ANGOLA - GENERAL

1984

JANUARY — MARCH

SA troops capture latest Red weapons

Pretoria Correspondent

Security forces are destroying and carting tons of sophisticated Soviet weaponry worth millions of rands out of southern Angola as they withdraw from one of the bloodiest battlefronts in the 17-year Namibian bush war.

The raiding South African forces smashed a network of Russian-made radar and surface-to-air missile installations at various garrison towns in the southern provinces of the former Portuguese colony.

Armaments now being lifted out of Angola include some of the most modern the SADF has yet come across in its intensified "seek and destroy" missions against Swapo north of Namibia. The exact quantity and types of weaponry seized in the month-long operation — the code name of which has not yet been released — have not been specified.

As South African troops pulled back, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, warned further firm action would be taken "regardless of the consequences" if the SADF considered it necessary.

Cubans among 400 dead

Swapo had "not yet experienced the full capability" of the Defence Force's prowess, he warned.

South African forces killed about 400 Swapo, Angolan and and Cuban troops and destroyed at least 25 Russian tanks in the operation. They lost 21 men. The fate and numbers of the Angolan and Swapo captives taken by the SADF in fierce fighting at the town of Cuvalai has not yet been announced.

The Star's Political Staff reports that South Africa's timely withdrawal will allow the United Nations' Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, to report favourably to the world body tomorrow — but the timing of the pullout was merely coincidental to UN demands.

It came at a time when both Angola and South Africa had cease-fire proposals on the negotiating table and Swapo had asked for a face-to-face meeting with South African diplomats.

The raid caused outrage at the UN with the Security Council vote united against South Africa except for abstentions by America and Britain. Tomorrow Mr Perez de Cuellar has to report back to the Security Council on progress. He will be able to say that South African forces have largely withdrawn from Angola.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has already reacted sharply to the Security Council resolution in comments to the Press but the UN still awaits his formal reply.

He said the UN did not need to wait until Tuesday to hear South Africa's answer, and that if this country's standpoint led to confrontation with the world and the Security Council, the South African Government was prepared to accept the conflict and strife which could result.

Fleet Street

The Star's Bureau in London reports that South Africa's preparedness to scale down its operations in Angola was fully reported by Fleet Street.

In an editorial The Times suggested that because South Africa had improved its military position, it might now be prepared to make some concession on independence for Namibia, such as attaching no clear timetable to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The other major newspaper to editorialise on the subject was The Guardian, which pointed out that because South Africa was withdrawing in good order and in its own good time, this "should not obscure the fact that all the components of an international disaster are still in place" since Pretoria reserved the right to go back at any time.

Nujoma: 'We lost none in Angola'

Cape Times 10/1/84

From STANLEY UYS and JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — There had been no Namibian casualties or injuries during the recent fighting in southern Angola, the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, said yesterday.

Top-level talks between SA, Mozambique

Cape Times 10/1/84

JOHANNESBURG. — Top-level South African government representatives will meet their Mozambican counterparts next week to discuss security, tourism and financial relations between the two countries, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

A statement issued on Mr Botha's behalf said the talks, to start on January 16 in Pretoria and Maputo, were the outcome of the ministerial meeting between the two countries in Swaziland last month.

Besides security, tourism and economic matters, the representatives, in four working groups, would review the state of the Cabora-Bassa hydro-electric project.

The security team will be chaired by General J Coetzee, Commissioner of the South African Police, and its members will include Dr J P Roux, Secretary-General of the Office of the Prime Minister, and General A J van Deventer, Secretary of the State Security Council.

The economic negotiating team will be headed by Mr J van Dalsen, Director-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and will include representatives from the Departments of Transport Services and Mineral and Energy Affairs.

The South African team concerned with the Cabora-Bassa project will be headed by the Director-General of the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Dr S J du Plessis, and will include representatives from Escom and the Departments of Foreign Affairs and Finance — Sapa

"Contrary to recent reports from the racist regime, no Namibians have even been injured thus far in the recent fighting, as South Africa has directed its attack against Angolan military, civilian and economic targets," he said.

Mr Nujoma made this statement in a message read to an international gathering at County Hall to witness the launching of the Greater London Council's (GLC) anti-apartheid declaration.

The message from Mr Nujoma was read by Swapo's chief representative in London, Mr Shapua Kaukangua.

Hypocrisy

Mr Nujoma dismissed the South African offer of a trial ceasefire as "hypocrisy" and insisted that Pretoria had no intention of allowing Namibia to become genuinely independent unless it was forced to do so.

Diplomats here have privately expressed concern over a possible internationalizing of the conflict in Angola. One Western diplomat said Pretoria was "pushing its luck" in Angola.

The offers and counter-offers of talks that have been made over the new year [illegible]



Stephen Jefferies

Je

By FRANK HEYDENRYCH

THE Springboks - fered something of setback last nig when opening bow Stephen Jefferi withdrew from t team to play the We Indies in today fourth one-day inte national at Newland Jefferies has a ri

Di's new



LEFT: Prince Charles and the Princess of Malbun, Liechtenstein, yesterday. RIGHT: Th loose jacket and scarf and a new swept-ba Saturday en route to their w

Gold hits new low

THE gold price reached a 17-month low at $363,25 in London yesterday, closing at $366,25. Dealers said the market's weakness was due to the continuing strength of the dollar, reflecting high US interest rates.

● Prime may rise as gold, rand tumble, page 16

Thievc honeyı

By GLEN GARVEN

NEWLY-WEDS Abdul and Shabiera Mahomed started married life with a bump on Sunday. Only hours after the ceremony in Rylands Estate thieves ran

Mozambique

JOHANNESBURG. — Top-level South African government representatives will meet their Mozambican counterparts next week to discuss security, tourism and financial relations between the two countries, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

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The offers and counter-offers of talks that have been made over the new year have not aroused much enthusiasm here. It is felt that both the South African Government and Swapo are simply restating previously announced positions.

In an editorial yesterday, the Guardian said: "That the South Africans are withdrawing in good order and in good time after sweeping all before them should not obscure the fact that all the components of an international disaster are still in place ... internationally South Africa's position remains as indefensible as ever."

The Times editorial yesterday said: "Perhaps now that South Africa has improved its military position and demonstrated its determination to take further military action if necessary, even deep into Angola, it could make some concession, such as attaching no clear timetable to the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

"However, it will not get much change out of the Angolan Government unless it gives convincing evidence of a desire to move out of Namibia, and it is difficult to see any compelling reason why it should feel obliged to do this."

● When asked to comment on Mr Nujoma's claim last night, an SADF spokesman referred to General Constand Viljoen's statement on Friday in which he gave the combined Swapo, Cuban and Angolan losses as 324

● Angola: General's criticism, page 2

Unita forces close in on diamond mines

Freelance British journalist and The Star's special correspondent on Angola, Fred Bridgland, returned home recently after spending several months with Unita forces in Angola. In this, the second part of a series on his experiences, he looks at the latest developments in the war that is devastating the country.

LONDON — As South African forces pound Swapo bases in southern Angola, the rebel Unita movement is pushing battalions of its regular troops across the Benguela railway line into the northern half of the country.

At least 10 Unita battalions of 600 to 800 men each are already across the railway. In two areas the Unita regulars are operating at brigade strength of almost 3 000 men.

Ahead of the battalions — by many months and hundreds of kilometres — guerilla units in groups of 15 to 200 are planting mines, blowing up bridges, ambushing convoys and attacking small outposts.

The Unita military offensive will continue until April, when the rainy season peters out. The aim is threefold:

- To bring Luanda, the Angolan capital, under heavy military pressure;
- To apply equal pressure to the north-eastern diamond mining province of Lunda;
- To force the government to the negotiating table.

The thrust across the Benguela railway is to the north-west and north-east of Huambo, Angola's second biggest city on the densely populated central plateau, and to the north-west and north-east of the eastern railway town of Luena, where a big government and Cuban garrison is surrounded by rebel forces.

The plan is flexible, allowing forces to be concentrated on the capital or the diamond mines according to where most progress is being made.

At present the thrust towards the diamond mines seems to pose most danger to the government.

The commander of Unita's northern front, Brigadier Geraldo Nunda, has led a brigade to Cacolo, a major town 200 km north-west of Luena. Cacolo is on the tar road which is the only land route between Luanda and the diamond mines.

I have just spent three weeks with Brigadier Nunda's forces. When I left the area I saw more regular troops crossing the Benguela railway line to reinforce his brigade.

Battalions on Unita's eastern front are now crossing the Benguela line to the east of Luena, having just cleared government forces from the Cazombo salient of Angola which juts between Zambia and Zaire.

According to Unita's leader Mr Jonas Savimbi, the forces from the northern and eastern fronts will push towards the diamond mines in a pincer movement with some forces from the northern front hiving off to approach the capital from the east.

Around Huambo the military situation is more difficult to assess since no Western journalist reached this key area in 1983 with either government or rebel troops. However, communiques from both sides show that fighting is going on in the three provinces between Huambo and the capital — Cuanza South, Cuanza North and Luanda.

Both sides are claiming victories. The exception is in the Calulo-Mussende area where in August Unita managed to push a big force to within 175 km of Luanda.

But in late September and October, Unita says, its troops were forced to retreat from that area in the face of major offensives by Cuban-backed FAPLA forces using armour and helicopter gunships.

Inevitably, both sides give different accounts of the counter-offensive. The government said it killed 600 Unita troops. Unita admitted to 82 dead, an unusually high concession by the rebels, who accused the Angolans of using a Russian commander, a General Valentina, and an East German senior officer, a General Von Statatus, to direct the operation.

Unita claimed the defence of Luanda meant that several brigades had to be moved from other regions and this enabled the rebels to score compensatory victories.

The significant point about the episode is that the government was forced to admit a major clash close to the capital when two years ago the set battles were confined to the south-eastern corner of Angola.

Also, two years ago the MPLA information services were dismissing the rebels as a handful of no more than 300 "fantoches" (bandits). Now the claim is of 600 dead rebels in one operation.

These facts alone should make it clear to those sceptical about rebel claims that something has changed in the state of Angola.

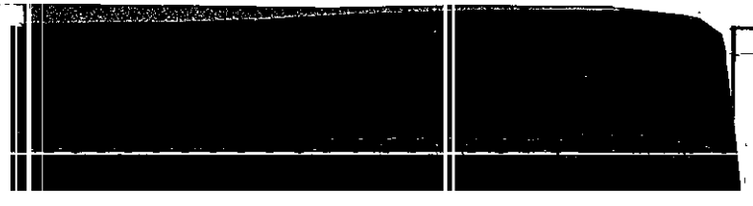
Unita, while admitting a tactical withdrawal, is confident the government's armoured thrust on the Calulo-Mussende front can be absorbed, as others elsewhere have been.

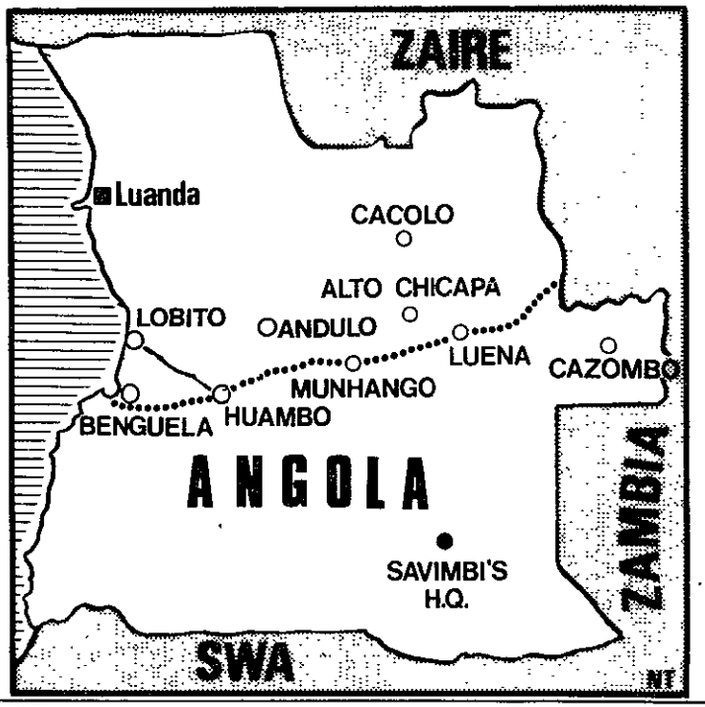
The tactic is to withdraw before the frontal assault, harass the flanks and engage in direct battle again only after enemy supply lines have become stretched along poor and remote country roads.

Away from Calulo-Mussende, Unita claims greater successes. On the western front two battalions in the high, mist-swirled mountains north-west of Huambo have closed one of the two roads between Huambo and the port of Lobito, and also the coastal road between Lobito and Luanda.

On the central front the major town of Andulo, 200 kms north-east of Huambo, has been overrun — a Unita claim that has not been denied by Luanda. Eight Portuguese civilians were killed in crossfire at Andulo.

The overall pattern is clear — Unita has advanced hundreds of kilometres over the last two years and in 1983 it carried the focus of the war from the south, so that this year the focus is in the north, nearer the capital and the third largest diamond field in the world.





US envoy explains cut in aid to Zimbabwe

The Star Bureau

HARARE — The United States remains committed to helping Zimbabwe and to reinforcing the constructive role Harare plays in the Southern African region, the American ambassador, Mr Robert Keeley, has said.

Commenting on the R42 million cut in US aid to Zimbabwe this year, Mr Keeley said America would still make available at least R48 million, which would make Zimbabwe the fifth largest American aid recipient in Africa south of the Sahara.

The envoy said that since Zimbabwe's independence in April 1980, the US had made available more than R350 million, most of it in the form of outright grants.

He said the US had not been able to allocate as much aid in the current fiscal year as it would have liked, for a variety of reasons.

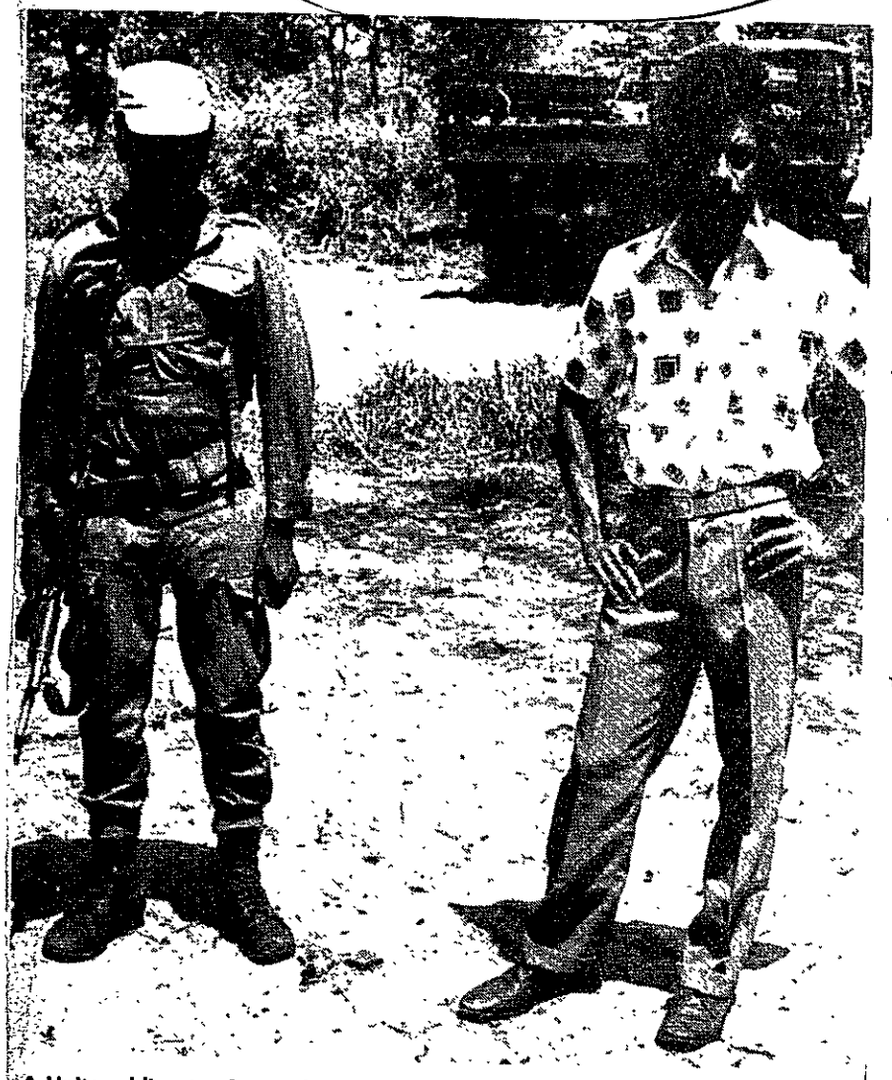
Although he did not explain the reasons, it has been widely reported that contributing to the reduction was anger in the US Congress at the alleged anti-American line Zimbabwe has taken on a number of major issues, including the Grenada invasion and the shooting down of the Korean airliner.

Mr Keeley said that in additon to the R40 million worth of aid this year, a R30 million loan for low-cost housing would be concluded and extra drought relief food aid was likely.

Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe said last month his country would remain friends with the US despite the massive cut in aid.

He said it would be wrong to say relations had gone sour and Zimbabwe would continue to accept what the US had to offer provided there were no strings attached.

But Mr Mugabe added: "We would rather do without a single cent from any source if this means compromising our sovereignty".



A Unita soldier stands guard over a captured Cuban serviceman at a rebel base in south-east Angola. The Cuban was captured during the Unita offensive near Huambo.

Cape Times 16/1/84 (5)

SADF clamps down on news

From TONY WEAVER

WINDHOEK. — South African journalists will have to continue to rely on South African Defence Force statements for all news of the SADF withdrawal from Angola.

This was confirmed yesterday by a spokesman for the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF), who said that in terms of the Defence Act, no journalist would be allowed to report the withdrawal, announced on Sunday by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

Section 118 of the Act bans any reportage of troop movements, troop composition or dispositions, and further bans the reportage of "any statement, comment or rumour calculated directly or indirectly to convey such information".

However, the SWATF spokesman said a report in a Windhoek newspaper that newsmen had been barred from entering the Kavango, Owambo, Kaokoveld and Caprivi war zones was "rubbish".

"We can't stop you from going up there and reporting routine events, but coverage of the war and the troop movements is banned under the Act."

General Malan said on Sunday that although South African forces were withdrawing after pitched battles fought near Cuvelai, 200km from the SWA/Namibian border, the Defence Force would, if necessary, strike again "regardless of the consequences".

A total of 324 Swapo guerillas, Angolan and Cuban troops and seven South African soldiers died in the battle near Cuvelai, the SADF said.

Twenty-one South African troops have died in the operation. in Angola to date.

Two television crews operating on behalf of foreign networks have been refused permission to travel to the Ovambo war zone in the past 10 days.

The SWATF spokesman said he thought the ban on one crew from German television had given rise to the local report that all journalists had been barred.

Raid into Angola most costly since 1976

10/1/84 RDM

By WILLEM STEENKAMP, Cape Times Defence Reporter

IN TERMS of "own troops" killed in action, the current attack into southern Angola is now the most expensive incursion since Operation Savannah, the seven-month military thrust in 1975/6.

So far, 21 white and black soldiers of the South African Defence Force and the South West Africa Territory Force, are known to have died in the hush-hush fighting east of the garrison town of Cahama.

Up to now, the most expensive of the 12 known large or small "external operations" the SADF and SWATF have carried out since 1978 was Operation Sceptic (1980), in which 17 men died.

Known external operations and their losses are as follows:

● The SADF's first external operation — a carefully-planned attack by conventional forces — was Operation Reindeer in May 1978.

In spite of fierce fighting by paratroops at the Swapo base-town of Cassinga and ground forces near Chetequera, the Security Force casualties totalled six killed and about 30 wounded.

● In August 1978, Swapo and the Zambian National Defence Force shelled the Caprivian capital of Katima Mulilo as an act of vengeance for Operation Reindeer

Some 10 South African troops were killed and 10 wounded.

The Katima garrison had been forewarned by military intelligence and immediately counter-attacked, killing a small number of Swapo fighters.

● In March 1979, two smallish "external" raids named Rekstok and Safraan were carried out, one in Angola and the other into Zambia.

They did not do much damage and suffered no casualties.

● Then in June 1980 came Operation Sceptic, when an SADF/SWATF force stormed more than 120km into southern Angola, demolished an enormous Swapo base complex nicknamed "Smokeshell" and then embarked on a three-week sweep to the west.

When Sceptic finally came to an end, 17 white and black troops had died and 360 insurgents were killed.

● In July 1980 Operation Klipkop was carried out. This was a small attack on a Swapo headquarters in the town of Chitado, near Ruacana.

The attackers suffered no casualties.

● In 1981 there were three successive operations into southern Angola: Carnation, about which little is known; Protea, in which a 4 000-man force fell on and killed more than 1 200 Swapo fighters and members of the Angolan armed forces with which they were integrated; and Daisy, an 18-day search-and-destroy mission that penetrated an unprecedented 240km into Angola.

Losses suffered in Carnation, if any, are not known, but Protea cost 14 dead and Daisy three.

● In January 1982 a small incursion north of Kaokoland — Operation Super — resulted in the destruction of a Swapo transit camp for the loss of three security force members.

● In August 1982 Operation Mebos was launched to wipe out the Swapo forward operational headquarters at Mupa, in south-eastern Angola.

Security force losses came to 15, all incurred when ground fire brought down a Puma helicopter carrying three airmen and 12 paratroopers.

SA raiders force halt to Russian arms help

By James Tomlins, The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — The Soviet Union has stopped supplying sophisticated weapons to Angola for fear of their falling into the hands of South African forces and Unita rebels, French intelligence sources in Paris said yesterday.

The Russian decision was disclosed by top-level Angolan officials visiting Algeria to buy arms.

"We have been sent on a special mission to buy the most sophisticated arms from Western nations because the Soviet Union has recently refused to supply arms," an Angolan delegation spokesman told Algerian officials.

The Soviet Union is apparently prepared to issue the Angolan army only with light infantry weapons.

Observers in Paris believe the bid to buy sophisticated weapons systems from the West is the first proof that the Kremlin no longer has any faith in Angola surviving as a Marxist state.

Network smashed

South African security forces are either destroying or carting tons of sophisticated Soviet weaponry worth millions of rands out of southern Angola.

The SADF has smashed Russian-made radar and missile installations in the southern provinces of the country.

Weapons being brought out of Angola by the SADF include some of the most modern yet encountered by the South Africans in "seek and destroy" missions against Swapo. At least 25 Russian tanks have been destroyed in the operation.

Angola received big shipments of tanks and other arms from Cuba last year in addition to the large quantities of weapons it got straight from the Soviet Union, the Washington Times reported this week.

Tanks were also said to have been included in the Soviet arms shipments reported last year.

SADF's withdrawal 'may take a few days'

By CHRIS OLCKERS
Chief Reporter

SOUTH AFRICAN and South West African Territorial Forces have already started withdrawing from southern Angola, but the operation could take several days

After clashes with MPLA and Cuban soldiers, South African troops are faced with a long trek through swampy, difficult terrain.

Most of the Russian-manufactured equipment seized during the operations in Angola has been destroyed. Some sophisticated weaponry is being brought back.

A Defence Force spokesman said last night that the order for withdrawal had been given but that it was difficult to say how far this had progressed.

More than 320 Swapo troops, as well as MPLA and Cuban soldiers, died during the seek-and-destroy operations which started in December last year.

Twenty-one South African soldiers and members of SWATF lost their lives — the highest South African casualty toll for any operation in the 17-year bush war with Swapo One soldier is still missing, believed to have been captured in Angola.

However, Swapo sources in London claimed yesterday that their guerrillas suffered no casualties during the South African raids. They said the South African forces apparently engaged mainly Angolan forces.

In response, an SADF spokesman said last night that in a statement issued last Friday, the Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, had disclosed that the majority of people killed were Swapo guerrillas and the rest were Fapla and Cuban troops. He said there was no change to that statement.

Diplomatic circles in London have expressed concern privately over the broader international implications of the conflict in Angola. One Western diplomat said Pretoria was "pushing its luck" too hard, reports the Mail's London Bureau.

The offers and counter-offers of talks that have been made over the new year have not aroused much enthusiasm. It is felt that both the South African Government and Swapo are simply restating previously announced positions.

In an editorial yesterday, The Guardian newspaper commented: "That the South Africans are withdrawing in good order and in good time after sweeping all before them should not obscure the fact that all the components of an international disaster are still in place ... internationally South Africa's position remains as indefensible as ever."

● Lieutenant-General H de V du Toit, former head of military intelligence, said yesterday he believed the Ministry of Defence waited too long before announcing South Africa was fighting in southern Angola, reports the Rand Daily Mail correspondent in Cape Town.

The public was "very loyal" in these matters, Gen Du Toit added, but the Government must not rely on that fact.

Gen Du Toit is now an academic. He retired in 1977 as Chief of Staff Intelligence after serving through the greatest credibility crisis between the SADF and the media since the Second World War — the months of almost complete official silence during Operation Savannah, the incursion into Angola in 1975/6.

Meanwhile, South African journalists will have to continue to rely on SADF statements for news of the SADF's withdrawal from Angola

This was confirmed yesterday by a SWATF spokesman.

He said that in terms of the Defence Act, no journalist was permitted to report on any aspect of the withdrawal

Portugal 'training an elite corps'

FORMER Leftwing military officers who played a crucial role in Portugal's 1974 revolution are reportedly training an elite military corps in Angola as part of the Marxist's government's struggle against a growing threat from Unita guerrillas.

A Lisbon newspaper, Tal e Qual, reported at the weekend that about 12 officers, said to be communist sympathisers, are in Angola under contracts arranged through an import/export company headed by Admiral Rosa Coutinho, who was Angolan High Commissioner during the transition to independence.

From KEN POTTINGER in Lisbon

Admiral Coutinho — whose pro-communist leanings earned him the nickname the "Red Admiral" — declined to comment on the matter to the newspaper.

The officers named in the article are all officially on reserve and were responsible for several crucial missions during the 1974/75 revolutionary period in Portugal, when the pro-Soviet Communist Party attempted to seize control of the country.

The 12 instructors are said to have been training Angolans for the past eight months, resulting in several important setbacks for Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

The newly-trained elite corps first went into action in December in the Malange area — 250km east of the capital, Luanda.

This, combined with the reorganisation of the armed forces under the Soviet-trained Chief of Staff, General Iko Carreira, enabled the government to stem a guerrilla advance on Luanda which had come uncomfortably close to the capital.

The guerrillas have also suffered other notable defeats in recent months at the hands of government troops.

It is not clear if the Portuguese instructors actually go into combat with their troops, but military sources believe they would steer clear of such a move, because of the fear of being labelled mercenaries — a role that could cause them serious problems back in Portugal, where no citizen is allowed to serve in the army of a foreign country.

Portugal has, as a part of its bid for good relations with its former African colonies, already offered to train Angolan and Mozambiquan officers in anti-guerrilla warfare on courses to be held in Portugal.

Neither country has so far taken up the offer.

SA 'secrecy' on Angola attacked

ARGUS 10/1/84

Political Staff

FORMER military intelligence chief Lieutenant-General H de V du Toit has been backed by opposition spokesmen in his criticism of the Government's handling of information to the public about military incursions in Angola.

The chief Opposition spokesman on defence, Mr Philip Myburgh, MP for Wynberg, said today the Government's attitude was creating "an atmosphere of secrecy and suspicion".



Mr Philip Myburgh

He called for an inter-party parliamentary standing committee on defence matters so that all parties could be involved.

"Too long"

Mr Myburgh was reacting to a statement by General du Toit that the Ministry of Defence had waited too long before announcing that South Africa was fighting in Angola.

General du Toit confirmed today he believes the public is "very loyal" in these matters, but the Government should not rely on that fact.

Referring to months of almost complete official silence at the time of South Africa's incursion into Angola in 1975/76, he said it was necessary that the Defence Force reveal to the public the scope of such an operation at the earliest possible opportunity — as long as this could be done without harm to the operation.

He also criticised aspects of Government secrecy during the present operation in Angola.

He said a government could carry out such operations only if it had the support of the national will.

Mr Myburgh said he had repeatedly made the same points in Parliament.

So much information was being withheld that many South Africans had to rely on overseas news media to find out what was happening in and around their own country.

So far, the official Opposition had not been told by the Government about the latest events in Angola. He suggested that briefings should take place automatically.

General du Toit is now professor of national strategy at the Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg.

"Old story"

In a telephone interview today he criticised the initial SADF reaction to Angolan accusations that South Africa was fighting in Angola. "They handed out the usual old story about Angolan accusations," he said.

If the Defence Force had nothing to say, it should have kept silent instead of reacting in this way, he added. He praised the Press briefing later delivered by General Constand

(Turn to Page 3, col 3)

Soviets 'see Angola as a poor bet'

Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — French intelligence believes the Soviet Union now fears that any sophisticated weapons it gives to Angola are most likely to be captured by South African troops or Unita guerrillas.

Observers believe that a desperate move by Angola to obtain modern arms from the West is proof that the Kremlin has secretly made a strategic decision that the territory is not likely to last much longer as an independent Marxist state.

This follows the unexpected arrival of an unusual official Angolan delegation in Algiers.

A delegation spokesman told Algerian officials: "We have been sent on a special mission to buy the most sophisticated arms from western nations, because the Soviet Union has recently refused to supply us".

French intelligence learnt from delegation members that Moscow's reason, not apparently given formally to Luanda, is the fear that the weapons will fall into South African hands.

Nujoma denies SA claims on Swapo deaths

Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — No Namibians were injured or killed in the recent South African incursion into Angola to wipe out Swapo bases, says Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma.

Mr Nujoma's statement was read to people attending the launch of the Greater London Council's declaration against apartheid yesterday.

The statement said: "We are able to inform you that, contrary to the recent reports from the racist regime, no Namibians were even injured thus far in the recent fighting as South Africa has directed its attack against Angolan targets."

From Washington come reports that the United States Government has welcomed Mr Pik Botha's statement that South Africa would not oppose direct talks between Swapo and a delegation led by the Administrator-General of Namibia, seeing it as another step towards a reduction of tension.

Though the South African Foreign Minister did not spell it out, analysts here believe that the delegation referred to by Mr Botha would consist of or include representatives of the disputed territory's internal parties.

Swapo has refused to deal with the internal parties and wants a direct meeting with South Africa.

The US had no comment today on speculation about the composition of the delegation but a State Department spokesman repeated that, until Namibia gained its independence in terms of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, South Africa itself was responsible for negotiations.

Angola received big shipments of tanks and other arms from Cuba last year in addition to the large quantities of weapons it got straight from the Soviet Union, according to a report today in the Washington Times.

SADF criticised for 'delay' in reporting Angolan fighting

ARGUS 10/1/84 (Continued from Page 1)

ways shouting for information which could harm security or endanger lives."

Viljoen, the Defence Force chief.

The leader of the New Republic Party, Mr W Vause Raw, said: "In general, I believe the maximum information should be given to the public, consistent with essential security. I do not, however, agree with those who are al-

Mr Raw said he had been kept informed about most major military operations.

Military historian Mr Neil Orpen said today that, even at this stage, South Africans had not been properly informed about the expedition into Angola in 1975.

As a member of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the time, he had known that South Africans were not informed.

He had been able to read about the fighting in British newspapers.

Mr Orpen said the presentation by the Defence Force of the latest fighting in southern Angola was biased and lacked objectivity.

"We did not hear about it until it became absolutely obvious," he said.

Mr Orpen, who has written extensively on World War 2, said he had no direct experience of how the South African public was informed at the time, as he had spent the entire war on service. However, he believed the public had been informed rapidly about what was actually happening.

CAPE TIMES 10/1/84 (5)

Angola: General's criticism

Defence Reporter

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL H de V du Toit, former head of military intelligence, said yesterday that he believed the Ministry of Defence waited too long before announcing that South Africa was fighting in southern Angola.

The public was "very loyal" in these matters, but the government should not rely on that fact.

General Du Toit is now an academic, but he retired in 1977 as Chief of Staff Intelligence after serving through the greatest credibility crisis between the SADF and the media since World War II — the months of almost complete official silence during Operation Savannah, the incursion into Angola in 1975/6.

He was one of a number of specialists who were interviewed on the subject of the latest incursion for the Sunday night news review.

Speaking yesterday from his office at the Rand Afrikaans University, General Du Toit said:

"It is necessary that the Defence Force reveal to the public the scope of such an operation at the earliest possible opportunity — as long as this can be done without harm to the operation, of course.

"In addition, there cannot be a division between a democratically-chosen government and the people — a government can only carry out such an operation if it has the support of the national will."

Dealing with the actual flow of news and official statements during the present operation, General Du Toit said that in his opinion "the first reaction was wrong — they (military spokesmen) handed out the usual old story about Angolan accusations".

However, the press briefing on December 23 by the Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, had been "very good".

On Sunday, the editor of Rapport, Dr Willem de Klerk, came out strongly for "fuller information" from official sources, as long as this was not a threat to security.

"In South Africa," Dr De Klerk wrote in his regular leader-page column, "we are too scrappily informed ... About the war in Angola. And about Gerhardt. And about the ANC. And about a lot of other things which cannot claim the right of secrecy.

"The Steyn Commission has already rapped the government's knuckles about this. In the newspaper industry one has often had fiascos, with politicians and officials playing unfounded games of hide-and-seek with one, just out of the enjoyment of power and making their voices heard.

"We shall continue to hammer away and incite the public if necessary, so that apart from justified secrets, there will be open cards played in South Africa."

The Star Tuesday Jan

Restructed Azapo hits out at DET

10/1/84

By Michael Tissong

A newly structured Azanian People's Organisation emerged from its weekend Lenasia congress at which Mr Lybon Mabasa was re-elected president and three of his four former executive members were voted back on to the central committee.

The Natal vice-president, Mr Imran Moosa, who proposed the structural change, said it was to make the organisation's leadership "more national".

In one of 13 resolutions, the congress said it "noted with revulsion the deliberate and high-handed manner in which the Department of Education and Training has failed black matriculation students".

With reference to the new constitution, the meeting said the new deal aimed at the "co-option of so-called coloureds and Indians as junior allies and rubber stamps in the tricameral Parliament.

"This dispensation is devised by the racist class in order to perpetuate and maintain the system of racism and capitalism by attempting to break the unity of the oppressed black people.

"It is a development of a tried and failed form of participation in Government-created platforms. We therefore resolve to intensify nationally and internationally our campaign to oppose and expose this political fraud.

"We reiterate that the solutions to the problems faced by the black people in our country can only be found in the establishment one day of an anti-racist and socialist worker republic of Azania."

Mr Saths Cooper was elected deputy president, Mr Peter Jones Cape vice-president, Mr Hlaku Rachidi Transvaal vice-president, Mr Imran Moosa Natal vice-president, Mr Fikile Qithi Free State vice-president, Mr Sefako Nyaka secretary-general, Mr Muntu Myeza publicity secretary, Mr Thabo Ndabeni national organiser and Mr Zitulele Cindi projects co-ordinator.

Govt urged to release Angola info

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Former military intelligence chief, Lieutenant-General H De V du Toit, has been backed by opposition spokesmen in his criticism of the Government's near total ban on information to the public about military incursions in Angola.

The PFP's spokesman on defence, Mr Philip Myburgh, MP for Wynberg, said today the Government's attitude was creating "an atmosphere of secrecy and suspicion".

He called on the Government to set up an inter-party parliamentary standing committee on defence matters.

Mr Myburgh was reacting to a statement by General du Toit that he believed the Ministry of Defence had waited too long before announcing that South Africa was fighting in Angola.

The public was "very loyal" in these matters, but the Government should not rely on that fact, General du Toit was quoted as saying.

Referring to months of almost complete official silence at the time of South Africa's incursion into Angola in 1975/76, the general called on the Defence Force to publicly reveal the scope of such an operation as early as possible — but without harming the operation.

He also criticised aspects of Government secrecy during the present operation in Angola.

Mr Myburgh said the PFP had not been informed by the Government about the latest events in Angola.

Angolan ceasefire is shrouded in secrecy

NEW YORK — The prospects for talks leading to a ceasefire between South Africa and Swapo and a disengagement of forces in Angola were shrouded in secrecy today as the United Nations Security Council waited for UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar to report to the council.

The secretary-general has kept a tight rein on the preparation of his report and the private consultations he has had with the various parties involved in the peace bid. A UN spokesman said there would be no mention of the proposed talks in the secretary-general's address to the council.

And as the council waited for the report, South Africa's acceptance of a Swapo proposal for direct ceasefire talks under the auspices of the UN chief was welcomed in a statement by Swapo in Luanda yesterday.

In the statement Swapo called on South Africa immediately to arrange a date for direct talks.

ACCEPTED

A Swapo spokesman in London said today his organisation accepted the administrator-general of Namibia as a representative of the South African Government and was therefore prepared to go ahead with talks.

The Luanda statement stressed Swapo was prepared to talk only about a ceasefire with exchanges of political views to be confined to the election campaign period leading up to indpendence.

South African officials are awaiting the full text of the Swapo statement and would not comment.

No comment was available yesterday on a warning delivered to the UN chief on Tuesday in which the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said his country would continue to mount preemptive strikes into Angola if it thought such raids were warranted.

The warning was contained in a letter from Mr Botha in answer to the Security Council's condemnation of the SADF raid.

Mr Perez de Cuellar last night met the South African Ambassador to the UN, Mr Kurt von Schirnding. It was their first meeting since the Security Council last Friday adopted a resolution censuring South Africa for invading Angola and calling for the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of its forces.

The UN spokesman said the secretary-general had also been in contact with delegates from Angola and Swapo.

A senior UN official said there was little optimism that a 30-day disengagement of forces proposed by South Africa to go into effect on January 31 would halt the bloodshed.

The resolution condemning South Africa set a deadline of midnight last night for the secretary-general to report to the council on South Africa's response to the demand.

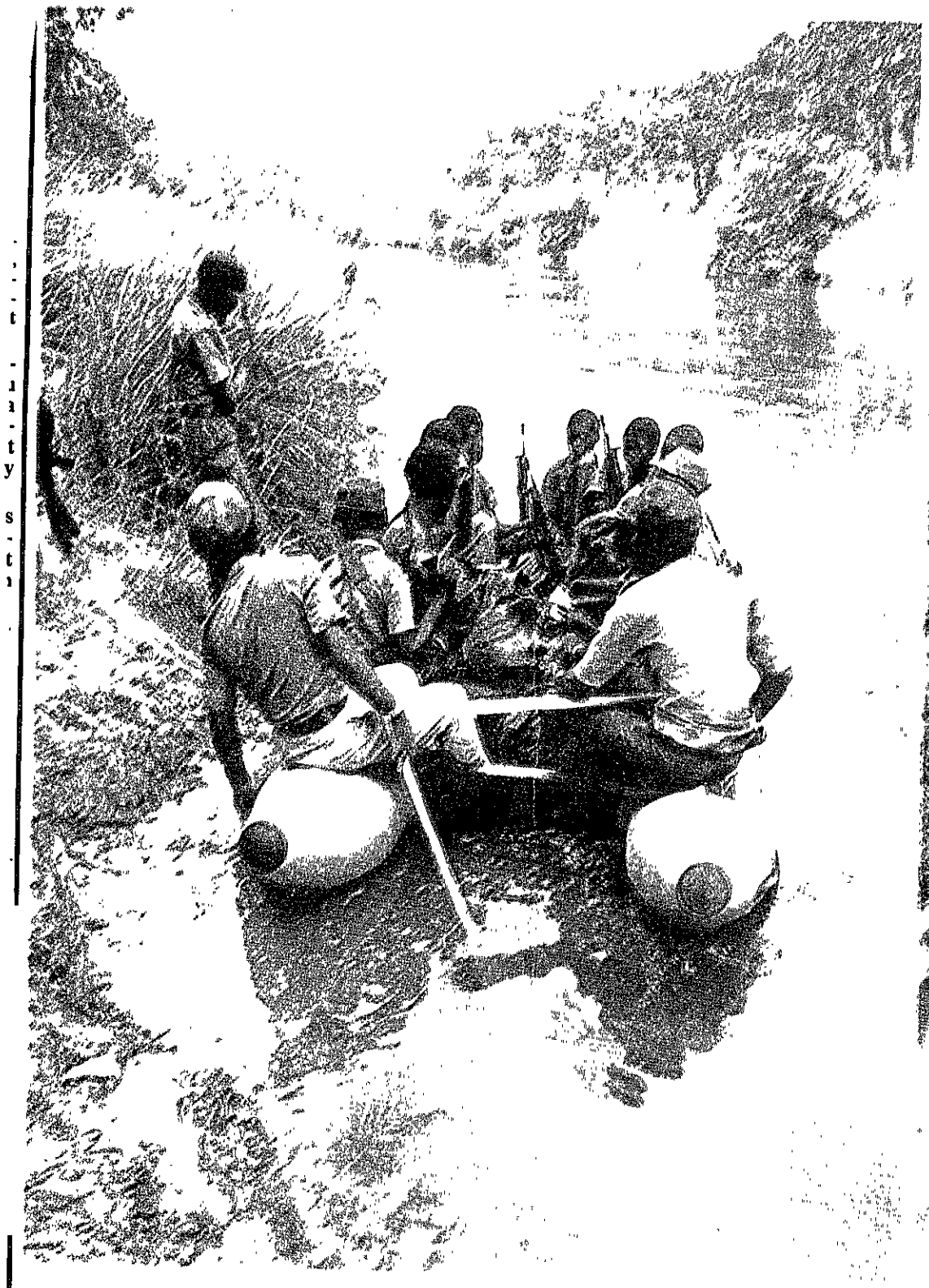
The resolution also said South Africa should make reparation to the Angolan Government for damage and loss of life suffered in the raid.

