-term solution to "the Namibian question".

Dr Savimbi's statement,



Dr JONAS SAVIMBI ... confirmed the worst fears of battle-weary Namibia

contained in a tailpiece to a spectacular series of claims of Unita victories in the past four days, is being debated with an air of desperate resignation in the Namibian capital, Windhoek.

Namibians have been living off a diet of broken promises, international political power-play gambits, with Namibia as the pawn in the middle, and a seemingly endless and often meaningless series of obstacles to their freedom from South Africa.

The rumour, subsequently nervously confirmed by diplomatic and South African Foreign Affairs sources, surfaced in Windhoek some months ago that a new obstacle was being prepared as a stand-by for the eventuality — which seemed to be heading for reality — of a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

The rumour, studiously avoided by the media lest it become a self-fulfilling prophesy, was that South Africa — with the quiet en-

couragement of the Reagan Administration — would demand "free and fair" elections in Angola, with Unita pitching its untested strength against the MPLA, before any agreement could be reached on a Namibian settlement.

Dr Savimbi's deeply hurried statement this week brought it all home with a bang.

As if to cement the claims before they could be ignored and quietly forgotten, the semi-official South African Government mouthpiece, the SABC's Current Affairs news commentary, dealt with his statement.

The commentary, headlined "Unita — a definite factor in a SWA settlement," quoted Dr Savimbi's statement, and said: "One of the tasks facing the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr Perez de Cuellar, before he reports to the Security Council on South West African independence, is to make a thorough assessment of the situation in Angola."

## From TONY WEAVER in Windhoek

Referring to the "Unita Liberation Movement," the commentary said: "It is becoming more evident that developments in Anglo are going to have a definite bearing on a settlement of the South West African disputes.

"In these developments the Unita factor can no longer be ignored."

As the war in Angola has escalated, the claims of Unita have loomed ever more large in the Machiavellian intrigues surrounding Namibian independence.

It is perhaps with justification that internal political leaders — with the exception of the white right-wing parties and the 11 ethnic parties of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — have been asking, sotto voce at first, but now more and more loudly: "What about Namibia? What has Angola got to do with Namibia?"

Mr Philemon Moonga, a prominent organiser for the Swapo democrats in Ovambo and former top guerrilla leader in the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia, put it even more bluntly in an interview recently:

"Why don't they leave us alone to sort out our own problems? This is a Namibian problem, not an Angolan, Cuban or an American.

"South Africa is stalling and our people are dying."

The Namibian people are dying in the Ovambo and Kavango war zones, but as has become clear over the past few days, the conflict there remains but a small part of the war.

The real war is being waged in Angola.

South Africa has strenuously denied it is involved in the latest fighting, but Angop, the official Angolan news agency, claimed in bulletins this week that South African forces formed the backbone of the fierce assault on the Moxico Province town of Cangamba, home to 16 000 civilians.

According to the claims, eight SADF Impalas napalmed the town on Sunday "destroying it completely" and South African troops were pouring into the southern Cunene Province, which borders Ovambo, "strengthening" the allegedly established SADF forces at Evale, Xangongo (formerly Rocadas) and N-Giva (formerly Pereira D-Eca).

Paratroopers had struck the towns of Cuiteve and Mulondo and "regular forces" had hit the town of Mavinga, half way between Cangamba and the main Kavango SADF base, Rundu.

The Angolan claims followed Unita claims that they had taken Cangamba, and that it was in fact the MPLA who had napalmed the town.

Earlier this month, Unita claimed to have "laid total siege" to the Moxico Province towns of Cangamba and Cangongo and also to have advanced significantly in Huambo Province, re-taking the town of Mungo.

However, General Constant Viljoen, chief of the SADF, has said the accusations levelled at South Africa were "obviously coupled to apparent successful offensives by Unita".

In a statement, Gen Viljoen said South Africa would never launch air strikes on civilian targets, and he added: "It is equally obvious that, by using psychological pressure through the media, the Angolan wish to force South Africa to reveal its activities in southern Angola."

He has also denied that Angolan towns were being bombed with napalm by South African warplanes, saying that the towns named by the Angolan news agency were beyond the range of Impala jets.

If, as is by now generally accepted, South Africa is giving extensive backing to Unita, the next few weeks — particularly with the expected arrival of the United Nations' Mr Perez de Cuellar in South Africa next week — could see South Africa making a formal demand on an Angola settlement as a precondition for a Namibian settlement.

It might even be that the current offensive is in part a scene-setter for Mr de Cuellar's visit.

The signs are all there. Which leaves Namibians once more in the cold, Swapo still embroiled in a 17-year-old bush war — during the course of which they have watered down significantly their original revolutionary programme in order to entice a Namibian settlement — and Angola on the verge of total collapse as Namibia waits in vain for independence.

# SA accused of raids on Cangamba

# Angolans pull out of key town

5 ~~2/27~~

ROOM  
18/8/83

LISBON.

ANGOLAN Government troops have withdrawn from a strategic town in the east of the country after devastating South African air raids, the official Angolan news agency Angop, said yesterday.

The agency said the troops had evacuated Cangamba, a vital rail and communications centre 500km north of the South West African border, to save civilian lives.

Helicopters then landed South African regular forces, mercenaries, and Angolan rebel guerrillas in the town, according to Angop in dispatches received in Lisbon.

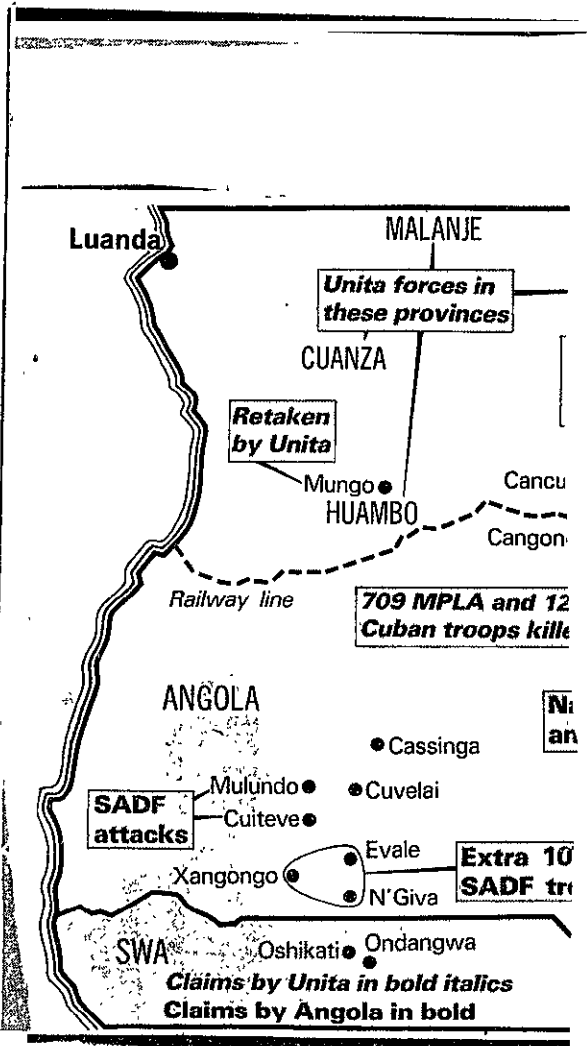
The agency said Cangamba had "ceased to exist" after attacks by South African Canberra and Impala aircraft operating from Rundu in northern SWA.

South Africa has already denied earlier Angolan allegations that its air force had been involved in fighting for the town.

The Angop report was the first official confirmation that government forces had withdrawn from Cangamba. On Sunday the agency said the troops had beaten back a full-scale assault by Unita

(National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) guerrillas, but that South Africa was rushing to the aid of the rebels. Unita in turn reported it had taken Cangamba.

On Monday Unita said its forces had captured the town after an 11-day siege. The rebels, who have been fighting to overthrow Angola's Marxist government since in-



# Angolan war: New obstacle to SWA accord

## News Analysis By TONY WEAVER

WINDHOEK. — "The full-scale military offensive launched on August 1, 1983, against the minority regime of Launda and its Cuban allies continues. Unita's position still remains that only direct negotiations with the MPLA leading to the formation of a government of national unity could put an end to the civil war and pave the way for independence of Namibia."

This statement was issued this week by the president of the Unita guerrilla forces in Angola, Dr. Jonas Savimbi. And so was born a new obstacle to delay the coming of independence to SWA/Namibia.

The rumour, subsequently nervously confirmed by diplomatic and South African Foreign Affairs sources, surfaced in Windhoek some months ago that something was being prepared as a stand-by for the eventuality of a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

According to that rumour, South Africa, with the quiet encouragement of the Reagan administration in the United States, would demand "free and fair" elections in Angola, with Unita pitching its untested strength against the MPLA before any agreement could be reached toward an independence settlement.

Dr Savimbi's statement this week brought it all home with a bang. And hot on its heels came the SABC and its Current Affairs news commentary, as if to cement the claims before they could be quietly forgotten.

Headlined "Unita — a definite factor in a SWA settlement", the commentary quoted Dr Savimbi's statement, and said: "One of the tasks facing the Secretary-General of United Nations, Mr Perez de Cuellar, before he reports to the Security Council on South West African independence, is to make a thorough assessment of the situation in Angola."

Referring to the "Unita Liberation Movement", the commentary said: "It is becoming more evident that developments in Angola are going to have a definite bearing on a settlement ... the Unita factor can no longer be ignored."

As the war in Angola has escalated, the claims of Unita have loomed ever larger in the Machiavellian intrigues surrounding SWA/Namibian independence. It is perhaps with justification that internal political leaders, with the exception of the white right-wing parties and the 11 ethnic parties of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, have been asking, quietly at first but now more and more strongly: "What about Namibia? What has Angola got to do with Namibia?"

Mr Phillemon Moongo, a prominent organizer for the Swapo-Democrats in Ovambo and former guerrilla leader in the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia, put it more bluntly in an interview recently: "Why don't they leave us alone to sort out our own problems, this is a Namibian problem, not an Angolan, Cuban or an American. South Africa is stalling and our people are dying."

The Namibian people are dying in the Ovambo and Kavango war zones, but as has become clear over the past few days, the conflict there remains but a small part of the war. The real war is being waged in Angola.

South Africa has strenuously denied it is involved in the latest fighting, but Angop, the official Angolan news agency, claimed in bulletins this week that South African forces formed the backbone of the fierce assault on the Moxico Province town of Cangamba, home to 16 000 civilians.

Angop claims of SADF invasions in the past have been met almost ritualistically with strongly-worded SADF denials, only to be followed some time later with official statements detailing cross-border strikes into Angola which coincided roughly with the earlier Angop claims.

If, as is by now generally accepted, South Africa is on Unita's side, the next few weeks — particularly if the UN's Mr Perez de Cuellar decides to go ahead with his scheduled visit to South Africa — could see South Africa making a formal demand for an Angolan settlement as a pre-condition for a settlement in SWA/Namibia.

The signs are all there. Which leaves the people of SWA/Namibia in the cold again, Swapo still embroiled in a 17-year-old bush war during the course of which they have watered down significantly their original revolutionary programme to entice a settlement, and Angola on the verge of total civil chaos as its southern neighbour waits in vain for independence.

# Angola: SADF is 'moving north'

Cape Times  
19/8/83

(5) (2)

From TONY WEAVER

**WINDHOEK.**— The situation in Angola is deteriorating as 10 000 "regular troops" of the South African Defence Force "including mercenaries" advance northwards, according to Angolan news broadcasts monitored in Windhoek.

The official news broadcast in English yesterday said "the political and military situation" in Angola was "more than tense", and alleged that the SADF intended tightening its stranglehold on the southern regions while advancing northward.

A SADF spokesman in Pretoria said he had "nothing to add" to previous reaction to the Angolan claims from the Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen.

General Viljoen earli-

er dismissed the Angolan claims as an attempt to disguise "successes" of the Unita movement of Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The Angop broadcast also quoted Pravda, the organ of the Soviet Communist Party, the Tanzanian Embassy in Luanda and Swapo as condemning "racist South African aggression against the independent Peoples' Republic of Angola".

Angola admitted officially on Wednesday that the key town of Cangamba, 450km from

the nearest SADF base of Rundu in the Kavango, had fallen to troops which it alleged were South African regular forces, mercenaries and Unita rebels.

Angola had been forced to withdraw from Cangamba after the town was destroyed by a devastating fire-bombing by aircraft, allegedly South African Canberra bombers and Impala jet fighters launched from Rundu.

brought into Angola's political structure, the Cubans would have to leave the country. That would also be a major setback for Swapo. The capture of Cangamba, in the south-east of Angola, is a clear victory for Unita and a major setback for the MPLA government. The role of South African forces or aircraft in the capture of the town is disputed.

Angop, monitored in Lisbon on Wednesday, quoted an eyewitness to the attack as saying: "Cangamba ceased to exist."

According to Angolan reports, Cangamba was heavily garrisoned by Cuban and MPLA forces.

Observers here feel that the battle may mark a turning-point in the eight-year guerilla war between the ruling Marxist government and the pro-Western Unita rebels.

The sources in Lisbon says that Unita will not seek to capture Luanda, but may try to bypass it and strike north. Major military manoeuvres of this kind would cause an immediate worsening of the already calamitous state of Angola's economy. If the Cuban troops continue to avoid engagements with Unita, the Angolan forces may be forced to retreat, till the Luanda government is forced to parley with Dr Savimbi. If Unita is

South African-led Unita. Since then their role has been to protect the Luanda government, not to engage in confrontation with Unita or other rebel forces. Unita spokesmen claim, nevertheless, that 120 Cubans died in Cangamba before the rest of their soldiers could be airlifted out.

## 'Puppet regime'

Yesterday's Pravda report said "Pretoria's criminal activities on Angolan territory are also aimed at overthrowing the legitimate government of the Peoples' Republic of Angola" and replacing it with a "puppet regime".

The Tanzanian Embassy in Luanda had "expressed great concern over the current military situation". It had congratulated the "determination" and "tenacity" of Angolan Fapla troops.

A Swapo communique distributed in Luanda "condemned the bombardment of Cangamba".

The Cape Times correspondent in Lisbon reports that, according to "reliable sources", the massive Unita attack on Cangamba, resulting in its capture after an 11-day siege, is the first stage of a new campaign to force the MPLA government in Luanda to negotiate power-sharing with Dr Savimbi.

## Cuban anxiety

The campaign is based on the belief that the 20 000 Cuban contingent in Angola is anxious not to engage in armed conflict with Unita or other black Angolans. At Cangamba, most of the Cubans were airlifted by helicopter to safety — and similar escapes have been arranged in other engagements with Unita.

The Cubans were first invited to Angola in 1975 to help counter the

To page 2

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Jonas Savimbi, head of the Angolan rebel movement Unita, has confirmed that the fullscale offensive on MPLA positions launched in early August will continue. His objective is participation in a government of national unity.

Is SA involved? General Constand Viljoen, head of the SADF, has said Angolan accusations of SA participation in the offensive are an obvious reaction to Unita successes; and that Angola is trying to provoke SA into revealing details of its activities in southern Angola.

Angola is alleging what would amount to an invasion, with extensive use of helicopter-borne troops and air support based in Namibia. One thing is certain: the town of Cangamba in northeast Angola, nearly 400 km from the Angolan border, has been the site of a pitched battle between Unita and the MPLA.

The town has fallen to Unita control. The Angolans claim 1 100 Unita troops killed in the battle, and Unita claims 709 Angolan and 120 Cuban troops killed. This suggests a big escalation in the civil war.

Cangamba was one of the last outposts of MPLA control in south-eastern Angola. It is within striking distance of the Benguela Railway, and straddles an important north-south road link. Unita has recently claimed increasing control of the central and eastern areas of Angola (its base lies in the southeast), and states of emergency were recently declared in three Angolan provinces.

All the signs are of a major offensive, aimed at confirming Unita's grasp on eastern Angola, and — if not unseating the MPLA government in Luanda — then stretching its defensive resources still further.

One reason for the timing of the Unita offensive could be pressure in the US — not least from leading corporations like Gulf Oil — for the recognition of the MPLA government. According to John Marcum, a US authority on Angola now visiting SA, a Democratic administration in Washington would in fact recognise Angola, since Democratic contenders for the US presidency generally feel nothing is being gained by non-recognition.

The US annually buys some \$600m worth

47

of Angolan oil from the Cabinda enclave — money that helps Angola to pay, in fact, for Soviet and Cuban military assistance in keeping Savimbi at bay.

Spotlighting the Angolan factor in moves towards a Namibian independence settlement, and in the East-West tug, Marcum said that Luanda's imports from the US amount to around \$640m yearly.

Angola's trade pattern is in fact strongly Western-linked. But its economy is in disarray from the impact of war and the exodus of 300 000 Portuguese after independence. It now imports 90% of its food needs, and

the Benguela Railway is essential to this. Unita's strategy, therefore, could be to pre-empt any accord between the MPLA and the West which may exclude it from power.

CAME Times 19/8/83 (5) ~~1983~~

# Di Bishop's speech was 'misinterpreted'

**Political Correspondent**  
APPARENT differences within the Progressive Federal Party over a speech by Mrs Di Bishop, MPC for Gardens, were resolved yesterday.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, held discussions with Mrs Bishop after reading a text of

the address she gave at the University of the Free State on Monday.

Dr Slabbert said he was now satisfied that the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the SABC had incorrectly interpreted her speech, although some aspects were "open to ambiguity and misrepresentation".

"Mrs Bishop has made it quite clear to me that she never claimed that it is deliberate policy of the SADF to commit atrocities, but that she expressed concern at widespread allegations of this kind and the persons and organizations who made them.

"She specifically makes the point that such allegations should be thoroughly and objectively investigated," Dr Slabbert said.

Mrs Bishop later expressed satisfaction with the outcome of the meeting.

## NP 'ploy'

There had earlier been some dissatisfaction in PFP circles over the fact that Dr Slabbert and the PFP defence spokesman, Mr Philip Myburgh, issued statements apparently critical of Mrs Bishop on Wednesday without speaking to her or reading her original speech.

Some members felt the party was in danger of falling for another NP ploy to accuse Mrs Bishop of sympathizing with Swapo terrorism.

It was also suggested, however, that Mrs Bishop should have appreciated the sensitivity of the issue and given a copy of her speech to the party leadership before going to Bloemfontein.

Mrs Bishop, who had been invited to speak on the subject of whether Swapo were freedom fighters, told the student audience of the developments which had changed Swapo from a peaceful to a militant organization.

## Peace work

She said, however, that she had always worked for peace and could not condone violence.

● General Malan told Nationalist newspapers he would invite Mrs Bishop to visit the operational area to see conditions there for herself. Mrs Bishop said yesterday she had still not received an official invitation from General Malan.

"I will definitely respond but I first want to see what the parameters of the invitation are," she said.

# Angola admits Unita activity

From TONY WEAVER WINDHOEK — The Angolan Government has admitted for the first time that Unita rebels are active in the strategic Bié province, 300km from the key seaport of Lobito and on the Benguela railway line.

At the same time, the MPLA government has sent an urgent telegram to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, protesting "the escalation of South African aggression against Angolan territory".

Mr Perez de Cuellar is due in South Africa this week and will travel to both SWA/Namibia and Angola during his visit.

The telegram called for an urgent UN Security Council debate on

Angola, and said the alleged current South African invasion of Angola was aimed at "extending the destabilization policy with the objective of extending its occupation of some parts of Angolan territory".

News of Unita's actions and of the telegram came from an official Angop broadcast monitored in Windhoek.

In the broadcast it was also alleged that the South African action was aimed at extending its grip on areas beyond the southern Cunene province.

South African Defence Force spokesmen have denied the claims, stating they are a smokescreen to disguise Un-

ita victories.

Angop also claimed that Sunday's battle for the Moxico province town of Cangamba, allegedly led by South African fighter-jets, bombers, helicopters and ground forces, had caused the death of "a considerable number of residents".

The town was destroyed in the 11-day battle, and reports reaching Windhoek said wounded Unita troops had reached Lisbon for treatment, although it is not known how they were transported there so swiftly.

## 'Not destroyed'

● Sapa-Reuter reports from Lisbon that a communique issued there by Unita said: "Cangamba was not destroyed. There was no intervention by the SA Air Force. The entire 6 300 population of Cangamba is with Unita."

The communique said international observers, including Red Cross delegates, could visit Cangamba whenever they wished.

"If the MPLA persists in its present attitude, we shall spread violence throughout the country until the Cubans withdraw," the communique added.

# Warder trial judge mugged

Own Correspondent NELSBRUIT. — Circuit Court judge Mr Justice DE Vermooten, who is presiding over the Barberston prison farm murder trial here, had a close brush with death on Thursday night.

He told in his chambers yesterday how a well-dressed mugger had pressed a dagger against his heart in one of the town's central streets.

Mr Justice Vermooten said that after he had dined at his hotel he went for a stroll about 8pm, "as it is my usual habit to relax before retiring".

"As I walked past a restaurant in Anderson Street, a figure appeared out of a dark spot and approached me," he said.

"I still clearly remember his fine, well-cut face. He seemed to be about 25 years old and well-dressed.

"He came right up to me and said: 'Basie, I want money.' I thought he wanted 50 cents for a train or bus fare and it never crossed my mind that he might have evil intentions, until I saw this dangerous dagger flashing in the dark.

"He planted it right on my heart and first

# M: an

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Owing to popular demand the Cape Technikon is repeating its course entitled:

## COMPUTER APPRECIATION

— A PRIMARY COURSE —

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The aim of the course is to give an understanding of the workings and the language of computers. A supplementary objective is to remove much of the mystery that surrounds computers and their systems.

### WHO SHOULD ATTEND

The course is particularly suitable for beginners or persons who have little or no knowledge of computers. It should also prove helpful to those in Commerce and Industry.

CAPIC FAIS 20/8/83 (5)

# South Africans in the dark over Angola

The constitutional debate was pushed into the background this week as potentially momentous events were set in train in Angola.

Or seemed to be in train, rather, for the South African public has not been told what is afoot.

Anyone who is not a party to the meetings of the State Security Council can only guess at what is going on.

In the currently fashionable style of covert action, it is not the practice of the Government or the SADF to explain what they are trying to do militarily in Angola or anywhere else, for that matter, except to declare in the most general terms that they are fighting communism — and will support the enemies of communism wherever they are to be found.

As a massive outlay of manpower and taxpayers' treasure is called for by the SADF in the whole SWA/Namibia/Angola region, it is legitimate to ask a few questions, in a spirit of friendly inquiry and in the conviction that it is unsound in principle for policy decisions of such critical importance to be kept as the private preserve of the prime minister, a handful of generals, intelligence specialists, and some cabinet ministers.

## In the dark

The same principle was at stake in 1975, at the time of South Africa's abortive invasion of Angola; when the whole world was fully informed of what was happening yet South Africans were kept in the dark with their newspapers silenced by the provisions of the Defence Act.

Is the SADF now engaged upon finishing what they may regard as the unfinished business of 1975, using rather more finesse this time, or are they embarked on another debacle brought about because of an imperfect understanding on the part of the military of the realities of diplomacy and international politics?

What, in fact, is happening? Without access to privileged informa-

tion, it may be helpful to note once again that the international community believes that Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel army, which seems to control much of south-eastern Angola, is a client or surrogate of the South African government, and is supplied, armed and kept in the field against the MPLA government of Angola largely at the expense of the South African taxpayer.

Let us assume there is some truth in the rest of the world's assessment and that Savimbi is acting as a surrogate for Pretoria in what appears to be his current northward drive.

## More congenial

What, then, is the purpose of backing Savimbi, apart from the obvious tactical advantage gained against Swapo guerrillas by controlling, through Unita, much of southern Angola?

Is South Africa's objective to unseat the MPLA government and replace it with a more congenial regime under Dr Savimbi?

Or does South Africa have a slightly more complex game in hand — seeking to boost Savimbi's position to the point where he is himself able to demand a share of the government of Angola? Does South Africa envisage a federal Angola, divided in two, with the southern half in the friendly hands of Savimbi? Is South Africa trying to create a situation where elections are held, with Savimbi gaining a share in the government of the country?

Is South Africa trying to create a "buffer zone of chaos", as some have suggested, exerting its domination of a greatly weakened group of front-line states, including a thoroughly demoralized and destabilized Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique?

## Free and fair

How does all this relate to the SWA/Namibian issue, in which South Africa has assured the UN, and the United States that it remains committed to free and fair elections under UN supervision?



Is the Reagan administration's insistence on the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola the key move in a comprehensive strategy? Washington continues to make confident noises suggesting that the departure of the Cubans is imminent.

With the Cubans gone, presumably, the MPLA regime in Luanda would be a sitting duck for Savimbi's SA-backed Unita guerrillas. A situation

would arise, we may guess, in which South Africa and Savimbi would be in a strong bargaining position to dictate the future of Angola.

But what about SWA/Namibia? It is regrettably true, from informed accounts, that the SADF, whatever their military ascendancy, have lost the political battle to win the minds and hearts of the people, as counter-insurgency forces so often tend to do. So much so, that if there were to be free and fair elections in SWA/Namibia tomorrow, Swapo would almost certainly emerge as a dominant force in government. Or so many observers believe.

Will the South African Government or rather the SADF high command, which sometimes acts as if it is the government, accept such a situation, Cubans or no Cubans?

The questions are legion. Are Pretoria and Washington at one in every stage of this whole Byzantine exercise?

Will Washington drop Pretoria, as happened in 1975, if things go sour, politically and diplomatically? Or is the converse more likely, with Pretoria, having managed to get Washington to dislodge the Cubans, happily proceeding to trot out new pretexts to protract the interminable SWA/Namibian negotiation even further?

Will South Africa, on a course of militarist domination of the sub-continent, soon bestride southern and central Africa like a colossus, in ironical fulfillment of the dreams of Cecil Rhodes?

Must South Africans take it all on trust? With the best will in the world, this is asking rather too much of us.

# Angola asks for early UN talks

CAPE TOWN 23/8/83 (5)

WINDHOEK. — Angola had sent a message to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, asking for an early meeting of the Security Council to discuss South African aggression and take the necessary measures. The official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

Mr Perez de Cuellar and his negotiating team arrived in Cape Town last night for talks with government representatives on the progress toward an independence settlement for SWA/Namibia.

Angop said the Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Venancio de Moura, had said in the message that "certain Western countries were helping to cover up the war in southern Africa and were allowing South Africa to act with impunity in pursuing objectives mapped out by imperialism and the Reagan administration."

Angola wanted peace in the area and "will not yield to the manoeuvres and blackmail of Pretoria and the United States," the message added.

Tony Weaver reports that Angolan radio yesterday reported no fresh news on the intensified fighting in the country

in the past two weeks but carried extensive reports condemning "South African aggression" against the country.

The radio station monitored here, reported last week that it had been forced to evacuate its agency in the town of Cangamba, allegedly destroyed by South African fighter-jets and bombers last Sunday.

South Africa has denied any involvement in the raid, and blamed Angola of trying to disguise successes of the Unita rebel movement of Dr Jonas Savimbi.

## Wide coverage

The news broadcast also gave wide coverage of Saturday's rally in Cape Town which saw the launching of the reportedly 400 organization-strong United Democratic Front.

● The UDF still hopes to meet Mr Perez de Cuellar in Cape Town this week.

## Meeting

In a telex sent to the United Nations last week, the UDF informed Mr Perez de Cuellar of the organization's activities and requested a meeting with him during his brief visit, "if circumstances allow."

The UDF's new national publicity secretary, Mr Mosiuoa Lekota, said from Durban yesterday that they were standing by to receive an indication of whether a discussion would take place.

A preliminary programme was being drawn up yesterday for talks between Mr Perez de Cuellar and political leaders in SWA/Namibia later this week.

The arrangements will be finalized with the UN team in Cape Town today.

## Request

● The Lesotho Government was still expecting a reply to the request made to Mr Perez de Cuellar, in which he was invited to see the hardships Lesotho was suffering as a result of strict border controls imposed by South Africa, the Lesotho News Agency reported here yesterday.



Identical twins James, left and Jonathan for photographers on Sunday before a tan Island us

## Kaunda warns: SA 'all out to delay'



President Kaunda

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA — President Kaunda warned that South Africa was all out to delay the independence of Namibia and South Africa through its "avowed mission of destabilizing neighbouring frontline States".

"Evidence is abundant and overwhelming indeed to attest to this."

He added that the South African Government was also "undeniably responsible for acts of aggression, through bombings and the planting of landmines".

He applauded the frontline States for their "courage and unflinching support" of the struggle against the rule in Namibia and South Africa.

Opening the United National Independence Party (Unip) general conference, President Kaunda, who is Unip's presidential candidate, said South Africa has not relented over its "evil" intentions of destabilizing African States.

"As the conditions for a political explosion ripen and bring nearer the final day of reckoning, the regime has acted frantically and desperately in order to draw the attention of the international community away from the reality of its impending doom..."

He added: "We believe the end of the racist regime is near. The last days are the most crucial in terms of the devious actions of the regime and the waging of a successful war and campaign by all progressive forces of the world."

C.T. 23/8/83  
A  
page 1

Mr Swanepoel to act as representative for Bloem.

When the judge was told that another four witnesses were also planning to refuse to give evidence, the judge said Mr Swanepoel had to represent all those who wished to be represented.

After a court adjournment of almost three hours, Mr Swanepoel told Mr Justice Vermooten that after talking to Bloem and four other complainants, they had insisted on seeing nine other complainants. "I went with them to the Nelspruit Prison and there talked to all 34 witnesses," he said.

Mr Swanepoel said they were prepared to give evidence, but only if the trial were no longer held in Nelspruit or Barberton and if the State could give guarantees that after the trial they would not be returned to either of the two towns' prisons, which fall under one command.

They told Mr Swanepoel they feared reprisals by prison staff there and complained that the charges against the eight accused should be of attempted murder instead of assault, and that a previous assault against them, on the day of their arrival at Barberton, had not been investigated, and that they had not been allowed to contact their lawyers or families.

# PK yeai

Chief Reporter

CAPTAIN Wim Lange, commander of the SAS, senior officer of a force taking part in submarine exercises months ago, came under questioning yesterday that he had a sea-going appointment for 10 years, being given command of the PK, in 1980.

At the time of collision between his and the fleet replenishment vessel SAS Berg, he had been in command of the 14 months, before he had been coming officer of a frigate, the SAS Steyn, for months.

Staff course

After his first appointment since had gone ashore to complete a course at Muizer and Commander Myers (PK's ex-officer at the time collision) had a captain in his site.

DIPLOMA IN  
**Business Management**  
FOR THE EIGHTIES

# Unita scores huge victory

**An analysis by Fred Bridgland, an expert on Angolan affairs.**

The fall of the garrison of Cangamba to rebel Angolan forces earlier this week marked a kind of Dien Bien Phu for the Cuban-backed army of Angola's MPLA Government.

Cangamba, deep inside Angola, was the site of the last stand made by government forces in a vast swathe of territory.

It was defended by two brigades of MPLA soldiers, the 44th Brigade and the 32nd — a total of 2,800 men.

There were also two companies (100 to a company) of Cuban troops in the town

### CRACK BRIGADE

The 44th was a crack brigade, sent from the capital Luanda to ensure that the government kept a foothold within Unita territory.

All overland supply routes to Cangamba were severed and the surrounding territory was held by Unita, which was probing the

town's perimeters with SAS-style platoons of special forces.

The MPLA was supplying its garrison by air from bases 32k away in an operation made difficult by Unita Sam-7 missile units around Cangamba.

To avoid the Unita missiles the MPLA was using light Antonov transport aircraft which arrived high over the town and made spiralling descents to the airstrip, similar to the kind of approaches made by aircraft at Phnom Penh airport as the Khmer Rouge closed in during the final months of war in Cambodia.

Unita was clearly intent on taking Cangamba before the year was out. The rebel's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, said: "Cangamba is vulnerable. We have four teams of Sam-7s around it so it is difficult for them to sup-

ply. We have a big plan for it."

That plan was clearly unrolled over the past fortnight. Unita claims to have captured the town after an 11-day siege in which 709 defenders, including 120 Cubans, were killed and 165 taken prisoner.

This makes it by far the biggest battle in Angola's civil war which began in 1975.

The MPLA confirmed in a communique from Luanda that Cangamba had been razed. But their story was very different from Unita's.

### SA JETS

The government said the destruction had been wreaked by eight South African jets and that only 53 government troops had died in the town's defence.

It is likely that Western journalists and TV cameramen ac-

companied the rebels during the attack and will emerge soon with a fuller story.

The Angolan Government's statement that Cangamba had "ceased to exist" had all the hallmarks of the kind of Unita attacks I witnessed during my recent 2,000k trek through Angola with the rebels.

Savimbi's main tactic is to amass a rebel force which outnumber the defenders two to one. Once the attack is launched the enemy is always allowed an avenue of retreat to minimise rebel losses in unavoidable last-ditch fights.

When a town capitulates it is totally destroyed to deny any possible future use to the government and the rebels retreat to their forest bases.

The rout at Cangamba must be bigger than the MPLA has admitted. Such forces as escaped death or capture are bound to be picked off by guerrilla companies.

The dent to Luanda's morale must be considerable. Unita's

morale — already high after its succession of victories this year — will soar and some 6,000 of its soldiers will now be freed from the siege of Cangamba to join other strike forces north of the Benguela railway line.

With the fall of Cangamba — however achieved — the Angolan war has entered a new and more serious stage.

Unita's successes pose an acute problem for the Angolan Government's Cuban and Soviet allies.

Havana and Moscow will soon have to decide whether to advise Angola to sue for peace or to send in more Cuban or East-bloc troops to stem Unita's advance.

This would be a huge gamble. It would provoke a severe South African reaction and the anger of a US Government that has demanded the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as the price for Washington's help in securing a South African withdrawal from Namibia.

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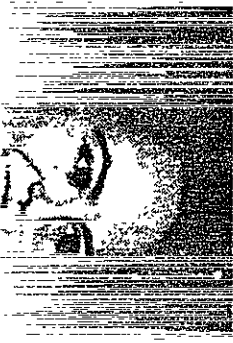
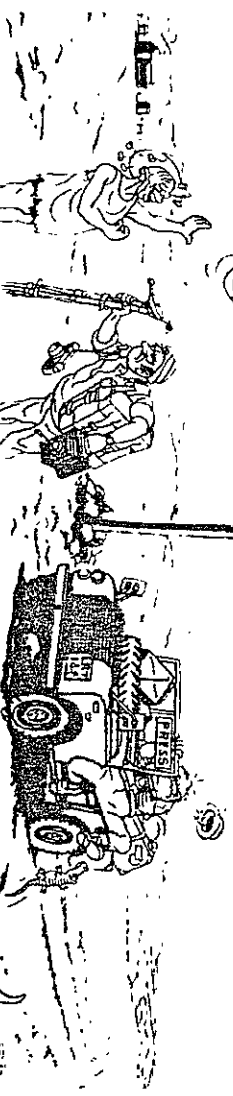
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# Unita successes will force Cubans to stay, says expert

5 S. Express 2/18/83

SUCCESSFUL attacks by Unita rebels — such as the recent offensive allegedly backed by the South African Defence Force — will decrease the chances of a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, an American expert on Africa said this week.

Dr John Marcum, vice-chancellor of the University of California (Santa Cruz) and a former president of the African Studies Association, said the Angolan MPLA government probably wants to be rid of the expensive Soviet and Cuban presence.

Soviet economic aid to the area had been negligible, and the approximately 30 000 Cuban soldiers and advisers stationed in the country were costing money, he said.

But the more successful Unita was, the harder it became to extract the Cubans.

By ARLENE GETZ

Addressing the South African Institute of International Affairs, Dr Marcum cautiously avoided discussing the South African role in Angola.

The continued Cuban presence has long been one of the obstacles to a political solution in Namibia, with South Africa refusing to agree to the territory's independence until the Cuban troops are removed.

Dr Marcum said Unita's strategy was designed to prove that its co-operation was essential to a solution for a united Angola.

Unita's participation in an Angolan government would be welcomed by both the United States and South Africa, he said.

However, the South African-Unita

relationship might deteriorate if the once-close relationship between Unita and Swapo were resumed.

"There are currently suggestions that the two are not really enemies and some observers are worried that a Swapo government might align itself with Unita," said Dr Marcum.

Prior to the takeover of Angola by the Marxist-Leninist MPLA, Swapo and Unita had been very close.

"The close relationship continued until about 1975 despite Soviet pressure that Swapo break off with this vaguely socialist group," he said.

"This did not happen until the MPLA victory meant Swapo could not support Unita if it wanted to travel through Angola.

"Unita then turned to South Africa and the two movements ended in a state of fratricidal conflict."

NATAL: Cloudy and cool

DURBAN 02/12/0908 1437/2030  
WINDS BY 02/12/08 10 1437/2030

Earlier in the week the

Government has accused South Africa of participation. We must rather use our resources to build industries."

# Unita may be gaining upper hand

Sunday Times 23/8/83

THE eight-year-old bush war in Angola between pro-Western guerrillas and the Soviet-backed MPLA may be reaching a turning point after this week's bloody battle in the southeastern Mexico province.

Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels are widely considered to have dealt a major blow to the government last weekend when they successfully

## Sunday Times Reporter

Angola insisted that South African Canberra bombers and Impala jet fighters based in the northern Namibian town of Rundu, more than 500km south of Cangamba, had napalmed and wiped out the town after a Unita offensive on the garrison had been successfully repelled by Cuban and Angolan troops.

Angola's claims were dismissed as "absurd" by South Africa and military sources said Cangamba

captured the vital road junction of Cangamba, 500km northeast of the Namibian border.

The level of destruction in this attack can be gauged by an eyewitness account quoted by the official Angola news agency, Angop, which reported that Cangamba had ceased to exist after the clash.

# The NRP may back a 'yes' vote

## BY EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN

THE leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vaase Raw, gave an indication yesterday that his party would support a "yes" vote in the coming constitutional referendum.

Addressing the NRP's Natal congress in Maritzburg, he said if the proposed constitution was improved by two critical amendments — one relating to the role of the Opposition and the other relating to the autonomy of

ates in that they all have a responsibility and a stake in South Africa."

He said if the NRP chose the course of rejection and condemnation it would find itself in company with PFP, the CP, the United Democratic Front and a "mass of self-appointed and vocal organisations on the left".

An alternative to a fourth chamber in Parliament for blacks should be found be-

fore blacks were denied a place in Parliament.

He said the Prime Minister could count on the NRP to support constructive change in South Africa, but he "must not make it difficult for negotiators to support reform by tying it to Government policy in general or to his party".

The NRP support for reform was not a blank cheque and the party would continue its "political watch".

was well out of the range of Impala.

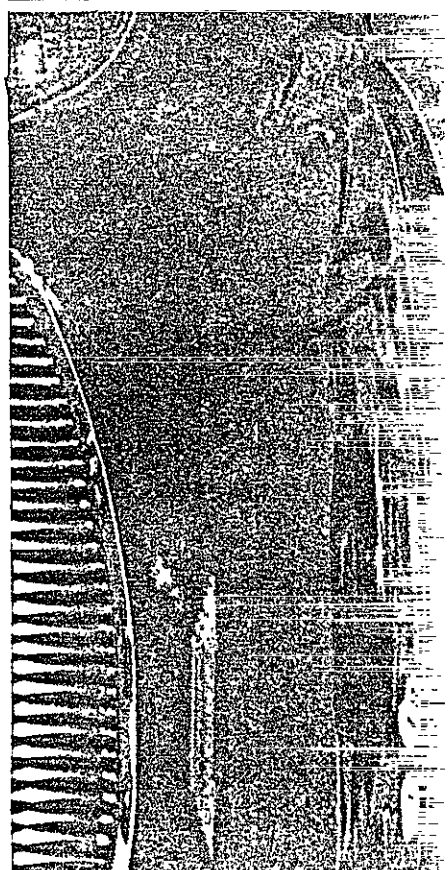
Western observers in Lisbon suggested the devastation may have been wrought by Angolan MIG fighters mistaking their targets.

The rebels said three of their brigades besieged and attacked Cangamba, shot down five MIG 21s and four helicopters and killed 709 troops, including 120 Cubans, the highest reported toll against Castro expeditionaries in many months.

The rebels said 68 of their men died and 200 were wounded.

The guerrillas listed a wave of parallel actions in northern and central Angola saying they had captured 338 government troops who would be shown to the Red Cross and other international observers.

Mr Wilson dos Santos, Unita's spokesman in Lisbon, said the movement was determined to escalate attacks on Cubans in the country as part of a new strategy to force the recall of the Cuban army.



casinos of Southern Sun and Remies Holiday Inns.  
The major Afrikaans churches and fighting politicians were quick to express disquiet at the State's involvement with gambling and indicated pressure would be brought to bear on the Government.  
The Cabinet, sensitive to opposition among its supporters towards anything which smacks of gambling, appears to have been taken by surprise by its sudden participation in roulette and blackjack.  
As it is, Ministers have faced bruising criticism from churches and political groups over the Bonus Bond scheme. The casino deal, announced with

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12 digits

BR-7220  
Quieter than ever & quiet proof  
High speed printer, 2-color printing

not marked "BM" and "Made in Japan."

**CASIO COMPUTER CO., LTD.**  
Tokyo, Japan.

PROGRAPHS 48/03



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## Priest dies in Unita clash

LISBON. — A Portuguese priest died in cross-fire during a guerrilla ambush of a convoy between Lubango and Benguela in western Angola on August 15, Angolan rebels said yesterday.

A communique issued by Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) said two other Portuguese in the convoy of military and civilian vehicles were freed.

Unita claimed 11 Angolan government soldiers were killed in the engagement and seven military vehicles destroyed.

It added that such incidents were inevitable so long as the civil war between Unita and the ruling Marxist MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) continued. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Mission worthwhile 'even if he returns empty-handed'

NEIL LURSSSEN, Argus Foreign Service, reports from Washington

THE United States Government believes that Mr Perez de Cuellar's current mission in Southern Africa will have been worthwhile even if he returns to the United Nations empty-handed.

This is in contrast to the common view here that the mission was pointless and doomed to failure even before it began.

## The Cubans

The Washington assessment of the trip is based not on hopes that the UN Secretary-General will be able to score a dramatic victory like securing a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola — the main obstacle to a Namibian settlement — but on the fact that the top

UN official is showing a willingness to give a fair hearing to all parties in the dispute.

This may help to ease South Africa's fears about UN impartiality on the issue.

## End of August

Thus the Reagan Administration views his decision to speak to the South Africans, the internal parties in Namibia and the Angolans as a demonstration of Mr Perez de Cuellar's personal sense of fairness as well as his "institutional responsibility."

Following discussions in the UN Security Council last May, the Secretary-General was given a mandate to report on the Namibian situation to the council by the end of August.

It was learned in Washington yesterday that the Reagan Ad-

ministration felt "very strongly" that he ought to go to Southern Africa and speak to everybody involved before submitting his report.

The US position was made clear to the Secretary general — who at one stage seemed likely to call the trip off on the advice of some of his aides — and it may have influenced his decision to press on with the mission. "His decision to go out there speaks very highly of him," a senior official in the State Department told the Argus Foreign Service today.

"The mission will have been worthwhile even if he comes back with nothing to show for it," the official said. "Our very strong feeling was that he ought to go down there and express a willingness to hear everybody out. We felt he ought to go to South Africa and he

ought to go to Namibia and talk to the internal parties and that he ought to go to Angola. "Whatever else he did was up to him, but we felt strongly about this. "There is an element of fairness involved. It would have been unfair for him to have written a report without listening to all sides."

Asked whether Washington felt Mr Perez de Cuellar was likely to make a breakthrough in the settlement impasse, the official said: "Everybody knows that the question of Cuban forces in Angola is the stumbling block. "If he can produce a withdrawal agreement in Luanda he will have pulled something off. But I don't think that our hopes for this mission are going to rise or fall with the likelihood of his doing that."

ARGUS  
24/8/83

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# Cubans the stumbling block — Pik

CAPE TOWN. — The presence of Cuban troops in Angola is the only outstanding obstacle in a South West African settlement, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Pik Botha, said in Cape Town yesterday.

Speaking at a Press conference after two days of talks with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, Mr Botha said the unresolved problems — the electoral system, the composition of the Untag force, the status of UN personnel during the transition agreement and the question of detainees — "could be considered to be settled".

However, he stressed that the implementation of a settlement agreement was impossible before Cuba withdrew from Angola. This issue was not dealt with during the latest talks because it was not part of Dr Perez de Cuellar's brief, which was to work for the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 435.

The South African Government was "irrevocably committed" to the Cuban withdrawal prerequisite, Mr Botha said.

However, he said the United States had indicated that there was some hope of movement on the issue.

The US and other members of the Western five contact group had been "trying very hard" on this front and the



DR JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR  
visiting SWA Operational Area



MINISTER PIK BOTHA  
'Irrevocably committed' to withdrawal

## From CHRIS FREIMOND in Cape Town

latest information was that even France was now supporting the idea of a Cuban withdrawal before a settlement in SWA, Mr Botha said.

He angrily denied a suggestion by a journalist that South Africa was backing Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces

in their war against the Angolan Government.

Mr Botha did not rule out the prospect of further direct talks with the Angolan Government on Cuban withdrawal, though none were planned for the immediate future.

At a separate Press con-

ference yesterday, Dr Perez de Cuellar said "substantial progress" had been made towards the implementation of Resolution 435.

"Unfortunately I am still not in a position to indicate a date for implementation, since issues outside the scope of my Security Council mandate remain unresolved," he said.

Due to "hard work" and good progress in the talks, Dr Perez de Cuellar cut short his stay in Cape Town by a day and flew to Windhoek yesterday, from where he travelled to the Operational Area to spend the night as a guest of the Administrator-General of SWA, Dr Willie van Niekerk.

The Secretary General's unscheduled trip to the Operational Area was seen as a significant coup for the South African Government. Originally, Dr Perez de Cuellar was due to travel only to Windhoek and then on to Luanda for further talks.

Commenting yesterday on his decision to go to the northern border of SWA, he said he believed it was his

duty as UN Secretary-General to familiarise himself with the "Namibian territory and be in touch with Namibians".

Observers believed Dr Perez de Cuellar's Cape Town trip would generally be interpreted as successful. He must report back to the UN Security Council by next Wednesday on progress towards fulfilling his mandate to seek a speedy settlement.

Dr Perez de Cuellar can now report to the Security Council that he succeeded in resolving all outstanding issues regarding Resolution 435, around which his mandate was structured.

It appeared yesterday that one of the major "concessions" made by the South African Government to the UN team was the inclusion of a contingent from Finland in the Untag force. The Government had earlier objected to the inclusion of Finns.

Untag — the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group — will comprise a maximum of about 8 000 troops, administrators and other personnel from UN countries, who will oversee the transition from South African control of SWA to independence.

The Government has also agreed to decide on either a proportional representation electoral system or a constituency system immediately the date for an implementation of the settlement plan is set, and not some time afterwards as was originally envisaged.

The question of alleged UN bias, which has troubled the South African Government for some time, had also been resolved, Mr Botha said.

The matter had been discussed "at length" and the South African negotiators had produced evidence of bias by certain UN agencies. Dr Perez de Cuellar had given an "unambiguous assurance" that all parties would be treated equally by him and his personnel in the implementation of Resolution 435, Mr Botha said.

● Dr Perez de Cuellar, replying to a written request from the Lesotho Government, yesterday said a senior official of the UN High Commission for Refugees would visit Lesotho shortly for discussions, Sapa reports.

Secretary-General will try to solve issue of troops in Angola

# Cubans: Perez to act

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, says he will try to help solve the issue of Cuban troops in Angola.

This would not, however, be linked to the SWA/Namibian independence issue, he said on his departure from Windhoek for Luanda today.

He will be holding talks with Swapo President Sam Nujoma before flying to Geneva tonight.

"I will try to solve the (Cuban withdrawal) issue, but this will be in a completely different context (from the Namibian issue)," he said.

"I hate the idea of linking the two things," he said. Dr de Cuellar will report to the UN Security Council at the end of the month.

### Outstanding issues

He is expected to report that the previously outstanding issues of the electoral system and composition of the UN monitoring force for a UN-supervised election have been resolved. He described his meetings with those political parties who agreed to meet him as "immensely useful".

"I was also deeply moved at the accounts I received of the present great difficulties and hardships which Namibians are experiencing, especially through the devastating effects of the drought.

"These grave humanitarian problems merit the most serious attention," he said.

Dr de Cuellar did not refer to the impartiality issue, but said, in reply to a question, that once implementation of Resolution 435 had begun "all parties will be on the same footing".

### Equal treatment

Several internal parties, notably the DTA, have continued to insist on equal treatment with Swapo before implementation.

The issue of UN impartiality could once again become a stumbling block to a settlement, as became clear in a statement in Windhoek today by the Administrator-General, Dr Willie van Niekerk.

Dr van Niekerk indicated that South Africa might back the DTA's insistence on addressing the UN Security Council.

"Any party should have the opportunity to address the UN Security Council," Dr van Niekerk said.

He referred to the addresses earlier this year by Swapo, the Pan African Congress and the African National Congress.

"We have made it clear to the Secretary-General that we are not at all happy that some of the UN bodies fund only one party.

"We will watch it very closely."

### Withdrawal

The Administrator-General re-iterated the South African standpoint that a Cuban withdrawal from Angola was "the one major issue still to be resolved".

He also said attention would have to be given to the release of SWA/Namibians detained in other African countries.

He said he intends taking up negotiations with internal parties next week on the idea of forming a forum such as the State Council to govern the territory until an international settlement.

Argus 26/8/83

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## Angola cool on UN trip

LUANDA — There is pessimism here about the visit to Angola today of the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

He will discuss the implementation of Resolution 435 with the Angolan Government and Swapo.

But the Angolans and Swapo perceive the details of the UN plan as purely academic.

They believe South Africa could make any of the minor points into big issues to gain more time.

The Angolans say they are expecting fresh South African air attacks as soon as Mr Perez de Cuellar leaves tomorrow.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ngongo, the head of military intelligence in the region, said earlier this week that the increase in Unita guerilla activities was designed to coincide with the UN chief's visit "so that the South Africans can present Unita as part of the Namibian equation."

Some diplomatic sources here have interpreted the Angolan accusations as a ploy to justify a plea for more support from the Soviet Union. — The Times News Service.

# UN chief will try and speed Cubans' exit

By Peter Honey,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

26/8/83  
WINDHOEK — UN Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar says he will try to speed up a Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

This would not, however, be on the basis of linkage with the Namibian independence issue.

The UN chief revealed this on his departure from Windhoek for Luanda today. He is to hold talks there with Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma before flying on to Geneva tonight.

"I will try to solve (the Cuban withdrawal issue) but this will be in a completely different context (to the Namibian issue)," he said.

"I hate the idea of linking the two things," he said.

Mr Perez de Cuellar will be reporting back to the UN Security Council at the end of this month.

He is expected to report that the previously outstanding issues of the electoral system and composition of the moni-

toring force for a UN supervised election have been resolved.

He did not refer to the impartiality issue, but said in reply to a question that once implementation of Resolution 435 had begun "all parties will be on the same footing".

Several internal parties, notably the DTA, continued to insist on equal treatment with Swapo before implementation. He described as "immensely useful" his meetings with members of those political parties who agreed to talk to him.

"I was also deeply moved at the accounts I received of the present great difficulties and hardships which Namibians are now experiencing, especially through the devastating effects of the drought."

The Administrator-General of the territory, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said in a statement today that the issue of UN impartiality had not yet been fully resolved and could once again become a stumbling block to a settlement.

# Angola changes stand on Cubans

CARE Times  
27/8/83

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**LISBON.** — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos yesterday welcomed the visiting United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, with a set of revised conditions for the withdrawal of Cuban troops stationed in the oil-rich Marxist nation.

According to a report from Angop, the Angolan national news agency, President dos Santos issued the new Angolan stance at an airport rally greeting the UN Secretary-General on the last stop of a Southern Africa tour in search of independence for SWA/Namibia, reports Sapa-AP.

Speaking before thousands of cheering Luanda residents, the president told Mr Perez de Cuellar that Angola would agree to an early withdrawal of the estimated 25 000 Cubans on four conditions:

- The unconditional and immediate withdrawal of South African forces occupying parts of southern Angola.

- The rapid enactment of the UN Security Council's resolution 435 calling for Namibian independence.

- The halt of all South African aggression against Angola.

- The halt of logistical support for guerillas of the rebel Unita movement.



President Eduardo dos Santos

week during visits to South Africa and SWA/Namibia.

The Secretary-General told the welcoming throng he had come to meet with Mr Nujoma, whose independence movement has been fighting for self-rule since 1966, "as the representative of the people of Namibia", Angop reported.

The UN chief added that he had undertaken his African trip in search of a "rapid, just, and lasting solution" for the region.

Earlier in the day, Mr Perez de Cuellar ended a two-day visit to SWA/Namibia, including a tour through the war zone at the Angolan border, saying: "I will try to help solve the problem. As Secretary-General, I am interested in all problems that affect international security."

- Meanwhile, Tony Weaver reports from Windhoek that Mr Perez de Cuellar has been asked by the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN), representing more than 75 percent of

Namibians, to attempt to effect the immediate implementation of Namibian independence.

In a letter delivered to Mr Perez de Cuellar yesterday by the CCN president, the Right Rev J H Kauluma, and its secretary, the Rev Dr Abisai Shejvali, South Africa was accused of influencing and "paralysing" any progress towards independence.

The letter stated that "the South African Government is continuing with its military build-up in Namibia, and especially in the northern region of the country."

## 'Draconian laws'

"This illegal and dangerous exercise intensifies the destruction of the lives of the people and further destabilizes the whole country. We consider the preoccupation of the South African Government with so-called national security as a threat to Southern Africa and to international peace."

The letter alleged that the rights and the will of the Namibian people were being "disregarded by a regime of Draconian laws, the most outstanding being military conscription of Namibians, detention without recourse to legal counsel or courts and the various laws which force our people to divulge information against their will".

The letter was presented to Mr Perez de Cuellar minutes before he departed for Angola.

- Savimbi factor looms, page 10

# Savimbi factor looms in SWA/Namibia deal

FOLLOWING the visit of the UN Secretary-General to South Africa and SWA/Namibia, there seem to be some grounds for optimism about the negotiations to resolve the future of the territory.

What is the evidence? The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who has carried out a protracted delaying action with great skill, has at length announced that the South African Government is satisfied that the right preconditions exist. The Government is ready to proceed with the implementation of Resolution 435.

This is the resolution of the Security Council which both Swapo and South Africa agreed to implement in the far-off days when Mr John Vorster was Prime Minister. It provides for a ceasefire, UN-supervised elections and the withdrawal of the South African armed forces from the territory.

Right from the start of the Botha premiership, however, it was clear that the new administration, more heavily under the influence of the military chiefs than the Vorster government, would adopt the tactics of Fabius Cunctator, the Roman commander who was celebrated for avoiding action and wearing down the enemy by delay.

## UNTAG force

Yet even the Cunctator could not procrastinate indefinitely. The visit of the UN Secretary-General has provided Mr Pik Botha with an appropriate occasion for pronouncing himself satisfied, after this week's talks, that the UN will be impartial and that the composition of the UNTAG force, which will supervise the poll, will meet with South Africa's approval.

But what about the Savimbi factor? Mr Botha stressed that the question of the Cuban presence in Angola, which falls outside the ambit of 435, remains to be resolved. Although the questions of Angola and SWA/Namibia are not formally linked, Pretoria insists that there be agreement on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola before South Africa finally agrees to go ahead and withdraw its forces from the oper-

ational area. The Cuban presence is regarded as inimical to the security of the Republic.

Hopeful sounds from Washington suggest that Angola and the United States have made considerable progress in improving their mutual relations. The withdrawal of the Cubans is said to be very much on the cards as part of a wider rapprochement between Washington and the former Portuguese territories in the region which is designed to forestall the threat of Soviet expansionism.

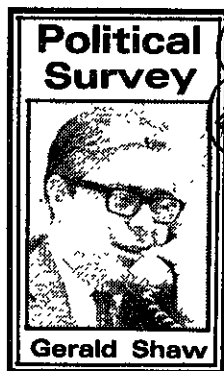
## Good friends

So now comes the real test of political will. How closely synchronized is the thinking of Washington and Pretoria? Washington, it is plain, wants to be good friends with Luanda and Maputo. But does Pretoria? South Africa, in the eyes of the world, has seemed determined to destabilize its neighbours by covert military action, creating a defensive "cordon of chaos" around its borders.

Washington, on the other hand, wants to maintain Western ascendancy in Southern Africa by winning diplomatic victories — by showing that peace can be achieved in SWA/Namibia by negotiation and by offering friendship and economic aid to the frontline states which the Soviets cannot match. This is what constructive engagement is all about — not a bolstering of the apartheid system, as some Nationalists seem disposed to imagine.

The South African approach, whether covert or overt, has seemed to be rather more militarist and, in the eyes of many observers, calculated to drive the people of the sub-continent headlong into the arms of the Soviets. When the chips are down, will Pretoria do as Washington wants? Will Pretoria agree to the holding of free and fair UN-supervised elections in SWA/Namibia — or will new last-minute arguments be produced once again as a smokescreen for yet further delay?

Free and fair elections would almost certainly produce SWAPO as the major force in a new Namibian government. The hearts and



minds of the dominant Ovambo group seem to have been irretrievably lost, in spite of, or, some say, because of the continued SADF presence in the territory. The longer the elections have been delayed the more pro-Swapo have the Ovambo become.

## Lip service

This is the common catch 22 experience in conditions of guerilla insurgency. If the insurgents are to be effectively curbed, in military terms, it is difficult to achieve this without at the same time alienating the local population. No one doubts that the SADF has the upper hand militarily in the



contest with Swapo.

But military success is always secondary in these situations to political success. There are no purely military solutions. The military sometimes pay lip service to this maxim, but they tend to deny it in daily practice. And there is little doubt Swapo will win the polls.

The big question is whether the State Security Council, with its Soviet expansionist phobia and its strong complement of SADF and intelligence chiefs, is at last facing the unpalatable truth — that they have lost the battle for the minds and hearts of the people.

But what is so fearsome about the prospect of a Swapo presence in Windhoek anyway? Pretoria is in a much stron-

ger position than often appears. Any new regime in Windhoek, whatever its ideological enthusiasms, will be heavily dependent on the goodwill of Pretoria, rather as Zimbabwe and Mozambique can hardly escape the economic dominance of the South African mining, agricultural and industrial giant.

The new regime in Windhoek will know what side its bread is buttered on, rather as the Mugabe Government in Zimbabwe has little choice but to be pragmatic and realistic in resolving not to allow ANC bases on its territory.

Obviously, a return to peace in SWA/Namibia is in South Africa's interests. This country cannot go on forever squandering its precious young manpower and resources in unproductive and inflationary military activities beyond our borders. The game is not worth the candle, except, perhaps, in the eyes of those military chiefs who welcome the continued existence of the operational area as a proving ground for weapons and a training ground for troops.

## Gain control

What are South Africa's real intentions? What has been the underlying purpose of the delay in implementing 435? At this point the questions raised in this column last week become relevant — and new questions arise.

Has South Africa been intent upon buying time for Savimbi and his UNITA guerillas to strengthen their position? Has UNITA now reached the stage where it can insist on a share in government and recognition of its control of the southern provinces of Angola?

From the start the prime purpose of the Cuban presence in Angola has been to protect the MPLA regime in Luanda against the guerilla army of UNITA. This has been so ever since independence when the MPLA beat UNITA in a civil war and, backed by the Soviet bloc, seized power. Savimbi remained in the field, fighting to gain control of the

southern region, and looking to South Africa for support.

Will the new UNITA offensive advance or retard the chances of peace? If the MPLA is coming under strong military pressure from UNITA, how is this likely to induce them to part with the services of their Cuban protectors?

In the international media UNITA is seen as a surrogate for South Africa, as a bargaining card in South Africa's hand as the Namibian saga reaches its climax.

No one doubts that South Africa gives UNITA massive logistical and intelligence support.

## Grave dangers

If a compromise is reached between the MPLA and Savimbi, then the Cubans could go home, presumably, and Angola could become a federal state with the southern provinces ruled by UNITA. Such an arrangement would suit Pretoria, presumably. Indeed this may well have been the South African objective all along.

But South Africans are kept in ignorance. It is much easier to manage such affairs without the attention of an alert and informed public opinion. Bureaucrats and generals everywhere would much prefer a society with no independent media of information.

There are grave dangers in running a country in this authoritarian militarist fashion, keeping your own citizens in the dark.

In a country such as South Africa which must ultimately depend upon a citizen army for its defence, the government must have credibility and enjoy public confidence in its defence policy. Keeping people in the dark about critical issues of war and peace is folly.

Who is in the saddle, the militarists or the diplomats? The months ahead will be crucial in deciding whether there is to be a diplomatic drive towards peace and stability in the sub-continent or renewed destabilization and militarism and a Southern African Vietnam.

# Angola 'ready to let Cubans go'

Star 27/8/78  
5

LISBON — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said his country was ready to discuss conditionally a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops based in Angola, the official Angolan news agency ANGOP reported.

The Angolan leader told a crowd at Luanda airport awaiting United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar that one of the conditions was "the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the racist South African troops occupying part of our territory in Southern Angola."

He added: "all those who try to establish a link between the independence of Namibia and the presence of Cuban forces in Angola are not our friends but our enemies."

The UN chief arrived in Luanda from the Namibian capital of Windhoek on the last leg of a mission to South Africa, Namibia and Angola aimed at speeding independence for the territory, which is administered by South Africa in defiance of UN resolutions.

He said before leaving Namibia that he was opposed to linking a settlement to a Cuban withdrawal.

Such linkage has been a main condition set out by South Africa and the United States.

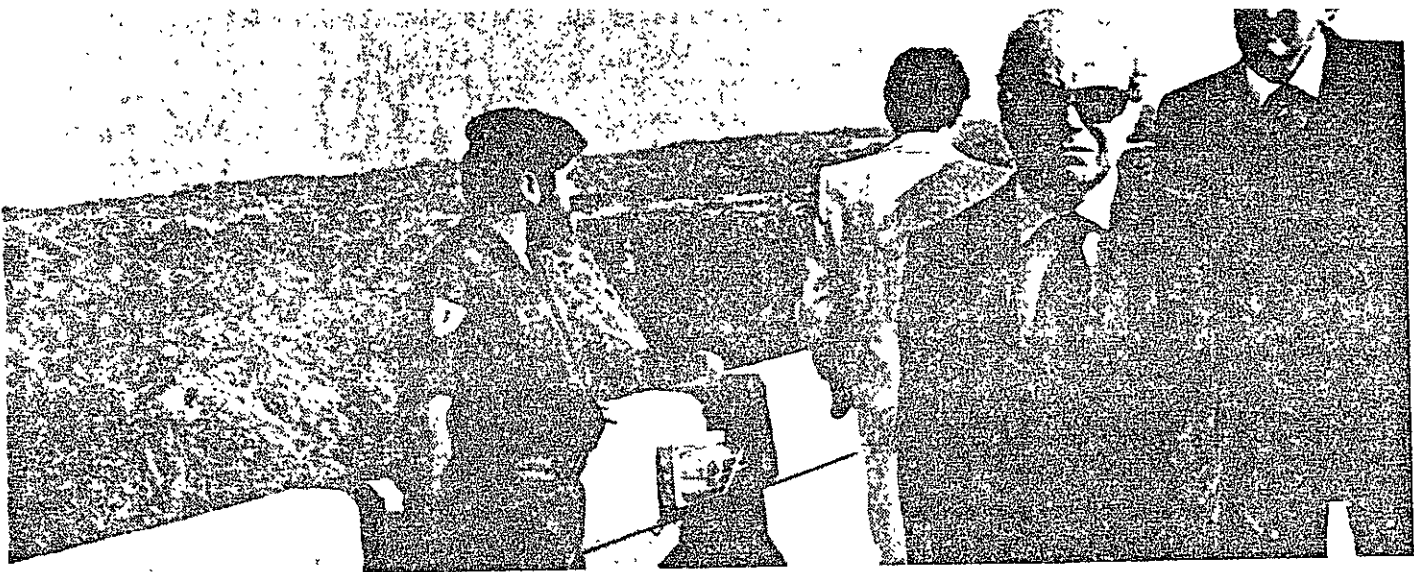
Perez de Cuellar said on arrival in Luanda that Namibian independence was a fundamental element for peace in Southern Africa.

He quickly began a round of meetings. The first was with Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the Angolan-based black nationalist movement which has been fighting a bush war against South African rule for 17 years. Later he was due to confer with Dos Santos.

He also demanded the end of aggression against Angola and an end to South African logistical support for what he called "the puppet bands." This was a reference to the rebel guerrillas of Unita who have been waging a civil war against the marxist government since Angola became independent from Portugal in 1975. Reuter

...dedged Mierelich





UN Secretary-General Mr Perez de Cuellar, centre, and the Administrator-General for South West Africa, Dr Willie van Niekerk, gather at an observation post on the border between Angola and Namibia to ponder the problem from both sides, while a security guard looks on.

# UN involvement seen as coup for SA and US

By Peter Honey,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

27/8/83

**WINDHOEK** — The United States and South Africa have scored a significant diplomatic coup by drawing the UN Secretary-General into efforts to end the Angolan civil war and dislodge the Cuban troops from that country.

While initially the development might have seemed more of academic and technical significance than leading to a speedy settlement of the Namibian issue, observers believe it could have international reverberations.

The UN Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, stated bluntly before leaving here yesterday that he intended to try and solve the issue of civil war and Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

He emphasised that his interest came through the UN responsibility for ensuring peace throughout the world, and not because South Africa and America had linked the Angolan and Namibian issues.

The Administrator-General, Dr Willie van Niekerk, was clearly pleased:

"It is very positive and

heartening and means he wants to be involved," he said.

"It is definitely significant if he is prepared to try to be of assistance.

"Previously the attitude was that the United Nations did not want to become involved."

Although Mr Perez de Cuellar told Windhoek-based journalists he was not planning to meet Angolan president, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, when he went to Luanda yesterday, observers feel it is highly unlikely he will miss the Angolan head of state.

The issue of Cuban withdrawal is not within the ambit of the Secretary-General's

mandate, but if, as he claims, the Namibian settlement plan has been wrapped up, what else could he talk to Mr dos Santos about but the conflict in that country?

If not, it is likely Mr Perez de Cuellar will try to set up a meeting at a later date to discuss the Cuban and Unita issues of Angola's civil war.

His involvement could lead to enhanced international sympathy for the United States' attitude on the Angolan-Namibian issue.

It could also shift the focus of world attention more towards Luanda and away from Windhoek, and South Africa would have less pressure to

relent on its settlement objections.

But the move has tactical rather than practical implications for the Namibian issue.

While Mr Perez de Cuellar emphasised he "hated" linkage of the Cuban and Namibian issues, and that he would handle the two in parallel rather than as joint problems, the military reality is bound to bring the two closer together within the UN ambit.

Meanwhile, the intricacies of the international debate failed to find currency within the territory.

Internal political parties said they had not lifted their scepticism about progress towards independence.

"Quite frankly, we don't believe the Secretary-General's involvement will make a jot of difference," said Mr Andreas Shipanga.

"It is quite clear from the little time he accorded us that we have little say in the issue of our own future."

So, for the moment, it is up to the international community.

But the issue of impartiality — which most observers flatly believe is insurmountable but open to interpretation — is likely to simmer on within Namibia.

It could well flare up again when the DTA tries to address the UN Security Council next month.

## Demonstration as Perez lands

**LISBON** — Angolans protested against alleged South African aggression against their country as United Nations Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar arrived in Luanda yesterday, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, reported.

In a message received here, Angop said the demonstration was also in protest against "imperialist manoeuvres" over independence for neighbouring Namibia (South West Africa).

Before flying to Luanda from Windhoek, the Namibian capital, on the last leg of his mission, the UN chief said he was opposed to linking a Namibian independence settlement to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. — Reuter.

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The chances of peace are slim — even unlikely — but at least it's possible as...

By Peter Mann Political Correspondent

WAR-TORN Namibia was given a whiff of hope this week.

It was brought by a gentlemanly, silver-haired 63-year-old Peruvian lawyer turned diplomat who heads a body regarded as a failure by many in the world and as a communist front by many in South Africa.

It was carried into the country aboard a jet belonging to the Spanish monarch, King Juan Carlos, an aircraft used by the Pope and by former UN Secretary General Dr Kurt Waldheim.

The chance of peace is terribly slim. It has to be nurtured against a background of East-West tensions, of Southern African tensions, and ultimately against the domestic political struggle of the National Party.

It doesn't look imminent. It doesn't even look likely — but since the Southern African shuttle of United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar which took him to South Africa, Namibia and Angola, it at least looks possible.

And that was the importance of Dr Perez de Cuellar's visit this week.

It's an importance which shouldn't be underrated in a country where the war is estimated to cost just one side — South Africa — more than a million rand every day.

A war that has claimed the lives of thousands of South African and Swapo soldiers, which touches the lives of just about every South African family as their boys go to the border, and a war which sees Namibians peaceable demonstrations charged by police wielding pick handles.

In the end the glimmer of hope could be traced to the personality of the man who for the past 20 months has had the \$162,000 a year top job at the United Nations.

Before Dr Perez de Cuellar arrived, Cape Town abounded with rumours. The most common was that he hadn't wanted to come at all. That he had been forced to by the powerful United States. That he was looking for any excuse to castigate South Africa.

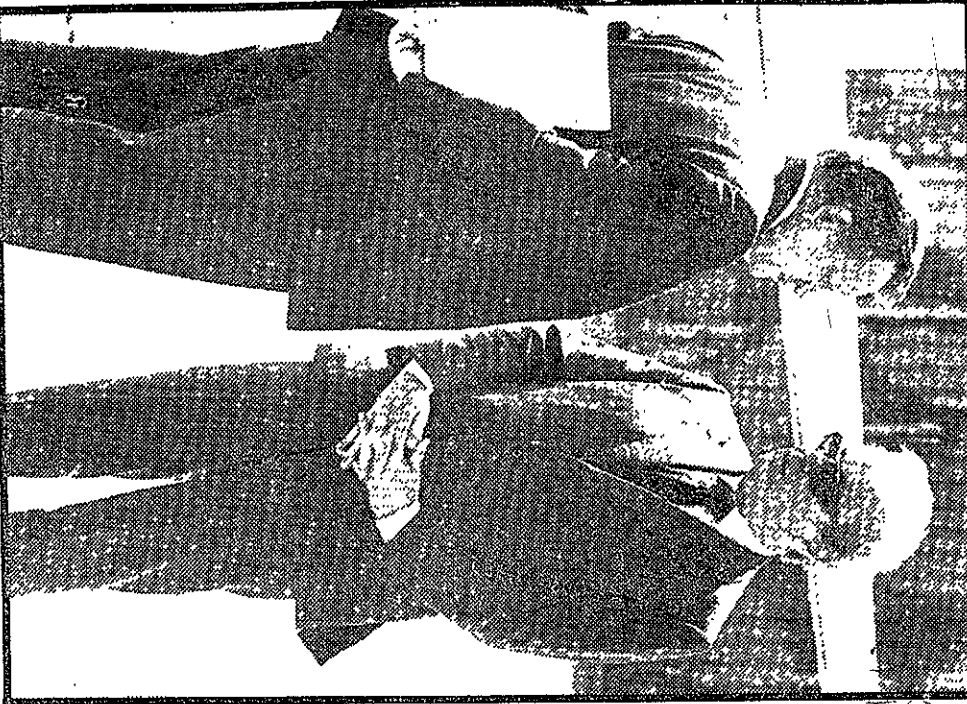
It was a view reinforced by Dr Perez de Cuellar's statement just after his two-bedroomed jet touched down at Cape Town's D F Malan airport late on Monday.

He immediately expressed concern at the "horrible delay" in reaching a settlement and called off his dogs scheduled for 9 am next morning, pleading fatigue.

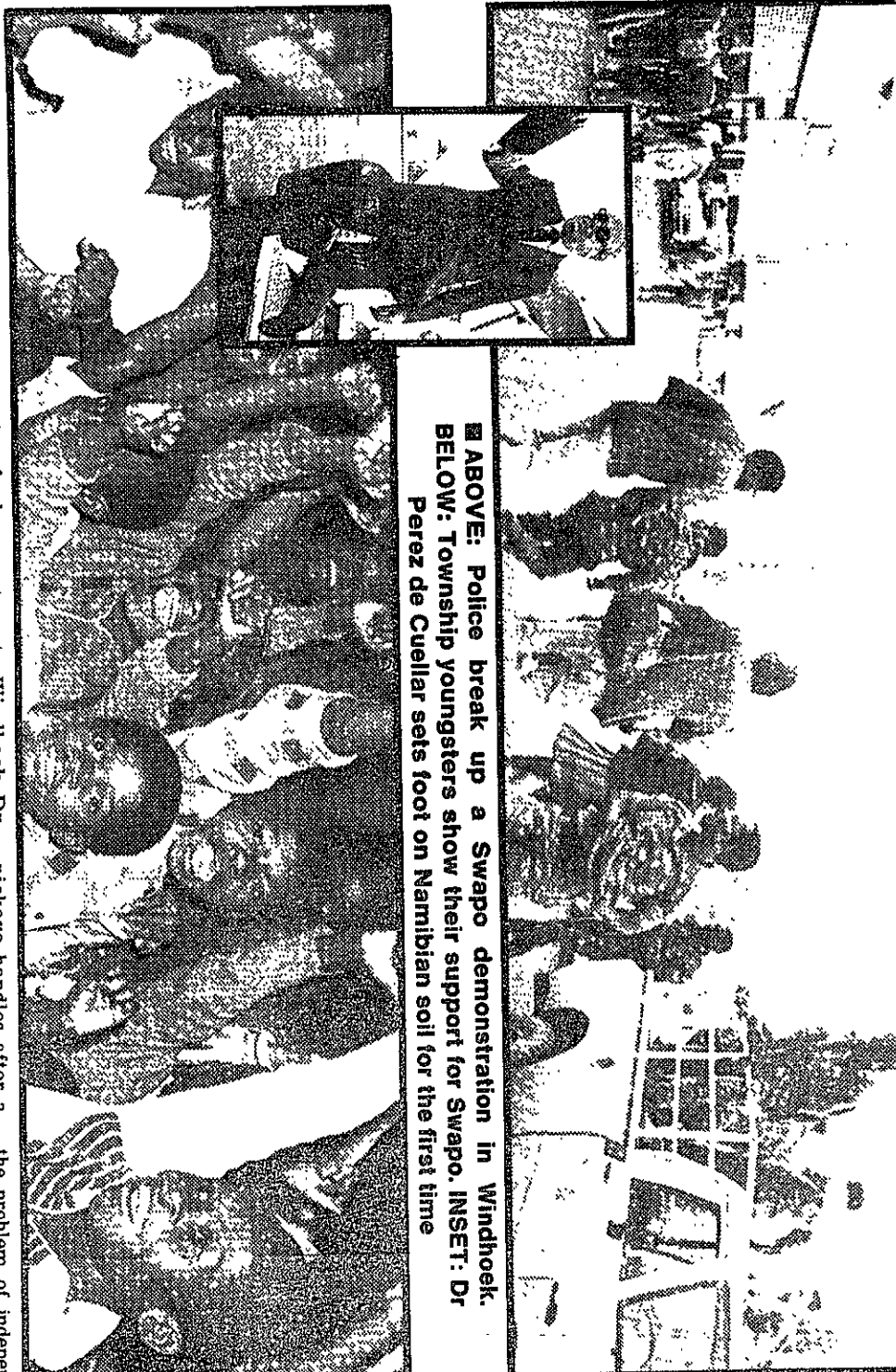
Work only began in earnest when he met Prime Minister P.W. Botha over lunch in Cape Town's historic Castle. The 36 guests dined on Cape crayfish, roast fillet of beef foresteiere, roast leg of Karroo lamb, vegetables, salad minosa, peach melba and tartuffo, fruit and coffee.

It was washed down by a 1976 Mercedes Cabernet. At a cocktail party that night Dr Perez de Cuellar revealed that he and Mr Pik Botha had talks at about 3 pm for another working session.

# UN chief brings hope to war-torn Namibia



UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar and his special representative for Namibia, Marti Ahtisaari, in consultation



ABOVE: Police break up a Swapo demonstration in Windhoek. BELOW: Township youngsters show their support for Swapo. INSET: Dr Perez de Cuellar sets foot on Namibian soil for the first time

like a soccer match," he said, adding that he thought it had ended in a draw — because it would be arrogant to say his side had won. He also revealed, to the horror of rugby-play-

ing South Africans, that he thought soccer had more finesse. Underlying his friendliness was evidence that he had had hard talks with Mr Pik Botha, a former UN colleague and a man

with whom he had said he has "friendly but rather difficult relations". Talks continued over a dinner hosted by Mr Pik Botha which boasted roast saddle of springbok. The next day, after yet

another round of talks, Dr Perez de Cuellar appeared at a Press conference to announce he had made "substantial progress" but that he was unfortunately not in a position to announce a date to implement the peace

sat among crates of coke and cases of red wine. In Windhoek Dr Perez de Cuellar was whisked on to another, smaller aircraft and flown to Etosha Pan for the night as the guest of the South African Administrator-General.

Return to Windhoek Dr Perez de Cuellar and his aides were faced with yet another problem — some of the internal parties were refusing to see him because their invitations had been issued by the South African Administrator-General.

the problem of independence we are all facing together. I'll fight with you again for international aid," he said. But he reportedly told one delegation: "You should not expect a solution soon unless you believe in miracles."

the scope of his Security Council mandate remained unsolved. Then it was back to the airport for the trip to Namibia. This time a party of South African journalists, including the Tribune, were allowed to join the flight.

"Who would have thought that a boereuse like me would make it on to the King of Spain's aeroplane?" an Afrikaans journalist said as we sipped Spanish beer. For all its regal connections the aircraft, a DC-8 taken over by the king from Iberia — the national airline — in 1978, was showing signs of wear — at least in the "cheap" seats where we

Dr Willie van Niekerk. While the men viewed game and went on a tour of the operational area, rumours flew thick and fast in Windhoek where a Press centre had been set up. The most outrageous was that the UN Secretary-General would be taken to a meat-canning plant where the South Africans had used one of the freezer rooms to store the bodies of all the civilian dead from the past four years of the war. These, the story held, would be shown to Dr Perez de Cuellar to impress upon him the horror of the war. Having squashed both those rumours on their

Special UN representative for Namibia, Marti Ahtisaari, hurriedly made phone calls to all concerned. But Dirk Mudge's DTA, Peter Kalangula's CDA, Swanu, and the HNP all refused to see the UN. The internal Swapo delegation which saw the Secretary-General seemed to make the best impression on journalists. Their spokesman, Nick Bessinger, welcomed Dr Perez de Cuellar's talks with South Africa saying they had made progress. In an ugly scene later in the afternoon about 150 pro-Swapo demonstrators were chased away by police or military personnel in camouflage uniforms wielding

One of the men, who said his name was Andre Swart, chased a demonstrator, prodding him with his pickaxe handle and shouting: "F... off you kaffir." It was the first Swapo demonstration seen in Windhoek since 1978. Hordes of secret police had swarmed around the demonstrators photographing each one and a wave of detentions is being predicted. At a reception that night Dr Perez de Cuellar, clearly moved by conditions inside the country, said the international community would have to give Namibia financial aid. "Independence is not enough. If we can solve

The internal parties were clearly less impressed with Dr Perez de Cuellar's "substantial progress" than anyone else. None of them believed the settlement would come soon and they cynically seem to believe that in a Namibian settlement everyone is important except Namibians. Yet this was no Kurt Waldheim exhibiting political bias. As Dr Perez de Cuellar flew off to his meeting with Swapo president Sam Nujoma there was a sense that his personality and his personal commitment to impartiality had sparked hope.

## A right royal MPLA welcome

Foreign Service

LUANDA: United Nations Secretary-General Dr Perez de Cuellar, arrived here to a reception designed to impress upon him the strength and firmness of Angola's position on Namibia.

Then he encountered a bizarre attempt to make him stay longer than he intended.

Given a public holiday on Friday, tens of thousands of government supporters filled the airport and lined the streets to welcome him.

Banners denouncing South Africa and the United States were suddenly draped across the airport road. As he stepped off his aircraft a little girl ran forward as if to embrace him.

Dr Perez de Cuellar's face fell in embarrassment as he realised she was tying an MPLA scarf around his neck.

Taken to a podium opposite a sculpture depicting an army boot as big as a house stamping on a South African soldier, he was subjected to an impromptu rally: 40 minutes of speeches in support of MPLA and praising the 1976 revolution in which, with Soviet and Cuban military aid, it defeated its rivals.

President Eduardo dos Santos made a short speech repeating Angola's conditions for the withdrawal of Cubans from its territory: There should be an unconditional withdrawal of South African forces from Angola, the UN Resolution 435 on Namibian independence should be rapidly implemented, and South Africa should stop acting in support of Unita.

"When these conditions are fulfilled then we will be ready to discuss with Cuba the progressive withdrawal of their forces," said the president.

Dr Perez de Cuellar had planned to leave last night but according to the Angolan programme he was to leave at midday today, having met representatives of Swapo and the African National Congress of South Africa.

The official Angolan news agency Angop reports that Dr Perez de Cuellar responded to President Dos Santos's speech by saying independence for Namibia was "a fundamental element for peace in Southern Africa".

# Cubans in Angola will be the main stumbling block

By Peter Mann

INDEPENDENCE for Namibia remains as elusive as a mirage in the Namib Desert — in spite of the determined efforts this week of United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

As the King of Spain's jet carrying a weary UN team headed for Geneva at the weekend Dr Perez de Cuellar had made lots of friends but less tangible progress.

He had persuaded South Africa to agree to the composition of Untag, the United Nations policing group which will oversee the elections the UN wants to hold in the territory; and the proposed electoral system to be used. He had also agreed that the UN would be impartial and had ratified a private agreement between South Africa and the United States setting out how impartiality would be demon-

strated in practice.

He had not been able to set a date for implementation of the UN peace plan contained in Resolution 435 for a ceasefire and "free and fair elections" to be held in Namibia. And he had not been able to address the question of the removal of the Cubans from Angola — because it was outside his mandate.

Cubans flooded into Angola in 1975 after South African troops invaded that country, pushing almost as far as Luanda. There they have stayed ever since because the MPLA government of President Eduardo dos Santos says they are needed to protect him from South African and Unita aggression.

South Africa, however, says the Cubans are there to buttress Swapo. They believe both Swapo and the Cubans are part of the total onslaught being masterminded by Russia to take control of Southern African and eventually

the world.

South Africa says it won't settle until the Cubans have gone and adds the proviso that they are not to be replaced by any other "hostile forces". Foreign Minister Pik Botha, after his talks with Dr Perez de Cuellar this week, said this was the remaining unresolved issue blocking settlement. And even Dr Perez de Cuellar spoke of "miracles" this week, when pushed by one of the internal Namibian parties he met, to say whether he thought implementation of the plan was possible.

The UN Secretary-General said he would do his best to speed up the removal of the Cuban troops. His strategy this week seemed to be to get all the other problems out of the way — so that when, or if, the Cuban troops withdrew, nothing else could stop the implementation of the peace plan.

In those terms he made progress.

2/18/83 (5)

THE Cubans stay — that is the word from Angola's nervous masters as United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar ends his whirlwind quest for a Namibia settlement.

He will not give up. Armed with a firm South African commitment to let the United Nations into the territory if ever a Cuban exit himself Angola is negotiated, he will now offer himself as the negotiator.

Success, he believes, depends heavily on timing. Right now, senior UN sources said, the situation remains tightly deadlocked.

I dined on Friday night with Angola's high command and the MPLA elite.

It was Namibia Day and blood-red victory banners slung across roads broke the lacy drabness as this tattered capital struggled to put on a show for the UN chief.

What I found was a steady canted under siege, but with little indication that it was about to break. The private UN estimate is that probably it will not.

# Cubans Will Stay — Angolans

By RICHARD WALKER: Luanda

Rumour has all but replaced fact and slogans are the major nourishment. Western envoys, restricted to within 20km of the capital, are warned that their safety cannot be guaranteed much beyond that point.

But high Angolan officials are ready to name others too. "You would be surprised" at the list of covert Unita allies, one assured me. Those he named included Saudi Arabia, Senegal and China.

The South Africans get most of the blame and are widely assumed here to be steadily increasing support for the Unita enemy.

Mr Botha said the statement also intentionally concealed the fact that Unita forces had been fighting a war of liberation for 23 years without South Africa.

"We have not made territory available to Dr Savimbi to launch attacks against the Angolan Government."

Angola would have to give a firm commitment to Cuban withdrawal and stipulate both the phases and the numbers involved in withdrawal.

Mr Botha said he supported the view that a resolution of the situation would have to take account of the position of Unita, but added that that was a problem for the Angolan Government.

Angola's statement and Mr Botha's response come in the final stage of a whirlwind visit by Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar to Southern Africa to discuss SWA-Namibia.

Throughout my visit, the first by a South African correspondent, the Angolans were gaily clad dancers vied with battle-dressed troops for our attention.

Behind the throng was a huge boot with a comic figure of a South African trooper squirming underneath.

Everywhere were signs of war, armoured reception. Bugles blared, drums beat and ululating gaudily clad dancers vied with battle-dressed troops for our attention.

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Pik Botha rejects Angolan proposals By BRIAN POTTINGER

Cuban troop withdrawal, the President told the crowd — but his conditions included a total end to any South African support for Unita and the unconditional withdrawal of all its troops from Angola.

Replying in Portuguese, Dr Perez de Cuellar repeated once more his pledge to keep trying for a settlement.

That night we dined — a five-course, four-wine State banquet to the noisy serenade of a brass band.

At the top table Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma's smile was a full one, as he joined in animated conversation with the Secretary-General.

Three hours earlier, at a meeting in a villa in Nujoma gave the Secretary-General, Mr Nujoma gave the Secretary-General what he needed to vindicate his audacious decision to defy the UN majority by accepting South African hospitality and sitting down with the internal Namibian party.

"I think he did the right thing," Mr Nujoma said, when he emerged from the meeting.

But Mr Botha, commenting on the basis of reports he had read so far, said it looked as if the conditions were drafted for propaganda purposes rather than to achieve a Cuban withdrawal.

Angola ought to know that if it did not want South African forces to cross the border to attack Swapo, it need only refuse the use of its territory to Swapo for attacks against SWA.

## Attacks

Official Angolan sources described the conditions as "new" and suggested they were a softening of the original Angolan demand for the withdrawal of South African troops from SWA-Namibia prior or parallel to the Cuban exodus.

But Mr Botha, commenting on the basis of reports he had read so far, said it looked as if the conditions were drafted for propaganda purposes rather than to achieve a Cuban withdrawal.

Angola ought to know that if it did not want South African forces to cross the border to attack Swapo, it need only refuse the use of its territory to Swapo for attacks against SWA.

<p>1036 338.888 68 SHELF</p> <p>Shell South Africa Inside Shell - our fifth social report. Cape Town, Shell South Africa, 1982.</p>	<p>1031 346.064 TOBI</p> <p>Tobiansky, P. SEFSA and the industry it represents: an analysis of the Steel Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa. Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand, 1980.</p>
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# Angola expects 'new SA attacks'

LISBON. — Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos yesterday warned he "wouldn't exclude the possibility" of new South African attacks against his country, say reports reaching Lisbon.

A dispatch carried by Angop, the Angolan news agency, said the President expressed fears that future attacks could take place north of the Mexico town of Cangamba.

The Angolan Government has said South African aircraft bombed Cangamba to support rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

Mr. Dos Santos said South Africans were fighting in Angola to hand over captured territory to UNITA.

Referring to the presence of an estimated 25,000 Cuban troops on Angolan soil, the main stumbling block in negotiations with South Africa over independence for SWA, he said, a concession by Angola on the Cubans would be followed by a similar blockage over UNITA. — Sapa-AP.

S. en Lighelm, A.A.  
rele sektor in Kwanaleda.  
Pretoria,

# Dos Santos scoffs at idea of union with Unita

LUANDA — President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola did not have much to look forward to on his 41st birthday yesterday.

Two weeks ago his troops had to abandon the strategic town of Cangamba.

Last week he committed Angola to a policy of blood, sweat and tears in the fight against Unita insurgents and South Africa.

In a rare interview with Western reporters at the weekend he said that after Cangamba a new and dangerous situation existed in Southern Africa.

"We must conclude that the South African Air Force will do this in other parts of the country," he said. "Their aim is to overthrow the legitimate government of Angola and impose Unita puppet groups on areas which their regular troops have occupied by force."

South Africa has denied the allegations and claims by the Luanda Government that the SAAF bombed Cangamba.

He said the next targets could be Cahama or Luena. When he welcomed United Nations Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, President dos Santos ruled out the withdrawal of Cuban troops in a deal over Namibia until South Africa withdraws from Angolan territory.

He blamed the United States for insisting on Cuban troop withdrawals.

"The American Government should understand the security needs of the legitimate government of the Angolan people."

Asked if there were any elements in Unita with whom he and his MPLA would be prepared to negotiate, he said: "The MPLA has never at any time had any relations with Unita and doesn't even think of having talks with them. All the MPLA leaders are unanimous on this."

Angola has twice refused Soviet requests for a naval base at Luanda. Although he spent six years training as an engineer in the Soviet Union he is not considered to be pro-Soviet.

— The London Times News Service.

## Angolan team in US to probe Cuban troop issue

3/18/83  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A delegation from Luanda has arrived in Washington for talks with State Department officials on the question of Cuban troops in Angola — the last remaining obstacle to a settlement in Namibia.

With Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar's report to the UN Security Council on his Southern Africa talks not expected to contain anything that will materially speed up Namibian independence, the focus of the international effort now rests on the Angolans — and their stand on the Cuban troop issue.

State Department officials are not talking about the Angolan mission, not even to confirm that it was here.

But it is reliably understood that some progress may have been made in the difficult task of persuading the Angolans that it is unrealistic to expect peace in the region as long as the Cubans remain there.

The UN Secretary-General's report on his visit is due to be given to the Security Council in New York today.

Few expect it will contain anything to boost the hopes of Africa bloc members that the momentum to find a Namibian settlement will return to the UN and away from the Western Contact Group.

SA still  
wants  
Cubans  
to go

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr. Pik Botha, said it was only the presence of Cubans in Angola that blocked the way to reaching an internationally acceptable settlement in SWA/Namibia.

Interviewed by SATV last night, he said South Africa was still insisting on the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, had been requested to include this viewpoint in the report he had to submit to the Security Council before the end of the month.

Mr. Botha said the Secretary-General's visit last week, and Western reaction to it, had apparently eased pressure on South Africa regarding SWA/Namibia.

#### Assurance

He said South Africa would be seeking an assurance that the Cubans would leave and that they would not be replaced by other hostile forces. Assurances in this respect would have to be subjected to tests.

Referring to Unita, Mr. Botha said South Africa felt sympathetic towards the movement's anti-Marxist struggle, but it was essential that this sympathy never went so far as to harm South African interests in an international context.

● Meanwhile, Richard Walker reports from Geneva that tanks, anti-aircraft, missiles, and thousands of troops ringed Mr. Perez de Cuellar yesterday as he put the finishing touches to his SWA/Namibia report.

The UN chief opens a controversial conference on "the question of Palestine" today and Switzerland has put its forces on maximum alert.

The UN's sprawling European headquarters have been declared a military zone.

Mr. Perez de Cuellar and his team flew here direct from Luanda, where he saw President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Swapo president Sam Nujoma.

Mr. Perez de Cuellar is expected to report to the Security Council that the plan for UN-supervised independence in SWA/Namibia is ready to be put into effect, except for the conditions set by the United States and South Africa that the Cubans get out of Angola.



# UN chief rejects SA stance on Cubans

By Donald Knowler, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — South Africa's demand that Cuban troops leave Angola is the last major obstacle blocking independence for Namibia, the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, said in a report yesterday.

But the UN chief "totally rejected" linkage between Cuban troops in Angola and a Namibian settlement and warned there could be "further disastrous consequences" in the event of additional delay.

Mr Perez de Cuellar submitted a written report to the Security Council on three months of negotiations to try to bring Namibia closer to independence.

Last week the secretary-general visited South Africa, Namibia and Angola as part of his consultations.

The pessimistic nature of his report did not come as a surprise here because Mr Perez de Cuellar had

not been given a mandate by the Security Council — when it instructed him to embark on his mission — to discuss the Cuban troop issue.

The secretary-general said intensive negotiations had resolved virtually all outstanding issues relating to a proposed UN military and civilian operation to help keep order and organise elections during a run-up to independence.

The blueprint for independence — known as Resolution 435 — could be implemented immediately, he said, but South Africa's insistence on the withdrawal of Cuban troops made this impossible.

"This difficulty can only be dealt with in its own context by those directly concerned, acting within their sovereign rights, and by a determined effort by all concerned to reduce the tensions and contentious issues relating to Namibia," he said.

## Quiet search for peace in Namibia goes on

By Neil Lunsden, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — With the United Nations secretary-general's report on Namibia now before the Security Council, the effort to achieve independence for the territory seems likely to settle down to another period of what the Americans call "quiet negotiation".

Key participants in the process are the South Africans, the Angolans and US diplomats.

The Americans have undertaken the seemingly impossible task of trying to secure conditions that will make it possible for South Africa to withdraw from southern Angola and for Angola to send Cuban troops back to Havana.

Without this, say the Americans, peace in the region and a settlement of the Namibia question are not realistic propositions.

Although, as expected, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar's report to the Security Council did not address this key issue, his visit to Southern Africa is not seen in Washington as just another minor footnote in the tangled history of Namibia.

From the US perspective, it served the valuable purpose of demonstrating a willingness by the UN's top official to give all parties in the dispute, including the internal parties, a fair hearing — a demonstration that, it was hoped, might ease South African fears regarding UN impartiality in the matter.

In this respect, the visit seems to have been a success as nearly all issues relating to UN participation in the election process seem to have been resolved with South Africa — despite internal party scepticism.

He described a settlement in Namibia as the key to a "peaceful and co-operative" future for all the countries of Southern Africa.

"The instability and conflict generated by the failure to resolve this problem has had disastrous results for the neighbouring countries, and especially for Angola," he said.

"It is in nobody's interest to have this situation continue. It is both highly damaging to the peoples and governments of the area and also a threat to the overall peace.

"Another complicating factor is the injection of wider political and ideological issues into this already complex and highly-charged situation."

The Security Council is likely to discuss the report when heads of state and prime ministers gather here next month for the opening of the UN General Assembly.

But the linkage of the Cuban troops to the question has not been removed and the quiet negotiations are to start again.

Last Sunday, a team of Angolans returned to Luanda after several days of meetings with US diplomats in Washington. News of their presence was never made public and even some top officials in the Reagan administration said they were not aware of it.

The silence over their presence is an indication of the difficult and delicate state of the negotiations between Washington and Luanda.

The principle being applied by the Americans is reciprocity: for every concession made by the Angolans, the Americans will try to win a matching concession from the South Africans. It is understood that some progress

was made in the talks but it is difficult to assess in which area, given the demands by the Angolans that South African troops withdraw from Angola and that all aid to Unita ceases before consideration can be given to a Cuban withdrawal.

The process of persuasion will continue next month when Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe visits Washington.

Mr Mugabe has been highly critical of the US over the Cuban linkage issue and it will be no easy task to persuade him that withdrawal is a vital precondition for a Namibian settlement.

In the unlikely event of his being won over to this view, his support would be a major step forward in achieving a settlement of the Namibian question.



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Mercury  
5/9/83

## Angola faces new threat in the north

● With reports from Angola indicating that the forces of Unita are making determined efforts in the north of the country and the Luanda government stating that the overall situation is 'becoming more serious, resistance in the tiny oil-producing enclave of Cabinda is assuming greater significance.

BRAZZAVILLE: Cuba is holding reinforcements and military supplies which were to be used in the anti-guerrilla operations in the Cabinda enclave to the Congo Republic where about 2 000 Cuban troops are based.

Reliable sources in Brazzaville, reports Agence France Presse, state that the men and equipment were landed at Pointe Noire following renewed fighting between the Angolan and Cuban forces against the 'Front for the liberation of the Cabinda Enclave (FLEC).

The Cuban forces in the Congo are established in a camp a few miles from the Cabinda border from which they have been used in operations against the FLEC guerillas.

The Cabinda enclave is only about 10 000 km<sup>2</sup> and, although bordered by the Congo in the north and surrounded by Zaire, was claimed by Angola when the Portuguese withdrew in 1975.

### Little publicised

Since then FLEC, which was formed in 1963 to secure the independence of this small territory from Portugal, has waged a little publicised but often murderous campaign against the government in Luanda, about 400 km to the south.

FLEC claims to have 'liberated' two thirds of Cabinda and has the full support of the local people in the western part of the enclave with the result that Angola forces are restricted to coastal towns and the Cabinda capital, Tchiowa.

According to reports from Brazzaville activities by the FLEC guerillas have paralysed economic life in this tiny Angolan appendage except for operations by Gulf Oil, the American company engaged in off-shore oil production. The on-shore facilities of the company, owned jointly with the Angolan government, are specially guarded by Angolan and Cuban forces.

The present objectives of FLEC are to retake, from its forest bases in the east of the territory the whole of the enclave and for the past four months the guerillas have stepped up their hit-and-run tactics against Angolan positions and road convoys.

These operations have enabled FLEC to secure large stocks of army

and ammunition.

According to FLEC an increasing number of soldiers, conscripted by force into the Angolan army have deserted to them. Angolan forces in Cabinda are said to number more than 15 000 against the 7 000 men of FLEC.

In the 'liberated' zones FLEC claims to have established a political and administrative organization, with schools and hospitals and an agricultural programme aimed at both feeding the army and the local population and has also established a provisional government.

The president, Mr Heuriques Nzita, claims that Cabinda had received no outside aid since Zaire and other African countries recognised the government in Luanda.

### Libyan aid refused

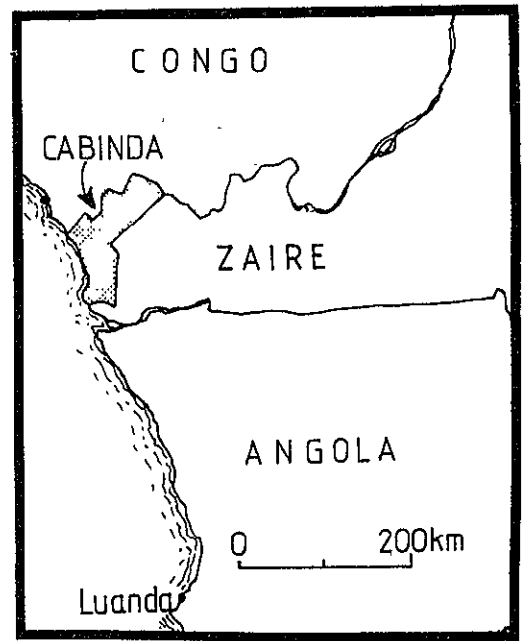
Some months ago Libya had offered active support to FLEC but this was met with a categorical refusal as the provisional government of Cabinda did not wish to ' estrange itself from the moderate states of Africa'.

FLEC claims autonomy and international recognition in the fight against Angola. Cabinda, it says, was formerly a Portuguese protectorate, similar to that of the archipelago of Sao Tomé and Príncipe, which has since become an independent state and member of the Organisation of African Unity.

Cabinda was 'attached' to Angola in 1956 for administrative purposes and, as a result, when Portugal handed over its authority to the 'peoples of Angola' and not any specific government the Cabinda enclave became part of the package deal.

Cabinda has no geographical borders with Angola. It is separated from Angola by a 30 km strip of Zaire territory and has little tribal affinity with the Angolan peoples.

Apart from oil from the off-shore Cabinda oilfields which provide a considerable proportion of Angola's export earnings, the enclave has important natural resources — manganese, phosphates and diamonds. Reason enough for the determination of the Dos Santos government in Luanda to maintain its hold over this tiny territory.



# Hard times for the poor people of 'rich' Angola

5  
Aug 7/9/87

LONDON — The economy of Angola is like a moral fairy tale in which a pauper inherits a fortune but can never enjoy it.

Angola is potentially one of the richest countries in Africa. It has oil, diamonds and other minerals. Parts of it are well-watered and fertile and it has rich fishing grounds.

But after eight years of independence it has a post-apocalypse air rather than the spirit of a rich nation liberated from the bonds of colonialism.

Luanda is by any standards a torpid and squalid slum where sewage leaks into the gutters and hundreds of shops and offices stand empty. Broken things lie in waste ground and many abandoned vehicles left to rot, perhaps for want of a simple spare part.

Chickens and goats browse in the backyards of high-rise blocks.

To speak of shortages implies there is a basic supply — but the Government shops are mostly bare and queues form at the slightest rumour of any commodity being rationed out.

Money is not much use. The official exchange rate is 32 kwanzas to the dollar but some people are prepared to pay up to 20 times that amount.

A Government company official told me that his employees no longer worked for money but for the occasional access to goods in the company shop. Workers then swapped these with goods available to other workers in other companies.

In the countryside, people who once exported food are now suffering from malnutrition and aid workers estimate that more than 600 000 people have been displaced by the war, many of them drifting to urban areas where they cannot support themselves. Infant mortality is estimated at about 200 per thousand.

There are few basic statistics on which to base an analysis of where things are going wrong but there seem to be three basic causes.

For the Government the war

Angola is potentially one of the richest nations in Africa. Yet, after eight years of independence, the country is still battling to get to grips with an economy that is hovering on the brink of collapse. Richard Dowden of The Times in London reports.



is the main culprit. Not only does Angola spend more than half its foreign exchange on defence but the whole economy is locked into the war through the emergency plan published last year.

Guerilla attacks have disrupted food supplies from the central highlands and many skilled technicians and administrators have had to work on defence matters rather than development.

The second factor is the absence of trained people. Half a million Portuguese fled at independence and only five percent of the remaining population is literate. Even minor decisions drift slowly upwards past clerical staff unqualified for their tasks and still using the baroque Portuguese bureaucracy.

The third factor is the inappropriately rigid and centralised form of socialism which, until now, has prevented people from doing things for themselves when the State structures failed.

However a new and pragmatic spirit is emerging in Luanda to cope with the economy.

In a recent interview, Mr Lopo do Nascimento, Minister of Planning, made it clear that while building socialism remained the fundamental aim with centralised control rigid in some areas, a new liberal regime was going to be tried in others.

Mr do Nascimento admitted that the peasants were neglected after the revolution.

# ANGOLA'S BUSH WAR

# Advantages for SA if Angolan war goes on

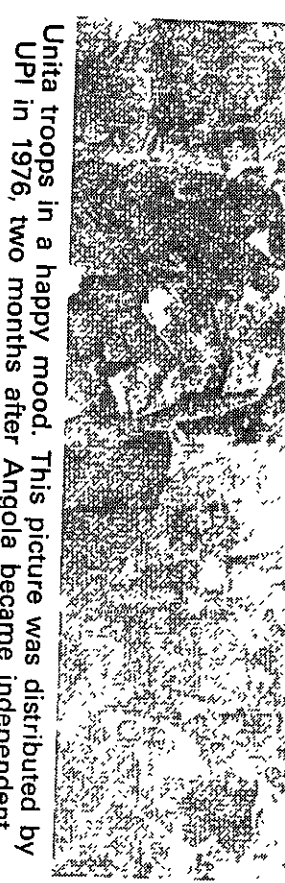
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AFTER eight years of non-stop and steadily escalating fighting, it is quite apparent that the MPLA government of President Eduardo dos Santos is incapable of neutralizing or destroying Unita's operations in most of Angola at this time. Given the facts of the matter, this is hardy surprising.

Fapla, the MPLA's military wing, is not particularly large. According to figures released by International Institute for Strategic Studies it has about 33 000 men, although this figure is reliably reported to be very conservative.



In addition, it is reliably reported that there is tension inside the MPLA between the blacks (who tend to be more nationalistic than Marxists) and the mestizo, or people of mixed national unity.



Unita troops in a happy mood. This picture was distributed by UPI in 1976, two months after Angola became independent.

At the moment Angola's MPLA government and its rebel Unita opponents can hurt but not kill each other — and in the meantime South Africa is benefiting from their struggle. This is Cape Times Defence Reporter WILLEM STEENKAMP'S conclusion in his second instalment on Angola's bush war.

Cuban garrison. After eight years of warfare the MPLA has just two clear choices: It can continue to fight, and risk being reduced to a rump government stubbornly clinging to the area around Luanda (particularly if there was a Cuban withdrawal); or it can negotiate a settlement with Unita.

There can be no doubt that something will have to be done soon. Unita is making ever greater inroads on official MPLA territory. Dr Savimbi is reliably estimated to have 35 000 well-trained men under arms, and he is paying increasing attention to dominating the northern areas which produce diamonds — which rank second only to oil as Angola's source of foreign capital.

Observers believe there is little doubt that the chartered C-130 civilian transport aircraft which disappeared a few days ago while flying diamonds to Luanda was shot down or captured by Unita fighters.

The very fact that a large transport aircraft was used to convey such low-bulk items as diamonds is an indication of how unsafe the roads have become.

Dr Savimbi's popular support outside his tribal power base is also said to be increasing, and I am told he has patched up his quarrels with the FNLA.

## The war's steady escalation is likely to continue for the time being.

And meanwhile Unita continues to drain the battered economy of any vitality it might acquire by forcing the Angolan government to spend large sums on military activities and equipment.

It is not generally realized that Russian arms "aid" is not aid at all, since the client countries have to pay in cash or kind for the cast-off equipment they receive; and the Angolans also pay for their

Undue delay could be fatal to the MPLA. Dr Savimbi's overtures have been rejected time and again by Luanda, and military observers believe he is coming to the conclusion that he might as well go for the main objective, namely control of Angola and not just the southern region.

He is not yet ready for a "big push" yet, however. At the same time the MPLA cannot wipe him out either, so for the time being the two sides can only fight one another to a standstill, barring a sudden internal collapse or an unexpected reinforcement from outside.

It should be made clear that whatever support outside his tribal power base is also said to be increasing, and I am told he has patched up his quarrels with the FNLA.

## Meanwhile Unita continues to drain the battered economy.

There is no doubt that from the South African point of view several benefits can be perceived if the conflict continues.

Dr Savimbi's movement is not hooked up to a life-support system. Therefore it does not cost much, and because

It should be made clear that whatever support outside his tribal power base is also said to be increasing, and I am told he has patched up his quarrels with the FNLA.

So the war's steady escalation is likely to continue for the time being (it is not generally known that so far this year Angola has had a higher incidence of armed clashes than any other country in Southern Africa).

It should be made clear that whatever support outside his tribal power base is also said to be increasing, and I am told he has patched up his quarrels with the FNLA.

## Half-strength

This means the Swapo infiltration of the SWA/Namibian operational area is running at half-strength, and is likely to do so for the foreseeable future.

In addition, Swapo insurgents moving southwards must contend not

Obviously such an arrangement would suit Pretoria, since the resullant southern Savimbi bastion would inhibit Swapo infiltration largely or totally.

There is little doubt that a Savimbian bastion in the south could be a terrible blow to Swapo, which is very dependent on its "safe" border. It is a fact that if the Portuguese had not collapsed in 1973 Swapo would have been caught in a hammer-and-anvil situation and neutralized long ago.

But is a *modus vivendi* between the two warring Angolan factions really a possibility?

According to a reliable source there are nearly 30 000 Cubans in Angola, but they tend to provide backup and leave most of the actual fighting to Fapla, although sometimes they do get involved, as was the case at Cangamba.

There is also a 500 000-strong paramilitary force or militia which cannot be regarded as being of any use except for such semi-skilled military activities as guard duties and the like.

With this relatively small force Fapla has to fight a widespread insurgency over large parts of a territory the size of South Africa, and in the face of severe economic troubles.

Small wonder, then, that it has forced the South West African People's Organization of Mr Sam Nujoma to lend it troops in return for providing Swapo with a sanctuary outside SWA/Namibia.

The MPLA's problems are also exacerbated by the fact that a complex ethnic situation makes it very difficult to achieve any sort of

Obviously such an arrangement would suit Pretoria, since the resullant southern Savimbi bastion would inhibit Swapo infiltration largely or totally.

# Complexity of interests hinders peace

8/9/83 C. Times



Dr Fidel Castro



Dr Savimbi

A NUMBER of obstacles lie in the path of an Angolan settlement, even if the parties concerned — the MPLA government and its Unita foes — came to the negotiating table by choice or through pressure of circumstances.

The Angolan civil war ceased to be a parochial affair in mid-1975, when outside troops and weapons began flowing to the various combatants, and this internationalization has escalated along with the war.

At the moment a breakdown of the outsiders with a direct finger in the pie would show the following:

● Russia has come to stay. Luanda is now a regular port of call for Russian warships, both those based there and those on passage to or from the Indian Ocean. Tupolev "Bear" long-range bombers regularly make reconnaissance flights down the west coast to the Cape of Good Hope and beyond.

Luanda is very well-sited for the establishment of a Russian presence in the South Atlantic, which is an absolute power vacuum for the West and a base from which the oil flow from the Persian Gulf can be disrupted if the need should arise.

● America has no military representation in Angola, but it has a

**An Angolan settlement is possible — but the internationalization of the struggle in SWA/Namibia's neighbour has strewn many thorns in the path that might lead to peace, says Cape Times Defence Reporter WILLEM STEENKAMP in the third and final instalment of his series on the Angolan bush war.**

growing economic interest, in the sense that its companies are drilling for oil off the Cabinda enclave's coastline.

Washington also has a close relationship with Angola's neighbour Zaire, which in turn has ethnic ties with two of the lesser resistance movements, Flec (the Cabinda liberation front) and the FNLA.

● Cuba has upwards of 20 000 troops stationed in Angola, which Dr Fidel Castro regards as the scene of one of his great military victories, although his men were decisively defeated in every battle they fought against the South Africans and their allies in the 1975/6 incursion.

● South Africa periodically attacks Swapo

bases in southern Angola — there has been at least one large over-the-border operation a year since 1978 — and is keenly interested in the area because it has such a definite effect on the counter-insurgency effort in SWA/Namibia.

Somehow, all these interests have to be reconciled if there is to be an end to the Angolan civil war, and this cannot be achieved by purely military means.

It seems clear that Russia would not countenance a genuine threat to its main interests — the military facilities, the minerals and so on — which happen to lie in the northern half of Angola.

The fact that Angola is both a full client state of Russia and allows Americans to pump out its oil means nothing. Since the Russians do not provide much in the way of economic aid, they do not mind if their clients make money out of the West — as long as there is no doubt about whose side the client concerned is on when the chips are down.

This being so, it is possible that the most that might be achieved would be a "non-aligned" Angola which would be run by the MPLA, with an autonomous region in the south run by Dr Savimbi, both parties

swearing allegiance (for what it would be worth) to a common flag and anthem.

In such a case, one of two things might happen:

● Dr Savimbi could agree not to hamper Swapo insurgents heading southwards towards SWA/Namibia, although this is unlikely.

People tend to forget that before the great political divide in late 1975, there were close links between Unita and Swapo, both of which draw their recruits from the same ethnic base, a tribal group which lives on both sides of the wholly artificial SWA/Namibian border.

It was only in 1975 that Swapo switched loyalties to the MPLA, since it needed to be on good terms with the Angolan winner in order to secure its over-the-border sanctuary. But it has always been an unnatural relationship and, according to at least one good source, there is constant friction between the Swapo high command and the MPLA government.

From Pretoria's point of view this would be a less than ideal solution, but at least the 29 000 or so Cubans would no longer be in Angola to furnish a constant threat to SWA/Namibia — and the threat of "external" military action could be applied.

However, eight years of warfare have probably resulted in a permanent alienation between Unita and Swapo.

● Dr Savimbi would be left largely to his own devices after giving various undertakings. He would retain his own armed forces, although nominally they would be part of Fapla, and with regard to Swapo or any other matter, would conduct his affairs as he saw fit.

In such an event it is likely Pretoria — backed by the United States — would do as much as possible to make Dr Savimbi's autonomous region a prosperous mini-state, if only to deliver an object lesson on the horrors of Marxism versus the benefits of free enterprise.

This would be achieved by encouraging American and South African investment in the region — the *quid pro quo* being a crack-down (official or unofficial) on Swapo movement southwards.

However, there is always the possibility that Dr Savimbi, encouraged by his military successes and evidence of non-tribal popular support, will decide to go for the third alternative: Control of Angola.

Observers point out that if Unita's strength and area of operations

continue to increase, an MPLA defeat is at least theoretically possible, even if the Cubans do not leave first.

It is also accepted that a defeat for the MPLA would be disastrous. Unlike most other African countries, it cannot return to the bush to take up its old guerrilla activities again.

Its western border is the coast, its northern border brings it up against Zaire — a traditional FNLA ally — and its southern border is with SWA/Namibia. In the east Zambia, too, would be reluctant to play host.

If Dr Savimbi decided to go for Luanda, the conflict is likely to enter a new and more dangerous phase.

While it is just conceivable that the Russians might agree to some suitably safeguarded form of federal or confederal agreement which would result in a partly autonomous south under Savimbi, anything more ambitious might result in the "Afghanization" of Angola — unless, of course, a suitable *modus vivendi* with the Savimbi regime could be reached.

The Russian foreign policy line would not require an undue wrench to make it fit, if one remembers Moscow's smart about-face when it abandoned Somalia in favour of Ethiopia.

It is just possible such a switch might look attractive to Russia, which is now dealing with insurgency situations in several of its possessions and spheres of influence.

On the other hand, Russia does not believe in Muhammed Ali's maxim about floating like a butterfly and

stinging like a has always preyed the sledge-hammer the Hungarians, East Germans, Czechs and others can testify.

# 'Cubans the only hurdle for SWA'

LISBON. — The United States' top diplomatic negotiator on Southern African affairs yesterday reiterated that withdrawal of Cuban troops stationed in Angola remained the single hurdle to independence for South West Africa.

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, told a selected group of reporters before ending a three-day visit to Portugal that a pull-out by the estimated 25 000 Cubans in Angola would remove lingering doubts in Pretoria and pave the way for South African withdrawal from the territory.

Dr Crocker began by noting "very rapid progress" on final differences over a UN-supervised independence process for SWA during the recent visit by the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, to South Africa.

The Secretary-General's talks with South African leaders, Dr Crocker asserted, left only the Cuban question still to be resolved.

"We believe the Cuban issue is the key at this point, since the Namibian issues have now been solved," he said.

More lenient Angolan conditions for a Cuban withdrawal, unveiled by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos during Dr Perez de Cuellar's visit last month, have edged negotiations further along, Dr Crocker said.

The new Angolan position, which indicates a willingness to send home the Cubans before an actual South African pull-out from SWA, "indicates in a certain sense the Angolan Government wishes to see an agreement," Dr Crocker said.

Noting the South African Government would feel "unable" to implement independence timetables until the Cubans left Angola, Dr Crocker pointed to what he described as "the need for a certain amount of reciprocity here".

"Ideally," he added, "South African forces would leave Angola and Namibia while the Cubans leave Angola."

The Angolan Government, which is also engaged in a bush war against the rebel Unita movement led by Dr Jonas Savimbi, has repeatedly said the Cuban troop presence was a matter of internal affairs, subject only to decisions taken jointly by Luanda and Havana.

Mr Dos Santos' revised conditions presented to Dr Perez de Cuellar, however, were worded to allow a Cuban withdrawal without a completed South African pull-out from SWA.

Asked of the US position on Unita's campaign against Mr Dos Santos' government, Dr Crocker said Washington was taking part in negotiations with other states — and "not with non-governmental groups like the rebels".

Rebel questions in Angola represent "highly sensitive issues of Angolan sovereignty," he said, adding that internal differences remained "a question for the Angolans themselves".

— Sapa-AP.

IN May 1976 international interest in Angola had drained away after what seemed to be absolute victory for Cuba and its MPLA client in the 1975-76 civil war.

Angola's fate was sealed. International concern shifted to Namibia.

No one bothered to pick up a statement which emerged at that time from the Angolan bush.

Nearly 1 000 members of one of the defeated Angolan movements, Unita, had regrouped and vowed to fight on until elections, agreed for Angola's independence but aborted by a combination of civil war and Portuguese colonial responsibility, were finally held.

The Cuanza River manifested to said: "There will be no peace in Angola, no economic development, no railroad traffic, no working harbours while the Luanda regime hangs on to power thanks to Cuban soldiers and Russian armoured and fighter planes. "We know that we will triumph. Those that doubt our possibilities are those that never believe in men's creative capacity when inspired by noble and just collective ends."

"Those that have the people are never small, even faced with the giant imperialist Russian invaders. With the people you always win. Against the people you always lose."

For ardent Westerners that is inflated language. But, seven years on from the Cuanza manifesto, Unita is beginning to win.

Its soldiers are wriggling like eels northwards through Angola between the biggest towns, picking off major MPLA garrisons and countless small posts, blowing up railways, road convoys and dams, and making hostages of foreign contract workers.

# Cubans facing crisis as Unita soldiers continue to advance

**By FRED BRIDGLAND**  
who covered the Angolan civil war from the Unita side from 1975-76 and is author of a biography of Dr Jonas Savimbi

Unita Unita within easy striking distance of Dondo, on the Cuanza River, the last major obstacle on the road to Luanda.

The Cubans and the MPLA can be expected to defend the Dondo crossing point ferociously. If they should capitulate there within the next few months it would be a sure sign that morale in Luanda is at rock bottom.

Other significant gains are Boocelo, which puts Unita within 100km of the Atlantic

The fall of a series of small posts in the north-east province of Luanda is also important, because Unita is making a concerted thrust into the diamond-mining areas of that region.

The current push has to be measured against a whole series of other Unita victories this year. The fall of the garrison of Cangamba in mid-August to Unita marked a kind of Dien Bien Phu for the MPLA.

Cangamba, 500km deep inland Angola from the Namibian border, was the site of a last stand made by 3 000 government troops in a vast swathe of territory about the size of Britain securely held by Unita.

All the MPLA's overland routes to Cangamba had been severed and the garrison was being supplied by air.

Two things are important to realise about Cangamba. First, Unita attacked with three brigades (2 000 men to a brigade).

The brigades have appeared only late this year and mark the emergence of a regular Unita army which will soon be capable of laying siege to the major cities.

## Severed

Secondly, the 8 000 men who besieged Cangamba have now been freed to move on to other objectives along the Benguela railway and to the north of it.

The first time a Unita brigade was used was to capture the town of Munsende, 240km north of Huambo, on July 5 this year. Unita still holds Munsende.

There is plenty of other evidence of spectacular Unita successes this year.

The destruction of Angola's second-biggest dam, the Lomum, which fed electricity to the country's main industrial complexes at Lobito, Benguela and Humambo.

The destruction of two major road and rail bridges over the Girau River in the desert near the southern port of Moçamedes.

The sacking of a major industrial complex in the most densely populated part of the country between Lobito and Huambo, and the taking from there of 64 Czechoslovak and 20 Portuguese hostages.

The capture of Gago Coutinho, which gives Unita control of more than 60km of the border with Zambia, and has as many interesting implications as the arrival of Unita troops at the Zaire border in the north.

The raiding of a political prison at Tati, 1 200km north of Angola's border with Namibia, and the release of 300 prisoners, including Brazilians and Portuguese.

## ERRORS

The second error was to assume that there would be no serious internal resistance in Angola to the MPLA's absolute takeover of the country.

That proved wrong.

Unita fought back against apparently overwhelming odds and is now beginning to win the war. It is a turn of events that poses an acute problem for the Angolan government's Soviet and Cuban allies.

Soon Moscow and Havana will have to decide between

## Spectacular

We are about to find out what happens when a Soviet-Cuban expeditionary force in the post-Western colonial era gets into serious trouble.

Unita is making spectacular gains. Important evidence will soon emerge that Unita troops have pushed a corridor all the way northwards through central Angola from the Namibian border in the south to where a salient of Zaire juts into the country in the north.

Men and materials are possibly already coming across the border from Zaire to reinforce Unita offensives.

Recently French television crews returned to Paris with film of a spectacular battle in central Angola in which more than 200 government troops were killed in the successful Unita assault on the major Benguela railway garrison of Munhango. The hour-long documentary will be screened in France this month.

French interest in Unita's progress is not too surprising. French army instructors have trained Unita's officers in Morocco and Angola, while at the same time French diplomats wooed the MPLA with Gallic sweet talk.

The latest Unita successes announced last week demonstrate how desperate the situation has become for the MPLA.

Perhaps the most significant recent gain is the capture of the town of Calulo, within 160km of Luanda. It

of political supplies and is being



and the safety of the security establishment —

As a result, when they recommend policy, the Cabinet is unlikely to deny them.

**Heroes of Warsaw sorties honoured**

By SARAH SUSSENS THE SOUTH AFRICAN army men who died in...

**Referendum rules**

THE draft rules for the November referendum have sparked a

# Crisis as Unita move to advance

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● The raiding of a political prison at Tati, 1200km north of Angola's border with Namibia, and the release of 300 prisoners, including Brazilians and Portuguese.