South Africa offered to "disengage" its troops from operations against Swapo in Angola last month. — The Star Bureau, Reuter, Sapa.

ANGOLA

Unita on the move

ARGUS 11/11/84 (5)



Part of a brigade of Unita troops cross a river on their march on the town of Alto Chicapa in Angola's Lunda province



Unita forces move swiftly over difficult terrain in their push against the MPLA

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LONDON — British journalist Fred Bridgland, who has just returned from seven weeks with Unita guerrillas in Angola, met rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi. These are extracts from their conversation.

Question: You've just launched a military offensive into the northern half of Angola which is planned to last until April. What are your main military and political objectives?

Savimbi: It is a dual assault towards Luanda the capital and Lunda (the diamond mining province in the northeast). By March or April my regular forces intend reaching the Zairean border.

The political aim remains to force the MPLA into negotiations. We have to advance militarily to persuade the MPLA to talk.

If we extend our control on the ground and disrupt government economic projects, that group within the MPLA which favours negotiations with us to end the war will grow stronger.

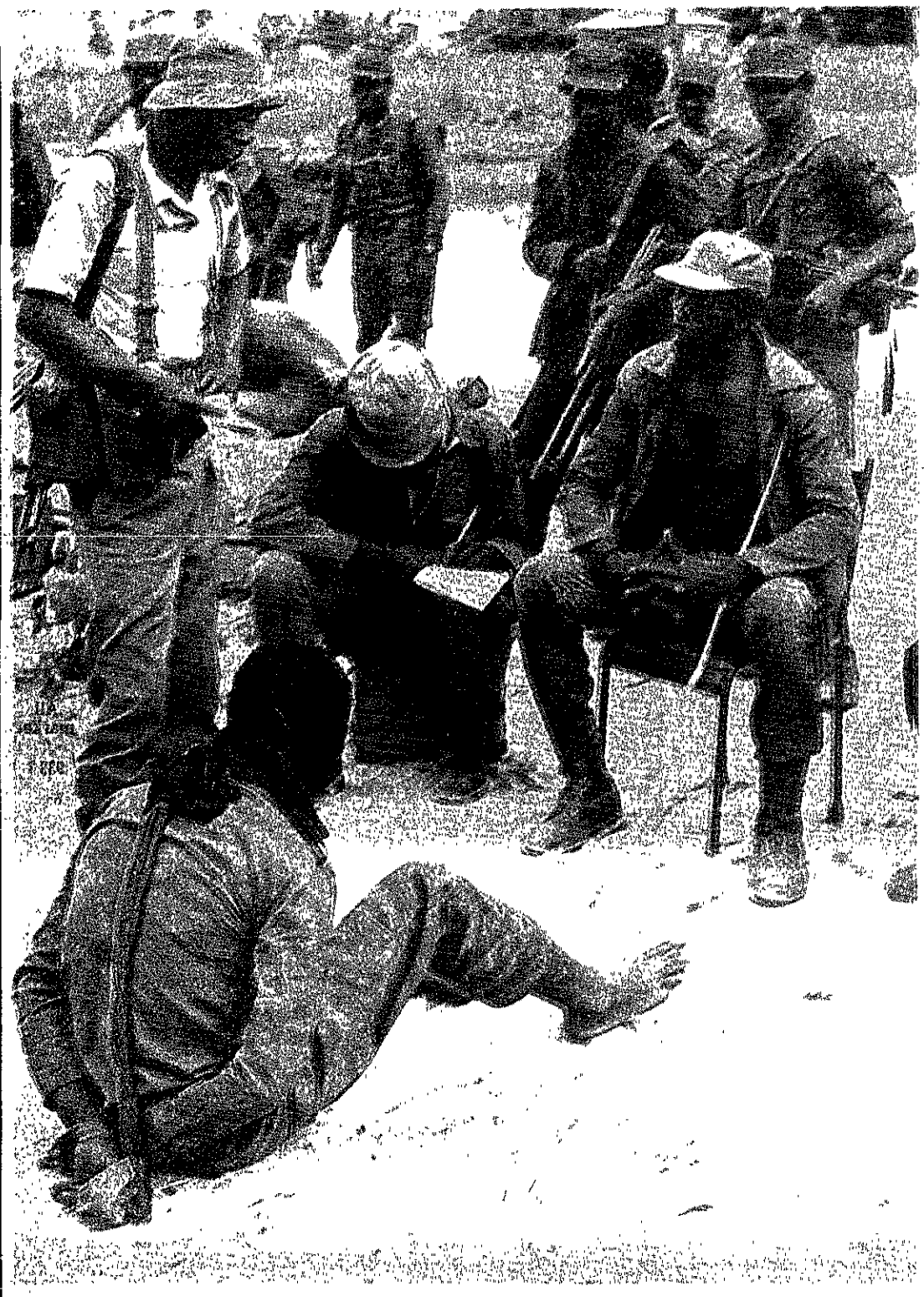
We have made contact with the "negotiations faction" within the MPLA. That faction is growing stronger and is willing to relinquish the Cubans.

They realise the truth is while the Cubans remain in Angola the South Africans will use that as an excuse for not leaving Namibia. If the Cubans leave Angola, the South Africans will have to leave Namibia — they will have no excuses left.

CUBANS

Q: On what terms are you prepared to reach agreement with the MPLA?

Savimbi: The Cubans should leave first before we negotiate. Then comes the formation of a government of national unity. But the long-term solution requires elections, perhaps after a year or two when old animosities have cooled down.



MPLA captives are interrogated in the streets of Alto Chicapa by Unita officers after the rebel troops had taken the town

Q: If the MPLA refuse to negotiate, how long will it take for the war to be fought to some kind of conclusion?

Savimbi: From March, one more year will be sufficient to bring dramatic changes. Life will be unliveable in Angola. Already the will of the MPLA soldiers to resist is collapsing, and we are getting deserters every day. Soon the Russians and the Cubans will have to decide whether to fight this war as their own.

But they will find they are getting sucked in at the wrong time, just as the Americans got sucked into Vietnam when the will of the South Vietnamese to fight was collapsing.

SA aid

Q: It's self-evident that South Africa is still a major source of, and channel for, your supplies. Do you have any regrets that this has been the case?

Savimbi: No, we don't have any regrets at all. It is difficult to explain, and the MPLA has been capitalising on it. But we had no choice. Unless you consider accepting domination by the Russians and Cubans as a choice? We could accept defeat or resist. To resist, we needed the help of somebody.

South African strategy is to resist the Russians, Cubans and Swapo. They found that by supporting Unita they could stop these people from coming to influence things in Namibia.

It is a marriage of convenience. Our interests coincide. It is not the first time in history that such a thing has happened.

When Stalin signed a pact with Hitler, it did not mean that Stalin admired the Nazi philosophy. And, later, when Churchill became an ally of Stalin, does anyone seriously believe that the British leader wanted to embrace Communism?

The South Africans never asked me or any other Unita leader to sign any document. We don't have anything signed about the aid they give us. But we are conscious of the fact that since they are giving us aid they hope for cooperation in return.

FRIENDSHIP

Q: What kinds of things are the South Africans looking for in return, and what kinds of thing are you willing to give?

Savimbi: In the long term they want friendship. Everybody is hostile to them, and they hope a Unita government in Angola will be more friendly.

Q: So will you give them friendship?

Savimbi: Oh yes. I would invite Botha to my own capital and receive him as a head of state. It wouldn't mean I believe in apartheid. I cannot. And I cannot become less black than I am.

But I will meet him on my own ground: I won't go to somebody else's border to meet him like Kaunda, who has anyway conceded the principle that it's necessary to talk to the South Africans.

There are things we have to understand about South Africa. The whites either have to dismantle the apartheid system or there will be a revolution. But if there is a revolution against the Boers other states need to realize what the consequences will be.

The Boers cannot be compared with the Rhodesians or Portuguese. They are incredibly tough, and they won't sit idle if revolution comes. And we need to think whether there is any guarantee that a revolution will actually bring a majority to power. The consequences of revolution in South Africa will affect every state in the region. more

So it is better to have reform. People say the present reforms in South Africa are cosmetic, but who ever made a complete reform overnight? All of us in this region need reform rather than revolution, and it actually needs courage to make the first reform step. The first step will require a second step, and the second a third. If Botha continues with courage he is the one who will avoid a revolution.

Q: Would a Unita government permit Swapo to remain in Angola?

Savimbi: Swapo would not be allowed to have bases in Angola. I think it is a British saying that charity begins at home. So we are not going to sacrifice progress in Angola for Swapo. And anyway Swapo is not an Angolan responsibility: the Swapo problem is a problem for Africa or for the international community.

Why put all the weight of the problem on the Angolans? If Swapo have the backing of their own people they will not die because they have no bases in Angola.

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CAPE TIMES 11/1/84 (5)

Canada hits at SA on Angola

Political Staff

THE Canadian Government has expressed its profound concern to the South African Ambassador in Ottawa about the recent South African military actions in Angola.

This was announced by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr Allan J MacEachen, who is also the deputy Prime Minister.

A press statement issued by the Canadian Department of External Affairs said:

"The South African Ambassador was informed that the Government of Canada condemns the latest military operations which represent an escalation of violence in the area. Such actions can only increase the Angola Government's concern for its security and render it more dependent on outside assistance.

"It was emphasized that international boundaries and sovereignties must be respected if there is to be peace in Southern Angola. The Government of Canada calls on South Africa to end its illegal occupation of Southern Angola and Namibia and believes that this would be the most effective way of strengthening peace and security in the region.

"It further urges South Africa to abide by recent Security Council resolutions calling for the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola."

● Meanwhile, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday that 20 South African aircraft had bombed Caiundo, in the south-eastern Angolan province of Kuando-Kubango recently, killing four soldiers and a number of civilians.

An SADF spokesman said the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, had already stated that the SADF was withdrawing, "and we therefore have no comment to make on these allegations".

Angop said the Angolan 11th Infantry Brigade defending Cuvelai had knocked out four South African armoured cars and three tanks and had shot down three planes and a helicopter.

Swapo willing, with talk to AG

From IAN HOBBS in London and RICHARD WALKER in New York

SWAPO last night said they were willing to enter direct ceasefire talks with the Administrator-General in SWA/Namibia to bring an end to the war in the region.

A statement from Swapo headquarters in Luanda said they hoped Mr Pik Botha's recent offer of peace talks was genuine

The statement said: "The South African propaganda machinery has been telling the world, beginning the past weekend, that the regime is ready to have direct talks with Swapo, something which Pretoria has consistently refused to do hitherto."

"Swapo hopes that Pretoria is now serious and that its announcement that the so-called Administrator General, the colonial governer in Namibia, will meet Swapo for direct talks is genuine.

"We hope that the direct talks will not be a replay of the January 1981 Geneva talks when South Africa turned the conference into a public relations charade by instigating its Namibia puppets to hurl insults and abuses at Swapo, the United Nations and independent Africa."

Welcome

The statement added: "While Swapo has no intention to interfere into how the South African delegation will be composed, our standpoint is that the proposed talks are welcome and must strictly and fully deal with the issue of ceasefire.

"The identity in responsibility of political organizations are provided for in the provisions of UN Security Council Resolution 345, to whose implementation the ceasefire agreement must lead.

"The arena of exchange of views among Namibian political parties and organizations will be the election campaign period.

"Therefore, Swapo hopes that no issues unrelated to the proposed ceasefire should be injected into the proposed talks to which Swapo has agreed to participate."

A Swapo spokesman in London refused to say where or when the ceasefire talks would take place.

He said: "Nothing definite has been arranged. What we want to emphasise is that any ceasefire settlement must not be linked to the Cuban presence in Angola."

Fight

Swapo said; "Swapo would like to restate the fact, which it already has made public, that there were definitely no Swapo fighters involved in the one-month fight which the South African army unleashed against the Angolan military positions in the areas of Mulondo, Cuvelai, Kahama and Caiundo in southern Angola."

The statement added

To page 2

From page 1

"It is against this background that Swapo would like to re-emphasize the objective fact that Swapo armed cadres were most certainly not in any way involved in the recent fighting in southern Angola. The fight was strictly between the defending Angolan army and the invading South African forces."

But Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, Swapo's permanent observer at the UN, cautioned yesterday that it would need to be sure that the Administrator-General, Dr D W van Niekerk, was given a full mandate to negotiate a ceasefire tied to implementation of the independence plan.

The talks were not to be "merely a repeat of Geneva," the Swapo envoy said.

Last moment

Swapo's new gesture came as the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, postponed till the last moment reporting on the outcome of last Friday's Security Council call on South Africa to get out of Angola.

His report was being completed last night — his deadline was midnight — and will be issued today It will deal only with the withdrawal call and not with efforts towards a January 31 "disengagement" in the war zone. These efforts continue to intensify.

● Last night, Professor John Barratt, of the South African Institute for International Affairs, said in Johannesburg that Swapo "are obviously interested in something that could lead towards a ceasefire."

Prof Barratt said the statement was a response to one by Mr Pik Botha that the SA Government had no objection to Swapo talking to the SWA/Namibian administration.

'Jargon'

Prof Barratt said that "the type of words used and the jargon used might create problems ... we may have to treat the statement with caution.

"It might be an attempt by Swapo to show that they are not averse to discussion.

"The question is what is the motivation. It may be to create the impression about whether they are serious or not (about a ceasefire)."

He hoped the government "would try to assess the genuiness or otherwise of this reaction.

"It may well be the result of the military strike"

ker dies in ead-on crash

:aff Reporter

UNG motorcyclist lled in a head-on on with a vegeta- uck near the cor- f Main Road and ick Avenue, ont, early yester-

name is being eld until his had been told.

driver of the received leg injur- nd was taken to e Schuur Hospital.

n 80-year-old berg man, Mr John rdie Murray, was instantly when a being driven by his ter, Mrs Ina van sburg, 34, left a road overturned near Piketberg on Tuesday.

A police spokesman said Mrs Van Rensburg, of the farm Morester near Het Kruis, and her two daughters, Karina, 8, and Anna, 2, had been seriously injured in the accident about 6pm. They were taken to Tygerberg Hospital.

● A 76-year-old Willowmore man, Mr Johan Ferreira, was killed when a car left a gravel road between Willowmore and Barandas and overturned on Tuesday afternoon.

A police spokesman said the driver, Mrs A de Waal of Virginia, Orange Free State, had been slightly injured

Cape Times 12/11/84 A

From page 1

Schirnding.

The secretary-general's report cited an assertion by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, made on January 7, that South Africa was ready to take on "the whole world" if need be; and a statement by the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, made on January 8, that South African forces had begun to withdraw after having "reached their goal", and that Pretoria stood ready to negotiate with Luanda for "a lasting peace".

The secretary-general offered no conclusions of his own and undertook merely to continue to monitor the situation closely.

However, the Soviet Union had an earlier Tass statement published as an official Security Council document.

This hailed Angola's January 4 proposal as "timely and well-justified", and demanded "an end to all South African acts of aggression, both direct and indirect, against Angola".

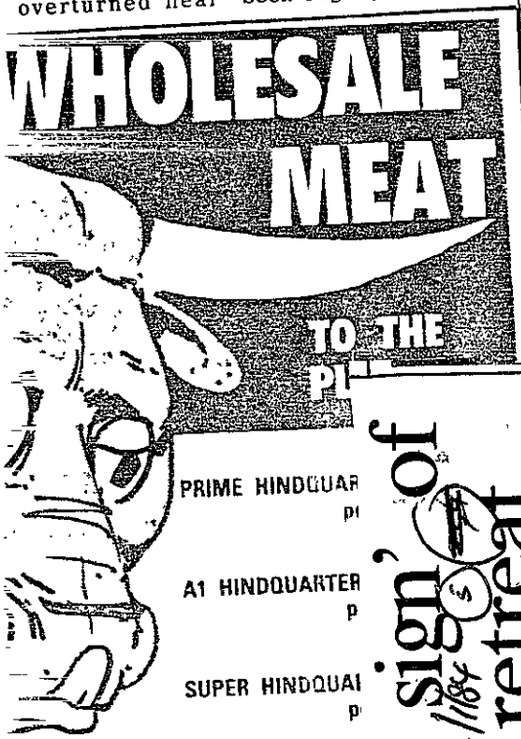
The Soviet statement interpreted the reply of the Angolan President, Mr Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, to South Africa's earlier "disengagement" offer, as proposals "to put an end to the military operations in Angola, to remove the South African invaders from that area, and at long last to set about the practical implementation of a political settlement in Namibia" in accordance with the 1978 plan for UN-supervised elections.

The statement also asserted that "aggression must not go unpunished" and that "urgent and concerted international efforts" were needed to eliminate a dangerous situation sparked by South Africa's "racist leaders and their backers".

Cubans

The statement did not deal with the South African demand that Cuban forces withdraw from Angola as part of any SWA/Namibian settlement

The secretary-general's report also steered clear of the SWA/Namibia issue and did not touch on the truce offers, or Swapo's declared readiness to discuss a settlement ceasefire with the SWA/Namibian administrator-general



'No sign of SA retreat'

Cape Times 12/11/84

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, said yesterday Angola had informed him that there were no signs of the announced withdrawal of South African troops from its territory.

After waiting until the Tuesday midnight deadline to report back on South Africa's response to last Friday's Security Council demand that it get out and stay out of Angola, the secretary-general said there had been "no fundamental change in the military situation and no signs of withdrawal of South African armed forces from Angolan territory".

A spokesman for the South African Defence Force said in Pretoria last night that South Africans and the South West African Territory Force were still in the process of withdrawing from Angola.

"This process has been delayed by virtually impassable roads and swampy conditions after the recent rains," he said.

The UN chief said South Africa had declined to respond formally to the council demand, which it had rejected. But he had met twice with the South African Ambassador, Mr Kurt von

To page 2

magazine reported yesterday

The Bonner Energie Report, a specialist oil and energy monthly, quoted high Soviet diplomatic sources as saying that although Mr Andropov was not bedridden, he was able to work only about two days a week. — Sapa-AP

explains his SA support

5 Star 12/1/84

Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi makes no secret of, and offers no apology for, the support he admits he receives from South Africa.

"We had no choice other than to accept South African help. Unless you consider accepting domination by the Russians and Cubans as a choice?

"We could either accept being crushed or we could resist. To resist we had to resist with the help of somebody," he said in an interview at his base in south-east Angola.

Mr Savimbi makes the point that Unita also receives help from a number of Arab countries, including Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Egypt, where a Unita pilot has recently been trained.

He declines to name black African countries which give Unita support, but they include neighbouring Zaire and Zambia, where the link man between Unita and President Kenneth Kaunda is former Foreign Minister Rupiah Banda.

Unita currently controls the entire 1 100 km Angolan border with Zambia and also 320 km of border with Zaire.

The Angolan Government maintains that Unita is a puppet group — an arm of the South African Defence Force.

But, strongly though Unita depends on South African supplies, this is too simplistic an analysis.

Unita was founded almost 20 years ago to fight the Portuguese at a time when Lisbon was in alliance with Pretoria against all African liberation movements.

Essentially, Unita is an African nationalist movement whose leader counts Che Guevara and Mao Tse-tung among his old friends and mentors.

Convenience

But the movement has entered a marriage of convenience with South Africa based on a coincidence of geo-political interests.

"The South Africans are thinking in terms of a strategy against the Russian, Cubans, and Swapo," said Mr Savimbi. "They found that by supporting Unita they could stop these people from influencing things in Namibia."

The Unita leader believes that if the Cubans withdrew from Angola the South Africans would have no choice other than to withdraw from Namibia.

"Sooner or later the international community will have to come to terms with the fact that, while the Cubans remain in Angola, the South Africans will use it as an excuse for not leaving Namibia.

"If the Cubans leave Angola, the South Africans will have to relinquish Namibia. They will no longer have any excuse. So the Cubans can win freedom for Namibia tomorrow by going home to Havana."

I saw no evidence in central Angola that Unita and South African forces are fighting together. But South African operations in Cunene Province undoubtedly help Unita by pinning down government troops which might otherwise be directed against the rebels.

And, although both Unita and the SADF deny it, it is hard to believe the two do not exchange intelligence.

Further, although Unita maintains a large guerilla force in Cunene Province, it has never offered to take Western journalists to the area to prove beyond speculation that the rebels are not benefiting directly from the South African offensive into the district.

Demanded

I put it to Mr Savimbi that surely the South Africans had demanded something from Unita in return for support.

"Well, the South Africans never asked me to sign any document. But we are conscious of the fact that since they are giving us aid they hope for co-operation in the future. It is a law of life."

So what co-operation would he give them?

"Friendship. I think that is what they want. I would invite (the Prime Minister) Mr Botha to my own capital and receive him as head of state.

"Kaunda meets him on other people's borders, but I will challenge him on my own ground. And when he visits me I will not, I cannot, become less black than I am already.

"And because I am willing to talk to South Africa does not mean I believe in apartheid. I cannot. Things must change in South Africa. There are two ways things can change there — through reform or revolution.

"But I tell you that if there is a revolution against the Boers (sic) the consequences will be unpredictable.

"Those people are incredibly tough. They cannot be compared to the Portuguese or the Rhodesians. There is no guarantee that a revolution in South Africa would give power to a majority.

"A revolution in the Republic will spill over into the rest of Southern and Central Africa in unpredictable ways. So I think reforms are better in South Africa.

"People say the current reforms are cosmetic, but it needs courage to take the first step. No reform was ever completed overnight, but a first step requires a second step, and a second a third."

It is controversial political thinking like this which illustrates the importance of the struggle in Angola.

Committed

The present government is committed to the philosophy of "total onslaught" against South Africa, giving shelter to Swapo guerillas and also to guerillas of the African National Congress.

The consequences so far have been onslaught in the reverse direction.

Mr Savimbi is committed to dialogue with Pretoria and a peaceful evolution of South Africa's internal policies. He believes that if he comes to power in Angola, then neighbouring Zaire, Zambia, Botswana and, in due course, Zimbabwe, would go along with such a policy.

It would give each country the opportunity it needs to concentrate on development, he argues, and it would not hinder the inevitable collapse of apartheid from its own inherent contradictions and internal South African pressures.



Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi (centre) with two of his senior officers in the giant rebel base about 160 km north of the Namibian border in south-east Angola. The base stretches for kilometres on either side of a long central avenue lined by metal poles carrying electricity and telephone wires. Among the facilities being built at the base is a floodlit indoor sports stadium.

No peace in sight as all sides stand firm on principles

In international terms Angola is important because Soviet and Cuban prestige is at stake.

Ideologically there is a fundamental clash between the government's Marxist-Leninist belief that a complete transformation of Angolan society must be brought about with the industrial proletariat as the vanguard, and Unita's belief that the central aim must be an agricultural revolution which recognises the importance of the rural peasant majority and respect for traditional culture and values.

A Cuban and Soviet withdrawal from Angola would have unpredictable consequences for their prestige on the African continent and globally.

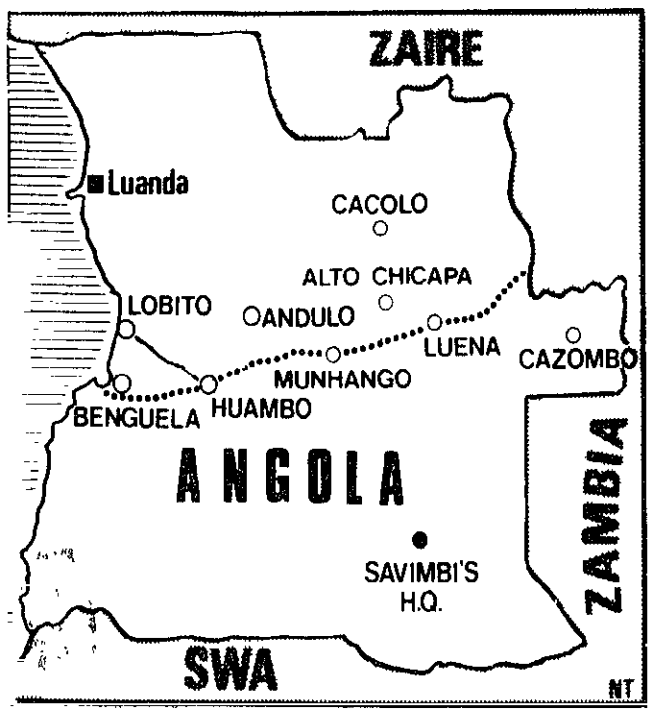
It is hard, therefore, to believe they will relinquish their tenuou on the country easily.

It is equally hard to imagine the South Africans will back down on their stand over the future of Namibia or that the rebels will give up their fight.

So the prospects for Angola in 1984 are for increased bloodshed.

All those peasants and workers, for whom everyone expresses such concern, had better save their dreams of peace.

Savimbi stand on





Czechoslovak hostages pose for a group photograph in the Unita base in south-east Angola. The rebel movement has warned foreign countries not to send their nationals to Angola to help the government. Unita has used the capture of foreigners in the country as a propaganda ploy.

12/1/84

Swapo 'petulant and provocative'

SA rejects ceasefire talks offer

By TONY WEAVER
Mail Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK.

THE South African Government has rejected Swapo's offer of direct negotiations to secure a South West African ceasefire because of the "petulant" and "provocative" language used by the movement in agreeing to direct talks.

And the Administrator-General of SWA, Dr Willie van Niekerk, who would have headed a South African delegation to the talks if they had come off, yesterday fully identified himself with the South African stance, revealed in a statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik botha, in Pretoria last night.

Earlier, in response to a statement by Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, that Swapo would welcome talks on a ceasefire, Mr Botha had said he saw no problems with such talks.

He added that such talks could be conducted by a delegation led by Dr Van Niekerk.

But yesterday's statement has dashed all hopes of talks on a ceasefire, and the beginning of the end of the 17-year-old SWA bush war, which has so far claimed over 10 000 lives.

The statement labelled Swapo "provocative" and "petulant".

Mr Botha's statement stressed he had not seen the Swapo statement, released late on Tuesday night in New York and London, and was relying on Press reports of the statement.

Judging by the Press reports, Mr Botha said, "Swapo has chosen to make cheap propaganda points in its response to South Africa's indication that it would have no objection to discussions between Swapo and a delegation led by the Administrator-General.

"In its handling of this matter, the South African Government deliberately refrained from derogatory remarks. It is disappointing that Swapo has reacted in such a petulant manner."

Mr Botha said it was not South Africa who had asked for the talks, but Swapo itself, and his first response was merely a reaction to Mr Nujoma's first statement.

"However, if Swapo chooses to respond in such a provocative manner to South Africa's efforts to find a peaceful solution to the SWA/Namibian question, then the South African Government cannot see much point in continuing with this exercise," Mr Botha said.

It is believed Mr Botha was referring in particular to references in the Swapo statement — telexed to the Mail Africa Bureau in Windhoek yesterday — to the "South African propaganda machinery has also been telling the world that the regime is ready to have direct talks with Swapo".

The Swapo statement added that "Swapo hopes that Pretoria is now serious, that its announcement that the so-called Administrator-General, the colonial governor of Namibia, will meet Swapo for direct talks is genuine."

The movement added it hoped the talks would not be a repeat of the 1981 Geneva talks, "when South Africa turned the conference into a public relations charade by instigating its Namibian puppets to hurl abuse and insults and abuse at Swapo, the UN and independent Africa".

The statement also stressed that the only topic for discussion at the talks should be the calling of a ceasefire and the subsequent implementation of UN Resolution 435, the UN's blueprint for SWA independence.

Meanwhile in Windhoek, leaders of two of the most prominent internal black nationalist parties rejected a suggestion that they could form part of a delegation under Dr Van Niekerk should the talks ever take place.

Mr Andreas Shipanga, leader of the Swapo Democrats, said the "AG represents South Africa and is therefore part of the problem, whereas we are part of the solution."

Mr Moses Katjiuongua, leader of Swanu, said "the AG is a colonial ruler and we are an oppressed organisation.

"We could never go into talks as part of a delegation representing the colonial power."

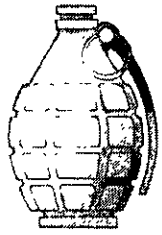
Both leaders stressed they would be prepared to talk with Swapo independently of South Africa.

Swapo has vowed to "intensify the liberation struggle" in SWA, following South Africa's rejection of its offer of direct negotiations to end the war.

Reacting to Mr Botha's rejection of the Swapo offer of direct ceasefire talks yesterday, Mr Jacob Hammai, deputy Swapo spokesman in London, said: "If South Africa is not prepared to enter into talks leading to a ceasefire, we have no alternative but to intensify the liberation struggle."

DIPLOMACY

The message from Cuvelai



Russia's warning to Pretoria on Angola confirms SA's role as *the* power in southern Africa. The implications are far-reaching.

Unprecedented. There's no other word to describe Russia's direct warning to Pretoria to lay off the shaky Marxist regime in Luanda. That the Soviets should have chosen to deliver their warning, eyeball to eyeball, has several important implications for the military-political future of southern Africa.

For a start, the status of South Africa as a regional power of some magnitude has effectively been conceded at the highest diplomatic level. This, of course, should not encourage our military planners to adventurism: striking sparks off the granite edifices of Russia's far-flung empire is one thing; a head-on collision would be quite another. But it must surely please Pretoria that it has managed to rattle the strategists in the Kremlin.

There is another point. While the armed potential of a nation like Russia — and, for that matter, America — is awesome and vast, the very size of its commitments serve to weaken that potential. Extended supply lines, debt burdens in the satellites, internecine power struggles around Andropov, the reliance on surrogate troops whose loyalties must become suspect the longer any regional conflict lasts — all these mean that Moscow is subject to the normal ailments and attritions of any empire.

That means that, in the right circumstances, a relatively small country like SA can successfully — even if, in a worst-case scenario, only temporarily — upset Soviet plans for hegemony over entire tracts of Africa. And, in this case, it is being done as a component of what Pretoria sees as securing its legitimate national interests.

This leads directly into the grey area of where the boundaries of national interest may be said to lie. The liberal *New York Times*, for one, has no doubt that SA is acting illegitimately. "Instead of disengaging (from Namibia)," it writes, "it looks to be digging in indefinitely and is spending US$1,5 billion a year to make war on Namibian guerrillas based in neighbouring Angola — who say they are ready to participate in internationally supervised elections to apportion power in an independent Namibia.

"But because the insurgents' political arm, the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), would probably win that vote, Pretoria has stalled every effort to end the war fairly. And now SA insists that a settlement is contingent on Angolan agreement to rid itself of 20 000 Cubans."

Linkage issue

This is not only naive *vis-à-vis* the real reasons for the presence of the Cubans (to prop up the non-elected Dos Santos regime in Luanda), but it is also false. It was, in the first place, the US which "linked" a Cuban withdrawal to a Namibian settlement.

SA may well have seized upon that linkage with delight, since it cannot readily contemplate the prospect of a repeat of the Angolan experience in Namibia, where it has deep and lasting economic links and a still not-inconsiderable group of kith and kin. But it is, under the Ronald Reagan administration, a stated goal of US foreign policy to put an end to appeasement of the Soviet Union. That will remain so until the *New York Times* runs foreign policy.

The hammering of Swapo's infrastructure was designed to pre-empt the annual rainy-season incursion. The immediate intent, therefore, was not to prevent a peaceful settlement but to save villagers from murder. This, in turn, is part of a broader strategy of supplying a ring of steel behind which political adjustments, reforms and accommodations can take place without disruptions. If they do not take place — well, that is another question, and one not really germane to any reading of the recent Angolan operation.

In all this, the true attitude of the US needs to be assessed. There are some indications that Washington is, on the face of it, furious with Pretoria for talking to the Russians at all. The *FM*'s correspondent in the capital reports that the State Department has made explicit protests to Pretoria and has effectively forbidden any further meetings between SA and Russia on American soil.

In fact, what the exercise has shown is that SA is capable of taking a divergent line from America on the world diplomatic stage when it feels it is closer to the facts on the ground. An implication is that reliance on US support in the United Nations and in the Namibian negotiations does not make SA an American client state.

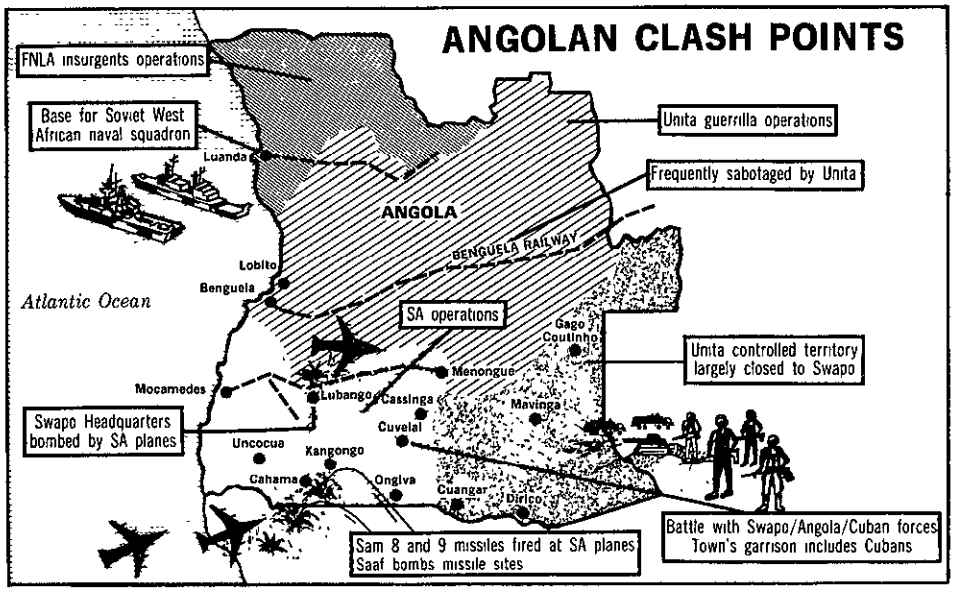
And there is some reason to think that, short of a Soviet and Angolan backdown leading to a Cuban withdrawal — which would be a major diplomatic coup — the present impasse in Namibia/Angola suits Washington well enough. It ties up, in a fairly remote area of the world, Soviet facilities and Cuban troops that could more dangerously be deployed elsewhere — in Central America, for example, on Washington's doorstep.

Moral charges

And it is South Africans, not Americans, who have to do the fighting — and dying. In terms of *realpolitik* in a US election year, such a situation is preferable to that prevailing in the Lebanon. So while moral charges are being levelled against SA for its actions in Angola, they lack any fundamental force. The world doesn't work that way.

In fact, the Russian warning that it will prevent the toppling of the MPLA regime — and the counter-rejection by SA — does not in any way change the *status quo* in either Angola or Namibia. Washington, surely, knows that.

However, it would seem that SA used the meeting with the Soviets to send Washing-



ton a strong, if implicit, message. This is, simply put, that Pretoria is weary of double standards in the West about the Namibian/Angolan tangle. If it is legitimate to strangle Soviet ambitions in Grenada at birth, why not equally so in southern Africa?

The answer, of course, is that SA's apartheid policies make it an uncomfortable ally for the West — though an ally nonetheless. Pretoria would like to see less hypocrisy on this issue and has backed up its diplomatic position with military force. That is the burden of reality.

So the message is that SA would like the support it needs, and feels that it deserves. The West is being told that, acting as a regional power, SA may otherwise seek its own face-to-face solutions, with its own security interests paramount. With subtle shadings, these interests are, in fact, those of the West.

The other side of that coin is the message to Russia — that there can be no easy victories in Africa. Military sources in Pretoria were, as it happens, surprised at Angolan and Cuban reaction to the anti-Swapo operation. In previous actions, SA troops have passed close to Fapla (Angolan army) bases without drawing any reaction. This time, they were assailed by Angolans and Cubans near the town of Cuvelai, and SAAF aircraft were fired upon by missiles that were probably handled by Cubans or East Germans.

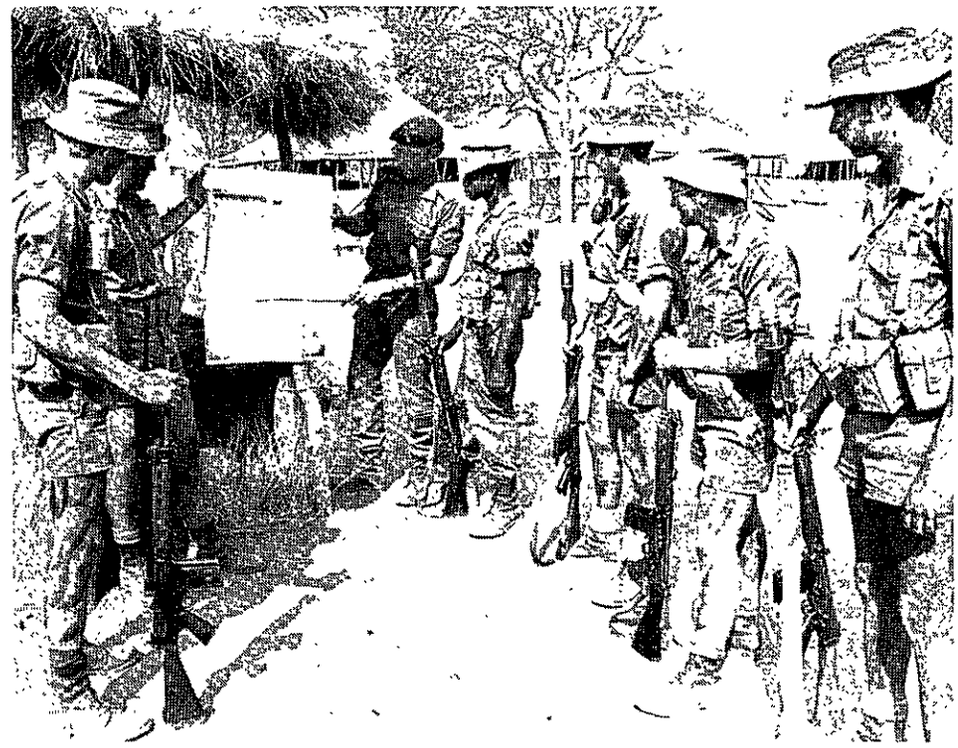
Intensified fighting

Observers believe the intervention was at the behest of Moscow, which maintains a dominant position on the military committee that oversees Angolan military activity. In addition, the Angolan military supremo, Iko Carreira, is widely regarded as Moscow's man.