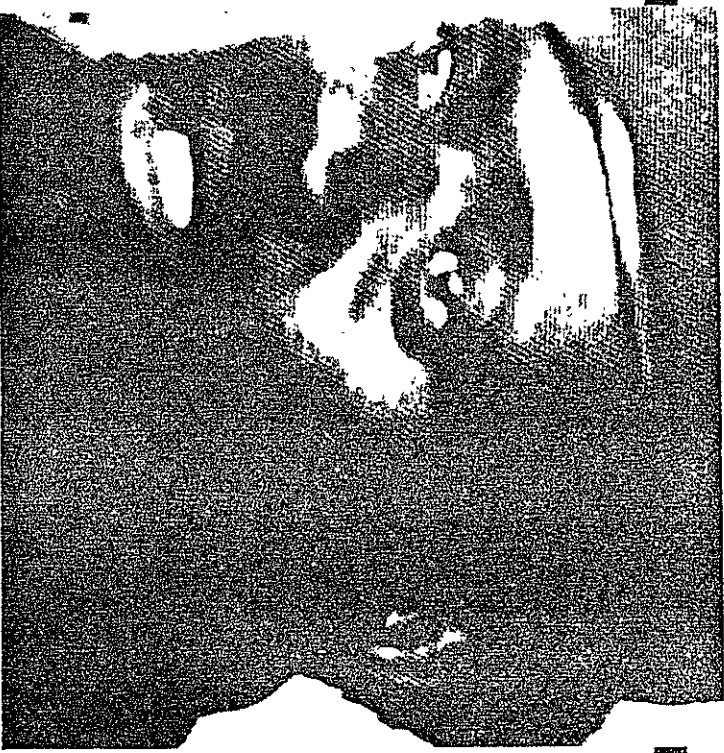
Angola has been the cause of two monumental errors of diplomatic judgment by the West, which assumed that a Namibian settlement would follow naturally from the 1976 Cuban/MPLA "victory".

The first was to assume that the South Africans would behave like boy scouts, and that they would not attempt to exploit the inconsistency between Western and Soviet calls for elections in Namibia and the withdrawal of foreign troops, and Western and Soviet acceptance in Angola of aborted elections and the non-withdrawal of foreign troops.

## Errors

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Dr Savimbi... his soldiers are wriggling like eels through Angola

advising its MPLA client to sue for peace or sending in more Cuban or Eastern-bloc troops in an attempt to stem Unita's advances. The latter would be a tremendous gamble. It would

provoke a severe South African reaction and also the anger of a US government that has demanded the withdrawal of the 20 000 or more Cuban troops from Angola as the price for Washington's help in

securing a South African withdrawal from Namibia. With every day that passes Angola looks more like the Soviet empire's Vietnam. The implications for Africa are profound.

# pundit attacks role in politics

mental co-ordination the norm rather than the exception.

"The managerial revolution has arrived in Pretoria and the vanguard of that revolution has been Mr Botha

that the State Security Council (SSC) is composed of political heavyweights supplemented by the highest-ranking political and governmental experts in security and strategy.

**Heroes of  
Warsaw  
sorties  
honoured**

WARSAW 11/9/83

# Referendum rules rumpus

"It is, therefore, unfair to say 'test



S. Times  
5/11/83

# Unita forces on the march give MPLA jitters

By BRIAN POTTINGER, NEIL HOOPER, TONY WEAVER and KEN POTTINGER  
ANGOLA'S Marxist MPLA Government is in a "desperate" situation after a series of spectacular advances by pro-Western guerrillas of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

A guerrilla offensive, which started in mid-August, has brought Unita forces to within 160km of Luanda and within sight of several other important towns.

Fred Bridgland, the British correspondent regarded as the leading authority on the Unita campaign, says in a special despatch to the Sunday Times that the guerrillas have pushed a corridor all the way northwards through central Angola from the SWA/Namibian border to where a salient of Zaire juts into the country in the north.

"Men and materials are possibly already coming across the border from Zaire to reinforce Unita's offensive," he writes. (Bridgland's full report appears on Page 2).

He believes that "Unita is now beginning to win the war" and that "with every day that passes Angola looks more like the Soviet empire's Vietnam".

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## Tensions

In Lisbon Portuguese sources who closely monitor developments in Angola say that tensions within the MPLA Government, induced by the Unita campaign, are now beginning to tell.

There is widespread speculation that Mr Paulo Jorge, hardline pro-Soviet MPLA Foreign Minister, has resigned, facing President Eduardo dos Santos with a major crisis.

The interpretation placed on this is that the lobby within the MPLA which favours some sort of accommodation with Unita has gained the ascendancy, and that Mr Jorge has resigned because of it.

While many in the West would welcome the mounting discomfort of the MPLA, and the success of Unita, there will also be those who counsel caution.

For just as Unita advances could lead to an accommodation between MPLA moderates and Dr Savimbi, so could they have a counter-effect.

Angola has a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation with the Soviet Union, and if, at any stage, the MPLA Government really is threatened, it seems likely that the Kremlin will step in to an even greater extent.

Certainly, any advance of the Unita campaign into northern Angola will be viewed with deep concern by the MPLA's Soviet and Cuban backers.

As it is there are reports that Unita has established new alliances in the north with other, smaller guerrilla movements, among them Flec, which wants independence for the oil-rich Cabinda enclave.

## Caution

Any move into northern Angola by Unita would mean that the guerrillas would be in a position to put a stranglehold on the rich oil and diamond industries.

There will, however, be caution in informed quarters about expecting too much from Unita.

Options now being openly punted include some form of central coalition government based in Luanda or — in what is being informally referred to as the "Katanga option" — a separate Unita-controlled southeastern territory enjoying confederal links with Luanda.

# Man behind Nat drive

By DAVID FORRET

A FORMER election candidate for the Progressive Federal Party is the man behind the National Party's controversial advertising campaign to sell the constitutional proposals.

He is Mr Derek Carstens, who was the unsuccessful PFP provincial candidate for Westdene in the 1977 general election.

But, when the irony of his position was revealed this week, he offered no apology to PFP party bosses on his prominent role in the campaign for a "Yes" vote.

Mr Carstens, managing director of the advertising agency that has been retained by the National Party to market the Prime Minister's constitutional proposals, said the contract was a purely business arrangement.

## Opposed

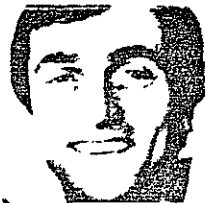
His firm — Klerck, Marais and Potgieter, Compton (KMP Compton) — has declined to reveal the value of the National Party contract, although political sources have placed it as high as R2-million.

"My personal views have absolutely nothing to do with this contract," said Mr Carstens.

But he is, in any case, opposed to the PFP's decision to campaign for a "No" vote in the referendum on November 2.

"I still sympathise to a large extent with the PFP cause, but I feel they have made a terrible mistake on this issue," said Mr Carstens.

Rejecting any suggestion that his current involvement with the National Party advertising campaign might represent a betrayal of his



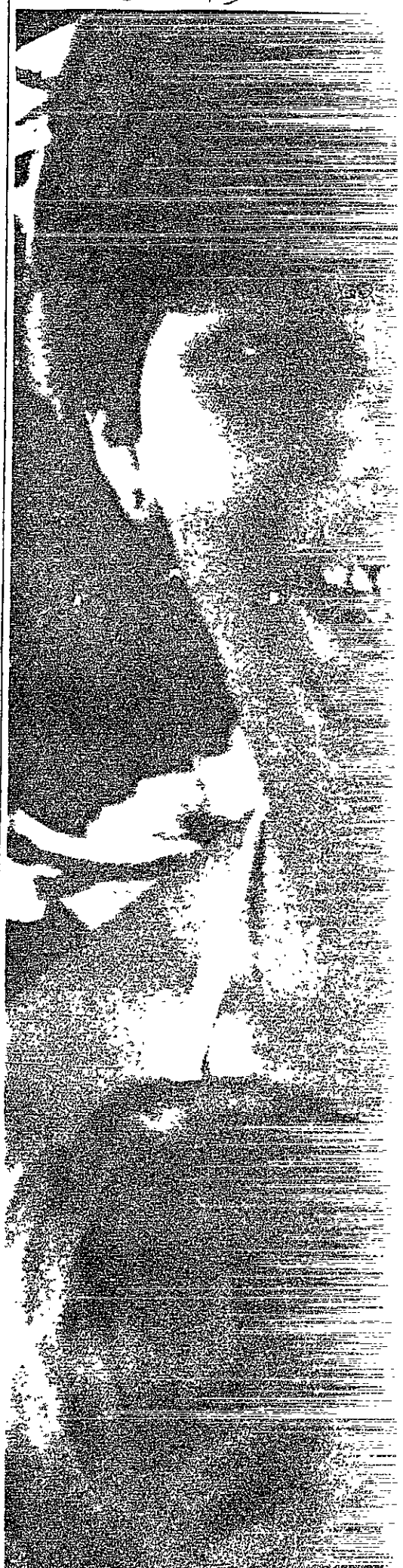
MR DEREK CARSTENS  
A business arrangement

political beliefs, Mr Carstens said that a number of his PFP friends had said they would vote in favour of the new constitutional dispensation.

"It's a practical step forward... that's what it's all about. This issue is above party politics.

"The consequences of a 'no' vote could be disastrous because the Conservative Party will get all the political mileage out of it, not the PFP. The dangers are obvious and

Unita  
to horror



18/9/83 5 Times

5

UNITA's stepped-up offensive against Angola's MPLA regime is "spreading panic" within the Luanda Government.

And the lot of the country's people has further deteriorated with drastic food shortages, economic paralysis, interminable food queues — and corruption.

This is the picture of life in Angola that emerged this week from major reports in two top Portuguese newspapers who have had correspondents in the country.

Both reports are being read with considerable interest, for they appear in highly-respected publications that have a record of sympathising with the regimes established after Lisbon pulled out of Africa.

The one — a five-page report — appears in *Expresso*, a newspaper founded by former Prime Minister Francisco Pinto Balsemão. The other appears in the equally influential *Tempo*.

Portuguese correspondents clearly have an advantage over most others in that they speak the language — and most of them knew Angola when it was ruled by Portugal. *Expresso's* in-depth look at Angola is a devastating indictment. It says life for ordinary Angolans is a fight for survival.

With Angola ravaged by civil war, food production in the country that at one time looked likely to become the granary of Africa, is at an all-time low.

All basic foodstuffs are rationed and in extremely short supply.

Shops are to be seen with empty shelves and with sleeping employees who have nothing to do. Occasionally a few kilos of sugar or rice

# Life in Marxist Angola is like living in chaotic hell

By KEN POTTINGER  
Lisbon

are delivered and within seconds huge queues form.

So desperate are people to get food that fights often break out, occasionally leaving people dead, *Expresso* reports.

Faced with the difficulties of getting basic foodstuffs — quite apart from such relative "luxuries" as soap — Angola resorts to what is commonly known as "scheming".

This involves job planning by a family in such a way as to ensure some sort of regular food supply.

In sharp contrast to the plight of the masses, members of the Marxist hierarchy have been accorded privileges that afford them considerable luxury.

*Expresso* explains that while party officials are not that well paid (they earn eight times the average), they get many perks.

These include special shops, where they have unlimited supply of most goods — all at the low official price.

Their salary includes a paid entourage of servants that comprises a bodyguard, a driver, a cook, a washerwoman, a gardener and a butler.

The *Expresso* correspondent says that corruption abounds at all levels.

*Expresso* alleges that Ministers have imported illegally such things as spare parts for their private cars and charged them to their ministerial accounts.

In his most serious allegation the *Expresso* correspondent states that milk powder given as aid by the EEC and the US has been turned into liquid milk and sold to privileged state employees.

Such aid is given on the specific condition that it is not to be sold.

Many Angolans fall victim to the desperate poverty. Children are the first to suffer. Infant mortality is 20 percent, the highest in Africa.

Lack of proper food compounded by infected water supplies has taken its toll among the young.

Young girls have turned to prostitution, often selling themselves to officials in return for food or cigarettes.

In Luanda venereal diseases have reached near epidemic proportions with new strains appearing that are resistant to the strongest of antibiotics.



Dr Jonas Savimbi's pro-Western Unita is giving the MPLA regime nightmares

Psychological disturbances abound as more and more people fall prey to the pressures of living in a society dominated by hunger, queues, persecutions, arbitrary arrest, and "systematic disappearances".

*Expresso* says that all these factors have made life in Angola "like living in hell".

Cities in Angola are in total chaos. Trains do not work properly, tap water has no pressure, electricity supplies are faulty, the streets are piled high with trash.

There are no public gardens in the whole of

Luanda. The problem of urban decay has been made worse by a massive migration. Since 1970 the percentage of urban population has increased dramatically from 15 to 23 percent. If the increase continues at this rate, it will be 50 percent by the year 2000.

The civil war has left the countryside ravaged. The government has lost effective control of two thirds of the country and the only safe way to travel is by air.

Agriculture has come to a complete halt in many areas. The *Expresso* correspondent described how he drove 240km from Huambo to Bie in the centre of the country. In this green and highly fertile area, farming had come to a complete halt.

In the villages the people sat starving. The skeletal children begged for something to eat.

Disastrous economic mismanagement has meant that few of the previously profitable industries are still operating at full capacity.

The only real source of income that remains is the oil in the northern province of Zaire and in the enclave of Cabinda.

Extraction of the oil is in the hands of large oil companies and installations are guarded by Cuban troops.

According to "Tempo", the Unita offensive is spreading panic far and wide within the regime of President Eduardo dos Santos. The paper, citing Angolan diplomatic sources, claims that a "significant political shift" is about to take place in the former Portuguese colony — possibly aimed at reaching an accommodation with Unita.

## IN THE NEWS

***Our correspondent, a veteran Africa-based journalist, spent six days with the Unita guerrillas at Jamba base, Angola, and witnessed training of Savimbi's tough peasant army which marches with second-hand armaments and equipment captured from the Marxist-backed MPLA Government in Luanda***



⑤  
S. Times Magazine  
18/9/83

ly Sa da Bandeira) supervises the reconditioning of the equipment from cannibalised parts. A team of soldiers was replacing the rotted stocks of rusty AK 47 automatics with hand-carved pieces of local "girasonte" wood.

Where no weapons were available to fit the shells seized from the MPLA, the major explained, they were made on captured lathes and precision-grinding machines. To return captured 57-mm shells to the enemy, he has begun a production line of a two-barrel anti-tank weapon that carries its own unique African style — the handles of the traverse and elevation wheels are pure ivory. Savimbi country is also elephant country.

At the crude bush hospital at Jamba, a young boy who was savaged by a lion lies on a grass bed in the dark, grass-but ward where wounded Unita soldiers are receiving treatment. The grey, greasy water used to wash their wounds is painstakingly drawn up in a tin from a hole in the marshy ground near the camp. There is no detergent or disinfectant and the threadbare bandages and dressings are also recycled.

In the "operating theatre" a 62-year-old former medical clerk to a Canadian doctor who was in Angola during the Portuguese colonial days, is performing an appendectomy on a young girl who is kept unconscious with pentathol injected through a very blunt syringe. During the operation, the "surgeon" identifies an ovarian cyst and removes that, too.

**A** smart, young captain who carries a clipboard under his arm identifies himself as Eugene Kakunda, a graduate in chemical engineering from Syracuse University. Kakunda, one of several Angolan students granted bursaries for overseas studies during the coalition government of 1975, said: "There was never any doubt that I would return to help Unita. These are my people and Jonas Savimbi is my leader."

A golden dawn breaks across the trees and on the parade ground at Jamba fine white dust rises as the Unita flag is raised and a ragged bugle-and-drums band plays a general salute. Unita's flag has three horizontal bands of red, green and red, with a black cockerel crowing on the green. The green represents the land, the first red band Unita blood shed against the Portuguese colonial rulers, the second the blood shed against the MPLA Government.

Artillery practice goes on throughout the day, through the choking dust and under a searing sun, the men smartly assembling and preparing mortars, anti-aircraft guns and cannon. The final ir-

**THE** sand is grey and thick and goes on forever in this place the Portuguese called "The Land at the End of the Earth".

Across the track, someone has slung a grubby banner that proclaims: "Welcome to Angola". This is Jonas Savimbi's (leader of the rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) country, where the heat and the flies and the ruthless monotony of the African bush are part of his defences.

Jamba is a main camp of bamboo, brushwood and hard, teak-like timber, a natural camouflage spread over some 40sq km. It contains a parade ground that doubles as a soccer field, quarters for a battalion of troops under training and another of new, untrained recruits, an operations room with a Soviet-made internal telephone exchange captured in a Unita attack on an MPLA base in 1981, a workshop where captured arms and equipment are reconditioned and put back into action, and a hospital with a crude operating theatre where the most frequent surgery is on Unita troops suffering hernias from their gruelling treks for kilometres on end through the cloying sand, laden with weapons and packs.

The camp also has a prison without bars for captured MPLA soldiers. "No-one escapes from here," said the Unita officer-in-charge, gesturing at the endless bush around him. "They don't even know where they are. If they do escape, where is there to go?"

The turning point in Unita's military confrontation with the MPLA was probably the first really conventional attack, in September 1980, by four battalions — about 2 500 men — on an MPLA base at Mavinga, about 160km north-west of Jamba and the nearest the government

forces have ever assembled in any strength on the fringe of Unita country. According to the Unita version, the MPLA forces were scattered and largely destroyed, but the bonus for the rebels was in the massive haul of captured arms, ammunition, trucks and other military equipment.

An Antonov (Soviet) cargo plane, capable of carrying tanks, was shot down during the fighting and the Soviet pilot and mechanic joined Unita's "prisoners of war". An MPLA helicopter was also shot down and the pilot, a Soviet-trained Angolan, was taken prisoner.

Lieutenant-Colonel Juan Bok, 27, a pint-sized Unita veteran who had his left hand blown off during guerrilla operations in 1976, is sometimes referred to jokingly (but respectfully) as Savimbi's right-hand man.

He said: "Mavinga proved to us that we could function as a conventional army. The MPLA tried twice to retake the town and both times we beat them with their own artillery. They then retreated 80km west to Cuito Canavale. And that's where they have stayed."

**T**he significance of Cuito Canavale is that this is where the tarred road ends and the sand tracks of Savimbi's Angola begin. "The moment they leave the tar, they stretch their 'log' lines," said Bok. "Then we come in and disintegrate them, and that's the end of that."

Trucks, field guns, mortars and other weapons are hauled back to the Jamba workshop where a Unita major, a former motor mechanic from Lubango (former-

## IN THE NEWS



ing practice is a boisterous affair, with the men shouting "boom boom" and banging the tops of ammunition boxes to simulate the noise of detonation. Ammunition is too scarce to use on practice, explains Lieutenant-Colonel Bok. But, he adds, "At the next contact with the MPLA, they will all be going 'boom boom' for real."

The interview with Jonas Savimbi comes after a long walk in the moonlight along twisting sand tracks, with stops at several checkpoints manned by Savimbi's personal guards who wear long, dark overcoats and balaclava helmets against the night cold. They remind one of Darth Vader and his men as they stalk about in the silence of the night.

Savimbi, 48, who read political science at Lausanne University in Switzerland, is seated in the only hut receiving electric light from a portable generator. Dressed in a plain green uniform and beret and highly polished stout leather boots, he is fit and relaxed.

**H**e wears a stainless steel bracelet on one wrist. And around his waist is a leather belt with a holster that holds a Luger Security Six .357 magnum revolver with a gleaming steel butt and a German-made bowie-style hunting knife which he says was a present from a friend in the United States.

Picking the bones . . . guerrillas survey the wreckage of a plane

Pride and discipline . . . troops parade in the torrid heat of noon



Points from the interview:

- "In the US, people listened to us and many tried to understand the motivation of our struggle. I got a positive response too, in some African countries. So I am still very hopeful that the message we have been putting in the minds of people is growing, with the result that I hope one day sooner or later it will result in material support to our movement.

- "Without any sacrifice, the Russians, through the Cubans, have scored a point in Angola on the South Atlantic

***"One day the other African states will realise that we have to live together with South Africa — we cannot run away from each other"***

— Jonas Savimbi

coast. I don't think they would give it up willingly unless they are forced to.

- "If the Luanda government wants to talk the withdrawal of the Cubans, we are prepared to talk with them. If they want to talk our surrender, then there is no talking to be done.

- "If the MPLA is prepared to have elections for a free government, then that is grounds for us to talk to them. If they discard the idea of elections, we don't have any grounds for solving the problem in Angola.

- "If there is somebody who would like to give us more material aid it would be welcome. But at this stage we have the minimum to carry on our struggle.

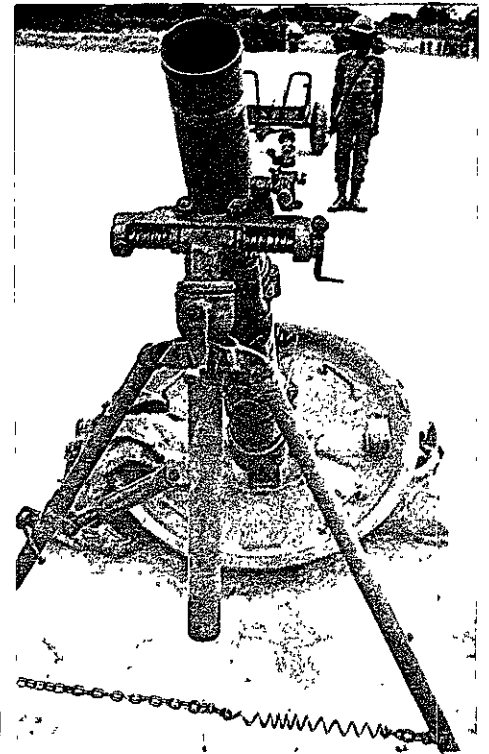
- "We are not destabilising the region for the South Africans. The Russians and the Cubans are destabilising our country. I have my differences with the South African policy. But, geographically, we have to live in the same area. This is why I think I am ahead of other African states which will realise one day that they need to live with South Africa. We cannot run away from each other. We have to live together in this area.

- "We have two conflicts in this area. One is the Cubans and the MPLA against Unita. The other one is South Africa against Swapo. One can influence the other one, yes, but they are different conflicts. We and the South Africans don't get together to fight Swapo and the Cubans, but if they are in the same territory in that struggle, we support each other. So long as those two wars continue, the Luanda regime will one day realise that they cannot escape South Africa attacking Angola as long as they give sanctuary to Swapo.

"They will also have to realise that so long as they have almost 30 000 Cubans in Angola, South Africa will be reluctant to negotiate fully in Namibia because they know that the Cubans are sitting just north of their own border. People have to realise we are fighting a war of survival. If the Cubans get to Namibia, it



Weapons are a crude <sup>5</sup> assemblage of odd parts — but they work



will only be a matter of time before they are in South Africa.

“That’s why I feel the Reagan administration is being realistic. One cannot just tell South Africa to get out of Namibia because the Cubans will withdraw from Angola. The Cubans will not withdraw. They will be there because the Russians want them to be there.

● “We control part of the Namibia-Angola border and MPLA control the lesser part of that border. So, if the United Nations want to deploy forces on both sides of that border, they will have to talk to us. It is a moderate demand. We are simply saying: ‘You will have to talk to us. When you want to meet us, we will be at your disposal’.

● “We capture most of our guns from the MPLA, but we also have a few friends, even in African countries, who are supplying us with guns free.

“We get money from some African countries and some Arab countries. Also, we sell our own diamonds, ivory and timber through Namibia, through Zam-

bia, even through Zaire, to pay for some of our expenses.

● “The most important single purpose of our operations is to keep the Benguela Railway closed. We have destroyed almost all the bridges along the line. It is paralysed.

“With the experience we have, we could carry on this war forever. We can carry on this struggle until we win. Ours is a struggle of the peasants, the people of the bush. We know the peasants well, because we are a part of them. The MPLA come from the towns. They have a problem mixing and communicating with the peasants, because they are of different character altogether.

“In March, an MPLA official came to speak to the people, and spoke in Portuguese for an hour-and-a-half. No-one understands Portuguese. So they didn’t understand anything from that person. We speak in their language. We know them all. I speak five local dialects.

“It is a curious war, indeed. A unique war. But we intend to win it.” ●

**A**  
Dedication is all very well, but an army marches on its stomach

**Pictures:**  
**CLOETE BREYTENBACH**

(3 General)  
R600m  
RDM  
aid for  
19/9/83  
farmers

Mail Correspondent

DURBAN. — The State Treasury, which normally pumps about R30-million annually into agriculture, will spend R600-million this year to keep drought-stricken farmers on their land, according to the Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood.

Speaking at the Natal Nationalist Party Congress on Saturday, Mr Horwood said the Land Bank had also "made a superhuman effort". Already its aid to counter the crippling effects of the drought had topped R1,000-million.

The government was finding it very difficult not to increase taxes but would do its best to cope until the rains came.

The introduction of a general sales tax had proved a wise move. While GST in other countries ranged from 15% to 18% the South African sales tax looked set to stay at 6% for many years.

Had it not been for the drought and the international monetary recession, South Africa would have been better off than almost any other country.

'Yes' vote  
'likely to  
hinder  
Buthelezi

Political Staff  
CAPE TOWN — The leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, today warned that a "yes" vote in the referendum could pull the carpet from under the feet of Chief Gatscha Buthelezi — one of the last moderate, but influential black leaders in the country.

Dr Slabbert gave the warning after meeting the kwaZulu Chief Minister at Ulundi yesterday to discuss strategies to send the National Party back to the constitutional drawing boards.

Dr Slabbert said: "It is a source of deep frustration to me personally that white voters do not realise to what extent a 'yes' vote is going to pull the carpet out from under his feet.

"The signs are there that black leadership is becoming radicalised — which will result in confrontational politics."

Dr Slabbert said he had been deeply impressed by Chief Buthelezi's "very real concern about the dangers of racial conflict that a successful 'yes' vote could bring about."

The meeting would result in the PFP and Inkatha remaining in "close contact with the objective of informing the public of the failings of the constitution."

Dr Slabbert said there was no formal alliance, but a loose one which could result in some joint action being taken.

See Page 4, World section.

# Warning as Unita closes in on Luanda

LONDON — Foreign diplomats in Luanda have been warned not to travel more than 50 km from the capital because their lives might be in danger from Unita guerillas.

This was confirmed in Bonn today by the West German Foreign Ministry — the first authentic word of the seriousness of the situation around Luanda since both sides in the Angola civil war launched what appeared to be a new round of contradictory propaganda three weeks ago.

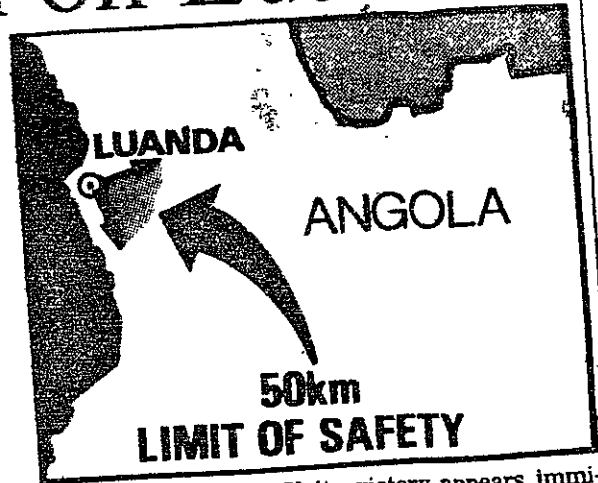
Bonn said the Angolan Government had not prohibited diplomats from travelling. But they had been warned that anyone travelling more than 50 km from the city to the south or east could "encounter certain dangers".

The Bonn confirmation lent credence to an unattributed report in yesterday's issue of the American magazine Newsweek.

The magazine said heavily armed Cuban and Angolan troops had set up defensive roadblocks around the city and tanks and artillery were guarding strategic buildings.

It said hundreds of Cuban, East German and Soviet technicians, evacuated with their families from outlying towns, were adding to the siege mentality in the capital.

The Bonn report has raised new fears that Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement is doing so well in the bush war that it will push for total victory, rather than a tactical victory followed by a negotiated settlement with the Dos Santos Government.



If a total Unita victory appears imminent, diplomats fear the Russian and Cuban response could raise the conflict to far graver levels.

Among the latest Angolan Government claims was one that 88 Unita rebels had been killed in two clashes in the south of the country.

The latest Unita claim is that its first "general offensive", launched last month, had resulted in the death of 346 Cuban soldiers, 12 Soviet military advisers and more than 1 800 government soldiers.

A Unita communique, released in Lisbon yesterday, also said 523 military vehicles, 10 MiG fighters and 13 Mi-8 helicopters had been destroyed.

Unita said more Cuban soldiers and Soviet weapons had arrived in Angola to support an expected government offensive to recapture territory lost to the guerillas in the past few months.

The government offensive was expected to be launched from the provinces of Malange and Huambo.



Pauline Shaw ... getting a "kick" out of life.

## Sparkling Pauline is a sl

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Life is a shocking business for Pauline Shaw with one daily peril after another.

Sparks fly when she is around. Friends, who call her the Bionic Woman, get shocks when they touch her.

Pet dog Karl hates coming to heel — every pat hurts.

Mother of three Pauline (41) is a walking power pack with just too much static electricity in her body.

Sometimes there is a bang and a blue flash when she touches some-

thing. There are fireworks at bedtime — bus driver husband John (44) can hear her crackling with static.

Her part-time job at a dry cleaning shop is at risk because the electronic till goes berserk whenever she rings up a bill.

Scientists cannot explain why she should be so "charged up", but they advise her to take several showers a day.

Pauline has been told to avoid the daily shocks by wearing a copper bracelet and a piece of wire around her ankle.

Experts say this will make her a

UK's 'miracle'

# Angola: Cubans stay till SA pulls back

LISBON. — Cuban troops would stay in Angola until South Africa halted all aggression against Angola and its aid to Unita, and the peace plan for South West Africa was implemented, Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, said yesterday.

At a Luanda Press conference reported by the official news agency, Angop, Mr Jorge claimed the intensification of the South African-backed war against Angola was the main reason for Angola's instability and economic difficulties, because it was obliged to use most of its resources for defence.

Meanwhile, Unita guerrillas said yesterday more than 2 000 government and Cuban troops were killed in their recent big offensive, and their next move would be to-

wards the capital, Luanda.

Unita's central committee ordered a new three-month general offensive as soon as possible to spread guerrilla activity to the north and west, surround Luanda and put pressure on the capital's transport and communications, a communique distributed in Lisbon said.

Twelve Soviet advisers, 1 812 government troops and 349 Cuban soldiers were killed in Unita's first general offensive from August 2 to September 3, which took place in 13 provinces in the south, centre and east, the communique said.

Unita said 125 of its troops had died and 60 were missing in the push north.

The South African Government has consistently denied aiding Unita. — Sapa-Reuter.



(5) RDM 21/9/83  
**Unita hits MPLA food convoy**

LISBON. — Guerrillas of the Angolan rebel group, Unita, have attacked a convoy of supply trucks carrying food to outlying communities in northern Lunda-Norte province, according to a report monitored in Lisbon yesterday.

A dispatch carried by the Angolan state-run news agency, Angop, said the attack by the bridge over Lui River, left "various dead and 30 wounded among the civilians travelling on the convoy".

The Angop report gave no date for the alleged attack.

The account quoted witnesses as saying the rebels carried South African and

French weapons and that the attackers burnt out 12 of the convoy's 18 trucks.

Unita, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, has been waging a bush war against President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Workers Party since losing a civil war in 1976, a year after the country achieved independence from Portugal.

In Pretoria a spokesman for the South African Defence Force rejected the allegations concerning South African arms being carried by Unita members as "unfounded propaganda". — Sapa-AP.



**DR JONAS SAVIMBI**  
Unita leader

# Major Unita offensive tightens the noose on beleaguered MPLA

LONDON — A big rebel offensive against Angola's MPLA Government is underway and has carried Unita insurgents to within about 160 km of the capital of Luanda.

The MPLA is admitting privately that a big Unita force has just taken the town of Calu-lo. It lies 200 km from Luanda near the main road running south.

Unita captured 27 Spaniards, Brazilians and Portuguese in its September 4 attack on Calu-lo. Diplomatic sources said they included a dozen or more priests and nuns and that the Vatican had already contacted Unita representatives in Europe to begin negotiating their release.

Since July, Unita has also been holding the town of Mus-sende, 300 km south east of Luanda, with a new type of

Unita battle unit, a brigade of 2,000 men.

On Monday the American magazine Newsweek reported that foreign diplomats in Luanda had been warned not to travel more than 50 km from the capital because their lives might be in danger from Unita guerrillas.

The report was confirmed in Bonn by the West German Foreign Ministry.

Bonn said the Angolan Government had not prohibited diplomats from travelling. But they had been warned that anyone travelling more than 50 km from the city to the south or east could "encounter certain dangers".

The Bonn confirmation lent credence to an unattributed report in Newsweek which went on to say that heavily armed Cuban and Angolan troops had

set up defensive roadblocks around the city and tanks and artillery were guarding strategic buildings.

The report said hundreds of Cuban, East German and Soviet technicians, evacuated with their families from outly-

ing towns, were adding to the siege mentality in the capital.

But it seems unlikely that that siege is about to be laid to Luanda. The logistics build-up for such a siege would be long and difficult, even in the unlikely event that the MPLA and

the 25,000 or so Cuban troops which provide it with backing do not counter-attack.

The Newsweek suggestion that the next Unita target might be Dondo — the site of a large hydro-electric complex 150 km from Luanda which provides most of the capital's electricity and water — seems a little unlikely.

The news magazine reported that an extra 1,500 Cuban

troops had been dispatched to bolster the Dondo garrison — the last major obstacle before Luanda.

It is set in a good defensive position on the Cuanza River and an assault on it would require a very heavy concentration of troops and would result in very heavy loss of life.

The more likely Unita offensive pattern is one of random attacks throughout Angola

north of the Benguela railway line which divides the country from west to east, a tightening of the noose around the big towns in the central highlands, Angola's most densely populated region, and the clearing up of MPLA garrisons in areas near the Zairean and Zambian borders which are already open to Unita for supplies and transit.

Heavy supplies including weapons also come from outside the country's borders, including a number of Middle East countries.

Business sources confirm that the towns of Curna, Cuango and Bailundo were recently taken by Unita in the central highlands, increasing the pressure on beleaguered Huambo, Angola's second largest city, and the regional capital of Bie.

# SA, Unita and the departure of the Cubans

By WILLEM STEENKAMP, Cape Times Defence Reporter

THE 11-day battle at the southern Angolan town of Cangamba, which ended early last month with a defeat for Angola's armed forces and its Cuban allies at the hands of the Unita insurgents, may have a deeper meaning than the other fairly obscure clashes that have taken place in Angola's bush war.

This seen in conjunction with the recent Unita capture of the town of Calulo, 180km from Luanda, may represent visible proof that Unita's leader, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, has secured his area of influence in his ever-expanding campaign against the MPLA government of President Edvard dos Santos.

It is also proof that Pretoria is successfully applying the time-hallowed Clausewitzian doctrine about war being an extension of foreign policy.

The South African motivation for furthering in Angola seems to have undergone a substantial re-think since the controversial incursion of 1976/6, and crystallised into an attempt to push the Angolan Government and its enemies into such an intractable deadlock that they will be forced to meet and hammer out a *modus vivendi* which will benefit Mr. P. W. Botha as much as the others.

Such a "live-and-let-live" agreement would vitally affect the situation in South West Africa, and some military observers believe that there can be no lasting solution to the territory unless the Angolan problem is settled first — and several recent statements by Dr. Savimbi have recently pushed this link-

age: no settlement in SWA before there is a settlement in Angola.

From this angle, the departure of the 20 000-plus Cuban troops in Angola can be perceived as an essential precondition for an SWA settlement.

And the key to any such departure is Dr. Savimbi, who has been fighting the Russian-oriented MPLA ever since it pushed him into the bush in 1975.

There is no longer any doubt that South Africa supports Unita in one way or another, though Pretoria flatly refuses to make any comment about the matter.

The reasons for the official silence — which persists in spite of a large body of actual and circumstantial evidence — including hints dropped by Dr. Savimbi himself remain obscure, presumably because they are linked to foreign policy issues hidden well beyond the ken of mortal men like extra-governmental observers.

The immediate question that needs to be asked is not so much "Is Unita supported by South Africa?" But "How

important is South African backing to Unita?"

The answer is probably that South African backing is not essential to Unita's survival but necessary for any eventual successes it may score.

It is a fact that Unita is not a full-scale client of Pretoria. It is reportedly supported by a number of African and non-African countries such as Senegal, Zaire, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and Red China.

There can be little doubt that it would be able to keep functioning without South African help. But there can be just as little doubt that without South African help it would not be as effective in harassing its opponents as in the case.

The latest available figures indicate Unita now has about 35 000 fighting men, and is said to be recruiting troops at a rate of more than 2 000 a year.

It has a secure base in the Chando-Chungo province in south-eastern Angola, a "liberated zone", where the insurgents are in absolute control and are able to put down riots.

It means the movement has reached that advanced stage in its insurgency which, according to classic doctrine, enables it to mount a semi-conventional campaign which will eventually evolve into a fully conventional war instead of a debilitating series of hit-and-run engagements.

According to reliable sources Unita now actually controls about 25% of Angola, and it has been predicted that by the end of the year the figure will have grown to around 40%.

In addition it is said to operate on a more or less continuous basis in another 50% of the huge country, and to be active — probably political activation — in the remaining territory.

After eight years of non-stop and steadily escalating fighting, it is quite apparent that the MPLA Government of President Dos Santos is incapable of neutralising or destroying Unita's operations in most of Angola at present. Given the facts of the matter, this is hardly surprising.

Fapla, the MPLA's military wing, is not particularly large. According to figures released by the International Institute for Strategic Studies it has about 33 000 men, though this figure is reliably reported to be very conservative.

By contrast, South Africa has about 90 000 regular and national servicemen under arms at any given time, according to the IIS — a deep-fibre figure, since about half are in training and only a small percentage are on border service.

There are nearly 30 000 Cubans in Angola, but they tend to provide backup and leave most of the actual fighting to Fapla, though sometimes they do get involved, as was the case at Cangamba.

With this relatively small force Fapla has to fight a widespread insurgency over large parts of a territory slightly larger than South Africa, and in the face of severe economic troubles.

Small wonder, then, that it has forced the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) to lend it troops in return for providing SWAPO with a sanctuary outside SWA.

After eight years of warfare the MPLA has just two clear choices: It can continue to fight, and risk being reduced to a rump government stubbornly clinging to the area around Luanda (particularly if there was a Cuban withdrawal) or it can negotiate a settlement with Unita.

Undue delay could be fatal to the MPLA. Dr. Savimbi's overtures have been rejected time and again by Luanda, and military observers believe he is coming to the conclusion that he might as well go for the main objective, namely control of Angola and not just the southern region.

He is not ready for a "big push" yet, however. At the same time the MPLA cannot wipe him out either so for the time being the two sides can only fight one another to a standstill, barring a sudden internal collapse or an unexpected reinforcement from outside.

So the war's steady escalation is likely to continue for some time.



EDUARDO DOS SANTOS ... unable to contain Unita

JONAS SAVIMBI ... ever-expanding campaign

is very useful in the West's monitoring of the internal situation in Angola and (which would be of interest to Neto) the Russian activities there.

Mainly, however, there is the possibility that Unita can be used to dislodge the Angolan-based Cubans and bring the border war to a satisfactory (to Pretoria) conclusion.

There are a number of obstacles which lie in the path of an Angolan settlement, even if the parties concerned — the MPLA Government and its Unita foes — came to the negotiating table by choice or through the pressure of circumstances.

The Angolan civil war ceased to be a parochial affair in mid-1975, when outside troops and weapons began flowing to the various combatants, and this internationalisation has escalated along with the war.

Somewhat all these interests have to be reconciled if there is to be an end to the Angolan civil war, and this cannot be achieved by purely military means.

This being so, it is possible that the Russians might agree to some suitably safeguarded form of federal or confederal agreement which would result in a partly autonomous south under Savimbi, anything more ambitious might result in the "Afghanistan" of Angola — unless, of course, a suitable *modus vivendi* with the Savimbi regime could be reached.

## Diplomats: Unita claims inflated

From IAN HOBBS in London

DIPLOMATS who have recently visited Angola lay the rebel Unita movement's claim that it effectively has the Marxist MPLA regime in Luanda at its mercy as grossly exaggerated.

In its latest communique this week, Unita claims it is in a position to sue for peace talks ... with the only alternative being a final push on Luanda.

However, there are no diplomatic communications of any kind in Luanda, where the MPLA shows no sign of agreeing to the withdrawal of more than 20 000 Cuban troops.

A report in the Lisbon newspaper *Tempo* last week claiming the hard-line Marxist MPLA Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge had been forced out, has not been confirmed or denied.

The *Tempo* report claimed that the moder-

ate Interior Minister, Mr. Alexandra Kito — who set up talks with both South Africa and the United States — might replace Mr. Jorge.

But diplomatic sources this week said they doubted this was happening or that the pressures in Luanda were "anything like" as drastic as Unita communique suggests.

In its latest statement, Unita has announced that it is embarking on a three-month offensive aimed at capturing the capital Luanda and putting an end to the eight-year-old civil war.

The announcement, delivered in a communique given to correspondents on Monday, marked the end of Unita's last major offen-

sive aimed at vital economic targets throughout the country.

The communique claimed that in its last offensive, Unita was able to operate in nearly all the provinces, with the exceptions of Luanda province.

It claimed that its forces killed 1 812 MPLA troops, as well as 349 Cubans and 12 Soviet advisers.

Other alleged notable military successes include the shooting down of 10 MIG17s and MIG21s and 13 helicopters.

Five Antonov aircraft were claimed shot down and 523 vehicles destroyed.

Unita losses were put at 125 dead, which included a major and five captains.

The communique reported that Cuban reinforcements had been arriving under cover of night, together with Soviet military hardware against Unita.

They also claimed that government forces had been forced to abandon two strategically important towns — Vilanova de Armada, in the south-eastern province of Chando-Chando, and Kalabo, in Moxico province, after sustained pressure from the rebels.

The Unita announcement was careful to leave the way open for a negotiated settlement.

Categorically stated that it was prepared to enter into negotiations with the government, aimed at ending the civil war and creating the conditions for the withdrawal of Cuban troops and the setting up of a government of national unity.

So the war's steady escalation

# Diplomats dismiss Unita war claims

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Diplomats who recently visited Angola say the Unita movement's claim that it effectively has the marxist MPLA regime in Luanda at its mercy is grossly exaggerated.

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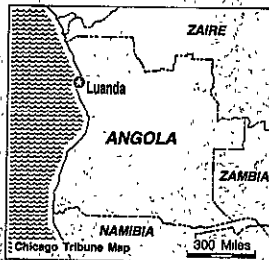
However, there are no diplomatic confirmations of panic in Luanda where the MPLA shows no sign of agreeing to the withdrawal of more than 20 000 Cuban troops.

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# Savimbi's EEC link sparks black ire

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

23/9/83

BRUSSELS — Reports that Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi intends to visit the European Parliament next month have inflamed relations even more between the EEC Assembly and black African states.

A joint meeting of parliamentarians from Third World countries and the European Common Market Assembly will be asked today to "condemn in the strongest possible terms" a visit by four Euro-MPs to Unita-held areas of Angola in June.

A motion tabled by Third World delegates calls on the joint Assembly meeting in West Berlin to condemn the visit by British, German, Belgian and French Euro-MPs as "an illegal act and an unjustifiable provocation."

## PRIVATE VISIT

The four EEC parliamentarians made what they described as a "private visit" to Unita-held areas of Angola in late June. On his return the British Conservative member Sir James Scott-Hopkins issued a statement in London warning that Unita forces were about to move against Luanda.

He advised British citizens to leave the Angolan capital to avoid being caught up in a bloodbath.

The Angolan Government has protested to the European Parliament about the visit and the issue has dominated the annual joint meeting in Berlin this week between the EEC Assembly and MPs from 61 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries associated with the Common Market.

Speaking to the Assembly yesterday the Angolan ambassador to the EEC, Mr Augusto Lemos, described the visit as a "hostile act towards the people's republic of Angola."

## TEMPERS INFLAMED

Tempers were further inflamed when the French Christian Democrat member of the offending quartet, Mr Olivier d'Ormesson, said he regarded Unita as a "force for peace." He said Dr Savimbi was "struggling against Soviet and Cuban interference in his country."

The reports that Dr Savimbi had been invited to attend the next full session of the 10-nation European Assembly in Strasbourg starting on October 10 have been denied by a senior member of the Parliament.

But the former French Prime Minister and liberal Euro-MP Mr Michel Poniatowski said there was nothing to prevent any individual visiting the Parliament privately.

# Savimbi predicts Unita advantage

Own Correspondent

Star 24/9/83

(5)  
LISBON — Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi predicts his movement will soon be strong enough to take a military advantage in Angola's civil war.

This declaration was made in an exclusive interview published here.

"We are fast approaching the phase where the correlation of forces, now in favour of MPLA, will change and become favourable to Unita," he said.

The 49-year-old guerilla leader pointed to Unita's seizure of the strategic town of Cangamba in mid-August as proof that Unita now has sufficient military strength to face government forces in prolonged battles, aided by Cuban soldiers and Soviet aviation.

Mr Savimbi ridiculed government allegations that Unita had suffered more than 1 100 casualties. His forces would now rest and reorganise before launching a new offensive headed northwards, he said.

He said the lesson to be taken from Cangamba should not be forgotten by foreign investors, who seemed to ignore that a civil war was being waged in Angola.

● Angolan government troops have killed at least 37 Unita guerillas in operations in Huambo, Malanje and Bie provinces, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported yesterday.

Troops destroyed a rebel camp at Mungo in Huambo province, killing 14. In routing a group of Unita rebels who tried to attack Quimbango in Malanje province, the troops killed 13 men, the agency said.

# 35 freed by Unita due at Jan Smuts

Jan 28/9/83

By Sheryl Raine,  
Pretoria Bureau

Thirty-five hostages held captive by Unita in southern Angola are expected to arrive at Jan Smuts Airport this afternoon.

The 21 adults and 14 children of Portuguese origin have been the subject of Red Cross negotiations for several months.

A Red Cross spokesman said in Pretoria today that the hostages would be ferried on board a Red Cross chartered plane after months in captivity.

This is the second group of hostages to be released in South Africa this year.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said the Government was aware of the hostages' expected arrival.



Mrs Elma de Fatima Gomes and her daughter, Flora, 3, talk to the Press about their ordeal after arriving in South Africa last night as part of a group of 21 people held hostage by Unita in Angola. The release was secured by the International Red Cross.

Picture: RAYMOND PRESTON

(5) ROM 29/9/83

## 21 Portuguese hostages arrive from Angola

By CHRIS OLCKERS  
Chief Reporter

A GROUP of 21 Portuguese men, women and children arrived in South Africa last night after months of talks to get them released after they were taken hostage by the Angolan rebel force, Unita.

Some of group had spent more than a year in captivity and told harrowing tales of two months on the march through dense bush, and of hiding from Cuban and government forces.

They were the second group of prisoners released by Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, this year.

The bedraggled hostages, including five women — one of them pregnant — and six children were flown to South Africa from an unidentified airport by a Safair Hercules.

The group was met by the Portuguese Consul-General, Dr Farinha Fernandes, the vice-consul, Dr Defreitas Morna, and the area sales manager of South African Airways, Mr Johnny Pinto.

Although they were elated

at being released, their happiness was dampened by the fact that due to "technical" reasons, nearly 20 of their relatives were not freed.

Mr Augusta Gomes and his wife, Elma de Fatima Gomes, left behind in captivity his parents-in-law, his brother and two cousins.

"We are sad and upset that they did not come with us. Unita treated us very well. But when you loose your freedom, good treatment alone does not help," said Mr Gomes, who spent 200 days in the bush with Unita.

He said Unita had kidnapped his family of five when they attacked a hydro-electric project at Oportu in the Cubalu province.

"We marched for two months and had to rest a lot because there were several elderly people with us," he said.

Six members of the group were formerly held in a MPLA concentration camp at Tare, in the Cubalu Province before being freed by Unita early this year.

"We marched for more than 1200km through thick bush and we had to hide a lot from MPLA and Cuban troops looking for us," Mr Joaquim Couta said.

Mr Couta revealed he had earlier been held by the MPLA for more than 36 months accused of collaborating with Unita.

"Sure I did help them. But then Unita freed me again. I was in the concentration camp for more than a year before I stood trial. They also accused me of diamond smuggling," he said.

He said it seemed that Unita was taking the labour force away from towns to cripple the MPLA.

Members of the group said they seldom saw the 34 Czechoslovakian hostages still held by Unita.

"They are all well but we don't know when they will be released. It seems like Dr Savimbi still wants to use them for bargaining," Mr Jaime Barrat Dos Santos, 27, said.

The freed hostages leave for Lisbon on Saturday.

29/9/83

## 6 die in new mine disaster

(21) BY DAVID CAPELROM

SOUTH Africa's second major mine disaster in a month occurred at the Grass Valley Chrome Mine near Potgietersrus on Tuesday — claiming the lives of at least six workers and possibly as many as nine.

The accident occurred five months after the mine received a five star award for safety from the Chamber of Mines.

Rescuers brought to the surface the bodies of five men after working through

out the night on Tuesday — and yesterday they retrieved the body of a sixth.

The walls of a shaft collapsed on top of nine miners but rescue workers were able to reach three of the men.

The names of those killed have not been released.

A Chamber of Mines spokesman could not be reached last night, and mine management were reported to be "asleep" after working "day and night".

The accident comes 16 days after the Hlobane Coal Mine disaster.



# Hostage seeks brother living in Johannesburg

By Joao Santa Rita

Mr. Antonio Jose Nunes da Costa (25) arrived in Johannesburg yesterday after six months in the Angolan bush and immediately started looking for his brother.

"The moment I was told I was coming to South Africa I knew this was an opportunity to find my brother.

"I haven't seen him since Angola's independence in 1975," he said.

Mr da Costa was taken hostage by the Unita rebel group in the town of Alto Catumbeia in March this year. The rebels attacked the town, destroying a paper mill and scoring a major propaganda coup by kidnapping dozens of Portuguese and Czech citizens.

Yesterday Mr da Costa said: "The Unita experience is over. Now I want to see my brother Carlos Manuel."

According to Mr da Costa his brother left Angola in 1975 when the civil war broke out.

"He just packed a truck with coffee from a farm and left for Namibia. He wrote to me that same year saying he had sold his truck and was staying in Johannesburg.

"I haven't heard from him since then," he said.

Mr da Costa said he could not remember in which area of



Johannesburg his brother was staying.

"But I am sure if he knows I am here he will contact me," he said.

He will leave for Lisbon on Saturday and intends emigrating to Brazil, where he has relatives.

Anyone who has information about his brother can contact him at the New Library Hotel

Mr Antonio da Costa, one of the Unita hostages released yesterday after six months of captivity in the bush. He is looking for his brother who is believed to be living somewhere in Johannesburg after leaving Angola several years ago.

● Pictures by Etienne Rothbart. in Johannesburg or through the Portuguese consulate.

# Unita treated us well, say hostages

By Joao Santa Rita

A group of 21 Portuguese citizens were today resting in a central Johannesburg hotel after being released by the Angolan rebel movement Unita.

The 21 hostages — 16 adults and five children — arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday on a plane chartered by the International Red Cross.

They were flown to Jan Smuts from a Unita-controlled area somewhere in southern Angola.

At the airport the hostages, looking fit but tired, were all vaccinated against yellow fever and given a medical examination

A spokesman for the Portuguese consulate in Johannesburg said all the former Unita prisoners would leave for Lisbon on Saturday.

Most of the Portuguese who arrived yesterday were captured in the town of Alto Catumbeia, together with 66 Czech citizens. Forty-five Czechs have already been released by Unita.

Six of the Unita hostages had been prisoners of the MPLA Government before Unita attacked the Tari re-education camp in Cuanza Sul province in January.

They were being held by the MPLA Government on different charges, ranging from diamond smuggling to

supporting the Unita rebels.

All hostages said they had been well-treated by Unita guerrillas.

Mr Nuno Borges, who was general manager of a paper mill in Alto Catumbeia, said the hardest times had been during the first few weeks when the Portuguese and Czechs were forced to make long marches.

"We marched for 76 days, but under the circumstances we received the best treatment," he said.

Mr Borges went to Angola six years ago on a contract.

His wife, Mrs Maria de Fatima Borges, said she and her three young children had always received the best treatment possible.

# Raid saved man from 20 years in jail camp

By Joao Santa Rita

Mr Armando Rodrigues knows the Angolan rebel movement Unita well. And that saved him from spending 20 years in a MPLA re-education camp.

He was a farmer in Southern Angola for many years and used to contact the anti-Government guerrillas regularly.

"I speak several local African languages and the boys used to come to my farm regularly. I provided them with information," he admitted after arriving in Johannesburg yesterday.

Two years ago he was arrested and sentenced to 20 years in jail for collaborating with Unita.

"I went to many jails. The treatment was as bad as you can imagine. Then they took me to the Tari camp in Cuanza Sul province," he explained.

Although it had a reputation as a concentration camp, Tari proved to be a good omen for Mr Rodrigues.

On January 30 Unita guerrillas attacked the camp and released all prisoners.

"They concentrated their fire on the site where the military were being housed. Then the boys took all of us," he said.

Proudly displaying a pair of walking sticks with Unita's symbol, Mr Rodrigues said he had the honour of being taken to the Unita "provisional capital".

"You should see Jamba base, the provisional capital. It's enormous and they have every facility there. I was well treated, they knew who I was and how I'd helped them," he said.

Mr Rodrigues said his wife, who is also a Portuguese citizen, is still in Angola. Two of his daughters are studying in Portugal.

Another former MPLA prisoner, Mr Jaime dos Santos, is also thanking Unita for his good luck.

He had been at the Tari prison camp since July 1978, serving an eight-year prison sentence.

"I was found guilty of diamond smuggling. It was all a farce. During the trial my lawyer proved they were wrong, but I was still jailed," he said.

Six of the Portuguese citizens who arrived yesterday at Jan Smuts had been rescued by Unita from the Tari prison camp.

Mr dos Santos said: "There were also many Angolans in the camp. Unita told them they could go. Some were accused of armed robbery, others of being Unita agents. We had all sorts of people there."



Mr Jaime dos Santos was freed by Unita from a re-education camp where he was serving a sentence for diamond smuggling. He said his trial was a farce.



A group of women and children relax at Jinn Smuts airport after arriving from captivity in An-golan by Unita. For one little girl freedom got off to a slightly painful start after a vaccine against yellow fever. Checking the scratch mark, she seems unaware of the bustle about her.

# RUSSIA'S VIETNAM? Savimbi could win the war in Angola

## BUT THE BIG QUESTION IS: Will the Soviet Union step up its African involvement?

THE South African Government may be on the verge of a major tactical victory in Angola. Recent advances by Unita rebels in ever-widening areas of Angola could well be turning the tide in the eight-year bush war.

Unita still has to capture a major town or port — and directly confront the 20 000 to 30 000 Cuban troops in the war-torn country — but it may be close.

In a statement this week, the rebels said they had attacked a bar often frequented by Cuban soldiers in Malanje, about 300 km east of Luanda, the Angolan capital.

### By Barry Streek

They also said that they had shot 137 Government troops and 47 Cubans as well as destroying a MiG-17 aircraft, a helicopter, and 57 army vehicles in a four-day battle between Malanje and Sauro.

Earlier this year, the rebels blew up bridges on the strategic railway line between Malanje and Luanda.



SAVIMBI AND BODYGUARDS: Now towns are beginning to topple

Unmanned sources in the Angolan Government were reported to have confirmed the capture of Calulo. Military claims during a

war of insurgency where there are few independent observers have to be treated with caution. Moreover, the South

African media tends to reflect a pro-Unita viewpoint, with scant coverage of the views of the Angolan Government.

But, even within these limitations, it is clear that Unita has made major advances and is spreading its sphere of operations. The

rebel movement, headed by Dr Jonas Savimbi, has extended its activities beyond its traditional strongholds in southern Angola.

Some observers have said Unita has in fact pushed a corridor through to the border with Zaire.

"Men and materials are possibly already coming across the border from Zaire to reinforce Unita's offensive," a British journalist, Fred Bridgland, wrote after being behind the lines with the rebels for two months.

He believes "Unita is winning the war" and that Angola is rapidly turning into "Russia's Vietnam."

The Calulo victory follows the capture of the town of Mussende, 300 km south-east of Luanda in July. Unita has continued occupying the town since then.

With the additional capture of Cuma, Cuangar and Balmundo in the central highlands, pressure on Huambo, Angola's second largest city, and the regional capital of the province of Bie, is increasing.

The major guerrilla offensive was launched in mid-August, using a new type of battle unit, a brigade of 2 000 men.

Although there has been some speculation that Unita leader Savimbi may want to take the fight to Luanda itself, this seems unlikely at this stage.

With an estimated 35 000 trained men under his control, Savimbi would be hard-pressed to take on the nearly 30 000 Cuban troops, as well as the MPLA's military wing, Fapla.

The Cubans have usually avoided direct clashes with Unita, although some Cuban soldiers have been captured in the past and some, as this week's statement confirmed, have been killed.

The Cuban troops have tended to provide back-up and leave most of the actual fighting to Fapla.

As the war continues and escalates, the Angolan Government is paying an increasingly heavy price in maintaining its extended defence commitments.

Some two-thirds of the Angolan budget is devoted to defence. Agricultural production, diamond and iron-ore mining has suffered.

The rebels have effectively closed the Benguela railway, which carried goods to and from Angola's landlocked neighbours, losing up to R100 million annually in transit fees.

Oil from the Cabinda enclave — operated by the US company Gulf Oil — has provided a major source of income, although the world slump has delayed earlier predictions of doubling production by the end of the decade.

With defence commitments increasing and production in other areas becoming increasingly problematic, the financial pressures on the Angolan Government are considerable — and can only get worse.

In the circumstances, Unita's most likely strategy is to continue the extension of the war of attrition until the MPLA is forced to negotiate a settlement with the rebels — or is defeated.

Savimbi has already made peace overtures to Luanda but these have been rejected out of hand.

Although it would be tempting, the South African Government will almost certainly not get involved directly nor is any

other foreign government likely to send military personnel to aid Unita.

But the rebels are getting aid. South Africa's support has never been officially acknowledged in Pretoria but Dr Savimbi himself has, for example, said on BBC television that he gets fuel and other support from the south, and South Africa's backing of the rebels is accepted as a fact throughout the world.

Unita is also getting support from countries like Senegal, Zaire, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and China — and it would be surprising if it is not getting secret Western aid.

An early end to the war in Angola is not on the cards in spite of Unita's recent advance and in spite of the growing pressures on the Angolan Government.

But Unita's successes aid South Africa's 17-year war against Swapo on the Namibian-Angolan border.

There have been reports that significant numbers of Swapo guerrillas are in fact fighting alongside Fapla soldiers against Unita.

With Swapo's lines of support stretched and with follow-up operations inside Angola much easier because Fapla is more involved in defending itself against Unita than protecting Swapo, the border war could even be concluded to Pretoria's satisfaction.

But there is a major risk in the recent successes both for Unita and South Africa: Russia and/or Cuba may decide to step up their involvement in the Angolan conflict and in southern Africa.

# 89 Unita guerillas killed in Angola <sup>S. P. Dispatch</sup> 10/83

LISBON — Government troops destroyed several Unita guerilla camps, killing 89 rebels and capturing arms and ammunition in operations over the past few days, the official Angolan news Agency, Angop, said yesterday.

It quoted Defence Ministry sources as saying the operations were carried out in Kuando-Kubango, Bie, Huambo, Benguela and Kwanza Sul provinces between September 22 and 26.

The troops' biggest victory was in southern Benguela province, 80 km south east of Cubal, where they killed 53 Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) guerillas on September 23, the agency said.

Angop accused Unita, whose guerilla actions have intensified in the past few months, of attacking civilians.

The agency said the rebels ambushed a bus last Monday, killing four people and wounding three others. Four more were reported missing, it said. — SAPA/RNS.

WASHINGTON. — The Soviet Union has begun pouring arms into Angola in an apparent bid to block Unita's growing threat to the MPLA Government.

At least 10 Soviet cargo ships unloaded weapons, including T-62 tanks, in Luanda in the first three weeks of last month, according to a report from the Angolan capital.