If Moscow is, indeed, adopting a tougher line in Angola, it could point to intensified fighting in any future operations. It has been pointed out that, in previous incursions, such as Operation Protea, the fighting was basically "wrapped up" within two days. On this occasion, the Cuvelai battle alone went on for from three to four days, and some observers maintain it will, in future, be seen as the SADF's major Angolan battle.

But while harder fighting might lie ahead, Russia's options in Angola remain limited — as the SA operation has again emphatically demonstrated. Indeed, there are some observers who see little sense in the Soviets' warning to SA. According to Bernhard Weimer of West Germany's Ebenhausen Research Institute for International Affairs and Security: "I would not see much substance in this Russian approach. It could supply Angola with more arms and Cubans, but that would only prolong the stalemate. The USSR does not have the political options open to the Americans.

"Even the question of additional arms is difficult. Angola spent half its foreign exchange buying arms in 1981 and has a large stockpile which is under-used. In addition, Angola is trying to woo Western countries. So I cannot see the Russians being able to do much about their warning to SA."



Operational area scene ... striking sparks off Soviet granite



On duty ... defining security parameters

James Mayall, senior analyst of the Department of International Affairs at the London School of Economics, agrees. He says: "So far the Russian policy has been not to get directly involved in Angola because they could not afford to lose and would risk a confrontation with the West. There is no obvious gain for them in this."

In the meantime, any ploughing-in of more armaments to Angola is simply likely to see them ending up in SA hands.

So, intensified military operations and dire warnings notwithstanding, negotiations on Namibia/Angola are not stalled. But this is because of, not despite, SA's use of *force majeure* to define its security parameters. Swapo's request to UN Secretary General Xavier Perez de Cuellar to organise a ceasefire meeting with SA indicates a new flexibility born of the renewed prospect of an unwinnable war.

In the wider context, SA's negotiations with Mozambique are partly designed to demonstrate to Angola the efficacy of regional co-operation on Pretoria's terms. Mozambique is a major supporter of the Luanda regime.

So SA's determination to act as the major regional power she undoubtedly is, and to use military force where necessary, is showing results. The policy has manifest dangers. But, as Foreign Minister Pik Botha has indicated, SA will accept those dangers in defence of what she sees as her vital interests.

SA holds Cuban PoW: Red Cross mercy visit

Mail Correspondent

GENEVA. — International Red Cross delegates yesterday visited a Cuban prisoner of war captured by South African forces during the recent incursion into Angola.

A spokeswoman for the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva said it had been officially told 10 days ago about the Cuban prisoner — believed to have been captured shortly after fighting began.

The spokeswoman declined to identify the prisoner, or say where he was being held. She said the Cuban Government had been told of his capture.

Red Cross delegates have asked the South African authorities to confirm Press reports that a number of Angolan and Swapo prisoners are also being held.

There has so far been no reply.

The MPLA government in the Angolan capital, Luanda, has told the Red Cross it is holding a Namibian soldier taken prisoner during the latest incursion.

He is believed to be a member of the South West Africa Territorial Force.

The Red Cross has asked to visit him.

Meanwhile, Swapo yesterday called on the international community to take note of South Africa's "blunt and arrogant refusal" to comply with the United Nations' plan for South West African independence, reports Sapa.

It said Pretoria was clearly not interested in a ceasefire within the terms of that plan.

Responding to the statement issued yesterday by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, in which he rebuffed Swapo's conditional agreement to hold direct ceasefire talks, Swapo's West European information officer, Mr Peter Manning, said in London:

"Mr Botha has clarified the position of the racist South African regime on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

"It is clearly not interested in the ceasefire in terms of Resolution 435 — the agreed procedure for ending the regime's illegal occupation of Namibia — of having it properly monitored by the UN as provided for in that resolution, or in genuine independence for Namibia.

"The international community should take note of its blunt and arrogant refusal to comply with Security Council Resolution 435, the UN plan for elections in Namibia."

On Tuesday, Swapo said it was prepared to meet a South African delegation

But it set as a condition the demand that the ceasefire must be the first step in implementing the UN plan, which the South African Government has said it will not do until Cuban forces leave Angola

On Wednesday, Mr Botha said

"If Swapo chooses to respond in such a provocative manner to South Africa's efforts to find a peaceful solution to the South West African question, then the South African Government cannot see much point in continuing with this exercise." — Sapa.

SADF pulling out — Shultz

Cape Times 13/1/84

(5)

NEW YORK. — South African withdrawal from Angola is "in process right now," the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, said yesterday.

He told a news conference that Washington was hoping that South Africa's "unilateral withdrawal" would be the signal for others to act also.

Angola, which this week reported to the United Nations that there were "no signs" of a South African withdrawal, has suggested that it depended on South Africa making the first move.

Not dealt with in the public Angolan responses has been Luanda's support for Swapo and its Cuban forces, whose withdrawal remains a South African condition for settling the SWA/Namibia question.

● In London Swapo yesterday called on the international community to take note of South Africa's "blunt and arrogant refusal" to comply with the United Nations plan for SWA/Namibian independence and said Pretoria was clearly not interested in a ceasefire within the terms of that plan.

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"The international community should take note of its blunt and arrogant refusal to comply with Security Council Resolution 435, the UN plan for elections in Namibia."

Meanwhile, the MPLA government in the Angolan capital, Luanda, has told the Red Cross that it is holding a SWA/Namibian soldier.

● Angolan Government troops killed 13 Unita guerillas and destroyed a Unita camp in the southern Benguela province during the first week of January, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday. — Own Correspondent, Sapa and Sapa-Reuter

Murray, W.A.

The Health Status of the Poor Whites

~~Results of the First Carnegie~~

~~Inquiry into Poor Whites~~

Report of the Carnegie Commission

Pro-Ecclesia - Drukkery, The Avenue

Stellenbosch 1932

Red Cross visits Cuban captured by SA

Star
13/1/84

By Sheryl Raine,
Pretoria Bureau

Local Red Cross delegates yesterday visited a Cuban prisoner of war captured during South Africa's recent incursion into southern Angola.

A spokesman for the Internal Committe of the Red Cross said today the delegates who visited the prisoner were from Pretoria.

"We are hoping to visit other prisoners captured during the operation, but are waiting replies to our requests from the South African authorities," the spokesman said.

South African forces are believed to have captured several Angolan and Swapo fighters in recent weeks.

The Department of Foreign Affairs refused to comment when asked today how many prisoners of war were being held and where.

An announcement may be made later today.

The Red Cross has requested permission from the MPLA government in Luanda to visit the Namibian soldier taken prisoner in Angola during recent operations.

He is believed to br Mr Petrus Kandjende of the SWA Teritory force.

Rain may hit cricket

Mail Reporter

THE cricket Test at the Wanderers might be interrupted by periodic thundershowers this weekend, according to the Weather Bureau in Pretoria.

The weatherman said yesterday that the high temperatures experienced during the past few days would drop and cooler weather was on the way in.



was out caught by Trotman off

Secret Red guns found by SADF

14/1/84

By CHRIS OLCKERS

SOUTH AFRICA is holding several prisons of war, including at least one Cuban caught during its latest seek and destroy operation against Swapo in Southern Angola.

The SADF scored a major intelligence coup for the West when it troops operating in the area found three 30mm automatic grenade launchers of a type which is completely unknown to western defence forces

The gun, known as the AGS 17, is used by Russian troops in Afghanistan and is only available at this stage to elite Russian squadrons and in East Germany.

Combined with the fact that the SADF had successfully bombed radar-controlled SAM8 and SAM9 installations during Operation Askari and the capture of the grenade launchers, have proved that the Russians are sending its most sophisticated weaponry to Angola for use by both FAPLA and Swapo.

It was also revealed yesterday, during a trip into Angola for South African military correspondents and members of the foreign Press corps, that the South African forces attacking a Swapo base at Cuvelai, were outgunned, outnumbered and outmanned by at least five to one.

The combined forces of Swapo, Fapla, Cubans and Russian advisers fled after fierce battles of a conventional nature which the South African Security Forces had not planned.

South Africa lost 21 men during the operation with one member of the South West African Territorial Forces reported captured The combined loss on enemy side was at least 500.

The Officer Commanding of SAWAT, Maj-Gen George Meiring, said that several prisoners of war had been taken by South African forces but he did not know when, or if, arrangements were being made for a swop.

He told the Pressmen at Evali, 120km inside Angola, that the security forces had captured a large amount of weapons including anti-aircraft guns, landmine planting vehicles, recoil anti-tank weapons and scores of weapons previously captured during anti-Swapo operations.

Gen Meiring said that South African and SAWAT forces would have completed their withdrawal from Angola by tomorrow night, January 15.

Answering questions, he said that the Unita had not become involved in any of the contacts with the enemy.

He said that it was possible that civilians could become involved in crossfire between security forces and the enemy but that the only civilian casualty they had come across was an Angolan man who had been run over by a Russian T54 tank.

Pressmen were shown maps drawn and written by Russians which had been captured at Cuvelai The maps show that the combined Fapla and Swapo bases at the town were being run by Russian advisers

Amongst the items were communist propaganda, praising ailing Russian President Yuri Andropov

The general said that combined Fapla and Cuban forces with Russian advisers had become involved in the battle between security forces and Swapo at Cuvelai

He said that a unit of Russian tanks were sent in against the SADF forces who had not planned becoming involved in a conventional confrontation. The battle against the tanks was won by the personnel carriers known as Ratels.

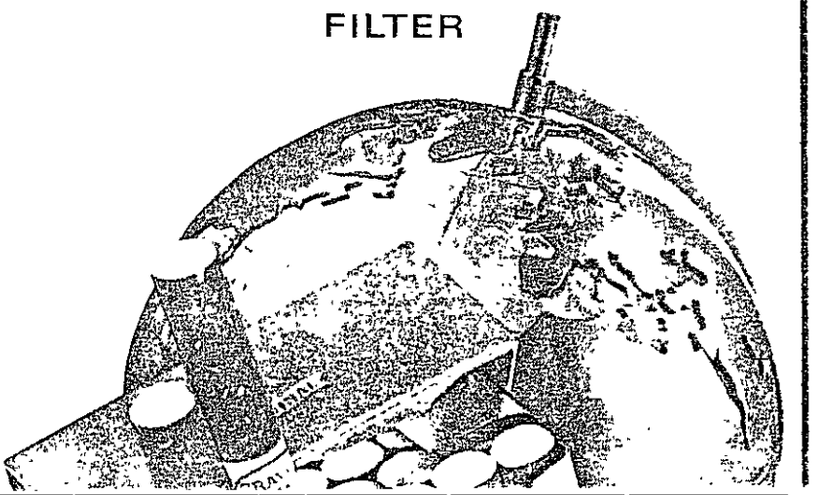
Only one Ratel was lost when it became trapped in a minefield and was attacked by a Russian T54 tank. Five South African soldiers died when their Ratel was hit by tank fire

World-famous

CRAVEN "A"

Menthol

FILTER



Supreme Court clears newsman

By J S MOJAPELO
Pretoria Bureau

A SOWETO journalist and three men convicted and sentenced under the Internal Security Act were sent to jail for a non-existent offence, the Pretoria Supreme Court found yesterday.

Journalist Joseph Nong Thloloe, 41, of Pimville, Soweto; Mr Sipho Moffat Ngcobo, 29, of Soweto; Mr Nhlanganiso Sibanda, 27, of Alexandra and Mr Steven Si-

Why did 21 SA troops die in Angola?

CAPE TIMES 14/1/84



The Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN GILIOMEE

WHEN a former head of military intelligence criticizes the South African Defence Force for its failure to communicate properly with the public one can be certain that something serious has gone wrong.

Referring to the latest round of fighting in southern Angola in which 21 South African troops died, General H de V du Toit warned that the military was putting at risk the public's loyalty and the "indispensable support of the national will" by not making a timeous and adequate announcement about the operations.

General Du Toit was commenting on the need to inform the public when South Africa is fighting Inevitably the same applies to the matter of why South Africa is fighting.

Two questions

Put differently, two questions have recently arisen with respect to the war in South Africa's north-western frontier zone.

Will the SADF continue to maintain the trust of the white public and the parents of the citizens' army if they are ill-informed about where and when and against whom their sons are fighting and dying?

Secondly, will that trust stay intact even if the perception grows that South Africa is becoming trapped in a sterile, no-win, Vietnam-like conflict on and beyond its borders, one that will exact a steadily rising toll in money and lives?



A scene after the battle during one of South Africa's previous incursions into Angola.

Since the South African invasion of Angola in 1975 the white South African public has shown little opposition to the spreading war on and beyond the country's borders. According to a reliable overseas newspaper South Africa has effectively occupied a substantial area of southern Angola since 1981. Yet, apart from one or two newspapers, few have asked publicly what South Africa was doing there or whether it was in our interests to stay there.

'National will'

The passivity of the public is not difficult to explain. Firstly the death toll has not been high — an average of about 50 whites a year. Secondly it is a public which generally believes the talk about a total (Russian) onslaught and wants the government to use all available measures to stamp out any threat in the region regardless of whether this violates international law or alienates the West.

Yet, as General Du Toit's statement implies, the support of the not consider Namibia (or, for that matter, Angola!) as a white last ditch where South Africa has to fight to prevent a war on its own soil.

Increasingly opinion-formers and the general public want to know whether the fighting in Angola serves a purpose in that both immediate and long-term objectives are being met.

Swapo sweep

On the basis of available evidence one can state that South Africa pursued three immediate objectives in its latest operation in Angola: to thwart a Swapo sweep into Namibia, to force Angola to stop supporting Swapo and thirdly to help the South African agent, Dr Jonas Savimbi, either to topple the MPLA government in Luanda or to become a senior partner in a new government of national unity.

But these immediate objectives are only a means to an end. This end is a generally accepted settlement in Namibia which will help to stabilize the region

It is precisely at this point that growing doubts are surfacing as to whether South Africa is achieving its objec- fensive on Namibia and is increasingly nervous about shielding South Africa or playing its mediating role. Once the Reagan administration is gone we will stand alone.

Even that is a price South Africa can pay as long as it attains its goals. But what is being achieved by the fighting in Angola? It is no longer credible to maintain that Swapo can be eliminated Even if Swapo is dealt heavy blows it keeps on coming back every year.

Abraham Lincoln once said a wise thing which every frontier administrator in South African history will confirm The difficult thing is not to thrash the enemy, but to keep it thrashed. The Russian involvement seems to make it impossible to keep Swapo thrashed

But even more important, it does not look as if South Africa is coming any nearer to a settlement in Namibia.

Everyone knows that Swapo will win a free election. At the same time the fighting has gone on for so long that a viable internal settlement, which excludes Swapo, is no longer a real prospect.

High cost

The time has come to ask a simple but vital question: Why is South Africa fighting this war in Angola?

Apart from the human lives lost, the cost seems staggeringly high — the alienation of Western support and a war bill of nearly R1 billion a year at a time when inflation is running rampant and when the government needs every cent to make the new constitutional dispensation work.

Why did 21 South African troops die in the last month in Angola?

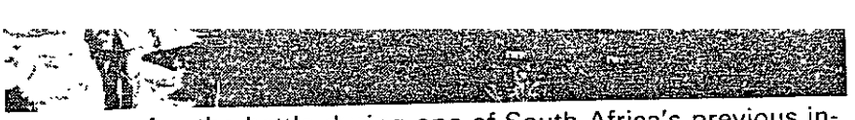
ter of why South Africa is fighting.

Two questions

Put differently, two questions have recently arisen with respect to the war in South Africa's north-western frontier zone.

Will the SADF continue to maintain the trust of the white public and the parents of the citizens' army if they are ill-informed about where and when and against whom their sons are fighting and dying?

Secondly, will that trust stay intact even if the perception grows that South Africa is becoming trapped in a sterile, no-win, Vietnam-like conflict on and beyond its borders, one that will exact a steadily rising toll in money and lives?



A scene after the battle during one of South Africa's previous incursions into Angola.

Since the South African invasion of Angola in 1975 the white South African public has shown little opposition to the spreading war on and beyond the country's borders. According to a reliable overseas newspaper South Africa has effectively occupied a substantial area of southern Angola since 1981. Yet, apart from one or two newspapers, few have asked publicly what South Africa was doing there or whether it was in our interests to stay there.

'National will'

The passivity of the public is not difficult to explain. Firstly the death toll has not been high — an average of about 50 whites a year. Secondly it is a public which generally believes the talk about a total (Russian) onslaught and wants the government to use all available measures to stamp out any threat in the region regardless of whether this violates international law or alienates the West.

Yet, as General Du Toit's statement implies, the support of the "national will" cannot be taken for granted. It is my impression that the general public does not consider Namibia (or, for that matter, Angola!) as a white last ditch where South Africa has to fight to prevent a war on its own soil.

Increasingly opinion-formers and the general public want to know whether the fighting in Angola serves a purpose in that both immediate and long-term objectives are being met.

Swapo sweep

On the basis of available evidence one can state that South Africa pursued three immediate objectives in its latest operation in Angola: to thwart a Swapo sweep into Namibia, to force Angola to stop supporting Swapo and thirdly to help the South African agent, Dr Jonas Savimbi, either to topple the MPLA government in Luanda or to become a senior partner in a new government of national unity.

But these immediate objectives are only a means to an end. This end is a generally accepted settlement in Namibia which will help to stabilize the region.

It is precisely at this point that growing doubts are surfacing as to whether South Africa is achieving its objectives in the war on our north-western borders. South Africa, it is true, has had considerable success in forcing the governments on our north-eastern borders, particularly Mozambique, to meet its demands — after subjecting them to considerable pressure.

Internationalized

But Angola is not Mozambique. South Africa could exert pressure on Mozambique or a Lesotho without a real international outcry. However, Namibian independence is a live international issue and because of that the war on our north-western border has become internationalized.

Russia has invested 20 000 Cubans and a considerable amount of prestige in Angola and will not allow the MPLA government to be toppled or pushed around too much.

The West is on the defensive on Namibia and is increasingly nervous about shielding South Africa or playing its mediating role. Once the Reagan administration is gone we will stand alone.

Even that is a price South Africa can pay as long as it attains its goals. But what is being achieved by the fighting in Angola? It is no longer credible to maintain that Swapo can be

High cost

The time has come to ask a simple but vital question: Why is South Africa fighting this war in Angola?

Apart from the human lives lost, the cost seems staggeringly high — the alienation of Western support and a war bill of nearly R1 billion a year at a time when inflation is running rampant and when the government needs every cent to make the new constitutional dispensation work.

Why did 21 South African troops die in the last month in Angola?

SADF brings back PoWs, 'new' weapon

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa is holding several prisoners of war including at least one Cuban caught during its latest seek-and-destroy operation against Swapo in Southern Angola.

The SADF scored a major intelligence coup for the West when its troops operating in the area found three 30mm automatic grenade launchers.

The gun, known as the AGS 17, is used by Russian troops in Afghanistan and was previously thought to be used only by elite Russian squadrons and in East Germany.

The finding of this weapon and as well as radar-controlled Sam8 and Sam9 installations indicates that Russia is sending its most sophisticated weapons only to Angola for use by both Fapla and Swapo.

It was also revealed yesterday, during a trip into Angola for South African military correspondents and members of the foreign press corps, that the South African forces attacking a Swapo base at Cuvelai, were out-gunned, and outnumbered by at least five to one.

Fierce battles

The combined forces of Swapo, Fapla, Cubans and Russian advisers fled after fierce battles of a conventional nature which the South African forces had not planned on.

South Africa lost 21 men during the operation with one member of the SWATF reported captured. The combined loss on the enemy side was at least 500.

The Officer Commanding the SWATF, Major-General George Meiring, said that several prisoners of war had been taken by South African forces but he did not know when, or if, arrangements were being made for a swop.

He told the pressmen at Evali, 120km inside Angola, that the security forces had captured a large number of weapons including anti-aircraft guns, landmine planting vehicles and anti-tank weapons.

General Meiring said South African and SWATF forces would have completed their withdrawal from Angola by tomorrow night.

Answering questions, he said that the Unita had not become involved in any of the contacts with the enemy.

Civilian

He said that it was possible that civilians could become involved in crossfire between security forces and the enemy but that the only civilian casualty they had come across was an Angolan man who had been run over by a Russian T54 tank.

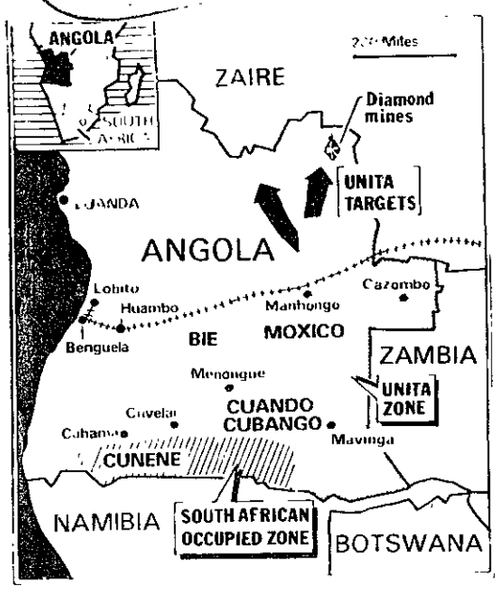
Pressmen were shown maps drawn up by Russians which had been captured at Cuvelai. The maps indicate that the combined Fapla and Swapo bases at the town were being run by Russian advisers.

With the maps was communist propaganda, praising President Yuri Andropov.

The general said that combined Fapla and Cuban forces with Russian advisers had become involved in the battle between security forces and Swapo at Cuvelai.

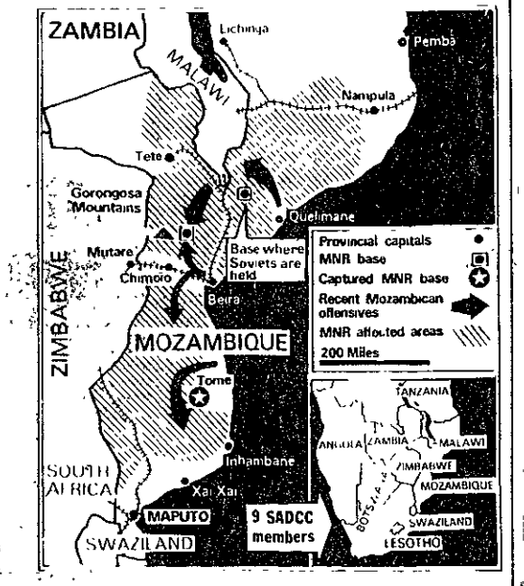
A unit of Russian tanks had been sent in against the SADF forces who were not planning on becoming involved in a conventional confrontation. The battle against the tanks was won by the Ratels.

Only one Ratel was lost when it became trapped in a minefield and was attacked by a Russian T54 tank. Five South African soldiers died when their Ratel was hit by tank fire.



The battle for SA is on, says UK Press

'Pretoria plans to destabilise neighbours'



By Dirk de Villiers
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The political and strategic context of the war in Southern Africa is clear: it is nothing less than a battle for South Africa.

It is a war, too, in which the South African Government "is now unashamedly taking the offensive into the territory of all its independent neighbours", though its claims of success in Angola may be exaggerated.

And it will go on doing so as long as the West continues to collude over these military adventures.

So three correspondents of the Guardian — Victoria Brittain and Jonathan Steele in London, and Joseph Hanlon in Maputo — sum up in a wide-ranging review of events in the area.

"Far from having a laager mentality, all the evidence suggests the South Africans are now willing and able to move ruthlessly beyond their apartheid frontiers," they report.

"According to their grand design, a scheme made clear over the last few years and highlighted in recent weeks, one main aim is to destabilise the governments of their independent neighbours by every means."

The report says Pretoria's strategy contains three principal elements: to prevent Swapo control of an independent Namibia; to cut off external sources of support for the ANC; and to destroy the embryonic nine-nation economic grouping within and on the borders of South Africa.

The recent attacks in Angola seem to suggest that a fourth has been added, the writers say: to replace, in co-operation with Unita, the present Luanda government.

They add, however, that the latest onslaught has not seriously affected the basic military stalemate in the area.

In Mozambique, it is pointed out, South Africa's aim is not to overthrow the government of President Samora Machel. It is primarily a war to destabilise, destroy economic targets, ravage crops and force the government to divert money and manpower to a costly and protracted conflict.

The second object is to deny sanctuary to the ANC.

To Maputo the sole issue is South Africa's backing of the Mozambique National Resistance, which is bleeding the country, say the correspondents.

"Forecasts of a Southern African conflagration, which will inevitably involve the West, have been made with increasing urgency in the last year ...

"... Mozambique is Africa's prime spokesman for the view that there is an alternative to that disaster.

"With the forthcoming round of talks with South Africa, Mozambique is demonstrating, as President Machel's European tour did, that the West has a serious long-term partnership on offer in the nine-member Southern African Development Conference economic grouping."

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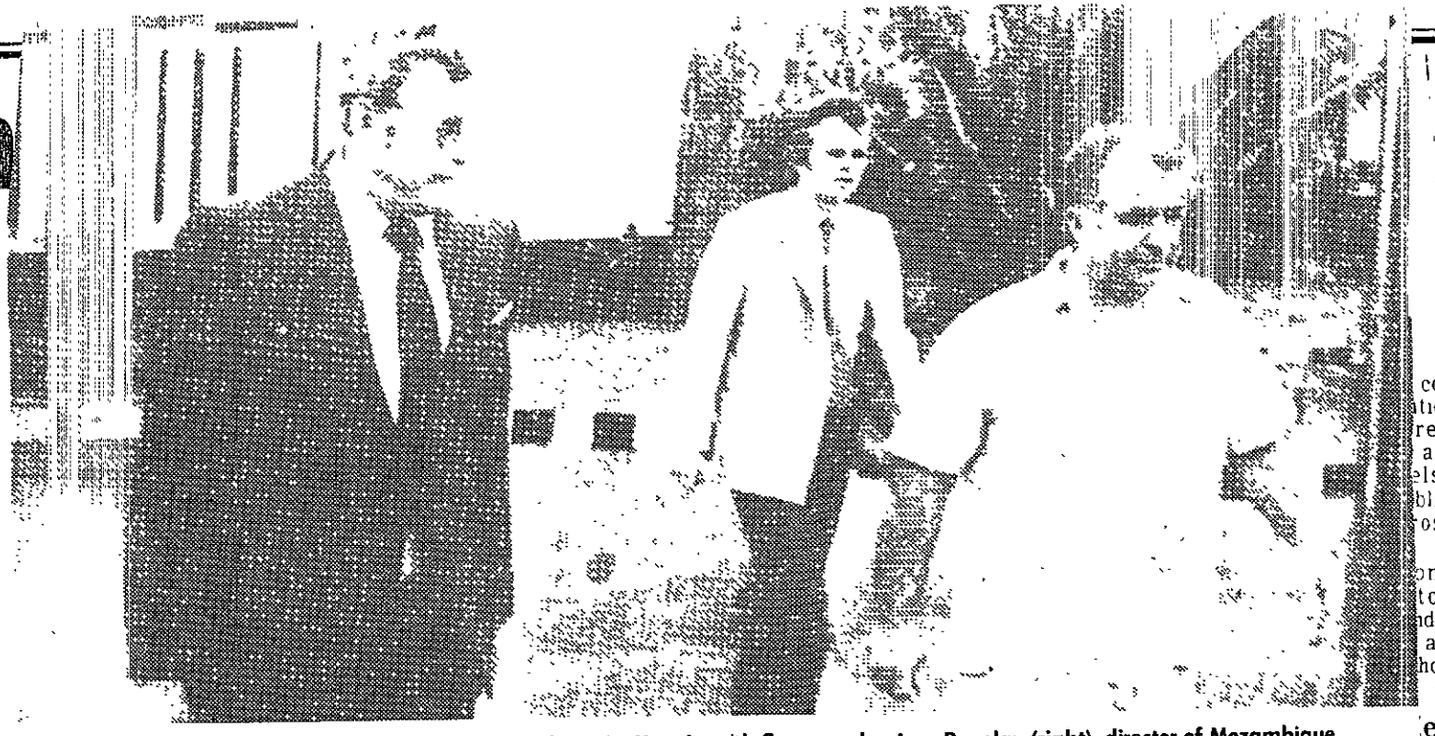


Chairman of the South African Tourist Board Danie Hough with Commander Jose Bacelar, (right), director of Mozambique Airlines at Maputo airport yesterday.

SA-Maputo tourism talks kick off

South African and Mozambican officials yesterday began preliminary talks on reviving tourism between their ideologically divergent countries.

A delegation led by Mr Danie Hough, chairman of the South African Tourist Board, flew to Maputo yesterday for a weekend familiarisation visit prior to formal talks on Monday.

Security talks — billed as initially the most important part of this exploration process — will be held in Pretoria on Monday with the South African team, led by General Johan Coetzee.

The security talks will be aimed at reaching an agreement not to give physical aid to dissident groups operating against the respective governments.

Maputo has emphasised, however, that it plans to continue political, diplomatic and moral assistance to the ANC.

Diplomatic sources regard the tourism talks as the least important area on Monday's agenda, with little prospect for an immediate increase in holiday travel.

But government sources in Mozambique said they expected the South Africans to explore the possibility of sending holidaymakers to Mozambique.

The delegation accompanying Mr Hough includes representatives of South Africa's Federation of Hotel Owners, a private airline director, Mr Piet van Huiffen, and officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism.

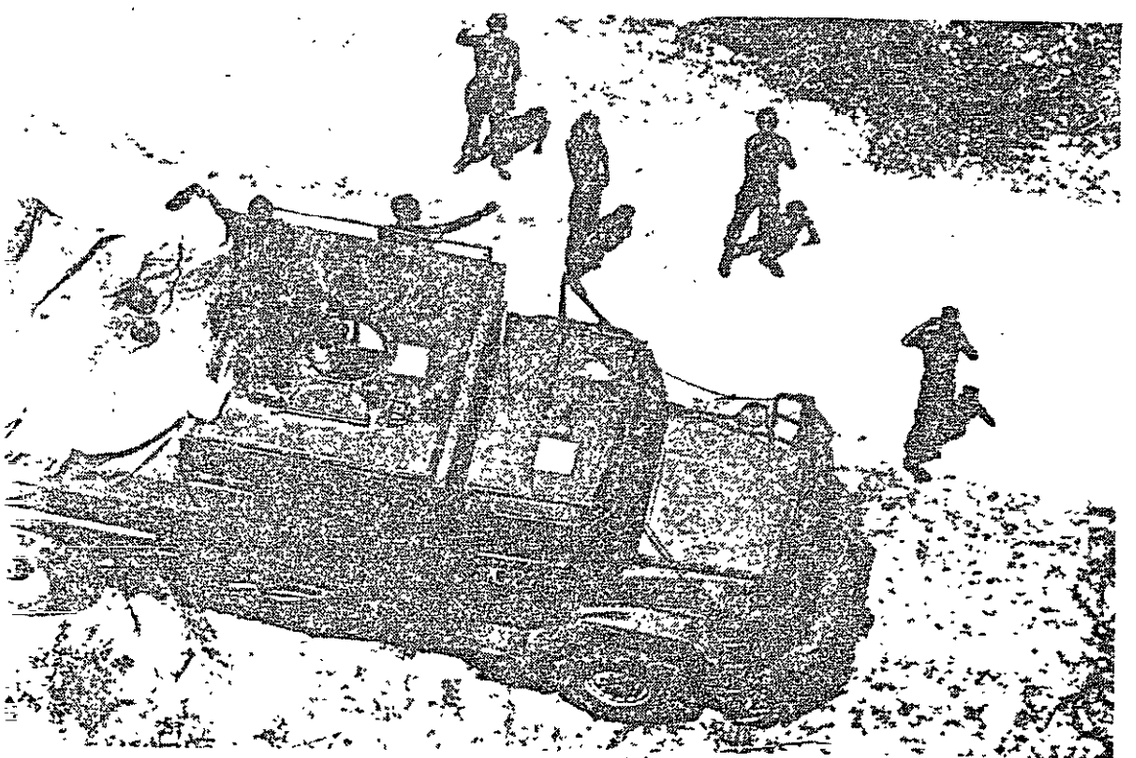
● See interview with Mr Danie Hough in Review.

They're com

SA troops



Tanned, in need of a bath and victorious in turning Swapo in its tracks, South African troops on the long journey home.



Happy about the ever-decreasing number of kilometres in southern Angola, South African troops wave at helicopters passing overhead.



From ARNOLD KIRKBY

PRETORIA. — Tomorrow should mark the end of South Africa's offensive into southern Angola after they turned Swapo's rainy season incursion round before any insurgents could reach South West Africa

About 2 000 men, backed by medium-range artillary, were today moving south towards the SWA/Namibian border from three combat zones where they were involved in heavy fighting with combined Cuban, Angolan and Swapo forces

Rutted roads

I was with a group of local and foreign newspapermen who flew into southern Angola yesterday to watch one of the three battle groups making their way slowly south along a gravel road, littered with landmines, rutted through excessive use, and boggy from extensive rains.

But the boys in Battle Group Delta, who had come against a large combined force in the eastern sector of the battle front in southern Angola, were tanned and most were smiling at the prospect of heading home.

Major-General George Meiring, General Officer Commanding the SWA Territory Force, told me during the trip into the former Portuguese colony that none of the Swapo special forces group had yet committed any deed

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'Angola training ANC terrorists'

ONDANGWE. — Security forces had a "strong suspicion" that African National Congress terrorists were

gives UK ultimatum

CAPE TIMES 2/4/84 (5)

More reports on Savimbi's bush meeting, pages 2 and 3

the MPLA, Dr Savimbi's enemy in the eight-year-old post-independence conflict.

The incident occurred when Dr Savimbi, styled "President" of "Free Angola" and who effectively controls a large part of the south, held a mass rally, military parade and international press conference at his "provisional Angolan capital" Jamba, deep in the lush south-eastern bush country of Angola.

Dr Savimbi had organized the events in a clear effort to emphasize — as peace moves get under way in the sub-continent — that he is a factor to be reckoned with. He was concerned to draw a strong distinction between his escalating guerilla campaign and that of the MNR in Mozambique, widely expected to peter out because of the accord between Pretoria and Maputo.

The military parade, carried out with well-drilled, heavily-armed and immaculately-uniformed Unita soldiers, was watched by thousands of local people. Mortars and field-guns were on display, and huge posters depicted the Unita struggle, with laudatory references to certain black nationalist leaders and attacks on the Russians, Cubans and MPLA.

As a public-relations effort, the occasion was extremely effective. Editors of major South African newspapers and representatives of several influential Western news organizations attended. The fact that Dr Savimbi could guarantee their safety over long distances inside Angola emphasized that his writ runs far.

Of the prisoners, he said: "They are in good hands", then made his announcement about the release, except for the British. He would keep them a year or two if necessary. He pointed out that the Czech Government had been prepared to deal with him at ministerial level, but not the British.

Immediately before this threat at the press conference, I had interviewed the British prisoners. They sat on wooden benches with other prisoners, numbering in all about 70 and including some nuns and women and children, watching the festivities at Savimbi's bush rally ground. They said they had been working as technicians on a diamond mine in the town of Cafunfo, far to the north, when Unita had raided at dawn just over a month ago.

They had heard that some Filipino civilians and MPLA soldiers had been killed in the fighting. The Unita soldiers had herded the prisoners together, firmly and calmly, and marched with them for 30 days in the bush, including some women and children, until trucks took them on the last leg to Jamba.

They said they hoped Mrs Thatcher would do something about their plight. They confirmed that they were well cared for, with medical help when necessary, and that they felt safe in Unita hands.

● Our Correspondent in London reports that the Foreign Office yesterday said they had heard various interpretations of what Dr Savimbi requested from Britain. As the International Red Cross was handling the matter for Britain, this organization had been asked to establish exactly what Dr Savimbi was asking for. There could not be reaction until there had been clarification.



Jamba in south-east
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Some of the British prisoners who were on show at the parade at Unita headquarters in south-east Angola on Friday. From left: Bill Clawson, Tony Dixon, Alf Tasker, Ian Fenton and Tom Murphy.

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ALFRED DUNHILL, LONDON, PROUDLY PRESENTS



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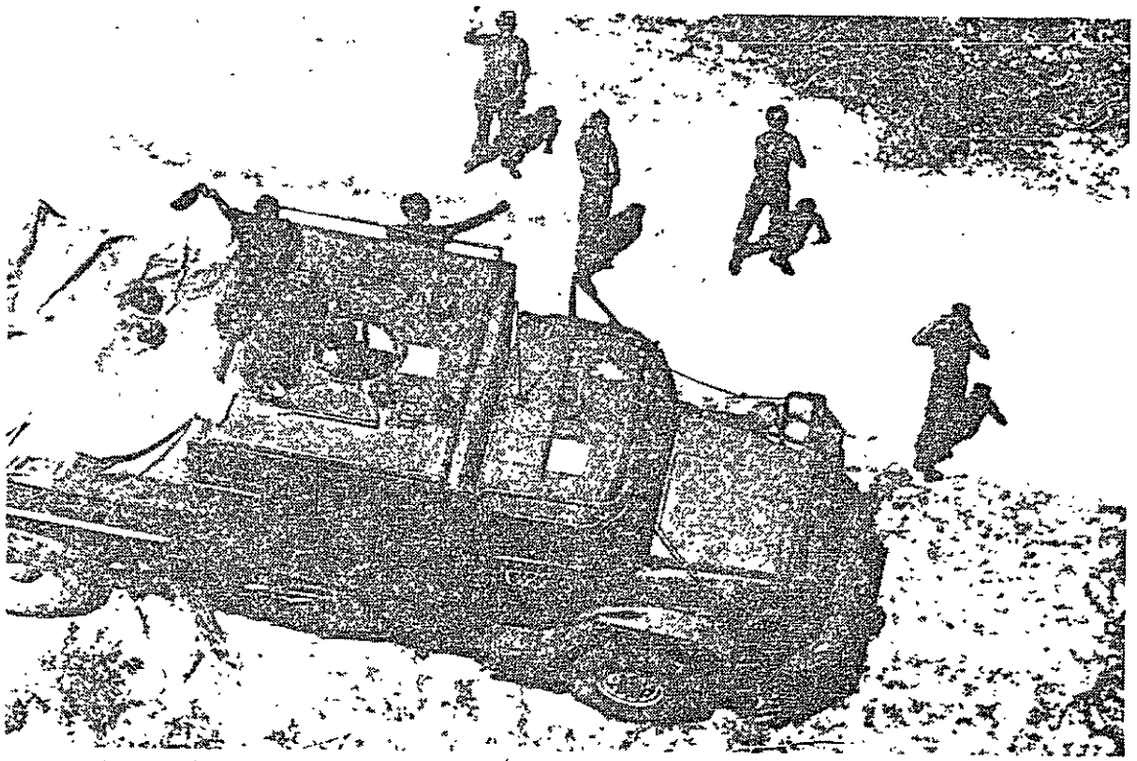

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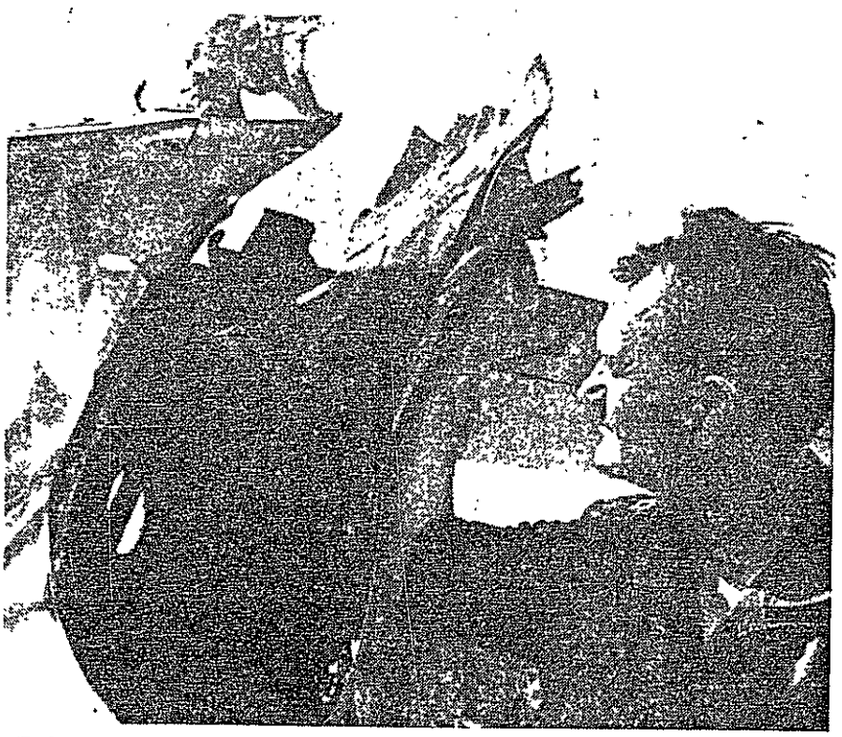

Brigadier Bossie Huyser, outgoing Commanding Officer of Western Air Command, inspects damage to the tail of an Impala aircraft by a Soviet-made Sam-9 surface-to-air missile.