Because of the war situation the Soviets have also reluctantly agreed to a request from Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos for a delay in the repayment of Angola's debts to Moscow, which could be as high as R2 200-million.

Analysts here say the drive northwards by the Unita rebels and the alarmed response by the Soviets and the MPLA Government may jeopardise the United States effort to arrange a settlement in SWA/Namibia linked to a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

According to Press reports, the Soviet response to Luanda's plea for aid against the growing Unita threat came after President dos Santos sent a high-level delegation to Moscow in late August that included Mr Lucio Lara, secretary of the MPLA, and Defence Minister Mr Pedro Tonha.

#### "SA bombing"

One report says the President has accused South Africa of supporting Unita with the aim of overthrowing the MPLA Government.

He alleges Unita recently seized a key town only 200km from Luanda because the town had been bombed by South African aircraft.

The report adds that the Cuban troops, whose numbers have more than doubled in two years, have stepped up their involvement in the fighting in an effort to repel Unita.

The Cubans are now concentrated not only in the cities of Luanda and Huambo and the oil-producing Cabinda region, but in an east-west defensive line from Mengonge through Lubango and Mocamedes to guard against a possible South African attack from the south.

#### "Worse and worse"

A Western diplomat in Luanda as quoted as saying: "The situation has become worse and worse for the Government every month.

"It could eventually reach the point where Luanda and the other big cities can be absolutely isolated."

He says the Angolan leaders are convinced that South Africa is seeking their downfall.

President dos Santos told the

MPLA Central Committee in August. "South Africa's armed intervention in Angola has long ceased to be retaliation for Swapo's activities."

Glenn Frankel of the Washington Post, one of the few American journalists allowed into Angola in recent years, says he was barred from going into areas where there is fighting.

# Russian ships pour in weapons into Angola

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4/10/83

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# Russians pouring in arms to halt Unita

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star Bureau

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PROJECT

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GROUP (DSRG)

WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union has begun pouring arms into Luanda in an apparent bid to block the rebel Unita movement's growing threat to the MPLA government.

At least 10 Soviet cargo ships have unloaded arms and Russian T-62 tanks in Luanda in the first three weeks of September, according to a report from the Angolan capital.

At the same time the Soviets have reluctantly agreed, because of the war situation, to a request from Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos for a delay in the repayment of Angola's debts to Moscow, which are said to be as high as R2 200 million.

The Unita drive northwards and the alarmed response of the Soviets and the MPLA government in Luanda may jeopardise the United States effort to arrange a settlement in Namibia linked to a withdrawal of the Cuban troops in Angola.

The Soviet response to Luanda's plea for aid against Unita's growing threat came after President Dos Santos sent a high-level delegation to Moscow in late August.

It included Mr Lucio Lara, secretary of the MPLA, and Defence Minister Pedro Tonha, according to a report to the Washington Post from Glenn Frankel.

Frankel says Dos Santos has accused South Africa of supporting Unita with the aim of overthrowing the MPLA government. He says Unita's recent seizure of a key town only 200 km from Luanda was made possible by the bombing of the town by South African aircraft.

According to Frankel the Cuban troops, whose numbers have more than doubled during the past two years, have stepped up their involvement in the fighting against Unita in an effort to keep the rebels.

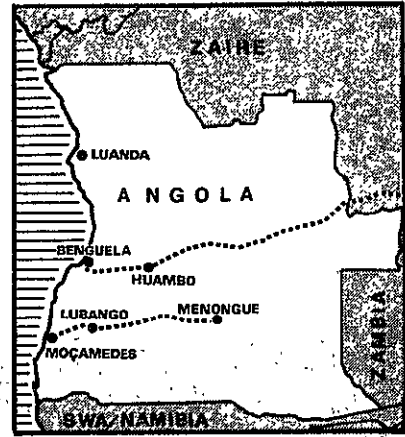
The Cubans are now concentrated not only in the major cities of Luanda and Huambo and the oil-producing Cabinda region but also in an east-west defensive line from Mengongue through Lubango and Mocamedes to guard against a possible South African attack from the south, Frankel reports.

He quotes a Western diplomat in Luanda as saying: "The situation has become worse and worse for the Government every month. It could eventually reach the point where Luanda and the other big cities can be absolutely isolated."

He says the Angolan leaders are convinced that South Africa is seeking their overthrow.

"South Africa's armed intervention in Angola has long ceased to be retaliation for Swapo's activities," President Dos Santos said in a speech in August to the MPLA central committee.

Frankel, one of the few American journalists to be allowed into Angola in recent years, says he was barred by the authorities from going into areas where there is fighting.



Object

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DIMBAZA

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DEVELOPI

# MPLA a dying regime — Unita

CAPE TIMES 5/10/83

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From TONY WEAVER WINDHOEK. — Increased Soviet military aid to the MPLA government in Luanda was "a last-ditch attempt to shore up a dying regime," a senior Unita spokesman in London said yesterday.

Dr Tito Chingunji, the rebel movement's Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said that according to Unita intelligence reports, claims carried in the Washington Post that Soviet arms were pouring into Angola were "absolutely correct, but underestimated".

The Washington Post this week reported from Luanda that at least 10 Soviet cargo ships had unloaded arms and Russian T62 tanks in Luanda during September.

## Fighter aircraft

Dr Chingunji claimed the ships had also unloaded large numbers of MI23 and MI24 helicopters, as well as crates of spare parts for fighter aircraft.

"The biggest problem that the MPLA is facing is not lack of arms, but the lack of any will on the part of the people to fight the civil war.

"Our intelligence-gathering network has been tremendously strengthened recently because people, in especially the rural areas, no longer want to fight against us, and are joining the Unita army or are actively supporting us in our struggle," Dr Chingunji said.

He added that the morale of the estimated 22 000 Cuban troops stationed in Angola was low as "our people tell us the Cubans cannot see the point in dying in a war which is not theirs, and when they know we have repeated-

ly offered to meet with the MPLA to hammer out a settlement".

The Washington Post report comes at the same time as a report in Time magazine which claims Angola's foreign debt is spiralling as a result of the war, that two-thirds of shops in Luanda are closed because of lack of merchandize and that shells of half-finished buildings dominate the Angolan capital's skyline.

## Disruption

The disruption by Unita of the Benguela rail line is costing Angola R110 million annually in lost revenue and Unita banditry against the diamond mines was costing R120 million annually, Time claimed.

The article added that at the same time as top-level Angolan officials were pleading with the Soviets for increased aid and to delay the repayment of debts to Moscow estimated at over R2 000 million, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was quietly encouraging Western investment.

## Pressurize

Dr Chingunji said yesterday that he did not think the Soviets would pressurize the MPLA to sue for peace with Unita as "then they would lose too much face".

But the Soviets would definitely pressurize the MPLA to take drastic measures to eliminate, either militarily or through diplomatic channels, the Unita threat, as "the Soviets know from long experience in backing guerilla movements when their side is fighting a losing battle."

At present, the Soviets

were trying to "boost the morale of a man who is dying of cancer and knows it", he said.

Dr Chingunji said the influx of Soviet arms would not deter Unita, which was presently in the final stages of preparation for an advance on Luanda and Lunda Provinces.

"Our objective before the end of the year is to occupy large sections of Luanda and Lunda provinces, to harass MPLA troops and to actively work with the people to gain their support."

Western diplomatic sources yesterday expressed caution when approached for an assessment of the Angolan situation.

## Propaganda

They point out that Unita has a highly-sophisticated public relations and propaganda network and that the movement routinely exaggerates its claims of successes.

At the same time, the Luanda regime steers clear of allowing Western journalists into the country, and so it is difficult to gauge the accuracy of claims from both sides.

They also said although the situation in Angola was "serious", sensational reports of Luanda being on the verge of Unita occupation and of economic collapse were "wishful thinking" on the part of pro-Unita agencies. Radio reports from Luanda can no longer be monitored in Windhoek due to heavy atmospheric interference on all three wavelengths.

● 'Afghanization' threat looms in Angola, page 13

# 'Afghanization' threat looms in Angola

By **WILLEM STEENKAMP**  
Defence Reporter

HAS the first step been taken towards an "Afghanization" of Angola by Russia?

This is what military observers will be asking themselves if there is truth in reports from Washington that the Soviet Union has begun supplying heavy weapons to bolster the Luanda regime.

Twice in the past month the Cape Times has warned that there is a danger of this happening if the Rus-

sians feel their considerable military interests in Angola are threatened by the Unita movement.

It is a fact that American government officials are worried about such an escalation, which could completely upset the fragile balance of power that now exists in Southern Africa. According to the reports the Russians have shipped late-model T-62 tanks and a large amount of other equipment to Luanda, and agreed to postpone repay-

ment of Angola's huge debt to the Soviet Union.

Most military observers feel Russia has a great deal to lose in Angola.

From Angolan bases, its land and sea forces can fill the power vacuum in the South Atlantic, pose a threat to the heavy shipping traffic up the West African coast, reconnoitre a vast area, and exert an influence over neighbouring non-Marxist states such as Zaire — a primary Ameri-

can ally in Africa.

It is believed the Russians are not eager for what might be called the "Afghanization option" in Angola because they are heavily committed in several parts of the world already, notably in Afghanistan itself.

However, their armed forces are so large that, if necessary, an Angolan intervention would not place any undue strain on their military machine. Observers agree that the

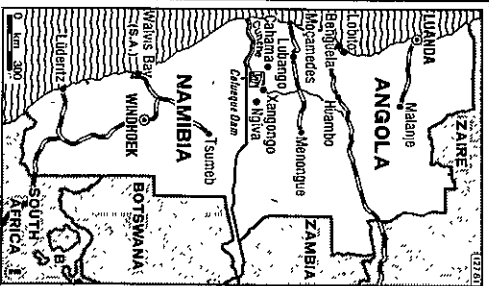
destruction of the Unita forces would not require an unduly large commitment of men and weapons by Russia.

The Angolan and Afghan situations are not analogous. The Afghans have several factors in their favour. They inhabit some of the most difficult fighting terrain in the world, are fanatically religious and are taught fighting skills from childhood.

By contrast, the Angolan

terrain is much more suitable for "pacification" by large conventional forces, while Angolans generally are not as martial as the Afghans and do not have such a strong religious cohesion.

One foreign observer feels that no more than 20 000 Russian troops, together with an abundance of helicopter gunships and other firepower, could subdue the comparatively ill-armed Unita rebels within six months.





# Red arms pouring in — <sup>(5)</sup> <sup>WSM</sup> <sup>5/10/8</sup> Angolan rebels

By TONY WEAVER  
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — Increased Soviet military aid to the MPLA Government in Luanda was "a last-ditch attempt to shore up a dying regime", a senior Unita spokesman in London said yesterday.

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The Washington Post report coincides with an article in Time magazine. Time says Angola's foreign debt is spiralling as a result of the war, two-thirds of Luanda's shops are closed and the shells of half-finished buildings dominate the skyline of the Angolan capital.

The report claims that the disruption by Unita of the Benguela rail line is costing Angola R110-million annually and rebel raids against the diamond mines cost R120-million each year.

As top-level Angolan officials plead for increased Soviet aid and a deferment of debts to Moscow — estimated at over R2 000-million — Angolan President

Jose Eduardo Dos Santos is quietly encouraging Western investment, the article says.

Dr Chingunji said he did not think the Soviets would put pressure on the MPLA to sue for peace with Unita.

However, the Soviets would definitely want the MPLA to take drastic measures to eliminate the Unita threat for they "know from long experience in backing guerrilla movements when their side is fighting a losing battle".

"Our objective before the end of the year is to occupy large sections of Luanda and Lunda Provinces, to harass MPLA troops and to actively work with the people to gain their support," Dr Chingunji said.

Western diplomatic sources, however, claim Unita has a highly sophisticated public relations and propaganda network and routinely exaggerates its successes.

While the situation in Angola was "serious", sensational reports of Luanda being on the verge of Unita occupation and economic collapse were "wishful thinking" on the part of pro-Unita agencies, they said.

# Unita success may endanger 'regional' peace prospects

6/10/83 The Star Bureau (5)

LONDON — Unita's recent military successes in Angola are undermining prospects for an overall regional settlement in Southern Africa.

This is the view of Glenn Frankel of the Washington Post News Service, who reports from Luanda that the Reagan Administration's hopes for a major diplomatic victory in the area are dying on the battlefields of Angola.

"Western diplomatic analysts here now say that Angolan mistrust of US and South African intentions, Soviet pressure, and — most of all — intensified military operations by the opposition forces of Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement, have combined to undermine prospects for a diplomatic breakthrough," Mr Frankel claims.

He says US officials believe an agreement would vindicate the Reagan Administration's insistence that a Cuban withdrawal should be part of the "framework" of a Namibian settlement, a policy that has come under heavy attack by many African leaders.

The officials also see the prospect of a triumph over Cuba and its Soviet patrons as providing a foreign-policy victory for President Reagan.

"The Angolans are sincerely convinced that with the military situation as bad as it is now, sending the Cubans home would be committing suicide," he quotes a senior diplomat in Luanda

as saying.

The Soviet Union has also played a part in undermining Angolan confidence in the United States, according to Western analysts in Luanda.

They note that following Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos's most recent visit to Moscow, the Angolans and the Russians issued a communique in which they "attached high value to the role of the Cuban internationalist forces stationed in Angola in helping guarantee the country's security."

They believe, however, that the main obstacle has been Mr Savimbi, whose persistence has paid off with significant military successes in the past year.

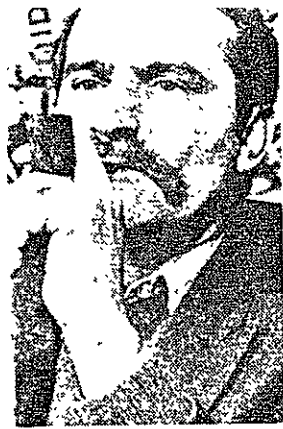
He has said his campaign is designed to force the Angolan Government to the bargaining table with him and to pressure international negotiators to include his forces in any future regional settlement.

Although Angolan officials still consider Mr Savimbi a South African puppet, they have been shaken in their belief that they could readily crush him if Pretoria's support were withdrawn, Mr Frankel says.

President dos Santos has said he believes South Africa's intention is to overthrow him and replace him with Mr Savimbi, or to force him to negotiate a power-sharing agreement with his rival.

# Walesa

4pm peace and freedom.  
state A campaign for human rights was  
the a campaign for peace, it said, and  
the "Walesa's attempt to find a peaceful  
on solution to his country's problems  
early will contribute to a relaxation of in-  
tension".  
In making the award the commit-  
tee followed notable precedents in  
choosing people struggling against  
regimes. Previous winners have in-  
cluded Soviet dissident Andrei Sak-  
harov and Albert Luthuli, president  
of the African National Congress.  
The literature prize will be an-  
nounced today. — Sapa-Reuter-UPI



Mr. Lech Walesa

# CUBANS pledge support for Swapo

CITE Times  
6/10/83  
(5)

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — Cuba ac-  
cused the United States  
of thwarting SWA/Nami-  
bian independence  
through "foul and brut-  
al" tactics and told the  
United Nations that the  
only choice now was to  
step up support for  
Swapo.

It flatly rejected any  
deal linking a settle-  
ment to the withdrawal  
of its forces from Angola  
and it offered no com-  
promise proposal.

### SA forces

South African forces  
had been occupying  
parts of Angola for more  
than two years and their  
unconditional with-  
drawal had to be de-  
manded "with ever in-  
creasing strength".  
Foreign Minister Isi-  
doro Malmierca told the  
General Assembly.

The militant Cuban  
message came as the  
American press head-  
lined reports of Moscow  
and Havana boosting  
their military support  
for the Luanda govern-  
ment in the face of ma-  
jor successes by Unita  
rebel forces.

### 'Efforts stalled'

Washington's diplo-  
matic effort had stalled  
and failure was likely to  
be admitted by the end  
of the year, a report yester-  
day concluded.

Nothing in the long  
Cuban speech to the UN  
Assembly suggested oth-  
erwise. Pretoria was as-  
sailed merely in passing  
as Mr Malmierca con-  
centrated his onslaught  
on Washington.

"While the world  
yearns for peace, the  
United States moves to-  
wards war," he charged.  
Reagan administration  
policies led only to "the  
peace of the graveyard".

Pledging Cuban sup-  
port for "gallant" Swapo  
and the African  
National Congress' "sto-  
ic and dauntless" fight-  
ers, he heaped prime re-  
sponsibility for the  
region's troubles on a  
US-South African "stra-  
tegic alliance".

"Only this alliance,  
accompanied by foul  
dilatatory tactics and bru-  
tal pressures, has pre-  
vented the peaceful ne-  
gotiated settlement of  
the Namibian problem,"  
he told the Assembly.

### 'Racist regime'

Lashing out at "link-  
age", he told the Assem-  
bly: "There is no record  
in history of such prepo-  
tence, cynicism or total  
disregard for the deci-  
sions of this organiza-  
tion, which has un-  
equivocally rejected  
this manoeuvre, aimed  
at perpetuating and ex-  
tending the racist re-  
gime in the African con-  
tinent."

● The Cuban speech  
dealt at length with the  
Korean airliner tragedy,  
which it said was being  
used by the US to foster  
hatred and the arms  
race.

Mr Malmierca com-  
pared American outrage  
now with its silence  
when a Cuban airliner  
was blown up and Israel  
downed a Libyan air-  
liner in the 1970s. He  
charged that last  
month's tragedy had its  
roots in the tensions  
caused by persistent  
American spy flights.

## Maties get Luther work

Staff Reporter

ONE of the first pub-  
lications in history  
denouncing the Pope  
as the Antichrist has  
been acquired by the  
University of Stellen-  
bosch.

The document, the  
"Passional Christi  
und Antichristi", by  
Martin Luther, was  
printed in Wittenberg  
in 1521 — the year Lu-  
ther was excommuni-  
cated from the Roman  
Catholic church.

It is one of only four  
such printed works  
left.

According to the  
university's chief li-  
brarian, Mr F du Ples-  
sis, — who was  
instrumental in ob-  
taining the document  
— the other three are  
in libraries and muse-  
ums in West Ger-  
many.

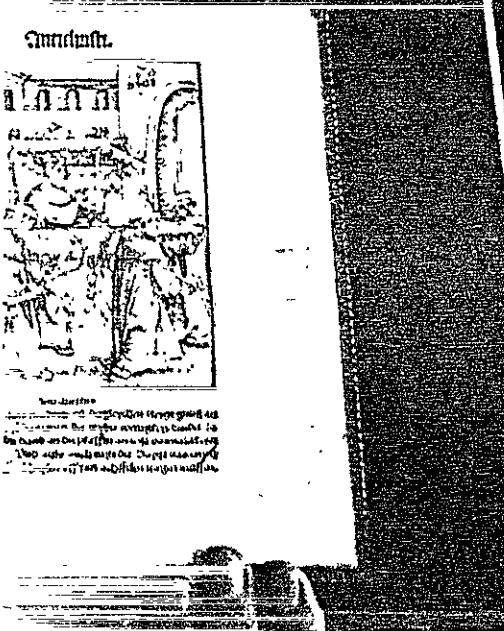
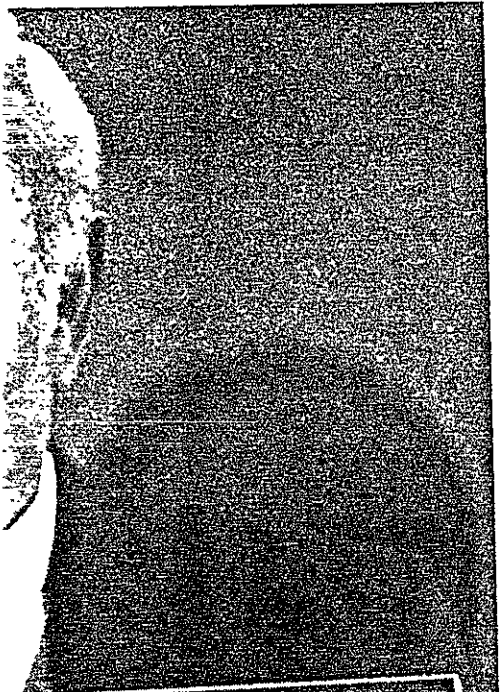
Mr Du Plessis said  
the "brochure" was  
brought into South  
Africa by a German  
family in the 1950s.

He said its authen-  
ticity had been  
double-checked.

The illustrations —  
by Hans Cranach, who  
died in 1537 — depict  
the life of Christ on  
one leaf, while on the  
other, there is a pa-  
rody of the life of the  
Pope.

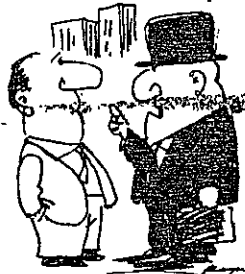
Its historical impor-  
tance is two-fold.

While the work by  
Luther heralded the  
birth of Reformation  
and Protestantism,  
the illustrations in  
the brochure ushered  
out an important era  
in the history of print-  
ing — namely, the  
predominant use of  
woodcuts in illustrat-  
ing books.



Mr F du Plessis, with the 'Passional' has been bought by the university.

### crack of dawn



"Maggie Thatcher's  
a Conservative, but  
she's a blerry left-  
wing, liberal conser-  
vative!"

### BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close) ....	\$392,87
FT index (close) ..	707,80
RDM 100 .....	932,50

# Unita claims 38 Cubans killed in stepped-up fighting

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

LISBON — Angola's Unita rebel movement and Cuban-backed Luanda exchanged war claims yesterday, pointing to an escalation in the fighting in the oil-producing country.

In a communique, the rebel army of Mr Jonas Savimbi claimed victories, which cost the government 151 dead — including 38 Cubans — in action covering six provinces.

It also claimed that between September 23 and October 4 its forces captured 21 soldiers, including a Cuban, ambushed a freight train near Lubango, destroyed 27 vehicles and downed two planes — a Soviet-built Antonov-22 transport plane and an MI-8 helicopter.

Unita said it lost two men and suffered 32 wounded in the fighting in the provinces of Moxico, Kuando-Kubango, Bie, Huila, Mocamedes and Kuanza

Sul.

Angolan Defence Ministry sources cited by the official Angop news agency did not comment directly on Unita's claims but said government forces killed 114 rebels and captured 37 in operations last week in five central and south-eastern provinces.

● In London an Angolan government spokesman said only humanitarian reasons stopped the Angolan army from rescuing the kidnapped Czechs from the Unita forces.

"We did not attack the Unita column because Unita had threatened to kill their hostages if we tried to rescue them," said Mr Luis de Almeida, the Angolan ambassador to France.

He added: "Unita propaganda pretends it controls large sections of the country. How then does it explain why it took its column months to reach the border?"

## Angolans seek British sympathy

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Angolan Government has made the first move in a campaign to inform Britons and the British Government more forcibly how, it claims, Angolans are suffering at the hands of South Africa — and to secure greater involvement by Britain in seeking independence for Namibia.

At the same time a spokesman made it clear that Angola, despite the ravages inflicted, would continue to support Swapo — while simultaneously trying to solve the problems of Southern Africa by diplomatic means.

The campaign was launched in London yesterday by the Angolan ambassador to France, Mr Luis de Almeida, at a Press conference.

Angolans believe Britain has a better chance of influencing South Africa and the United States on this issue than any other European country.

At the meeting Mr de Almeida distributed the English translation of the Angolan Government's White Paper on "Acts of Aggression by the Racist South African Regime against the People's Republic of Angola, 1975-1982".

Mr de Almeida also outlined conditions that would have to be met before Angola would consider talking about the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the territory.

These were: withdrawal of all South African forces from Angola, the implementation of UN Resolution 435, all aggression against Angola to cease, and all support for Unita to end.

Angola, said Mr de Almeida, was paying "a high price for Namibian independence". Thousands of people had been killed and wounded, 150 000 made homeless, and damage was estimated at billions of rands.

"It is, therefore, the hope of the Angolan Government that Britain and the contact group will assume their responsibilities for Namibia," said Mr de Almeida.

He added that six resolutions at the UN, initiated by Angola, had foundered on absentions by Britain, France and the US and, after several years of effort, the contact group had achieved almost nothing.

The US had monopolised proceedings and its demands on the Angolan Government increased all the time, Mr de Almeida said.

# Reds spend millions on Angola arms

*7/10/73*

PRETORIA — The Soviet bloc had spent more than R3.000 million during the past five years to maintain military personnel in Angola, the Defence Force chief said on SABC radio today.

General Constand Viljoen said the amount spent in countries like Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia was R720 million.

Soviet arms in neighbouring states heightened the possibility that South Africa and Namibia, in the short or medium term, could be threatened more directly than in an insurgency war.

Since 1977 the ground forces of neighbouring countries had increased by more than 300 per cent to some 300 000 men.

The number of tanks had risen by 200 per cent to 1 140, and of 600 combat aircraft in service, 120 were MiG jet fighters of types 17, 19 and 21. — Sapa.

# Unita 'winning hearts and minds'

7/10/83

(5)

AS THE civil war in Angola intensifies, Angola-watchers are increasingly asking the question: who will be the victor if and when the final showdown comes?

It is a question which is almost impossible to answer, as sorting propaganda from truth in the Angolan equation is an on-going nightmare, and plenty of educated guesswork is necessary.

Unita are known to routinely exaggerate their claims of victories, and the ruling MPLA is notoriously publicity shy, and only in the past few weeks have Western journalists been allowed into the country.

On paper, Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces have little chance of an outright military victory against the MPLA's military wing, Fapla.

According to figures released by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), there are 33 000 Fapla troops, although this figure is thought to be conservative.

In addition, Fapla is backed by between 22 000 and 30 000 Cuban troops, but the Cubans tend to play more of a logistical role than a direct combat role.

In an authoritative study on Angola published recently — "Angola in the Frontline" — two journalists based in Angola, Michael Wolfers and Jane Bergerol, tell of how peasants who supported the MPLA when it was fighting the Portuguese colonial regime have been organised into peoples' militias. The Peoples' Defence Organisation, OPD, was formally created in 1975, and there are estimated to be over 1-million men and women performing area defence tasks.

The militias have their own national command and political commissariat, separate from the Defence Ministry, and they perform home guard functions like sentry duty on a rotating basis.

But in an interview with the Mail Africa Bureau on Tuesday, Unita's deputy secretary for Foreign Affairs, Dr Tito Chingunji, claimed Unita was increasingly winning the support of the peasantry in the rural areas, thus breaking the back of the militias.

Significantly, the largest numbers of militias are concentrated in Bie, Moxico and Huambo Provinces, where the Unita presence is strongest, and where the rebel movement claims to have "liberated" large areas of countryside.

The IISS study put Angola's equipment level at 67 combat aircraft, 225 tanks and 200 armoured cars, but expressed doubts about the serviceability of the MPLA hardware.

Reports this week stated that the Soviet Union had been pouring arms into Angola in the last month, with at least 10-shiploads of

## From TONY WEAVER in Windhoek

heavy armour, fighter aircraft spares and helicopters said to have been unloaded.

Unita has combat troops in the field whose strength is estimated at anything between 10 000 and 30 000, depending on whose figures one believes.

There weaponry consists of arms supplied by a variety of sources, including, it is widely alleged, South Africa, and they make extensive use of weapons captured in sorties against Fapla troops.

Their chief weaponry appears to be small arms and anti-tank weapons, with mines and high explosives being used extensively in sabotage operations, mainly against the Benguela rail line.

Informed estimates state that almost half of the guerillas of the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia, Plan, the military wing of Swapo, are also being deployed with Fapla troops to counter Unita and periodic raids across the Angolan border by South African troops.

Wolfers and Bergerol state categorically in their study that South African troops are actively aiding Unita, both logistically and in a combat role.

They allege that most of the SADF cooperation with Unita is carried out by the mercenary-recruited 32 Battalion, which they say consists of 2 000 former Angolans now being paid by South Africa as mercenaries.

Without an accurate picture of the extent of South African support for Unita, it is impossible to gauge fully the final scenario should a Unita-Fapla showdown become a reality.

But two things are certain. The civil war is costing the MPLA hundreds of millions of rand annually, and it is unlikely the struggling Angolan economy can maintain the state of siege for long.

Secondly, Unita is in the bush, fighting a guerilla war, and history has shown that it is almost impossible for conventional forces to win against well-organised guerillas — particularly in the Angolan context, where much of the countryside consists of rugged bush and rolling mountains, perfect guerilla cover.

And if Unita claims that they are succeeding in "winning the hearts and minds" of the peasantry are true, then the MPLA is in serious trouble.

# Smoke hampering search for mine victims

High temperatures are a problem at the Vaal Reefs in the Western Transvaal. The bodies of five men are thought to have died in a fire at the mine.

still too dangerous for proto teams to enter the area to look for the bodies.

Five men died in the mine when a fire swept through the 64th level on Wednesday morning. Their names have not been released.

The fire was put out early yesterday by proto teams who continued working round the clock. The blaze started in an intake airway near the Number 4 shaft due to a large volume of air being drawn in, said the spokesman.

It spread downwind to a gang of eight construction workers and another two men working in a refrigeration plant. The miner in charge of the construction team saw the flames and contacted the mine's management.

Proto teams later recovered the bodies.

Four of the workers who were in the shaft when the fire broke out were from Transkei, three from Lesotho and three from Mozambique.

## Check for Smith

Former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith today he was to visit South Africa for a medical check-up. The visit would be private and that he would go to South Africa for doctors to check on his health. The Republican Front Party's re-election for the parliamentary election. Smith denied suggestions that he was leaving Zimbabwe.

# Reds spend millions on Angola arms

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Soviet arms in neighbouring states heightened the possibility that South Africa and Namibia, in the short or medium term, could be threatened more directly than in an insurgency war.

Since 1977 the ground forces of neighbouring countries had increased by more than 300 per cent to some 300 000 men.

The number of tanks had risen by 200 per cent to 1 140, and of 600 combat aircraft in service, 120 were MiG jet fighters of types 17, 19 and 21. — Sapa.

# Black day for British as Faldo routs ruin play

British golfer Nick Faldo took over the Suntory World Matchplay Championship yesterday and won the title. He decided by the antics of somebody in the crowd that he was saved from defeat and went back on to the green. Faldo's opponent, Englishman Graham Marsh, was a short putt. The referee, and threatened by spectators, called a foul. Marsh was hit in the eye when Marsh and the Englishman's red shirt flew over the hole. Marsh was hit before the ball came to rest on the putting surface. Faldo won the match. Neither had

Squadron Leader McCrea, secretary at the Walton Heath Golf Club.

Marsh saw the ball pop back, and when Faldo went to mark it on the green, said: "No, that ball was thrown back. You'll have to replace it."

An official marshal reported that the ball had not come to rest before shooting back on the green and, according to the rules, the referee allowed Faldo to play it where it lay.

The crowd showed its anger and McCrea said afterwards: "There was some vitriolic comment directed at me." Senior PGA tour officials agreed that McCrea had acted quite properly in the circumstances.

Marsh then three-putted to lose the hole. He was still disturbed as he lost the next hole and the match 2 and 1.

Later he said: "Whatever I say will sound like sour grapes. You all saw what happened."

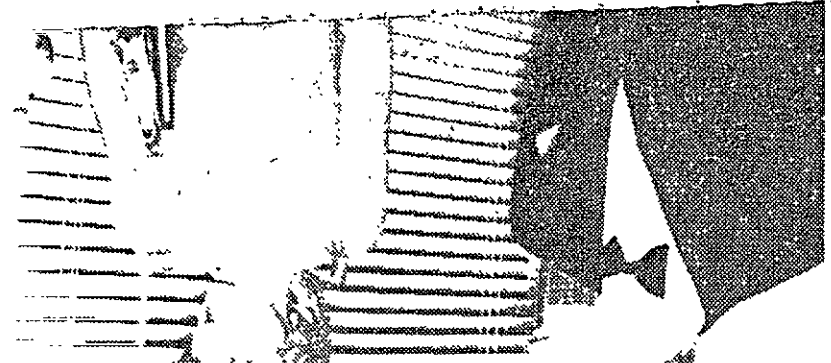
And Faldo commented: "It puts us all in an embarrassing position."



Spanish superstar Severiano Ballesteros, played a wonder shot during the Suntory World Matchplay Championship at Wentworth yesterday and went on to beat the crowd's favourite, veteran Arnold Palmer at the 21st hole of a thrilling match.

Ballesteros won the 17th with a birdie then holed out a 45 m shot from the rough to eagle the 18th and force the match into extra holes.

Page 21, Metro.



The pathologist in Pretoria, Prof. ... said today an autopsy had ... been caused by abrasions, bruises ... on the brain, there had ... the subcutaneous haemorrhage in ... about 500 ml of blood had ...

# 'S Fall

# Flashpoint Angola

## Shadowy civil war Russia has stepped up

By BRENDAN NICHOLSON  
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

**JOHANNESBURG.**—The arrival in Luanda of 10 shipments of Russian military equipment is just one part of a dangerous escalation of Angolan's shadowy civil war that has smouldered, far from the international gaze, for seven years.

The increased Russian commitment will undoubtedly have grave implications for hopes of a Namibian settlement and possibly, in the long run, for South Africa.

The weaponry, which includes T-62 tanks, was dispatched by the Kremlin to help the MPLA government forces and their Cuban allies counter the dramatic gains made by Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita movement.

The Angolan government says the substantial advances made by Unita in recent months would not have been possible without the direct support of the South African Defence Force, a claim the SADF denies.

**Stronghold**  
The increased Russian support follows the fall of Cangamba, one of the last major military strongholds occupied by MPLA and Cuban troops in the south-eastern corner of Angola which is generally considered to be completely under Unita control.

The battle for Cangamba marked a turning point in the progress of the war in that

a major government force was destroyed in a set piece battle. It also illustrated well the problems of assessing exactly what is happening in a war of which both sides have allowed minimal, selected Press coverage.

**Brigades**  
Unita says it used three brigades totalling 6 000 men to overwhelm the 3 000 government troops, 200 of whom were Cubans, holding the town.

On the other hand a journalist from The Times of London says the Unita forces were unable to crack Cangamba's defences and had to call on the SADF to help out.

Luanda claims the rebels were able to move in Cangamba only after SAAF bombers destroyed the town. The SADF denied taking part in the attack.

**Excuses**  
The government of President Eduardo dos Santos fears that Pretoria has decided to clear the government forces out of eastern Angola to establish an independent state for Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

However a recent visitor to the town — he was flown there in an Angolan government helicopter — said there was no trace of any Unita presence in Caluito and no indication of a major battle having been fought there.

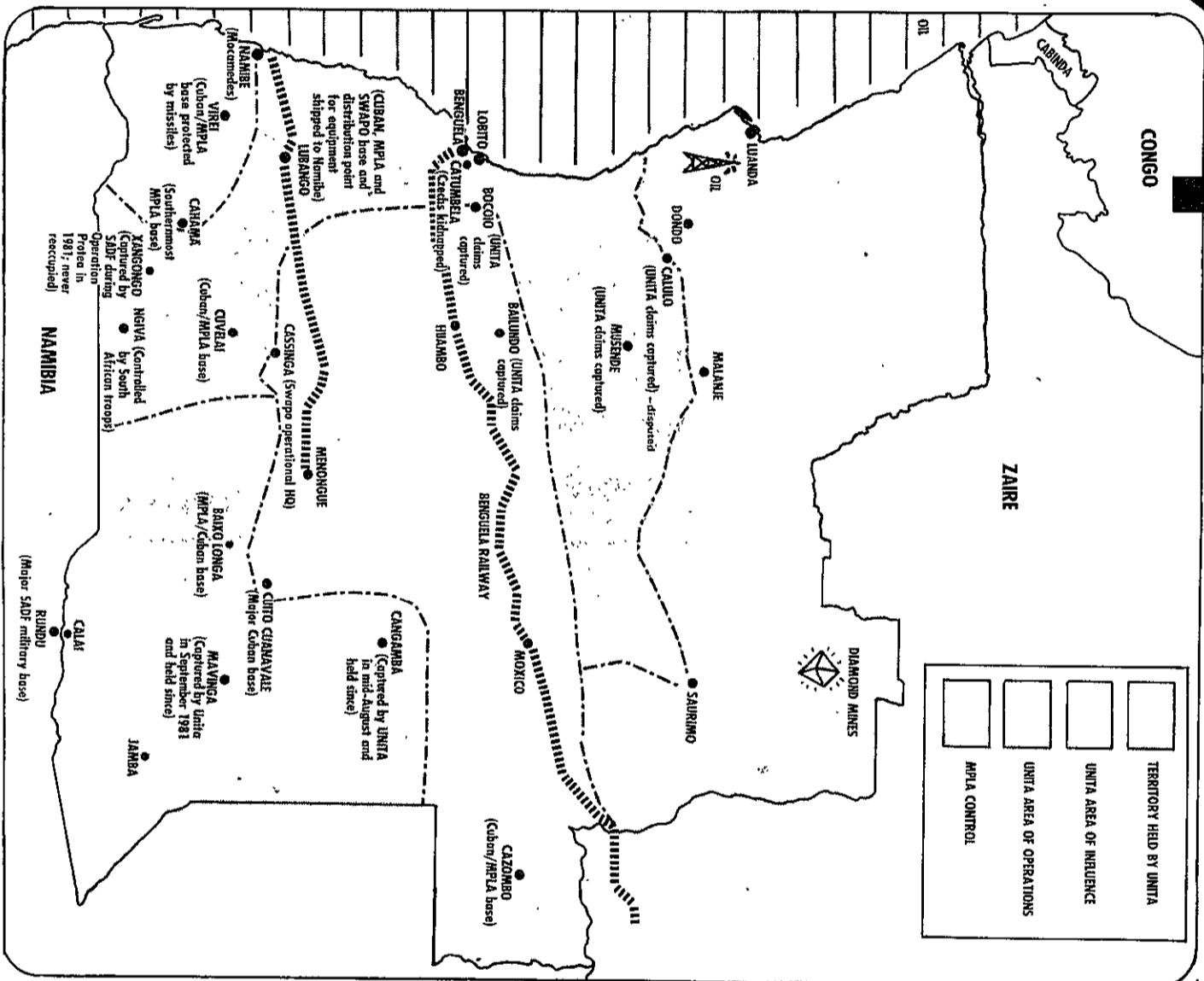
**Claims**  
As an example there were widespread claims in the Western media recently that Unita had captured and was holding the key town of Caluito just over 200km south-east of Luanda.

But reports that town after town is falling to the guerrillas in a northward advance that now threatens Luanda appear to be exaggerated.

The SADF says the MPLA is simply making excuses to cover up its inability to stop Unita.

The sketchy Press coverage of the war and the fog of communication, claims and counter-claims that obscures it, make it almost impossible to judge exactly what gains Unita has made.

It is by no means as certain that the rebels could assemble brigades of troops strong enough to mount successful conventional attacks on cities in the



of Angola's south-eastern corner. Nor is it disputed that they can "Swim like fish" through a very large part of the country to carry out frequent ambushes and attack isolated "islands" of government troops.

**Annihilation**

That picture would, of course, change if Savimbi were able to call on the SADF for support. But what then would be the Russian response

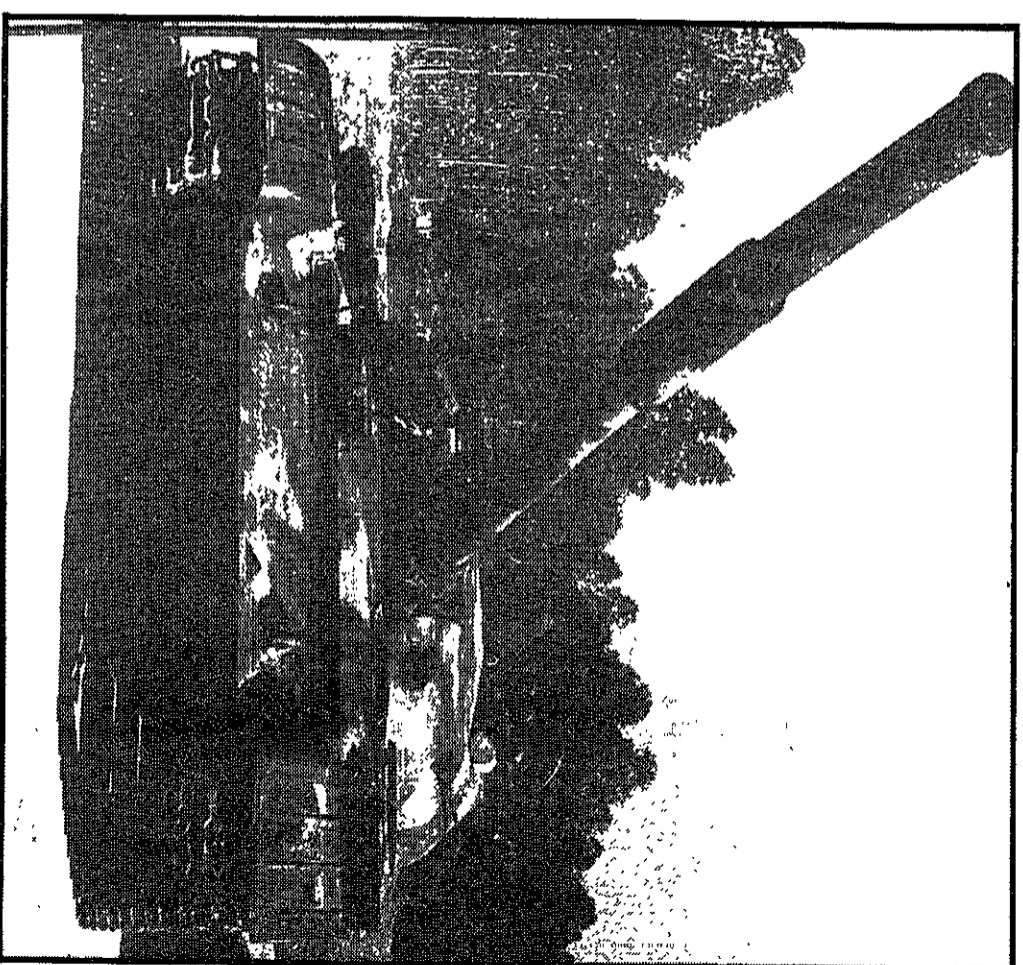
much more densely populated western part of Angola. To assemble the necessary force without substantial air and artillery cover would lay the guerrillas wide open to annihilation by the air and ground forces of the MPLA's Cuban allies.

But the Russian and Cuban commitment so far has been considerable with estimates of the number of troops sent to Angola so far ranging from 25 000 to 40 000.

Now that the Angolan "Heartland" is threatened the Eastern Bloc is already stepping up its efforts substantially. The SADF makes no secret of the fact it operates in Angola against SWAPO but denies that it gives direct support to Unita.

As many as 1 000 fully-trained SWAPO guerrillas are believed to have been deployed in Angolan army uniforms to fight Unita and have in the process been diverted from making attacks in Namibia.

Western diplomats fear that a thrust on the capital threatens Russia's credibility so badly that it might draw a far more vicious Soviet backlash.



● A Soviet T-62 tank. These tanks were off-loaded in Luanda by Soviet ships last week.

**Training**  
However, it is likely that the Pretoria's objectives, one being the elimination of SWAPO, and those of the rebels blur conveniently.

SWAPO has large concentrations of troops and equipment in some of the towns defended by government forces which are likely Unita targets.

The South-western town of Lubbango is a major SWAPO training base and headquarters. Cassinga, further inland, is SWAPO's operational HQ and the springboard for attacks on Namibia.

There were plans to deploy anti-aircraft missiles to protect another military complex at Virei, in the south, but it is not clear yet if these have been positioned.

Savimbi has old friends in Red China who are believed to be sympathetic to him still and can count on the quiet support of other states such as Senegal.

The two major questions hanging over the Angolan issue are exactly how well Unita would be doing without assistance and how Russia is likely to respond should South African involvement.

Wrong assessments by the powers involved could produce some bloody answers.



ISSUE OF THE WEEK

# Angola's shadowy war



Angola — the forgotten war of Africa — has simmered silently for almost seven years, disturbing few in the outside world. But now the crisis is being brought to the boil and any miscalculation by either side could turn the country into a superpower battlefield. Brendan Nicholson reports.

**T**HE arrival in Luanda of 10 shiploads of Russian military equipment is just one part of a dangerous escalation of Angola's civil war that has smouldered, far from the international gaze, for seven years.

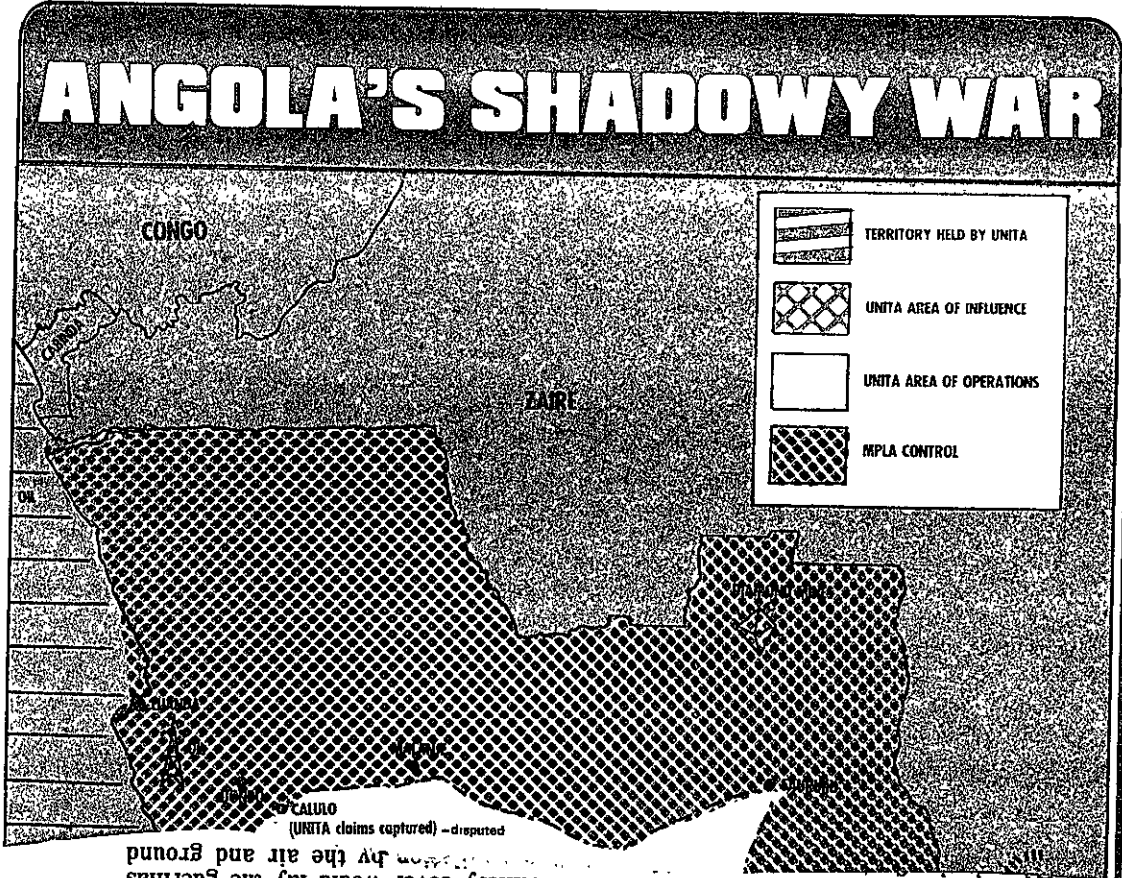
The increased Russian commitment will undoubtedly have grave implications for hopes of a Namibian settlement and possibly, in the long run, for South Africa's objectives.

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uniforms to fight Unita and have in the process been diverted from making attacks in Namibia.

James "Cowboy" Anny.  
China and Soviet Union open  
third round of talks on improv-  
ing relations after 20-year split.



It is by no means as certain that the rebels could assemble brigades of troops strong enough to mount successful conventional attacks on cities in the much more densely populated western part of Angola. To assemble the necessary force without substantial air and artillery cover would lay the guerrillas open to attack by the air and ground forces.

5  
Star 8/10/83



The unions and his parliament-  
ry colleagues can expect little com-  
fort from a man whose fuse is short  
and ambition long.  
It is possible that the old alliance

From the moment he arrived in  
parliament in 1970, he was recog-  
nised by producers as the ideal  
fort from a man whose fuse is short  
and ambition long.  
alternating with a concerned rown

had to call on the SADF to  
It were able to move in  
If bombers destroyed the  
part in the attack.

# SA-Angola talks unlikely — Pereira

RAM (5)  
10/10/83

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON. — There is little chance that talks between Angola and South Africa will be reopened soon, Cape Verde President Aristides Pereira said this week.

President Pereira, who has been a key intermediary between Luanda and Pretoria and arranged the unprecedented negotiations last December and February, was in Washington on a visit.

In a meeting with Washington Post editors, he suggested the unwillingness to talk was largely Angola's.

"The Angolans are convinced that there is no will for peace from South Africa, that the only thing South

Africa wants is the destruction of their regime."

He described the Cabinet-level meeting in December as "very positive".

The parties had "established a climate of mutual trust".

The second meeting broke down after Swapo launched a fresh offensive into South West Africa, indicating to Pretoria that the MPLA was either unwilling or unable to check the insurgents.

Apart from talks with President Ronald Reagan, the Island leader met Dr Chester Crocker, assistant Secretary of State for Africa, to discuss the Angolan situation.

# Angolans snap up luxury items in Portugal

## Mail Correspondent

LISBON. — Floods of free-spending Angolan tourists in Lisbon are providing an unexpected boost to Portugal's hard pressed economy, giving a glimpse of conditions in their former Portuguese colony.

Last month, according to news reports published in Lisbon this week, more than 5 000 Angolan tourists disembarked in Lisbon — each with their R680 spending allowances in hard currency for the average two-week stay.

Many exhausted their money within 24 hours of arrival, returning to the airport with armsful of television sets, radios, record players and other electrical goods, all worth their weight in food and clothing on Luanda's unofficial black market.

According to one newspaper account, the Bank of Angola transferred about R3-million to Portugal last month for the tourists to spend in Portugal.

Most of the visitors are reportedly far more interested in the shops and supermarkets than in sightseeing, hotels and restaurants.

One case, cited by a local

paper, referred to a family of four who spent their total R2 700 travel allowance within hours of arriving, gathering a taxi load of goods to take home before returning to the airport to try and get an early flight to Luanda.

Both the Portuguese and Angolan airlines are fully booked until mid-November, so many of the shoppers were obliged to camp out at the airport and hope for cancellations.

While no one officially admits it, most of the goods snapped up by the tourists will be bartered back home for food, staples, clothing and other items, all in desperate short supply or hideously expensive in Angola.

Meanwhile, a Portuguese news agency report this week denied the Angolans had warned that transfers of hard currency to Portugal might be curbed.

The report said the savings of Portuguese working in Angola and other sources of foreign exchange transferred regularly to Lisbon may be interrupted if the activities in Portugal of the anti-Luandan guerrilla group, Unita, are not restricted.

5

# Angola's Cuban troop offer a non-starter

Defence Reporter

ANGOLA'S latest "offer" on withdrawing the 25 000-plus Cuban troops stationed on its soil was a non-starter from the moment the words were spoken by Luanda's foreign minister.

The conditions mentioned by the minister, Mr

Paulo Jorge, in a speech to the United Nations General Assembly ensured that there is no chance the South African Government will be interested in taking it up.

According to Mr Jorge, South Africa must withdraw its troops before any negotiations on the Cuban withdrawal can begin. But

this would create the very situation the government is determined to prevent.

South African military planners fear that if South African forces in SWA/Namibia are withdrawn the heavily-armed Cubans and their Angolan and Swapo allies will have no difficulty in overwhelming the smaller South West Africa

Territory Force (SWATF) and installing a Swapo government in Windhoek.

This is one of the reasons why South Africa insists on "linkage" of a SWA/Namibian resolution and a Cuban withdrawal. At the moment about a quarter of the security forces operating along the

border are SWA/Namibian troops. All are counter-insurgency battalions which are trained and equipped for hunting an enemy in bush conditions.

None would be capable of withstanding a large "conventional" force equipped with many tanks, large amounts of artillery

and numerous ground-strafing aircraft.

In addition, SWATF has no offensive air arm of its own.

Military planners have not forgotten that Angola's MPLA government came to power in exactly that way in 1975, when large and heavily-armed Cuban

forces steamrolled over the MPLA's lightly-armed rivals, Unita and the FNILA.

The only time the Cubans were stopped was when they encountered South African guns and armour, manned by soldiers trained in conventional warfare.



# SA still holding 146 from raid into Angola

The Star Bureau

31/10/83  
WINDHOEK — South Africa is holding 146 people — described by the International Committee of the Red Cross as undeclared prisoners of war — in a detention camp near the southern Namibian town of Mariental.

Most of the captives, of whom 14 are Angolans, were captured by security forces during a raid on Swapo bases near the Angolan town of Cassinga nearly 4½ ago.

These figures were revealed by an SWA Territory Force spokesman who was asked to confirm a recent report by the Red Cross committee (ICRC).

Delegates of the ICRC visited the Mariental camp on August 18 and 19 and reported seeing 14

“Angolan prisoners of war and 139 security detainees”.

Seven of the detainees have since been released.

As there is no declared war between South Africa and Swapo, the captives are not officially classified as prisoners of war.

Instead, they are held in terms of a security proclamation which provides for detention for periods of up to 30 days, renewable by the Administrator-General.

The territory force spokesman said the detainees were visited by the ICRC every two or three months.

While most of them were captured in 1978, he said, more recent captives were also sent there.

# Portugal slams SA's Namibian policy — and boosts relations with Angola

LISBON — Portugal's relations with its former colony of Angola look set to improve substantially after years in the doldrums, with some blunt talking on Southern Africa by the new Portuguese government providing the booster.

During a visit to Lisbon last week, Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Paulo Jorge welcomed the return to power of Portuguese Socialist leader Mr Mario Soares with a big majority last June.

He praised what he called the clear position on Southern Africa of the new Socialist-Social Democratic coalition Government.

During talks here, Portuguese Foreign Minister Mr Jaime Gama told Mr Jorge that Lisbon attached great importance to strengthening co-operation and solidarity with African countries, particularly Angola.

Mr Gama emphasised the need to bring Namibia, ruled by South Africa in defiance of United Nations resolutions, to independence as soon as possible.

He branded South African control of Namibia, over which South African forces are fighting a 17-year-old bush war against Namibian guerrillas based in Angola, illegal occupation.

## No real change

Mr Gama also condemned Pretoria's system of apartheid, or separate racial development.

This marks no real change in Portuguese foreign policy since the 1974 revolution which ended nearly half a century of right-wing dictatorship.

But it has not recently been stated so bluntly. Successive governments since 1974 have been guarded in their criticism of South Africa, apparently in order to protect the interests of some 600 000 Portuguese living in that country.

Mr Jorge told reporters in Lisbon that the frequent changes of government here — 15 since the revolution — had hampered ties between Portugal and Angola.

Now, he added, "a new page may have been turned in the history of our relations".

Mr Jorge said he hoped that Portugal could play an important role in Angola's drive for national reconstruction. He admitted that his country — potentially rich in oil, diamonds and minerals and once the brightest jewel in Portugal's ancient empire — was in difficult straits.

But he blamed most of its problems on what he called the undeclared war by South Africa, and said much of Angola's human and financial resources had been mobilised against South African attacks.

Mr Jorge repeated Angola's rejection of any link between Namibian independence and the withdrawal from Angola of an estimated 20 000 to 30 000 Cuban troops, stationed in his country since the 1975-76 civil war from which the ruling Marxist popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) emerged victorious over other nationalist groups.

South Africa and the United States say a Cuban withdrawal must be part of a Namibian independence settlement, but Angola says the two issues are separate.

Mr Jorge said there was no chance of reconciliation between the MPLA and the pro-Western rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) led by Mr Jonas Savimbi.

The Angolan Minister said Unita, which claims to control large areas of southern and eastern Angola, acted almost always with the support of regular South African troops or foreign mercenaries.

Mr Jorge criticised Unita's propaganda activity in Portugal as "a grain of sand in the works" of Angolan-Portuguese relations. Unita regularly issues communiques here listing claims of victories over MPLA forces.

He said he could not understand why Portugal permitted such activities, adding that Portuguese living in Angola were often victims of Unita attacks.

## Embarrassed governments

Embarrassed Portuguese governments have discouraged Unita's operations here. But officials point out that, in a Western democracy like Portugal, it is impossible to stop such activities without restrictive police measures.

Mr Jorge echoed the words of the Angolan ambassador to France, Mr Luis de Almeida, who told a news conference in London recently: "With the Government of Mr Mario Soares, Portugal's position towards Angola took a more positive direction."

Presenting a Government white paper accusing South Africa of aggression, Mr de Almeida, a leading MPLA strategist, said Portuguese President Antonio Ramalho Eanes was a friend of Angola.

Mr Jorge told newsmen that the Namibian independence issue was now entirely in the hands of the United Nations Security Council and UN Secretary General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

He said he knew nothing of any possible Portuguese participation in the Western "contact group" on Namibia, composed of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada, which has been striving since 1978 to speed a solution.

But he added that the UN Secretary General could call on the help of any UN member if he so wished. — Reuter.

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(11) Unemployment project  
(111) Cattle project.

DEVELOPMENT STUDIES RESEARCH GROUP (DSRG)

wool and ordered the man to stand with his back to a tree. I was tying his hands behind him when Pieter shot him in the head.

"We went to Ermelo where Pieter met a man who we gave a lift to.

"At an isolated spot Pieter said to me: 'Help me to get this fat bliksem out of the car.'

"Pieter held the man at gunpoint and said: 'Give me your Help-U card', and the man handed it over.

"He refused to tell Pieter the card's number, and tried to hit Pieter, who shot him.

**'Very scared'**

"I was very scared after seeing what he did to the three men.

"Later in Vryheid at the United bank, Pieter filled in a R400 withdrawal slip against a bank account of one of the dead men.

"I withdrew that money, and later another R400 at the United bank in Dundee.

"Pieter never left me alone. I often wanted to run away and go to the police but I was afraid and knew he would kill me. He was with me until our arrest," the statement ended.

Mr D de Villiers, appearing pro deo for Miss Phillips, said he would not contest the admissibility of the statement, but would lead evidence to show its contents were concocted as a result of a love pact be-

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To page 4

## 'Myth' holds lesson for PM

KNYSNA. — South Africa had to "make better music" for its people than the communists or its enemies could, the Prime Minister, Mr PW Botha, said last night.

He told a packed town hall in Knysna that the Greek mythological tale of Orpheus held a lesson for South Africa.

The Prime Minister said Orpheus had outwitted the island women who lured sailors to their death with beautiful music, by making "better music" on board his ship.

"We too must have better music in South Africa than the communists make.

"We must have better music in South Africa than those who want to destabilize this country.

"We have a chance to make a start on November 2."

The future should not be approached with hatred and prejudice, and "we can't live in fear either", Mr Botha said.

(Report by Pierre Claassen, Nedbank Centre, Strand St, CT.) — Sapa

## SA 'firm' on Cuban troops, UN told

NEW YORK. — South Africa's United Nations Ambassador, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, firmly told the Security Council early today SWA/Namibia would not gain its independence until Cuban forces were withdrawn from Angola.

"The position of the South African Government on this question is that it will not be possible to put into practice any settlement plan unless a clear agreement is reached on Cuban withdrawal," he said.

"The Government of the Republic of South Africa is irrevocably committed on this issue. Firm agreement will have to be reached on the fundamental requirements of Cuban withdrawal, and a commitment will have to be obtained from the Angolan Government regarding the implementation of such an agreement."

Speaking during the opening session of a council meeting called by African states, he said there was "irrefutable evidence Swapo and Fapla forces are becoming increasingly integrated, and the Fapla

CAPL TAKES  
21/10/83  
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forces are advised by Cubans".

Before he addressed the 15-member council, African representatives had condemned linkage of the UN independence plan with the presence of Cubans in Angola, but Mr Von Schirnding said: "The presence of 30 000 Cuban troops in Angola is not a figment of South Africa's imagination. It is a fact. It takes a great deal of wishful thinking to deny that this connection exists."

He said Swapo operated from Angola with active Fapla and Cuban support.

"The relevance of the presence in Angola of the Cuban forces is therefore indivisible from the efforts to put an end to conflict in the area and establish long-term peace in the region.

"It is absurd to deny that the introduction of surrogate forces of the Soviet Union into Southern Africa is not a cause for the gravest concern, not only to South Africa and South West Africa, but to all the countries of the region." — Sapa-Reuter

# 'ist' in chase shootout

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drew up outside the house. Thinking it was a friend, she opened the door to be confronted by a fair-haired man aged about 20.