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But the boys in Battle Group Delta, who had come against a large combined force in the eastern sector of the battle front in southern Angola, were tanned and most were smiling at the prospect of heading home.

Major-General George Meiring, General Officer Commanding the SWA Territory Force, told me during the trip into the former Portuguese colony that none of the Swapo special forces group had yet committed any deed

'Angola training ANC terrorists'

ONDANGWE. — Security forces had a "strong suspicion" that African National Congress terrorists were being trained in Angola, the officer commanding the South West African Territory Force, Major-General George Meiring, said.

A British journalist who recently visited the former Portuguese territory said in a BBC radio interview yesterday he had been told by the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, there was evidence that ANC battalions were fighting alongside the Angolan army.

General Meiring told a Press conference at Ondangwe air base in northern SWA/Namibia yesterday that a few ANC terrorists who had been caught recently had apparently received their training in Angola.

But Angola was just one of the countries believed to be training members of the banned organisation, and security forces had so far not encountered any ANC units in Angola, he said.

However, intelligence sources have told reporters in the past that it is believed ANC cadres might be assisting Swapo in southern Angola — Sapa.

Ceasefire offer 'not Cuban-linked'

By David Braun,
Political Reporter

South Africa's truce offer last month for a one-month trial ceasefire in the escalating Namibian war from January 31 was not linked to a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Mr Botha was reacting to reported comments of US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz yesterday that he, Mr Shultz, hoped that South Africa's unilateral withdrawal of its troops from Angola was "one of those signs and actions that perhaps can lead others to do something".

Mr Shultz told a Press conference in Washington it was "clearly necessary" for Cuba to withdraw its forces from Angola to get South Africa's co-operation in granting independence to Namibia.

Asked if the US insisted on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, Mr Shultz replied: "That has been something that we think is desirable, but it is clearly necessary if South Africa is going to go along with what has emerged as a very real possible way of gaining Namibian independence. So we're for it."

Mr Botha said South Africa's offer of December 15 was intended to create a climate of peace which would facilitate the resolution of the broader conflict problems of the region.

"South Africa's offer was not linked to Cuban withdrawal but required that the Cubans, along with the Angolans and Swapo, would not exploit the situation resulting from South Africa's proposed disengagement of forces from southern Angola."

Just why did 21 S African soldiers die in Angola?

14/1/84

THE PATTERN OF POLITICS
By HERMANN GILIOMEE

WHEN a former head of military intelligence criticises the South African Defence Force for its failure to communicate with the public, one can be sure something serious has gone wrong.

Referring to the latest round of fighting in Southern Angola, in which 21 SA troops died, General H de V du Toit warned that the military was putting at risk the public's loyalty and the "indispensable support of the national will" by not making a timeous and adequate announcement about the operations.

Two questions have recently arisen with respect to the war in South Africa's north-western frontier zone.

Will the SADF keep the trust of white citizens if they are ill-informed about where and when, and against whom, their sons are fighting?

Secondly, will that trust stay intact, even if the perception grows that South Africa is becoming trapped in a sterile, no-win, Vietnam-like conflict on and beyond its borders, one that will exact a rising toll in money and lives?

Since the 1975 South African invasion of Angola, white South Africans have shown little opposition to the spreading war, on and beyond the country's borders.

According to a reliable overseas newspaper, South Africa has occupied a large part of Southern Angola since 1981. Yet only a few newspapers have asked what South Africa was doing there, or whether it was in our interests to stay there.

The passivity of the public is not difficult to explain. Firstly, the death toll has not been high ... an average of about 50 whites a year. Secondly, the public generally believes the talk about a total (Russian) onslaught and wants all available measures used to stamp out any threat in the region, regardless of whether this violates international law or alienates the West.

It is my impression that the general public does not consider Namibia or Angola as white last ditches, where South Africa has to fight to prevent a war on its own soil.

Increasingly, opinion-formers and the general public want to know whether the fighting in Angola serves immediate and long-term purposes.

On the basis of available evidence, one can say South Africa pursued three immediate objectives in its latest operation: to thwart a Swapo sweep into Namibia, to force Angola to stop supporting Swapo and to help the SA agent, Jonas Savimbi, topple the MPLA government in Luanda or become a senior partner in a new government of national unity.

But these immediate objectives are only a means towards a generally accepted settlement in Namibia, which will help to stabilise the region.

South Africa, it is true, has had considerable success in forcing the governments on our north-eastern borders to meet its demands ... after subjecting them to considerable pressure.

But Angola is not Mozambique. South Africa could exert pressure on Mozambique or Lesotho without a real international outcry.

However, Namibian independence is an international issue and, because of that, the war on our north-western border has become internationalised.

Russia has invested 20 000 Cubans and a considerable amount of prestige in Angola and will not allow the MPLA government to be toppled or pushed around too much.

The West is on the defensive on Namibia and is increasingly nervous about shielding South Africa or playing its mediating role. Once the Reagan Administration is gone, we will stand alone.

Even that is a price South Africa can pay, as long as it attains its goals.

But what is being achieved by the fighting? It is no longer credible to maintain that Swapo can be eliminated. Even if Swapo is dealt heavy blows, thanks to Russian involvement, it keeps coming back every year.

Abraham Lincoln once said: the difficult thing is not to thrash the enemy but to keep it thrashed.

But even more important, it does not look as if South Africa is coming any nearer to a settlement in Namibia. Everyone knows Swapo will win a free election.

The fighting has gone on so long, a viable internal settlement which excludes Swapo is no longer a real prospect.

The time has come to ask: why is South Africa fighting in Angola?

Apart from the human lives lost, the cost seems staggeringly high ... the alienation of the West and a war bill of nearly R1 000-million a year — when inflation is running rampant and the Government needs every cent to make the new constitutional dispensation work.

Why did 21 South African troops die last month in Angola?

Soviets to step up aid to Angola

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union has agreed to supplement an increase in military supplies to Angola with a major new economic aid programme signed in Moscow yesterday.

The agreement, signed by Angolan Planning Minister, Mr Lopo do Nascimento, and Mr Alexander Kachanov, deputy chairman of the Soviet Foreign Economic Relations Committee, provided for substantial aid on easy terms, the official Tass news agency said.

The agreement follows an announcement on Thursday that a secret conference in Moscow involving representatives from Cuba, which has large numbers of personnel in Angola, had agreed on extra military aid.

In terms of yesterday's agreement Soviet prospectors will carry out exploratory work in Angola and oil depots will be built as a joint project.

Soviet experts were also to supervise the construction of a fisheries plant and the establishment of a State-controlled building industry, Tass said.

Western diplomats here said the surge of support to one of Moscow's oldest friends in Africa appeared to reflect Kremlin concern that the Marxist Angolan Government could be under serious threat from South African-backed rebels. — Sapa-Reuter.

The big Angol

By Arnold Kirkby, Military Correspondent

TODAY should mark the end of South Africa's offensive into Southern Angola.

About 2 000 men, backed by medium range artillery, were yesterday moving south towards the Namibian border, from three combat zones, where they had been involved in some heavy fighting with combined Cuban, Angolan and Swapo forces.

It's a long haul home as the soldiers trek through mine fields

I was with a group of local and foreign Pressmen who flew into Southern Angola on Friday to see one of the three battle groups making their way slowly along a gravel road, littered with landmines, rutted with excessive use and boggy from extensive rains

But the soldiers in Battle Group Delta, who had come against a large combined force in the eastern sector of the battle front in Southern Angola were smiling at the prospect of heading home

Major-General George Meiring, General Officer commanding the SWA Territory Force, said during the trip into the former Portuguese colony that none of the Swapo special forces group had yet committed any deed of terror in Namibia

He told a Press conference earlier that the insurgents had been turned in their tracks and were wandering around the bush in the area north of Cuvelai.

Code named "Askari" (a black colonial soldier), it was initially aimed at countering Swapo's attempts at reaching Namibia, but at times it took on the dimensions of conventional battles when Cubans and Angolans were encountered

An estimated 500 "enemy" forces lost their lives for the loss of 21 South African and SWA Territory Forces, during the operation which started a month ago.

General Meiring said the withdrawal from Angola should be completed by today, but when we visited the troops 140 kilometres into Angola they had only covered about 50 kilometres since last Sunday. It seems the journey south may take a while longer than estimated.

They were constantly on the lookout for a counter attack and had to contend with the many landmines along the way.

It was interesting flying over the northern regions of Ovambo, where the infrastructure was extensive, then entering

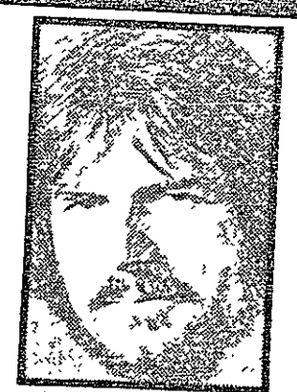


WE'RE GOING HOME... South African troops leave the Angola com combined Cuban, Angol

Police warn actor after breaking up d



Steadman . . . swore



Leach . . . pinned

Tribune Reporter

JOHANNESBURG actor Ian Steadman was warned and released by Rondebosch police after being involved in an incident outside Cape Town's Hard Rock Cafe in the early hours of yesterday.

Mr Steadman, 31, a senior Wits University drama lecturer, said he was taken to the police station and warned after having objected to the attitude of policemen towards black waitresses from the Hard Rock Cafe who were dancing, along with a group of white patrons, on the pavement after the restaurant had closed.

Capab Drama artistic director Mr Ken Leach said police had pinned him against a police van during the incident. No one was injured.

The police liaison officer for the Western Cape Captain Jan Calitz, said yesterday: "Police responded to a complaint about a disturba Rock Cafe where black people w A white man who intervened, o the execution of their duties and the police, was taken to the Ro where he was warned and releas

Mr Steadman, who is in Cape T Maynardville production, said. Hard Rock Cafe at about 4 a tresses, who were leaving at t dancing on the pavement.

"Police arrived shortly afterw to disperse The thing that upse attitude towards the black waitr from their attitude towards the w

"I objected to this and asked be as we were not being rowdy

Angola pullout



... South African troops leave the Angola combat zone where they had been involved in heavy fighting with combined Cuban, Angolan and Swapo forces

Sunday. It seems the journey south may take a while longer than estimated

They were constantly on the lookout for a counter attack and had to contend with the many landmines along the way.

It was interesting flying over the northern regions of Ovambo, where the infrastructure was extensive, then entering southern Angola and noting the desolation.

Scattered here and there in Southern Angola were isolated kraals, while places like Mupa and Evale, which appear to be bustling metroplises according to Angolan claims, are in fact no more than charred hamlets

According to Defence Force officers accompanying the Press group, most of these hamlets were destroyed during the war in 1975/76. or in skirmishes since then

The disrepair and the state of the gardens around most of the houses indicated that they had not been occupied for some time.

The South Africans captured a fair stockpile of weapons during the operation, including a number of Soviet made AGS 17 which is bound to draw the interest of Western arms experts.

The AGS 17 is a 30mm grenade launcher, captured during the battle at Vucelai. It has a range of about 800 metres and a killing zone of about five metres.

Among the other hardware being carted south in the Delta group convoy was a number of anti-aircraft guns, including the deadly 23mm twin barrel gun and an ageing 57mm piece There were also small and medium field guns and vast amounts of small arms, ammunition and landmines.

Also being towed south was a Ratel infantry fighting vehicle, which had been hit in the side by a Russian T55 tank during the Vucelai fiasco

The Defence Force would not say how many men had died in the vehicle but said it was one of the major losses of the operation.

er breaking up dance

Reporter

Ian Steadman was warned ...sch police after being in...le Cape Town's Hard Rock ...esterday.

...or Wits University drama ... to the police station and ...ed to the attitude of police... ...esses from the Hard Rock ...long with a group of white ... after the restaurant had

...rector Mr Ken Leach said ...gainst a police van dur... ...injured.

...er for the Western Cape ...sterday: "Police responded to a complaint about a disturbance outside the Hard Rock Cafe where black people were allegedly dancing. A white man who intervened, obstructing the police in the execution of their duties and allegedly swearing at the police, was taken to the Rondebosch police station where he was warned and released.

Mr Steadman, who is in Cape Town for this season's Maynardville production, said "When we left the Hard Rock Cafe at about 4 a m, some of the waitresses, who were leaving at the same time, began dancing on the pavement.

"Police arrived shortly afterwards and asked us all to disperse. The thing that upset us was that their attitude towards the black waitresses was different from their attitude towards the whites in the group.

"I objected to this and asked the police to let us be as we were not being rowdy.

Angola: Don't think it's quite that simple...



Nadere Kennis

JAMES McCLURG reviews the Afrikaans Press

AFRIKAANS Press comment on the Angolan situation has been marked by a bold plea from Die Vaderland for Pretoria to appreciate that the dos Santos government depends for its existence on the Cuban presence.

"In fact," said Die Vaderland, "Unita's most recent successes have precisely shown that they could cause Cuban and Soviet involvement to escalate. And Moscow will scarcely allow the MPLA regime to be toppled."

The South African and the Angolan proposals for a settlement were widely separated but were perhaps not so irreconcilable as might appear at first glance.

A feasible situation would be for Swapo to withdraw to the north of Angola, with the Cubans as a buffer on its southern side, but possibly with United Nations forces as a further buffer between the Cubans and the South African border. Within such a framework it should be possible for South Africa to withdraw its forces.

In Beeld, Piet Muller wrote with similar candour about the Russian role in southern Africa.

The onslaught against South Africa, he said, was too complicated to be epitomised simply as the result of Russia's imperialistic motives, as was regularly done these days in public speeches.

"In fact, if by magic one could remove Russia altogether from the picture, the scene in southern Africa would not look very different from the way it looks today."

Military power was only one component in the situation, said Muller. Especially in South Africa's relations with its neighbours, the emphasis would have to be shifted to a large extent from the military to the diplomatic sphere.

Muller warned against a simplistic view that would cast South Africa's neighbours as potential enemy bases rather than as potential clients who must be helped to greater prosperity. A long-term diplomatic strategy could not be built on such a view.



South African troops inside Angola return to Namibia at the end of 'Operation Askari'

Five trapped soldiers fought on till the end

By CHRIS OLCKERS

TRAPPED in a minefield, five South African soldiers in a crippled Ratel kept firing until they were all killed.

Their guns were silenced only when a shell fired from a Russian-built T-54 tank scored a direct hit on the troop-carrier.

The story of the soldiers was told to Pressmen as South African troops were withdrawing from southern Angola this week after the completion of 'Operation Askari' in which tons of Russian-made arms were captured.

Battle-weary troops, returning after their victory over Swapo, Cubans, Angolans and Russian advisers, recounted the bravery of the men in the Ratel.

It was on New Year's Eve, 200km inside Angola near Cuvelai, that the South Africans met up with the enemy who outnumbered them five to one.

Despite the fact that the Ratel is designed as an armoured troop-carrier the men were forced to take on a unit of Russian-built T-54 tanks.

One of these Ratels, named 'Muskeljaatkat', drove into a minefield and was crippled.

"They were virtually helpless but the guns never stopped firing," one soldier said.

"It was one hell of a battle. There wasn't time to be scared. All I can remember was saying 'please God' as we tackled the enemy.

"The trapped Ratel's guns never stopped firing Then the Russian tank appeared," he said.

A shell fired by Cubans smashed into the Ratel, silencing its guns and turning it into a blazing inferno. Five South African soldiers died.

"But we will never forget that they never stopped firing. It inspired us. After three days the enemy fled," he said.

At the beginning of the campaign a unit of 12 Russian tanks was deployed against the South Africans. At the end of the battle at Cuvelai — with Swapo, Cuban and Fapla forces fleeing — the unit had been wiped out and the tanks destroyed.

At a Press conference for military correspondents at Evali, 120km inside Angola, Major-General George Meiring, Officer Commanding the South West African Territory Force, confirmed that South African forces captured tons of Russian-manufactured arms worth millions of rands during 'Operation Askari'.

Gen Meiring said the seized arms were being brought back by troops during the withdrawal, which was scheduled to be completed by tonight .

Describing the capture of three AGS 17 automatic grenade launchers, Gen Meiring said it was the first time that this weapon had been found by a Western country.

"It is one of the most sophisticated weapons of its kind in the world. No Western country has up to now been able to examine it."

Among the captured equipment were D30 122mm medium artillery guns, ZU 23 double-barrel anti-aircraftguns, ZIS2 57mm guns, B10 recoil high explosive and anti-tank guns, 57mm anti-aircraft guns, rocket launchers and large numbers of Russian rifles as well as tons of ammunition.

Allegations against Koevoet untrue — SAP

ALLEGATIONS of torture and intimidation of civilians in Ovambo by the special police unit Koevoet were "unsubstantiated and untrue", a senior police authority said yesterday.

Lieutenant-General Victor Verster said three senior South African police officers had investigated allegations of atrocities against and the torture of the local Owambo population by the Koevoet (Crowbar) unit of the SAP in the operational area and had found the allegations to be insubstantiated and untrue.

General Verster, the deputy commissioner in charge of personnel and administration, said Koevoet was a "cold, calculating, efficient and very ruthless unit as far as the enemy is concerned".

"But as far as the local population is concerned, why do you think Koevoet has had so much success? Because we have the complete co-operation of the local population who give us hot information on which Koevoet acts immediately."

General Verster was speaking to a group of political corresponders who completed a week-long tour of the operational area.

Each allegation made against anti-insurgency units in general and Koevoet in particular was investigated from "an entirely neutral point of view and we have arranged with SWA police and their CID that every allegation is handed over to them", he said.

"They then open a criminal document and investigate the matter as they would do any other case."

Senior officers of the SAP also sat on a joint committee comprising local leaders and other security forces which dealt with allegations of atrocities and other crimes, the general said. — Sapa.

Harare accuses 'allies' of SA

HARARE — The Zimbabwean Foreign Minister, Mr Witness Mangwende, has accused "Western allies" of South Africa of condoning South African action in southern Angola.

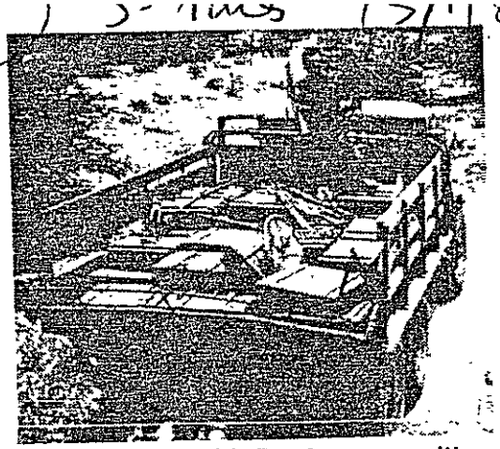
"How long," he asked, "can South Africa's friends continue to shed crocodile tears while secretly relishing the punishment meted out to Angola and other states for standing resolutely in support of the struggle of the people of Namibia?" — Sapa-AP.

Captured: A fortune

By CHRIS OLCKERS

MILLIONS of rands worth of Russian-manufactured arms captured by South African security forces in Southern Angola are being brought back by withdrawing troops.

Security forces operating against Swapo also destroyed large numbers of Soviet weaponry, including tanks.



A truck loaded with Russian ammunition confiscated after the Battle of Cuvelai

SA outnumbered but victorious at Battle of Cuvelai

The officer commanding the South West African Territorial Force, Major-General George Meiring, told the Press that the invading forces were caught unprepared for conventional battles when combined Fapla and Cuban forces with Russian advisers attacked them.

At the Battle of Cuvelai the combined enemy forces outnumbered the South Africans five to one.

Gen Meiring addressed journalists at Evali, 120km inside Southern Angola, and told them that the SADF had not planned on any confrontation with Fapla and the Cubans.

"We went in with a small force of 2 000 men. Operation Askari was planned as a seek-and-destroy operation against small bands of Swapo terrorists.

"We did not have any intention of fighting Angolans, neither did we expect a confrontation with them. But they joined in the fight against us.

"The security forces did not have heavy calibre arms with them and had to fight against much more powerful firepower. Most of our losses occurred in battle where we were outnumbered by superior forces.

"But our men fought well and, against all odds, won the battle. The enemy were eventually forced to flee," Gen Meiring said.

Outnumbered

He revealed that during the fierce fighting at Cuvelai, where Swapo's northern headquarters was based, clear evidence of Russians planning both Fapla and Swapo's military action was found.

The South African designed Ratel troop carrier distinguised itself during the battle when it took on a tank unit at Cuvelai. Twelve Russian-built T54 tanks were destroyed.

"In military terms the South Africans should have been wiped out. Outnumbered five to one, they faced more than 4 000 troops with superior firepower supported by the tank unit.

"After three days of fighting during a conventional battle in which the South African and SWAT forces had to make use of counter-insurgency weaponry, the enemy fled," Gen Meiring said.

He said large amounts of Russian-manufactured equipment were destroyed during the operation.

"But we also captured a lot of weapons which are worth millions. We will examine them, and if no use can be made of them they will most probably also be destroyed," he said.

He said that the South Africans scored a major intelligence coup for the West when it captured three hitherto unknown AGS 17 automatic grenade launchers.

The weapon, of which little is known, is used only by elite Russian troops. It is also deployed against Afghanistan rebels.

"It is one of the most sophisticated weapons of its kind in the world. No Western country has up to now been able to examine this weapon," he said.

Propaganda

Also being brought back are large numbers of Russian artillery weapons, anti-aircraft guns, rocket launchers, anti-tank guns, Russian rifles and loads of ammunition.

Gen Meiring said South African forces will have completed their withdrawal from Angola this weekend.

Huge quantities of Russian propaganda literature were found after the enemy fled at Cuvelai.

Among the documents confiscated were books praising ailing Russian President Andropov.

"We found battle plans of Fapla and Swapo at Cuvelai. It was clear that Russian advisers had been involved in it.

Floods

"Maps with battle instructions written in Russian made it clear that Swapo and Fapla did not do their own military planning," he said.

Maps shown to the Press had Russian writing on them, and the Fapla commander had translated the instructions and wrote the Portuguese version underneath the Russian.

Other books dealing with Marxism, communism and terrorist warfare were found. Russian-built field radios and other Russian equipment were also captured.

The general said the withdrawal from Angola was complicated by flooded rivers and mined roads.

"All the roads have been mined and we have had to use minesweepers and mine detectors. We were also delayed at Mupa when a small river came down in flood.

"We either had to build a bridge or else make a detour of some 130km. The convoys of troops were forced to wait until the bridge was completed.

"But the biggest problems were caused by mines. It would be an understatement to say that the whole of Southern Angola has been mined," he said.

He estimated that the loss on the enemy side could have been as high as 500, including Cubans and Angolans.

"We do not know exactly how many Swapo were killed during the battle at Cuvelai. Many Swapo terrorists wore Fapla uniforms, but we do know that a large number of those killed were members of Swapo's strike force.

"This strike force had been specially trained to infiltrate South West Africa.

"With the pre-emptive strike against them we have achieved our military objective of disrupting Swapo's military command. We have forced them deeper back into Angola," he said.

But he warned that the SADF would strike against Swapo again if they should make any attempt to cross into SWA.

"It is our duty to protect the people of SWA and to prevent the enemy from crossing into the area where they can commit their murderous deeds against unarmed civilians.

"We can not allow the enemy to have carte blanche on the other side of the border where they sit and plan their terrorist actions," he said.

The last soldiers leave Angola

Mail Reporter

THE last South African soldiers and members of the South West Africa Territory Force involved in Operation Askari have returned to South West Africa.

An SADF spokesman said yesterday that the withdrawal from Southern Angola took a week to complete.

"Battle group Delta was the last to leave Southern Angola," the spokesman said.

Sapa-AP quotes the Angolan official news agency Angop as saying forces have killed another 25 guerrillas of the Unita movement, bringing the total of rebel dead since the New Year to 48.

The report from Luanda, the Angolan capital, said troops loyal to President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos' Marxist MPLA-PT party, government suffered no casualties in clashes with Unita guerrillas in the central provinces of Huila, Bie and Huambo.

All the rebel dead, the report said, died in fighting during the first six days of January.

In two earlier reports last week, Angop said 13 Unita fighters had been killed in the province of Benguela and another 10 in separate clashes in Huambo during the first days of the New Year.

Last SA troops have left Angola

Cape Times 16/1/84

PRETORIA. — The South African Defence Force said yesterday that it had completed the withdrawal of troops involved in a five-week campaign into Angola against SWA/Namibian guerillas.

An SADF spokesman said the last of 2 000 soldiers involved in Operation Askari had crossed the Angolan border into SWA/Namibia yesterday morning. Battle group Delta was the last to leave southern Angola.

The SADF claims to have killed up to 500 enemy soldiers during the campaign deep into Angola aimed at heading off an annual offensive by guerillas of the South West Africa People's Organization.

Operation Askari was one of the toughest and biggest battles in the 17-year-long war between South Africa and Swapo, which is fighting for the independence of SWA/Namibia from South Africa. Pretoria says it lost 21 soldiers.

'A success'

Major-General George Meiring, South Africa's top military commander in SWA/Namibia, told reporters who visited the battle areas last week that his men had killed 100 Swapo fighters and that the remaining dead were Cubans and Angolans.

General Meiring said the mission, in which troops pushed up to 250km into Angola, was a success and had disrupted a planned infiltration of SWA/Namibia by up to 1 000 guerillas.

● The Zimbabwean Foreign Minister, Mr Witness Mangwende, at the weekend accused "Western allies" of South Africa of "condoning without any justification whatsoever" the South African occupation of southern Angola.

At a farewell party for the Bangladesh High Commissioner to Zimbabwe, Mr Saber Karim, he asked: "How long can South Africa's friends continue to shed crocodile tears while secretly and hypocritically relishing the punishment meted out to Angola and other ... States for standing resolutely in support of the struggle of the people of Namibia?" — Sapa-Reuter-AP

How SA forces fought their way out of a trap — see Anthony Delius on page 10

aimed at calming fears in the United States and

● See Page 7, World section.

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's Foreign Service

NG — Hong pping up in ath of five ting in which ps were loot- than 30 peo-

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okesmen said 170 people had ted and more e expected. the riots shops d and damage an R12 million

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Friday a taxi n" in Kowloon ousands of spec- and the riots as the crowd to more than

iots came less weeks before scheduled round tiations between and Britain on ong's future

Burial of SA student killed in freak fall

The Star's Foreign News Service

ROME — Adrienne Dorothy Vosloo, a 22-year-old South African student, was buried on Saturday in the tiny cemetery in the North Italian Alpine resort of Stressoney-St Jean, where she had died two days earlier in a freak accident.

Miss Vosloo was the daughter of the commercial attache at the South African consulate in Milan.

The tragedy occurred when Miss Vosloo went walking up the mountain outside the winter-sports resort

With her was South African student Paul Edward Dornbrack, of Pretoria.

A police spokesman said: "It was a really strange accident — something that happens very rarely."

When the couple set out the weather was fine, but it started snowing, which made the going treacherous. The path they were on became slippery.

Miss Vosloo slipped and fell about 100 m into a ravine. She was killed instantly, said the police.

Her friend clambered down to help, but it was too late.

Miss Vosloo had arrived on holiday a day before the accident.

Official gets needle over stitches

LAGOS — One of Nigeria's new State governors has sacked seven nurses who continued to chat and knit when he asked for treatment at the State general hospital, the news agency of Nigeria reported yesterday.

Lieutenant-Colonel David Mark of Niger State pretended to be a patient needing help but the nurses ignored him and carried on talking and knitting. — Reuter.

US soldier claims he was kidnapped by nuke demos

BONN — A US soldier who was found asleep in a barn 30 hours after telephoning his wife to say that he had been kidnapped was returned to his nuclear base by West German police yesterday, an American military spokesman said

Lance-Corporal Liam Fowler (21) vanished on Friday night from Schwaebisch Gmuend, believed to be the first base in West Germany equipped with the controversial new Pershing-2 nuclear missiles.

He telephoned his wife twice on Saturday saying he had been kidnapped by six "demonstrators" who threatened to kill him if US newspapers did not within 72 hours publish articles stating that West Germans opposed nuclear missiles.

But a farmer's wife found him early yesterday huddled under curtain material in a barn at Miesbach, about 230 km away.

A special police commission found that Corporal Fowler was the apparent victim of a kidnapping by an unknown group, but could give no details of the identity of the supposed abductors.

He is being kept under observation in hospital and is to be questioned later. — Reuter.

2 Unita camps destroyed — Angola

Star 16/1/84

LISBON — Angolan Government troops claim to have killed 25 Unita guerillas and destroyed two rebel camps in central southern Angola, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said yesterday.

Angop said the rebels were killed in Huila, Huambo, and Bie provinces during the first week of January.

In two earlier reports last week, Angop said 13 Unita fighters had been killed in the province of Benguela and another 10 in separate clashes in Huambo during the first days of this year.

In London, the Sunday Times newspaper quoted a military source in Lisbon as saying a special unit of 12 former senior officers of the Portuguese army was helping the Angolan Government fight the rebels.

The unit's operations are part of a Government counter-offensive which also includes the delivery of new Soviet equipment (mainly electronic gear and missiles), the general reorganisation of the Angolan army; and the arrival last month of Mr Arnold Kalinin as Soviet ambassador to Luanda

One of Moscow's ablest envoys, he has just completed six years in Lisbon — Reuter.

oman gets the best news of her life

The Star Bureau

N — A Wiltshire farmer's wife has flown home iing holiday in Switzerland to claim a R5 million e

Parsons (44) is believed to be the owner of 600 the British national news agency — the Press ion. The Press Association owns 41 percent of the international agency, which is expected to be on the stock exchange later this year at a probable R1 700 million.

eek the PA advertised in an attempt to trace heirs to 1 800 shares. Contact with their owners was lost during the last century

Mrs Parsons and her hsuband Peter, who have four children and live near Salisbury, were telephoned in Switzerland by a genealogist who said he wanted to see her about an estate.

"I thought somebody had left me a gold watch," she said.

Now she will consult solicitors to pursue her claim to the s' res, believed to have been left to her mother by her s: pfather.

"If it is true it will be wonderful, but it will take a long efore we know," she said.

The Star

Rapport editor hits at SA role

BY MARTINE BARKER
Staff Reporter

THE editor of the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport, Dr Willem de Klerk, has questioned South Africa's role in the fighting in Angola and SWA/Namibia and has called for the government to release more information about it.

In his weekly column, Kortom, Dr De Klerk said there were questions about the fighting which "in a democracy can, and must, be asked".

Posing "fair questions in a fair manner" and acting as "a mirror" to reflect public thought, Dr De Klerk said that if the war was a national, strategic, diplomatic and a security necessity, "the government must inform us, the voters, to strengthen motivation".

Current justifications for the war were:

"That we are fighting on our borders and across our borders to protect all the citizens of SWA against terror and eventual submission to the dictates of Swapo and its Russian base.

"That we are fighting to save South Africa from the Russian onslaught. The further we can hold the wolf from our door the better.

"That we are fighting to help the West in a joint effort to stem Communist infiltration in South Africa.

In other quarters, however, it was said that "we are fighting to destabilize the sub-continent, or that our battles are a part of the international cold war and diplomatic strategy, or that we are preparing the way for military assertion by a military government".

Calling for the "real truth", Dr De Klerk said people had to understand some of what was happening, in view of the fact that more than 400 young men had died and thousands of others had been maimed.

Dr De Klerk asked:

● "Is SWA worth the life, money and trouble in view of the perpetual petty quarrelling and checkmate situations?

"Has Swapo really been weakened after the 10 years of war, or do they remain the winning element which will eventually take over in Namibia?

"If the 'well-informed' and the whole world community place their money on Swapo's eventual entry, what are we fighting for?

● "Is it not a better strategy to let Nujoma take over? His disillusionment will be so great and his efforts to pluck the chestnuts from the fire will burn his fingers badly. Isn't this what is needed to bring stability out of chaos? It will keep Russia busy. It will unmask Russia's motives and strengthen Western support for counter-offensives.

● "Why not draw a circle of powerful defence around our own borders? Can't we effectively keep Russia from our borders?

● "Is a solution in sight? Is it not naive to think the Cubans will pack up and go? Can Russia afford it? What are we going to do with the time this bit of diplomacy wins for us?

● "What a great irony it is that we have gained a military victory but nobody exults openly about it. Can we afford to be branded as an aggressor in the year of the American presidential elections, when the opportunity to hit at us in election campaigns will be sought?"

Dr De Klerk said he hoped valid answers to these questions would be provided in the coming week.

How South African forces fought their way out of Swapo trap

Africa Column



Anthony Delius

IT is not SWA/Namibia or Angola that Africa sees as the prize of the week-long battle that was fought between South African forces and Angolan, Cuban and Swapo forces in the scrub forest area beyond the final flow of the Kunene River to the sea. It is belief in the Soviet ability to help the continent out of trouble.

So the answer to South Africa's boast that Angola and Swapo have not yet felt the full power that the Republic can produce in the field, is the muttered threat from Moscow that South Africa may be pushing its luck further than Russia can tolerate.

That is what Africa waits to see, whether a display of full South African power, or a raising of Russian aid and organization to more than it has dared thrown in so far, will prevail.

Establishing its influence over the whole of Southern Africa is not the immediate Soviet aim in the present struggle. Taking over the South African ports, gold mines and sources of other strategic metals would be a great gain in the overall struggle between East and West, but that is considered to lie in the distant future.

Objective

Even helping the more left-wing black leaders to get into power in the area is not the presently most desired objective.

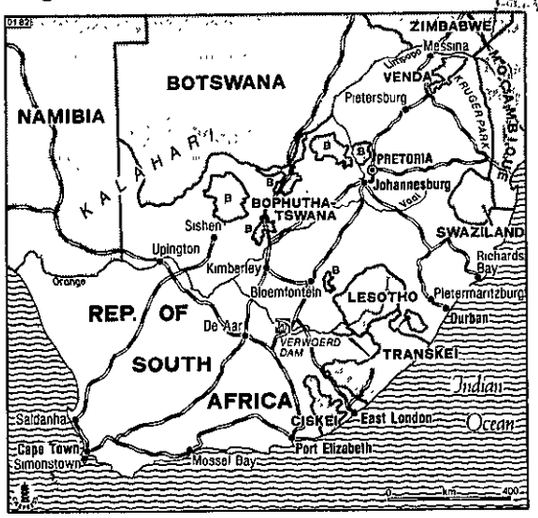
Simply demonstrating the Soviet ability to help friends somewhere in Africa is the nub of immediate endeavours.

The fact is that the Soviet Union is beginning to feel that its influence in African affairs is beginning to weaken.

Embarrassment

Even the influence of its simplistic economic doctrines no longer has the overwhelming hold over young African minds, and thoughts are beginning to creep in what Western economics, though more complicated and involved, may also be more effective.

Even the bright idea that Cuban troops could help local efforts to spread Marxist-Leninism and establish Russian influence has not succeeded all that well, as the failure of the Cuban and Russian helpers to beat down the Eritrean rebels in Ethiopia has made embarrassingly clear.



However, the slow progress of Cubans, Angolans and Swapo down in the south has also been becoming an embarrassment, yet could provide much more of a coup for Soviet influence in international eyes.

This has also been made more desirable because the Russian hold over Mozambique on the eastern coast of Africa has appeared to be slipping.

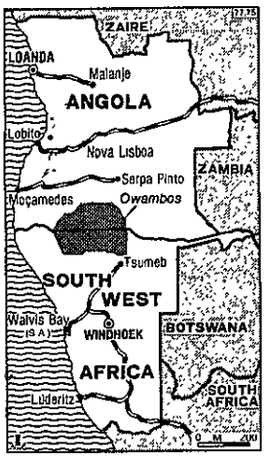
Violence

At the same time the Soviets were at least making useful demonstration by sending aid to two sets of guerillas attacking South Africa in the south, one out of Angola and one, the ANC, out of Mozambique.

Both of these territories refused South African demands that they stop harbouring groups, Swapo and ANC, intending violence against the Republic.

But whereas the Angolans were very firm in their refusal, the Mozambicans were showing signs of willingness to strike a bargain.

So the South Africans began negotiations with both Angola and Mozambique, partly to demonstrate before the less hostile part of international opinion that she was eager to live at peace with her neighbours.



Pretoria was also cautious enough to remember that both these states had defence agreements with Moscow, and there was no point in appearing to flout these too openly.

Heavy blow

South Africa also had sound intelligence reasons to consider that Mozambique would hardly retaliate in force to Pretoria's provocations because Mozambican forces were already tied up by rebels, and were weakened by thousands of drought deaths.

However the Swapo guerillas were preparing a heavy blow at the north of SWA/Namibia, and were being encouraged by the Russian advisers to go ahead, even at the cost of heavy loss in life.

It was fairly reliably reported that while leaving a heavy contingent behind to guard the heartland of MPLA against Unita advances in the north, the Cubans and Angolans would provide a back-up force for the Swapo guerillas taking up positions on a line along the Kunene.

Unita made advances in strength into more northerly parts of Angola and along the border regions of the country with Zaire and Zambia, and the South Africans set off against the Swapo forces.

Trap

The Swapo forces fell back behind Angolan and Cuban lines, with the South Africans complaining loudly about the protection being thus afforded Swapo by the Cubans and Angolans.

The South African complaints had a rather odd sound in international ears, as their forces were already operating deep in Angolan territory — and Russian and East German advisers were increasingly hopeful that the Swapo groups were leading the South Africans into a trap.

Unita

When the South Africans seemed to have advanced into the trap, it became clear they had brought adequate forces to get out of it.

Certainly they appeared to have brought greater forces than ever before. What is more, they were able to use their artillery and air force strength to destroy the prepared positions and great numbers of their would-be trappers.

It is even possible that the South Africans were able to send on, through the hole they had blown in Angola's western defences, a great deal of extra supplies to Unita forces operating on the highlands.

Was there any possibility that the South Africans might have advanced further?

This might have drawn further numbers of Cubans and Angolans against them, and given the Unita forces a chance to make a breakthrough towards Luanda?

South Africans have been caught by extending their own lines too greatly before. Perhaps they had no wish to bring down heavier forces on themselves, simply to put Unita in a position from which they could threaten to overwhelm the Angolan government forces. This might, perhaps, force the Russians to fulfill their defence agreement with Angola by supplying even greater aid.

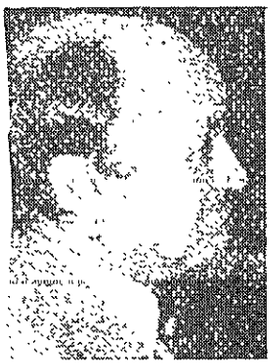
For the moment, and perhaps for a long time ahead, the South Africans have achieved a position most favourable to themselves at a fairly small cost.

They had thrashed Swapo, set at nought what help the Cubans and Angolans could offer, and persuaded the Mozambicans that there was little to be achieved by harbouring the ANC. Need fate be tempted further?

DAILY DISPATCH, THURSDAY, JA

19/1/84

Minister in Savimbi visa row



MR CHEYSSON

PARIS — The French Foreign Minister, Mr Claude Cheysson, is at the centre of a row over claims that he blocked a move to invite the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, to address the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

A French Foreign Ministry source said last night that reports that Mr Cheysson had blocked the move were "exaggerated."

The invitation was extended by a right-wing European Parliament member, Mr Olivier d'Ormesson, with British and German support, on a purely personal initiative, the source said.

Mr d'Ormesson had sought a French visa for Dr Savimbi but the request was turned down, the source said.

Paris is selling 37 combat helicopters to Angola, says Mr d'Ormesson in a Paris newspaper, Le Quotidien.

It criticised the French decision to sell helicopters to Luanda on the grounds that "glimmers of peace" were appearing in the area while South Africa and Mozambique were "talking to each other" more and more.

Swapo, too, "is not indifferent to offers of dialogue from Pretoria" in the light of recent events, the report concluded. — DDC

Editorial opinion P8

SA, Angola in new talks, claims radio

LISBON — South African and Angolan officials are in Cape Verde to prepare the way for an expected third round of talks on Namibia between the two countries, Portuguese State radio said today.

Quoting a Portuguese News Agency (Anop) report from Praia, the Cape Verde capital, the radio said delegations from the two countries arrived yesterday and were likely to meet today.

The radio report follows the offer made yesterday to South Africa by the Angolan Government for possible talks leading to a ceasefire.

Cape Verde Government officials said they knew nothing about the activity and no comment was available from the South African Government.

The radio said the Angolan ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Elisio Figueiredo, arrived in Cape Verde today but described his visit and the arrival of the South African diplomats as "pure coincidence".

The radio added that the Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Venancio Moura, who attended earlier talks with the South Africans, was due in Praia today.

OFFER SEEN AS ENCOURAGING

Angola made the ceasefire offer subject to agreement by Swapo, withdrawal of South African military units from Angolan soil, a South African promise to start implementation of UN Resolution 435 and agreement to move towards Namibian independence without considerations foreign to the UN resolution.

The Angolan offer was seen today as an encouraging new development, following so soon after the fierce battle between South African and Cuban-backed MPLA forces.

Western diplomats were keenly awaiting the South African response to the offer, but the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has been quoted as saying he will comment only after seeing the full text of the Angolan statement.

Observers noted that none of the Angolan conditions directly affected South Africa's original offer to withdraw its forces from the operational area in Angola on January 31.

The South African offer, made on December 15, was that it would disengage its forces from Angola on January 31 provided Angolan, Cuban and Swapo forces also disengaged. — Reuter, The Star's Foreign News Service.

Angola plan for truce

Cape Times 19/1/84 (5)

LISBON. — Angola has set conditions for a "possible" ceasefire with South Africa, according to reports monitored in Lisbon.

Angop, the Angolan news agency, quoted a statement released by the governing Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola's political bureau as saying that "the establishment of a trial, 30-day ceasefire might be a possibility ... considering our concern in setting up a climate of peace in Southern Africa".

The statement was made public in Luanda on Tuesday.

The statement listed Luanda's conditions for a ceasefire after describing South Africa's earlier peace proposal as "cynical ... it was offered at the exact moment it was carrying out a new wave of aggression".

According to the statement, Angola would agree to a ceasefire if the following conditions were met:

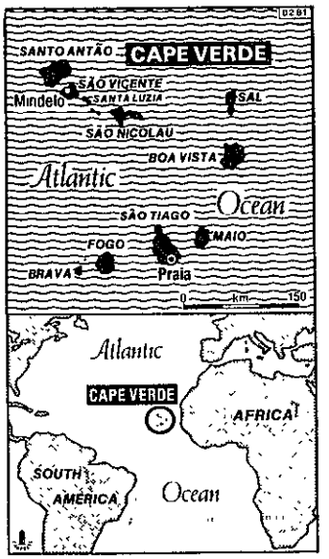
- Agreement by Swapo to the arrangement, and;
- The withdrawal of South African military units from Angolan soil and a South African promise to begin implementation of United Nations Security Council's Resolution 435 on independence for SWA/Namibia, and;
- Agreement by South Africa to begin moving towards SWA/Namibian independence "without considerations foreign to the (UN) Resolution".

The statement reaffirmed Angola's faith in its accord with Havana over the stationing of about 25 000 Cuban troops in the country.

Approached for comment, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night that he would react as soon as he had seen the text of the statement. — Sapa-AP

SA, Angola 'in talks'

Delegations already in Cape Verde, says Portuguese state radio



LISBON . — South African and Angolan delegations are in Cape Verde, off the West Coast of Africa, ready for an expected third round of talks on SWA/Namibia, Portuguese state radio said today.

Quoting a Portuguese news agency Angop report from Praia, the Cape Verde capital, the radio said the two delegations arrived yesterday and were likely to meet today, though Cape Verde government officials said they knew nothing about it.

Staging post for SAA

South Africa and Angola have had two previous meetings on the island of Sal off the Cape Verde coast — a staging post for South African Airways flights to and from Europe and other parts of the world.

South Africa has just completed a round of negotiations in Pretoria and Maputo on security and economic relations with another former Portuguese colony, Mozambique. It also recently announced the end of a five-week military drive from SWA/Namibia deep into Angolan territory, aimed at pre-empting raids by Angolan-based Swapo guerrillas.

A new round of talks in Cape Verde was expected to cover peace prospects in SWA/Namibia and the controversial issue of Cuban troops based in Angola.

Angola has accepted the principle of a 30-day truce proposed by South Africa but has set conditions seen as unacceptable to Pretoria.

South Africa insists on withdrawal of an estimated 25 000 Cubans from Angola as a condition of an independence settlement for SWA/Namibia.

Pure coincidence

The radio also reported that Angola's ambassador to the UN, Mr Elisio Figueiredo, arrived in Cape Verde today but described his presence at the same time as South African diplomats as "pure coincidence".

The radio added that the Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Venancio Moura — who attended earlier talks with the South Africans — was due in Praia later today.

● The Department of Foreign Affairs could neither confirm nor deny the Lisbon report of the meeting. The department took the same line with the previous talks.

In a statement in Luanda, the ruling MPLA reaffirmed the possibility of a truce. But the statement, quoted by the official Angolan news agency ANGOP, repeated Angola's conditions for a ceasefire — Sapa-Reuter.

SWA/NAMIBIA

ARGUS 19/1/80

Hot war in ti

ANDRÉ MEYEROWITZ of the Political Staff tells of life in

ALL is quiet in the bush under the hot sun, with the insects going about their interminable business. Suddenly, as if from nowwhere, there is a startling flap-flap-flap of rotor blades and a helicopter is overhead, almost close enough to touch and then it is gone and the flap-flap-flap dies away.

There is nothing more evocative of films on the Vietnam war, not least Coppola's "Apocalypse Now."

But this is SWA/Namibia, even if thoughts of Vietnam linger after a visit to the "operational area", where South African forces are fighting Swapo terrorists

Correspondents

A group of political correspondents were invited by the Government to go there for several days last week, accompanied by generals of both the army and the police.

The journalists were afforded every courtesy; no area was declared off limits and questions seemed to be answered frankly.

The correspondents saw the war only from "our" side. As they gazed at the "enemy" landscape across the border, not entering it, a 2 000-strong South African force was slowly winding its way home after a 250-km sortie into Angola to turn back a wave of Swapo men.

Doing well

In terms of both legislation and of the ground-rules which the correspondents accepted for the tour, not everything they learned about the war in SWA/Namibia may be reported.

Conversely, no general can order a journalist to write something that he does not want to write.

It was clear from the visit that the South African Defence Force, backed by the South African Police, is doing very well in its military struggle.

The young captains and commandents who bear life-or-death responsibilities seem keen, alert and highly competent. Many of the "troopies" called up for duty in the border area get nowhere near any combat. Some do and a relative handful die.



SAAF Puma helicopter swoops up into the sky after dropping a gr

At least 21 soldiers on the South African side were lost in the latest thrust into Angola, known as Operation Askari, while a far greater number from the enemy ranks were killed.

The generals do not like to speak of kill rates or kill ratios. They believe such talk can lead to undesirable competitiveness among the various elements of the South African forces; it can result in over-eagerness or demoralisation, both of which are unhealthy.

An educated guess at the kill ratio, however, would put it at an overall 12 for one.

In the Caprivi Strip — where the first landmine in the border war was exploded in 1967 — the killing has virtually stopped. The army sees its main task in the Caprivi now as winning hearts and minds by educating the local people and helping them with their agricultural pursuits.

This is perhaps 80 percent of the army's raison d'etre in that area. The other 20 percent is military preparedness, just in case.

A Marine detachment — men who thought they were going to see the sea — patrol the Zambezi River which separates the Eastern Caprivi from Zambia.

There has been the occasional desultory exchange of fire between South Africans and Zambian troops in years past. Now they just wave at each other.

At the Omega base in the Western Caprivi, the army has taken about 4 500 Bushmen — perhaps 15 percent of the world's Bushmen population — under its wing. The few hundred in army uniform earn R500 to R700 a month or more, but the official attitude towards them is one of extreme paternalism.

For the whites at Omega base, the atmosphere is not far removed from that of a rest camp — which in fact it is for some soldiers after operations in Kavango to the west.

Caricature American tourists would readily pay hundreds of dollars to check in at an

19/1/84

ar in the bush

OWITZ of the Political Staff tells of life in the operational zone



elicopter swoops up into the sky after dropping a group of tough Parabats in the SWA bush

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Caricature American tourists would readily pay hundreds of dollars to check in at an Omega but for a night so that they could ogle the Bushmen, visit the snake park, have a swim in the pool and dine under the African stars.

The war is much more serious in the Kavango, where there was a relatively big terrorist infiltration from Angola last year. The army implicitly admits problems along the tarred road linking Rundu with Grootfontein by banning civilian travel on it at night.

The powerline along the road has lately been a favoured target for sabotage. The road itself can be mined by terrorists who tunnel under the macadamised surface or cut and replace an area the size of a cake-tin.

Suddenly it makes good sense to transport journalists and generals by armoured vehicles with escorts and to fly them from base to base a little more than tree-top height.

A lone terrorist could fire a SAM-7 at a passing plane with a fair hope of bringing it down if he has time to aim and operate his equipment properly. Low flying and therefore the sudden, unexpected appearance of an aircraft denies him that hope.

The army says the 110 000 Kavango people are thoroughly anti-Swapo but suffer serious intimidation, including torture and many cases of exemplary murder.

ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE

SA's relations with two neighbours in contrast

In an interview with LEON MARSHALL, Political Editor, PROFESSOR ROBERT SCHRIRE analyses the differing forces dictating the interaction between African states and the Republic

FROM southern Angola battle-weary South African soldiers returned to base last week, satisfied that Swapo's seasonal southern drive had been sufficiently impeded. Among their spoils of war were advanced Russian military equipment taken from Cuban-backed MPLA and Swapo forces after fierce battle at Cuvelai.

But from Maputo this week South African officials returned smiling at the prospect of accord with Southern Africa's other former Portuguese colony. They brought gifts lavished on them by equally conciliatory Mozambican counterparts.

The local and international reaction to the developments added to the contrast.

While widely praised for its new approach to Mozambique, South Africa drew on the other hand expected condemnation for its sortie into Angola. But less predictable was the questioning this time even by some of the Government's own newspapers of its military diplomacy on the SWA/Namibia-Angolan issue.

One Nationalist commentator, Rapport's Dr Willem de Klerk, wondered aloud whether the loss of life and the expense of the war effort were really worth the benefit of no more than a continuing stalemate on the SWA/Namibian issue.

Reminder

Another newspaper, Vaderland, pleaded for the South African Government to appreciate that the MPLA Government depended for its existence on the Cuban presence.

A feature of the latest escalation in the armed conflict on the SWA/Namibia-Angolan border — to the point of direct Soviet threats against South Africa — has been the accompanying series of offers and counter-offers on troop withdrawal, ceasefire and talks.

While most observers have come to view these truce offers with extreme cynicism, the sudden change in South Africa's relationship with Mozambique has served as a reminder of how rapidly the situation could change.

News from Lisbon of a further round of talks between South African and Angolan officials has indeed raised the question of whether there is not, after all, a chance of something similarly positive happening on the west coast.

Situation intricacies

However, a reminder of the intricacies of the Southern African situation has come from Professor Robert Schrire, head of the department of political studies at the University of Cape Town.

He said in an interview he believed there were two kinds of forces dictating African states' relations with South Africa. One was based on a practical self-interest, a realpolitik which took economic considerations into account. It was from this point of view that Mozambique's search for accord with South Africa should be seen.

On the other hand, there was the force that operated at a more symbolic or emotive level. It was based on a strong distaste of South African policies and it found expression in the form of public denouncements of South Africa and identification with the victims of its policies.

These countries' policies were marked by a constant fluctuation between these forces, as in the case of Lesotho which one moment would declare its willingness to co-operate and the next would issue an emotive denouncement of South African policies.

Bludgeoning failed

For the black states, the choice between conflict and accord depended largely on how South Africa behaved. From this country's side the approach had for long been to bludgeon the frontline states into line. It had, for one, not worked in Angola where it had resulted only in greater involvement of the Russians and Cubans.

Mozambique was different. There the Russian influence had not been as great as in Angola, and this was one of the probable reasons for South Africa having behaved differently towards the country. It had generally been more moderate in its attitude to Mozambique, which was also why it found it possible now to explore its relations with South Africa.

Essentially, Professor Schrire said, the most vital interest of all governments was to survive. Where that survival was threatened the response was an increase in Soviet influence.

In Mozambique there had hardly been any possibility of the Government being overthrown. With its own position secured it was therefore possible for the Mozambican Government to turn its mind to matters like the economy, employment and the benefits that might be derived from South African tourism.

Major advantage

The closer links that had historically existed between South Africa and Mozambique in the form of exchanges of labour and tourists could also make accord easier.

The major advantage, however, was the fact that between Mozambique and South Africa negotiations were bilateral, even though the United States and the Portuguese Government might have played a major role in getting the talks started.

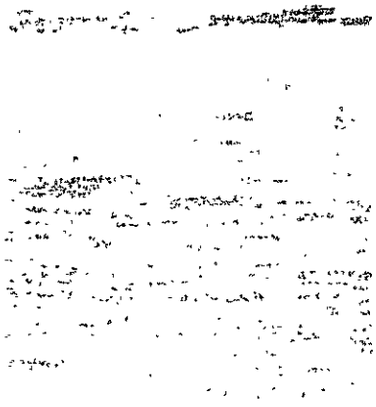
In the case of Angola and South Africa the issue had become multilateral, involving South Africa, SWA/Namibia, Swapo, the UN, the MPLA, Unita, the Cubans and even the Russians. It had become an international issue.

In some circles there was the belief that Mozambique's willingness to talk might at least be partly attributed to alleged South African destabilisation activities.

However, Professor Schrire's view is that Mozambique's changed attitude to South Africa is merely part of a more general reorientation of its East-West relations.

While he believes there might be advantages for South Africa in following a carrot-and-stick policy, he sees no such advantage at all in South Africa bludgeoning its neighbours as is happening in Angola.





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Picture: Peter Stanford

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● Turf Club chef is ready for Met day, page 3

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He is charged with

Deadlock over Angolan offer

Cape Times 20/1/84

(5) ~~(224) 254~~

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Moves towards a ceasefire in the SWA/Namibian border war remained deadlocked last night after South Africa had rejected Angola's latest list of conditions to be met before a halt to hostilities.

The major stumbling-block remains the presence of an estimated 30 000 Cuban soldiers in Angola.

Although Cuban withdrawal was not mentioned in South Africa's original offer to stop cross-border hostilities on January 31, Angola's latest conditions for accepting the ceasefire offer included a call that South Africa should agree to start implementing the United Nations settlement plan "without considerations foreign to the resolution" — in other words, South Africa had to drop its demand for Cuban withdrawal as a prerequisite for a settlement.

'Reasonable test'

In a statement last night, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said: "South Africa's offer to halt cross-border movements from January 31 is aimed at trying to achieve peace and a defusing of the tense situation in a war-torn part of our continent.

"This offer to halt hostilities is purposely not coupled to Cuban withdrawal. It is therefore a reasonable test to see if the Angolan Government is genuinely interested in peace.

Milk powder exported at loss

PRETORIA. — The Dairy Board is exporting thousands of tons of skimmed milk powder at a loss of as much as R28-million to reduce a massive surplus

The board has so far shipped about 7 000 tons of milk powder to Japan and Taiwan at very low prices and, it is understood, has taken out a R28-million loan to cover these losses.

And while the country still has a year's stockpile, a leading skimmed milk powder manufacturer has increased its price by 11 percent

The manager of the Dairy Board, Mr E Roux, confirmed in Pretoria that about 9 500 tons of skimmed milk powder was being exported to Japan and Taiwan. He said the powder was being exported at a big loss as a result of low world prices.

The loss would be compensated for solely out of the Dairy Board's stabilization fund — Sapa

Pick 'n ay



ractice run yesterday through the surf at Bloubergstrand with
ce Millard, in the saddle.

Picture: Peter Stanford

a labour of Luff

love, fertilizer and water on this important strip of lawn.

"It's in top-class condition," he said. "It has had a lot of water and in spite of the heat is not a bit hard. The going should be very good."

Mr Luff's concern is not limited to the track, however. The lawns, gardens and stands require just as much attention.

"Although we maintain the course throughout the year, we make a special effort for the Met," he said.

"Everything gets spruced up. The gardens are planted so that they will be in full bloom on Met day, the lawns are given a little extra care and our painters, carpenters and handymen check to see that everything will be 100 percent on the day."

● **Turf Club chef is ready for Met day, page 3**

Doctor charged with 'improper' conduct

By JO-ANNE RICHARDS

A RONDEBOSCH doctor has been charged with improper or disgraceful conduct involving a number of allegations of malpractice.

Dr Maurice Raad has pleaded not guilty to the charges put by the disciplinary committee o the South African Medical and Dental Counci

No evidence was le and the investigatio continues on Saturday

Dr Raad is charge with failing to detect growth — the size of 16-week pregnancy — i the abdomen of a wom an, while treating he from 1980 to 1982.

Dr Raad is alleged t have removed a part o the throat (pharynx) an posterior pillars o Brent Murtagh, while performing an adeno-tonsillectomy.

He allegedly claimed to have performed an adeno-tonsillectomy on Nicolette Murtagh. She was later found still to have tonsils.

He is also alleged to have "attempted" to charged with "falsely representing" to pharmacies and to the Medico Medical Aid Society that six prescriptions had been issued to Mr J and Mrs T Bywater, while they had allegedly been issued to other unknown people.

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physical union is impos sible, that union canno be a marriage within th erms of the church.

"A marriage is both piritual and physica nion. Until such tim s there is a miracle, o ntil medical scienc an repair nerves, I can see any way in whic he couple could marr n church."

The priest said hi ishop had instructe m to review the case

A From page 1

ment plan, South Africa is expected to reduce its troop strength to a meagre 1 500. Angola wants to retain the right to keep the Cubans at full strength of about 30 000 men or more.

Verde initiative

"It is laughable to allege that reasonable and fair elections can take place in SWA under these circumstances. If the Luanda government is genuinely interested in peace it will accept South Africa's offer, and if it wants the settlement plan to be implemented then it will have to get rid of the Cubans as quickly as possible," Mr Botha said.

Meanwhile, a hush-hush initiative involving South Africa and Cape Verde, and possibly aimed at meetings on ministerial level between South Africa and Angola, has been disclosed in reports from Lisbon and Cape Verde and was confirmed yesterday by Mr Pik Botha.

He said a senior official in the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr David Steward, had visited Cape Verde for talks with Cape Verde Government officials.

Mr Steward had already returned to South Africa and reported to him, Mr Botha said. He declined to disclose further details about the talks.

South African and Angolan government officials held talks at Cape Verde in December, 1982 and again in February, 1983, but there was no apparent progress towards a SWA/Namibian settlement.

man and wife would do."

Dow Jones 1 266,02

To page 2 A

own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Moves towards the SWA/Namibian border war re locked last night after South Africa Angola's latest list of conditions to be halt to hostilities.

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'Reasonable test'

In a statement last night, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said: "South Africa's offer to halt cross-border movements from January 31 is aimed at trying to achieve peace and a defusing of the tense situation in a war-torn part of our continent.

"This offer to halt hostilities is purposely not coupled to Cuban withdrawal. It is therefore a reasonable test to see if the Angolan Government is genuinely interested in peace.

"But the Angolan Government does not want to be tested because (it) now demands that South Africa back down from its standpoint that the Cubans must be withdrawn before a settlement can be implemented. Angola knows that South Africa cannot back down from this standpoint."

'Intimidation'

South Africa could not agree to the implementation of the settlement plan unless the Cubans were withdrawn, "for the simple reason that a basic element of the settlement plan is that free and reasonable elections must take place and this cannot happen as long as the Cuban forces remain a permanent source of threat and intimidation north of the border and as long as Swapo continues with its terror supported by the Cuban forces" he said.

"In terms of the settle-

Milk pow exported

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Discount Superm

FROM BUTCHE

THESE PRICES FROM 18 Jan. - STOC GUARA

LAMB BRAAI CHOPS (Leg and Shoulder) Super

39 per kg for Kilo-plus

West looks into the fine print of SA offer

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Western diplomats are viewing South Africa's offer of a military disengagement in Angola with extreme suspicion until they obtain clarification of one crucial aspect.

And, when it comes, the clarification could deflate the Namibia settlement hopes that have been boosted by the offer.

There is uncertainty about just what South Africa meant when it offered last month "to begin a disengagement of forces which, from time to time, conduct military operations against Swapo in Angola, on January 31 1984".

What the Western diplomats want to know is whether by "disengagement" South Africa meant a ceasefire in fixed positions or a troop withdrawal from Angola.

And, if the latter, was it an offer to withdraw all the troops that the Luanda Government says have been in virtual permanent occupation of part of Southern Angola for more than a year?

Or was it to withdraw only the troops sent in on the recent "Operation Askari" and to refrain from any more operations of this kind?

SHORT - TERM

In public, Pretoria insists it has no troops stationed permanently in Southern Angola and that the only South African forces in Angola are those that go in from Namibia on short-term operations against Swapo forces.

South Africa's ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, said "disengagement" meant that South African troops entering Angola on specific missions would be kept inside Namibia if an agreement were reached.

He stressed that these forces entered Angola only to engage Swapo guerillas heading for Namibia, and denied that they were occupying areas of Angola.

ACCURATE

But in Western diplomatic circles it is widely believed that the Angolan claim is substantially accurate and that South African forces have been ensconced for some time in positions relatively deep in Angola.

The United States has not publicly made known its view and appears to be going to great lengths to avoid doing so to avoid jeopardising its hopes for positive returns from the disengagement offer.

It is not known whether it was an optimistic interpretation that led to Angola's conditional acceptance of the South African offer.

But the State Department has indicated that it has high hopes of the offer helping to break the stalemate in the Namibia peace efforts.

These efforts are being held up by Angola's rejection of Pretoria's insistence that the Cuban troops in Angola be withdrawn before the UN peace plan for Namibia — set out in Security Council Resolution 435 — can be implemented.

Ceasefire pressure now moves over to Angola

5 Star 20/1/84

John D'Oliveira,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — In the next two weeks considerable international pressure will be put on Angola to move towards a ceasefire with South Africa.

Behind this effort is the belief that a comparatively minor shift in the Luanda Government's position could pave the way for an informal ceasefire which, in turn, could lead to a formal ceasefire and to the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence.

In December South Africa offered to "disengage" its military forces from action in Southern Angola for one month from January 31 provided that the resulting situation was not exploited by Swapo.

Angola responded by accepting the ceasefire in principle.

But it set three conditions: Swapo should agree to the arrangement, all South African military units should leave Angolan soil and South Africa should start immediately with the implementation of the UN settlement plan "without considerations foreign to the UN resolution".

The last condition was the most difficult because it made clear that South Africa should drop its demand that the 25 000 to 30 000 Cuban troops should withdraw from Angola as the number of South African troops was reduced in Namibia.

While these messages were being considered, South Africa continued a major military operation in Southern Angola in an attempt to pre-empt an expected Swapo summer "invasion".

South Africa has now claimed that the last of its troops have left Angola.

Several Western nations believe that conditions are now favourable for the unilateral implementation of the South African ceasefire proposal.

United States Secretary of State Mr George Schultz said that the unilateral withdrawal of South African troops was "one of those signs and actions that could perhaps lead others to do something".

But the indications are that South Africa has moved as far as it intends moving on the ceasefire issue.

The South Africans believe they have been more than reasonable because the conditions for their "disengagement" were left as vague as possible and because they deliberately omitted any reference to the Cubans.

Initially, it was hoped that the requirement that the situation not be "exploited" was vague enough to find acceptance with Luanda [illegible].

The Angolans have come back with a requirement — completely unacceptable to the South Africans — which is tantamount to South Africa accepting the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

It seems the South Africans have told the West that they believe the next move is up to Luanda and that further progress on the ceasefire will depend on the Angolans.

Against this background, a senior South African Foreign Affairs official, Mr Dave Steward, travelled to the Cape Verde Islands this week to set out the South African position to representatives of a government which has already organised two top-level Angola/South Africa meetings.

Clearly, Mr Steward must have told his hosts that further progress on a ceasefire depended on some gesture from Angola.

The Star Friday J

Cape Verde talks veiled in secrecy

(5) RDM 21/1/84

London Bureau

LONDON. — Tripartite talks between the United States, South Africa and Angola were under way yesterday in Cape Verde, but it was not immediately clear whether the parties were meeting on a preparatory basis or for definitive discussions.

The Portuguese news agency Angop, reporting from Praia, capital of the former Portuguese colony of Cape Verde, said the US Ambassador to Cape Verde, Mr John Yates, and a senior State Department official were meeting with two South African Foreign Ministry envoys, a South African military officer and Angola's deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Venancio d'Moura.

The talks, clouded in secrecy, were said to be taking place in the town of Mindelo on the island of Sao Vincente, northwest of Praia.

There have been reports since midweek, all denied in Cape Verde, that meetings were under way between the parties most closely linked to the settlement of the South West African problem.

Diplomatic sources in Cape Verde believe the latest talks are connected with SWA and the future of the beleagured Marxist government of Angola.

South Africa and Angola first met at ministerial level in Cape Verde in December, 1982, while the United States and Angola have had regular bilateral contact over SWA.

Commenting on the reported talks, the Portuguese news agency said Angola was currently in a relatively strong position to negotiate an end to its undeclared war with South Africa so closely linked to the SWA issue.

"Luanda, by inflicting significant defeats on Unita guerrillas in recent months, is showing the effects of the efficient reorganisation of its armed forces under Soviet-trained General Iko Carreira," the agency added.

Earlier, South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed in Cape Town that a top Foreign Ministry official had been in Cape Verde for discussions with that government.

Praia has previously acted as an intermediary in arranging meetings between South Africa and Angola.

Lisbon eager for peace in Angola

CAPE TIMES 2/1/84

LISBON. — Portugal, striving to strengthen relations with its former African colonies, is watching the explosive situation in southern Angola with increasing anxiety.

Diplomats here say Lisbon's worries, and its hope that new talks between Angola and South Africa might at last bear fruit, are all the deeper because some of its citizens are involved on both sides in Angola's two overlapping bush wars.

Lisbon is a major listening post for Africa, and anti-government elements from the former colonies, particularly Angola and Mozambique, are very active here — much to the displeasure of the marxist leaders in Luanda and Maputo.

Direct or indirect antagonists in Angola's turmoil include Angolans and South Africans of all hues, Namibians, Portuguese, Cubans, Russians, East Germans, Britons, Americans, former Katangan gendarmes, Czechoslovaks and even, according to some reports, North Koreans and Vietnamese.

Ever since its independence in 1975, an unresolved struggle for power has bled Angola, drawing in the great powers and their surrogates.

Major battlefield

The country is also a major battlefield in the 17-year-old guerilla war between South Africa and Swapo.

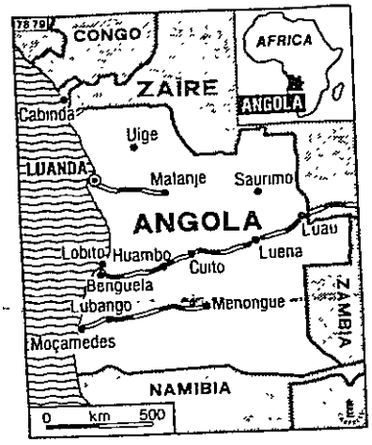
Finding a formula for a free and independent Namibia has proved one of the world's most intractable diplomatic problems since the former German territory was mandated to South Africa after World War I.

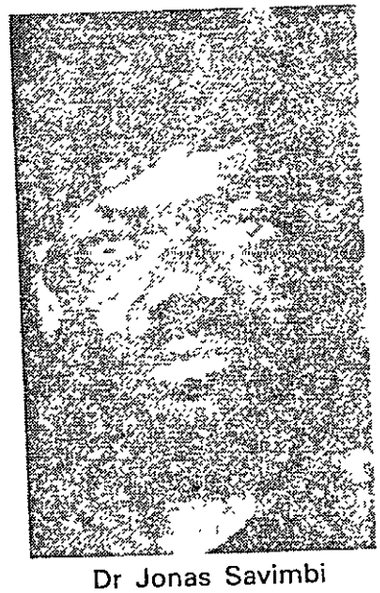
The latest in a series of South African military forays deep into Angola, which Pretoria said were meant to pre-empt seasonal Swapo raids into SWA/Namibia, has again highlighted the forces involved and the perils of the situation.

Angola says South African forces are still occupying southern areas of the country, despite an announced withdrawal after a five-week operation which penetrated more than 200 km past the SWA/Namibian border.

The marxist rulers in Luanda also have little control over the south-eastern third of the country, occupied by rebel troops of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita.

With Western and South African backing, Unita has stepped up its campaign against the ruling MPLA, which won the post-





Dr Jonas Savimbi

independence civil war over Unita and another pro-Western movement, the FNLA, largely because of help from Cuban troops.

Western intelligence sources here estimate that Unita has 30 000 to 40 000 guerillas in the field, facing 90 000 to 100 000 government troops, including 55 000 people's militia, plus Cuban forces supported by mainly Soviet and East German technicians.

The Cubans, who also fly MiG-21 aircraft, are estimated by Western experts to total around 25 000 men, while South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has put the figure at 30 000 or more and Unita has claimed 45 000.

Dr Savimbi's army, according to Angolan government sources, has some Portuguese commanders. Luanda says white and black mercenaries speaking English and French have taken part with Unita and South African commandos in attacks on government strongpoints and installations.

In the north, the FNLA has emerged once again after being almost completely discredited by its civil war defeat. In communiques issued in Lisbon it has claimed a series of successes against government troops.

In Luanda, an official source quoted by the Angolan news agency Angop confirmed persistent reports that 12 senior retired Portuguese officers were training Angolan instructors to form elite units.

According to Portuguese newspaper reports, not denied by the Lisbon Defence Ministry, the officers were recruited last year by Reserve-Admiral Antonio Rosa Coutinho, the swashbuckling "Red Admiral" of Portugal's 1974 armed forces revolution and its turbulent aftermath.

Admiral Coutinho, a former high commissioner in Luanda, played a key role in Angola's march to independence. He now runs an import-export firm in the Angolan capital.

The officers are all said to be left-wingers compulsorily retired after an abortive counter-coup in Portugal in November, 1975, the year in which the fledgling new democracy nearly went communist.

Training mission

In a statement released in Lisbon, however, the FNLA claimed that 40, not 12, Portuguese officers were involved in the training mission.

Unita also claimed the operation was intended to build up a pro-government mercenary force of 25 000 men drawn from Portugal, North Korea and Vietnam.

The force would be divided into two main groups — one in the south to expel the South Africans, the other in the north to defeat the FNLA and then, supported by former Katanga gendarmes, to invade Zaire's Shaba province and oust President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Admiral Rosa Coutinho was not available for comment on the FNLA allegations, which have been greeted with some scepticism by Western intelligence sources.

However, the reports illustrate the bizarre nature of a war in which South Africa has ignored sanctions and threats and built itself up into the world's 10th largest arms producer. — Sapa-Reuter

(E) S-Ea Times 22/1/84

U.S. recognition of Angola is key

CIDADE DA PRAIA
(Cape Verde)

A TOP American diplomat has met Angolan officials on the Cape Verde Islands for talks.

They could be aimed at establishing US recognition of Angola in a bid to break the deadlock over independence for SWA/Namibia, diplomatic sources said here.

The sources said the US Deputy Asssistant Secretary of State for Southern African Affairs, Mr Frank Wisner, headed the US delegation to the negotiations arranged in secrecy on the island of Sao Vicente.

South African officials, including an unidentified general, were also present at the talks, the sources said, and were possibly drawing up a calendar for future talks with Angola, aimed at easing conflicts over SWA/Namibia.

On Friday night Mr Wisner ended talks with an Angolan delegation led by the Interior Minister, Mr Alexandre Rodrigues, and was expected to leave for Portugal, the sources said.

In Lisbon the Portuguese Foreign Ministry said Mr Wisner was expected there this weekend.

Both the Angolan and South African governments have declined to comment on the reports of secret talks in Cape Verde.

The Cape Verdian government, which hosted the first two rounds of direct negotiations between Luanda and Pretoria a year ago, has officially denied a third session took place this week.

The US is the only Western power that has not yet recognised the marxist government of Angola that took power following victory in a civil war that broke out after independence from Portugal in 1975.

Sporadic talks towards establishing diplomatic relations have taken place since mid-1981 and several major US business interests are represented in Angola.

The Luanda government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has maintained that the US cannot intervene as a legitimate mediator in Southern Africa until it gives Angola full diplomatic relations.

The US administration supports Pretoria in seeking to link its withdrawal from SWA/Namibia to a simultaneous pullout by an estimated 20 000 Cuban troops now backing the Angolan Government.

Luanda says the Cuban presence is a purely internal matter.

South Africa last week ended a major six-week incursion into southern Angola directed against Swapo bases.

According to the diplomatic sources, talks in Cape Verde between South African and Angolan officials, subsidiary to those between the US and Angola, could be aimed at setting up future negotiations on a non-agression pact between the two neighbours.

Last Tuesday Angola announced its condition for a trial, 30-day ceasefire with South African withdrawal from southern Angola, implementation within 15 days of the United Nations resolution on SWA/Namibia independence, and agreement to the proposal by Swapo.

Ken Pottinger reports from Lisbon that the talks last week between South Africa and Mozambique on mutual security and other bilateral issues appeared to have made substantial progress and in the process boosted Portugal's prestige as a mediator in the region.

Lisbon is quietly congratulating itself on the positive outcome of meetings in Pretoria and Maputo, which it helped arrange, and is hoping that the results will bring a lasting end to tensions between the two neighbours.

Lisbon sources suggest that, should developments proceed smoothly from now on, the door could be open to massive Western investment in and aid to Mozambique.

Reports in Lisbon already link the name of Mr Harry Oppenheimer to an important Portuguese financier, Mr Manuel Bulhosa, said to be interested in several projects in Mozambique.

Lisbon's prime interest in seeing a security accord worked out between Maputo and Pretoria stems from concern over the safety of its nationals working in Mozambique and the Portuguese Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme.

Portuguese nationals in Mozambique have become prime targets for kidnapping by the Mozambique resistance movement Renamo, which has also cut the power lines from Cahora Bassa to South Africa, causing major losses for Portugal.

Officials in Lisbon say that talks will begin soon in Lisbon between South Africa, Mozambique and Portugal about the dam.

Other reports, officially denied here, say the talks will sound out Mozambican reaction to a plan to give away the dam to South Africa.

Portugal loses 5 000-million escudos (R47-million) annually on the project as a result of guerrilla sabotage, and recently told Zamco, the Belgian-controlled construction consortium which built the dam, that it is having difficulty finding money for outstanding liabilities. — Sapa-AP.

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Luanda still 'a shiny, empty shell'

(5) Star 23/11/84

Most stores have closed down, but every essential commodity is available on the black market, says a Christian Science Monitor correspondent.

Antonov cargo planes land and take off continuously at Luanda Airport, bringing arms, troops and sophisticated tracking equipment in an airlift which Angolan officials describe as massive.

This leap in "foreign aid" follows the recent escalation of Angola's civil war. In August, Jonas Savimbi's anti-government Unita rebels launched a massive attack against towns that had been solidly controlled by the MPLA Government.

Angolan officials claim the rebel forces had South African air protection and that the aim of the operation was to encircle the capital and promote an uprising to overthrow the Government (South Africa claims its activity in Angola was directed against Swapo).

"The (South Africa) operation failed. The critical stage is over and we pushed them back," said a spokesman of the MPLA.

But one result of the Unita offensive and of the South African military attack was an increase in the spiral of Soviet aid to the Government. And in attempting to repel the attacks, the MPLA cut corners on its early anti-colonialist ideology: it accepted help from Portugal to train anti-guerilla squadrons. It also agreed to Soviet and Cuban air protection, which it had previously refused for fear of "excessive dependence" on foreigners, and moved Cuban troops into direct combat against the rebels.

Angola has not known a day of peace since independence eight years ago and the internal war is eroding nearly all its resources. Today the Soviet Antonovs are welcomed with marxist slogans, while thousands of Angolans fill the airport patiently waiting for planes out of the country.

Luanda is still as Gabriel Garcia Marquez Gave described it a few years ago. "A shiny, empty shell." Its glass skyscrapers, palm-lined bay and sandy beaches are surrounded by "musseques" — clapboard and mud shantytowns to which hundreds of thousands of Angolans have flocked during the politically and economically insecure days. Its population has risen from 250 000 before independence to 1,2 million.

For much of the day there is no water or electricity in the capital. There are virtually no cafes or restaurants. Most stores have shut down. Official commerce no longer exists but the "kandongero", the black market, flourishes everywhere, from the musseques to the bayshore.

Every essential commodity is available illegally, but the law of supply and demand has made a mockery of government-set prices. A towel can cost R210, or half the average monthly wage. A box of detergent can reach R100 and even a chicken, one of the most common sources of nourishment in the Third World, arrives from Portugal and costs R75.

Fan mail? Now that's another s

Writers want to be loved. They want money too. In fact they want both. Most of the writers I know think Graham Greene qualifies all round. They would be wrong.

A friend once wrote a fan letter to him on the publication of his novel "The Comedians." She was his sister-in-law and could easily have telephoned him but she liked the book so much she felt she had to put down her feelings on paper. In the letter she apologised for adding yet another to what she thought must be a huge pile. In reply she received a charming, if rather sad, note saying she could not have imagined how touched he was to get her letter. Very few people ever wrote saying they had enjoyed his books.

If that happens to Greene imagine how few letters, how very few, the rest of us get. When one does come, the heart lifts. But too often, instead of the "I-love-you-and-your-books" which you want to hear, it is far more likely to be the one that came in the post this morning.

It was from a lady in her seventies — strange how often they tell you this — who said she had just read "The Stone Flower" and liked it, but . . .

There's always a but. She said she felt compelled to point out two mistakes, anachronisms. She said I had written of pound notes and crossword puzzles in a section of the novel covering the early years of this century. She had checked in her reference books and neither article had been in use at the time.

Oh dear. One does hate to be caught out in stupid errors like this. I had done a great deal of research on the historical background of the book but I had certainly not checked either pound notes or crossword puzzles. I should have.

I checked in my Britannica and found, thank God, that pound notes were introduced into Britain in the late 18th century and crosswords came into the world from America in the late 19th.