He asked to use the telephone but once inside produced a knife and grabbed the woman. She was slashed across the face with the tip of the knife while her terrified child stood nearby.

The man allegedly raped her in the hall and then ran out and drove off.

Constable Marshall, 24, spot-

ted the gunman's car immediately after hearing a police radio alert. When he gave chase, the fugitive overtook a bus on the wrong side of the road and started firing shots into the air.

Constable Marshall followed at about 140kph.

"Outside the King George V Hospital I tried to force him off the road. He was right beside me and he turned and pointed the gun at me," the constable said.

"I ducked. The van was skid-

ding all over the road. The bullet went through the wind-screen right where my head had been.

"I managed to catch up with him again and I fired a shot which hit the back of his car.

"There were kids crossing the road outside a school. He drove straight at them. They scattered everywhere. I could not drive on in case I hit them, and he got away."

Police said a number of cars were stopped but no arrest had been made. — Sapa

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(5) KSM 22/10/83

# Alliance against MPLA likely

By KEN POTTINGER

LISBON. — Anti-Marxist groups fighting the Angolan Government are to form a common front aimed at driving Cuban and Soviet forces out of the country, a spokesman for the groups announced this week.

Mr Daniel Chipenda, a former militant of the ruling MPLA party and now leader of the CNA (National Angolan Convergence) on Thursday told journalists that an agreement would be signed "in the near future" between his movement, the FNLA and FLEC (Front for the Liberation of Cabinda).

At a later stage the group would move to integrate Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces into the front.

Mr Chipenda claimed the Angolan Government was no longer a cohesive and solid force capable of resolving the problems of the country.

He confirmed that the three rebel groups, none of which has the same military or political weight as Unita, had held two meetings in Lisbon this month and a platform of broad agreement had been reached. A formal protocol would be signed shortly.

Mr Chipenda agreed that it would be diffi-

cult to incorporate Unita into the new front because of its success as a guerrilla force since Angolan independence from Portugal in 1975. While he admitted that attempts to forge a similar front at Alvor in the Algarve prior to independence had failed, he said conditions in Angola had changed greatly since then and were more favourable to a new united anti-Marxist front.

Observers in Lisbon believe the relative strengths of the three movements proposing an alliance is significantly weaker than three or four years ago. They certainly have nowhere near the influence that the Unita forces has.

Nevertheless, recently renewed guerrilla actions in the north of Angola point to a possible rejuvenation of the FNLA, while FLEC forces (said to be 800-strong) are threatening sabotage raids on American-run offshore oil wells in Cabinda to hit the country's prime source of foreign exchange — oil.

Meanwhile, according to the official Angolan news agency Angop, Angolan Government forces have fought a series of successful actions against Unita in several provinces this month.

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# WORLD WATCH

ANGOLA has called on the Security Council to consider imposing sanctions against South Africa if it fails to comply with resolutions calling for independence for SWA/Namibia.

It has also said the council must reject South Africa's insistence on linking independence for the territory with demands for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Angola's UN representative, Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, was speaking on the second day of a new round of debate on the question of SWA/Namibia.

"The Security Council must reject South Africa's insistence on linking the independence of SWA-Namibia to irrelevant and extraneous issues.

"If South Africa fails to comply with relevant resolutions, the council should consider the adoption of appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations charter," he said.

Cuban troops were invited into Angola in response to

## Calls for sanctions against S Africa

### UNITED NATIONS

SAPA-REUTER reports on the Security Council debate on SWA/Namibia

South Africa's "military invasion" of his country when it gained independence in 1975, Mr Figueiredo said.

"I don't believe South Africa will leave Namibia unless forced to do so," he added.

If the settlement plan were not implemented soon there would be only two options left — the imposition of sanctions against South Africa or a long armed struggle by Swapo.

Cuba's Deputy Foreign

Minister, Mr Oramas Oliva, said his Government rejected linkage.

"The presence of Cuban forces is due to a sovereign agreement between two governments. It is not something to be negotiated with third parties," he told the council.

He said the United States was trying to conceal the real obstacle to SWA/Namibia's independence, which was the occupation of parts of Angola by South African troops.

The council session was adjourned until Monday.

Black states are working on a draft resolution calling on the UN Secretary-General, Dr Perez de Cuellar, to make further attempts to speed up the territory's independence and asking for sanctions against South Africa if Pretoria does not cooperate.

They are trying to find a formula that will gain the most support from the 15-member council while avoiding a veto by the United States, which has consistently rejected economic sanctions.

S Times 23/10/83

**LUANDA a decade ago was a bustling, neon-lit city where Continental restaurants and bathing beaches were the drawcard. This view shows the causeway leading to Luanda island, with the Portuguese colonial fortress in the foreground**

**Tribune Foreign Service**

LUANDA was once the pride of imperial Lisbon. Luanda, larger than any city in metropolitan Portugal, Luanda with its skyscrapers, bright neon lights, high rise apartments and sea-front cafes. Luanda symbolised the continuity of the Portuguese presence in Africa.

Today, eight years after independence, it still retains its Portuguese flavour, but very little of its prosperous past.

Huge murals of Angola's first president, the late Agostinho Neto, describing him as the "Immortal guide of the Angolan revolution, founder of the nation and of the MPLA workers' party" smother the walls of many buildings.

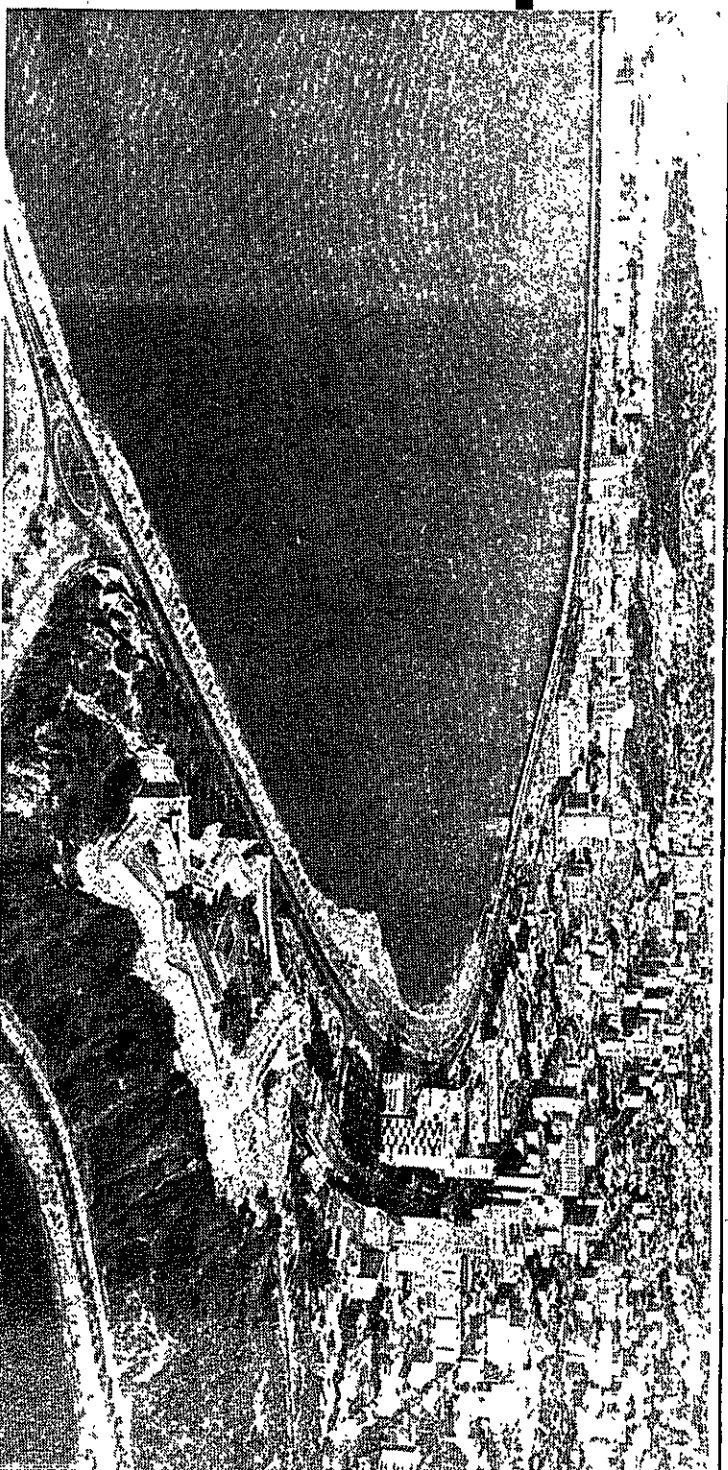
Other walls are covered with slogans in- voking support for the party and its socialist ideals. The old statues of Portuguese sailors and generals have been replaced by tanks and armoured cars captured or used during the civil war of 1975-76.

All this blends into a colourful collage with advertisements for holidays abroad, fridges and TVs, and a wide variety of food products.

This colourful gloss does nothing to hide the reality of life in Luanda today. More than 90 percent of the shops in the city are empty. Their windows are shattered, and they look out into pavements and streets disfigured by dirt and potholes.

There are long queues for food; mothers with babies strapped to their backs line up from dawn for hours to get their share of the little there is. Eggs, meat, chicken, potatoes, rice, salt and cooking oil are ex-

**In the shambles of modern Luanda, where a bottle of whisky costs R450 and the shops are empty shells, memories of the imperial past linger on**



# SLOGGANS BUT NO FOOD

tremely rare in Luanda and their shortage is particularly hard on a population whose palates have grown accustomed to Portuguese cuisine.

The main reason for the lack of food in Luanda is the conflict between government troops and Unita insurgents. Most of the main roads to the north are extremely dangerous and some are impassable because of Unita ambushes.

The shortages are further aggravated by the absence of an organised transportation system. The state took over most of the transport in 1976 but none of it has been developed, except shipping along the coast.

The few remaining private operators are reluctant to take the risk of supplying Luanda.

Even in the museums, the shanty sub-

urbs, the average Luandan finds it hard to change his diet to the more traditional food which, although also scarce, can be obtained from time to time.

Nearly all the food eaten in Luanda is imported. Chicken, eggs and meat come from Brazil by sea while Portugal, once an importer of food from Angola, provides cooking oil, salt and other commodities.

However, most of this first finds its way to the 100 000-strong army hospitals and the tables of the diplomatic corps before the leftovers reach the public market.

Clothing is also hard to buy and most of it is imported. Angola produces 40 000 tons of cotton a year but its textile mills are only now beginning to operate. Shoes, mostly made of plastic, come from Brazil and cost R25 a

pair at the official exchange rate for the kwanza.

The shortages have made the average Angolan accumulate a lot of savings. According to an official at the bank of Angola, workers have more money than most of their counterparts in Africa.

"It is not that they have better saving habits. The nature of our economy just forces them to save," he said.

Another result of the shortages is a thriving black market in which most Luandans are involved. Goods are smuggled in from neighbouring countries and sold at exorbitant prices. One kilo of rice costs R11.50, a kilo of meat R13, a bottle of whisky a staggering R450 again at the official exchange rate.

At the five-star Panorama Hotel the kwanza changes hands at

one dollar for 1 000 kwanzas; the official rate is one dollar for 30 kwanzas.

While Luandans are in constant search of

food, their compatriots in the troubled southern provinces have it in abundance. Traditionally the breadbasket of Angola, the south is

agriculturally rich and self-sufficient in food. Travellers going north to Luanda carry little else except sacks of eggs, meat and vege-

tables. Angolan airlines had to impose a ban on the transportation of live goats and chickens on their flights from the south.

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# 'Coalition' is threat to Savimbi

Defence Reporter

THE old ghosts of disunity and factionalism among non-communist movements which facilitated the marxist take-over in Angola in 1975 appear to be walking again, at a time when the Luanda government is at its weakest in eight years.

Moves by three long-dormant "liberation movements" to make common cause with the Luanda government bodes ill for Dr Jonas Savimbi of the Unita movement and his spreading war against the regime of President Eduardo dos Santos.

If reports from Lisbon are to be believed, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the Front for the Liberation of Cabinda (FLEC) and the Angolan National Convergence (CNA) are to unite and approach the Angolan government with an offer to help in the reconstruction of the war-torn country.

Implicit in this re-alignment is the intention of forming a common front against Dr Savimbi, who has been steadily broadening his area of operations from his base in the Cuando-Cubango province in south-east Angola.

The unity announcement evokes echoes of fierce interneine dis-

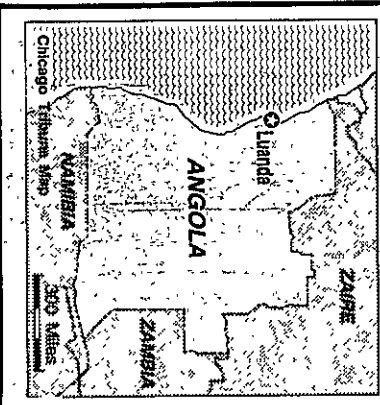
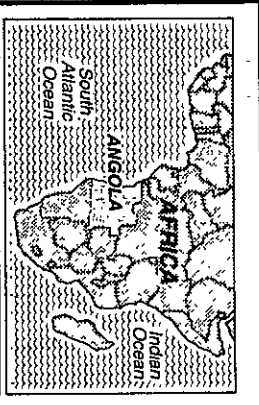
putes which raged between the anti-marxist movements in 1975.

Although nominally allies, Unita and the northern-based FNLA were at daggers drawn and could not be trusted to fight alongside one another. At odds with both of them was the so-called "Chipenda Faction", a breakaway FNLA element under Mr Daniel Chipenda which is now the Angolan National Convergence.

There was so much bad blood between Unita and the Chipenda faction in 1975 and 1976 that on at least one occasion South African troops stepped in and disarmed two contingents who had spent most of a day shooting at one another from different sections of a small town in southern Angola.

The FNLA, lured into rashness by the over-confidence of its leader at the time, Mr Holden Roberto, was decisively defeated by the MPLA government forces and their Cuban allies.

When the Angolan civil war went into its guerrilla phase in mid-1976 the FNLA soon became dormant, as did FLEC, while many fighters of



the Chipenda faction fled the country. Actual present-day strengths of the three movements are not

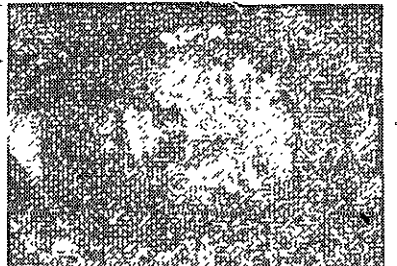
known. Mr Chipenda reportedly claims 4 000 fighting men, but the CNA is not known to have done any fighting in the past few years and neither has the FNLA.

However, all represent at least a potential threat, and if they make common cause with the MPLA it could seriously hamper Dr Savimbi's attempts to fight President Dos Santos to the point of defeat or negotiation.

In addition, the government would be able to reduce its forces in these areas and stronghold of the FNLA, and re-deploy them against Unita in the south and south-east.

It is apparent that Dr Savimbi's efforts to forge new links with the FNLA and FLEC have failed, and quite likely the three movements' new direction is motivated less by an ideological change of heart than a fear of missing the boat if he manages to achieve his aims.

The new development might well delay a SWA/Namibian settlement as well, since a reinforcement of the Angolan government would probably lengthen the war — and the conflict in Angola is twinned to the situation south of the border.



Dr Savimbi



President Dos Santos

# Unita is squeezing Swapo southward

By Peter Honey  
Argus Foreign Service

**WINDHOEK** — Angola's Unita resistance movement has established a military base in the "no-man's land" between Namibia's Owambo border and the southern Angolan town of Ngiva.

Unita's presence in the area is its first return to Angola's southern Cunene province in force since Cuban-backed MPLA troops forced the rebels to retreat eastwards into Cuando-Cubango in 1975.

It is reliably learnt that Unita guerilla fighters are now openly manning the Angolan checkpoint on the main road between Namibia and Angola. It is understood the Unita base was established at Namacunde, 10 km north of Oshikango and Santa Clara, in July.

A spokesman for the SWA Territory Force said: "We also have intelligence that Unita is active north of Owambo."

Until now Unita's activities along the Namibian border were

restricted to the Angolan territory north of the Caprivi and Kavango tribal regions.

Their presence so far west along the border has been predicted by some observers who expected Unita to grab the opportunity of filling the "gap" left by constant security force action in southern Angola.

The appearance in Owambo and Kavango of about 900 "regular" Swapo fighters in February and March this year showed there are still several hundred Swapo guerillas constantly on the move in the border zone. It is clear South African-controlled forces adopted a far more casual approach to the border since Operation Protea in August 1981, when Swapo's forward bases near Ngiva and Xangongo were destroyed and the guerillas were forced to retreat to about 250 km north of Namibia's border.

The attacks on the two Angolan towns also sent Angolan Fapla forces on the retreat, and Xangongo and Ngiva are out of Angolan control even now, more than two

years later.

A territory force spokesman said yesterday that there was no tactical relationship between the Unita forces and security forces along the Owambo border.

The state of the bush war in Owambo is at one of its lowest ebbs since Swapo began operating mainly out of Angola in 1975.

The Unita presence is also likely to put added pressure on Swapo fighters operating out of southern Angola, and it could have a dramatic impact on the expected mass incursion by Swapo early next year.

A SWATF spokesman has already predicted that Swapo will try to make next year's thrust towards Namibia's "white" farming regions even bigger than the one this year.

The first fully-trained fighters should be ready in December, he said.

About 1 600 fighters were involved in the thrust this year. Security forces beat back the attack, killing more than 300.

# Unita <sup>DOM (5)</sup> moves <sup>1/1/83</sup> west into Cunene

WINDHOEK. — A contingent of the Angolan rebel force Unita has shifted westwards from its Cuando-Cubango stronghold in south-eastern Angola and now mans a military base at Ngiva in southern Cunene province, less than 100km north of the South West African border.

According to a newspaper report in Windhoek yesterday, Unita has erected a signpost north of Oshikango in Owambo, on the border between South West Africa and Angola.

The signpost announces that Unita controls the Oshikango checkpoint on what used to be the main road between South West Africa and Angola.

"We have intelligence that Unita is active north of Oshikango now," a spokesman for the SWA Territory Force said yesterday.

The Angolan movement's military presence in southern Cunene was its first major thrust back into the area since the Angolan Government drove Unita eastwards into Cuando-Cubango in 1975.

Apart from intelligence reports that confirmed the presence of Unita elements in southern Cunene, "we cannot comment on what is happening on the other side", the SWAFF spokesman said. Sapa.

37 rebels (5)  
wiped out  
2/1/83  
says Angola

LISBON. — Angolan forces killed almost 40 guerrillas in recent skirmishes in four central provinces, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported yesterday.

"The combat, against puppet bandits infiltrated by the racist Pretoria regime advances with considerable success on all fronts," the agency said.

It said troops and militia engaged guerrilla units six times, killing 37 and capturing two, in the provinces of Kwanza Sul, Benguela, Huambo, and Moxico.

The Angop dispatch did not specify when the operations took place and did not mention government casualties.

— UPI

# Unita launches big counter-attack



Dr Jonas Savimbi

Argus Foreign Service LISBON. — Unita has launched a general counter-offensive throughout Angola against a huge Cuban-led operation reinforced with new Soviet weapons.

Unita chief Dr Jonas Savimbi was personally directing the "generalised offensive" which began last Thursday, Unita said in a communiqué.

It said guerrilla forces had already launched the offensive in the northern

provinces of Luanda and Bengo and that it would be extended to "all of the country".

Unita's cross-country operations came in response to a huge government offensive in eight provinces which started in September.

In another development the leftist Diario de Lisboa newspaper reported that Unita was facing a major internal crisis concerning the arrest of rebel Brigadier José Manuel Chivale and six officers.

The newspaper said the detained Unita men were charged with corruption and plotting to overthrow Dr Savimbi in a rebel "palace coup".

The communiqué claimed that Unita forces had killed 217 soldiers and seized another 138, downed four aircraft and destroyed 71 vehicles since Luanda launched the broad offensive in September.

Unita casualties were 72 dead, 118 wounded and 10 missing in the continuing two-month-old fighting, it said.

## "Bandits"

Luanda has not announced a major offensive but its official news agency, Angop, recently reported a series of small victories against Unita "bandits", claiming about 430 casualties in the past two months.

Unita said the government offensive was "directed by Cuban General Valentina and Colonel Boris" and involved more than 47,000 troops, including 8,000 Cubans and about 4,000 Swapo insurgents.

It said the offensive came after 32 Soviet, Greek and Yugoslav ships unloaded tons of new equipment at the ports of Luanda, Lobito and Mocamedes.

The supply included 42 tanks, 18 Sam-8 and Sam-6 missiles, 12 helicopters, four patrol boats and 20 transportable bridges.

# Unita in sweeping offensive

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

LISBON — Unita has launched a general counter-offensive throughout Angola against a massive Cuban-led operation reinforced with new Soviet-supplied weapons.

Unita chief Dr Jonas Savimbi is personally directing the "generalised offensive" which began last Thursday, Unita said in a communique issued yesterday.

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Unita said the offensive came after Soviet, Greek and Yugoslav ships unloaded tons of new equipment at Luanda and Lobito.

The resupply included 42 tanks, 12 helicopters, Sam missiles and transportable bridges.

In another development, the leftist "Diario de Lisboa" newspaper, citing "dissident Unita sources", reported Unita had arrested one of its own brigadiers and six colonels who were charged with plotting to overthrow Dr Savimbi in a rebel "palace coup".



Cape Times 11/11/83

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# Unita claims it downed Boeing

From TONY WEAVER

WINDHOEK. — Unita has officially claimed responsibility for the shooting down of an Angolan Boeing 737 carrying 126 "military recruits" on Tuesday afternoon.

But the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday in a communique monitored in Windhoek that the aircraft had crashed because of "technical failure".

The Angop report added that "the majority of passengers were not members of any military structures", saying the dead included five crew, two children and two army officers.

A Unita spokesman in London yesterday morning said: "Our special forces, using a surface-to-air missile, shot down the 737 at 3pm on Tuesday November 8."

He was quoting a statement released from Angola by Unita's Chief of Staff, Brigadier Demosthenes Amos Chilindgudita.

The statement said the Boeing was carrying "recruits and military corps of the MPLA and Cubans from the Third Motorized Brigade".

Mr Jardo Muechalia, speaking on behalf of Dr Tito Chingunji, Unita's deputy secretary for foreign affairs and chief London spokesman, added that the Boeing was a "legitimate military target" as it was carrying military personnel.

However, the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug reported from Luanda that the flight was a regular commercial flight bound for Luanda.

Lubango, 440km by road from the Angolan/Namibian border, houses

the headquarters of the fifth Fapla — the MPLA's military wing — region, a brigade of Cuban troops, a Sam 3 missile base and Fapla's main radar station acting as a lookout base for attacks from the south.

It also houses headquarters of the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia, Swapo's military wing, where it trains its elite shock troops at the Volcano, Ongulumbashe and THTC camps.

It was the first major town captured by South African troops invading Angola in 1975, when it fell to the invasion force on October 23, and is one of the largest Angolan towns.

Besides Cuban technicians, there are a large number of foreigners, including Yugoslavs, working on construction sites in the city.

On November 5 this year Angop claimed that Fapla troops had clashed with a South African mine-laying patrol near Cuvelai, 200km east of Lubango.

Angop also claimed that South African forces were using chemical weapons, including tear gas, against Fapla troops in southern Angola, with "paralyzing effect".

It added that 28 South African aircraft violated Angolan airspace between October 10 and 21 in actions supporting Unita bandits.

A SADF spokesman described the claims as "another regurgitation of the same ludicrous allegations which are churned out with monotonous regularity by the Marxist propaganda masters. The SADF does not comment on such rubbish".

'Surface-to-air missile used'

# We shot down Angolan jet, claims Unita

R210 07  
11/11/83  
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By TONY WEAVER  
Mail Africa Bureau

**WINDHOEK.** — The Angolan rebel movement, Unita, has officially claimed responsibility for the shooting down of an Angolan Boeing 737 in which 126 military recruits were killed on Tuesday.

But the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said in a communique monitored in Windhoek yesterday that the aircraft had crashed because of "technical failure".

The Angop report said "the majority of passengers were not members of any military structures", saying the dead included five crew members, two children and two army officers.

A Unita spokesman in London contacted the Mail Africa Bureau yesterday morning and said: "Our special forces, using a surface-to-air missile, shot down the 737 at 3pm on Tuesday November 8."

He was quoting a statement released from Angola by Unita's chief of staff, Brigadier Demosthenes Amos Chilindgudita.

The statement said the downed Boeing was carrying "recruits and military corps of the MPLA and Cubans from the Third Motorised Brigade".

Mr Jardo Muechalia, speaking on behalf of Dr Tito Chingunji, Unita's deputy secretary for foreign affairs and chief London spokesman, added that the Boeing was a "legitimate military target" as it was carrying military personnel.

However, the Yugoslav news agency, Tanjug, reported from Luanda that the flight was a regular commercial flight bound for Luanda.

Lubango, where the Boeing was shot down, is 440km by road from the Angolan-Namibian border.

It houses the headquarters of the fifth Fapla — the MPLA's military wing — region, a brigade of Cuban troops, a Sam-3 missile base and is Fapla's main radar station, acting as a distant early warning base against attacks from the south.

It is also home to the chief headquarters of the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia, Swapo's military wing.

It was the first major town

to be captured by South African troops invading Angola in 1975, when it fell to the invasion force on October 23 after a short but vicious battle.

Besides Cuban technicians, there are a large number of foreigners, including Yugoslavs, working on construction sites in the city.

On November 5 this year Angop claimed Fapla troops had clashed with a South African mine-laying patrol near Cuvelai, 200km east of Lubango.

Angop also claimed South African forces were using chemical weapons, including teargas, against Fapla troops in southern Angola, with "paralysing effect".

It added that 28 South African aircraft had violated Angolan airspace between October 10 and 21 in actions supporting Unita bandits.

An SADF spokesman described the claims as "another regurgitation of the same ludicrous allegations which are churned out with monotonous regularity by the Marxist propaganda masters. The SADF does not comment on such rubbish".

## Unita opens office in West Germany

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

MUNICH. The Angolan guerilla movement Unita has established an office in West Germany.

The Bavarian Christian Social Union, one of the political parties in the West German coalition Government, said that the office, manned by one Angolan, was in Bavaria, but would not say exactly where.

Nor would CSU international secretary Mr Dieter Schmidt identify the Unita representative.

He said the Christian Social Union, which is headed by Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss, had actively maintained links with Unita for "two or three years".

Unita received no direct financial assistance from the CSU, he added.

# America won't risk a 'Grenada' in Angola

RDM 14/11/83



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TECHNICALLY at least, the chief obstacle to Namibian independence is Cuba and the presence of some 25 000 companeros in Angola.

With varying degrees of willingness, nearly all parties to the negotiations — even United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar — have accepted that the withdrawal of those forces is the over-riding prerequisite for a settlement.

It is fair to ask, therefore, whether the invasion of Grenada in particular, and, more generally, President Reagan's muscular approach to Fidel Castro, has any bearing on the cause of peace in Southern Africa.

In terms of United States interests, priorities and capacity to shape events, there is, of course, a world of difference between Cuba's interference directly south of the American border and its participation in the distant chaos of Africa.

The Soviet and Cuban purpose on Grenada would, in a more sanguine age, have hardly needed debating.

This was no warm-hearted embrace of the aspirations of an oppressed people, it was a direct, calculated and hostile challenge in a region that is as much Washington's doorstep as Eastern Europe is Moscow's.

No one can honestly say that Grenada needed a security pact with North Korea, R28 400 000 in Soviet military aid or a giant second airstrip to defend its 200km<sup>2</sup> of sovereign territory.

Nor can it justly be claimed that Mr Reagan's decision to respond in kind is evidence of a trigger-finger itching to assume that victory could be won quickly and cheaply. Its geopolitical payoff could be expected to far outweigh its cost.

In the space of a week, Castro was embarrassed, regimes like that in Surinam wavering on the brink of Marxist totality were made to think twice, and the Soviets were put on notice that the United States would no longer simply wring its hands when they meddled in its hemisphere.

Yes, the Reagan administration would like the Cubans out of Africa, but that objective is infinitely less pressing, incomparably more difficult to achieve and is worth no serious expenditure of treasure, let alone blood.

This is particularly so because the Soviet Union appears to hold a similar view.

Competition waged through proxies and diplomacy is one thing, but neither side is willing dramatically to put ante on the dark continent if it can help it.

It might be argued that there are steps the Reagan administration could take if it



**PRESIDENT CASTRO ... was embarrassed after Invasion of Grenada**



**PRESIDENT REAGAN ... Cuban withdrawal before SWA settlement**

## From SIMON BARBER in Washington

wished to hasten the departure of the Cubans from Angola and Mozambique: support the armed opposition.

That, however, would be about as productive as ignoring the Cuban build-up on Grenada.

Mr Reagan may sympathise with South Africa's historical plight, but he also realises that taking sides with Pretoria serves no United States interest.

Moscow would like nothing better. Besides, it is highly questionable whether, even with United States support, Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces could achieve military victory over the MPLA. Such interference would merely raise the stakes.

Do not, in short, look for the United States to get tough on Castro in Africa simply because it is doing so in Central America and the Caribbean.

This is not to say that the Grenada adventure will not have its effects on Cuban and Soviet policy across the Atlantic, but they are as yet hard to define with any certainty.

One logical outcome being

mentioned here is a stiffening of Havana's resolve to stay in Angola.

Humiliated close to home, Castro and his masters are unlikely to want to give Mr Reagan another foreign policy triumph in the form of a Namibian settlement.

For reasons alluded to above, this probably does not entail a major escalation of troops and material.

Instead, closer attention may well be paid to ensuring that the MPLA leadership does not emulate Grenada's late Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and begin to show signs of ideological middle age spread.

Some optimists envisage the opposite scenario, and suggest that President Eduardo dos Santos, on pondering Mr Bishop's untimely execution by hardline, Moscow-inspired members of his New Jewel movement, will suddenly wise-up to the perils of Cuban friendship and conclude that his chances of survival would be better served by a settlement with Dr Savimbi.

Perhaps, but would the

likes of party chairman Lucio Lara, the alleged heavy of heavies, let him?

Also worth considering is what the South African military makes of the Grenada episode. The unpleasant fact is that the Cubans deceived American intelligence — gathered almost exclusively by aerial and satellite reconnaissance — with masterly skill, and proved that supposed civilian workers could build excellent and well-camouflaged emplacements and shoot with military dedication.

The United States' failure to determine how many and what kind of Cubans were on a tiny, and comparatively close at hand, island may reopen the entire question of who must leave Angola if Pretoria is agreeable to let Namibia go.

What, it may now be asked, constitutes a Cuban soldier and who is to verify that he has been withdrawn?

On balance, it is hard not to conclude that what may have been a signal success in the Caribbean will prove otherwise in Southern Africa.

From JOHN BATTERSBY

**LONDON.** — South Africans had to realize that destabilization of their neighbours risked precipitating a situation in which the Russians and their surrogates would become a more powerful factor in the Southern African equation.

This was the tough warning from the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, in a major policy speech on Southern Africa on the eve of the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in New Delhi next week.

Sir Geoffrey made a powerful and urgent plea for change in South Africa, describing apartheid as both "morally abhorrent" and "incompatible with economic dynamics".

"Our rejection of apartheid — and of the oppression linked with it — reflects the firm view of a wide spectrum of British public opinion.

"I find it unthinkable that a minority will be able indefinitely to deprive the majority of its rightful say in running the country," he said.

#### 'No winners'

Addressing a meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Society, Sir Geoffrey warned that unless the current trend towards greater violence, terrorist attacks and destabilization in Southern Africa could be halted there would be no winners in the sub-continent.

In a speech devoted almost entirely to the problems of Southern Africa the British Foreign Minister urged South Africa to with-



Sir Geoffrey Howe

draw its troops from southern Angola.

He gave notice that both he and the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, would reaffirm the British Government's commitment to the Gleneagles Agreement banning sporting contacts with South Africa and announced that the British Government would continue to advise against a British rugby tour of South Africa next year.

#### Dialogue

Sir Geoffrey ruled out any military collaboration with South Africa or any British help for South Africa's "nuclear programme".

He ruled out British support for economic sanctions against South Africa and committed

Britain to a course of contact and dialogue with South Africa with a view to promoting peaceful evolutionary change and encouraging cross-border contact and support in Southern Africa.

Sir Geoffrey said he hoped that the recent referendum on constitutional reform would facilitate progress towards constitutional arrangements "acceptable to the people of South Africa as a whole" but noted that only part of the population had been consulted in the referendum and that the new constitution had been seriously criticised by the majority of South Africans.

#### Encouraged

However, he had been encouraged by internal economic forces in South Africa which had already brought about a degree of change and had no intention of interfering with them through economic sanctions.

"The trend, I fear at the moment, is a trend towards greater violence, terrorist attacks and destabilization. The British Government deplores that trend," Sir Geoffrey said.

"In particular, all parties should strictly respect the sanctity of national borders. Cross-border violence is in any case counter productive.

"The black guerillas should understand that attacks on South Africa merely strengthen intransigence. They will make the whites even more fearful of making concessions.

#### Buying time

"And the South Africans for their part have to see that destabilization of their neighbours risks precipitating the situation they fear most: Making the Russians and their surrogates a more powerful factor in the equation.

"Punitive raids may buy a little time, provide a breathing space.

"But the long term costs are those of fear, bitterness and hatred. These costs will be paid by all concerned in the region and outside and will make peaceful change much more difficult," Sir Geoffrey said.

Britain  
tells SA:  
Get out  
of Angola

APR-TIME  
15/11/83

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# 2 Unita bases destroyed, claims Angola

CAC Times 15/11/83

LISBON. — Angola said yesterday its troops had destroyed two rebel camps and killed 82 guerillas in recent fighting in central Bie province in a new indication that a major Cuban-led government offensive was making gains against the rebels. The official Angolan news agency, Angop, said troops and militia staged three operations in the Bie highlands, some 600km southeast of the capital of Luanda, killing 82 rebels and destroying two camps.

It cited "official sources" but gave no dates or government casualties for the fighting.

The Angop report monitored in Lisbon raised to more than 510 the number of Unita guerillas allegedly killed since September in a cross-country government offensive.

The Marxist government has not announced a big offensive but, dur-

ing the past six weeks its news agency — normally silent on guerilla or counter-insurgency activity — has released a series of victory claims.

The battle claims have covered Angola from its Atlantic coast to its eastern borders with Zaire and Zambia.

Recent Unita communiques said the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos launched a massive Cuban-led offensive, involving 47,000 soldiers, including 8,000 Cubans, in six provinces last September.

Western intelligence sources estimate the number of Cubans in Angola at 25,000 troops and 5,000 civilian technicians.

Recent unconfirmed reports from Luanda also said a North Korean military contingent had arrived to aid the government in its offensive. — UPI

# Unita captures 17 foreigners

LONDON — Five Britons and 12 Portuguese nationals had been captured in Angola in the midst of a major counter-offensive against Cuban led Government troops, Unita said yesterday.

The capture was witnessed by "a Portuguese and two British journalists" when Unita overran the towns of Kazombo and Kavungo.

Unita's information secretary Mr Fernando Wilson Dos Santos said in Lisbon that identification of the captives would be made "as soon as possible".

It was not known if Unita would make any demands for the release of the captives.

Unita is still holding 20 Czech paper mill technicians captured last March.

Unita said Moxico province was now "practically liberated". "Cuban positions and convoys" had been attacked 27 times and 10 government garrison towns had been occupied.

● On Monday, Angola's news agency, Angop, claimed that Government forces had killed 82 Unita guerillas and destroyed two bases in the Bie province. The claim brought to about 510 the number of guerillas the government forces say they have killed since September.

**LONDON** — As British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe warned yesterday of the growing danger of Soviet intervention in Southern Africa, word leaked out that Cuba's President Fidel Castro is planning a trip to Africa.

It is believed his visit may be designed to boost Cuba's tarnished image after its setback on Grenada and to capitalise on Third World dismay at the United States invasion of the Caribbean island.

There is also evidence that 5 000 Cuban troops have left Ethiopia for another African destination. It seems likely they will join about 25 000 fellow servicemen already in Angola, rather than go to Mozambique where the Frelimo leaders are courting Western aid.

Supporting this view is the recent big build-up of Soviet arms in Angola.

Sir Geoffrey's blunt warning, in an address to the Royal Commonwealth Society, was clearly directed at the South African Government.

He forecast that Pretoria's failure to scrap apartheid would lead to "greater violence and terrorist attacks leading to greater opportunities for Russian intervention in the region".

In the first major British Government comment on South Africa since the visit by the Minister of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, a week ago, the Foreign Secretary also warned Pretoria not to deceive itself about punitive raids and destabilisation of neighbouring black states.

"These risk precipitating the situation they fear most — making the Russians and their surrogates a more powerful factor in the equation," he said. "Apartheid and the absence of a form of government which has the support of all the people are casting a long shadow over Britain's relations with South Africa."

In the circumstances the British Government was determined to continue bans on sporting links, military collaboration and nuclear development.

Sir Geoffrey, who has now left for the Commonwealth summit in New Delhi with Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said they would reaffirm Britain's commitment to the Gleneagles Agreement.

On the region's complex problems, he identified Namibia as the area where Pretoria could, if it chose, "unlock the puzzle" and end the deadlock.

"Namibia could be the key to the future in Southern Africa. If that key can be turned then the prospects for the region achieving peaceful change and avoiding Kalashnikov diplomacy will be much better."

### Pull-back urged

Sir Geoffrey urged Pretoria to pull its troops back from Southern Angola as a vital step.

According to a Washington report, Castro told Guinea-Bissau's President Joao Vieira of his plan to visit Africa during a recent meeting in Havana.

It is also believed unlikely that the Cubans and the MELA government will pay much attention to a suggestion at the weekend by Nigeria's President Shehu Shagari that Cuban troops be replaced in Angola by a UN peace-keeping force to speed a Namibian settlement.

● Angola's official news agency, Angop, has claimed that government forces have killed 82 Unita guerillas and destroyed two bases in continuing operations against the rebels.

Yesterday's dispatch brought to about 510 the number of guerillas claimed killed since a government offensive by 47 000 troops, including 8 000 Cubans, was launched in September.

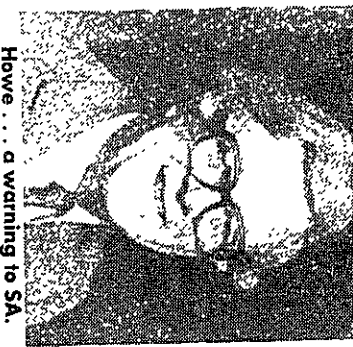
# Castro and extra troops for Angola

Britain links apartheid to growing Soviet presence

Shehu Shagari (18/11/73)



Castro . . . to visit Africa.



Howe . . . a warning to SA.



(5) RUM 19/9/83

## Canadian missionaries missing in Angola

OTTAWA. — Two Canadian women are among a group of missionaries feared kidnapped in Angola by rebel UNITA forces attempting to overthrow the Angolan government, the Canadian Government said this week.

Mr John Noble, a spokesman for the Department of

External Affairs, said the missionaries' kidnapping had not been confirmed, but their families in Canada had been notified of the possibility.

There have been reports that the Canadians, with three British citizens and several Portuguese, have disappeared from their base in Angola's Moxico province.

Only one of the Canadians has been identified. She is Ms Nora Bernice Draper, of Parry Sound, Ontario.

Mr Noble said the department was checking on reports that the three British missionaries may have slipped into Zambia. — Sapa-AP.

# Lisbon officers 'aid Angolan forces'

The Star's Foreign News Service

(5) LISBON — A group of Portuguese army and air force officers has been recruited privately as mercenaries to train the Angolan armed forces, an independent Socialist weekly newspaper reported yesterday.

O Jornal — whose editorial line is sympathetic to Luanda's Marxist regime — said a group of "about 12" officers, either in reserve or on "unlimited leave of absence" from the Portuguese armed forces, were in Angola.

The officers, apparently most holding the rank of major or lieutenant-colonel, were "contracted individually" by a firm headed by Admiral Rosa Coutinho, the "Red Admiral" of Portugal's 1974-75 revolution. He is widely believed to have given critical aid to the now-ruling MPLA when he served as High Commissioner in Angola in 1974.

Rumours that leftist Portuguese officers are serving in Angola "in private capacities" have been rife in Lisbon for months but the O Jornal article was the first report to substantiate them.

It identified four of the officers as Major Gill, of the elite Comando Units, Lieutenant Colonel Arlindo Ferreira, a helicopter trainer, Lieutenant Colonel Abreu, "an artillery technician" and Lieutenant Colonel Barata of the Air Force, but gave no details of their terms of contract.

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# 'Force SA out of Angola'

## Harare calls for an international army

By Robin Drew,  
The Star Bureau

**HARARE** — Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister, Mr. Witness Mangwende, last night called for the formation of an international army to drive South Africa out of Angola and Namibia.

In a television interview, he said the "time for talking is running out" and he believed that in the end the international community would have to take up arms and force South Africa to leave.

The Minister said South Africa had until the end of December to comply with United Nations Resolution 435 on Namibia, but Pretoria was giving "one excuse after the other" because it was not ready to do so.

Mr Mangwende said he had suggested the formation of a force, but this had not been accepted yet. He would not say which countries might take part in it, saying only that they would be "our friends".

He agreed that a Security Council resolution on the use of force could be vetoed, but he said this would not deter the non-aligned countries.

Mr Mangwende also accused South Africa of stepping up its destabilisation campaign.

"Our rail lines are blown up two or three times a week," he

said. Pretoria was operating a propaganda station, Radio Truth, beamed at Zimbabwe from "close to the SABC studios in Johannesburg".

● In another development in Harare Mr Joshua Nkomo has condemned as "tragic" the arrests of prostitutes, squatters and other vagrants by Zimbabwe authorities.

The swoops continued over the weekend with more people being picked up in the Midlands town of Gweru.

Acting Minister of Justice, Dr Eddison Zvobgo, has promised that the human rights of those rounded up will be respected.

Mr Nkomo, who returned to Zimbabwe, yesterday from a visit to London to finalise arrangements for the publication of his autobiography next year, said he had read reports about the latest swoops.

"If they are true, then it is a tragedy. This is the very thing we fought against during the war".

In a statement last night, Dr Zvobgo promised that all women in Zimbabwe had the right of freedom of movement.

Regulations would be issued next week detailing the rights of those people picked up in the massive nation-wide moves against "vagrants", said the Minister.

# Nigeria plans African peace force to replace Cubans in Angola

CAPT Times 21/4/83 5

LONDON. — In the middle of this week the Commonwealth meets in New Delhi much concerned to restore its importance in the world. Nigeria, too, will be there intending to demonstrate its importance in the Commonwealth.

The organization undoubtedly feels that it was brushed aside, as Britain, the home of the Commonwealth, was brushed aside, by the American decision to invade the island of Grenada. In any resurgence of the Commonwealth the Nigerians are determined to play their part and make the voice of Africa heard and respected.

## Give the lead

The success of the Nigerian elections, as a major exercise in democracy in the world, will undoubtedly raise the Nigerian influence in the Commonwealth. President Shehu Shagari will appear there as a man who has strengthened his popular position, strongly backed by a smaller and more competent cabinet, and on the way to crushing incompetence, corruption and hesitancy at home. He is again determined to give Africa the lead it has lacked for the past two or three years.

In that vacuum a spectre of desiccation and drought has hung over the continent from

north to south. Nigeria proposes to do her bit, at least, in the recovery of the land and agriculture by expanding the green revolution at home which her financial muddle recently curtailed. Perhaps she will even be able to provide some help in feeding the 22 African nations on whose behalf the UN is now appealing to the world for food



Pres Shehu Shagari ... to take initiative

— but with 90 million mouths of her own to feed, Nigeria won't be able to do much.

There is, however, one problem to whose solution the Nigerians propose to make a major contribution. That is Namibia. President Shehu is well aware that Namibia represents both a world and African failure. For the past nine months it has almost seemed that everybody from the United Nations to the remnants of the Turnhalle party has given up in despair and allowed South Africa the victory of a stalemate. Anybody wishing to give a lead to the states of Africa cannot allow the present "no-go" position over the future of South West Africa to continue.

The Swapo fighters have continued to attack with hit-and-run sorties and advances either in Ovamboland or in briefly maintained excursions into lower Namibia. In spite of South

African military claims that Swapo has been wiped out as a military force it continues to be, at least, a military nuisance with reserves that may build up again. Sam Nujoma may not be the most brilliant leader any liberation group ever had, but he has a dogged quality. He manages to keep the African leaders supporting and supplying him, and he has faithful friends around the world like the United Nations Namibian Support Group.

Perhaps the fact that the Namibian question has become one of the most enduring causes in world politics owes its existence there to an equally dogged man, the Rev Michael Scott. Michael Scott has recently died and now lies buried in Golders Green cemetery, London, and perhaps his last thoughts were about the struggle for the liberation of South West Africa which he continued to promote in exile from his base in the Africa Bureau.

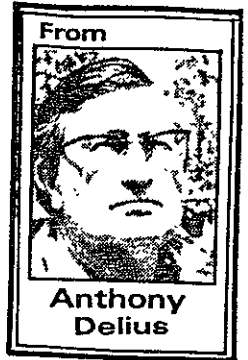
The South African government will be able to take no comfort from his departure from the scene, for by now there is no likelihood that the world's recurring preoccupation with Namibia will ever go away for long, any more than will the world's disapproval of apartheid. Nor does the new activity among the smaller Namibian political parties look

like convincing the international community of real change.

Now the Nigerians intend to raise the whole issue again at the Commonwealth meeting. What's more Nigeria does not intend to allow the matter of the presence of the 30 000 or so Cubans in Angola to fog the question of the presence of even more South African troops in North Namibia and Southern Angola. President Shehu intends to offer the Angolans a force drawn from African nations if Cuba is willing to withdraw its troops or the Angolans ask them to leave. The Nigerian president admits that while South Africans come and go as they please in Southern Angola, the Angolans have every right to seek protection. He doesn't see why Africa should not provide it.

If the Commonwealth is going to be asked to provide a peace-keeping force to guard the island of Grenada against further American and Cuban intervention there, President Shehu doesn't see why the Africans of the Commonwealth should not be asked to provide a peace-keeping force for the Angolans against South African intervention there supported by the Americans.

The Nigerians are presently much out of pocket due to mismanaging their oil sales, but



Anthony Delius

are quite happy to provide their share of troops to an African force — and as Nigeria is by far the biggest African nation it will no doubt provide the biggest share of the Angolan force.

The Nigerians also feel that Africans are not so helpless that they have to turn to the island of Cuba for help in protecting disordered parts of their own continent. This they feel is a disgrace, whether it happens in Angola or in Ethiopia, and replacing a Cuban force in Angola with an African one can only be a step in the right direction.

The Nigerians have already had some practice in joining an African force to protect the Chadian people from that Cuban admirer, President Gaddafi, and his Libyan Foreign Legion. It is true that the Nigerians didn't accomplish much in Chad, but practice there may make more perfect in Angola.

... ..

# 'Savimbi Trail' link in new Unita offensive

By Fred Bridgland, The Star's Special  
Correspondent with Unita in southern Angola

As the rains begin to fall over Angola, Unita's central forces have launched a massive offensive against Cuban troops and Angolan Government troops north of the Benguela railway line.

The offensive, says Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, is designed to last five months. Thousands of guerillas are fighting on a series of fronts in central and northern Angola.

To date, the results of the offensive, which began on November 2, have been the capture of Kazombo, which leaves Unita in complete control of the 144 km border with Zambia, the capture of five British and 12 Portuguese technicians working with the MPLA in that area, and the shooting down of a government MiG-17 aircraft over Huambo, Angola's second largest city.

Supplies for the offensive are coming up the Savimbi Trail in fleets of trucks. The trail is the equivalent of the Ho Chi Minh Trail, along which the Vietcong ferried supplies to South Vietnam during the Vietnamese war.

The Savimbi Trail penetrates 800 km into the centre of Angola, diverging at various points towards the different combat fronts.

Where the lorry trail ends, the supplies are handed over to columns of local peasants who, using their backs and heads, transport the equipment and stores deeper into the front-line areas.

● The mysterious Savimbi Trail has, for the past three years, carried a two-way traffic of military supplies and Unita "exports" including ivory, rhino horn, teak, leopard and antelope hides and even diamonds to pay for Dr Savimbi's war.

Another trail is believed to cut through Angola from Zaire.

# Unita — it is talks or 'final bloodbath'

The Star Foreign News Service

LISBON — Unita has given Luanda a four-month deadline for initiating peace talks and threatened a "bloody last bout of combat" in the capital if the Marxist government refused to negotiate.

Observers in Lisbon said it was the guerilla movement's first such ultimatum in eight years of escalating civil war.

In a statement yesterday, signed by Unita chief Mr Jonas Savimbi, the rebels criticised the Cuban-backed government's lack of "political courage" to seek a negotiated settlement or to hold elections. It said such a posture left Luanda without "political or juridical bases to demand free elections in Namibia".

Throughout the civil war, Unita has demanded talks, the formation of a government of "national reconciliation" and elections.

"Unita foresees an encounter with the ruling MPLA at the end of March 1984, either for dialogue or for a bloody last bout of physical combat which may still be avoided," the statement said.

It added that the rebel movement was ready to participate "at this instant" in free elections under the control of the Organisation of African Unity or the United Nations.

Mr Vernando Wilson dos Santos, Unita information secretary, who hand-delivered the statement to foreign and Portuguese media, said it was an "ultimatum".

"If this final plea for a negotiated settlement is ignored, our forces will march on the capital and give no quarter," he said.

He said the movement's central committee would meet in late March to "take a final decision on what to do militarily", if the government refused to come to a negotiating table.

Independent observers have confirmed Unita claims that its forces have advanced during the past year to within some 300 km of Luanda.

5 S Express 27/11/83  
**We've taken Bie — Unita**

LISBON — Angola's Unita guerrillas yesterday said they had captured an important town in the central province of Bie after heavy fighting with government and Cuban troops.  
A spokesman said the reb-

els seized Andulo, 500km south-east of Luanda, on Friday. Unita has embarked on a six-month offensive aimed at making "significant gains" in its campaign to topple Angola's Marxist government.  
— Sapa-AP.

**BOTHA'S VISIT**

# Portugal as bridge for SA

ARGUS 28/11/83

JOHN D'OLIVEIRA, Argus Foreign Service, Lisbon, analyses SA-Portuguese relations

MR Pik Botha's official visit to Portugal Monday underlines an international relationship that has changed dramatically in the past decade.

Ten years ago Mr John Vorster's South Africa and Dr Marcello Caetano's Portugal were right-wing allies. Together with Mr Ian Smith's Rhodesia, they opposed the march of one-man-one-vote black nationalism. Relations between the three countries were close, as were the links between their military establishments and their secret police.

But the Caetano regime was overthrown and Portugal pulled out of its African provinces. Portugal had its own revolution and, since Caetano, has had no fewer than 15 different governments.

With Portugal and South Africa no longer "allies", Lisbon and Pretoria had very little to say to each other despite the fact that there are more than 600 000 people in South Africa who look on themselves as Portuguese.

Apart from these people, the two countries had little more than history to draw them together.

In a sense it was South Africa's problematical relationship with Mozambique and Angola, together with Portugal's desire to play a more active role in Southern African affairs, that provided the foundation for a new relationship.

Portugal, whether under a right-wing dictatorship or successive left-wing govern-

ments, has always wanted to be seen to lead the Portuguese-speaking world. It is handicapped by its poverty and its continuing economic crisis. But this has not put reins on its ambitions.

Portugal would now like to be seen as a bridge between the industrialised north and the under-developed south, a bridge between Europe and Africa — and, just possibly, a bridge between South Africa and its troubled and troublesome black neighbours.

It has worked hard recently at its contacts with its former colonies and already South Africa and the Americans have found Portugal useful in exploring and developing con-

tacts with Mozambique and Angola.

On Thursday last week, for instance, Portuguese Foreign Minister Mr Jaime Gama met his Angolan counterpart, Mr Paulo Jorge, in Paris. Few people believe that this discussion did not feature prominently in Mr Gama's discussions Monday with Mr Botha. And few believe that elements of Monday's discussions will not be passed on to Mr Jorge.

Quite clearly Portugal would like to play a role — and be seen to have played a role — in helping Southern Africa towards peace and stability.

There also appears to be a belief here that peace and stability in Southern Africa will help the economic development

of both Angola and Mozambique, and that this will help Portugal economically.

But there is one issue that will have been raised pointedly Monday because of Portugal's very direct interest: Cabora Bassa.

When the massive dam was planned and built in the "Good old days", Portugal guaranteed the loans. Now the dam is run by a company in which Portugal and Mozambique are equal partners, but Portugal still carries the financial responsibility — and it is Portugal that suffers directly when the Mozambique Resistance Movement cuts the Cabora Bassa power-line to its only real customer, South Africa.

It is understood representatives of the Portuguese Gov-

ernment intended appealing to the South African delegation to do what they could to stop the sabotage of the powerline.

Mr Botha will almost certainly have responded with an appeal to Portugal to use its good offices to persuade Angola and Mozambique to stop allowing their countries to be used as springboards for attacks on South Africa by Swapo and the African National Congress.

Thus it is that, apart from the issue of Cabora Bassa, the real reason for Mr Botha's visit to Portugal appears to be the hope on both sides that improved communications via Portugal will help resolve the dangerous situation in Southern Africa.



# UK aids latest Angola oil find

*3* *NSA* *28/11/83*  
LONDON. — Britain is to make available a \$25m line of credit for exporters supplying equipment and services to Angola's newest oil field development, in the hope of encouraging greater British participation in the Angolan oil industry.

First details were announced by Mr Paul Channon, the Trade Minister, at a conference on export opportunities in Angola organised by the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

The credit, arranged by Lloyds Bank, will be covered by the Export Credit Guarantee Department and tied to contracts for the development of the Takula oil field in the Cabina enclave, north of the Zaire river.

Further credits for British exports to Angola are currently under discussion, and could eventually total some \$300m in the next 12 months, according to British officials.

Takula is part of a major expansion programme being undertaken by the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, in which Gulf Oil and Sonangol, the Angolan state company, are partners.

Capital spending over the next three years is expected to total \$645m, to increase oil production from Cabina from 150 000 to 20 000 barrels per day (BPD), according to Mr Antonia Mangureira, deputy director-general of Sonangol.

Mr Mangureira outlined other development plans of the Angolan oil industry, which he said is likely to earn some \$1.5bn in 1983 — approaching 90% of the country's total export earnings.

They include development of the Palanca and Pacase offshore fields by a consortium headed by Elf-Aquintaine, due to come into production in 1985, and development of the Kambala and Numbi fields in Cabina after that date.

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don last Easter.  
Detectives think the robbery could have been an "inside" job as, even though the warehouse was protected by a formidable array of electronic devices, the armed gang apparently gained entry easily.  
Police sources said Commander Cater feared that the gang might have melted down the 6 800 marked ingots or smuggled them abroad.  
The price of gold soared 17 dollars to 393 dollars an ounce on world bullion markets yesterday, adding almost R2 million to the value of the robbers' haul.

part as Deputy Governor Dantorn in Africa

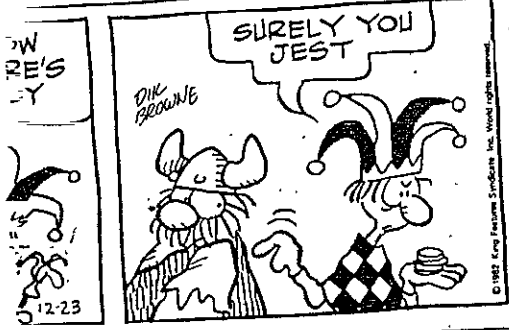
# Angolan war hots up as both sides claim victories

The Star's Foreign News Service 29/11/83  
LISBON — A new wave of claims and counter-claims from Luanda and Unita seems to indicate that the eight-year-old Angolan war is being stepped up despite rebel calls for negotiations.  
Mr Jonas Savimbi's guerrillas claimed yesterday that they had killed 284 soldiers, including 20 Cubans, destroyed 49 military vehicles, and "neutralised" the northern Malanje railway in actions between November 16 and 24.  
The official Angolan news agency, Angop, claimed, in turn, that troops had killed seven

rebels, destroyed two camps, "liberated" 817 kidnapped peasants and captured small quantities of arms.  
There has been no independent confirmation of either claim.  
Diplomats and observers in Lisbon have read the new spate of claims as clear indication that the war was accelerating and that Luanda was not in a mood to accept Mr Savimbi's ultimatum of last week to talk or risk bringing the conflict right into the Angolan capital.  
In the past three months Unita has more than doubled its official communiques issued in Lisbon and Paris, and Luanda has ungagged its official agency — at least as far as State "victories" are concerned.  
One of Angop's latest dispatches claims that troops in central Bie, Huambo and southern Kuanza provinces carried out six successful operations on the same day, raising to 610 the number of "South African puppets" killed in the past three months.  
Unita, for its part, claims successful operations in seven provinces.

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## By Dik Browne



## USSR bomber scare

TOKYO — Thirty Japanese fighter planes scrambled today when nine Soviet bombers flew over the Tsushima Strait separating Japan and South Korea, the Defence Agency said.  
A spokesman said 18 F 104Js, eight F 4EJs and four F 15s scrambled from four bases of the Japanese Air Self-Defence Force in Kyushu and Okinawa in southern Japan when radar picked up seven TU 16s and two TU 95s.  
There were no incidents between the Soviet bombers and the Japanese fighter planes, the spokesman added. — Associated Press.

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## Last-minute reprieve for killer

ATLANTA — A Federal Appeal Court judge issued a stay of execution late yesterday for Robert Sullivan, who was scheduled to die in Florida's electric chair this morning.  
A three-judge panel of the court had refused to block the execution earlier yesterday and a last-minute appeal was made to the Supreme Court.  
Pope John Paul II also asked the Florida Governor, Mr Bob Graham, to spare Sullivan's life.  
Chief Judge John C Godbold of the 11th US Circuit Court of Appeals issued the stay shortly before 11 pm.  
Sullivan was on his third round of appeals arising from his conviction in the April 9 1973 murder of Donald Schmidt, an assistant manager of a restaurant in Homestead.  
His conviction on November 1973 was based largely on the testimony of an accomplice who

countries.

Independence negotiations for Namibia have stalled on South African and American insistence that Cuban troops must leave neighbouring Angola in concert with a withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia.

Mr Hawke said measures taken by Australia against South Africa — including action on sporting links and inviting black nationalist guerillas from South Africa and Namibia to open offices in Australia — were among the strongest taken by any nation.

The Australian premier said he had been impressed during his first Commonwealth summit by leaders' ability to reach agreement on problem issues such as the US-led invasion of Grenada and divisions in Cyprus.

The initial debate on Grenada had been "tough, hard and divisive" but the Commonwealth had shown a unique capacity for dialogue and compromise, he said.

On economic issues, Mr Hawke said existing international institutions had shown their ability to adapt to changing circumstances and this had paid dividends. — Reuter.

## Unita promises to free Canadian and Irish nurses

PARIS — Four nurses captured by Unita near the Zambian border two weeks ago are in good health, a spokesman said today.

Mr Paul Gato, European representative for Unita, said when they had walked to central bases negotiations for their release would begin.

The nurses were captured on November 15 at Cazombo.

Missionary sources in Zambia last week named them as Canadians Norah Draper and Florence Wilson, in their 30s, and Emily Roundtree and Eva Warke from Northern Ireland, in their mid-50s.

They belong to a Christian mission based in Bath, England.

Mr Gato said Unita leader Jonas Savimbi would refuse any humanitarian gesture affecting Czech captives until authorities in Luanda reported the state of health of 36 Unita members and seven British nationals held by the Government.

His group also wanted to know the Government's conditions for their release. — Reuter.

AS the hunt for him and the gang of six masked raiders was stepped up, Scotland Yard found a witness who may hold a vital clue to Britain's biggest theft.

The witness, who may have seen the bandits escape after their dawn swoop at the weekend, contacted the police after an appeal for information.

The lead is being followed up seriously and Commander Frank Carter, head of Scotland Yard's Central Robbery Squad, is using it to narrow down the list of suspects.

The man known as "The Colonel" is also believed to have recruited the gang which stole R11 million in cash from the Security Express Company in London last Easter.

Detectives think the robbery could have been an "inside" job as, even though the warehouse was protected by a formidable array of electronic devices, the armed gang apparently gained entry easily.

Police sources said Commander Cater feared that the gang might have melted down the 6 800 marked ingots or smuggled them abroad.

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Prince Edward (20), youngest son of Queen Elizabeth II, part as Deputy Governor Dar

## Angolar up as bo claim vi

The Star's Foreign News Service

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The official Angolan news agency, Angop, claimed, in turn, that troops had killed seven

### HÄGAR the Horrible

By Dik Browne



## AT DAMELIN WE GET RESULTS BECAUSE WE CARE.

Damelin College is subject to the regulations of the Transvaal Education Department. Nevertheless, we are a privately owned school and our success and reputation stands or falls on the success of our students. So when we say we care about every single student, it's not an empty promise. It's a fact. We have to care.

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## USSR bomber scare

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There were no incidents between the Soviet bombers and the Japanese fighter planes, the spokesman added. — Associated Press.

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# Pik hints at further talks with Angola on Namibian settlement

29/11/83  
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The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — It was "not impossible" that South Africa would have further talks with Angola on the issue of a Namibian settlement, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Lisbon today.

Mr Botha told a Press conference before leaving for Bonn that the talks would depend on the Angolans.

Major points made by Mr Botha included:

- South Africa would keep its security forces in Namibia and Angola despite calls for a withdrawal from the Commonwealth heads of government and Britain's Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

These forces were not occupying forces. They were there to protect the people of Namibia from Swapo terrorism and

they would remain there for as long as they were needed.

- The South African Government had agreed to appoint a panel of experts who would examine the electricity tariffs and the financial agreement between South Africa and Portugal on the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric project.

The Portuguese Government was deeply concerned about its losses — currently about R47 million a year — on the project.

The South African Government would consider the Portuguese request "sympathetically".

- Relations between South Africa and Mozambique and between Portugal and Mozambique formed "perhaps the most important subject of discussion" in Lisbon at meetings with the Portuguese Foreign Minister, the Prime Min-

ister and the President.

It was not in the interests of the three countries to disclose the substance of these discussions but the main concern of the three Governments at this stage centred on the "security situation".

- The South African offer of a non-aggression pact with its neighbours still stood and, if this pact were accepted and if a mechanism for its implementation could be agreed, peace would come to Southern Africa.

- The South African delegation had been received with greater consideration and understanding by the Portuguese Government — a socialist Government — than that received from certain "so-called" conservative governments.

- See Pages 8 and 11 of World section.

# Pik has hopes of peace parley with Angolans

Argus Foreign Service LISBON. — It was "not impossible" that South Africa would have further discussions with Angola on a SWA/Namibian settlement, Mr Pik Botha said here today.

At a Press conference before leaving Lisbon for Bonn, the South African Foreign Minister said it depended on the Angolans whether or not the talks took place.

### MAJOR POINTS

Major points made by Mr Botha included:

● The South Africans would retain their security forces in SWA/Namibia and Angola in spite of the call for a withdrawal from the Commonwealth heads of government this week and from the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, earlier this month.

These forces were not occupying forces, but were there to protect the people of SWA/Namibia from Swapo terrorism and they would remain there for as long as they were needed.

● The South African Government had agreed to appoint a panel of experts who would examine the electricity tariffs and the financial agreement between South Africa and Portugal on the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric project.

The Portuguese Government was deeply concerned about its losses — about R47-million a year — on the project.

While Mr Botha said he could not make any commitments on this issue, the South African Government would consider the Portuguese request "sympathetically".

● The relations between South Africa and

Mozambique and between Portugal and Mozambique formed "perhaps the most important subject of discussion" in Lisbon yesterday when Mr Botha met the Portuguese Foreign Minister, the Prime Minister and the President.

### MAIN CONCERN

It was not in the interests of the three countries to disclose the substance of these discussions, but he could disclose that the main concern of the governments at this stage centred on the "security situation".

● Mr Botha repeated the South African offer of a non-aggression pact with its neighbours and said that if this pact was accepted and if a mechanism for its implementation could be arranged, peace would come to Southern Africa.

● The South African delegation was received with greater consideration and understanding by the Portuguese Government — a socialist government — than Mr Botha had received from certain "so-called" conservative governments.

(S) (1/24/87)

# US may take new stand on aid to Unita

As fighting in Angola's eight-year-old civil war appeared to be increasing and moving north towards Luanda, the Wall Street Journal hinted at a possible increase in United States support for the Unita rebels.

The Journal yesterday posed the question: "Was Grenada a flash in the pan or the end of defeatism in US foreign policy?"

"We'll have a sign in the American attitude towards the Angolan fighting in which Jonas Savimbi's Unita may be on the verge of a major victory over the Cuban and Russian-backed Luanda regime," it said.

The editorial came after persistent reports that the scale of the fighting in Angola had increased markedly in recent months.

It said that, while Unita once said it was fighting to force the MPLA Government to expel the Cubans and share power, "now Dr Savimbi's nationalists declare they seek a military vic-

tory.

"The US State Department now has to adjust to the obsolescence of its pet negotiations over Southern Africa — over a deal in Namibia in which South Africa would grant that territory its independence while Angola sent home the Cubans. The US hasn't quite made the leap to the idea that these Soviet proxies might actually be beaten.

"An even more painful adjustment will have to be made by the American corporations that have been Luanda's other mainstay. Big Oil and the Chase Manhattan Bank have been the main American lobby for the Cuban and Russian-backed Luanda regime.

"But, as the noose tightens around the Angolan capital, American companies may find themselves involved in some fast manoeuvring to establish their neutrality." — The Star's Foreign News Service, Reuter and Associated Press.

# SADF withdrew because it could not defeat MPLA

ONCE again, I have incurred the wrath of "Anti Communist", of Ham-manskraal (November 22). On this occasion he takes issue with my claim that the SADF was unable to defeat the MPLA during the summer of 1975 to 1976.

My assertion was made in the context of a paragraph which describes the various factors shaping black South African political perceptions before the Soweto uprising.

It is absolutely true that the SADF was unable to defeat the MPLA in Angola in 1976. This does not, as Anti-Communist appears to think, put the SADF's military competence into question. The South African offensive

was intended to augment the efforts of FNLA and Unita soldiers.

By January 21 1976, when the South Africans informed their Unita allies that they were withdrawing, the FNLA forces were in full retreat and the MPLA was able to concentrate its resources on destroying Unita forces to the south of Luanda.

With the MPLA appearing to be on the ascendant and with the influx of more sophisticated equipment from Cuba, the SADF made a strategic decision to retreat. They did not have the resources at hand to inflict a major defeat on the combined Cuban/MPLA forces. It was a sensible decision.

Of course it is possible to attribute such decisions to the machinations of international politics and the conspiracies which arise out of them. I don't think this is necessary — the ascertainable facts here seem straightforward enough.

My very incidental reference to the Angolan conflict was based on conclusions drawn from the standard histories of the conflict — those by Marcum and Hallet.

In any case the importance of the incident for my story was not what actually happened in Angola but what black South Africans believed to have happened.

I know from my own experience of

doing research at this time that there was a widespread belief amongst black people that the SADF had been forced out of Angola by the MPLA.

Even if "Anti-Communist" charges had been valid this doesn't justify the abusive tone of his letter. The shrillness of his invective makes me suspect that his indignation arises from irrational prejudices rather than intellectual objections to the kind of work I do.

Finally, after three such attacks, isn't it about time that "Anti-Communist" had the courage to identify himself? — TOM LODGE, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

# Unita forces strike <sup>5</sup> deep into Angola <sup>Star</sup>

The Star's Special  
Correspondent with Unita  
in Angola

Rebels in Angola have struck deep into the northern diamond-mining province of Lunda.

About 1 800 Unita troops stormed the town of Alto Chikapa, 160 km north of Luena, which is held by Cuban forces and Government troops.

The attack lasted 40 minutes and at least 15 Government sol-

diers died. One Unita soldier was killed and two wounded.

About 4 000 civilians were taken out of Alto Chikapa for re-settlement.

Andulo, a major town 270 km west of Alto Chikapa, near the Zambian border, has already fallen to Unita.

● This is the first independent confirmation of several victory claims made by Unita in communiqués over the past two weeks.

100



# 160 Unita dead in 5 new offensive, claims Angola

LISBON. — Angola claimed this week that its Cuban-backed forces had killed 160 Unita guerillas in recent intensified fighting in five central and eastern provinces of the country.

The Noticias de Portugal news agency, citing a monitored official Angolan Angop agency dispatch, said the military operations took place between November 14 and 26.

It quoted the Angolan news agency as saying, "We have destroyed several (rebel) bases, captured guerillas and war material and freed hundreds of (peasant) prisoners."

The Angolan report raised to about 860 the number of rebels allegedly killed since fighting escalated at the end of last summer in Angola's eight-year-old civil war.

Angola produces some 140 000 barrels of crude oil daily, mostly through concessions to United States companies, whose off-shore wells are protected by Cuban troops and Soviet-supplied MiG jet fighters.

Intelligence sources estimate that the marxist regime is backed by a 30 000-strong Cuban contingent — 25 000 troops and 5 000 civilian technicians — and some 2 000 Soviet and East

German military advisers.

The Angop dispatch from Luanda reportedly said that Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel movement was "indiscriminately assassinating unarmed peasants, especially children, women and the old" in the former Portuguese colony which gained independence in 1975.

The report, which gave no further details, said 160 guerillas had been killed in the central provinces of Benguela, Huambo, Kuanza Sul, Bie and eastern Moxico. No mention was made of government casualties.

In the recent escalation of fighting and war, communiques by both sides, Unita, which represents just under 40 percent of Angola's six million people in terms of tribal loyalty, has claimed it killed 12 Soviet military advisers, 454 Cubans and more than 2 300 government soldiers.

Unita, which holds captive some 50 West and East European civilian technicians, recently threatened to advance on the country's capital, Luanda, if the marxist government failed to accept repeated calls for negotiations by the end of March. —

UPI

# 'No evidence' to back Unita claim

Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Unita has had a new lease of life and is pressing the MPLA hard, presumably with South African support.

But that is about all one can usefully say at this stage without direct and firsthand experience of the situation in Angola.

This is the view of Colonel Jonathan Alford, deputy director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

To reports that Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader, might be on the verge of a major victory, he said: "Well, I'm quite happy to be surprised. I have no evi-

dence to show that it is so.

"He has obviously expanded control over those areas where he has a natural following. But I find it difficult to believe that he is in a position to march to Luanda, for instance.

"The moment that he goes out of his own homeland, as it were, things become considerably more difficult for him. I doubt whether he has the decisive strength to overcome both the Angolan forces and the Cubans who are with them."

Commenting on reports of Unita successes north of the Benguela Railway town of Luena, he said: "That's exactly the kind of thing that has been going on for years. I don't find that very significant."

# 'We control entire border with Zambia'

Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The Angolan rebel movement Unita claims to control the full length of the Angolan border with Zambia following the capture last month of the strategically important town of Cazombo at the northern end of the border.

The reported fall of the town came during what appears to be widespread and fairly intensive fighting between Unita and MPLA Government forces in which casualty claims on both sides run into hundreds of dead and large numbers of wounded.

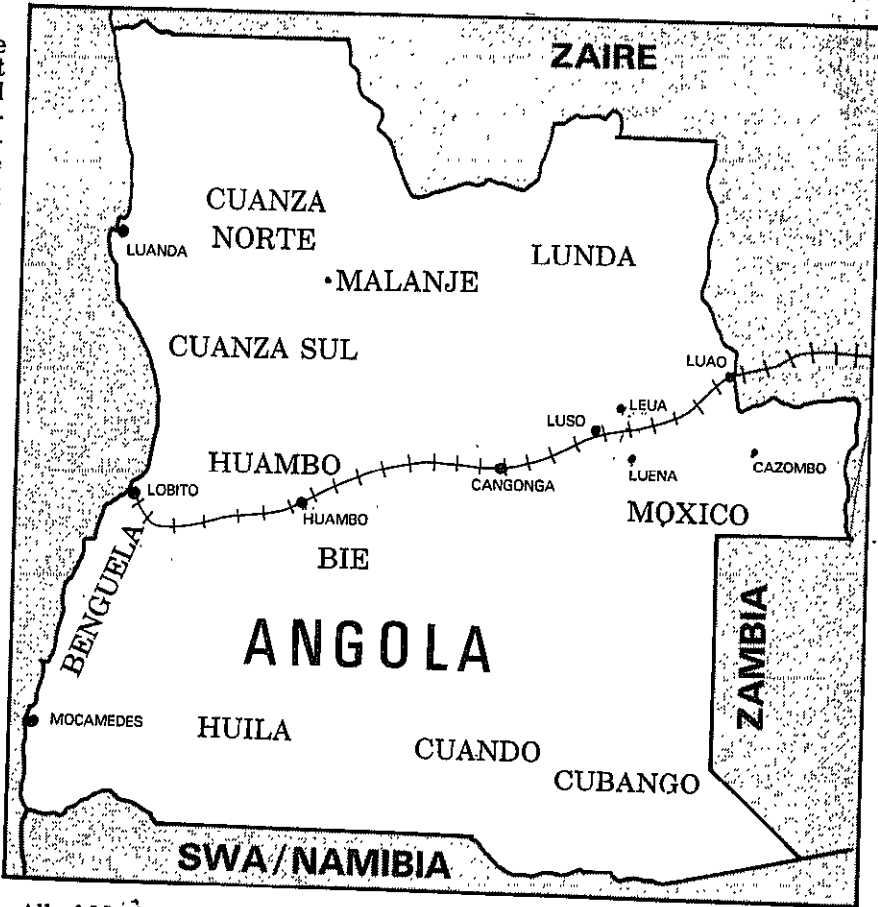
A Unita radio broadcast monitored by a United States Government agency and made available here said the capture of Cazombo "has repercussions on relations between Luanda and Lusaka".

Cazombo, which is near to where the Angola-Zambia border meets the border with Zaire, was allegedly captured on November 13, together with a place named Cazungo.

This gave Unita control over a strategic bridge over the Zambeze River, according to the broadcast.

It said that on November 14 the Unita forces ambushed a column of Fapla (Government) and Cuban troops trying to go the rescue of the garrison at Cazombo.

The ambush was said to have taken place at Luculo, between Luena — the capital of Moxico province — and Leua.



All of Moxico province was claimed to be in Unita's hands except the capital and Luao, the Benguela Railway town on the border with Zaire.

Other Unita actions claimed in the broadcast were five attacks on the major city of Huambo on November 10 and 11 and four attacks on the city of Bie on the Benguela Railway in the same week.

The claims included 15 attacks on Cuban columns and positions in Benguela province and

other attacks in Cuanza Sul, Malanje and Cuanza Norte provinces.

In another broadcast, monitored on December 5, Unita said that as the MPLA Government had refused to free 36 Unita prisoners, Unita could not be held responsible for what might happen to foreign nationals who insisted on staying in war zones.

It called on foreign countries to remove their nationals from the war zones — which were defined as the provinces of

Kunene, Cuando Cubango, Huila, Moxico, Bie, Huambo, Benguela, Cuanza Sul, Cuanza Norte, Malanje and Lunda.

One of the towns Unita claimed to have captured was Andulo in Bie province. It said the town was garrisoned by a Cuban and a Fapla brigade.

Angola Government broadcasts monitored here over the same period have claimed victories over Unita forces in Huila and Bie provinces and the killing of several hundred rebels.

# Alto Chicapa finally gets its baptism of fire

Star  
10/12/83

By Fred Bridgland, The Star's Special Correspondent in Angola

**ALTO CHICAPA** — In Portuguese times Alto Chicapa was a pleasant colonial hilltop town in the northern diamond-mining province of Lunda.

Its main street was lined by trees and lit by electric lamps. There was a swimming pool and around the town were many banana groves.

In those days, there were restaurants where travellers between Luanda, the Angolan capital, and Luso, on the Benguela Railway, could stop and refresh themselves with a tasty Portuguese-style meat stew washed down by a bottle of chilled Vinho Verde.

The local Portuguese administrators lived in big pastel-coloured blue and pink bungalows reminiscent of the setting of some Somerset Maugham tale.

Before independence, Alto Chicapa was untroubled by the fighting between the Portuguese and the various African guerilla groups, and even since the Portuguese left in 1975, Alto Chicapa had escaped the effects of the eight-year-old civil war — until now.

Alto Chicapa's baptism of fire began at 5 am on November 29 1983, when Unita artillery men on the bank of a river to the west of the town laid down a barrage of cannon and heavy mortar fire on the MPLA garrison.

Then two battalions of about 1 000 infantry men advanced rapidly from the north and north-west, spraying before them a curtain of AK-47 and FN rifle fire.

The brigade field battalion was held in reserve. There was some resistance at the airstrip on the outskirts, but by the time the bulk of Unita troops reached the centre of town, the rest of the MPLA garrison had fled southward.

By the time we reached the town's centre Unita intelligence officers were already interrogating blindfolded MPLA soldiers, one of whom had shrapnel wounds.

Among the prisoners was the commander of the MPLA's battalion, Lieutenant Bazuke. Unita's interrogators reported that they were told the garrison lost 120 deserters this year, mainly because of food shortages. No grain was found in the town.

The MPLA soldiers seemed to have been relying mainly on unripe mangoes and unripe bananas to eke out their stores.

A Sergeant Andre, commanding an MPLA group of 50 men, told the interrogators: "We didn't bring food as we have no Cubans with us. This is why the soldiers are deserting."

Before the attack Unita intelligence was that the garrisons had not received supply lorries recently and had no

stood without wheels in the centre of town.

Latest estimates are that 25 MPLA soldiers died in the battle, including the commander of the local unit of the Internal Security Police, Lieutenant Ernesto Gemba.

One Unita soldier was killed and two were wounded.

Spectacular though the forces were which Unita had gathered for the attack, the truth is that the MPLA garrison was defeated even before the battle.

All the prisoners spoke of low morale among the soldiers.

Electricity and water services had stopped working, and the troops were living in barracks with no furniture.

The importance of the fall of Alto Chicapa is that it opens up the way to Saurimo, capital of Lunda province. The Unita regulars are now poised to attack the tarmac road which links Saurimo with Luanda.

This road has been under attack throughout this year by Unita guerillas who always open up new regions of conflict before Savimbi's regular troops move in.

After the battle, Unita's Brigadier Geraldo Nunda said: "There was much less resistance that we expected."

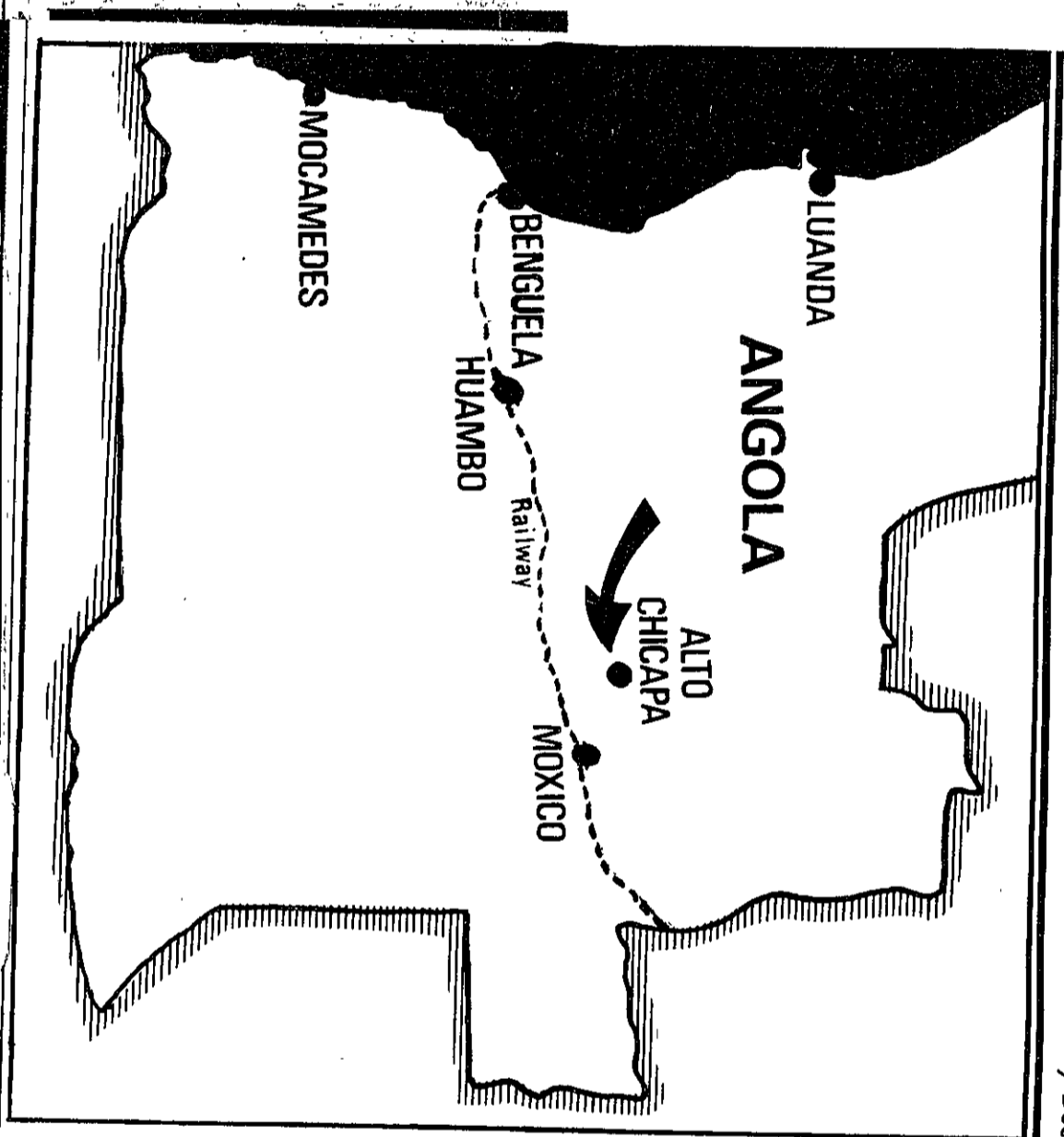
"My troops were disappointed they did not face a real challenge. Now I am planning a new action which will challenge them, securing this whole area for a Unita forward base."

"A new Unita battalion will need to be moved into this area in the near future for logistic reasons."

Several hundred troops are constantly employed along with local helpers in ferrying supplies along the Savimbi trail which stretches back hundreds of kilometres through southern Angola.

The attack on Alto Chicapa is part of a new six-month Unita offensive north of the Benguela Railway. Already Andulo, 270 km west of Alto Chicapa and Kazombo, the MPLA's last stronghold on the Zambian border, have fallen to Unita. So far, five British, two Irish, two Canadians and 20 Portuguese working in MPLA areas, have been taken hostage and eight Portuguese and three Cubans have been killed.

It might have taken eight years, but even this town, once a stop-over point for travellers between Luanda and Luso on the Benguela Railway, couldn't avoid forever the civil war raging around it. On November 29 Unita artillery laid down a barrage of cannon and mortar fire. Then the troops moved in.



Jonas Savimbi... troops disappointed that they met no real resistance.

Spectacular though the forces were which Unita had gathered for the attack, the truth is that the MPLA garrison was defeated even before the battle.

# France's stand on SWA called a 'useful reminder'

LAGOS—Nigerian President Shehu Shagari has said France's opting out of the Western contact group on South West Africa is a 'useful reminder' of widely-felt exasperation about the ineffectiveness of the group, the News Agency of Nigeria reported yesterday.

The agency quoted Mr Shagari as saying in a major foreign policy speech at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs that the group had failed to achieve tangible results towards the territory's independence.

Mr Shagari's statement was the first major reaction by an African leader since the French Foreign Minister, Mr Claude Cheysson, said on Wednesday that France would take no part in further contact group meetings as it had more or less fulfilled its mission.

Mr Shagari said Nigeria had persistently opposed the linkage of South West African independence with pulling Cuban troops out of Angola.

He described as 'quite erroneous' reports that Nigeria had advocated replacing Cuban troops with Africans.

## First mooted

The idea had been first mooted in Lagos in 1981 at a meeting of the front-line states, when it was noted that the absence of an African defence force 'necessitated the invitation by Angola of an extra-African force', he said.

'We agreed to pursue the matter within the Organisation of African Unity so that whenever the concept of the force materialised, Angola or any other country in need of military assistance

would invite such a force to assist it.'

He urged Nigeria's friends and other interested parties to support 'truth and justice in southern Africa', saying South Africa would reap the price of stalling on the independence issue.

On apartheid, Mr Shagari said: 'Nigeria, indeed the black race, will not be wanting in offering the necessary support and keeping up with the relentless pressure until the obnoxious system is finally liquidated.'

Political analysts said Mr Shagari appeared anxious to assure Nigerians that he meant to pursue the country's tough stand on racism and colonialism.

However, he indicated an intention to shift emphasis to 'the demands for national security'. — (Sapa-Reuters)

## PERSONALITY OF THE WEEK 5

## 'Boss' of a hornets nest

WHEN one thinks of Angola one does not readily think of Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Jonas Savimbi — that is a well known name especially in South Africa where the bearded rebel leader has acquired superstar status — a saviour in distant fields, the superman of the Southern African bush.

For the record Jose Eduardo dos Santos is the President of the People's Republic of Angola, Commander in Chief of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) and Chairman of the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) — he is the boss.

Jonas Savimbi is the challenger in control of a third of the Angolan bush but for the time being Dos Santos, in concert with an estimated 20 000 Cuban troops, controls the rest of the bush, the major centres, the oil fields and the capital Luanda.

His job is not an easy one. Although Angola is potentially one of Africa's richest countries — diamonds, oil and good farming land are found in abundance — the indigenous population had been largely denied the fruits of development and a divided revolutionary movement had left it weak and vulnerable.

Independence on November 11 1975 triggered a South African invasion which plunged the fledgling nation into a crisis which has left it in a state of undeclared war with Africa's mightiest military force — not an enviable position for a young state.

In one sense Dos Santos has been reduced to a spectator in vital aspects of Angolan life.

He was born on August 23 1942, the son of a stonemason father and a servant mother of the Kimbundu tribe of Luanda from which the MPLA draws the bulk of its grassroots support.

Little is known about his early childhood but he quite likely grew up in the midst of the appalling poverty of the muceques — the sprawling slums of Luanda where he would have had ample opportunity to compare the desperate living conditions of his people to the transient opulence of the settlers.

It was out of an awareness of this imbalance that the MPLA was formed as a workers' party in 1956 when Dos Santos was about 14 years old.

He became involved with the party at an early age and joined it

When ever Angola is mentioned it is usually to do with Cubans, Namibia, Resolution 435 and Unita. But in the middle of all the havoc one man is trying to build a better future for his country. Patrick Bulger takes a look at that man — Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of Angola.



in 1961 when he set about forming student groups to back the burgeoning movement.

His activities came under the scrutiny eye of the Portuguese authorities and like so many other potential revolutionary leaders he was forced into exile.

He moved to Leopoldville in the Congo Republic (later renamed Kinshasa, Zaire) where he became the representative of the youth wing of the MPLA.

His exile became more pronounced when he left Africa to study petroleum engineering in Moscow in 1963. He earned his degree in 1969 by which time he had met and married a Russian woman engineer. (They have since parted).

His years in Russia moulded his political thinking and were instrumental in making of him a dedicated party man who saw in Marxist Leninist theory the salvation of his country.

In 1970 he completed a course in military telecommunications and

then headed back to Angola shortly afterwards where he was put in charge of the telecommunications division of the MPLA guerilla army and appointed commander in Cabinda province.

The Portuguese coup in April 1974 accelerated his rise to power and saw him elected to the MPLA Central Committee.

He was put in charge of the Foreign Relations Department and was made Minister of Foreign Affairs in the first post independence government.

Since then, however, the task of building a stable nation and a buoyant economy have been downgraded as the government pumps revenue into paying off the Cubans to deter — so far without success — Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement and repel raiding South African forces.

In 1977 Dos Santos made what was probably the most important move in his march towards the Angolan presidency.

Rumblings of discontent with the MPLA surfaced with the attempted coup in 1977 led by MPLA stalwart Nito Alves who favoured a stricter ideological allegiance to the Kremlin. Instead of siding with the rebels he stuck with President Agostinho Neto and was instrumental in putting down the coup, weeding out dissident members of the party and consolidating the MPLA as a small yet cohesive band of revolutionaries comprising about 16 000 members.

His loyalty to the party increased his standing and when Neto died of cancer in Moscow in 1979, the MPLA Central Committee promoted him above several more senior party members.

He became president on September 21 1979.

His choice was something of a surprise and for a poor Luanda boy it capped what has been a remarkable career helped along by generous Russian assistance and a fortuitous Portuguese coup that brought the struggle to retain the Lusitanian colonies to an abrupt halt.

Otherwise he is not a remarkable man, not a visionary but rather a pragmatic political figure steering a dizzy course between the ideological demands of his eastern backer and their proteges in the MPLA Central Committee on the one hand and the pressing need to revive the economy by engaging western investment and expertise on the other.

His first overseas mission as president was a visit to Russia and he has also visited Cuba.

In contrast he has cultivated growing ties with socialist France and although the American government still withholds official recognition of his government Angola's business links with the US and the West generally are growing.

Whatever his links to the East though it would probably be incorrect to see Dos Santos as a communist puppet.

Recently he was instrumental in purging from the government 32 officials known to have close Russian ties.

He was in full agreement with the late President Neto in rejecting any compromise with Jonas Savimbi although western observers feel he may one day be forced to seek a way out of his country's internal strife by talking to Unita possibly without Savimbi at its head.

Until then, however, he remains an embattled president in an embattled country. ■

— The Star's Foreign News Service.

By JEAN LE MAY  
Political Correspondent

NO settlement could take place in Namibia before there was peace in Angola, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pk Botha, told the Sunday Express yesterday.

Speaking after his return from a two-week diplomatic trip to Europe, Mr. Botha said there were "more possibilities" for a Namibian settlement than before but "this should be balanced against the odds".

"The odds against settlement are largely related to the civil war in Angola. Swapo and the presence of the Cubans in Angola," he said.

"Respective of what settlement is proposed in Namibia, nothing can be achieved until there is peace in Angola itself.

"Moreover, a very important part of the settlement is that Swapo must be monitored by UN forces — the contact group agreed on this — but the question remains: who will do the monitoring?"

"I can't see how the UN will go in on this basis — the UN is not a combat force.

"There are those who say that what is going on in Angola has nothing to do with the Namibian settlement," he said.

"I emphatically disagree. There are events taking place in Angola which will make it impossible for any settlement plan to work."

Mr Botha added: "In terms of the settlement there are supposed to be full and free elections in Namibia. But at the same time South African troops are supposed to be reduced and restricted to two bases and also subject to monitoring.

# Let there be peace in Angola first, says Botha

## ANGOLA SLAMS WESTERN FIVE

LISBON — Angola sees no future role for the five-nation Western contact group in seeking an independence settlement for Namibia.

An Angolan Foreign Ministry spokesman told the Angolan news agency Angop yesterday: "The continued existence of the group and who belongs to it is a matter for each of its members to decide."

Earlier this week the French

"But there will still be 30 000 Cubans just north of the Angolan border. Nobody can claim that there will be full and free elections under those circumstances."

Mr Botha said before leaving Lisbon for South Africa on Friday night that South Africa had always favoured talks at the highest possible level with its African neighbours.

He said he had held "very extensive discussions" on the situation in

Foreign Minister, Mr Claude Cheysson, said France had been influenced in its decision to quit the contact group by the Angolan position that it could contribute nothing more.

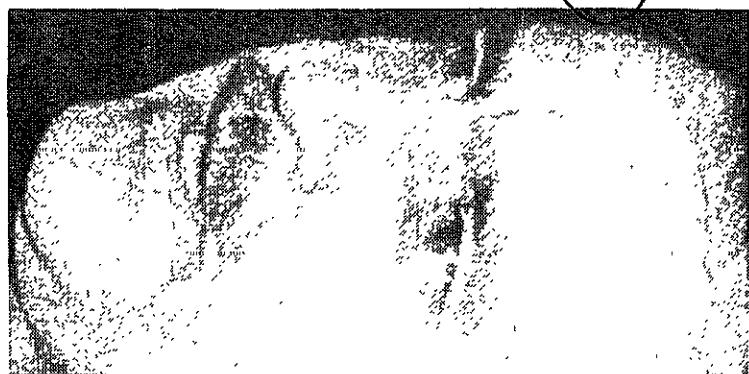
Angola has frequently criticised what it describes as a lack of progress made by the group, formed in 1978 to help further talks on Namibian independence. — Sapa-AP

Angola, Mozambique and Namibia.

He declined to confirm or deny reports that Portugal was acting as a go-between in trying to bring about a meeting between South Africa and Mozambique in a bid to defuse tensions in the area.

"I don't conduct international relations in public," he said.

However, when asked about South Africa's attitude to the possibility of a summit between the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and



Mr Pk Botha . . . looking at odds

President Samora Machel of Mozambique, the Minister replied: "My government has always been in favour of discussion at the highest possible level — I believe that is the area where solutions are bound to be found."

Pressed on the possibility of an early meeting between Mr P W Botha and President Machel, Mr Botha said he wanted to respect "the confidentiality of the situation".

# French pull-out may jolt contact group on SWA

Political Correspondent

THE FRENCH pull-out from the Western contact group on Namibia could give the group a "very necessary jolt to get things moving again".

Dr Peter Vale, director of research at the SA Institute of International Affairs, said this yesterday when referring to the surprise statement by the French Foreign Minister, Mr Claude Cheysson, this week.

He had said that France would not attend any more meetings on Namibia with the other members of the group, which consists of Britain, the United States, West Germany and Canada.

"An air of complacency seems to have overtaken the group," said Dr Vale.

"It seems that everything is being left to the Americans to act as 'honest brokers' in the negotiations."

He did not see the French move as creating the danger of a massive fracture in relations between members of the contact group.

"The potential exists for fracturing to occur over the South African issue, but

Namibia isn't important enough to cause a fracture."

Dr Vale added that it would be unwise to attach too much importance to the French explanation for its withdrawal, which was that the Angolan government had said it felt the contact group could no longer achieve anything.

Nor did he see the French move as directed at the US for supporting South Africa in linking Cuban withdrawal from Angola with Namibian independence, he said.

"It is far more likely that the French intention was to shock the contact group into getting a move on," he said.

Meanwhile the French insist that they have not withdrawn altogether.

"We have not left the group — it is just that we see no need for more meetings," a spokesman for the French embassy in Pretoria said yesterday.

"We have already completed the implementation process of (UN) Resolution 435.

"We agreed on all the main points and South Africa agreed as well.

"The Cuban withdrawal goes beyond Resolution 435 and we see no need to argue about it."

A spokesman for the US embassy in Pretoria said the American government had been assured by France that it had not withdrawn from the group altogether.

"He refused to be drawn on whether Mr Cheysson's statement could be interpreted as criticism of the US on linkage.

However, Namibian specialists at the UN are reported to have said other in the group were "irritated" by the French move.

The SA Foreign Minister, Mr Pk Botha, who returned from Europe early yesterday, said he had not yet had time to study the implications of the French move.

# MPLA

expels

3 000

members

5  
Star  
12/12/83

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

MUNICH — About 3 000 people have been expelled from Angola's ruling MPLA in a sweeping purge of party ranks, according to the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug.

The agency, in a despatch from Luanda monitored in Munich, said the purge was announced by MPLA Secretary-General Lucio Lara.

"Mr Lara did not say what the expelled members had done. But the current trimming of the party ranks is believed to be part of a drive to stamp out liberalism and indiscipline," said the despatch.

Exactly what is meant by this is not clear but the purge coincides with the most aggressive offensive yet by Unita rebels and suggestions that France may be trying to negotiate a truce in Angola and Namibia.

## SETTLEMENT

Frontline state sources have suggested that elements within the Angolan Government favour a settlement with Unita to end their country's eight-year-old civil war.

Such an accommodation would, however, only be reached if Mr Jonas Savimbi were removed from the Unita leadership, they say.

Though Mr Lara did not name those purged, it appears the list may include the moderates in the Dos Santos government who favoured negotiations with Unita.

The sources described the MPLA government as ideologically "severe" and suggested that there was little chance of an agreement with the rebels while it maintained its rigid stance.

Tanjug said the Angolan head of state, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, wanted to "improve the quality" of the party membership, while at the same time broadening its base. Only 27 000 of Angola's eight million citizens are MPLA members, it added.

More than 40 percent of MPLA members belong to the State administration, military, and party apparatus.

# Angola: The land at the end of the earth

ARGUS 12/12/83 (5)

The Portuguese called south-east Angola the "terras do fim do mundo" — the lands at the end of the earth — and at the extremity of this wilderness stands Calai — a ghost town.

Report and pictures by JASPER MORTIMER Argus Foreign Service

SOUTH Africans first see Calai from Rundu, a town on the south bank of the Okavango River. This 60m-wide waterway defines the border between north-east SWA/Namibia and Angola.

My sister and I had stopped over in Rundu on our SWA/Namibia holiday and from there Calai looked a pretty village.

Its houses and shops were painted in the pastel blues, greens and pinks that have always made continental towns attractive.

Only its stillness, a complete lack of movement, suggested all was not well.

## Swam river

Irresistibly curious, we swam the river. "Hello," I said to a Kavango fisherman on stepping ashore in Angola. "Ja, meneer," he replied. He had crossed the river many times.

There was nowhere to get our passports stamped — the Angolan Government has no presence along this border. The whole region is held by South African troops and Unita rebels.

We scrambled up the bank of white sand and walked into Calai. It was eerie. Not a soul was in sight, only the debris of departed life.

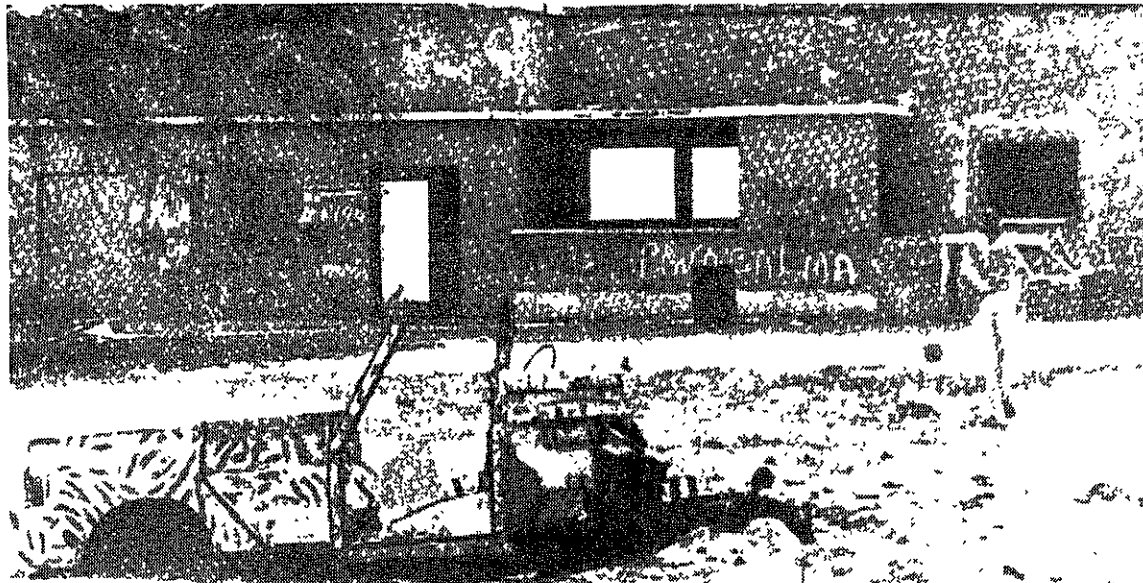
## Beer bottles

"Viva MPLA!" "Reactionaries will not pass," "Savimbi" shouted the walls. Cuca and sages beer-bottles littered the streets.

The last conquerors seemed to have had a big victory party.

In a backyard a yellow mongoose scampered across a pile of cold-drink bottles which someone, perhaps a bored soldier, had stacked in a circle.

Calai was more than empty, it was gutted. Not a window had a pane of glass, not a building a roof, not a house a piece of furniture, not a shop a scrap of merchandise.



A town ravaged by war . . . a derelict camouflaged Land-Rover, a gutted house, political graffiti and a bare electricity pole.



Calai is strewn with empty bottles . . . soldiers seen have chosen this enclosed yard for their beer gut.

The sun had bleached the paintwork and it was peeling. Weeds had pierced the floors and were blossoming in gorgeous gardenia-like flowers.

A once well-kept boulevard with shrubs down the middle had been overrun by undergrowth. It was now two faint tracks in the sand. A wheel-less truck had lain still so long that a tree was growing through it.

On the corner a petrol pump was rusting away.

Windhoek journalists said later that the Portuguese had fled Calai on the last ferry to Rundu as the Cuban-backed MPLA approached in 1976.

## Bomb shelters

Unita seized Calai in 1978 and during the next few years the town fell two or three times. In one battle mortar shells landed in Rundu, which explains why today every second house there has a bomb shelter in the garden.

When the last garrison withdrew is not known, but Calai appeared to have been deserted for at least two years.

Strangely, the town was clean of the garbage of war. Mortars had presumably smashed the roofs, but there were no mortar falls, no empty

magazines, no cartridges. Only a camouflaged Land-Rover sinking into the sand. Perhaps follow-up forces and curious children had taken the rest.

## Garlic steaks

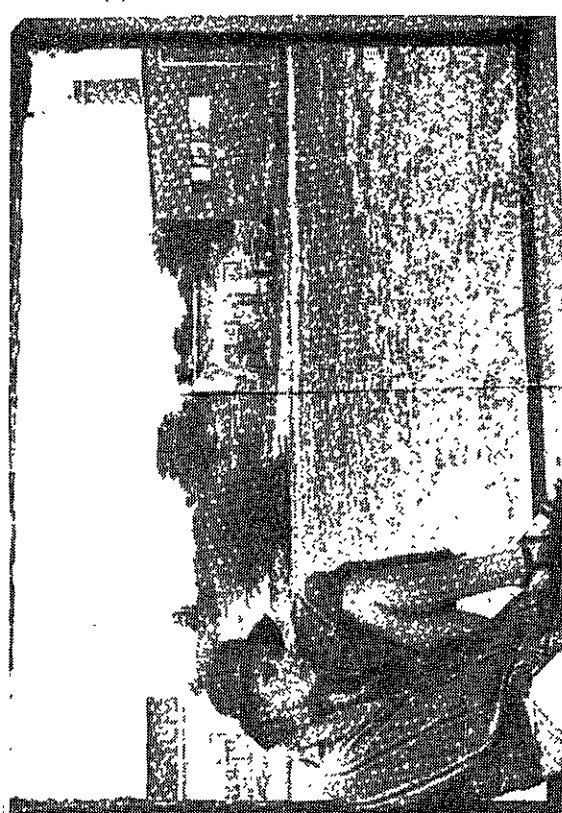
What war had wrought in Calai was indeed sad. As colonists the Portuguese had been among the poorest. But one could see that here they had worked hard to build a town of solid walls and attractive facades.

Where there had once been a community alive with traders, farmers and labourers, there was now desolation. Where there had once been a restaurant offering garlic steaks and maybe dancing on Saturday nights, there were now flaking frescoes and a floor invaded by grass.

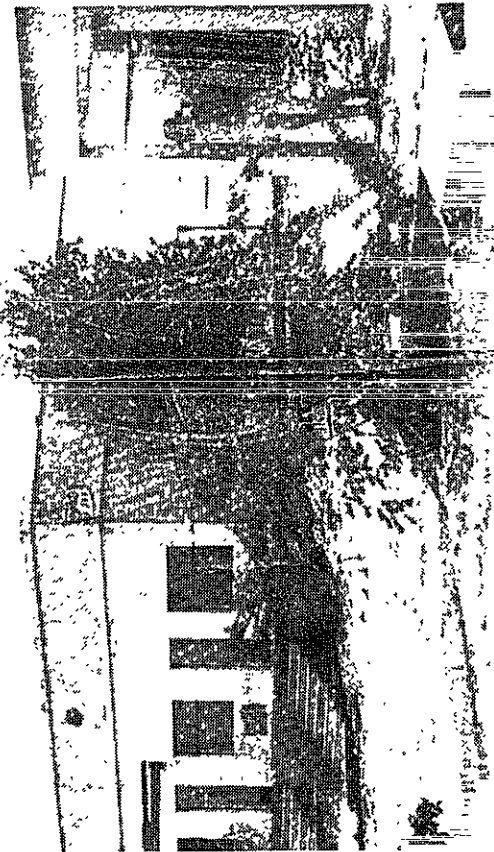
Where there had once been a bathroom, there was now a guinea-fowl nest — but even the fowls had gone.

Looters had taken everything. The sole surviving object in one shop was the concrete counter. If that had been movable, somebody would have taken it.

What made the scene sadder was the certainty that, after eight years of civil war, Angola must have many, many Calais.



Window on a ghost town . . . the house my sister Bryony is sitting in had no roof, no doors weeds on the floor and graffiti on the wall.





# US <sup>(Star)</sup> accused over Namibia <sup>12/12/78</sup>

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Black African leaders believe that the United States is delaying an independence settlement in Namibia in the hope that Angola will fall to the forces of Mr Jonas Savimbi, says the London Sunday Times.

The Americans are convinced that Mr Savimbi's rebels may well win an outright victory over Angola's Marxist Government, forcing Cuba to recall its 25 000

troops and advisers, the paper says.

Washington has failed to persuade the Frontline states — Zambia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique — that an international settlement in Namibia should be linked to a Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

Ten days ago Unita troops seized Alto Chikapa, in northern Lunda province, and are now poised to attack the only

paved road linking the province with the capital, Luanda.

From Lagos, Reuter reports that Nigerian President Shehu Shagari has called for fresh ideas to break the deadlock over independence for Namibia.

Mr Shagari said he had raised the possibility of an African force replacing Cuban troops in Angola as a solution to the problem of the presence of the Cubans.

# Unita claims big kill of <sup>13/12/82</sup> 5 army men and Cubans *Reuter*

LISBON. — Angolan rebels said yesterday they killed more than 140 government troops and three Cubans over the past week in attacks and ambushes in four central provinces.

A communique issued in Lisbon by Unita said the three Cubans died in an ambush on a convoy in Huila province.

It said 88 government troops were also killed in Huila province in attacks on army posts at Katata and

Kassange-Chalata, in the town of Chilata.

Unita, which claims it is pushing north towards the capital province of Luanda, also said it attacked government-held villages and military targets in Bie, Lunda and Kwanza-Sul provinces.

On Friday, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said nearly 2 000 guerrillas had been killed in the past three months in the government's counter-offensive against Unita. — Sapa-Reuter.

## SA warned against giving aid to Savimbi

By John D'Oliveira  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Angolan Government claims that it has dismantled Unita's military infrastructure in central Angola and is now poised for a decisive attack on the rebels' south-eastern stronghold.

The government's spokesman also gave, as a personal opinion, the warning that any serious South African attempt to help Unita would precipitate heavy Cuban and Russian involvement in the battle.

Mr Arslan Humbaraci, a Turkish-born British citizen now operating largely from Switzerland, told a Press conference in London yesterday that he had been a long-standing aide in charge of external missions for former Angolan President Agostinho Neto and that he was now a political counsellor to the Luanda Government.

He said he spoke at two levels — as the official spokesman of the Luanda Government and as an individual closely involved with that government.

On behalf of the Angolan Government he wanted the Western media to understand that the "military vacuum" in Angola had been filled and that the Angolan armed forces had been reorganised into anti-guerrilla units by an officer trained at the Russian Military Staff Academy, Colonel Iko Carreira.

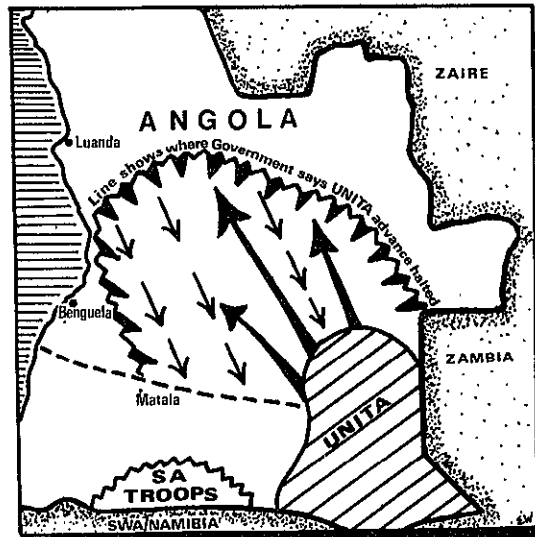
Major elements of this retrained army had launched an attack on Unita's so-called "second strategic front" in the central provinces of Angola.

He said that 20 000 government troops took part in a two-month offensive against the rebels in the central provinces of Huambo, Bie and Kuanza Sul and that they broke up the Unita front by November 2.

The official Angolan news agency, Angop, reported last week that 1 971 rebels were killed in the offensive.

Mr Humbaraci said that from early November Unita had ceased to be an effective fighting force in this area and the government forces were preparing for an attack on the Unita stronghold in the south-

# Unita rebels on the run, says Luanda



This map shows the Angolan Government's view of the military situation in Angola, with the "First Strategic Front" marked by diagonal lines. The dotted line above Matala shows the line above which the Angolan Government claims South African forces will not be allowed to move.

east — until now effectively a "no-go" area for Angolan forces.

Mr Humbaraci said the Angolan forces had recently received a massive injection of fresh military equipment — including Russian arms, Russian armoured vehicles and Russian and French helicopters.

In his "individual capacity" Mr Humbaraci said it was well known that South Africa was heavily involved with Unita in its south-eastern stronghold.

If South Africa became involved in the fighting with Unita, the Cuban troops now in Angola, which had thus far not been used to fight Unita, would be drawn into the battle. Russian military advisers and technicians would also be involved.

If there were heavy South African involvement in the

coming battle, Angola might call for more Cuban troops.

Mr Humbaraci showed reporters a map of Angola which, he said, reflected the Angolan general staff's assessment of the military situation.

It showed Unita's "first strategic front" in the south-east which would shortly come under attack, the area which he claimed was occupied by South African troops around Pereira de Eca, Namacunde and Rocades and the central area in which the Unita infrastructure had been dismantled.

He said there was a line stretching approximately from Lucira on the coast to Cuito-Cuanavare which the Angolan Government had decided was a line north of which the South Africans would not be allowed to operate.

## 'Grave US error' over Cubans

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — The United States committed a "grave error" in not intervening to stop Cuba sending troops to Angola, according to former French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

"The presence of Cuban troops in Angola has destabilised Central Africa," he said in an interview with the Conservative newspaper Figaro.

"The destabilisation forced us to intervene

twice in the region; the first time by supplying transport planes to fly Moroccan planes to Zaire, and the second time when we dropped our paratroops at Kolwezi. In both cases we acted to stop regional destabilisation flowing into Zaire."

It is the first time Mr d'Estaing has publicly acknowledged that French military intervention in Kolwezi in June 1978 was taken in the fear that Cubans might try to take over Zaire.

# Angola: Cubans seek support for their presence

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Senior Cuban officials have been travelling through Africa in the past year seeking support for keeping their troops in Angola to defend it against South Africa, a United States State Department official said today.

The department's Cuban affairs director, Mr Kenneth Skoug, said the Cuban move was partly related to efforts by the US and South Africa to link a Cuban withdrawal to a settlement in Namibia.

He said there were no signs that Cuba was interested in withdrawing from Angola.

It had adhered to its position that it would withdraw troops only when asked to do so by the Angolan Government. Unless that was done, it looked as if Cuban troops would stay.

"Cuba has sent senior officials to Africa in the past year to emphasise how important it is to maintain its forces in Angola to defend it against South Africa," Mr Skoug said.

Indications were that the Cuban troops had been in combat with Unita rebel forces and had suffered casualties.

Mr Skoug said Cuban troops in Ethiopia had been withdrawn in substantial numbers but it was not known where they were being sent.

However Cuban troops in Angola had not been reduced and were possibly being increased.

Unita radio broadcasts continue to claim military successes in what would appear to be a wide-ranging offensive.

The latest report claims the capture of a Fapla (Government army) barracks at Alto Chicapa in Lunda province, with 25 Fapla troops killed and 11 captured.

It said the attack was filmed by a British TV team and witnessed by a reputable Portuguese journalist.

Some observers think the Unita offensive may be hampering US efforts to get the Angolan Government to agree to the withdrawal of Cuban troops combined with the implementation of the Namibian settlement plan set out in United Nations Security Council resolution 435.

The offensive is thought to emphasise the Angolan Government's dependence on the Cubans.

Diplomats here said there was still no confirmation of the report from Paris that France had launched an independent initiative to find a settlement in Namibia, with the co-operation of the Angolan Government.

NDM (5)  
**Angolans  
leave  
Zambia**

**Mail Africa Bureau**  
**LUSAKA.**— Angola has completed repatriation of more than 400 of its nationals who fled into Zambia from Moxico province, where fighting is going on between MPLA forces and Unita rebels.

A spokesman for the Angolan Embassy in Lusaka yesterday denied earlier reports that the people being repatriated were refugees from Mahaba camp in north-western province.

"They are not refugees. They were our people from Moxico province," said the spokesman.

He said the people, mostly women and children, were transported by road from the north-western province to Ndola, where special planes sent by the Angolan Government picked them up to bring them home.

# 'Adviser' disowned by Angolan Govt

5 Star 15/12/83

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Luanda has disowned Mr Arslan Humbaraci, a self-styled Angolan Government "adviser" who recently claimed that Angola was asking Moscow to intervene directly in the country's civil war.

A dispatch from Angop, the official Angola news agency, monitored in Lisbon, said that Mr Humbaraci was "neither adviser (of Luanda) nor mandated in any way to speak in its name".

Mr Humbaraci, who gave a Press conference in London on Monday, claimed that he was a "counsellor" of the Angolan Government. He is reportedly a naturalised Briton of Turkish extraction.

He said that Angola was asking Moscow to intervene directly with troops in the civil war. France was providing the government with helicopter gunships and an offensive had thrown Unita rebels back when only 180 km from the capital.

In a related development, Unita reacted yesterday to international media coverage of the Press conference in a statement saying it revealed Luanda's "daily increasingly bellicose intentions". Unita, claiming its forces had downed an Alouette-2 gunship last Monday, said it was "accelerating its penetration of all the northern provinces".

The statement said that Unita's northward thrust would soon threaten areas where "Western multinationals collaborate with the Soviets against the freedom of our people".

## Boy 'sent letter bomb to Thatcher'

LONDON — A 14-year-old boy yesterday pleaded not guilty to sending a letter bomb to Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, after allegedly telling police he wanted "attention".

The State prosecutor, Miss Barbara Mills, told a London court the boy, who is interested in sci-

entific experiments, built the device from a light-sensitive cell connected to a torch bulb with matches packed around.

She said that while defence lawyers admitted the boy had posted the device on March 17, they maintained it was not an explosive parcel. — Sapa-Associated Press.

## Trade copters being used in Angola war?

By James Tomlins,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

PARIS 16/12/83 — French light helicopters sold to Angola for its oil industry, are being used for transporting Cuban and Angolan troops, according to French journalists and officials who visited Angola recently.

"The Ecuireil (Squirrel) helicopter, for instance, is certainly being used to transport soldiers," said one journalist.

"The French Government asked the Luanda authorities to explain this use of the helicopters for military purposes, and was told the soldiers were ill and being taken to hospital.

A report here claims that French firms send helicopters in crates to Lisbon, where they are armed and armoured.

Then, it is claimed, they are shipped as gunships to Luanda.

## Jailed Mandela receives award

LUSAKA — Nelson Mandela has been awarded a medal by a Czechoslovak-based students' organisation, the International Union of Students.

The award was made in recognition of his political activities as a member of the banned ANC. — Reuter.

## 'Witch' nan

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

LIVORNO — The prosecutor in the Scottish nanny "witchcraft" trial has demanded that Miss Carol Compton be jailed for seven years.

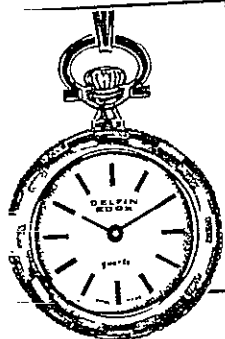
Mr Arturo Cindolo said Miss Compton had maliciously started fires while working at the Cecchini family villa on the island of Elba.

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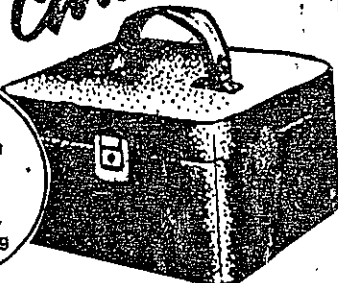


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SADF is prepared to withdraw its forces, but.

# Swapo rejects SA offer for peace in Angola

By Donald Knowler,

6/12/83

NEW YORK — Swapo has already rejected the South African offer to withdraw its forces from the operational area in Angola for one month from January 31.

A British Broadcasting Corporation news broadcast early this morning quoted a Swapo spokesman at the UN as saying the proposal was "totally unacceptable". This reaction follows hard on the heels of South Africa's surprise offer to withdraw its forces conducting pre-emptive strikes inside Angola if the Angolan Government agreed to stop giving support to Swapo insurgents raiding Namibia.

The offer was contained in a letter from South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, handed last night to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, by South Africa's ambassador to the UN, Mr Kurt von Shindring.

The letter with the offer was given to the UN chief on the eve of an urgent Security Council debate on South African raids into southern Angola.

Angola called for the debate today after complaining that parts of its territory had been "occupied" by South Africa since 1981.

## Disengage forces

Mr Botha said his country was prepared to disengage its forces from Angola in the interests of bringing a peaceful settlement to the Namibia process. He said the operations were directed against the South West Africa Peoples Organisation (Swapo), which has been fighting a sporadic bush war against the South Africans in support of its demands for Namibia's independence.

But Mr Botha warned that Angola, Swapo or Cuban forces in Angola, would also have to disengage and should not try to "exploit the resulting situation".

Mr Botha said South Africa was prepared to start the withdrawal on January 31 next year. The action would last initially for 30 days, he added.

However, the offer could be extended for a longer period if the provisions of the proposal were adhered to, the South African Foreign Minister said.

Mr Botha asked that his letter be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

Mr Botha said South Africa remained prepared to implement the UN blue-print for Namibia's independence — known as Resolution 435 — if the issue of Cuban forces in Angola could be resolved.

South Africa — supported by the United States — has said there could be no settlement while Cuba has troops in Angola and has called for their withdrawal. There are estimated to be up to 25 000 Cubans in Angola.

In its request for a Security Council debate today, Angola said the continued presence of South African forces on Angolan soil constituted a threat to international peace and security.

The Angolan Ambassador to the UN, Mr Elisio DeFigueiredo, said there had been an increase in "acts of aggression and violence by the racist regime against the people of Angola".

The debate will start tomorrow morning.



# Terror: 'Action' warning to Angola

CAPE Times

17/12/83

22  
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**PRETORIA.** — Accusing the United Nations of being one of the main instigators of Swapo's terror campaign against the people of SWA/Namibia, South Africa last night warned that it would take "whatever action necessary" if Swapo continued with its "senseless campaign of violence".

Speaking during a special UN Security Council debate on South African raids into southern Angola, South Africa's Ambassador to the UN, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, warned that South Africa would also not allow Swapo to establish sanctuaries in southern Angola from which it could launch attacks on SWA/Namibia.

He added that the sole objective of South Africa's security operations in southern Angola was to protect the people of SWA/Namibia against terrorist attacks.

## Violence

"South Africa has repeatedly stated that the moment Swapo undertakes to cease its campaign of violence, and in fact carries out such a commitment, action against Swapo by the South African forces would cease.

"Under such circumstances, there would of course be no necessity for South African military action across the border against Swapo elements in Angola." Mr

Von Schirnding said.

He added that Africa would one day understand that the South African forces in the Angolan-SWA/Namibian border area — "which it now so vehemently condemns" — were in fact fighting to defend the whole of Africa against "a powerful and sinister threat".

Copies of Mr Von Schirnding's address were made available to Sapa last night.

The special UN debate on South Africa yesterday was called by Angola, which complained that parts of its territory had been "occupied" by South Africa since 1981.

In his address to the UN, Mr Von Schirnding said South Africa's offer to resolve its problems with Angola through peaceful means still stood.

"It (South Africa) has no desire to control a single centimetre of Angolan territory.

"And although it differs radically with the policies and approach of the MPLA regime, it is prepared to examine

the possibility of peaceful coexistence with all the states of the region," he said.