Usually things happen the other way round. There are experts every subject lurking all over world just waiting to pounce.

I have been taken to task over stars by a man in Sri Lanka, the of the word "hello" by an Amer the subject of photography Japanese, railways by a Cana who lives in Chile, the amou water flowing from the mou

Here and There



ALAN SCHOLEFIELD



Astor gets s

The South Atlantic's new queen, the almost new 19 000-ton Astor, came to Cape Town the other day, was seen by the people and conquered them. So much so that there has been a rush to book passages on her come back as Saf senger ship comm could hardly be gury for the servi

His crew will South African, wh excitingly new as

US and Angola in secret talks

By Gerald L'Ange,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The secret United States-Angola meetings held in Cape Verde over the weekend are believed to be part of a series of exploratory exchanges aimed at establishing a basis for substantive talks on America's Namibia settlement initiative.

Knowledgeable sources here have confirmed that a US team led by the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Frank Wisner, met an Angolan delegation in Cape Verde, but have denied a news agency report that South African representatives also attended.

Observers here have speculated that the report of a South African presence may have stemmed from the fact that a South African diplomat, Mr Dave Steward, was in Cape Verde a few days previously for talks with the Angolans.

While the subject of talks has not been disclosed, analysts here speculate that among the matters disussed was the South African offer of a military disengagement for a trial period of 30 days.

Although Angola and Swapo have put conditions on their acceptance of the offer that have displeased South africa, the US takes the position that the offer remains viable.

A State Department spokesman said on Friday that the offer was still very much alive and we are convinced that no party has rejected it.

US envoy in Angolan talks

LISBON. — A senior United States diplomat had arrived in Lisbon from Cape Verde last night after talks with the Angolans on the situation in Southern Africa, a US Embassy spokesman said.

Mr Frank Wisner, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, made no statement on arrival.

A US Embassy spokesman told reporters that Mr Wisner had met an Angolan delegation including the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Venancio de Moura.

The Portuguese news agency Anop and Cape Verdian sources said Mr Wisner had discussed the SWA/Namibia independence deadlock with Angolan and South African officials.

But a State Department spokesman in Washington said South Africa had not taken part in the weekend discussions.

Portuguese Government radio reports said earlier that secret talks between the three countries were being held in Mindelo, 160km northwest of Praia, the Cape Verde capital.

Washington last week refused to confirm that Mr Wisner would visit Cape Verde, saying only that he was travelling to Lisbon.

Cape Verde, like Angola a former Portuguese colony, has twice in the past served as the venue for talks between South Africa and Angola. The US has no formal diplomatic relations with Angola.

Last week the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said an official of his ministry had been in Cape Verde for talks with government officials there.

'Bilateral'

Asked whether there had been tripartite talks last weekend, the US Embassy spokesman here said: "They were bilateral talks, not trilateral contacts." He said SWA/Namibia had not been the only topic discussed.

Mr Wisner, top aide to Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, who has played a key role in negotiations aimed at SWA/Namibian independence, will have talks today with the Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr Mario Soares, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Jaime Gama.

He will also confer with the US ambassadors to Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. — Sapa-Reuter

'SA plotted to unsettle Angola'

LONDON — The Observer newspaper claimed on Sunday to have details of a secret meeting at which American and South African envoys discussed destabilising the Angolan Government.

A report of the meeting — in late November 1983 — was contained in an alleged memorandum from the Zairean National Security Council to President Joseph Mobutu.

The Observer said the document had been smuggled out of Zaire and that sources close to Nguza Karl I Bond, a former Zairean prime minister now living in exile in Brussels, confirmed the meeting did take place.

However, a spokesman for the United States embassy in London, denied the claims and said the document was a forgery.

The people who were peddling the document wanted to discourage the present negotiations between the Angolan Government and the United States' administration — negotiations aimed at Namibian independence, the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the diplomatic recognition of Angola by America.

A spokesman for the South African embassy here said he had "no comment whatsoever" on the alleged meeting.

The document claimed the discussion was attended by a United States "special envoy," three representatives from the Unita rebel movement and military and intelligence officers from South Africa. An adviser from the Israeli Military Mission in Kinshasa attended as an observer.

The group discussed American and South African aid to rebel groups in Angola, ways of stirring up popular feeling against the Luanda regime, sabotage of factories and transport systems and the best means of bringing pressure to bear on Cuba to withdraw its troops.

The document alleged the American envoy called for more military pressure against the Luanda regime by the South African Government. (The Observer added the South Africans "did indeed launch a military operation deep into Angola in December.")

For its part, the United States would increase "military and financial" assistance to the rebels and apply pressure to stem the flow of foreign investment to Angola.

For the past two years, the United States has worked hard to counter a "disinformation campaign it says has been launched by the Soviet Union. This has involved a number of forged documents, many of them claiming United States' military links with South Africa. One series of reports generated by a forged document in 1982 claimed the United States would

69 Unita men killed, says Angop

CAPE Times 24/1/86

LISBON. — Angolan troops and militia killed 69 Unita guerillas and captured five others in recent fighting in two provinces, the official Angop news agency reported yesterday.

The Angolan agency, which gave no figures for casualties on the side of the Marxist government, said the fighting took place between January 7-19 in the provinces of coastal Benguela and interior North Kuanza. It claimed small quantities of South African-made weapons and supplies, including "toxic grenades", were seized.

The battle claims, the latest in a recent series of victory statements, raised to 140 the number of guerillas allegedly killed or captured this year.

In a dispatch monitored in Lisbon, Angop said 21 "South African lackeys" were killed and one captured in actions in North Kuanza, about 220km east of Luanda, the oil-producing country's capital.

In a second dispatch, it said troops and militia killed 48 rebels and captured four in Benguela province, a pivotal area for its road, rail and harbour facilities located some 400km south of Luanda.

In recent statements, Unita (the National Union for Angola's Total Independence) has denounced Luanda's mounting victory claims as "propaganda" and challenged it to take Western journalists to battle areas.

The guerillas, who acknowledge getting South African support, have fought the government and its estimated 25 000 allied Cuban troops in an eight-year-old bush war since losing the 1975-76 civil war for independence from Portugal. — UPI

Ceasefire talks in City for Crocker

Cape Times 25/1/84

Political Correspondent

A TOP American negotiator, Dr Chester Crocker, is expected in Cape Town on Friday for discussions on an Angolan ceasefire with the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

Mr Botha confirmed the visit last night but declined to give further details.

Dr Crocker, Assistant US Secretary of State for African Affairs, has been the chief Western negotiator in contacts with South Africa about a settlement of the SWA/Namibian dispute.

The Angolan and SWA/Namibian issues are linked by the South African demand that Cuban troops leave Angola before the SWA/Namibian settlement plan can be implemented. The US Government has supported this stand.

Dr Crocker's talks with Mr Botha are expected to centre on South Africa's offer of a trial month-long ceasefire with Angola to start on January 31.

Cape Verde

Another top US official, Mr Frank Wisner, is reported to have discussed the situation with Angolan officials earlier this month in a meeting on the Cape Verde Islands.

Mr Wisner is not coming to Cape Town but Dr Crocker is expected to pass on the latest Angolan position. It is seen as significant that the discussions are taking place before the proposed January 31 date for implementation of the ceasefire.

The South African ceasefire offer, made last month, was conditional on Angola withdrawing its support for Swapo insurgents. The offer followed talks Dr Crocker and Mr Pik Botha had in Rome, and was later described by the US Government as a viable proposition.

Within 15 days

Angola countered by accepting a January 31 truce with South Africa, provided South Africa dropped its insistence on a Cuban withdrawal and that South African began implementing a SWA/Namibian settlement within 15 days of the ceasefire expiring.

South African officials have made it clear they have no intention of abandoning their stand on Cuban withdrawal.

Crocker in new drive for Angola peace

(5)
25/1/84 Star

The US has launched a major new diplomatic initiative seeking a ceasefire in Angola and independence for Namibia.

The Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, is to have talks with the South African Government in Cape Town on Friday at the start of a two-week tour of Frontline states and capitals in Europe.

The US hopes to use South Africa's offer of a military disengagement in Angola to help with a settlement in Namibia.

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night he was prepared to "burn the midnight oil" with the Americans to clarify the situation for them. South Africa saw peace as the priority in all its discussions.

Dr Crocker's mission comes hard on the heels of diplomatic activity centred on the Cape Verde islands last week and over the weekend in which US, South African, Angolan and Portuguese officials are reported to have been involved.

PROGRESS

Observers believe the US has launched the initiative because important progress towards a settlement in Namibia was made there and possibly in the subsequent discussions held in Lisbon by Dr Crocker's deputy, Mr Frank Wisner.

In Lisbon Mr Wisner yesterday briefed the Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr Mario Soares, and Foreign Minister, Mr Jaime Gama, on the Cape Verde talks.

He and Washington officials denied he had met South African officials in Cape Verde.

The officials said there were not even direct talks between the Angolans and South Africans, leaving the impression that the Cape Verdeans acted as go-betweens. A report from Lisbon that Cubans were involved was viewed sceptically in Washington.

The officials denied a Portuguese News Agency report that guidelines had been worked out at Cape Verde for a compromise under which the US would recognise the Luanda Government in return for Luanda dropping its support for Swapo.

One source said the Crocker trip was aimed at "building directly on what has taken place in Cape Verde but also looking ahead to the South African disengagement proposal".

Pretoria's December 15 offer of a disengagement for a 30-day trial period from January 31 was described yesterday by a US official as a window of opportunity and all recent activity had been taking advantage of it.

— The Star's Washington Bureau, Reuter, Sapa.

CAPE Times 25/1/84

Archbishop hits at SA's motives

PRETORIA. — The president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Archbishop Denis Hurley, last night questioned South Africa's true motives in SWA/Namibia and Angola, and said South Africa was likely to pursue a hard line in these two countries until it achieved its objectives.

In his presidential report to the annual plenary session of the SACBC, which started in Pretoria last night, he said the "tragedy" of the SWA/Namibian war continued to drag on, involving South African troops in never-ending operations in Angola.

These operations were ostensibly aimed at neutralizing Swapo, but in view of all that was said about destabilization, one could only wonder whether this was the whole story.

"Destabilization is aimed principally at forcing South Africa's neighbours to deny assistance and facilities to the African National Congress.

'Hard line'

"The conclusion that springs to mind is that a hard line will be taken in Namibia and Angola until South Africa has achieved its object in both these countries," Archbishop Hurley said.

Archbishop Hurley also expressed disquiet at the continued detention of the secretary-general of the SACBC, the Rev Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, who has been in detention in Ciskei since October last year.

The priest appeared briefly in the Alice Magistrate's Court near East London on Friday on charges under Section 2 and Section 13 of the National Security Act of Ciskei.



Archbishop Hurley

He was unbanned by South African authorities four months before being detained by Ciskeian police.

Archbishop Hurley said the church was engaged in diplomatic and legal efforts to secure his release, and a Mass for his early release would be celebrated in the Cathedral of Christ the King in Johannesburg this Sunday.

Referring briefly to the new constitution, which the SACBC has opposed because it excludes blacks, Archbishop Hurley said a memorandum expressing the church's views on the new deal had been submitted to the government.

He also mentioned that the administrative board of the SACBC had, after discussions with the political umbrella organization, the United Democratic Front, decided that further study should be given to the organization.

Although the board had decided it was not in a position to speak in the name of the SACBC as a whole, it could not fail to note that the defined intentions and goals of the UDF concerning the proposed new constitution and the so-called "Koornhof Bills" agreed with positions taken up by the SACBC on these issues, he said.

In his address to the plenary session, the Apostolic Delegate to Southern Africa, Archbishop Edward Cassidy, praised what he referred to as the "clear and courageous witness to the values of the Gospel" by the church in South Africa in what was recognized as "a most difficult and delicate pastoral situation."

'Support'

"This evening I not only bring you the warm, paternal greetings of our Holy Father, Pope John Paul II, but I can also assure you of the support in your approach to the problems that you have to face," he said.

The plenary session is being attended by delegates from South Africa, SWA/Namibia, Botswana and Swaziland, and representatives from neighbouring episcopal conferences in Lesotho and Zimbabwe.

The main topics on the agenda for the closed week-long session include a study of forced removals and resettlements, the problems faced by migrant and farm labourers and the launching of a national Roman Catholic newspaper. — Sapa



national Miss Pharmacy Assistant competition as the of the nine finalists from around South Africa who will t month. The winner will take home R1 000.

Hurley questions SA involvement in Namibia/Angola

23/1/84 Star

By Carina le Grange, Religion Reporter

Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley last night questioned South African involvement in what he called the "tragedy" of the Namibian war which "involves South African troops in never-ending operations in Angola, ostensibly to neutralise Swapo".

He said: "But in view of all that is said about destabilisation these days, one can only wonder whether that is the whole story.

"Destabilisation is aimed principally at forcing South Africa's neighbours to deny assistance and facilities to the African National Congress."

Archbishop Hurley was delivering his presidential address at the opening of the annual meeting in Pretoria of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC).

HARD LINE

He said the conclusion which must be drawn was that a hard line would be taken in Namibia and Angola until South Africa had achieved its object in both these countries.

"The questions arise: How much military action does it imply, and what are the precise goals that South Africa hopes to achieve?

Archbishop Hurley later referred to both the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Forum as "important political events to which the church cannot remain indifferent".

With regard to the UDF, he said the SACBC's administrative board could not "fail to note that the defined goals and intentions of the UDF concerning the new constitution and the so-called Koornhof Bills agree with the positions taken up by the SACBC on these issues".

UNDERSTAND

Earlier he noted that many people still failed to understand why the churches should be interested in politics, and that it was obvious there was a need for continuous efforts to clarify this matter.

"People do not easily understand the distinction between, on the one hand, the pursuit and exercise of political power, and, on the other, the fostering of an understanding of the moral values involved in political decisions, actions and policies," he said.

The opening ceremony, which was attended by about 30 bishops from Southern African countries, was marked by numerous references to the SACBC's secretary general, Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, who was detained by the Ciskeian authorities in October last year and is now awaiting trial.

ant of SA's — naval expert

norance, but they that South Afri- and advised and its efforts, would mirable area of estern fleets."

oore said South absolutely no ll of keeping its of submarines ... they have at the the fleet they can future".

They have retired forced on them by

"Their army and air force have had to mount efforts on the northern boundary to protect the country from infiltration by terrorist elements.

"The navy can provide merely a coastal defence organisation and operations in support of the border engagements. It no longer has any ASW (anti-submarine warfare) capability worth considering, other than three submarines which are very efficiently maintained and

are to increase the number of submarines by indigenous building and to move to a group of large Corvettes — small frigates which they can build in their own country.

"The South Africans have the capability to build helicopters, but are dubious about their capability to produce the necessary sonars to go with them."

Captain Moore said the SA Navy's anti-submarine warfare weapons were antiquated, "but the great thing they do have is a highly efficient command-and-control system and a very effective intelligence system".

He said Western planners had to recognise that "little fires" could turn into "much larger blazes" anywhere in the world. Thus it was ludicrous to

UK reacts cautiously to Argentinian overtures

LONDON — Britain yesterday reacted cautiously to overtures from Argentina's new civilian government towards restoring diplomatic relations, severed by the Falklands War in 1982.

A Foreign Office spokesman said: "We have received no formal proposals but if we do we will study them carefully."

But government sources made it clear Britain was looking for a formal cessation of hostilities from Argentina to pave the way for normal relations between the two.

UN told eight SA battalions still in Angola

CAPE TIMES 26/1/86

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — South Africa still has eight infantry battalions across the border, Angola has told the United Nations.

Its irate note accused Western news organizations of practicing deceit in reporting a South African withdrawal.

Dated Tuesday and released yesterday, the note was addressed to the Security Council and signed by Mr Antonio Tombia, charge d'affaires of the Angolan mission to the UN.

"The Western media, in alliance with South Africa, are propagating that the South Africans are withdrawing their forces," while "the real facts" were quite different, it maintained.

Five 'occupied' locations

It listed five locations it said were still occupied by South Africa — Otchinjau, Xangongo, Quiteve, Nigive and Mupa.

Xangongo and Mupa were each said to have two batallions and the others one, while 155mm artillery was said to be in sited at Xangongo and Otchinjau.

A further battalion was said to be positioned south of Caiundo. The Angolan note also cited five reconnaissance missions involving a total of 17 South African aircraft between January 15 and 17.

A spokesman for the South African Defence Force said it appeared as if the Angolan Government was still referring to the recently completed Operation Askari against Swapo terrorists in southern Angola.

However, all SADF forces involved in that operation had returned to their bases by January 15.

Recognise Angola, urges Lisbon

LISBON. — Portugal has told the United States that US recognition of Angola would be a "highly positive step" in the search for peace in Southern Africa, say Foreign Ministry sources in Lisbon.

The US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Frank Wisner, briefed the Prime Minister Mr Mario Soares, and the Foreign Minister Mr Jaime Gama, yesterday on secret talks he had had with Angolan representatives in Cape Verde last week.

Diplomatic sources said they believed the Cape Verde talks might hold the key to the solution of independence for South West Africa.

The US has been backing South African demands for a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola as a condition for implementing a peace settlement to end 17 years of bush war in SWA, which has spilled over into neighbouring Angola.

The presence of an estimated 25 000 Cubans in Angola has also been a major block to US recognition of the Marxist government that has ruled Angola since independence from Portugal in 1975.

Mr Wisner denied reports that he had also had contacts with the South Africans in Cape Verde. A former South African ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Dave Steward, was in Cape Verde recently.

However, in Washington, a senior State Department official confirmed on Tuesday that Mr Wisner was actively involved in talks involving the South Africans in Cape Verde.

He said the details of a South African pull-back were



MR FRANK WISNER
Denies talks with SA

discussed in three days of talks in Cape Verde, in talks between South Africa and Angola, with the United States taking an active role.

He said South Africa had offered to pull its estimated 1 500 troops out of the border areas in Angola and would pledge to undertake no further cross-border raids for a 30-day period, on the condition that other groups, such as Swapo guerrillas, did not take military advantage of the South African pull-back.

Assuming that the 30-day period passes without major incident, it would be extended.

Speculation that new moves on SWA are afoot has been strengthened with the news that Mr Wisner's chief, Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, was heading for South Africa yesterday for talks with the Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Dr Crocker flew to Cape Town yesterday. He will then go to Zambia, Mozambique and Tanzania before flying to Western Europe. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI.

Head of Angolan new agency fired

Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — The Angolan Government has fired the head of its main external propaganda wing, the official news agency Angop, according to a communique monitored in Windhoek yesterday.

The report said Mr Jose Manuel Feio Mena Abrantes, the director general of Angop, was fired on Saturday because of his "lack of co-operation" with the ruling MPLA's Department of Information and Propaganda.

The directive dismissing Mr Feio Mena Abrantes was signed by the MPLA's Central Committee secretary for ideological affairs, Mr Roberto de Almeida.

Mr De Almeida named the Angop editor, Mr Raimundo Sotto-Mayor, as Mr Feio Mena Abrantes' successor.

He will be the acting director general of Angop until a firm appointment is decided.

The directive dismissing Mr Feio Mena Abrantes said he displayed a "clear lack of will" to co-operate with the Information and Propaganda Department.

Portugal and the vital triangle

LISBON, increasingly assuming a role as Washington's counsellor on the former colonies of Angola and Mozambique, is anxiously studying current developments in the region.

Its concern stems not only from considerable national interests in the triangle formed by Maputo, Pretoria and Luanda, but also from a desire to use 500 years of colonial experience to carve itself a position of influence following the collapse of its prestigious empire nearly a decade ago.

And since President Ronald Reagan came to office, the United States has been offering Lisbon the break it desires.

Washington consults regularly with Portugal about the vital triangle, and in public pronouncements here United States officials never fail to stress Portugal's usefulness in contacts with the Marxist Angolan and Mozambiquan regimes.

Two assidious visitors to lisbon are United States. deputy assistant Secretary of State, Frank Wisner, and Ambassador at Large General Vernon Walters, with Wisner touching base here again this week reportedly after secret tripartite talks in Cape Verde with Angola and South Africa.

From KEN POTTINGER in Lisbon

Observers here maintain that current initiatives to end tension and conflict between South Africa and its two Marxist neighbours result from strong and consistent pressures by Portugal and the United States.

In both former colonies Portuguese nationals have become prime targets for kidnapping or worse by anti-government rebels operating there, while in Mozambique constant guerrilla sabotage of the Portuguese-owned Cahora Bassa hydroelectric scheme has cost Lisbon millions of escudos in lost power sales to South Africa.

On a wider plane, Lisbon has been encouraged to nurture any moves by Luanda or Maputo away from Soviet influence and towards the West.

Here, if for different reasons, Washington and Pretoria's aims co-incide . . . they would both prefer client states of the same rather than opposite persuasion.

A major obstacle in this development, however, is the South African military hierarchy, which appears committed to constant destabilisation of its neighbours.

Some analysts believe that even with the conclusion of non-aggression pacts with Mozambique and Angola, destabilisation will continue for as long as South African security chiefs think they can control events inside the country.

Thus South Africa's internal political developments have become the determining factor in the question of regional tensions.

Similar difficulties occur from time to time with Mozambique, which also complains about the unhindered activities of rebels of the Mozambiquan National Resistance in Lisbon.

Portugal hides behind the fact that, as a democracy, it must respect all points of view and cannot act against the opposition groups unless they break the law.

The truth of the matter — although this will never be admitted — is that Lisbon wants to keep all options open on the outcome of the power struggles presently underway in Angola and Mozambique.

United States insistence on counting Portugal in on efforts to resolve Southern Africa's complex problems is a cosy deal. Portugal gets the international acknowledgement of post-imperial importance it seeks, while Washington keeps a strategic Nato ally happy without excessive financial outlay for vital military facilities, like the Azores airbase.

Lisbon is fond of touting the fund of goodwill it says exists in the former colonies towards Portugal, and couples this to the network of private and public contacts it has in the two countries.

But the premise bears closer scrutiny. Portugal's colonial record is no better, and in some cases worse, than that of any former colonial power. The allegedly existent fund of goodwill is tempered by the memory of what one critical historian described as the "efficient savagery" exercised by Portuguese colonialsts down the centuries.

As if to underline the tenuousness of the situation there are strains currently in bilateral relations with Angola.

Tension is running high over Portugal's refusal to curb the activities in Lisbon of Angolan opposition groups, especially Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerrillas.

Luanda is currently reviewing all trade and investment contacts with Portugal, and Lisbon has already lost a valuable oil prospecting concession as a result of these problems.

Cape Times 27/11/84

(5)

Crocker hopes to put talks on Namibia back on track

From SIMON BARBER in Washington

DR Chester Crocker, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, arrived in Cape Town today for talks with the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Several days earlier, his senior deputy, Mr Frank Wisner, met Angola's Minister of the Interior, Mr Kito Rodrigues, on Cape Verde, where South African Department of Foreign Affairs officials had also recently been on similar business.

After months of violent stalemate, the Namibia process may finally be back on track. It is, however, near the beginning of that track.

The Cape Town talks should not be expected to result in timetables, much less grand initiatives.

There is no new package to be negotiated. Dr Crocker and Mr Botha will merely be discussing ways to keep a window open.



Dr Chester Crocker



Mr Pik Botha

New flurry

That window is Pretoria's offer to disengage from southern Angola, starting next Tuesday, for 30 days.

Some might believe it to be nothing more than public relations, a gesture of goodwill, proferred solely because it is doomed.

The new flurry of United States diplomatic activity is designed to ensure that it is not.

Dr Crocker's thinking, as far as it can be ascertained, is as follows:

Until the middle of last year, the parties showed themselves willing to consider their political, as opposed to military, options.

After a series of meetings in Paris, Washington and on the ground, the Angolans agreed to study a plan for parallel South African and Cuban withdrawals from their soil.

Savimbi rescued

By July, it was clear that Luanda had dismissed the plan. Unita, with South African help, was thriving. The Cubans had to stay. The Soviets were increasing their shipments of materiel.

When Dr Jonas Savimbi ran into trouble at Cangamba, the South African Defence Force blatantly provided logistical support to bail him out.

There was one ray of hope, however. After talks in Cape Town and Luanda, the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, reported to the Security Council that the Cuban troop issue was indeed related to Namibian independence.

That concession, combined with his conciliatory tone in Cape Town, may well have paved the way for Pretoria's December disengagement offer at the UN.

Ceasefire

Though heavily obscured by the the fact the SADF was coincidentally launching one of its biggest Angolan offensives since 1975, the offer was extraordinary.

South Africa stated its intention to withdraw from Angola unilaterally, though with conditions.

Despite Angola's counter-proposal that a ceasefire should be dependent on Pretoria agreeing to a specific date for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 regardless of the Cuban presence, that intention still holds.

It will continue to do so, at least for 30 days, so long as the withdrawal is not exploited.

Should Swapo mount a new cross-border raid, or even use the opportunity to regroup its military strength in the vacated region, South African forces will return.

Ground rules

To make the disengagement more than a gesture, there needs to be more precision.

"Ground rules," to use a favourite Crocker phrase, have to be established and agreed upon by all sides.

Obviously, Luanda has already stated publicly what it would like the ground rules to be, the impossible counter-proposal. Privately, the MPLA could be expected to be more pragmatic. Hence the Wisner meeting on Cape Verde.

The South Africans are also required to be specific on what would constitute exploitation of their withdrawal.

The phrase here is "levels of tolerance". Dr Crocker would like the threshold raised to preclude the SADF thundering back into Angola simply because a dozen Swapo guerillas crossed the border and planted a landmine.

Once the rules are established, the disengagement will become less fragile, may survive beyond 30 days, and perhaps even harden into a lasting ceasefire. Which, in turn, raises the possibility for what Dr Crocker and his assistants will only call "progress on broader issues".

Recognition

Logically, this would include removal of South African support for Unita, the weaning of the MPLA from reliance on Cuba and the Soviets and, at some undefined stage, Namibian independence and US diplomatic recognition of Angola.

This appears to be the current Crocker view. Seven months ago, he hoped he would be going to South Africa to remove the last chocks from under an SWA settlement. That optimism has now been replaced by caution, and the realization that the process must be taken one modest step at a time.

The latest talks, or so Dr Crocker would like it understood, are just such a step, nothing more.

Crocker seems to feel he now has a formula to allay everyone's fears and to get a settlement underway. He could be right — but there is a long way to go before anyone can be sure.

NAMIBIA

The signals are right

The trip to SA this week by American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, confirms that another major effort to settle the Namibian independence issue is in full swing. The familiar "so what?" reaction, born of many abortive Namibian negotiations, should be tempered by the recognition that, this time, the diplomatic signals are subtly different — and considerably more hopeful.

Crocker has been nursing the Namibian issue since he took office three years ago. This was a major reason for US President Ronald Reagan's decision to adopt the policy of "constructive engagement" with SA. And, in a presidential election year, the administration wants some sort of pay-off for that policy.

A Namibian settlement related to a Cuban withdrawal from Angola would not only be a major foreign policy coup for Reagan. It would also demonstrate to American blacks — a significant part of the electorate — that the administration read the situation in southern Africa correctly.

American foreign-policy ambitions are one thing. The administration's ability to fulfil them is something else. To settle the Namibian issue the Americans have somehow to reconcile the conflicting interests of Pretoria, Luanda, Swapo, Moscow, Havana, the Namibian internal parties and the Unita insurgent movement in Angola.

Any one of the different countries and movements could throw a spanner in the works — although where the internal parties, Swapo and Unita are concerned, all are vulnerable to pressure from their backers and patrons.

Preparation

The signs, this time, are that the Americans have prepared their ground with great thoroughness. Crocker's visit follows last year's talks between SA and Angola; the SA-USSR talks in New York; and last week's secret round of negotiations in Cape Verde — so secret that no one outside them knows who was there or who spoke to whom.

It also comes in the wake of the various ceasefire offers and counter-offers involving SA, Angola and Swapo and of UN Secretary General Xavier Perez de Cuellar's public optimism, during an African trip, that a settlement was imminent. In addition the recent talks between SA and Mozambique shows that deals between Pretoria and black Marxist states are not out of the question.

The most frequently canvassed scenario for a Namibian settlement involves an Angolan agreement (with the concurrence of Moscow and Havana) for a Cuban withdrawal; the co-option of Unita's Jonas Savimbi into a coalition Angolan government; and an agreement by all parties for the immediate implementation of the UN settlement process.

This would involve Swapo forces returning to their camps (in Angola) and the confinement of SADF forces in Namibia to a few supervised base areas preparatory to a withdrawal. A *quid pro quo* would be American recognition for the Luanda regime and the extension of American aid to Angola.

It is difficult to see how any other scenario could work — short of a total Unita victory with Savimbi taking over in Luanda. The Americans speak euphemistically about "taking into account the legitimate security concerns" of all concerned. This means, simply, that no one is going to settle if they see the probability that it would lead to increased military vulnerability.

ANGOLA BUSINESS

Eyes on the West

Marxist ideology notwithstanding, Angola's leaders have that found it pays to do business with the West — and that includes SA.

While the Soviets are calling the shots in matters military and political, they show little interest in exploiting the country's agricultural and mineral wealth. Their commercial activities are confined largely to fishing, about which — as in Mozambique — locals complain that their suction-trawling techniques are depleting resource beds.

This has left the rest of the field open to Western interests. It has also not apparently made much difference to traditional trade links with SA.

Making nonsense of Luanda's official prohibition on trade with SA, this country continues to import, among other commodities, some 5 000 t of Angolan coffee a year worth around R5m, about the same as before independence. Coffee industry sources say some of the Angolan *residuo* (medium quality) bean comes through Angola's north-eastern neighbour, Zaire, where it "loses" its national identity. Other shipments move, after various identity "launderings," possibly via Kenya and Tanzania, for routing by sea to SA.

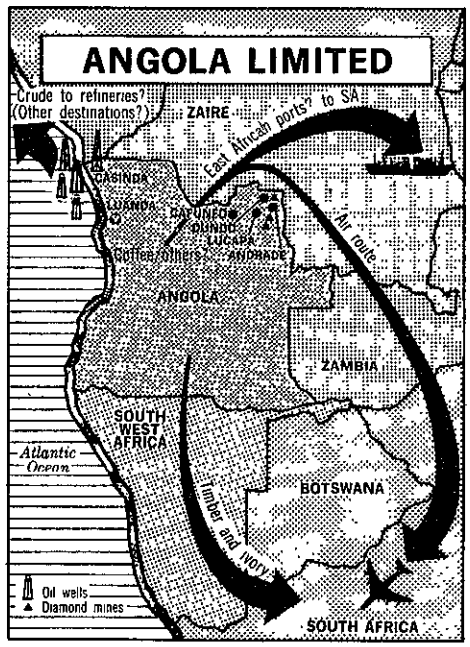
It's also an open secret that substantial traffic is moving by air between Zaire and SA and, sources say, "it is not unreasonable to presume" that this includes not only coffee but also several other categories of Angolan produce. SA-manufactured goods find their way into Angola by the return route.

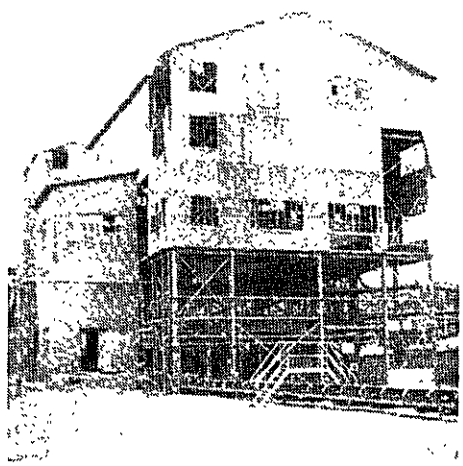
In addition, Angola's "second economy" in Unita-controlled areas moves its SA exports, principally ivory and timber, along the western route via Namibia. It is handled by former Angola-based Portuguese businessmen now living in SA or Namibia.

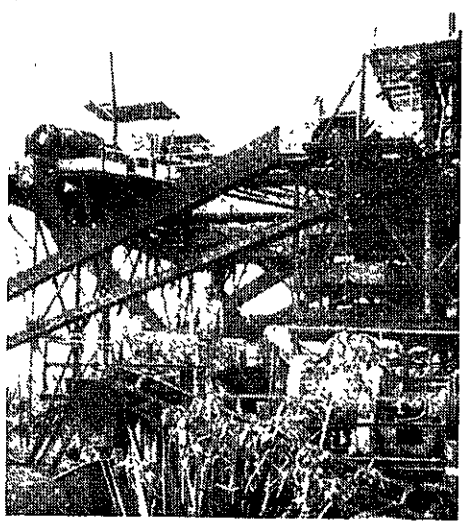
Diamonds are another area of Western and SA involvement in the Angolan economy, and analysts say the industry generates as much as 30% of Luanda's foreign-exchange earnings. Angola's north-eastern sector contains one of the world's major deposits of gem-quality diamonds. The Lunda Norté fields are said to yield 70 000 carats/month, produced by a labour force of about 4 000 Angolans and 300 expatriates.

Three major centres of production are at Lucapa, Andrade and Cafunfo. The operation is controlled by mining company Diamang, in which the Angolan government officially owns a 77% share. But those in the know say the figure could be much lower. Other shareholders include SA's De Beers group, which has a claimed stake of less than 2%.

Mining and Technical Services (MATS), a De Beers associate company based in Luxembourg, provides the mines with certain technical services and also functions as a staff-recruitment agency. SA passport-holders are not allowed to work in Angola but many specialists now employed on the mines have previously worked in SA.







Diamonds ... Diamang's Andrade recovery plant

After the ascendancy of the MPLA, Diamang's security became lax. This led to about 20% of its production being stolen and smuggled out of the country. Some diamonds went across the nearby border with Zaire and others were carried directly overseas by pilots of the national air carrier TAAG. Diamond sources say that many of the smuggled stones were distributed by the network used by Zaire during the period when it attempted to bypass the De Beers Central Selling Organisation (CSO). De Beers denies reports that its own security personnel played a major part in cleaning up the smuggling racket.

Oil is Angola's big one, bringing in about $600m a year — about 70% of overseas earnings. Ironically, most of this pays for Angola's 30 000 Cubans. Thus, Western money pays Soviet agents to assist a nominally Marxist black African economy to protect Western investments.

Gulf is the 49:51% partner with the Angolan State Oil Company, Sonangol, in exploiting the Cabinda offshore wells (90% of known reserves are offshore). It presently pumps 173 000 barrels/day from its Angola fields. It is spending $1,4 billion over the next two years to boost this by nearly 50% to 250 000 barrels/day. Texaco's Essungo and Cuntala offshore wells are currently pumping 15 000 barrels/day. Elf-Aquitaine, France's state oil company, plans to begin pumping 60 000 barrels/day from two proven wells, Palaca and Pacassa, early in 1985. Belgium's Petrofina is the only onshore producer, taking out 30 000 barrels/day from its main installation at the mouth of the Zaire River.

Only Houston-based Gulf, in Angola for 23 years, enjoys a 49:51% deal with Sonangol. All the other Western oil companies who have offshore exploration rigs, including Petrobras of Brazil, Total of France, and Cities Service of the US, work on a 30:70% "production-sharing contract" once pumping begins.

Sonangol pays none of the exploration costs and comes in only at the payable stage, claiming its 70% share once the exploration company has recouped its development outlay.

"It's a clean operation," a Western oilman tells the *FM*. "No red tape, as in Nigeria. We just move in with our technical operation and get on with it. We regard Angola as a very go-ahead area."

Angola also has unexploited reserves of copper and manganese. Like its oil and diamonds, these will probably be worked one day with the aid of Western organisations.

UDF meeting hits at SA raid into Angola

Staff Reporter

SOUTH Africa's incursion into Angola was condemned and a call was made to end conscription in a unanimous motion at a United Democratic Front (UDF) meeting in Rondebosch.

There was a standing ovation from the 450-strong audience for a Swapo statement condemning South African involvement in Angola. Speakers also sharply criticised the increase in GST.

Another resolution was in "support the people of Angola in their opposition to the SADF and Unita forces".

Mrs Mary Burton, chairman of the Cape Western branch of the Black Sash, said her organisation was "enraged" by reports that South Africa was continuing a military buildup in SWA/Namibia.

"Exploitation"

"We object to the crippling taxation of already desperately poor people to finance a war that none of us wants, when we should be spending much more on housing and education and the creation of employment."

The head of the sociology department at the University of Cape Town, Mr Michael Savage, said the increase in GST would hit the poor and unenfranchised the hardest.

"It is shameless exploitation of the poor and the unenfranchised and disenfranchised to force them to pay for the costs of protecting white racism," he said.

SA, US discuss Angola peace

Political Correspondent

THE possibilities for peace in Angola and its effect on a settlement in SWA/Namibia will be discussed by the United States and South African governments today.

The US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, is flying to Cape Town for a meeting with the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

Dr Crocker arrived in Johannesburg last night at the start of a Southern African peace mission prompted by the South African offer of a month-long "military disengagement" in Angola from January 31.

Although Angola has responded with a counter-offer on terms presently unacceptable to the South African Government, there is cautious optimism — in Washington in particular — that significant progress might be made. Other Western governments are more sceptical of an early resolution of Southern

To page 2

Lesotho: SA denies charges

Political Correspondent

THE South African Government last night denied that it planned or supported attempts aimed at the violent overthrow of Chief Leabua Jonathan's government in Lesotho.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, told a press conference he understood allegations to this effect were being made in Lesotho by members of a delegation which had met him earlier this month.

He said the delegation was headed by Mr J T Mokotso, chairman of the Justice and Reconciliation Commission of the Anglican diocese of Lesotho.

Mr Botha said he had met the delegation on January 5 at their request. They had asked the South African Government to try to stop cross-border movements, particularly those of the rebel Lesotho Liberation Army.

Mr Botha denied categorically that he had at any time indicated during the meeting with Mr Mokotso that the South African Government would be in favour of the violent overthrow of the Jonathan government.

New condensed Bible

Staff Reporter

THE latest Reader's Digest condensed book — the Bible — was launched this week in Cape Town at the Readers Digest ...

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The bank hoppers —

...staff	25	Crossword	12	Smalls	18-25
...idge	25	Editorials	12	Sport	28-30
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...	11	Radio	25	World Report	4

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46 Jaipur rugs 150 x 95 cm	R475	R295
7 Anatolian Prayer rugs 100 x 60 cm	R295	R195
12 Chinese silk rugs 90 x 60 cm.....	R475	R295
22 Bedouin saddlebags ..	R19,50	R10
22 Persian kelims	R1 150	R695
115 Kashmir Numdah rugs 120 x 90 cm.....	R25	R9,50
250 Chinese hand-hooked rugs 90 x 60 cm .	R12,50	R5

C.T. 27/1/84

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From page 1

Africa's regional differences

A lessening of tension between South Africa and Angola would, however, help Dr Crocker's prime objective of progressing toward an international settlement in SWA/Namibia. His government has backed the South African demand for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola before the United Nations settlement plan can be implemented

Dr Crocker's deputy, Mr Frank Wisner, recently held talks with Angolan officials in the Cape Verde Islands. A senior South African diplomat, Mr David Steward, also discussed the Angolan position with Cape Verde officials.

Swapo

Dr Crocker and Mr Botha meet today on a Cape wine estate after the opening of Parliament. Their discussions are expected to continue tonight and tomorrow. Dr Crocker leaves on Sunday for further talks with African leaders in the region.

● Mr Botha yesterday denied that Swapo had rejected the Angolan cease-fire proposal.

"The proposal can therefore still be put into effect should Swapo give a positive indication of willingness to start the process," he said.

● South African preparations for today's talks included a top-level meeting with delegates from the multi-party conference in Windhoek. The government delegation was headed by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and included Mr Pik Botha and the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Three new pictures of the escaped convicts Andre Stander Allen Heyl and Patrick Lee McCall have been released, together with the first police hint that the deadly trio could be the "bank hoppers" on the Rand

The bank hoppers — so named after their method of hitting two or three banks or building societies successively each time they strike — are suspected of having netted almost R500 000 in 20 robberies since November last year

Police have requested the public to scrutinize the latest photographs of the trio who are already linked to a raid at a Randburg gunshop on Novem-

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Lesotho: SA denies charges

(167)

Cape Times 27/1/84

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Mr Botha denied categorically that he had at any time indicated during the meeting with Mr Mokotso that the South African Government would be in favour of the violent overthrow of the Jonathan government.

New condensed Bible

Staff Reporter

THE latest Reader's Digest condensed book — the Bible — was launched this week in Cape Town.

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Luanda today . . . a 'shiny, empty shell'

w/e ARGUS 28/1/84

WATER AND ELECTRICITY ARE IN SHORT SUPPLY, THE RESTAURANTS HAVE CLOSED, THE BLACK MARKET THRIVES. FOR ECONOMIC REASONS ALONE, ANGOLA NEEDS PEACE

Angola has not known peace since its independence eight years ago, and the internal war is eroding its resources. PIERO BENETAZZO, Special Correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor reports from Luanda.

ANTONOV cargo planes land and take off continuously at Luanda Airport, bringing arms, troops and sophisticated tracking equipment in an airlift which Angolan officials describe as massive.

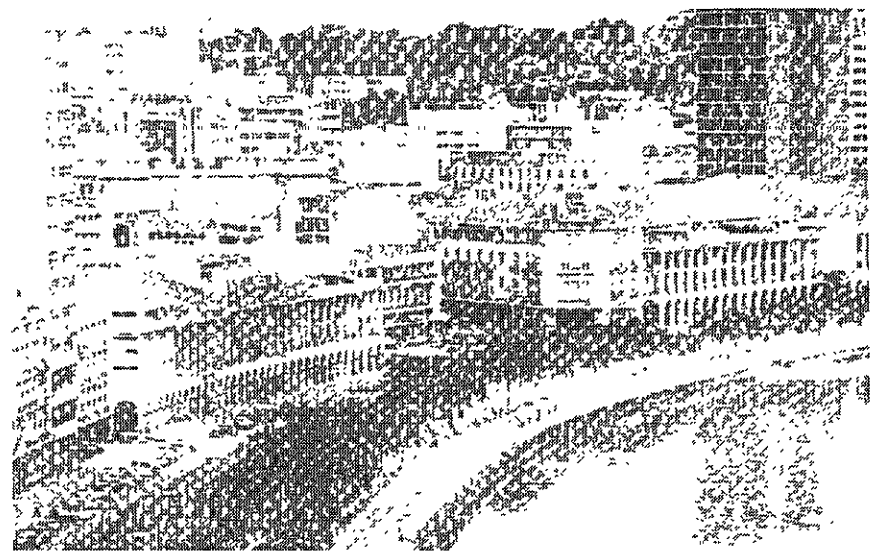
This leap in "foreign aid" follows the recent escalation of Angloa's civil war. In August, Jonas Savimbi's anti-government Unita rebels launched a massive attack against towns that had been solidly controlled by the MPLA Government.

Angola has not known a day of peace since independence eight years ago and the internal war is eroding nearly all its resources. Today the Soviet Antonovs are welcomed with Marxist slogans, while thousands of Angolans fill the airport patiently waiting for planes out of the country.

Luanda is still as Gabriel Carcia Marquez Gave described it a few years ago: "A shiny, empty shell". Its glass skycrapers, palm-lined bay and sandy beaches are surrounded by "musseques" — clapboard and mud shanty towns to which hundreds of thousands of Angolans have flocked during the politically and economically insecure days. Its population has risen from 250 000 before independence to 1,2 million.

For much of the day there is no water or electricity in the capital. There are virtually no cafes or restaurants. Most stores have shut down. Official commerce no longer exists but the "kandongero", the black market, flourishes everywhere, from the musseques to the bayshore.

Every essential commodity is available illegally, but the law of supply and demand has made a mockery of government-set prices.



Luanda . . . the glory has faded.

A towel can cost R210, or half the average monthly wage. A box of detergent can reach R100 and even chicken, one of the most common sources of nourishment in the Third World, arrives from Portugal and costs R75.

However, a flexible bartering system dominates the market and sidesteps the inflated prices.

Cost of war

The government blames Angola's economic chaos on South Africa, which it says "wages a war of destabilisation to prevent Angola's economic recovery". But some officials privately concede that a centralised socialist system is at least partly to blame.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos says the war has cost the country nearly 10 000-million dollars in damages alone. Another 10 000 million dollars has gone to arms and foreign troops, according to Western estimates.

Acting Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento has admitted that the war soaks up more than half the state budget. (Western sources say the figure is closer to two-thirds of the budget).

A state of emergency keeps the best-trained people in the army for two to three years, and has made all the more difficult the task of replacing 400 000 skilled and semi-skilled Portuguese who made the economy work but who fled the country during the independence process.

Shambles

Eight years after the Portuguese left, industrial production is down by 20 to 30 percent of capacity. What was once one of Africa's most prosperous agricultural sectors is in a shambles. The Cassinga iron mines are shut. Weeds cover the tracks of the Benguela railway.

The country survives by drilling oil (which provides more than 80 percent of foreign currency) and mining diamonds (13 percent), which pays for arms, soldiers, and two-thirds of food needs. This, in a nation that recently had one of the highest per capita incomes in Africa.

Angola is controlled by an old-fashioned Leninist party, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which has no more than 24 000 members, although the exact number is a state secret. The real power is wielded by an 11-man politburo. The nation's constitution states that the party chairman is also president of the Republic and head of the Government.

It was with this hard-core bureaucracy that the Soviet Union in the mid-1970s sought close relations in the Third World after the "Sadat disappointment". (Egyptian President Anwar Sadat ordered the Soviets out of Egypt in 1972).

So by replacing state-to-state relations with party-to-party solidarity, it appears Moscow hopes to promote a Marxist crescent from South Africa through socialist Tanzania and reaching as far north as Ethiopia and Yemen.

Today Soviet soldiers and advisers (7 000 of them, according to Western estimates) can often be found sunbathing on Luanda's beaches. Their uniforms, folded in little packs, form straight rows in the sand. Sentinels with Kalashinikov rifles and machine guns stand guard.

The Soviets have little or no contact with the local population. They live in wired-off compounds on the outskirts of the capital. Cuban troops and advisers (estimated at 30 000 to 35 000), also keep to themselves and have their own beaches.

Bitterness

The Government is believed to be paying 14 000 dollars to 22 000 dollars a year for every Soviet and Cuban who is helping with the war effort against rebels and South Africans. The war cost is estimated at 4-million dollars a day.

The Soviets and Cubans mingle only in special shops where payment in dollars spares them the vagaries of the black market.

Bitterness against the foreigners is widespread. And many Angolans seem to have warmer feelings for the West than the East, as was shown last summer when half a million Angolans left for Portugal after the government lifted exit visa and currency restrictions.

PW JOINS TALKS

Crocker meeting ending on hopeful note

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

TALKS between South Africa and the United States on a ceasefire in southern Angola appeared to be ending on an inconclusive but hopeful note today with the diplomatic initiatives and options for a settlement being kept open.

All the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, would say after the talks ended at 3 pm was that "penetrating" negotiations had taken place and that opinions had been exchanged about burning questions in Southern Africa, and especially about the question of South West Africa and the conflict situation in the operational area.

He said the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, would give more details next week of the present state of affairs. This is likely to be during the no-confidence debate in Parliament.

There was no reaction from the Americans, apart from confirming that the talks had ended.

The Prime Minister entered the negotiations today when the two groups met him at a working lunch at his official residence, Westbrooke, on the Groote Schuur estate.

Cubans not ceasefire issue

Dr Crocker is due to leave Cape Town tomorrow to visit Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania before going on to London, where he will get in touch with other members of the Western group on SWA/Namibia.

Impressions given by both sides today were that the talks could not be conclusive because the US may have to make contact again with Angola.

Dr Crocker arrived from the United States with proposals and information on recent contacts between the US and Angola following a South African offer to withdraw from southern Angola for a month from January 31, provided Angola and Swapo did not exploit the situation.

While Angola has not rejected the South African offer entirely, it has insisted on a speedy implementation of the UN resolution on an internationally acceptable solution in SWA/Namibia.

The South African Government's view is that complicated matters such as the composition of a UN supervisory force have to be sorted out first.

The withdrawal of Cuban troops is understood to be no longer an issue associated with the ceasefire, but can become an obstacle again when implementation of a settlement plan starts.

South Africa may be insisting on some guarantees if she withdraws from Angola, but on the other hand the January 31 deadline may be extended. According to Foreign Affairs spokesmen this date is not regarded as "critical".

Moves to improve SA-Mozambique relations are also said to have been discussed during the talks.

PRIME Minister, Mr P W Botha, right, and US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, on the steps of Westbrooke today.

Crocker tastes SA hospitality

UNITED STATES negotiators visiting Cape Town this weekend today experienced Mrs Elize Botha's well-known hospitality when they had lunch at Westbrooke, the Prime Minister's official residence in Rondebosch.

The lunch started with melon balls in sherry, followed by perlemoen on rice, marinated leg of springbok with quince jelly and parsley potatoes, green beans and pumpkin fritters.

For dessert there was crème caramel and then coffee, liqueurs and mint chocolates.

The wines served were KWV chenin blanc and Roodeberg.

Tranquil surroundings for heavy Namibia talks

By JEAN LE MAY
Political Correspondent

SOUTH African and American diplomats met this weekend in the peaceful surroundings of a Western Cape wine farm to talk about the war in Angola.

A South African source indicated that South Africa went into the top-level discussions with an American delegation led by Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, with hopes of a message from Angola which could pave the way to a ceasefire.

Observers believe that the possibility of a ceasefire within the next few weeks cannot be discounted

The discussions follow weeks of intensive shuttle diplomacy — involving Portugal, Angola and the Cape Verde Islands as well as South Africa and the US — since South Africa's offer last month of a ceasefire in Angola on January 31.

The top-level discussions are said to have dealt with the war in Angola, the position of Unita and of Swapo, the Cuban withdrawal and UN proposals for a settlement in Namibia.

It is believed that South Africa also briefed the Americans on its latest peace discussions with Mozambique and on its recent military operations in southern Angola.

The discussions started at Fleur du Cap, a luxurious wine estate near Somerset West, at 3pm on Friday afternoon and lasted well into Friday night.

They continued yesterday morning in Cape Town and culminated in a working lunch with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, at Westbrooke, his official residence in Cape Town.

Dr Crocker, who arrived in Cape Town from Washington on Friday morning, will leave tonight for Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique.

The imminence of South Africa's initial ceasefire date of January 31 was highlighted by strong military-/security representation in the South African delegation, which included Dr Niel Barnard, director-general of the National Intelligence Service, Lieutenant-General J van Deventer, secretary of the State Security Council and Lieutenant-General P W van der Westhuizen of the South African Defence Force.

Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan was also present during the discussions on Friday.

Other members of the South African delegation were Mr Brand Fourie, South African Ambassador in Washington, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, South Africa's permanant representative at the UN, and Dr Willie van Niekerk, Administrator-General of Namibia.

The meetings were held under top security conditions. Pressmen who flocked to Fleur du Cap on Friday were permitted only to take photographs of the delegation in the luxurious gardens and were allowed into the conference room for a short photo session.

The Press was then banished to the swimming pool and regaled with an apparently endless supply of Fleur du Cap wines.

A promised Press conference in the H F Verwoerd Building in Cape Town yesterday morning did not materialise. Instead, journalists were put in a bus and driven to Westbrooke, where another photo session was held on the front terrace. Warmest reception of the morning came from Chutsie, a friendly old dachshund owned by the Prime Minister.

The delegates were submitted to another photo session as they sat down at the vast dining table — laden with silver and crystal fit for a state banquet — to a hearty midday meal of melon with sherry, perlemoen, haunch of springbok with spiced pumpkin fritters and green beans and caramel custard, washed down with KWV Roodeberg and KWV chenin blanc.

As the photographers filed out of the room, the Prime Minister kissed his wife and said courteously: "Dankie, mevrou."

Press comment in the bus later — with the midday temperature hovering around 25°C — was: "After a meal like that in this heat, the Americans will agree to anything."



Man of war meets man of peace

● It's smiles all round as South Africa's man of war meets America's man of peace. The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, shares a lighthearted moment in Cape Town with Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. But behind the scenes, the South African and US teams may not have had much to smile about as they tackled the Namibia question.

PW steps in on U.S. talks

And chances of an Angolan ceasefire look much brighter

By BRIAN POTTINGER, Political Correspondent

THE South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has taken a direct hand in the latest round of negotiations between the US Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, and the South African Government.

Eight hours of talks between the US delegation and South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, on Friday night, were capped yesterday by a working lunch at the Prime Minister's residence, Westbrooke.

More talks followed with the Prime Minister taking a direct part.

Both delegations are keeping silent on the substance of the discussions but a short statement issued by the Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday indicated the Prime Minister would be making further details known this week — presumably during the no-confidence debate.



Mr Pik Botha, Dr Chester Crocker and Mr P W Botha at the PM's residence

Ceasefire

A central theme apparently concerns the assurances that the parties will be able to give if a ceasefire in Angola is implemented.

Angola and Swapo are reportedly still looking for tighter commitment to the implementation of Resolution 435 while South Africa is more concerned that neither Angola nor Swapo will take short-term military advantage of the ceasefire.

All parties appear keen to ensure implementation on January 31.

Discussions this week have focused on the latest Angolan-US talks on the Cape Verde Isles and the Angolan conditions for accepting a ceasefire — conditions initially rejected by South Africa.

Spokesmen for both delegations have emphasised that the visit is part of a complicated negotiation process and that more bilateral and even multilateral talks will be necessary before concrete propositions are available.

Delegation sources and observers agree, however, that the chances of agreement on the ceasefire have considerably improved since the offer was first made by South Africa in December while Operation Askari was under way.

Climate

In recent days there has been intense "climate setting" by all parties involved in the talks.

● Earlier this week Mr Pik Botha, responding to inquiries, emphasised that Swapo had not rejected the ceasefire offer and the proposals could therefore be put into effect "should Swapo give a positive indication of its willingness to start with the process".

● In a political position paper released in Lusaka by Swapo the organisation repeated its readiness to talk to South Africa in a sincere offer for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in SWA-Namibia.

● There were reports from Washington that the US may be holding out the carrot of diplomatic recognition of the MPLA government in Luanda.

● In responses to inquiries on the eve of the Crocker talks Mr Pik Botha revealed that South Africa had been instrumental in obtaining the release of Soviet civilians held by the Mozambique resistance forces.

Signal

He also disclosed that unidentified Lesotho individuals had requested South Africa's help to reduce Lesotho Liberation Army violence in the country so that general elections could be held.

The statements and timing have been interpreted as a signal that South Africa is prepared to use its considerable influence among the resistance groups — Western observers believe they are supported by South Africa — in reducing regional tensions.

Such a move would have critical implications for SWA/Namibia where a major complicating factor is the military success of the Unita rebels — also alleged to be supported by South Africa — against Luanda's MPLA government.

Mr Botha's response to the Soviet release also laid heavy emphasis on the co-operation received from the Mozambique government.

Both delegations are adopting a "step-at-a-time" approach to the negotiations and believe that once a holding ceasefire is in place further moves can be made on outstanding issues.

These would include Unita's role in Angola; the presence of the Cuban forces in buttressing the MPLA government; and ultimately, holding of internationally acceptable elections in SWA-Namibia in terms of United Nations Resolution 435.

Yesterday the South African Government also met, for the second time, a delegation of SWA-Namibian internal party leaders who have requested further information on the nature of the present round of negotiations.

PM's reaction to Angolan offer expected this week

Crocker raises hopes of ceasefire

By Peter Mann
Political
Correspondent

A SECRET Angolan offer, carried to South Africa this week by Dr Chester Crocker, has raised hopes for a ceasefire in the war now ravaging Namibia and southern Angola.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha may announce the ceasefire during the no confidence debate in Parliament this week.

And there is still an outside chance the ceasefire will start by Tuesday - meeting the January 31 deadline laid down by South Africa.

After the talks ended yesterday, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said the Prime Minister would give details of the present state of affairs in the coming week.

He said there had been penetrating discussions with the United States.

Even if the cease fire does not began this week — and it seems unlikely — the initiative will continue.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, yesterday hosted a working lunch for Dr Crocker, the United States' Assistant Secretary for State for Africa, to give him the Government's response to the latest Angolan proposals he had brought to South Africa. Both sides were expressing optimism yesterday.

Dr Crocker will now carry the South African response to governments in Africa and Europe before returning home.

South Africa and the US had spent eight hours — until 11 pm on Friday — negotiating at the historic Fleur du Cap wine estate near Stellenbosch.

Early yesterday Mr Pik Botha again met a delegation from the internal parties in Namibia to give them the details of his talks with Dr Crocker.

He then reported to the Prime Minister on the outcome of his negotiations with both the Americans and the internal parties.

The offer brought to South Africa by Dr Crocker has not been disclosed. Nor has South Africa's response.

But both sides were expressing optimism that the ceasefire might succeed.

Dr Crocker leaves South Africa today for Zambia.

The present round of negotiations stems from South Africa's offer to withdraw from southern Angola for one month from Tuesday.

South Africa said it would withdraw provided the situation was not exploited by Swapo and Angola.

Angola, in turn, said it would agree provided South Africa began implementing United Nations Resolution 435, which provides for independence in Namibia, within two weeks.

South Africa objected, saying this was impossible.

Swapo also offered South Africa direct talks in a search for peace. South Africa accepted but said Swapo could talk to Namibian Administrator-General Dr Willie van Niekerk.

This Swapo accepted, but South Africa then rejected the Swapo offer because, Mr Botha said, the offer had been made in "provocative and petulant" language. Swapo in turn said South Africa was arrogant and not interested in implementing Resolution 435.

Now Swapo has called on the West to pressure South Africa to accept its "sincere offer for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Namibia".

And South Africa was leaving open her options of direct talks with Swapo.

The initiative for a ceasefire was taken up by the Americans and Dr Crocker's deputy, Mr Frank Wisner, had talks with the Angolans on the Cape Verde Islands. It was there that he received the Angolan offer.



Dr Crocker and Mr Botha

'Attack by Angolans deliberate'

Defence Reporter

THE Angolan armoured attack on SWA/Namibian forces near Cuvelai early this month was deliberate and not an impromptu reaction to the presence of intruders from the south.

This contention was made at Friday's military briefing on Operation Askari which was held for for journalists and politicians at Ysterplaat air base.

Maps and a video film shown at the briefing have disclosed some hitherto obscure details about the battle.

It appears the security force approached Cuvelai from the south-west. A few kilometres south-west of the town it made contact either by accident or design and overran some Angolan and/or Swapo positions.

The SA-9 missile system later displayed at Friday's briefing was taken about 4km south-west of Cuvelai.

However, the security force's main target was the headquarters of Swapo's Central Region, and this had to be attacked from the north-west for both military and physical reasons:

- The town's eastern front was covered by field artillery and also by dual-purpose anti-aircraft guns which, used in a ground-defence role, have inflicted heavy casualties on security force attackers on at least one occasion.
- The Swapo base was protected on its south-eastern flank by the Cuvelai River, which was full and impassable to vehicles except at one bridge.

The security force troops attacked the Swapo camp and were in the process of clearing it up when they were attacked by the Angolan 11 Brigade, a 2 600-man mechanized infantry formation.

In a video film shown at the briefing, the commander of the security force said that "at first there was a heavy attack, but their hearts weren't in it, and when our men stood fast they turned around".

He added: "All this, although for weeks ahead of time we warned them and told members of the local population. So the intervention was deliberate...

"We were always aware of Cuban forces on our northern front, and we heard there was a force of (them) on the way to us. We shelled them and then they didn't follow through... When we moved forward we found their equipment lying there."

The video film showed Russian-language newspapers, a Russian gramophone record, a bottle of vodka and a bottle of Cuban liquor called "Havana Club" found in one bunker. According to the SADF, letters and documents found proved that the base had been occupied by Swapo.

A spokesman at the briefing later confirmed that all parts of the Cuvelai area had been bombed with leaflets explaining that the security force intrusion was aimed specifically at Swapo installations.

Among the weaponry and equipment destroyed or captured at Cuvelai were 11 T-55 battle tanks, three PT-76 reconnaissance tanks, three BRDM-2 amphibious scout cars, 12 medium howitzers, anti-aircraft guns of various types, 73 SA-7 hand-held missile-launchers and 24 anti-tank guns.

Crocker's 'message from Angola'

Cape Times 30/1/84

LUSAKA — The United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, said yesterday that he carried a special message from Angola to the South African Government when he attended talks in Cape Town this weekend.

Asked to confirm South African newspaper reports that he had delivered a message from the Angolan Government, he replied: "I think the essential answer is yes."



Dr Chester Crocker

Dr Crocker, speaking to reporters on arrival here from South Africa, gave no details of the contents of the message, but pointed out that his South African visit followed talks in Cape Verde earlier this month between US and Angolan officials.

According to well-placed sources in South Africa, Dr Crocker's two days of talks with top South African officials focused on Washington's belief that a ceasefire was needed in the SWA/Namibia dispute to establish trust between Pretoria and Luanda.

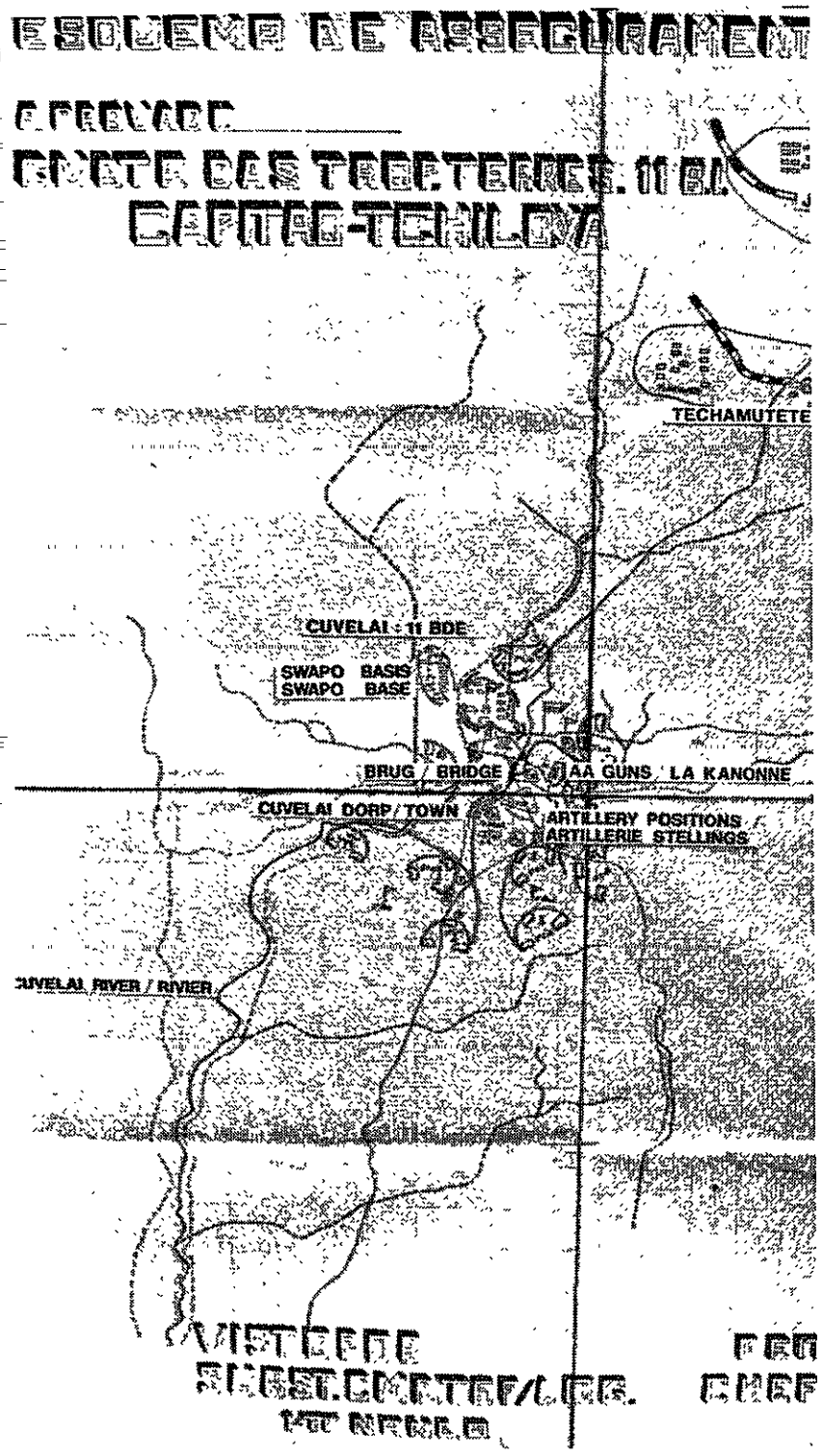
Dr Crocker described his talks as constructive. "We have no announcements to make, but they were certainly useful talks," he said.

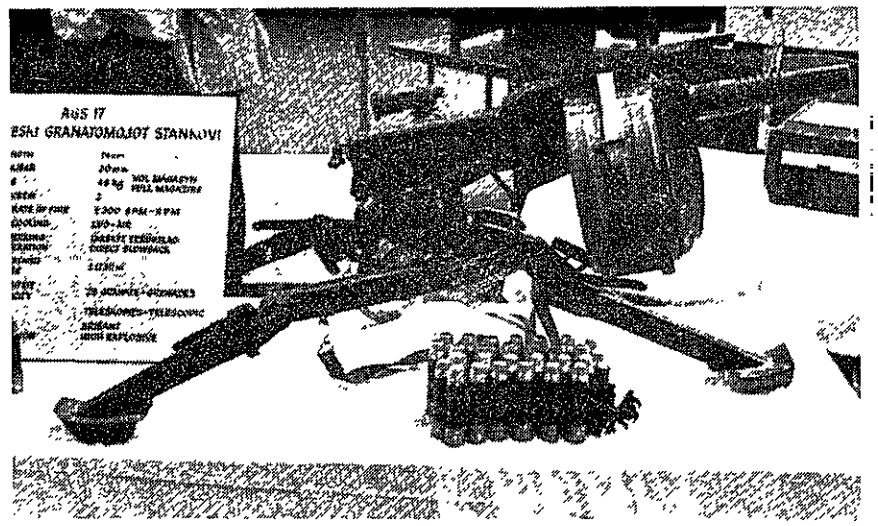
The US envoy, who was due to meet Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda soon after arrival, confirmed that the point of his Southern African mission was to defuse the SWA/Namibian conflict.

"The immediate focus of our efforts, and what we will want to be consulting about here as well as elsewhere, is the question of seizing the opportunity to get the violence reduced so that all parties can participate in the negotiations," he said.

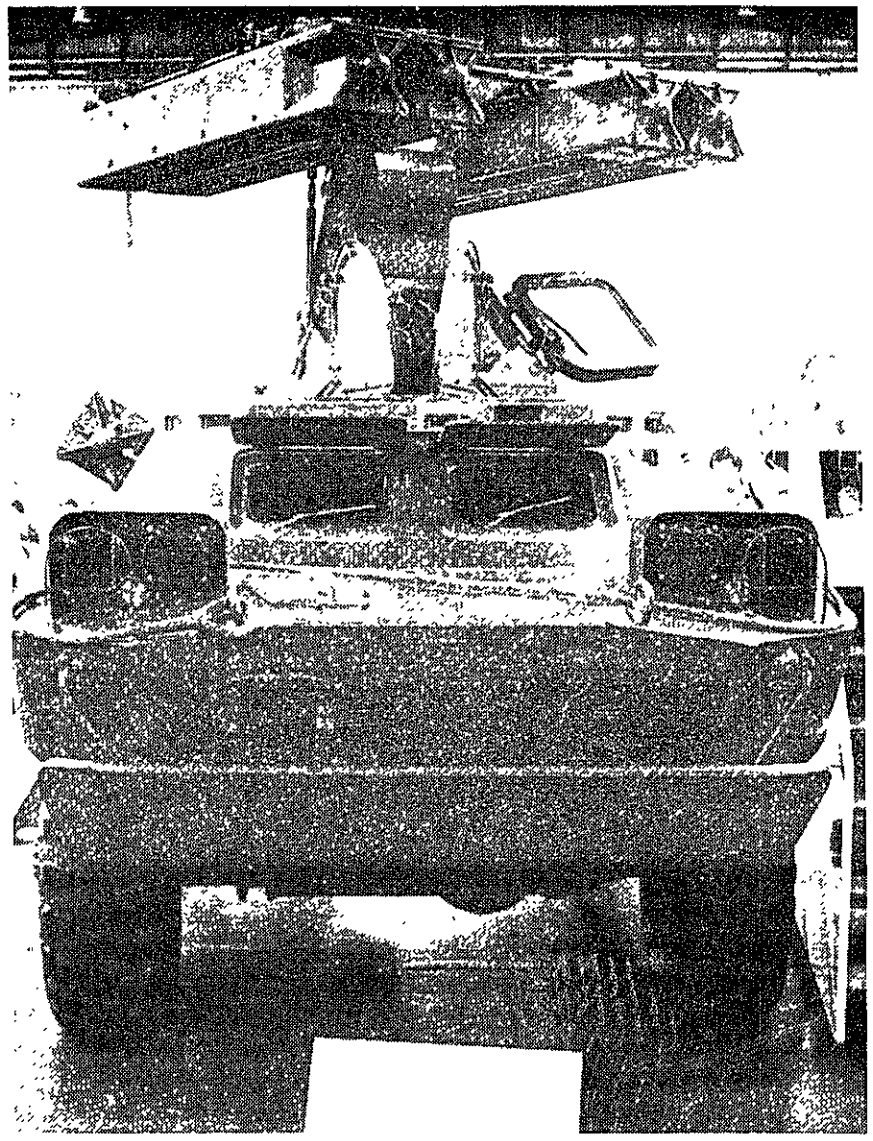
Zambia is one of the six African "frontline" States most closely concerned with bringing an internationally-acceptable independence settlement to the disputed territory.

Zambian authorities have displayed guarded optimism about the new US initiative. Sapa-Reuter





The AGS-17 "lawnmower gun". On top of the breech, centre, can be seen the telescopic sight; just left of it is the Y-shaped tab with which the breechblock is pulled back. Clearly visible are the hinges which allow quick folding of the tripod legs.



ABOVE: A map enlargement showing troop dispositions and gun positions around Cuvelai, captured from the Angolan 11 Brigade and annotated by the SADF, which was shown at Friday's briefing. It has an elaborately-lettered title, probably done to pass the time. The fighting took place in the left upper and left lower fringes of Cuvelai. **RIGHT:** The Russian-built launch vehicle from which the SA-9 is fired. Each of the pods on the turret holds two missiles, and a spare is carried in the container at left.

Simple, lethal 'lawnmower gun'

Defence Reporter

OFFICIALLY it is called the AGS-17 automatic grenade-launcher. Unofficially it seems bound to become known as "the lawnmower gun". Small, simple and very lethal, few anti-communist armies have anything to match it.

The "lawnmower gun" — so called because it is cocked not by operating a lever or handle but by pulling back the breechblock on a lanyard, as if starting a power mower's engine — was exhibited to the local and foreign press on Friday at a press conference at Air Force Base Ysterplaat, together with other weapons captured during the recent incursion into southern Angola.

The launcher was one of three taken from Swapo positions north-west of Cuvelai at the beginning of this month — the first time such weapons had been seen in action other than in Afghanistan.

It is only 74cm long, and weighs just 48,5kg, including an ammunition-drum filled with 29 30mm grenades. With its tripod legs lowered, it and its two-man crew can be concealed behind a small bush.

But it is an unbelievably potent weapon. It can fire bursts of high explosive anti-personnel grenades out to a range of 1 700m. It is primarily a defensive weapon to beat off infantry attacks, and can also be used against "soft-skinned" (unarmoured) vehicles.

However, it can be also used for attack, providing it is mounted on a vehicle to give it the necessary mobility.

The AGS-17 is a typical example of Soviet weapons design — sturdy, simple, easy to operate and "soldier-proof", requiring little maintenance and capable of taking lots of punishment without being rendered inoperative.

It works on the same simple "blow-back" principle employed in weapons such as the Sten submachine-gun.

The gunner grasps two "handlebars", and aims with a telescopic sight and simple traversing and elevating mechanisms. A touch on the thumb-plate will fire at least three of the grenades. The barrel is grooved on the outside for cooling.

Although the launchers have been in SADF hands for less than three weeks, they have already been extensively evaluated.

● The United States Army has a similar launcher in service, but observers say it is more effective because it fires a larger (40mm) grenade. Few other armies have this weapon in service, however.

CAR TIMES 30/11/84 (5)

Missile key to Angolan defences

Defence Reporter

THE capture of at least one Russian-made SA-9 missile-launching system — said to be the first complete system to land in anti-communist hands — will help the the South African Air Force to work out new methods of counteracting the awesome array of anti-aircraft defences in southern Angola.

This was made clear last Friday when local and foreign journalists were shown weapons captured in southern Angola during Operation Askari.

Journalists and members of parliamentary defence study groups were shown not only the SA-9 missile and vehicle but also the AGS-17 automatic grenade-launcher and captured battle-maps and documents in Russian and Portuguese.

Major-General Jan van Loggerenberg, Chief of Air Staff Operations, described the extent of Fapla (Angolan army) radar coverage, and commented:

"It is a very extensive and sophisticated air-defence system... It is common knowledge that Swapo has bases in southern Angola and uses them for the purpose of operating against northern SWA/Namibia.

"We can only carry out (pre-emptive) operations if we have good intelligence, and one of the best means of intelligence-gathering at our disposal is aerial reconnaissance."

However, Swapo had "moved in under the umbrella of the Fapla air defences, clearly to prevent our aerial reconnaissance".

He said there were between 35 and 40 radar systems deployed in southern Angola alone, for purposes ranging from surveillance and ground control to fire control. These were linked to a "very comprehensive system" of missiles which left no gaps in air-defence coverage.

One of these was the SA-9, which was "a very, very good system. It can go to very high altitudes and very great ranges".

General Van Loggerenberg said the SADF had come to several conclusions:

● It had to contend with "an extremely sophisticated system", and "with us, there is no doubt that there is much more than this country (Angola) needs to defend itself".

● As far as Swapo use of this system was concerned, it was an "absolutely integrated system. One can't talk about a Swapo or a Fapla system... Swapo "deliberately seeks the protection of this umbrella".

● SADF observers "don't think it is within our neighbours' capability to operate it, so there is no doubt it is the advance guard of the Russian effort".

Colonel Julius Kriel, SAAF director of intelligence, said that Western sources at first thought the SA-9 (Nato nickname "Gaskin") was a development of the SA-7 hand-held, anti-aircraft missile, and later that it was a development of an existing Russian air-to-air missile.

However, "after looking at it we have concluded it is a specific low- to medium-range surface-to-air missile".

He said the cost of each missile was estimated at R200 000, and a complete system of launch vehicle and missile load at R1-million.

He pointed out the SA-9 had a diameter of 12cm, against with the SA-7's 7cm, and was thus "far faster — probably Mach 1,5".

The SA-7 was shoulder-fired and the gunner had to "acquire" the target visually before launching, whereas the SA-9 was fired from a vehicle and formed part of an integrated missile/radar system.

'However, I think the big difference is that the SA-7 has a contact fuse — it must actually hit the aircraft to explode — whereas the SA-9 has a proximity fuse, so that it can go off near the aircraft".

Colonel Kriel spoke in admiring tones about the launch vehicle, a derivation of the BRDM-2 amphibious scout car.

He pointed out that although sophisticated where necessary — it had a self-activating bow-wave deflector and propellor for amphibious travel, a radiation detector which automatically closed hatches and activated a filtration system, and a navigation computer — it was very simple and sturdy in other respects.

It carried four missiles and one spare, and could be used on its own or as part of a larger system.

The security forces had found it abandoned, with one missile fired and its systems still switched on, about 4km south-west of Cuvelai. It had been very well camouflaged.

As far as he knew, it was the first complete SA-9 system to fall in the hands of the West, "and now we can evaluate properly and develop measures to enable us to fly safely in southern Angola".

'We've lost a battle but we won't lose the war'

By Stephen McQuillan

The ghost of an army has risen from the tropical rain forests of northern Angola, forcing the Cuban-backed MPLA Government to fight a battle on two fronts.

That is the claim from sources close to the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), a guerilla movement thought to have faded soon after the Soviet-backed MPLA government was installed in Luanda during 1975.

The FNLA is reported to be fighting in the six richest provinces — Uige, Zaire, Cuanza—Norte, Luanda, Malange and Lunda North — as Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels push deeper into Angola from the south.

Several FNLA strongholds were scattered through the north and mobile commando units were responsible for attacks on MPLA or Cuban convoys only 50 km outside Luanda, the sources said.

Exiled FNLA leader Holden Roberto — now living in Paris — has been on an extensive tour of the US in what is seen as a determined effort by the FNLA to whip up support for more extensive military operations inside Angola.

During the tour he indicated willingness to promote an accord between the FNLA and moderate members of the MPLA Government. He also tried to destroy the "misconception" that the FNLA no longer existed.

"Though we, the FNLA, have lost a battle, we will not lose the war.

"Communists circulate false statements that the FNLA is non-existent to promote the misconception that the MPLA is being attacked only by South Africa through Unita. The communists want all to believe that if it was not for South Africa's aggression, there would be peace in Angola."

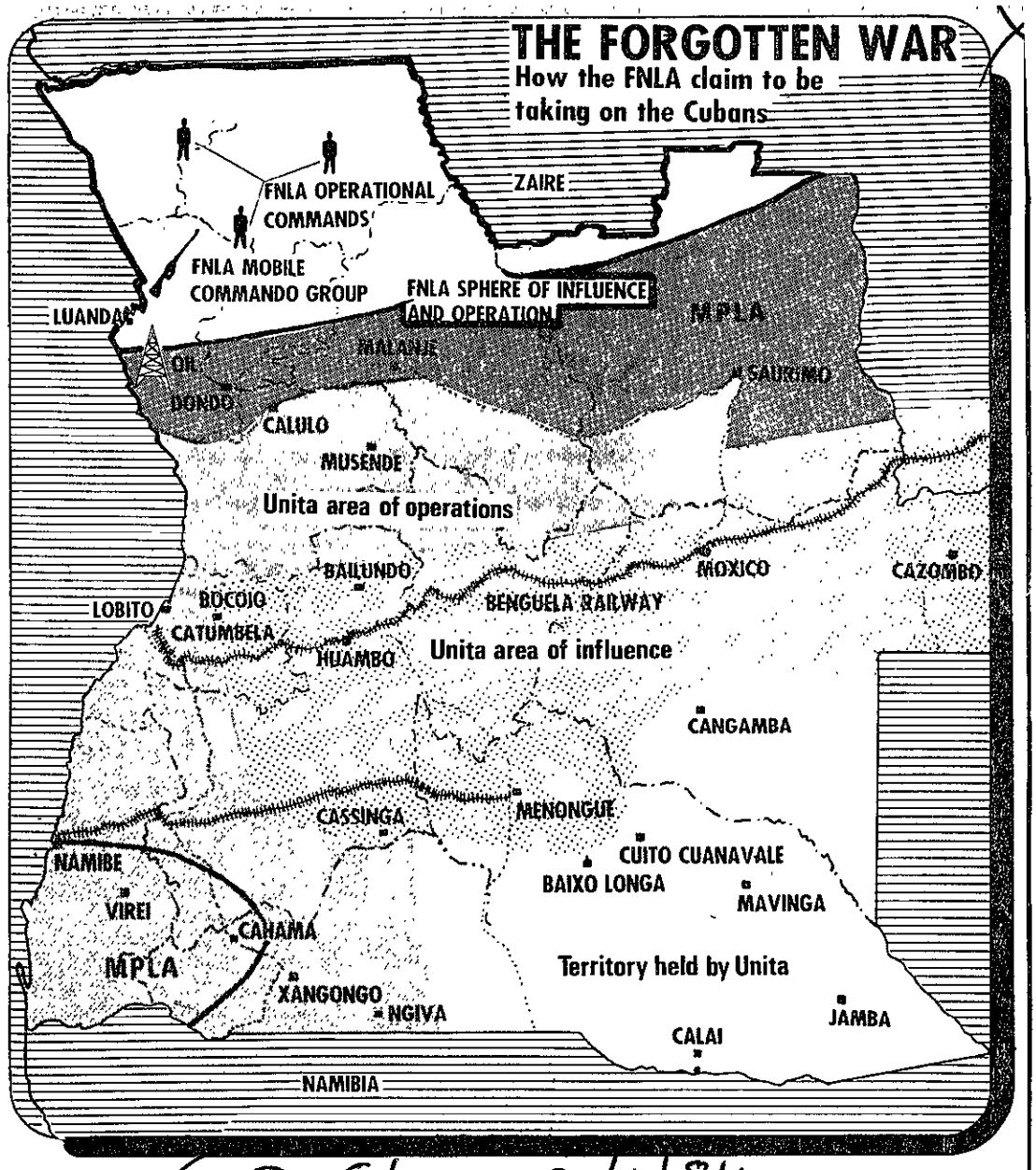
It seems that the FNLA, which claims to be committed to democracy and a free-market economy, is desperate for arms, ammunition, medical supplies and other support from the West to aid guerillas in the north operating "under incredible hardship".