South Africa's warning followed close on the heels of the country's offer on Thursday to withdraw its forces conducting pre-emptive strikes inside Angola for one month from January 31, if the Angolan Government agreed to stop supporting Swapo insurgents.

## 'Ploy'

Swapo has rejected the offer.

Richard Walker reports from New York that a top Swapo official called South Africa's offer of a military "disengagement" in Angola totally unacceptable.

As the Security Council convened last night, Swapo's representative at the United Nations, Mr Theo Ben Gurirab, dismissed South Africa's offer as "just a ploy ... totally unacceptable", adding that nothing short of unconditional withdrawal would do.

● Angola's claims on SA, page 6

# Ceasefire offer the 'first shot'

By BRIAN POTTINGER: Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's ceasefire offer to Angola this week was the first shot in a joint United States-SA initiative to force a Cuban troop withdrawal — the key stumbling block to a negotiated SWA settlement.

The terms of the offer were decided between South Africa and the United States at the top-level talks held by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State, in Rome two weeks ago.

Initially the South Africa proposals were to be made known on December 31, but were advanced because of the UN Security Council debate on SWA presently under way.

Both Angola and Swapo have rejected the ceasefire offer which amounts to withdrawal of South African forces from southern Angola and a cessation of pursuit operations for a trial period of one month.

Angolan UN representative Mr Elisio de Figueiredo warned Security Council members not to be "duped" by South Africa and pressed for "war reparations".

He said four South African armoured columns were at that precise moment launching an offensive into Angola's Huilla province.

A Swapo spokesman, Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, said the proposals were only of benefit to South Africa.

## Described

Meanwhile, the United States State Department has described the offer as a "good, positive step".

Pretoria, for its part, is holding fire until it has seen the full text of the reported Angolan and Swapo refusals.

The Department of Foreign Affairs is also monitoring the course of the debate in the UN.

Behind the proposals delivered by the South African representative at the UN, Mr Kurt von Shirnding, is increasing United States impatience to reach settlement in SWA and roll up the Cuban presence in Angola — a key objective of US regional policies as America enters a presidential election year.

Pretoria's ceasefire offer is likely to place Swapo and the Luanda government in a difficult position — in the game of international power-politicking it is crucial not to appear the "spoller".

The United States Government — under both increasing domestic pressure over its constructive engagement policy and from its western allies over its insistence on Cuban withdrawal — benefits in two ways from the South African offer.



DR CHESTER CROCKER  
Talks with Pik Botha

It represents a positive South African gesture at a crucial time and, perhaps more importantly, it gives an opportunity to gauge the willingness of the Angolans to dispense with Cuban combat support.

Although in the SWA context terms like "last-ditch" have become cliches, there is a conviction in diplomatic circles that the conflict potential in the region is escalating ominously.

More Soviet and Cuban troop arrivals, more sophisticated equipment, a pending counter-thrust against Unita forces and reports of purges of moderates within Luanda's MPLA government all herald a deepening crisis in the region.

But the strongest Angolan-Swapo objections to the proposals are likely to be that a ceasefire proposal should be part of an over-all settlement package in SWA as envisioned in UN Resolution 435 to which all parties still nominally adhere.

## Objection

This objection is dismissed in South African diplomatic quarters who point out that a ceasefire is an integral part of the UN resolution and it is a technicality as to how it is brought about.

A second objection from Luanda is likely to be its inability to effectively police the agreement. The rolling Angolan bushveld has through decades provided shelter to rebel groups in one form or another, and Luanda would be hard-pressed to control determined guerrilla groups operating from its territory.

The third objection, from the Swapo side, is that the proposals seem too clearly designed in the short term to halt the annual Swapo thrusts into SWA which usually are militarily disastrous but vital to Swapo in maintaining

an even vaguely credible armed challenge to South African occupation of the territory.

But probably the most crucial problem is that the South African proposals relate to disengagement of South African forces which from time to time engage Swapo in Angola.

This is seen as a reference to regular South African forces and does not refer to Unita elements — Luanda insists they are supported by Pretoria and are SADF surrogates — which now present the greatest immediate threat to the MPLA Government.

The role and position of Unita thus becomes a central issue.

Already there are strong indications in South African diplomatic circles that even if the Cubans withdraw, a resolution of the MPLA-Unita fracas will be essential before implementation of Resolution 435 in SWA.

The latest South African-US initiative comes amid other signs of movement in the long drawn-out SWA debacle.

Portuguese re-entry into an area of traditional influence and possible new Franco-Angolan initiatives are all pending.

# Major military build-up as Angolan foes prepare



Dr. Jonas Savimbi

By JEAN LE MAY: Political Correspondent

A MAJOR military campaign is building up in central Angola between MPLA and Swapo forces and Dr. Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita forces, according to observers in Windhoek.

It is known that during the past fortnight massive supplies of foreign military equipment have reached the MPLA, with nine shiploads of Soviet armaments unloaded in Luanda.

Dr Andre du Pisanie, senior lecturer in political science at the University of South Africa, said both the MPLA and Unita had greatly increased their forces in the past few months.

However, the South African offer of a conditional truce was based on a careful assessment of the security situation in that part of An-

gola," he said.

"The offer of withdrawal would not have affected South African interests. Unita has ample logistics to keep on the fight under its own steam.

"The South African offer displayed continuity with the South African position — it was clearly conditional on Angolan agreement.

"I see the offer as symbolic of South Africa's willingness to reach agreement — I am aware that some such offer was greatly desired by the Americans and the British.

"I feel it likely that the offer flowed out of recent discussions between Mr Plk Botha and the US assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker."

DAVID PETERSEN reports from Windhoek that although Swapo traditionally launches large-scale strikes into northern Namibia during this time, the situation in Ovamboland was "very quiet".

It is understood Swapo has withdrawn its main body of fighters deep into Angola, close to the shifting borders of territory disputed by the MPLA government forces and Unita.

With both the Angolans and Swapo having rejected South Africa's offer to withdraw its forces from Southern Angola, observers in Windhoek said the possibility of a large-scale South African raid against Swapo fighters in Angola could not be ruled out.

Mr Plk Botha had offered to stop all hot pursuit operations into Angola for one month — starting on January 31 — provided Angola gave the assurance that its own forces, with Swapo and the Cubans, "would not exploit the situation".

Sapa reports from New York that after dismissing South Africa's proposal, Angola circulated a proposed Security Council resolution demanding the unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from its territory and payment of reparations by Pretoria.

The Angolan UN representative, Mr Eljiso de Figueiredo, said South African forces had occupied parts of Southern Angola since 1981 and had just launched a fresh offensive.

Before the debate, Swapo's UN observer, Mr Theoben Gurrub, said the disengagement proposal was of advantage only to Pretoria.

"The Angolans and Cubans have never entered Namibia, but the South Africans have invaded Angola." The South African representative, Mr Kurt von Shindling, who also addressed the council and later met reporters, said his country's military operations in southern Angola had the sole objective of protecting Namibia against Swapo attacks.

He claimed Angola had summoned the council meeting to hide aggressive designs against the people of the territory and to distract attention from serious internal problems.

These stemmed from the imposition of an alien ideology with the help of the Cubans, he said.

# US relief at SA offer to UN over Namibia



□ Pik Botha



□ Chester Crocker

## Move seen as welcome sign of life in stalled talks

*S. Tribune*  
12/18/83

By Neil Lurssen  
Foreign Service

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Africa scored high marks at the US State Department this week with its surprise proposal for a mutual troop disengagement in Angola to speed up the Namibia settlement process and get Cuban troops out of the country.

For the Americans, it was a welcome sign of life in the long deadlocked Namibia issue — plus a glimmering of hope that there may yet be a chance of removing the Cubans from an important strategic area, a concern that the US shares with South Africa.

But Washington analysts warned that Pretoria's offer contained serious flaws.

One was that it would "box" Swapo guerrillas in Angola and thus be impossible for Swapo to accept. And another was that it failed to address specifically the question of the rebel movement Unita's activities in Angola.

They pointed out that Unita's recent military successes against MPLA forces provided one of the main reasons for the Luanda regime to keep the Cubans in Angola, even at enormous expense which has crippled Angola's economy.

South Africa's offer, made in a letter from Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, to UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, came as Angola complained to the Security Council that South Africa had "occupied" parts of its territory since 1981.

Mr Botha said South Africa was ready to disengage from January 31 next year for an initial period of 30 days which could be extended.

In return, he said, the Angolans would have to reciprocate and assure that their own forces, Swapo and the Cubans would not exploit the situation.

Mr Botha also said that South Africa remained prepared to implement Security Council Resolution 435 — the UN blueprint for Namibia's independence — if the issue of the Cuban troops could be resolved.

It is believed here that South Africa's initiative is one of the results of a recent meeting in Rome between Mr Botha and the Reagan Administration's chief Africa official, Mr Chester Crocker.

The Americans, while insisting that their Namibian settlement effort is still alive, have been

tiènce at the lack of movement.

On Friday, in the stilted language of diplomacy, US spokesman John Hughes said that South Africa's proposal had "important potential to contribute to a climate that could facilitate further movement in the Southern Africa negotiations, and we hope that conditions on the ground will permit a cease fire as soon as possible".

Mr Hughes said the situation in Angola and across its borders was of concern to the US because of its cost in lives and because it hampered progress on a negotiated settlement.

In this context, the US welcomed South Africa's "public confirmation" of its readiness to disengage its forces.

The US also welcomed South Africa's affirmation of its commitment to implement Resolution 435 as soon as the Cuban issue was resolved.

Mr Hughes repeated a point made often by American spokesmen this year that a durable settlement would depend on mutual respect for security and sovereignty in the region.

What the Americans mean is that they recognise the concerns of both the South Africans and the Angolans about their own security.

Mr Hughes said the US hoped that a ceasefire would extend beyond 30 days so that peaceful conditions could have a chance to take hold.

"Communication of the South African proposal to the UN Secretary General underscores his constructive and active role in the peace process and reflects the continued validity of the Namibian negotiating effort in which the US and its contact group partners are involved," he said.

Asked what role he saw for Unita in this week's development, Mr Hughes said that the movement was a faction operating within its own country and the US position was that the factions in Angola would have to settle their conflict among themselves.

Analysts here, however, argue that Unita must be a key player in any possible settlement.

The MPLA regime says it is a puppet of Pretoria which supports it militarily. One of Luanda's conditions for a Cuban withdrawal is an immediate end to South Africa assistance to Unita.

# Swapo rejection puts the ball in US court

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

THE rejection at the weekend by both Angola and Swapo of South Africa's offer to disengage its troops from Southern Angola has put pressure on the United States to make a move to salvage the peace initiative, well-placed observers said yesterday.

The South African offer — contained in a letter from the South African Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, to the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar — was described by the US as a "positive step".

The offer came after talks in Rome between the SA Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and the US Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, and was seen as an American-approved and perhaps even an American-inspired move.

The US has taken over as main peace negotiator in the troubled Angolan-South West African situation and its prestige, and more particularly that of the Reagan administration, is at stake.

It was, as South African officials have pointed out previously, the US which linked the SWA dispute with the Angola strife by making a settlement of the SWA conflict dependent on the withdrawal from Angola of Cuban forces.

Timed to come into operation on January 31 next year, South Africa's offer to disengage was made conditional on Angola's willingness not to allow its forces, or those of Cuba or Swapo, to "exploit

the existing situation".

South Africa's condition effectively meant that Angolan, Cuban, or Swapo forces should not fill the vacuum caused by its own disengagement from Southern Angola.

Although both Angola and Swapo have already rejected the offer verbally, it was not necessarily a dead letter, as South Africa might still start to disengage on January 31 — and continue or discontinue the process depending on the actual reaction from Angola.

Meanwhile the US would, of course, be free to use what political leverage it has in Angola to persuade the MPLA government there to respond positively.

One of the reasons why the MPLA government might have rejected the South African peace offer is that it was planning a big military drive against the Unita movement of Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Swapo reacted angrily to South Africa's surprise offer and a top official called it totally unacceptable, RICHARD WALKER reports from New York.

But UN officials showed interest and a spokesman for Mr Perez de Cuellar said it was "under study". Western support was certain.

The offer was cautiously worded and intended to try to draw the Luanda government back to the negotiating table, South African officials said.

It achieved total surprise, hitting the UN just as the Security Council was about to take up an Angolan complaint of intensified South African "aggression and violence".

As the council convened last night, Swapo's UN representative Mr Theo Ben Gurirab dismissed the Botha offer

as "just a ploy" and also "totally unacceptable" — nothing short of unconditional withdrawal would do, he said.

Mr Gurirab suggested the approach fitted into an overall strategy to neutralise the Frontline States through non-aggression pacts. It would not work, he insisted.

But a senior UN official called the approach "interesting" and noted that it was not tied to the demand for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola. It needed "close study," he said.

Mr Gurirab maintained that for two years South Africa has had about 5 000 troops stationed around several Angolan provinces — and Western diplomats suggested that up to 3 000 South African troops might be stationed there.

Angola last night dismissed South Africa's disengagement offer as trickery and charged before the Security Council that four armoured columns of "racist troops" were at that moment mounting an offensive against Huila Province.

In a bitter response, South Africa's Ambassador Mr Kurt von Schirnding lambasted the Luanda government as "an unrepresentative, unelected, unpopular clique" and he told the council South Africa's border forces were "fighting in the defence of the whole of Africa against a powerful and sinister threat to all African states".

But he said South Africa was "prepared to examine the possibility of peaceful co-existence" if Angola denied Swapo guerrillas sanctuary.

Mr Von Schirnding said afterwards he knew nothing of a Huila assault, but said similar Angolan charges had been made and disproved in the past.

Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA'S offer to withdraw its forces from Angola from the end of January still stood, in spite of Angola's rejection of it, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said in Pretoria today.

South Africa made its surprise offer last week as the UN Security Council started a debate on Angolan allegations of South African aggression.

South Africa said it would withdraw its forces conducting pre-emptive strikes inside Angola for a month if the Angolan Government agreed to stop supporting Swapo insurgents.

Warned of "slyness"

Angola has, in turn, warned the Security Council not to be fooled by South Africa's "slyness".

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night that the rejection of South Africa's offer would be to that country's disadvantage.

It showed Angola was not interested in peace or not at liberty to make its own decisions.

South Africa would decide on a further course of action once Angolan and Swapo statements rejecting the proposals had been studied.

French support

The Argus Foreign Service reports from New York that France has declared it is "resolutely" on Angola's side regarding the state's allegation that South African troops are occupying part of its territory.

French delegate Mr Luc de la Barre de Nanteuil told the Security Council yesterday that his country was demanding that South Africa withdraw from Angola and respect Angola's territorial integrity.

A draft resolution in the Security Council yesterday condemned South African action against Angola and demanded an immediate withdrawal of South African troops. It also said South Africa must pay reparation to Angola.

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# SA offer for troops to quit Angola still stands

MSUS 20/12/83



NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

# 'Dozens' die in 'SA attacks'

CAPE TOWN 20/12/83

(5)

LISBON. — South African aircraft bombed a southern Angolan town for eight hours on Sunday, killing dozens of civilians and destroying a school and a hospital, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

Quoting a Defence Ministry communique, Angop said Mirage and Buccaneer aircraft bombed the town of Caiundo in Kuando Kubango province.

"In consequence, houses, a hospital and a school were destroyed, and dozens of inhabitants were killed," according to the communique carried by Angop in a message received in Lisbon.

The Defence Ministry said South Africans began attacking targets up to 300km inside Angola, largely in Cunene and Huila provinces, on Saturday.

Yesterday's communique said: "We want to alert public opinion, both national and international, to this new increase in aggression from racist South Africa against the sovereign territory of Angola."

Last week in the United Nations, South Africa suggested a 30-

day truce from January 30, involving South African, Angolan, Cuban and Swapo fighters but Angola turned it down, saying it was not a real offer.

Angola instead called for the unconditional withdrawal of all South African troops from its soil and the payment of reparations.

● A South African Defence Force spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday there was no point in reacting to repetitive allegations which had been bandied about in recent years by a variety of people and organizations.

## 'Hackneyed'

"It is known that the MPLA government is under considerable pressure from Unita. Therefore, rather than admit their own inability to cope with the situation, they resort to the hackneyed tactic of blaming South Africa for their internal troubles.

"The SA Defence Force's only presence in southern Angola is in hot-pursuit operations against Swapo terrorists. It is our policy to search out and destroy them wherever they may be," he said. — Sapa

# France sides 'resolutely' with Angola over raids

NEW YORK — France has declared itself "resolutely" on Angola's side regarding the allegation that South African troops were occupying parts of its territory.

The French Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Luc de Nanteuil, told the Security Council yesterday his country was demanding that South Africa withdraw its troops and respect Angola's borders.

He also criticised Pretoria's insistence on linking a settlement in Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban troops. The Cuban issue, he said, was "exclusively a matter of Angolan sovereignty".

The French stand came amid reports from Lisbon, quoting the official Angolan news agency Angop, that SAAF Mirages and Buccaneers had bombed Caiundo, in Kuando Kubango province, for eight hours on Sunday, killing "dozens of civilians and destroying a school and a hospital".

A South African Defence Force spokesman said in Pretoria there was no point in reacting to repetitive allegations which have been bandied about in recent years by a variety of people and organisations.

"The Defence Force's only presence in southern Angola is in hot pursuit operations against Swapo terrorists. It is our

policy to search out and destroy them wherever they may be."

The SADF statement came with news that three South Africans died in action on Sunday in the operational area.

Last week South Africa suggested a 30-day truce from January 30, involving South African, Angolan, Cuban and Swapo fighters, but Angola and Swapo turned it down, saying it was a sly, not a real offer.

The refusal, said Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha yesterday, showed the MPLA regime was not interested in peace. It was clear to him that Russia and Cuba dictated the decisions that were made by the MPLA. The offer, however, still stands.

The names of the three men killed in action on Sunday are Second-Lieutenant Keith Claasen (20), who is survived by his father, Warrant Officer H W Claasen of Halfaya Road, Voortrekkerhoogte; Sergeant Hendrik Albertus Oosthuys (25), who is survived by his wife, Mrs M C Oosthuys of Mark Heights, Libertas, Goodwood; and Rifleman Lourens Johannes Janse van Rensburg (20), who is survived by his father, Mr L J Janse van Rensburg of Mulderstuine, Vanderbijlpark.

— The Star Bureau, Political Staff, Sapa.



# 'Siege soon for cities <sup>Star</sup> <sub>20/12/83</sub> in Angola'

The Star Bureau

LONDON - Unita guerillas will control most of the countryside in Angola within 12 months and some of the cities will be under siege, according to Fred Bridgland, the Scottish journalist who has been with the Unita forces for two months.

When this happened the Cuban forces would have to join in the fighting, he said on his return to London.

"It is clear they are sitting in the main cities at the moment and not patrolling many kilometres outside. They're allowing the MPLA to do the main fighting outside the cities."

The two Canadian nurses captured by Unita may soon be released, Bridgland said. Unita's leader, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, was in touch with the International Red Cross about the release.

Bridgland said the nurses had had a tough time. "They walked for five weeks. One of them had severe malaria and the other had terrible trouble with her ankles."

The 20 Czechoslovaks still being held by Unita, he said, were in a grisly camp in the bush. "They're very unhappy. They're in a poor mental state and I don't think they envisage being released very soon."

Mr. Savimbi had been demanding the release of 36 Unita guerillas held by the Angolan Government, but he came to believe they were probably dead so he provided the Angolan Government with another list of 36.

He told Bridgland that until the Unita prisoners were released the Czechoslovaks would not get out of Angola.

● See Page 11, World section.

# UN demand that SA quit Angola

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. The United Nations Security Council last night demanded the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all South African "occupation forces" from Angola.

The vote was 14-0, with only the United States abstaining. The US Ambassador, Mrs Jeanne Kirkpatrick, said the US wanted to do nothing to jeopardize the "delicate and hopeful peace process" begun by South Africa's offer of a 30-day military disengagement.

This "major opportunity" should not be lost in "fruitless recriminations", she said.

Britain adopted the resolution, but guarded-

ly told fellow council members that it "welcomed the indication" that South Africa would begin disengaging its forces on January 31.

The seven-point text was modified under Western pressure to remove a threat of sanctions if South Africa did not heed the sternly-worded instruction.

Instead, the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, is asked to monitor and report back on South Africa's response.

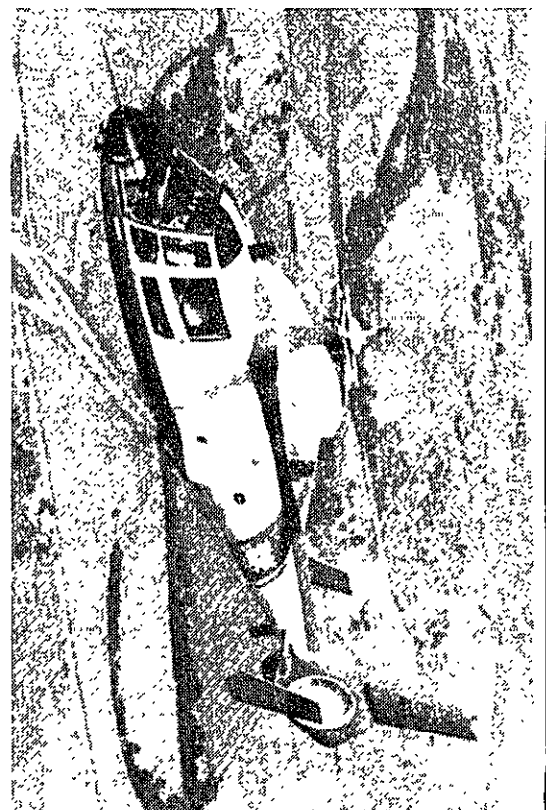
The main operative paragraphs include a strong condemnation of "South Africa's continued military occupation of parts of southern Angola" and the demand that South Africa "unconditionally withdraw forthwith all its occupation forces from the territory of Angola and cease all violations against that State".

It also deems Angola "entitled to appropriate redress for any material damage it has suffered" — a watered-down version of the compensation demand that Angola had sought. Angola puts its losses at R12 000-million.

Angola produced a 119-page government White Paper listing 352 South African "acts of aggression" from 1975 to the end of 1981.

The most emotional contribution came from the Mozambique Ambassador, Mr Manuel dos Santos, who asked the council to "just look" at the South African Ambassador, Mr Kurt von Schirnding. "Does he not remind you of those faceless, ugly Hitlerite Germans?" he asked.

# France supplies Angola with 37 deadly gunships



The French Dauphin helicopter (left), which can be armed with rockets or 20 mm cannon, can fly at speeds of up to 315 km/h and reach a height of 4 800 metres. The range is 450 kilometres and carrying 14 men will make a formidable, perhaps decisive weapon for the MPLA in their fight against Unita. It was originally built for the purpose of making air strikes from the sea. The one illustrated is in use with the US Coast Guard. The 37 gunships are understood to have come straight from French Air Force stocks on a lease basis, and those not shot down will presumably be returned by Angola. It is thought Cuban airmen will pilot the helicopters.

France has decided to intervene militarily in Angola by supplying the Luanda Government with 37 formidable Dauphin gunship helicopters.

The French plan is for the Angolan army, and its Cuban allies, to beat back an expected Unita attack and save the MPLA regime.

James Tomlins, of The Star's Foreign News Service, reports from Paris that aviation sources say the helicopters will be leased to Angola and will come straight from French Air Force stocks. It is believed the pilots will be Cubans.

Unconfirmed reports say that the Dauphins are sent to Lisbon, where they are turned into armoured gunships. Some then are reported to be in Angola already.

But the Dauphin, with speeds of up to 315 km/h and a range of 450 kilometres carrying 14 men, is formidable enough even without being refitted.

The helicopters, if properly handled, could prove to be a major problem for Unita.

The French Government has refused to comment on the Dauphin reports, as it did over the five Super-Extenders it supplied to Iraq for its war against Iran. But the same military and aviation sources which broke that story have also provided information about the lease of the Dauphin helicopters to Angola.

Other developments on the Angolan situation in the past 24 hours include:

● **Donat Kik**, of The Star's New York Bureau, reports that the United Nations Security Council last night demanded that South Africa unconditionally withdraw all its forces from Angola and cease all violations against that country.

The council also strongly condemned South Africa's "continued military occupation of southern parts of Angola" and said this endangered international peace and security.

Angola had complained to the council that South Africa had been "occupying" parts of its territory since 1981. The vote on the resolution was carried by 14 votes to none against — with one abstention.

The nation abstaining was the United States and the American ambassador to the UN, Mrs Jeanne Kirkpatrick, said her country did not want to take any action which might endanger Namibian independence efforts.

South Africa's Ambassador to the UN, Mr Kurt von Schrinding, denied earlier in the debate that South Africa was occupying any Angolan soil.

But he conceded at a Press conference that its forces mounted raids "from time to time" on Swapo in Angola.

● In Guinea Bissau Angolan officials said yesterday that their country "will not even consider" the offer from Pretoria on the mutual withdrawal of forces.

The officials said the proposal presented was merely meant as a stalling tactic.

Associated Press reports that officials accompanying Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos believe the South African proposal represented "an attempt to draw attention away from the South African presence on our national territory to avoid damaging publicity to Pretoria".

## Four columns

● Neil Lurssen, of The Star's Washington Bureau, reports that Angolan authorities claim that four columns of the South African Army are in Angola and that SAAF jet fighters and bombers attacked the town of Caiundo in Cuando Cubango Province on Sunday, destroying houses, a hospital and a school and killing dozens of civilians.

An Angolan Defence Ministry communique, broadcast by Luanda Radio and monitored in Washington, says the South Africans used Mirage fighters and Buccaneer strike aircraft in an all-day assault.

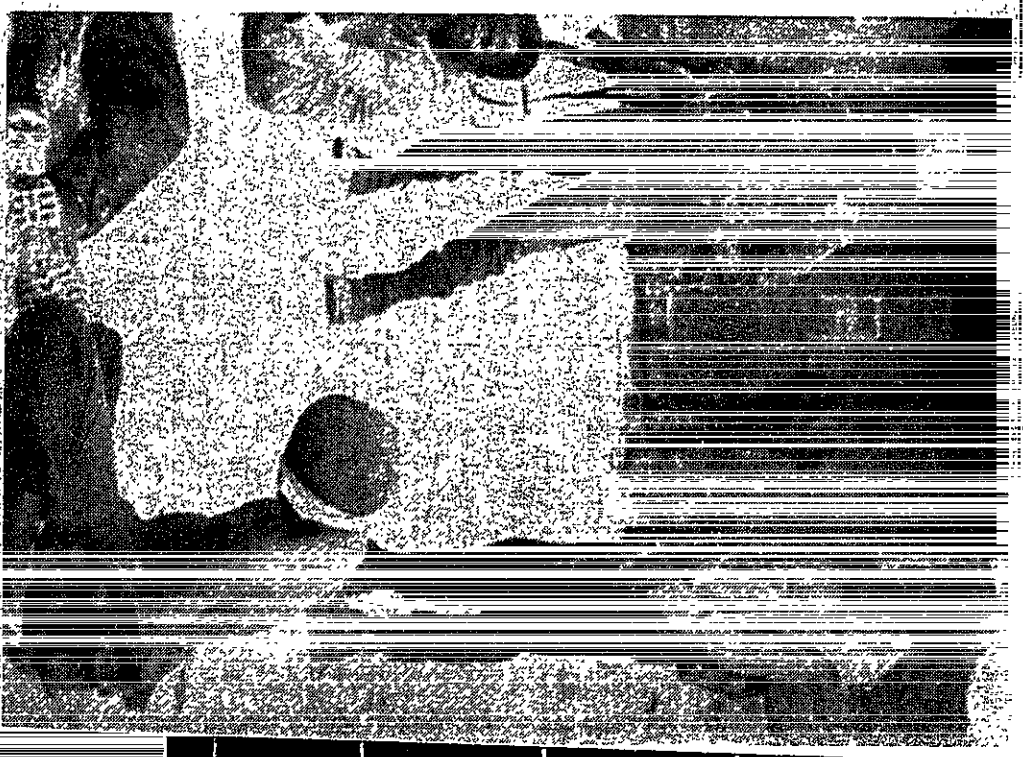
A South African Defence Force spokesman was reported yesterday as saying that there was no point in reacting to repetitive allegations and that the SADF's only presence in southern Angola was in hot-pursuit operations against Swapo.

The Angolans claim the SADF went into action to relieve pressure on Unita rebels in central Angola, 300 km from the Namibian border.

## Downed Angolan aircraft



Scottish journalist Fred Bridgland has just returned to London after spending six weeks in the Angolan bush with Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces during their offensive across the Benguela railway line into the northern part of the country. He watched several battles between Unita and Government forces and took this picture of Unita guerrillas with the remains of a Government Antonov light aircraft which had been struck by mortar fire at Munhango on the Benguela line. Bridgland accompanied a Unita force of 2 000 which captured the town of Alto Chicapa in the north-eastern diamond mining province of Lunda. The town was defended by 700 MPLA troops. He also met Canadian, Czech and Portuguese hostages held by Unita. In his first report yesterday on the situation in the country Bridgland claims that Unita forces will control most of the Angolan countryside within a year and some of the cities will be under siege, and this would force Cuban forces to join in the fighting.



MPLA soldiers captured by Unita forces at Alto Chicapa in the northern diamond mining province of Lunda. The picture was taken by Scottish journalist Fred Bridgland, who spent six weeks in the bush with Unita units.

# Unita meets little MPLA resistance in northern drive

(S) Star 21/12/83

LONDON — Rebel Unita forces have launched a big offensive against the Angolan Government — shifting the war's focus across the Benguela railway into the northern half of the country.

At least 10 battalions of regular Unita troops have crossed the railway line, which divides the country into southern and northern halves, from the south.

I returned yesterday from a six-week trip into Angola with a 2 000-strong Unita force. I walked about 200 km north of the Benguela railway with them and on November 29 watched them attack Alto Chicapa in the north-eastern diamond mining province of Lunda, defended by 700 MPLA troops.

The Unita force moved up to the town's outskirts during the night and the assault began at 5 am. First there was a mortar and cannon artillery barrage, and then 1 000 infantry men swept in from the north, spreading a blanket of Kalashnikov rifle fire before them.

The battle was over in 40 minutes. When I entered the town, MPLA prisoners, blindfolded and bound, were being interrogated in the main street by Unita intelligence officers. To the north, MPLA dead lay strewn across the forested battlefield. Among the dead identified were the political commissar and the internal security force commander.

The Unita commander, Brigadier Geraldo Nunda, ordered his soldiers to prepare a new forward base near Alto Chicapa and began discussing the next northern attack.

Today Unita reported that on Sunday Brigadier Nunda's force had overrun the major town of Cacolo, on the main road between Luanda, Angola's capital, and the diamond mines of the north-east. Unita said it captured 18 foreigners there, including Poles, Japanese, Italians, Spaniards, Brazilians, Philipinos and Portuguese.

It also claimed that 102 MPLA troops and five Cubans were killed at the town, about 300 km north of the railway line.

I turned down the chance to continue north with Brigadier Nunda after Alto Chicapa. I had heard that Unita had also overrun Cazombo, about 560 km to the east of Alto Chicapa, and had taken five British technicians hostage. I decided to head south to try to meet them.

As I walked back to the railway line, I met another battalion of 600 Unita soldiers heading north to reinforce Brigadier Nunda's drive towards the diamond mines.

I caught up with the hostages on Saturday at a big base camp south of the railway line.



Jonas Savimbi . . . charismatic Unita chief.

However, there were no British among them. They turned out to be two Canadian missionary nurses, Miss Nora Draper (34) from Ontario, and Miss Marion Wilson (38) from British Columbia.

They had been marched south by Unita soldiers for five weeks. Miss Draper had had several serious malaria attacks and Miss Wilson had severe problems with her ankles. They were accompanied by

Scottish journalist Fred Bridgland returned to London today after a six-week foot slog through the Angolan bush with Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces during their northern offensive. He witnessed a number of battles and met several hostages including Canadians, Czechs and Portuguese. This is his story . . .

five Portuguese male hostages, four of their wives and 25 children.

They were greeted at the base by Unita president Dr Jonas Savimbi and told they would be released through the International Committee of the Red Cross as soon as possible.

The Canadians said Cazombo, a town of some 15 000 people, had been defended by about 700 MPLA troops.

The Unita attack came at dawn on November 13 and the fighting was over

within an hour. The Portuguese said the MPLA's effective resistance lasted about five minutes before troops started retreating towards the Zambian border.

The Canadians worked at a mission about 14 km from Cazombo where they treated about 700 village patients each day. They also ran a Sunday school for about 1 500 people.

They heard the attack on Cazombo and got ready to drive to Zambia in their landrover but Unita troops arrived, so they locked themselves in their bungalow. The troops broke the door down and ordered them to come out.

"Then they put their arms around us and embraced us," Miss Draper said. "They said we had to go with them. I didn't know they were Unita until I spotted pictures of Savimbi stuck to their rifle butts.

"The first couple of days were frightening. We could hear continued fighting. Then their captain, who was most polite, had a long talk with us to reassure us that we would not be harmed. They always let us rest when we wanted to. He said we would be taken to meet Savimbi, and that we were being taken away for our own safety because we were living in a war zone."

The Canadians said they had not expected the attack, but the Portuguese said they had known from their conversations with locals that a Unita attack was imminent.

Less fortunate are the 20 Czech male hostages captured by Unita on March 12. I met them at a remote camp where they are living in pairs in isolated huts. Their morale is low. Their spokesman, Alexander Evan (54), said: "We are rather pessimistic about our future. If we stay here for a long time we fear that not all of us will return home.

"And those who do return will not be worth much to their society or families."

Dr Savimbi said the Czechs would not be returned until 36 Unita prisoners held by the MPLA in Luanda were released.

"The Red Cross has been unsuccessful in trying to see the prisoners in Luanda," Dr Savimbi said.

"It makes me fear that they are dead. If that is the case, we will provide a list of another 36 Unita political prisoners.

"We will go on producing lists and the Czechs will stay with us until the MPLA responds."

Dr Savimbi said he had dropped his demand that seven British mercenaries imprisoned by the MPLA also be released in exchange for the Czechs as the British Government had shown no interest in such a deal.

# Unita claims to have taken provincial town

Star  
21/12/83  
Own Correspondent

LISBON — Unita forces claim to have taken the provincial town of Cacolo in Angola's northeastern province of Lunda after heavy fighting on Sunday that left 106 Government soldiers and five Cubans dead.

In a communique received in Lisbon, a Unita spokesman said 18 foreigners, mainly Europeans but also including Japanese and Filipinos, were captured. Unita repeated its warning to foreigners to stay out of the war zone.

"A large quantity of arms and munitions were taken, as were 17 military vehicles and 11 Angolan prisoners," the spokesman added. Unita did not report any casualties.

Unita yesterday also announced the release of two Canadian missionary nuns captured when the guerillas took the town of Cazombo on November 13. The two, Nora Draper and Marion Wilson, will be released soon through the International Red Cross.

The resurgent FNLA, the National Front for the Total Liberation of Angola, also claimed a victory when guerillas attacked a column of 50 Government soldiers near Caxito, just northeast of Luanda, killing one and wounding eight others.

D. Dispatches  
**Unita claim** 5  
**victories in** 2/17/83  
**separate actions**

BONN — Unita claimed in a statement issued yesterday that its troops had captured the Angolan township of Kakolo in Lunda Province and had "wiped out" the remaining government forces in the Cazombo area of Moxico Province.

The statement, released by Unita's representatives in Bonn, added that in the two separate actions, 106 government soldiers and five Cubans were killed, while 11 Angolan soldiers and 18 foreigners were captured.

The statement said the foreigners were of Portuguese, Brazilian, Polish, Spanish, Japanese, Italian and Filipino nationalities. It gave no further details about the prisoners.

The truth of the statement could not be independently checked in West Germany.

"In the pursuit of our generalised offensive against the Cuban forces and a handful of Angolan renegades, our forces took on the morning of December 18, 1983,

at 5.30 am, the township of Kakolo, located 75 miles (120 km) southwest of Saurimo/Henrique de Carvalho, the capital of Lunda Province," the statement said.

It added a Unita "clean-up operation" in the Cazombo area of Moxico Province wiped out the last MPLA resistance at Lumbala-Kakengue and Kari-pande.

During both operations, the statement said, Unita fighters "seized large quantities of weapons and rounds of ammo." It did not say if Unita forces suffered casualties in the fighting. SAPA-AP.

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# SADF in fierce Angolan fighting, says radio report

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22/12/83

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

Fierce fighting between South African and Angolan forces in southern Angola is continuing, Angola Radio reported yesterday.

South African land troops launched an attack against Angolan forces near Cahama, and reinforced their units at Quiteve, 100 km to the east, and at Otchinjau, 50 km to the south-west of Cahama, the report said.

Cahama is the southernmost strategic town still held by Fapla and Cuban troops, and is also the most southerly placing of the recently-acquired Sam-8 missiles.

It is less than 150 km from the town of Xangongo to the south-east, which was overrun by South African forces in Operation Protea in August 1981.

Commenting on the Angolan claims, a South African Defence Force spokesman said today he had nothing to add to the statement issued at the weekend that "it is our policy to search out and destroy Swapo terrorists wherever they are. There is no point in reacting to repetitive allegations which have been bandied about in recent years by a variety of people and organisations.

"The Defence Force's only presence in southern Angola is in hot pursuit operations against Swapo."

The Luanda radio report, quoting an Angolan defence spokesman, said that "counter-attacks on Tuesday, Angolan Fapla troops 'put out of action' two South African armoured vehicles near the southern-strategic town of Cahama.

## Armed column

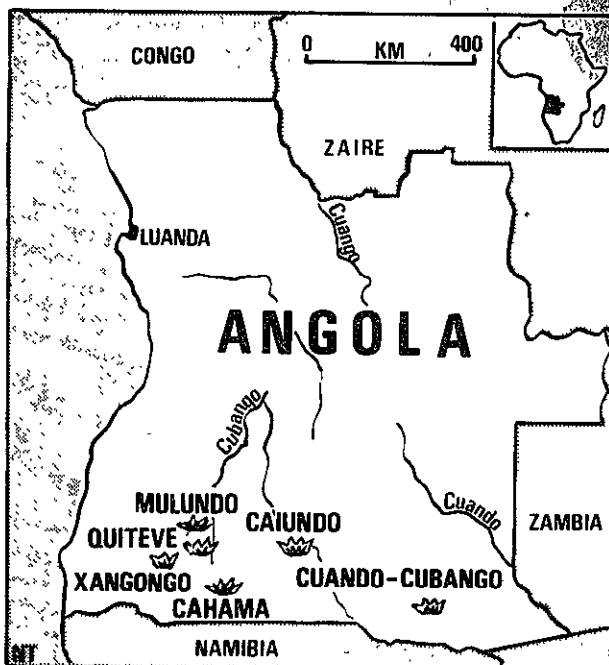
On Tuesday afternoon South African forces bombarded Mulundo, 275 km north of the Namibian border, using 155 mm and 140 mm cannon, the radio service said.

The report said this was the first bombardment of Mulundo in two days. On Monday, it said, South African aircraft had carried out reconnaissance missions over the town and later

bombed a Fapla armed-column in the area.

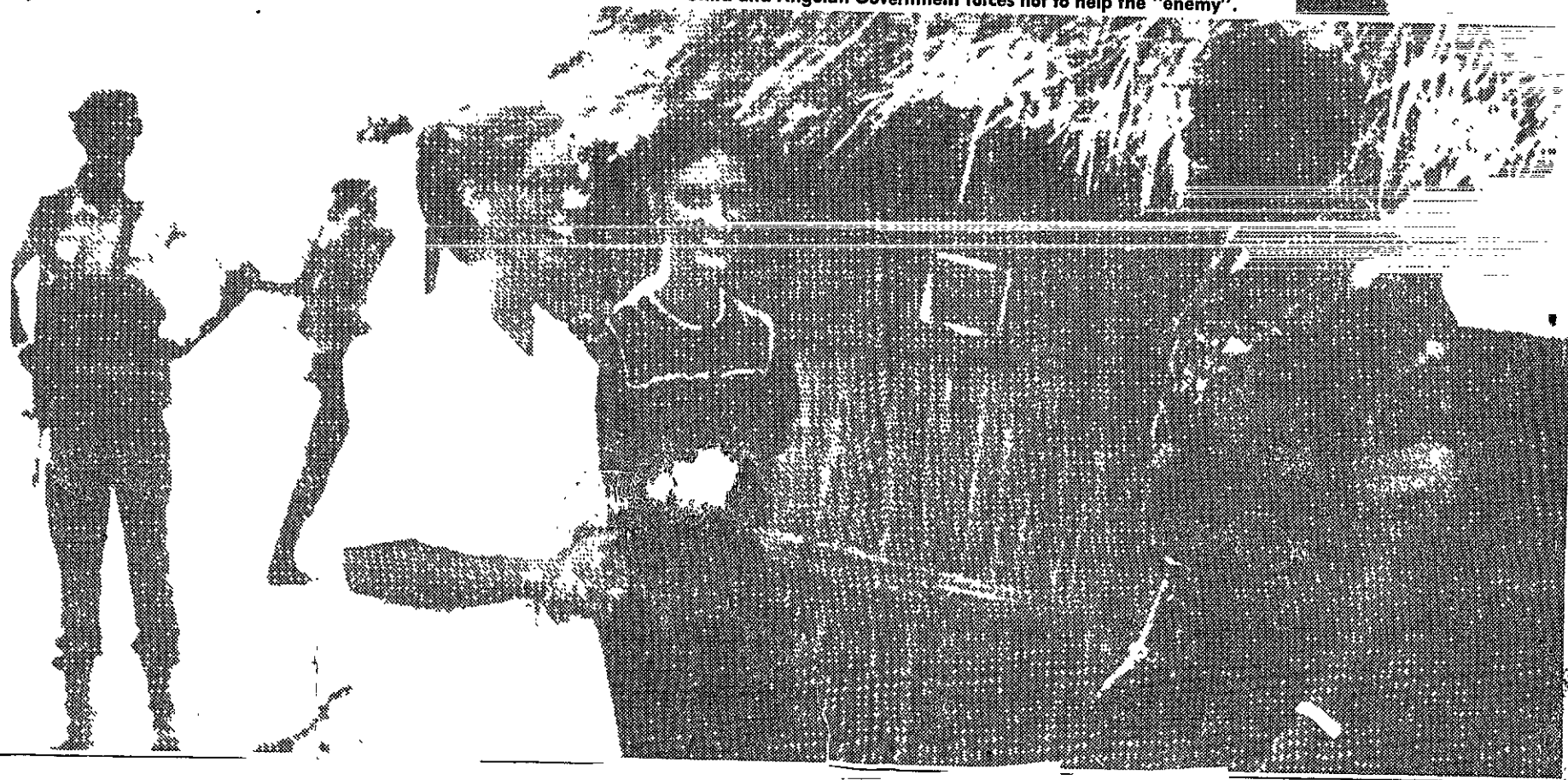
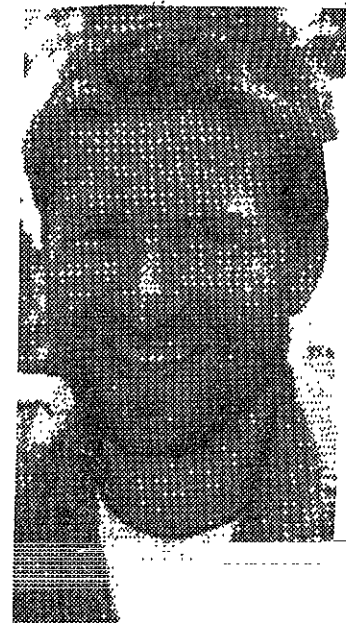
"Fierce fighting continues between our troops and the racist South African troops in the Cuando-Cubango region," the report continued.

Referring to an earlier broadcast saying that Mirage and Buccaneer jets of the South African Air Force had bombed the village of Caiundo, destroying a school and a hospital at the weekend, the report said there had been further bombing of the "Bimbe area" on Tuesday. This was said to be 55 km from Caiundo, but the report did not say in which direction.



## Unita set to free two Canadian missionaries

Two Canadian missionary nurses (below), captured by Unita rebels who attacked their mission in southern Angola last month, seen with rebel leader Mr Jonas Savimbi after he told them they were to be freed shortly. Miss Marion Wilson (left), of British Columbia, and Miss Nora Draper, of Ontario, were met at Unita's base at Likua in southern Angola by Scottish journalist Mr Fred Bridgland (right), who has just emerged from the Angolan bush after spending six weeks with Unita. They have been held since Unita overwhelmed the government garrison in the town of Cazomba about 176 km west of the Zambian border. Fears for the nurses' safety mounted after villagers reported seeing their Land Rover being used by the guerillas. Unita says the two will be handed over "soon" to the International Red Cross. No mention has been made yet of two other nurses from the mission, Miss Emily Roundtree and Miss Eva Warke, both of Northern Ireland, who drove back into Angola from Zambia when they heard of the attack. The mission staff have found themselves caught up frequently in the vague frontline of the Angolan war and have continued to treat wounded from both sides despite being warned by Unita and Angolan Government forces not to help the "enemy".



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# SADF denies clash with MPLA forces

RDM 23/12/83

SOUTH Africa's "only" presence in southern Angola was in hot pursuit operations against Swapo terrorists whom it would seek and destroy "wherever they are", a South African Defence Force spokesman said yesterday.

He was commenting on continuing reports that South African forces are locked in a fierce battle with MPLA troops in southern Angola.

The Angolan Government has been claiming that since the weekend South African forces have been bombarding towns and villages in the south of the war-torn former Portuguese colony.

In its latest claim, the Angolan Defence Ministry reported yesterday that two

South African armoured vehicles had been "put out of action" in continued fighting.

It also claimed that South Africa had strengthened its forces around the strategic town of Cahama.

Asked to comment on the claims, a Defence Force spokesman in Pretoria said: "We have nothing to add to the statement issued at the weekend concerning allegations from Angola.

"We, however, reiterate that our only presence in southern Angola is in hot pursuit operations against Swapo terrorists.

"It is our policy to search out and destroy them wherever they are," he said. — Sapa.



PRETORIA. — South African security forces are involved in a "limited" campaign against Swapo insurgents in southern Angola to prevent them from infiltrating into northern SWA/Namibia, the SA Defence Force announced today.

The Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, said Swapo was conducting its annual "rainy season" operations into SWA/Namibia, especially the Kavango region.

Security forces were also conducting follow-up operations in southern Angola to "ward off this onslaught".

Meanwhile the Argus Foreign Service in Washington reports that South Africa's offer to withdraw its troops from Angola is still regarded as a viable proposition in government circles there in spite of the Luanda Government's apparent rejection of the offer.

### Optimistic

Officials there are still optimistic that the offer might lead to a positive reaction from Luanda, whose response is not seen as a firm slamming of the door on the idea.

The South African proposal was to withdraw the forces it sent on "hot pursuit" operations in Angola on condition that no Swapo military incursions were launched into SWA/Namibia from Angola.

Angola's representative at the United Nations said the question of the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola was non-negotiable, and only an unconditional withdrawal could open the way to further talks on Southern African problems.

South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said Luanda's rejection of the offer showed that the MPLA Government could not take its own decisions and was controlled by the Soviet Union and Cuba.

The Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Venancio de Moura, described the South African offer as farcical, since its military forces were "currently extending their operations into Angola as far north as Huila province".

South Africa would not be doing Angola a favour by complying with its international obligation to respect Angola's sovereignty, he said.

However, the United States Ambassador to the UN, Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, told the Security Council that the US regarded the South African offer as a major new step that could contribute substantially to further movement.

# SA forces hunt Swapo in Angola

Argus Correspondent

ARCAS

23/12/83

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[Handwritten initials and scribbles]

# SADF in limited action in Angola

The South African Defence Force is conducting "limited" operations in southern Angola, the Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, announced today.

In a statement issued from Defence Headquarters, he said members of the SADF and the South West African Territorial Force were conducting the operation to ward off a Swapo onslaught into Namibia through corridors and logistic routes.

He said these operations against Swapo were conducted annually during the rainy season.

He said a warning in connection with this Swapo onslaught was also issued last week by Mr Kurt von Shirnding, SA's ambassador to the United Nations, during an address to the Security Council. The statement added that these follow-up operations will continue to ensure the safety of South African and Namibian forces and that of the inhabitants of Namibia.

● Yesterday The Star, quoting Angola radio, reported that South African troops were active at various places in southern Angola.

The radio reports said the Angolan Fapla troops had "put out of action" two South African armoured vehicles near the southern town of Cahama and had bombarded Mulundo, 75 km north of the border.

## 2 SAP men shot in Owambo

WINDHOEK — Two special constables of the South African Police home guard were gunned down by a group of Swapo fighters in a shop in central Owambo yesterday, the SWA Territory Force said today.

The two constables were off duty and were unarmed at the time, a spokesman said. — The Star's Foreign News Service.

Christmas...

# men killed in Angola

CAPE TIMES 24/12/83

284 5  
235

5  
SWATF

**WINDHOEK.** — The SWA Territory Force (SWATF) yesterday announced that five of its members had died in action in follow-up operations against Swapo insurgents in the past few days.

A sixth soldier was thought to have been taken captive.

The officer commanding the SWATF, Major-General George Meiring, said in a statement in Windhoek that the families of the five black SWATF members had been informed of their deaths.

Military authorities were making arrangements for the funerals but the names of the men would not be released for security reasons and in the interests of the families.

"A sixth member of the SWATF, Mr Petrus Kandjendje, is missing and it is suspected that he has been captured," General Meiring said.

The SWATF statement did not give details of the circumstances or location in which its men had been killed.

**In Angola**

The announcement followed a statement released in Pretoria yesterday by the Chief of the SA Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, that elements of the security forces in SWA/Namibia were engaged in "limited" operations against Swapo insurgents in southern Angola.

The disclosure came amid continuing reports from Angola that South African forces are locked in a fierce battle with Angolan troops in the south of the war-torn former Portuguese colony.

In a communique issued in Pretoria yesterday morning — the first by South Africa since the Angolan authorities claimed South African forces had launched a new attack on its soil — General Viljoen said:



Mr Von Schirnding      General Viljoen

The statement gave no further details.

Angola has been claiming since the weekend that South African troops are engaged in battle with its forces, and that South Africa has been bombarding towns and villages in southern Angola.

Yesterday, Angola Radio reported that South African land troops had launched an attack against Angolan forces near the strategic southern town of Cahama.

It also claimed that South Africa had reinforced its units at Qui-teve, 100km to the east, and at Otchinjau, 50km to the south-west of Cahama.

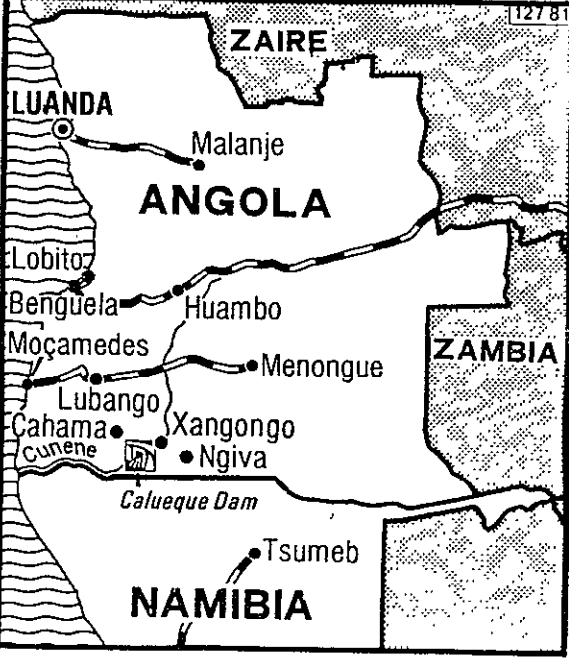
**'Hot pursuit'**

A Defence Force spokesman stated in Pretoria that South Africa's "only" presence in southern Angola was in hot pursuit operations against Swapo guerillas, whom it had said it would seek out and destroy "wherever they are".

The UN Security Council demanded on Tuesday night that South Africa unconditionally withdraw all its forces from Angola and cease all violations against that country. It also endorsed Luanda's demand for reparations.

The council also strongly condemned South Africa's "continued military occupation of southern parts of Angola" and said this endangered international peace and security.

The Security Council demand followed complaints by Angola that South Africa had been occupying parts of its territory since 1981. — Sapa



"As in previous years during the rainy season, Swapo is trying to infiltrate South West Africa along corridors and logistic routes to activate especially the Kavango.

"The warning in this connection was also issued last week by Mr Kurt von Schirnding, the South African Ambassador to the United Nations, during a speech to the Security Council.

"Elements of the security forces are involved in a limited campaign against Swapo terrorists in Southern Angola and are conducting a follow-up operation to ward off this onslaught.

"The SADF and the SWA Territory Force will continue carrying out its instructions to ensure the safety of its forces and that of the inhabitants of South West Africa."

# SA soldiers repulsed, Angola says

W/C ARGUS  
24/12/83

(S) ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Angola's Fapla forces have repulsed an attack by security forces against Swapo at the southern Angolan town of Caiundo, killing five members of the SWA Territory Force, capturing a South West African soldier and seizing South African military equipment, according to communiques issued in Luanda and Windhoek.

The SWA Territory Force partially confirmed an Angolan radio announcement that its troops had captured the soldier, Mr Petrus Kandjendje, saying he was "presumed" to have been captured.

The territory force said the five black soldiers had been killed during a follow-up operation against Swapo in southern Angola in the past few days.

Their next-of-kin had been notified, and funeral arrangements were being made. The names of the dead men were being withheld to protect their next-of-kin, the territory force said.

## 'Talk, or Luanda will fall'

Weekend Argus  
Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The rebel Unita movement has offered to halt its military drive on Luanda if the MPLA agrees to talks on a political settlement in Angola by the end of next March.

The offer was made in a radio broadcast this week, which said the offensive was continuing relentlessly. "The MPLA will have to think realistically and hold a dialogue, or face the inevitable."

In the first offensive this year, said the broadcast, Unita forces had greatly widened the area they controlled.

A second offensive aimed at penetrating Luanda province was launched on November 3. A major achievement of this offensive, said the broadcast, was an attack on Missangano.

In Lisbon, a Unita spokesman said the movement was set to release all foreign prisoners, except for 20 Czechoslovakians. However, talks would be held with the Red Cross about these.

### "Captured equipment" listed

Their deaths and the "possible capture" of Mr Kandjendje were announced "with the greatest regret" by the officer commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General George Meiring.

The spokesman declined to comment on further claims by the Angolan Defence Ministry that its Fapla troops had repulsed continual attempts in the past few days by South African land forces to capture Caiundo.

The Angolan communique, broadcast over Radio Angola yesterday, also said the following equipment had been captured in the wake of the security forces' retreat from Caiundo:

One Unimog troop carrier, six mortars, three rocket-launchers, eight light machineguns, three MK21 machine-guns, two communications radios (models 921), one radio communications set (model 352), one 60mm mortar, 18 fully loaded FN (R1) rifles, one set of night-viewing glasses, knapsacks, maps and documents.

### "More details to follow"

The communique said further details of the operation would be released soon, "especially about prisoners".

A SWA Territory Force spokesman said he could not comment on the Angolan allegations, as he had been ordered not to elaborate on the territory force's prepared statement.

● A US State Department spokesman, commenting on reports of the raid, said the United States deplored cross-border violence of any kind.

"We remain firmly committed to seeking means of addressing peacefully the problems of the region," he said.

# SA 'takes a mauling in southern Angola

By Peter Honey,  
of The Star's  
Foreign News Service

WINDHOEK — Angola's Fapla forces have repulsed an attack by security forces against Swapo at the Southern Angolan town of Caiundo, killing five members of the SWA Territory Force, capturing one Namibian soldier and seizing South African military equipment, according to military communiques issued in Luanda and Windhoek yesterday.

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Their next-of-kin had been notified and funeral arrangements were being made. The names of the dead men were being withheld to protect their next-of-kin, the territory force said.

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one radio communications set (model 352), one 60mm mortar, 18 fully loaded FN (R1) rifles, one set of night-viewing glasses. Knapsacks, maps and documents.

The communique said further details of the operation by Fapla would be released soon, "especially about prisoners".

A SWA Territory Force spokesman said he could not comment on the Angolan allegations, as he had been ordered not to elaborate on the territory force's prepared statement.

Earlier this week Angola radio said South African security forces had begun thrusts into the Huila, Cunene and Cuando Cubango provinces of Southern Angola on December 14.

According to the Angolan defence ministry three security force movements were evident — one grouping at Otchinjau, another at Guiteve, both near the strategic town of Cahama at which the recently-introduced SAM 8 surface-to-air missiles are stationed.

One of Swapo's most important forward headquarters is also situated near Cahama.

A third security force thrust, according to Angolan radio, was evident at Caiundo, several hundred kilometres east of Cahama, and north of the Kavango region of Namibia.

Angola claimed security forces had bombarded the town with 150 mm and 144 mm cannon fire at the weekend, and since then.

Its latest claim, that it has repulsed the South African offensive, suggests the security forces' "follow-up operation" was not successful.

But as the Angolan version makes no mention of Swapo, it is not certain whether Swapo fighters were stationed at Caiundo, nor whether the security forces successfully destroyed any Swapo base at the town.

● Rumours that Dr Jonas Savimbi, president of the rebel Angolan movement Unita, is ill and might even have been receiving treatment in London for a heart ailment, have been denied. The leader is said to be "in good health".

## Unita captures major town

By Fred Bridgland

The Unita offensive in Angola north of the Benguela railway has taken another major step forward with the capture of the town of Cacolo in the diamond mining province of Lunda.

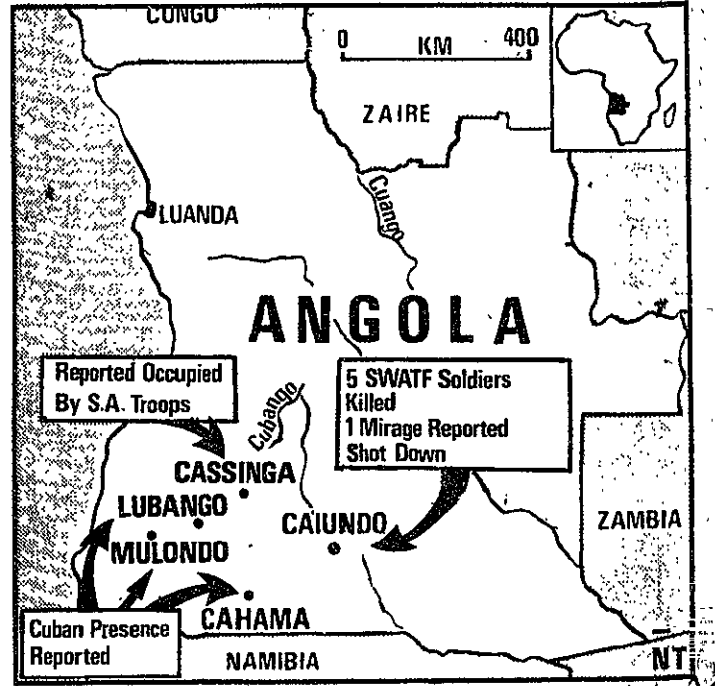
Cacolo was captured last Sunday by a brigade of 2 000 Unita regular troops under Brigadier Geraldo Nunda, the 31-year-old commander of Unita's northern front.

Cacolo is a major town — in Angolan terms — on the tar road which links the capital of Luanda with the diamond mines.

In the assault Unita claims to have captured 18 foreigners, including Poles, Japanese, Italians, Brazilians, Spaniards, Filipinos and Portuguese, and to have killed more than 100 government troops and three Cubans.

# Cubans in new threat to SADF in Angola

5 ~~Star~~ Star 27/12/83



Pretoria Correspondent

For the first time since Operation Protea in 1981, Angolan and Cuban forces had become directly involved in South African Defence Force operations into Angola with Swapo, Cuban and FAPLA forces appearing to be deeply integrated in the region, the chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, said last night.

General Viljoen was speaking at a Press conference in Pretoria after spending Christmas with his troops in the operational area.

The SADF commander said Swapo had a number of operational headquarters moving near to its four major infiltration routes into Namibia and close to positions occupied by FAPLA and Cuban Forces.

When the situation was quiet the Swapo columns moved away from these positions, but as soon as South African forces appeared on the scene they withdrew to the FAPLA bases.

## Platoon ambushed

Angolan forces had also engaged the Security Forces openly last week "when a rather large FAPLA group ambushed and attacked a platoon involved in a follow-up operation", said General Viljoen.

The ambush was sprung near Caiundo and five members of the SWA Territory Force were killed.

"The whole action took place at least 12 km from the area around the town and the platoon was no threat at all to Caiundo."

In another incident, a base with 200 Swapo fighters was attacked and they fled to Cahama without offering any resistance and are now enjoying the protection of FAPLA and Cuban forces there.

"At this stage Swapo were benefiting from the sophisticated weapons deployed by the Russians and Cubans to aid FAPLA."

"Swapo was misusing the situation and it was a bit worrying," General Viljoen said.

Normally when the SADF conducted operations against Swapo and moved close to FAPLA forces, leaflets were dropped saying the SADF were after Swapo and telling them not to interfere.

"We don't like becoming involved with FAPLA and Cuban forces and would rather respect them in their areas and expect them to respect our fight against Swapo."

"If they interfered in this way, then one would be inclined to think they had joined in the fight, which was not a good thing," said General Viljoen.

He said there was a large Cuban presence at Lubango and at Cahama they operated sophisticated equipment such as radar. They were also based at Matala, Mulondo and Jamba.

General Viljoen said at least 1 400 Swapo men had received refresher courses in Angolan bases and seven companies of between 120 to 140 men each are heading towards the Namibia border.

He said the South African Security Forces had been deployed over a wide area of Southern Angola and as far north as possible to intercept the traditional Swapo offensive at the outset of the rainy season.

Swapo were again aiming at the farming areas of Tsumeb, he said.

General Viljoen denied Angolan claims that South African aircraft had been shot down during the operation and that South African aircraft had attacked civilian targets in the area.

He said Soviet-made SAM-8 missiles had been fired at South African planes.

The Angolan deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Venancio de Moura, claimed yesterday a South African Mirage had been shot down and that aircraft had bombed economic and civilian targets.

MPLA claims large SADF operation

# SA 'takes town 200km in Angola'

3 ROM 27/12/83

LISBON

**SOUTH AFRICA has occupied the town of Cassinga, more than 200km inside Angola, in a massive military operation throughout the south of the country, the official Angolan news agency Angop, said yesterday.**

The Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Venancio de Moura, said South African troops occupied the town in Huila province last Thursday, Angop reported.

Mr De Moura said the invading force included three motorised brigades, four artillery groups and a force of 100 planes that constantly flew overhead and bombed economic targets as well as schools and villages.

He said the aim of the operation was to create a climate of terror and panic among the population so as to destabilise the country.

The Minister, speaking at a weekend Press conference in Luanda, said the Angolan armed forces had successfully beaten back a South African attack on Caiundo, Kuando Kubango province, killing six soldiers, three black and three white, shooting down a Mirage fighter and capturing large quantities of arms.

In Britain yesterday the British Broadcasting Corporation reported that the Angolan Government had claimed SA aircraft had carried out raids on several towns in southern Angola.

The BBC news bulletin added that invading South African troops had massacred inhabitants there, and the Angolans had claimed that 28 SA planes had been involved and that dozens of Angolans had been killed and hundreds more wounded.

The BBC said the Angolans also spoke of artillery bombardments.

In Pretoria, a Defence Force spokesman declined to comment on these reports.

He said he could not add to a statement last week by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, that the Republic's forces were conducting a limited campaign in Angola against guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organisation.

South Africa says it is trying to pre-empt the annual offensive into SWA/Namibia from Angola by Swapo, which traditionally begins about now, when rains and sprouting vegetation provide good cover for guerrillas.

Contrary to Gen Viljoen's statement, the BBC report quoted the Angolan Government as saying no Swapo guerrillas were in the areas attacked.

Gen Viljoen's statement came after a week of claims by Angola that its troops were involved in fierce battles with SA units and that the South Africans were bombarding towns and villages in the southern part of Angola 273km north of its border with Namibia.

Gen Viljoen's statement on Friday made no mention of clashes with Angolan forces and said South Africa's only targets were Swapo bases.

Government-controlled Angola Radio said on Thursday the South Africans had launched a ground attack against Angolan forces near Cahama, a strategic town about 128km inside Angola.

The radio added that the South Africans had also reinforced their positions at Qui-teve, 80km to the north, and Otchinjau, 56km to the south.

Western Press reports say Cahama is the most southerly town held by Angolan forces and their Cuban allies as well as the most southerly location of Sam-8 anti-aircraft missiles which Angola recently acquired from the Soviet Union.

Reports of heavy fighting began after Angola and Swapo rejected an offer made by South Africa at the United Nations to begin disengaging its forces from southern Angola.

In a bid to speed up efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement in Namibia, South Africa had offered disengagement over a trial period starting on January 31 provided Angola undertook to restrain Swapo and Cuban forces from exploiting the situation. — Sapa-AP.

SOUTH AFRICA has committed itself to exit Angola for a month. Or has it? The United States suggests: "Yes" and South Africa says: "well, not quite."

A week and a half after South Africa's disengagement offer, high American and South African officials appear at odds over what it means.

United Nations' Ambassador Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, a Reagan Cabinet member, suggests the gesture is unconditional — that South Africa will withdraw from Angola on January 31 for a 30-day trial period.

South African officials say "No" — there has to be willingness on the part of the Angolan Government to also disengage and to contain Swapo.

With five weeks left to play on the subtleties, the truth could be somewhere in between.

Western sources link South Africa's December 15 offer to extensive discussions with the Americans, culminating in this month's Rome talks.

The American objective was "to throw Luanda a bone" to encourage it to resume the Cape Verde peace process, an official said.

The Angolan President, Mr Eduardo dos Santos, has long insisted on South African withdrawal from Angola as the first condition that might eventually lead to an agreement on a Cuban withdrawal.

But the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, in his letter to the UN, was less than precise.

He said South Africa was "prepared to begin a disengagement of forces ... on the understanding that this gesture would be reciprocated by the Angolan Government which would assure that its own forces, Swapo and the Cubans would not exploit the resulting situation, in particular with regard to actions which might threaten the security of the inhabitants of SWA/Namibia."

# UN controversy over SA 'pull-out'

From RICHARD WALKER in New York



**MR DOS SANTOS ...** South African withdrawal is first condition that might eventually lead to Cuban withdrawal.



**MRS KIRKPATRICK ...** SA's "decision to unilaterally disengage and withdraw for a period of a month."



**MR VON SCHIRNDING ...** a trial stand-off period in return for an Angolan undertaking to rein in Swapo.

Addressing the Security Council last Wednesday night, the United States called this a South African "commitment" to a ceasefire that it hoped would extend beyond 30 days.

At a Press conference, Mrs Kirkpatrick hailed it as a South African "decision to unilaterally disengage and withdraw for a period of a month."

Also at a Press conference, South Africa's UN Ambassador, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, called the offer a trial stand-off period in return for an Angolan undertaking to rein in Swapo.

South African officials are reluctant to discuss the apparent contradictions, but concede that differences in interpretation might exist.

On the face of it, the South African offer echoes what it has said for years — deny Swapo refuge and there will be no need to pursue it across the border.

To the degree that this is finessed, the possibility for negotiations may exist.

The Security Council deliberations that led to Wednesday's call for an unconditional South African withdrawal

were peppered with denunciations of the disengagement offer.

Cuba called it "a cheap trick," Zimbabwe called it "bogus," Swapo called it "totally unacceptable" and Angola said it was "no offer at all" since it "does not talk of a withdrawal."

The US called it "a major new step" and explained its abstention from the otherwise unanimous Security Council vote as evidence of its determination to do nothing to "jeopardise this delicate and hopeful peace process."

Which brings us back to what the new step entails.

Quizzed at the UN, Mr Von Schirnding suggested it still needed to be completely thought out.

Prodded, he thought a disengagement would require "some sort of monitoring," though he laughed off the UN landing the job.

And Unita is not mentioned in the proposal.

Mr Von Schirnding said: "We certainly don't control Unita and can't speak for them."

Fogging the issue are grossly differing definitions of the South African presence in Angola, which the Security Council resolution termed an "occupation".

Mr Von Schirnding coped with this nicely.

Supposing a January 31 disengagement, "If at this time there's something in, we'll pull it out," he said.

Swapo suspects that what South Africa is getting at is what it has long expected — the extension of Cuban "linkage" to link Namibian independence to a regional non-aggression pact that excludes it and other liberation movements from anywhere in the sub-continent.

Despite all the rhetoric, the embattled Angolans say they will study the South African proposal and talk again with the Americans.

If this leads to a resumption of the Cape Verde process by March, then it will be considered a success, South African sources suggest.

At worst, it would keep the ever-hopeful American negotiator, Dr Chester Crocker, in business for another few months.



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# France condemns SADF 'cleanup' raids in Angola

LISBON. — France yesterday condemned South Africa's recent offensive against black nationalist guerrilla bases in Angola as completely unjustifiable.

Asked about France's view on the raids against Swapo bases, an External Relations Ministry spokesman said: "France condemns South Africa's armed attack against Angola. Nothing can justify it."

France until recently was an active member of a five-nation Western contact group formed to negotiate an independence settlement for the disputed territory.

Earlier this month, however, French External Relations Minister, Mr Claude Cheysson, said France would not attend any more of the group's meetings, expressing doubt that further talks would achieve anything.

The group, comprising France, the United States, West Germany, Britain and Canada, has been meeting periodically since 1977. But recent efforts have been stalled by South Africa's insistence on the withdrawal of an estimated 25 000 Cuban troops from Angola as a condition for independence.

Angola claimed on Monday it shot down two of 12 South African Mirage jets on a Christmas Day bombing raid over Cahama in

southern Angola, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported.

The dispatch said the fighter bombers attacked the town of Cahama some 100 miles north of the Namibia-Angola border. There were no details given on damage or casualties.

The government also reported incursions by South African troops in southern Angola and said there were "violent clashes" near Cahama and the nearby town of Cuvelai. No casualty figures were given.

But dozens of civilians were killed and hundreds wounded in South African air raids on several towns in southern Angola during the weekend, Angop added.

The air raids were on Cahama, Cassinga, Cuvelai, Mulondo and other towns and showed Pretoria's claim that it was hitting only guerrilla targets to be false, Angop said.

South Africa last week announced it had begun "limited cleanup operations" against Swapo guerrillas operating from southern Angola.

On Friday, South African Defence Force chief, General Constand Viljoen, said his men were fighting a limited campaign against Swapo in Angola.

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# US calls for 'restraint' over Angola

CAPL TIMES 28/12/83

From SIMON BARBER  
WASHINGTON. — Amid reports of widescale fighting in southern Angola, the State Department yesterday called on all sides to "exercise restraint" but declined to criticize Pretoria directly.

A spokesman, Mr John Hughes, noted that the South African Government had proposed withdrawing its forces from Angola starting on January 31 and warned that the new fighting could "jeopardize the prospects for exploring disengagement proposals".

"The fighting is not helpful," he said. "But we don't believe the South African Government's disengagement initiative is not valid."

Administration officials said privately that they had expected the SADF to step up its operations in Angola in the hope of crippling Swapo before the January 31 disengagement went into effect.

But they also hoped Pretoria would not escalate the fighting to the point where withdrawal was impossible.

Mr Hughes said: "An atmosphere of confidence is crucial at this important juncture of events in the region."

"The South African withdrawal proposal is currently on a 30-day conditional basis, and would lapse in the event of a Swapo attack."

The Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, who negotiated the plan with the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in Rome earlier this month is said to believe that the withdraw-

al represents the last chance of achieving peace in Angola, the departure of Cuban troops and SWA/Namibian independence during President Reagan's first term.

"It should provide a useful basis for exploring practical ways of implementing a ceasefire, which should be the first step towards a broader settlement leading to implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 435," Mr Hughes said.

## 'Unacceptable'

Though both Swapo and Angola have publicly attacked the plan, Mr Hughes insisted that "the US has seen nothing to suggest that this opening is unacceptable to any of the parties".

● France yesterday condemned South Africa's offensive as completely unjustifiable.

Asked about France's view on the raids against Swapo bases, an External Relations Ministry spokesman said: "France condemns South Africa's armed attack against Angola. Nothing can justify it."

France until recently was an active member of a five-nation Western contact group formed to negotiate an independence settlement for SWA/Namibia.

Earlier this month, however, the French External Relations Minister, Mr Claude Cheysson, said France would not attend any more of the group's meetings, expressing doubt that further talks would achieve anything. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter



# More wrote National SC exams

Staff Reporter

ENTRIES for this year's National Senior Certificate Examination were more than 25 percent up on those for last year, the Department of National Education reported yesterday.

Of the 21 139 candidates who wrote the exam, 5 895 were from the Cape, but entries were received from as far afield as Athens, Lisbon, London, Paris, Tokyo, Wellington (New Zealand), Canberra and Mauritius.

Subject entries increased by 83 percent, with each candidate writing an average of 4,3 subjects, compared to an average 2,9 subjects per candidate last year.

"This increase is significant in light of the fact that about 90 percent of all candidates are employed full-time," the statement said.

A large number of the candidates who entered for the full curriculum of six to seven subjects suffered from handicaps, including deafness, blindness, epilepsy and cerebral palsy.

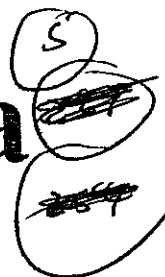
These candidates were pupils at schools for special education.

● Due to a computer error, the Latin marks released by the department and printed in this newspaper are incorrect. Candidates affected by the error are asked to contact their school or college principal for the correct results.

● Results appear on page 10, 11 and 13

# SA raids in Angola continue

CAPT TIMUS 28/12/83



JOHANNESBURG. — with about 200 Swapo guerillas.

South African forces continued their offensive into southern Angola yesterday in an effort to pre-empt a major planned infiltration by guerillas into SWA/Namibia, an SADF spokesman said.

The operation, which military analysts said was the largest such offensive in at least two years, is accompanied by a warning from the South African defence chief that Cuban and Angolan government forces should not interfere with efforts to track down Swapo members.

General Constand Viljoen told reporters on Monday night Angolan government and Cuban forces were "increasingly interfering" in South African military operations in Angola.

## 'Interfere'

"We don't like becoming involved with Angolan government and Cuban forces and would rather respect them in their areas and expect them to respect our fight against Swapo," he said.

"If they interfered in this way, then one would be inclined to think they had joined in the fight, which would not be a good thing."

On Friday, General Viljoen announced five SWATF soldiers had been killed by Angolan forces.

General Viljoen, speaking to reporters after returning from a Christmas visit to the operational area, said that on Monday South African forces clashed

with about 200 Swapo guerillas.

He said the purpose of the South African operation was to prevent a wide-scale infiltration into SWA/Namibia of Swapo forces.

## 'Huge invasion'

● Angola accused South Africa of mounting an invasion of "huge proportions" over the weekend, killing dozens of civilians and wounding hundreds of others, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, monitored in Lisbon, said yesterday.

Angola said Pretoria's claims to be attacking Swapo guerillas were false. It said South African forces had bombed the towns of Cahama, Cassinga, Cuvelai, Mulondo and others over Christmas.

Angola also claimed to have shot down two of a squadron of 12 South African Mirages involved in the bombing of Cahama, a claim later denied by Pretoria.

## 'Limited campaign'

South Africa has admitted launching a "limited campaign" against Swapo guerillas in southern Angola.

● Mr Sam Nujoma, president of the Swapo, has condemned South Africa's offensive into Angola as a continuation of Pretoria's aggressive policy, according to a report from the Algerian news agency. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

● US calls for restraint, page 2

● Leading article, page 12

... are Helen van Dyk, 15, Picture: Peter Stanford

# issing ama

... lif jackets, and the dinghy had contained "no safety equipment".

The rescue helicopter dropped a lifeguard into the surf, but no trace of Mr Hartmann could be found.

"This was a prime example of what can happen when people get out to sea in an unsafe craft without any emergency equipment," Mr Hersch said.

● Two teenage girls were rescued by surf lifesavers and a 21-year-old Mitchells Plain man received serious cuts after falling on a bottle at Mnandi Beach yesterday.

'Nearly drowned'

# Windless City swelters

Staff Reporter

HOLIDAYMAKERS and locals wilting in the sweltering City yesterday might have been forgiven for thinking yesterday was the hottest day so far this summer, but they were wrong — it was the second hottest, and that's official! The weather office at

# Grand Kodak DEVELOPING

# SA incursion takes pressure off Unita



Fred Bridgland

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The fighting now going on between South African troops and MPLA-backed Swapo forces in Southern Angola is a welcome bonus to Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels.

"Unita probably won't admit it publicly, but you can be sure they are absolutely delighted," says British journalist Fred Bridgland, who has just returned from a long spell with rebel forces in the Angolan bush.

"While Savimbi's men are used to coping on their own, anything that spreads the thin resources of the MPLA has to be a bonus.

"It means that the Government troops called to face the South Africans in the south are not available to man the defences against the Unita advance in the north-east," Mr Bridgland said.

"There is mounting optimism that they will be able to bring Luanda and the diamond mining areas under real pressure within three or four months. That is, after all, Dr Savimbi's major aim."

Mr Bridgland described how one brigade of about 2,000 men were defying the weather and marching up to 40 km a day on the northern front.

"They are moving at an incredible rate through teeming rain and across swollen rivers. Men are carrying loads of more than 25 kg for 13 hours a day, every day.

"They carry loads on their heads, heavy packs on their backs and all their arms and ammunition. They have no shelter from the rain and some are having to cart heavy arms over hilly, thickly forested terrain.

## High morale, low casualties

"Yet morale is sky-high and they are able to fight and win major battles en route. When I was there I saw the capture of the town of Alto Chicopa for the loss of only one man killed.

"Casualties are light because Unita deliberately leaves an escape route for vanquished MPLA forces. The idea is to achieve territorial gains with the fewest possible casualties on both sides. Dr Savimbi believes this method is by far the best, especially for winning the hearts and minds of the enemy," Mr Bridgland said.

"They are fantastically mobile. Three weeks after the capture of Alto Chicopa, they had advanced another 80 km and taken the key town of Cacolo, a major centre on the tar road from Luanda to the diamond mining areas.

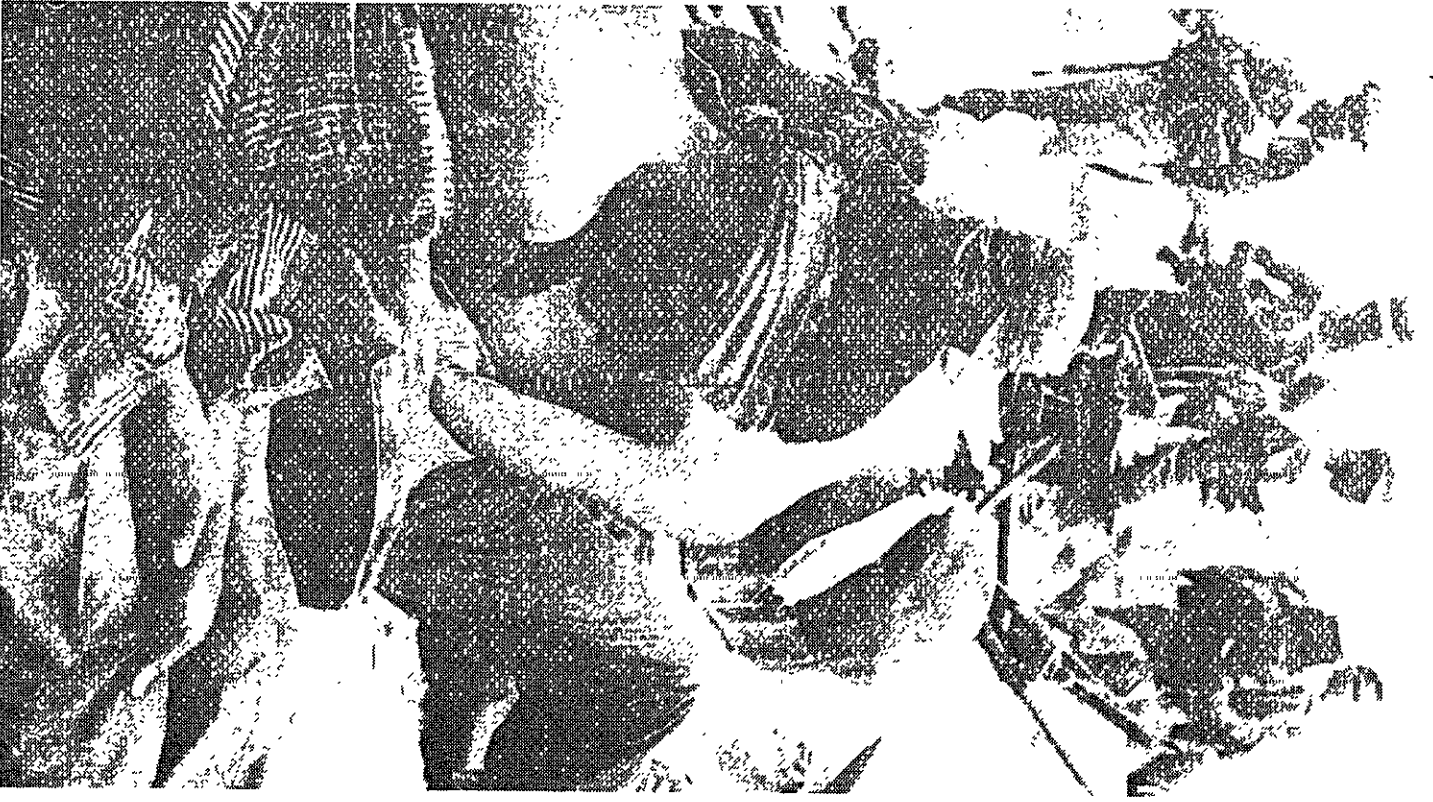
"There is also evidence of solid support from the civilian population and some Unita leaders claim there is a growing faction within the MPLA which wants to negotiate a settlement. Indeed, there is talk of secret meetings in Lisbon between the two sides," Mr Bridgland said.

"Medical facilities are, by Western standards, rather primitive. But, in the context of an African guerrilla war, they are pretty reasonable.

"There are hospitals in all bases staffed by nurses quite capable of carrying out straightforward operations. And, of course, Savimbi also has the help of six qualified French doctors. That is a real advantage."

There was little evidence of contact with Cuban forces.

"I was told that most Cubans were being confined to the major towns and important strategic areas. When they do get involved in battle zones, they are quickly airlifted out. The fact that Unita holds only three Cuban prisoners bears this out," Mr Bridgland said.



Alto Chicopa after the fall... MPLA captives are interrogated in the streets by Unita intelligence officers minutes after the rebels took the town.

## Captive Czechs consider suicide

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — The 20 Czechoslovakian technicians and engineers held deep in Angola's jungles by Unita, suffer from physical disorders and psychological depression, the Portuguese news agency, Noticias de Portugal, has reported after conducting exclusive interviews with the prisoners recently.

"For me the worst is not knowing how long we are going to stay here," said one Czech.

The isolation, lack of information and not knowing how to occupy free time provoke periods of depression that lead prisoners to contemplate committing suicide, the Czech said.

The 20 men, who had worked on a papermill project, were captured with 21 Czech children and 17 Czech women in Alto Catumbela province, south of Luanda, in March.

The women and children were released in June, but attempts to free the 20 technicians, complicated by the Czech Government's support of Angola's Marxist

Government, have failed.

Unita has offered a prisoner exchange, but the Government has refused. An appeal to Unita by the Czech Government has also failed.

Noticias de Portugal says the prisoners are suffering from malaria and hepatitis and have heart and kidney disorders.

"For us Europeans, the living conditions in the jungle are most difficult — how we live, how we are housed, the monotonous food and, more than anything else, our health and mental state," group spokesman Mr Alexander Ivan said.

The prisoners also referred to symptoms of diseases with which they were not familiar.

Unita released all its other foreign prisoners as a gesture of goodwill on December 22, but the Czechs said that the guerrillas told them they should be prepared to be held for five years.

"If we stay here that long, some of us will not return, and those who do return will be of no value to our families or to society," Mr Ivan said.



Part of a brigade of Unita troops under Brigadier Geraldo Nunda crossing a river in their march on the town of Alto Chicopa in Angola's Lunda Province.

# Angola attack: Carrot and stick

Cape Times 30/12/83

## Defence Reporter

THE present South African and SWA/Namibian pre-emptive attack was probably launched mainly to take the risk factor out of Pretoria's surprise offer to withdraw its military presence from southern Angola — provided Swapo, the Angolans and the Cubans stayed out of SWA/Namibia.

In the past few days many people have wondered why Pretoria decided to wield its military stick so soon after offering Angola an unprecedented carrot.

But in fact both carrot and stick might well be integral parts of the same tactic in this case.

A pre-emptive attack was a foregone conclusion anyway. Military planners in Windhoek knew Swapo was bound to launch an incursion as soon as the rainy season was properly under way, and have been waiting for it.

## Years of pressure

But it is likely that more is hanging on this operation than merely stopping an incursion.

According to one military source, Swapo is suffering from the cumulative effects of years of pressure, so that it has fewer men in the field and the general standard of training is down — although not among specialist units.

There is a feeling that a really decisive blow delivered at this stage will have a long-lasting effect on the move-

ment's will and ability to operate.

It seems this has been achieved — the Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, told reporters yesterday that "we have stopped the possibility of them (Swapo) moving down in vehicles as they have done in the past".

## Farther on foot

"This time, they couldn't afford to come closer than Jamba, which makes it so much farther to move on foot to SWA/Namibia".

However, a more short-term but equally important result of a crushing blow to Swapo would be that it would provide insurance against the possibility of Swapo agreeing to keep out of SWA/Namibia — and then reneging on its promise.

If the present operation has fulfilled its planners' hopes, Swapo will not be in a fit state anyway to mount any significant incursion into SWA/Namibia for many months to come, even if it does break any promise it might make.

In the meantime, General Viljoen's remarks at yesterday's press conference have thrown some light on the activities of the attackers.

It seems obvious that in spite of various Angolan claims, there have been no ground attacks on either Cassinga, 250km from the border, or Cahama, Swapo's "Western Front" head-

quarters, which lies 150km due north of the Cutline.

Earlier this week, military observers were agreed that such a situation was unlikely, bearing in mind purely physical factors like weather, distance, terrain and troop strengths at this time of year.

It would appear that:

- One element of the security force, drawn from one of the SWA Territory Force's black battalions, engaged in a sweep as far north and east as Caiundo.

- Another element, consisting of artillery with a substantial infantry and armour force to protect it, moved to within artillery range of Cahama.

Both the artillery and SAAF aircraft yesterday bombarded SA-8 missile launching sites at Cahama after Impala jets had been fired on while reconnoitring the area, but returned safely to their base.

- Four SAAF fighters attacked the important military and training base near Lubango in Angola's south-west. The aim of the raid was to hit various Swapo logistics and training centres inside the base area.

- By last night security force troops had taken up defensive positions on the northern SWA/Namibian border.

This could indicate that most of the attacking forces have either pulled back to the border or are in the process of doing so.

# SADF jets bombard Swapo HQ

By CHRIS OLCKERS  
Chief Reporter

SOUTH AFRICAN warplanes which yesterday bombed Swapo's southern Angola headquarters base also carried out swooping attacks on missile positions manned not only by Swapo but also, it is thought, by Cuban soldiers and Angolan MPLA forces.

The raid, carried out by four South African Air Force bombers at dawn, was aimed at Swapo's operational headquarters located 300km inside Angola and near the strategic airfield of Lubango used by the MPLA's military and Fapla.

International reaction was immediate. The West German Government joined France and the United States in protesting against South Africa's latest military operation in Angola, and said: "These acts of violence have again caused the loss of human lives and are a violation of international law."

Meanwhile, addressing an international news conference at Defence Headquarters in Pretoria, the chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen revealed that during the raid, SADF aircraft had bombed the missile positions which had opened fire on the South African aircraft.

He also maintained that at least 1400 Swapo troops were planning to infiltrate South West Africa.

"The anti-aircraft batteries were positioned at Swapo bases and were manned by Swapo members, but it was also possible that they were operated by Cubans and MPLA forces," Gen Viljoen said.

His statement comes after his disclosure late last week that there were growing indications that Swapo were seeking the military assistance and protection of sophisticated Russian-manufactured equipment being manned by Angolan and Cuban soldiers.

Gen Viljoen yesterday again warned the MPLA not to get involved in the fighting.

"We have dropped leaflets informing them that we are seeking Swapo and do not wish to get into a confrontation with the Angolans. But if they get involved we have no other choice but to attack Swapo inside their lair.

"This is also the reason why we have bombed and shelled with artillery several of their anti-aircraft missile batteries," he said.

He revealed that a South African Air Force pilot had had a miraculous escape when the Impala jetfighter he was flying was hit by a highly sophisticated Russian-built SAM-9 ground to air missile.

"The radar-controlled explosive device hit the aircraft in its tail, but did not detonate. The aircraft was flying over Cahama when the incident occurred," he said.

Gen Viljoen said the SADF had launched the attack against Swapo's operational HQ which was based near the Lubango air field in a bid to cripple the organisation's infrastructure.

He said intelligence reports indicated that there were between 200 and 500 Swapo soldiers inside the base when it was bombed by the four aircraft.

"All the aircraft returned safely. We have no idea what the losses on the enemy side were. The base is well-dug in with strong bunkers and their losses could have been small."

One of the anti-aircraft missile batteries attacked was based at Cahama, some 250km from the border.

The SADF chief said he expected the operation to change "for the good" within about a week.

"It won't take long to sort out the situation. I am optimistic that the intensity of the operation would decrease soon. We will then move out of Angola," he said.

He also said that as much as the United States of America could not afford a Grenada on its doorstep, South Africa could not afford to have enemies at its frontdoor.

"We don't like to operate in Angola, but the safety and security of the people of South West Africa is the responsibility of the SADF and SWA Territorial Forces," he said.

He said about 52 confirmed deaths have been reported on the Swapo side since the beginning of the operation on December 6.

Gen Viljoen said Swapo was not a serious factor from a military point of view "but we have to keep them away from South West Africa during the political transition".

Asked why the SADF had not announced the operation earlier despite claims to this effect by the MPLA, Gen Viljoen said it was not made public because it was a military operation.

"Had we announced our intention Swapo would have waited before moving closer forcing the SADF and SWATF to stay in Angola for a much longer period," he said.

Questioned on how many troops were involved in the action against Swapo, Gen Viljoen said it was very small compared to the number involved in Operation Protea.

"We have about one soldier per 45km<sup>2</sup> in the area in which Swapo is at present operating. It should be remembered that this area is about double the size of Portugal or 75% of the United Kingdom."

He said the SADF wanted to withdraw from Angola as soon as possible and this would only be possible when the objective of destroying Swapo's planned mass infiltration was realised.

● See Page 2

# SA jets bomb Swapo's main Angolan base

CAPE TIMES 30/12/83

PRETORIA. — South African jets bombed Swapo's main headquarters in southern Angola yesterday, and were ready to strike again if necessary, the Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, has announced.

He told a press conference in Pretoria yesterday that South African aircraft and artillery had attacked Cuban and Swapo-manned missile sites after being fired on during reconnaissance missions.

"The main defence headquarters of Swapo near Lubango (in south-western Angola) was attacked this morning by bombing it with four aircraft," the general said. "The purpose of the raid was to disrupt Swapo's ability to control its operations during its latest seasonal offensive in northern South West Africa."

## 'We have sent them the message'

South African aircraft had been fired on with "the most modern Russian anti-aircraft missiles" during the reconnaissance over Cahama, south-western Angola, and the head of a Sam-9 missile had been lodged in the tail of an Impala jet.

The missile had not exploded and the aircraft had returned safely to base, General Viljoen said.

The base was near the Lubango airfield, under the protection of Angolan anti-aircraft batteries and ground cover, but the South African fighters had not attacked the airport, he said.

General Viljoen said it was difficult to assess the damage to the base, which is Swapo's main logistical and training centre.

"The base was well dug-in and I would be sur-

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To page 2



CAPE TIMES  
30/12/83



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From page 1

prised if there were many casualties. But we have sent them the message and we are ready to attack again if necessary," General Viljoen said.

He denied that SADF troops, who had been in Southern Angola since December 6, had deliberately engaged Angolan forces.

Scuffles with the Angolans had taken place almost daily because of Swapo's dependence on MPLA forces for logistical and defensive support.

The operation had been launched after the SADF had received information that seven Swapo companies had been deployed from points south-east of Jamba in central southern Angola.

The general said that, apart from yesterday's raid and last week's attack on a Swapo base at Cahama, the SADF was also hunting for arms caches, trying to isolate Swapo insurgents from Angolan strongpoints and forming defensive lines on the northern SWA/Namibian border to counter any successful infiltration.

"We accept the possibility that groups of two or three may get through just south or north of the border, but we will meet them in the south and certainly turn them back," General Viljoen said.

● In Lisbon, Angola said yesterday that its artillery had shot down three South African combat aircraft during bombing raids on southern Angolan towns earlier this week.

The official news agency Angop, monitored in Lisbon, said the South Africans had bombed Caiundo, Cahama and Cuvelai on Monday and Tuesday, killing and wounding many civilians.

South Africa had admitted that South African troops were up to 200km inside Angola.

● SADF headquarters in Pretoria last night announced the death of Trooper Norman Walter Njemand, 19. He was killed in action in the operational area on Wednesday. — Sapa

● Angola attack: Carrot and stick — page 11

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## Heart baby leaves

Mall Reporter

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Hemal will return to South Africa in April for a major heart operation.

Hemal, son of Mr and Mrs Tushar Joshi, was the first child to be born into the Joshi family in 25 years.

The Joshis brought Hemal to the Republic because Kenyan hospitals did not have the necessary cardiac facilities.

The Round Table paid the baby's hospital fees and the parents' hotel expenses.

# W Germany condemns SA's tactics in Angola

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Correspondent

THE West German Government yesterday joined France and the United States in protesting against South Africa's latest military operation in Angola, and said: "These acts of violence have again caused the loss of human lives and they risk bringing about a wider threat to international peace."

A statement issued by the Foreign Office in Bonn and released through the West German embassy in Pretoria, said the West German Government made it clear in a reply to a question in the German Parliament on December 20 that it condemned South African military operations in Angola which it regarded as "violations of international law".

"The Federal Government notes with deep concern that Pretoria is at present not only continuing, but considerably stepping up its military operations in Angola."

The latest operation was regretted all the more because it came at a time of increased efforts aimed at creating a state of peace in Angola and at building confidence with a view to the implementation of the United Nations' settlement plan for Namibia, the statement said.

"As the Federal Government rejects violence — by whomever it may be used — it wishes to stress its conclusion that the earliest possible success of the negotiations on Namibia is the most appropriate way of putting an end to the escalation of violence."

Earlier this week France said the SADF operation was "completely unjustifiable" and a US State Department spokesman called for restraint on all sides.

In a response to what he described as the "balanced" US statement the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, said this week that South Africa could not sit back and do nothing while Swapo fighters prepared to infiltrate SWA "to commit murder".

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## Equity to hold referendum on policy over SA

London Bureau

LONDON. — The British Actors Equity Association is to hold another referendum among its members on the controversial issue of whether they should be allowed to perform in South Africa and the independent homelands.

The council of Equity, at a recent meeting about which nothing has been published until now, considered "at length and in detail" the publication in October this year by the UN Centre Against Apartheid of a "register of entertainers, actors and others who have performed in apartheid South Africa."

Following approaches by Equity members who felt their position might be jeopardised, the council of Equity resolved at its meeting to "make clear that, within the context of the present Equity policy on South Africa, the union has a duty to protect members from victimisation that might ensue from the publication of the United Nations register."

The council also resolved "to contact the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid to explain the policies of Equity in relation to South Africa" and to "call upon the International Federation of Actors to redouble its efforts to secure 100% backing for Equity's policies."

In 1976 Equity put all its policies relating to South Africa to a referendum of its membership, who supported a ban on television sales, but rejected the issuing of a standing instruction to members not to work in South Africa at all.

Instead, the referendum result endorsed Equity's current policy of inviting mem-

bers to sign a declaration approving no contracts for the South African theatre, but recognising the right of those wishing to fight apartheid by visiting the country to do so if their consciences allowed.

This became a policy binding on Equity and unalterable except by a further referendum, such as the one to be held in the new year.

This new referendum is expected to reveal a sharp difference of opinion among Equity members, some of whom have been campaigning for all restrictions on South Africa to be lifted, including TV sales.

Equity's council is taking a hard line. In a circular, the general secretary, Mr Peter Plouviez, states: "Equity council has made clear that it recognises that within the rules and policies of the union, it has an obligation to assist members victimised as a result of the publication of the UN register."

"While maintaining the present policy and continuing to fight against apartheid, both by its own actions and through the international federation of artists, the council will be asking members to amend that policy by turning the invitation to sign the declaration into positive advice not to work in South Africa as long as apartheid is the policy of the government there and racial discrimination applies to, or effects, all aspects of life, including of course entertainment."

Equity's council warns members that if they vote in the referendum to accept work in South Africa, "no effective protection can be offered against the consequences of their actions."

## Stander seen on island?

By MAURITZ MOOLMAN

EAST RAND police are to investigate claims that fugitive former police captain Andre Stander had been seen on two different occasions in Mauritius last week.

But they have no further information in support of the claims made to a South African newspaper by holiday-makers and hoteliers, an East Rand police spokesman said yesterday.

Captain Stander, 37, had allegedly been noticed at a fishing competition and another time at a restaurant.

So far Stander and his gang have been highly successful in evading the country-wide search launched by the SAP earlier this year after the gang began their bank raids.

## Policeman on assault

By JOHAN BUYS

A. BOKSBURG Magistrate said yesterday it was regrettable a case between two Boksburg policemen had to be dragged into court.

"It is regrettable that a uniform of the South African Police, has been desmirched in this disgraceful charge and I hope the air will be cleared after this case," Mr J Viviers said.

Mr Viviers acquitted Constable Jan Hendrik Loots of the Boksburg Police Station on charges of assault and criminal injuria.

Const Loots, 24, was accused of assaulting his colleague, Constable Barend van Heerden, 17, by slapping him, striking him with a fist, digging an elbow into his ribs, hitting his head against a wall and butting him on the forehead.

Const Loots was also ac-

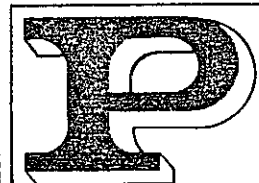
## Lifts for serviceman

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Pret. Relief (01343) 2769  
FREE STATE  
Bloemfontein (051) 34-3409  
Kroonstad (01411) 32-296  
CAPE  
Bellville (021) 73-3534  
Uppington (0541) 3579  
Oudishoorn (04431) 4444  
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Senior Control Official Kempton Park (011) 975-2785



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# Refugees elect to remain in captivity

By GEOFFREY ALLEN

SOMEWHERE in war-torn Southern Angola a party of men yesterday elected to remain with their armed captors rather than fly to safety and freedom because their wives and children could not accompany them.

The International Red Cross intends trying to negotiate a route out of the area for the party, which totals about 19 people, mostly children.

Today most of the 26 refugees who arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday will fly to Europe.

A group of six Roman Catholic missionaries, five nuns and a priest, will fly to Rome, while the remainder are booked to fly to Lisbon.

After their harrowing flight to freedom the group will rest overnight before being repatriated.

When they arrived at Jan Smuts they looked more shattered mentally than pleased to be eating the snacks and tea of freedom.

A senior Red Cross official confirmed a party of men had been left behind in southern Angola by their own choice.

They watched as their fellow refugees boarded the plane with a massive Red Cross painted on its fuselage to fly freedom after months of captivity in the hostile Angolan battlefield.

"We were told by Unita that they were free to go, but they wished to wait for their families," said Red Cross official, Mr Thierry Germond.

He said the problem was purely logistic because the families were being held a very long way from the landing strip where the Red Cross Hercules aircraft picked up the party of refugees who were brought to Johannesburg and that there was not time to bring them to the plane.

The 26 people who were handed over to the Red Cross as a gesture of Christmas goodwill

by Dr Jonas Savimibi's Unita rebel force had been brought to the southern Angolan airstrip by truck in a 21-hour marathon drive to freedom.

At a one-sided Press conference where few questions were answered they confirmed they had been captured by Unita forces in central Angola and that some had been held since March.

Neither the location of the airstrip nor where the hostages were held during their captivity were revealed by tight-lipped security men and Red Cross officials.

The refugees, dressed in shabby clothes, said they had been "very well treated".

Among the party were 12 children, who stared wide-eyed and clasped cooldrinks and sweets to their breasts as a large group of international journalists blasted off camera flashes and questions at their parents.

After travelling for a total of 24 hours the Portuguese residents, including the children, who were captured at Altacumla in central Angola, face another long flight to Portugal today.

Mr Germond said this had been the third such mission by the Red Cross.

"We are always very pleased to be operational in the release of prisoners.

"This party included 21 Portuguese, a Cape Verdian, two Spaniards, a person from Uruguay and a Brazilian.

Of the group we brought out some were captured on March 12, the missionaries on September 5."

At Jan Smuts they were taken into the main VIP lounge and handed over to respective consular officials before being treated to snacks, tea and cooldrinks.

"They will now have to decide on their own futures," said Mr Germond, who was preparing to fly back to Geneva last night.

Several priests gathered to meet the nuns, who were dressed smartly, under the circumstances, in white habits.



Tiny Hemal Joshi, just one month old, who under flying home to Kenya last night. Hemal's father

## 36 drivers on drink charges

By JOHN MILLER

A FURTHER 36 motorists have appeared in courts along the Reef in the past two days on drunken driving charges, bringing the number of arrests so far this month to over 800.

The 36 offenders join 60 other motorists arrested for drunken driving over the Christmas weekend.

Benoni, which topped the December list up to Christ-

mas, has been surpassed by Kempton Park.

Over the past two days there have been 13 arrests in Kempton Park, followed by nine in Benoni and six in Krugersdorp.

Up until yesterday, 215 motorists had been booked for drunken driving in Benoni — almost doubling Johannesburg's 110 arrests.

Other towns on the Reef which have passed 60 arrests

in their campaigns against drunken driving include Kempton Park with 83 arrests, Germiston with 79, Boksburg with 65 and Springs with 60.

Traffic authorities throughout the Reef warned motorists that patrol cars would be out in full force from today until after the New Year weekend.

They warned that several roadblocks would be set up

## Heart baby leaves

Mail Reporter

ONE-month-old Hemal Joshi, who was admitted to the J G Strijdom Hospital last week suffering from a heart ailment, left with his parents last night for Kenya.

The condition of Hemal, who underwent a 2½-hour operation, was described as "fine and stabilised".

Hemal will return to South Africa in April for a major heart operation.

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By CHRIS

Political Com

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Mrs Maria Zelinda de Souza comforts two of her children, one-year-old Jose and Antonio (6). She and her four children were abducted by Unita while her husband was at work.



The De Souza brothers, Antonio (6) (left) and Victor (4), tuck into their sweets while three-year-old sister Adelina finds her surroundings far more fascinating.



The thrill of a bus ride and freedom . . . After eight months in captivity, former Unita hostages leave Jan Smuts airport yesterday afternoon for a rest at

a city hotel before leaving South Africa on the second leg of their journey home.

# Unita treated us well, says relieved father

"Jonas Savimbi is a person of great character," said Mr Antonio Silva, one of the Angolan refugees who arrived in South Africa yesterday after being released by Unita rebels.

Mr Silva, his wife and two children were relaxing at a central Johannesburg hotel after eating one of the best meals they had had in months.

Mr Silva said he had met the rebel leader on Christmas Day in Jamba, Unita's "provisional capital", and got the impression that he was "a strong man".

"We celebrated Christmas with a dinner and a service given by one of the hostages, a Uruguayan Catholic priest. We also had to attend a political rally given by Mr Savimbi."

The Silva family was captured by Unita on March 12 in their home in Alto Catumbelo province, south of Luanda, where Mr Silva worked at a paper mill.

"Unita attacked at 6 am and an hour later we were taken prisoner along with several Angolan families and 66 Czechoslovakian contract workers and their families.

"We then started on a march that lasted 78 days to Unita's central base in the south of An-

gola. We starting walking at 5 am each day and marched for eight hours — sometimes 20 hours — a day."

Mr Silva said the group of hostages and about 1500 Unita soldiers — "they were so many because they were afraid the Government forces would try to free the Czechs" — walked 1500 km on foot and travelled for six days in vehicles.

"During the first few days there was a strong feeling against the Unita men but, as far as human rights were concerned, they treated us well and we later became friendly.

"We always had enough to eat although my daughter, who was six months old when the march began, became ill because she was malnourished. The Unita medical corps gave her medication and the right food.

"The soldiers also helped to carry the babies and young children in our group."

Mr Silva said he was happy to be free and alive and held no grudge against Unita. "They told us they had liberated us from the oppression of the MPLA Government.

"I did not agree with this reasoning, but I understood them. I am Angolan, after all."

● Reports by Zenaide Vendeiro  
● Pictures by David Sandison and Manuel Pinheiro.

## Angolan refugees leave for Portugal

A group of 21 Angolan refugees which arrived in South Africa yesterday after being released by the Angolan rebel movement Unita left for Portugal this morning.

It is not known what happened to the five foreigners (non-Angolans) released with them.

The refugees arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday afternoon aboard an aircraft chartered by the International Committee of the Red Cross, and were taken to a central Johannesburg hotel.

After being registered, they sat down to a welcome lunch. Then they attempted to wash the smell and the dirt of the Angolan bush from their bodies.

The men shaved off their long beards and went to a barber before their passport photographs were taken.

The group underwent a medical examination. Packets of razor blades, shampoo, toothpaste, brushes and nappies were handed out.

The children, tearful and frightened by the people milling around them, were given sweets. Apart from the children's screams and cries, there was little sound from the adults. They were silent and introspective.

"They are in shock," said the owner of the hotel, Mrs Julie Sequeira, who has hosted three groups of refugees this year.

"They can't believe they are free and alive. After living in the bush for months, it will be hard for them to adapt."

The 21 Angolans, a Cape Verdian, two Spaniards, a Uruguayan priest and a Brazilian were captured at Alto Catumbelo province, south of Luanda, on March 12. They were held hostage for eight months.

One person who could not be consoled was Mrs Maria de Souza. When she, her four young children and her parents were captured, her husband was at work.

"I have had no news of him," she said. "I'm hoping he will be waiting in Portugal when we arrive."

# Fears in West of growing Angola action

By MARGARET SMITH  
London Bureau

LONDON. — The South African offensive in southern Angola is causing deepening concern in Western capitals as the risk grows that South Africa will be drawn into direct conflict with Angolan and Cuban forces.

Such a clash would have implications far beyond the borders of Angola, intensifying further the hostility and suspicions that are the dominant feature of current East-West relations.

With the world in a state of such tension, with so many potential flashpoints, there is general apprehension about an escalation of action in Southern Africa.

Nine members of the South West Africa Territorial Forces have been killed in the action, while an estimated 52 Swapo guerrillas have been captured.

Yesterday in the wake of SA bombing of Swapo positions in Lubango, the British Government issued a statement deploring the latest action.

The statement said: "We have repeatedly condemned violence in Southern Africa from whatever quarter it comes and we support the recent United Nations Security Council resolution calling for the withdrawal of South African forces from Angolan territory.

We therefore cannot but deplore this latest South African action and regret the loss of life which has resulted. We believe that the withdrawal of South African troops and, in addition, of all foreign troops from Angola would create the prospect for a peaceful settlement in Namibia.

The strongest condemnation of the SA action has come from France, which called it "completely unjustified", while the African National Congress yesterday added its voice to those condemning the raid into Angola.

The French earlier this month placed the onus on the Western contact group on SWA in the struggle by declining to take part in a meeting of foreign ministers.

West Germany yesterday expressed "deep concern" over the raid.

The five-power group may become trapped in the ambiguity implicit in its own position on the relationship between the Cuban troops

in Angola and South African agreement to free elections in SWA and its own withdrawal from the territory.

Meanwhile, Angola said yesterday South Africa had increased the strength of its forces involved in what Luanda said was an air and ground offensive against Angolan troops in the south of the country, reports Sapa-AP.

The official news agency, Angop, said in a report monitored in Lisbon that three SA motorised brigades, 100 aircraft and artillery units using 140mm and 155mm guns had been engaged in fierce fighting in three southern Angolan provinces.

The report said the incursion was aimed at weakening the combat strength of Angolan forces and that only SA and Angolan troops had been involved in the fighting.

It refuted SA claims the drive was directed against Swapo bases.

"Since December 12, artillery units and groups of between four and 18 planes have been attacking civilians and defensive positions in the provinces of Huila, Cunene and Cuando-Cubango," the agency said.

"So far, no proof has been given of any Swapo presence in the region."

In a separate report, the agency quoted an Angolan Defence Ministry statement denying the SA claim that its jets had bombed Swapo's Angolan field headquarters near the town of Lubango on Thursday.

The Defence Ministry said the SA attack was against a small town in the area of Luivo, 16km from Lubango. The statement said an unspecified number of civilians had been injured in the raid.

A SADF spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday he could add nothing to what had been said at a Press conference on Thursday by General Constand Viljoen, the chief of the Defence Force.

Gen Viljoen predicted Angola would claim SA had bombed civilian targets inside Angola, or that the Angolans had shot down one or more South African aircraft.

He denied these claims and stressed that the SA presence in southern Angola was limited.

The South African forces were doing everything possible to avoid Angolan troops, although minor scuffles had taken place almost daily, he said.

# Fears in West of flare-up in Angola

CAPL Timit 31/12/83

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From MARGARET SMITH

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Strong condemnation of the South African action has come from France, which called it "completely unjustified."

● Sapa reports that West Germany has again condemned South Afri-

can military operations in Angola and has called for "the earliest possible" success of negotiations on SWA/Namibia as "the most appropriate way of putting an end to the escalation of violence".

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## Claim denied

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'IT'S NOT THE SAME AS GRENADA INVASION'

# US dismayed by Angola fighting

W/E ARGUS 31/12/83 (5)

Weekend Argus  
Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States Government, dismayed at the renewed fighting in southern Angola, has taken South Africa to task for comparing its campaign there with American intervention on the Caribbean island of Grenada.

The situations in Angola and on Grenada are quite different, said a senior State Department official.

The official was reacting to a Pretoria Press conference at which the Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, cited the American invasion of Grenada to justify the South African incursion into southern Angola.

This is a sensitive point in Washington. Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe, who is regarded here as a key participant in President Reagan's constructive engagement policy for Southern Africa, has repeatedly protested that South Africa would use Grenada as an excuse for its own cross-border actions.

But the State Department official insisted

that the Angola and Grenada situations were not at all analogous. "In the first place," he said, "we know of no party which has invited South Africa to intervene in Angola."

"In the second, President Reagan acted in order to safeguard the lives of American citizens in Grenada, a situation not prevailing in Angola. We see no parallel to the two situations."

It was learnt today that the US Government will try to hold South Africa to General Viljoen's implied promise that South African military action in Angola will end in a few days.

According to reports here, General Viljoen

said he hoped to scale the operation down over the next couple of days and end it in perhaps a week.

The fierce fighting in the region has been a setback for the US peace initiative, which has two main objectives — independence for SWA/Namibia and withdrawal of the Cuban forces from Angola.

## Clashed

Adding to the concern here are indications that the South African forces, in attacking Swapo positions, may have clashed directly with Cuban troops.

The Americans insist that Mr Pik Botha's offer a fortnight ago of a conditional and reciprocal

disengagement of South African forces, effective from today, is still a viable proposition — even though it has been publicly rejected in Luanda.

So sure are President Reagan's foreign policy advisers that the Botha offer is still on the cards, that they are confident it will be high on the agenda in a renewed US-Angola dialogue which they hope will take place early in the new year.

Informed sources in Washington are also confident that there will also be renewed dialogue involving the Western contact group — including, significantly, France, which recently indicated its impatience with the South African stalemate

and announced its intention to supply the Angolans with military helicopters.

But analysts here believe that for these initiatives to achieve useful results it is vital for South Africa to end its military activities as soon as possible. They say South Africa has demonstrated clearly — yet again — its ability to strike deep inside Angola at will.

Luanda has received the message. Now is the time to withdraw so that the peace initiative can start up again.

That is why they say, the Americans intend to remind Pretoria, if necessary, of General Viljoen's promise.

'The conflict is one of most complex in world'

# West Europe unanimous in condemning SA

The Star Bureau

LONDON — With this month's incursion into Angola, South Africa cannot claim to have ended its 1983 Namibian season with a popular flourish.

Governments canvassed in Europe have condemned the action.

Sheryl Raine reports from Pretoria that the conflict in Angola is one of the most complex disputes worldwide, according to a leading expert in international relations.

Mr Michael Spicer, of the South African Institute of International Affairs, was commenting on Pretoria's action against Swapo and especially the clashes with Cuban and Angolan troops in southern Angola.

"Apart from Lebanon the multi-national dispute in Angola has become one of the most complex international disputes in the world today," he said.

The Star's Paris correspondent reports that France condemns Pretoria's action, but clearly has difficulties in trying to mediate in Angola.

"We are not certain whom we are addressing there, as the Angolan President (Eduardo dos Santos) does not seem to have the power of decision expected from a Head of State," said a French aide.

"There are obviously at least two brains masterminding his policies — in Havana and Mo-

scow." In addition, the French admit they cannot understand the power structure in Luanda after a series of purges and reshuffles there.

Britain has also deplored South Africa's action. But it wants to see the Cubans out too.

In a statement the Foreign Office said: "We believe that the withdrawal of South African troops, and indeed all foreign troops, from Angola would improve the prospects for a peaceful independence settlement in Namibia." Britain wants to see a two-point approach.

One part is the recent statement by Foreign Minister Pik Botha that South Africa would begin to withdraw its forces from Angola, the other that there should then be confidential exchanges between the parties.

Mr Botha's offer was welcomed here, and although Britain deplored the South African attack, reliable sources here say the Government takes comfort from the fact that the Botha offer is still on the table.

Britain is not too worried about French plans to withdraw from the Contact Group, recalling that France has said things like this before.

West Germany is clearly irritated by the latest South African incursion.

The Star's Bonn correspondent says the Government there condemned it as an "ill-timed threat to peace". There are German fears, too, that the invasion will continue and the bridgehead

be expanded.

The timing has also upset the Germans. A spokesman said the invasion had come at a moment when talks with the Angolan Government were showing promise of success.

"The best solution to the area's problems would be the early granting of independence to Namibia," he added.

This follows recent replies by the West German Foreign Ministry in Parliament denouncing South African military actions inside Angola as violations of international law.

The Star's Lisbon correspondent says the Portuguese Government, in condemning the incursion into Angola, accused South Africa of not following "the rules of peaceful existence that must govern relations between states".

But the Communist daily "O Diario" blasted the Government for its "weak condemnation" of the attack, and said it ignored the dozens of civilians killed in the fighting.

The Portuguese Government has been reluctant to issue statements about the incursion because, observers believe, it wants to safeguard the mediation role it hopes to play.

The Lisbon newspaper "Diario de Noticias" has reported African National Congress allegations that South Africa wants to topple the Angolan Government and a Harare opinion that South Africa wants to annex southern Angola.

## SA beefs up forces: claim

LISBON — Angola charged yesterday that South Africa has increased the strength of its forces in its major offensive in southern Angola.

The official news agency Angop said three South African motorised brigades and 100 aircraft and artillery units using 140 mm and 155 mm guns were engaged in fierce fighting in

ing civilians and defensive positions in the provinces of Huila, Cunene and Cuando-Cubango," the agency said. "So far no proof has been given of any Swapo presence in the region."

In a separate report the agency quoted an Angolan Defence Ministry statement that denies Pretoria's claim that its jets bombed Swapo's

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The last time transplant man Mr James gett saw his children was the two boys were in nazi and the girl was a teara tomboy.

That was 14 years ago a Paggett (46) did not make tact with the children — K (18), Adrian (17), and Neil (1) until this week at London's toria Station.

Mr Paggett was born w slight heart murmur and fered cardiac problems a life. Now, with the heart of year-old girl who died in a don hospital, he has a new of life.

"I know I was wrong



Heart

## The saboi

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The identit whoever was responsible placing explosives in a fighter aircraft which blew at Zimbabwe's main air ha July last year may never come public knowledge.

The release of the last air force officers detain connection with the The sabotage arrived in Brita terday — and is the closest to an admission that they innocent of complicity — goats in an investigation

# Medium leads way to body

East Rand Bureau

Police have arrested two men after the discovery yesterday of the body of an Alberton woman who had been missing for three months.

She was found after a member of her family consulted a witchdoctor.

Police recovered about R80 000 worth of jewellery.

The two men are expected to appear in the Alberton Magistrate's court on Tuesday.

Mrs Margaret Visagie (35) went missing on October 5 after a burglary at the home of her employer, pool company owner Mr Hugh Temlett of Joyce Road, Alberante, Alberton.

The burglars stole a safe containing diamond and emerald jewellery valued at R100 000.

A police spokesman said Mrs Visagie's brother-in-law, Mr Moses van Deventer, consulted a witchdoctor when she failed to show up.

The body and safe were found at the spot indicated by the witchdoctor.

# Five die in smash

West Rand Bureau

Five people died and two were critically injured near Rustenburg at 3.20 pm yesterday when two vehicles collided.

The dead are Emslie Padayachee (33), Peter Padayachee (26), Yusuf Ismael (30), Ibrahim Gongat (41) and Chiva Thulidas (41), all of Lenasia.

Mrs M Thakur and her baby son are in hospital.

# SA jets strike at Swapo HQ deep inside Angola

Pretoria Correspondent

South African aircraft yesterday attacked a Swapo regional headquarters 300 km inside Angola and knocked out anti-aircraft missile sites and radar facilities in continuing operations over a wide area of Southern Angola, the chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, told a Press briefing in Pretoria.

General Viljoen said he expected his troops to withdraw within the next week or so.

"It is our intention to vacate Angola as soon as possible," he said.

Nine South African and SWA Territory Force soldiers have been killed during the operation and one is missing.

The SADF has confirmed 52 Swapo dead in some 50 clashes with security forces since December 6, but the death toll could be much more.

# Raid could turn into an 'own goal' for SA

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa's latest incursion into Angola is potentially more dangerous than any of its predecessors, says Guardian correspondent Dan van der Vat.

In a report published by his newspaper in London yesterday Van der Vat said that observers have gained a clear impression from General Constand Viljoen's "cautious" remarks that what began as a pre-emptive strike against Swapo has turned into more generalised conflict involving the Angolan forces and some of the estimated 25 000 Cubans supporting them.

"If that is so, things could swiftly get out of hand," he said.

"There need be no doubt that the South African forces can see

The SADF chief announced for the first time that Russian-made SAM-9 missiles were deployed alongside the SAM-8 in the area and both had been used — with little effect — against SAAF aircraft.

The attack on Swapo headquarters near Lubango was directed at a heavily bunkered area covering 500 m by 500 m.

General Viljoen said that although there may have been very little damage inflicted on the headquarters, the idea was to disrupt Swapo's control over a planned incursion into Namibia.

General Viljoen said the overall operation was not of such great proportions and there was only one platoon of soldiers covering an area the size of Portugal.

General Viljoen said the security forces had gone through Casinga, 270 km into Angola, which was a Swapo area, but were not

holding the town as alleged by Angola.

All four aircraft that carried out the strike yesterday returned safely to base.

In another incident over Cahama, a SAM-9 was fired at an Impala jet but lodged itself in the tail of the plane and failed to detonate. General Viljoen showed the tail of the missile which was removed when the jet landed.

A SAM-8 missed another South African aircraft on a reconnaissance mission over the area.

General Viljoen said the anti-aircraft sites and radar installations had been knocked out by artillery and air strikes.

He said South African troops had traded fire with Fapla forces (the MPLA's military arm) on a daily basis throughout the area.

He said the SADF would prefer not to become involved with Fapla forces.

Only once had the security forces seen whites during a skirmish, during an attack north of Cahama when the men were thought to be Cubans.

● The Angola news agency, Angop, claimed yesterday that three South African aircraft had been shot down in southern Angola this week; a claim that has been denied by the SADF.

● In Bonn yesterday the West German Government condemned the South Africa's raid as an ill-timed threat to peace.

● In Addis Ababa the Organisation of African Unity has expressed its "horror" at the South African raid and called on the international community to help Angola to strengthen its security and assist Swapo in its fight against South Africa.

● An immigration official in Lusaka said yesterday that more than 1 600 Angolans had crossed the border into Zambia by last Monday to escape heavy fighting between MPLA forces and Unita rebels.

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Israeli Arabs get d  
TEL AVIV — Two Israeli Arabs yesterday after being convicted of



LONDON — Two British law-  
on Gerhardt  
by two MPs  
be quizzed

Sweden spurns terrorists who