Copies of Mr Roberto's speeches to the World Affairs Council and the Commonwealth Club (San Francisco) were made available to me.

He told the Americans that Cuban and government forces were committing genocide in some parts of the country by blocking crucial supplies.

The FNLA claimed that their actions and the government's disorganisation were to blame for the destruction of the country's coffee industry.

Rejection of the MPLA and support for the FNLA were total in northern Angola. Government forces, with the help of Cuban units, controlled cities only. The countryside was under the control of the FNLA, which is believed to be several thousand strong.



5 Star 31/1/84

Roberto wants US aid for his 'rag-tag' FNLA

By Stephen McQuillan

Alvaro Holden Roberto, the 60-year-old leader of the FNLA nationalist movement in northern Angola, is trying to breathe new life into his surviving rag-tag guerilla operation.

His visit to the United States and appeal for military aid are indications of his wish to regenerate the FNLA into an effective war machine instead of a scattered hit-and-run guerilla group.

The main stumbling block to winning arms from the US is the "Clark Amendment" — the real target of his political manoeuvres during the American tour.

The amendment to the Security Assistance Bill, adopted by the US Congress in 1976, forbids any assistance to Angolan guerilla movements.

"The Sub-Committee on Foreign Assistance acted under the impression that the US was already dangerously close to an open-ended confrontation with the Soviet Union in a country that was of 'no real stategic interest to either power'," says Mr Roberto.

He told the Americans: "We are asking for material help. We are not asking for American forces. Our own people are able and willing to continue our fight for freedom and true independence."

CALL FOR REPEAL REJECTED

American politicians overwhelmingly rejected a Reagan Administration call to repeal legislation prohibiting US military involvement in Angola in 1981.

During his American tour, Mr Roberto told the World Affairs Council: "The adoption and maintenance of a Clark/Tunney amendment not only totally support the expansion of the Soviet Union, but also comply with the genocide that the Soviets and their allies are presently practising in Angola."

In the north Cubans had formed a blockade designed to prevent medical supplies and other priority items from reaching their destinations.

"The blockage is perfect, the suffocation total; no doctors, no missionaries and no teachers," Mr Roberto told the Americans. "In many places there are diseases that had been exterminated from the surface of the earth for decades."

Leprosy, smallpox, tuberculosis, black plague and kwashiorkor had been allowed to spread through communist indifference.

Mr Roberto accused the West of "holding up" the MPLA regime.

WESTERN AID

"It is no secret that without Western aid the MPLA would not have survived this long."

The Luanda Government had to pay $500 million to the Soviets before the end of 1983 for arms and other supplies. "Since their treasury does not have that amount of money, they are relying on what they call 'capitalist comrades' to pick up the tab," said Mr Roberto.

Oilfields of Cabinda and Santo Antonio do Zaire (Nsoyo) were operated by Western companies. In 1978 they produced oil worth between $500 and $600 million On present prices, the Angolan Government reaped an income of about $600 million in oil royalties paid by Western companies.

"We firmly declare that these commercial ties must be severed now because, morally speaking, it is an unholy alliance."

Mr Roberto appealed for American investors to strike an agreement with the FNLA. offer the guerillas cash to buy arms now in return for preferential treatment in Angolan investments should the FNLA topple the MPLA regime.

"Even without help, our fighters will continue their efforts to bring the country to a definite African identity — using Kalachnikov arms taken from the enemy."

Sam 'shows Soviet and Angola close'

London Bureau

LONDON. — The capture of a Soviet Sam-9 missile system by South African forces in Southern Angola indicated the "close relationship" between Angola and the Soviet Union in the field of defensive military equipment, a defence expert said.

The capture of the sophisticated Soviet missile system, which went on display in Cape Town at the weekend, was prominently reported in the Daily Telegraph, but ignored by other national newspapers and television networks.

Several Fleet Street newspapers — including the Sunday Observer and the Financial Times — have devoted considerable space, however, to the prospect of a trial ceasefire in the SWA/Angola border war.

Major S R Elliot, of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, said yesterday the Sam-9 was one of the most modern weapons in the Soviet inventory.

"It is a very effective weapon in good hands," he said.

The Sam-9 system had replaced the earlier, hand-held Sam-7 and the vehicle-mounted Sam-8.

The Sam-9 had subsequently been overtaken, however, by the new Sam-13 with an improved warhead, range and radar control.

SA starts disengagement in Angola today — PW

By Peter Sorival
Political Correspondent

South Africa will begin disengaging its forces in Angola from today, the Prime Minister announced in Parliament.

He said South Africa would be prepared to negotiate practical arrangements to achieve a climate of increased security. Trilateral discussions between this country, America and Angola could not be excluded.

Speaking to a hushed House, Mr Botha said the success of a disengagement of forces and ultimately a ceasefire would depend on the behaviour of all parties.

Steps would be taken to
sion was not exploited at the expense of the security of the inhabitants of Namibia.

Mr Botha's annoucement came after weekendtalks between the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, and the Prime Minister. His decision will be welcomed by the Western nations.

Although he did not announce a date for a ceasefire, his statement implies that agreement has been reached between the three countries on when the ceasefire will start.

Mr Botha said his decision was taken on the basis of assurances given by the United States — assurances which suggested Swapo and the Cubans would not exploit the military withdrawal.

News agency reports from Dar es Salaam say Dr Crocker was today to meet President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania to discuss Namibia.

Dr Crocker, who arrived last night from Zambia, is on a tour of Southern African countries to brief leaders on the weekend talks, aimed at breaking the Namibia stalemate and encouraging a ceasefire.

Yesterday Dr Crocker discussed Southern African security problems with President Hastings Banda of Malawi.

Dr Crocker said the presence of Cubans in Angola was an issue that had to be resolved. The main point of contention on independence for Namibia is a joint US-South African demand that an estimated 25 000 Cuban troops be withdrawn.

"We believe this can be resolved through sovereign decisions of the Angolan Government," Dr Crocker said.

If the disengagement was achieved, it could produce a climate in which South Africa and Angola would make the necessary decisions to go ahead with the implementation of a UN resolution calling for independence for the territory under UN-supervised elections, he said.

A Swapo statement released in Zambia shortly before Dr Crocker arrived said that the movement would accept a ceasefire if Pretoria agreed to discuss with them (Swapo) the territory's independence.

Dr Crocker is due to leave tomorrow for Mozambique.

Angola gets new Migs from Soviets

By Peter Honey,
The Star Bureau

WINDHOEK — The Soviet Union has begun supplying Angola with Mig 23 fighter bombers, considered superior to South Africa's Mirage F-1, a spokesman for the South West Africa Territory Force confirmed today.

About "three or four" of the long-range jet aircraft were shipped into Luanda last year and are believed to be stationed there at present.

So far, South African Mirages have only been in clashes with Mig 21s, such as the one shot down over southern Angola last year.

The Mig 23s are believed to be piloted by Cubans.

The territory force spokesman compared the arrival of the aircraft with that of the advanced mobile suface-to-air missiles (Sam 9s) recently captured in Angola as an indication that Cuba and the Soviet Union did not intend to relinquish their positions in Angola.

"We have always believed that the Soviets want a secure base in Angola, and they have been pumping in increasingly sophisticated weaponry to hold that base," he said.

Swapo 'rejects' disengagement

SA forces begin pull out today

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN.

BACKED by the United States and with an obvious commitment to co-operate from Angola, South Africa yesterday took an important step towards ending the war in South West Africa by announcing the start of the disengagement of South African forces in Angola.

Speaking in the No Confidence Debate in Parliament the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said: "On the basis of assurances received from the United States Government during the latest round of discussions in Cape Town on January 27 and 28, I wish now to confirm the Republic of South Africa's decision to begin disengaging its forces in Angola with effect from today."

The success of the operation and a possible ceasefire in the conflict now depended on all the parties concerned, he said.

The Government believed it was possible to achieve a climate of increased security in the SWA-Angola region and was prepared to negotiate "practical arrangements" to ensure that it was given every chance of success.

"To achieve this objective trilateral discussions between the Republic of South Africa, the United States of America and Angola are not excluded," Mr Botha said.

"Necessary steps" would be taken to monitor the disengagement process "to ensure that our decision is not exploited at the expense of the security of the inhabitants of SWA," Mr Botha said.

At a Press conference later Mr Botha declined to elaborate on the assurances given by the US Government which was represented at the weekend talks by the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

However, he said in the light of the latest developments he was confident the Government's goals could be achieved.

The Government now expected Swapo not to take military advantage of the situation such as bringing in new forces, re-arming themselves, crossing the border and continuing attacks inside SWA, he said

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been hit hard by the rand's decline.
-- PAGE 3

TV viewing affected

IRATE TV viewers have reported inteference on their programmes and some Soweto viewers have complained they get no picture at all. Independent technical sources have blamed the SABC's clampdown measures on spillage from Bop-TV, for affecting the viewing.
— PAGE 3

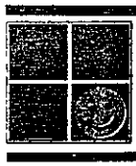
It's Kyalami again

KYALAMI will again become a major pre-season Grand Prix test venue next month when top Formula I teams conduct tests prior to the opening 1984 GP in Rio de Janeiro.
— PAGE 3

Flair

Chris' love lost

ONCE known as "Miss Frigidaire", Chris Evert is the latest tennis star to find marriage and big time tennis don't always go together.
— PAGE 8



HOMEFRONT
Do's and Don'ts of self-help
● See Page 2

New Mwasa leaders

THE Media Workers' Association of South Africa has elected non-journalists as president and vice-president for the first time, in the wake of the split in the organisation.
— PAGE 2

Murder trial resumes

THE trial of Miss Charmaine Phillips and Mr Pieter Grundlingh, who each face four murder charges, resumes in the Maritzburg Supreme Court today after an adjournment of two months.
— PAGE 2

Inside Mail

Private Eye Denis

PRIVATE EYE, that satirical magazine, writes about Denis Thatcher's visit to South Africa.
— PAGE 13

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At a Press conference later Mr Botha declined to elaborate on the assurances given by the US Government which was represented at the weekend talks by the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

However, he said in the light of the latest developments he was confident the Government's goals could be achieved.

The Government now expected Swapo not to take military advantage of the situation such as bringing in new forces, re-arming themselves, crossing the border and continuing attacks inside SWA, he said.

Mr Botha said the disengagement did not mean that South Africa was backing down from its insistence that Cuban forces be withdrawn from Angola as a prerequisite for the implementation of the United Nations settlement plan.

When asked to comment on a reported rejection by Swapo yesterday of South Africa's disengagement terms, Mr Botha said he had not seen the statement, but expressed uncertainty that it had been made by the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma.

This indicated a possibility that Mr Nujoma had given either the Angolans or the US Government an undertaking to honour the terms of the disengagement offer.

However, Mr Botha sounded a note of caution in Parliament when he said the problems of SWA would not be resolved simply by stopping the war.

The people of the territory now had to demonstrate their willingness to produce a viable political solution, he said.

Mr Botha said he had told representatives of SWA's recently formed Multi Party Conference (MPC) that the Government was no longer prepared to shoulder the political and financial burdens of SWA alone.

The MPC had indicated that the existing political and constitutional order in SWA was unsatisfactory and contrary to the national interests of the people of the territory.

The MPC was committed to finding the means to work out a political and constitutional system more acceptable to the people of SWA as a whole.

Mr Botha said during talks in Cape Town last month with MPC representatives he had conveyed to them the Government's views on a number of important issues.

"Amongst others I informed them, and I wish to repeat it in the House today, that the interests of the RSA are of paramount importance to me and if there is to be a choice between the interests of the RSA and the interests of SWA I will give priority to the interests of the RSA," he said.

He said he believed that the SWA leaders who came to see him were now under no illusion about the Government's determination to resolve the SWA dispute "one way or another and as soon as possible".

● See Page 12



Cyclon
The rh

Price of Mail stays at 25c

ALTHOUGH Gen Sales tax goes up by today — rising from to 7% — the Rand D Mail will not be incr ing its cover price. It been decided to ab the increase, kee the Mail at 25c inc ing GST.

Breakfast Qu



"The previous own had one of those s bath things."

Polloc

By RODNEY HART

PORT ELIZABETH.— Pollock underwent a medical examination l terday ... and the pro good.

Despite being struck ing blow on his head d final four-day Test agai rence Rowe's West In Monday, the 39-year-ol

Step to end SWA war

CAPE TIMES 1/2/84

Political Staff

BACKED by the United States and with an obvious commitment to co-operate from Angola, South Africa yesterday took an important step towards ending the war in SWA/Namibia by announcing the start of disengagement of South African forces in Angola.

Speaking in the no-confidence debate in Parliament, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said: "On the basis of assurances received from the United States Government during the latest round of discussions in Cape Town on January 27 and 28, I wish now to confirm the Republic of South Africa's decision to begin disengaging its forces in Angola with effect from today."

The success of the operation and a possible ceasefire in the conflict now depended on all the parties concerned, he said.

Monitoring

The government believed it was possible to achieve a climate of increased security in the SWA/Angola region and was prepared to negotiate "practical arrangements" to ensure that it was given every chance of success.

"To achieve this objective, trilateral discussions between the Republic of South Africa, the United States of America and Angola are not excluded," Mr Botha said.



The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, at the press conference yesterday.

"Necessary steps" would be taken to monitor the disengagement process "to ensure that our decision is not exploited at the expense of the security of the inhabitants of SWA", Mr Botha said.

At a press conference later, Mr Botha declined to elaborate on the assurances given by the US Government which was represented at the weekend talks by the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

However, he said, in the light of the latest developments, he was confident that the government's goals could be achieved.

No new forces

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● PM silent on Nujoma report
● Swapo dismisses ceasefire offer
● Disengaging troops not part of Askari
See page 2

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SA interests

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"Among others I informed them, and I wish to repeat it in the House today, that the interests of the RSA are of paramount importance to me and if there is to be a choice between the interests of the RSA and the interests of SWA I will give priority to the interests of the RSA."

He said he believed that the SWA leaders who came to see him were now under no illusion about the government's determination to resolve the SWA dispute "one way or another and as soon as possible".

● The Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said in Windhoek yesterday that the territory had hopefully come closer to peace and representative government, Sapa reports.

'Challenge'

He said in a statement that Mr P W Botha had made it clear that the political leaders of SWA/Namibia assembled in the MPC should urgently accept more responsibility for the future of the territory.

"The MPC today accepted this challenge," Dr Van Niekerk said.

The MPC had stated it would give its urgent attention to the creation of a political and constitutional dispensation in the territory acceptable to the majority of the people.

It had also declared itself willing to co-operate "in removing obstacles in the way of a nationally-acceptable settlement and independence with international recognition".

Cape Times 1/2/84

SADF actions in Angola 'tainted with illegality'

By BARRY STREEK

SOUTH AFRICA'S military actions in Southern Angola had been tainted with illegality, Professor John Dugard said last night.

It was also difficult to justify the South African Defence Force raid on Maseru in terms of international law, he said.

And South African support of insurgent groups in Frontline states was "clearly unlawful".

Professor Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, spoke last night on "International Law and the Frontline states" at the University of Cape Town's summer school.

'Widespread cynicism'

Despite widespread cynicism about international law because it was not enforced in the same way as domestic law, there was a highly developed and widely accepted body of international law.

The rules governing the use of force were straightforward. The only circumstances in which a state may use armed force against another state without United Nations authority was when it was attacked by another state.

Self-defence operations had to be proportionate to the injury inflicted and punitive or reprisal actions were forbidden by the UN Charter which South Africa had signed.

"International law knows no doctrine of 'hot pursuit' where it results in the troops of one state coming into the state of another," Professor Dugard said.

He said despite the fact that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was an international lawyer, little attempt had been made to justify South African raids into Angola in terms of international law.

No state recognized the lawfulness of South Africa's title to SWA/Namibia, not even the homeland states had done so.

"How, in the light of this legal situation, can the SADF justify its repeated invasions of Angola in terms of self-defence?

"The sad truth is that all South Africa's actions in Namibia and the 'operational zone' (which seems at times to cover much of Southern Angola) are tainted with illegality.

"This explains why South Africa's Western allies join in condemm SADF actions and why growing majorities in the UN view Swapo's struggle as 'just'."

● During discussion, Mr Robert Jaster, who is a fellow of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington DC in the United States, said it was apparent that the MNR "does not have a great deal of support in Mozambique".

A recent campaign by government forces against the rebels in southern Mozambique had been "extremely successful" and they had taken several thousand prisoners.

Executions

The MNR had not been very successful in winning support of the people through its actions of chopping off heads and executions.

However, there was dissatisfaction with President Samora Machel's Government because of the economic circumstances in Mozambique.

But, on the other hand, South African raids on the Mozambiquan capital of Maputo had generated a great deal of support for President Machel.

Disengaging troops not part of Askari

By WILLEM STEENKAMP
Defence Reporter

THE Prime Minister's announcement that security-force troops had started disengaging from southern Angola has puzzled many Capetonians who remember official announcements stating that the last troops involved in Operation Askari had pulled out as long ago as January 15.

However, the disengagement announced by Mr P W Botha has nothing to do with Operation Askari, South Africa's most recent Angolan incursion — and "disengagement" can mean either a physical withdrawal or a ceasefire, with troops remaining in position.

What Mr Botha's announcement does mean is that the security force's well-nigh continuous activity in southern Angola, dating back more than two years, will come to a temporary or permanent end.

The SADF has never admitted to it, but it is an open secret that there has been some sort of security-force presence in southern Angola ever since SWA/Namibian-based troops inflicted heavy casualties on Swapo and Angolan forces in the Xangongo-Ongiva area during Operation Protea in September 1981.

The aim has been to deny Swapo an easy access to the border area by creating what is in effect a South African-controlled demilitarized zone.

Military planners know that Swapo can operate with some measure of success only if it has a relatively safe border over which it can take sanctuary.

The troops used in ventures like Operation Askari are usually assembled from units based in SWA/Namibia or elsewhere rather than those operating in southern Angola on a day-to-day basis.

From the military point of view, an actual withdrawal of all troops from southern Angola — as opposed to holding them ready in various bases in case the situation worsens — is a gamble which risks, at least to some degree, a campaign of preemptive action which has seriously hurt Swapo operational ability.

Planners are only too aware that a ceasefire during the Rhodesian bush war was misused by the Zanla and Zipra insurgents to strengthen their positions and infiltrate on a large scale in spite of solemn undertakings not to do so.

This is obviously why Mr Botha yesterday announced that "necessary steps must, and indeed will, be taken to ensure that our decision is not exploited at the expense of the security of the inhabitants of South-West Africa".

He did not say what these steps were. One observer opined yesterday, however, that it was possible he was prompted to announce the disengagement after receiving an assurance from US envoy Dr Chester Crocker that Angola would restrict Swapo activity in the southern part of the country.

Cape Times 12/84 (5)

PM silent on Nujoma report

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, yesterday declined to react to a Radio Tanzania report that the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, had rejected outright his offer of a disengagement of South African forces in Angola.

Speaking at a press conference following his announcement in the Assembly of the disengagement, Mr Botha said he did not know where the report emanated from, nor what its content was, and that he was therefore not prepared to comment.

He said he was unaware that Mr Nujoma was operating "in that area", or that President Nyerere of Tanzania had anything to do with the negotiations.



Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Prime Minister P W Botha at yesterday's Press conference

AK643 1/12/84

S African offer is from 'position of strength'

TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent, reports on the Prime Minister's Press conference

SOUTH AFRICA'S decision to disengage its forces from Angola is meant to be in preparation for a ceasefire on the border.

Meanwhile the Government is adopting a wait-and-see attitude.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, made this clear yesterday when he said that, if this first step was successful, then a ceasefire could follow. South Africa was not issuing ultimatums at this stage on possible retaliation if the withdrawal move was exploited. He was not prepared to speculate in detail about what could happen now.

He told a Press conference after his speech in the Assembly where he announced the withdrawal move that South Africa was prepared to defend the people of South West Africa for as long as they wanted this.

The Prime Minister said the presence of Cuban troops in Angola remained a stumbling block to the implementation of UN resolution 435.

Asked whether he thought the offer would have positive results, Mr Botha said he was an optimist.

"I believe we should build, not destroy," he added.

He pointed out that South Africa had made its offer from a position of strength. There were signs that other governments were beginning to realise the necessity of the steps South Africa was willing to take.

In the Assembly yesterday Mr Botha said the withdrawal decision was taken on the basis of assurances received from the United States during last week's talks in Cape Town.

At the Press conference he declined to elaborate on what these assurances were.

Mr Botha said South Africa's main body of troops in Angola had been withdrawn after the recent operation Askari.

Further talks?

The latest South African move meant that other elements of the South African forces that may still be there would be withdrawn .

Further talks with Angola were not excluded, but the South African Government was not prepared to talk to Swapo only. It thought that it was in the interests of South West that all parties should take part in constitutional talks on the future of the territory.

It would not, however, stand in the way of Swapo talking to the Administrator General of South West Africa, but it did not recognise Swapo as the sole representative of South West Africa.

Referring to South African demands that its move should not be exploited, Mr Botha said this could happen through arms being brought into the area to prepare for new attacks, border crossings and attacks on civilians.

Mr Botha said South Africa could not be expected to go on shouldering the burden of financial assistance to South West Africa alone. Part of this commitment should be accepted by other Western countries.

He had told leaders of the Multi-Party Conference that South African interests were paramount, that South Africa was determined to resolve the South West African matter one way or another. He issued a message from the conference expressing its appreiation for the direct manner in which he had conveyed the Government's attitude to a delegation in Cape Town and pledging a "renewed spirit of urgency and deterination."

Asked about how Unita could be affected, Mr Botha said he was not involved in a civil war in Angola.

WITHDRAWAL

Botha move welcomed

The Argus Foreign Service in London and Washington reports on the reaction to South Africa's move for a ceasefire

THE Governments of Britain and the United States today welcomed the announcement by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that South Africa would begin implementing a ceasefire in Angola, reports JOHN D'OLIVEIRA.

During a briefing of foreign newspapermen in London, Mr Richard Luce, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, said his Government believed that a SWA/Namibian settlement was in everybody's interests.

"Clearly, any move made by any party to ease tensions and to create a better climate is something that should be encouraged and supported," he said.

"We remain strongly committed to assisting the process towards an independent Namibia in terms of United Nations Resolution 435 ..."



Mr Richard Luce

Rifkind

When the Foreign Office was asked for comment it referred to the answer to a parliamentary question last week by Mr Malcolm Rifkind, the Minister of State at the Foreign Office responsible for Africa.

At that stage, Mr Rifkind said his Government welcomed the South African offer of disengagement.

In response to a question on January 19, Mr Rifkind said:

"The prospect of a disengagement of South African forces on the Angola- Namibian border may offer an opportunity for the resumption of negotiations ... we remain ready to help in any way we can."

Meanwhile, Swapo's London office issued a statement which said the South African Prime Minister had once again ruled out direct talks with Swapo.

"This is a poor attempt at the worn-out pretence that responsibility for their illegal occupation of Namibia no longer lies with them," the statement said.

It would be a "mockery of the concept of negotiation for us to speak to their puppets rather than to those who pull the strings".

Swapo said it was imperative that the first essential step towards the implementation of UN Resolution 435 be discussions between Swapo and a "delegation from the racist regime with full authority to negotiate seriously on behalf of that regime".

A United States State Department spokesman expressed the hope that the South African offer would "contribute to a larger process".

The spokesman said the State Department did not have the full text of Mr Botha's statement in the South African Parliament but the implementation of the disengagement was regarded as a "Positive first step."We will actively encourage all interested parties to bring about an effective disengagement of forces which will create conditions favourable to larger efforts to achieve an overall negotiated solution to the Namibian issue," the spokesman said.

He refused to comment on whether the U S had conveyed assurances about the cease-fire to the South Africans from the Angolan Government."The thing is moving forward, and we hope it will contribute to a larger process," he said.

Spectrum

The Argus,

Adjustment to peace has disaster potential

Cape Times 1/2/86

From TONY WEAVER

WINDHOEK. — The complexities of a ceasefire or disengagement of troops in SWA/Namibia and southern Angola could be one of the biggest headaches faced by the South african Government in recent years.

The SWA/Namibian war has been in progress for more than 17 years. Angola has known no real peace since 1961 when the first MPLA guerillas took up arms against the Portuguese. The civil war has grown in intensity to become one of Africa's hottest wars since it erupted in 1975.

So vast parts of northern SWA/Namibia and southern Angola have known no peace for at least 8½ years.

The potential for disaster is enormous, but the desire for peace and SWA/Namibian independence is probably far greater.

A large number of South African troops are stationed in SWA/Namibia and southern Angola, and the logistics involved in scaling down their activities to the level of a ceasefire are enormous.

Even more of a problem would be Swapo guerillas in the bush and, it can be speculated, from the Angolan Government side, the activities of Unita troops operating against the MPLA.

Communications with guerillas in the bush is a complex problem.

From the South African side, the ceasefire problem becomes even more fraught with difficulty — not so much from a military point of view, but from an administrative and economic one

The ecohomy of Ovambo, where close to half the people of SWA/Namibia live, is based on the supply and demand of the security force.

The network of more than 6 000 cuca shops, supplying groceries and alcohol, depends to a large extent on the troops' purchasing power.

Seventeen years of war has wrought havoc on administrative structures. If the SADF has to withdraw from Ovambo, medical services will be one of the first essentials to suffer.

At Oshakati Hospital alone, there are only five civilian doctors — three of them housemen — in a total of 17.

If the South African troops are confined to bases during the ceasefire period, more problems rear their heads. How will they be supplied if military movements have to cease? If the ceasefire is concluded within the rough framework of UN resolution 435, then there will be a large-scale troop withdrawal and scaling-down of numbers, so the problem will be lessened.

But supplies must still get through. Most road transport to the area is handled by the SADF and the South African Transport Services road-transport division. SWA/Namibia's tiny airline, Namib Air, would be hard-pressed to lend a hand, and presumably military flights would be out of the question.

The headaches are even bigger with the disengagement of troops in Angola. Military bases in Ovambo will be flooded with troops returning from the plains of Cunene and Cuando Cubango provinces.

The last headache is the notorious Koevoet police counter-insurgency unit. They are a military unit operating as police — or vice versa, the distinction is slim — and in terms of Resolution 435, once the troops have been withdrawn, the SWA Police will continue to maintain law and order.

If Unita and Koevoet, both in their own way surrogate forces of South Africa, continue fighting, the ceasefire could be doomed from the start.

Cape Times 1/2/84 (5)

Swapo dismisses ceasefire offer

From STANLEY UYS

LONDON. — Even before the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, made his statement in Parliament yesterday on the ceasefire in Angola, Swapo was pouring cold water on it.

Speaking in Tanzania, Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, rejected the ceasefire and "dismissed the American initiatives as a diplomatic ploy intended to hoodwink the people of Namibia".

In London, Swapo issued a statement accusing the South African Government of trying to set up a separate authority in SWA/Namibia consisting of the multi-party conference under the Administrator-General.

A Swapo spokesman told me that Swapo would be prepared to negotiate with someone like the Administrator-General provided he was invested with full authority to negotiate.

In such circumstances it would be irrelevant whether members of the multi-party conference attended the negotiations or not. They would be simply South African "puppets" and Swapo would not negotiate with them.

The following points were made by the Swapo spokesman:

The proposed ceasefire is a ceasefire in Angola and, as such, is a matter for negotiation between Pretoria and Luanda. A ceasefire, as envisaged under Resolution 435, would be supervised by the United Nations, whereas the present ceasefire would not be supervised.

Swapo was sceptical that South Africa would withdraw all its troops from southern Angola. South Africa had not indicated either whether the ceasefire would extend to northern SWA/Namibia.

Swapo suspects that Pretoria is trying to turn the multi-party conference in SWA/Namibia into a body claiming to represent the territory, and to invest it with authority.

SWA: 1st object 'is peace'

WINDHOEK. — The multi-party conference on the future of SWA/Namibia had accepted as its first priority the quest for lasting peace in the territory, representatives at the conference said here yesterday.

Such peace would focus "Southern Africa as a whole", Mr Andreas Shipanga, a delegate and leader of the Swapo-Democrats, told a news conference.

Conference representatives were responding to an announcement by the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that the Republic had begun disengaging its forces in southern Angola.

Mr Botha said South Africa was determined to resolve the SWA/Namibian issue "one way or the other"

At yesterday's news conference here, delegates said they viewed United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 as the only fixed plan for the territory's independence.

However, they did not rule out the possibility of forming an interim government should its implementation be much further delayed.

In the Cape Town talks, "the SA Government, like the MPC (Multi-Party Conference), stated clearly that Resolution 435 stays on the table as the only concrete plan for independence", Mr Shipanga said. — Sapa



At an isolated bush camp in Angola, FRED BRIDGLAND, a Special Correspondent of The Star, was allowed to see 20 Czechoslovakian technicians held by Unita guerillas for almost a year. They are "defeated" men who have been forgotten by the Press and politicians of the Eastern bloc.

Dismal plight of Czechs entering year of Unita captivity

Hostages claim that they are political pawns

(5)
2/2/84 Stew

LONDON — The predicament of the 14 Soviet geologists now reported to have been released by anti-government guerillas (MNR) in Mozambique typifies a new trend in Third World conflicts: the taking of East European hostages.

For example about 20 Czechoslovak technicians have been held by Unita guerillas in Angola for almost a year.

Their plight, and that of the Russians, in universal terms, is sad. They suffer no less than other hostages, but no Western newspapers campaign on their behalf and the controlled East European media are often muted for political reasons.

"We sometimes feel that we are just pawns in a political game that is much bigger than us, and that humanitarian considerations do not come into it," one of the Czechoslovak hostages told me last month.

I was taken to meet them at the isolated bush camp where they are prisoners of the rebel movement Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), which is fighting Angola's Soviet-backed Marxist Government.

They have been torn from their wives and children, they have suffered serious ill-health, they have seen one of their colleagues die, and some are near mental breakdown.

"We are rather pessimistic about our future," said the group's main spokesman, 54-year-old Alexander Ivan, a gentle man with courtly manners who spoke fluent English and Portuguese.

"If we stay here indefinitely 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."

Their long, arduous ordeal began at dawn last March 12.

They were sleeping in their bungalows in the compound of the wood pulp-mill where they worked at Alto Catumbela, a small town on the high plateau of central Angola.

Theoretically the area was rebel-free.

"We all had our families with us," said Alexander Ivan. "We would not have brought them to Angola if we had not thought it was safe. We were just civilians doing civilian jobs.

"But we saw conditions getting worse gradually, and restrictions were increasing on the distance we could move from Alto Catumbela. Always the MPLA (Angola's ruling party) told us the problem was purely a local one.

"But we are not stupid, and we knew there were some big clashes going on around."

Early on March 12 Unita forces overran the town. They destroyed the industrial plant and took away all the foreign workers — 64 Czechoslovak technicians, their wives and children — and 20 Portuguese.

The hostages were divided between two big Unita columns, one of which marched 1 400 km through forests, across rivers and in heavy rains to rebel bases in the south-east. The other marched 1 100 km.

From the rebels' main base the 21 Czechoslovak children, 17 women and five men were released unconditionally last July through the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The rebels have said that their hostages will remain captives until 36 Unita loyalists imprisoned in Luanda, the Angolan capital, have been released. But the prospects for an exchange look slim.

The Unita leader, Mr Jonas Savimbi, said that his latest attempt at securing a deal on the Czechoslovaks had failed: "The International Red Cross went to Luanda last October and asked to see our 36 imprisoned men we had named.

"The MPLA failed to produce even one, so the conclusion has to be that they are dead. If they are dead we can produce more lists of people arrested, and we will go on producing lists until the MPLA agrees to an exchange."

The Czechoslovaks are held two to a hut, but no communication among huts is permitted. They have no radios or writing materials and few books.

There is an agreement that they exchange letters with their families through the International Red Cross, but Mr Ivan said he had received no news from Czechoslovakia since July.

The heat oppresses them (and, for a short time in winter, ice forms overnight on their washbowls). The food is monotonous — soggy macaroni and tinned meat, with fresh buck perhaps once a week, and no fruit or vegetables.

Ten have had hepatitis. Some have had malaria. One was operated on for a double hernia by a Unita nurse.

One Western diplomat said: "Prague wants the Soviets (the Angolan Government's leading foreign ally) to put pressure on the Angolan Government to make concessions so that the Czechs can be released.

"But as soon as the women and children were released the Cczechoslovak Government lost the political game. The pressure point caused by Western media interest was gone, and the Russians no longer felt it necessary to press the MPLA for concessions."

Will the rebels weaken in their own resolve? There seemed to be the smallest glimmer of hope for the Czechoslovaks in the final conversation I had with Mr Savimbi.

On notepaper I had given to them the hostages had written the rebel leader a plea in English. Savimbi read it out:

"Please do all you can because now our situation has become extremely difficult, and we want you to take an initiative to make the powers concerned move.

"If your efforts are successful we will be most grateful to you. The children of our land will be most grateful to you, and also it will bring you respect and admiration from the international community."

Mr Savimbi raised an eyebrow at this unlikely prospect and sighed: "All of them have signed the paper. It is difficult. But for the time being we must wait for information from the MPLA on what has happened to our list of 36 prisoners."

Reports from New York, Windhoek, Addis Ababa and Cape Town on moves towards peace in Angola and SWA

CO4
2/2/84

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha's announcement in Parliament on Tuesday of a disengagement in Angola was linked closely to a subtle, but vital shift in the power groupings inside South West Africa/Namibia. TONY WEAVER examines the two announcements.

Pull-out of SA troops may be risky

AN air of mystery surrounds Mr P W Botha's announcement in Parliament on Tuesday, that South African troops would henceforth "disengage" from military action in Angola.

Very few details were given by the Prime Minister, and so the top-secret details of one of Africa's top-secret wars will remain — for the time being — top-secret.

As if to stress the top-secret nature of the war, a spokesman for Defence Headquarters in Pretoria yesterday told the Africa Bureau — very apologetically — that he had "nothing to add" to Mr Botha's statement.

The impression was gained that he in fact knew nothing more — although the generals involved in battle-field planning, must have details somewhere.

The bland statement by Mr Botha gave a few hints, and press reports, especially in the Nationalist press, took the matter slightly further.

Clearly, South African troops will, for the time being, refrain from hostile acts against Angolan troops, and on Angolan soil.

The South African pullout after "Operation Askari" was supposed to have been completed two weeks ago — so that part of the disengagement has presumably been completed.

But the Angolan Government — subsequent to the pullout — alleged that South African troops were still inside Angola, and were still maintaining their alleged reconnaissance flights over Angolan soil.

some degree of calm returning to southern Angola.

With all South African troops withdrawn from the region, Unita troops — long accused of being mere surrogates of South Africa — will be on their own.

Normal civilian life has all but ceased in the area. Journalists overflying the area after "Operation Askari" spoke of seeing one solitary reaper tilling his fields, and he fled as the South African helicopters roared overhead.

Otherwise — vast plains devoid of any human life.

Once rich game areas, now contained only the odd Muscovy duck — all the animals had been slaughtered by successive armies moving back and forth in the ebb and flow of the Angolan conflict.

The stark reality of the Angolan war is that the country has known no peace since 1961, when the first MPLA guerillas took up



P W BOTHA ... praised the MPC for "accepting the challenge".

begin putting heavy pressure on Swapo, to also tail off its activities — leading to an ultimate ceasefire and Namibian independence.

MR P W BOTHA's Tuesday announcement — that South African forces have begun a disengagement in Angola — had such dramatic impact, that his statements on the new status of a strange grouping of internal Namibian political parties got lost in the hurly-burly.

But that group of six parties, who are presently meeting under the title of the Multi Party Conference (MPC) are fully aware of the importance of their new status.

And so is the South African government, which has long sought a reasonably credible alternative inside Namibia to their favourite ogre, the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation (Swapo) of Namibia.

Mr Botha heaped veiled praise on the heads of the MPC during his Tuesday afternoon announcement, saying the six will fall within the framework established by South Africa and the Western Contact Group.

Unfortunately for the MPC — as history has shown — organisations carrying the South African seal of approval, inevitably get rejected by the Namibian masses, especially when they are perceived by Namibians as being part of the delaying process designed to postpone the never-never day of independence.

Each of the leaders of the various delegations had a chance to speak on different subjects.

Mr Dirk Mudge — Namibia's most seasoned moderate politician — spoke for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

Andreas Shipanga — expelled

MPC takes up challenge



DR JONAS SAVIMBI ... For the first time his Unita forces are harrying the Cuban troops in Angola.

First off, they announced that work had already begun on drawing up a constitution for post-independence Namibia.

This bombshell pronouncement meant one thing and one thing only.

ceptable to the majority of Namibians, echoes almost exactly the State Council's mandate.

The method of voting, of deciding important matters in committees and of later testing their decisions in a referendum or

troops were still inside Angola, and were still maintaining their alleged reconnaissance flights over Angolan soil.

The ticklish question which will only be answered by events in the next few months, is whether or not the disengagement includes a holding off of attacks against Swapo bases inside Angola — which have always been legitimized in terms of "hot pursuit" actions or "pre-emptive strikes".

Should Swapo launch its annual infiltration into northern Namibia in the next few weeks, will this mean they have broken an undeclared ceasefire?

And will this then mean the disengagment no longer applies? South Africa has, in the past, said that because Swapo guerrillas are "sheltering" behind Angolan Fapla troops, it must be expected that Fapla troops would get hurt in any battles which took place.

Although the disengagement offer is shrouded in mystery, in real terms it could mean at least conflict.

The stark reality of the Angolan war is that the country has known no peace since 1961, when the first MPLA guerillas took up arms against the Portuguese colonial regime.

In 1975, civil war broke out with a vengeance, South Africa invaded in October, Cuban troops landed in November, and Unita has gone from strength to strength ever since.

South African forces have launched annual raids aimed at Swapo bases deep inside Angola, each one producing a new crop of Honoris Crux Medals, bereaved parents and grieving widows.

Concomittant with the raids, have come constant accusations — and South African denials — that South African troops are marching at will across southern Angola.

If the disengagement means a complete South African withdrawal from Angola — and a complete stop to cross-border raids — the prospects are there for the Angolan government to begin putting heavy pressure on Swapo, to also tail off its activities — leading to an ultimate ceasefire and Namibian independence.

The joker in the pack is Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita. Widely held to be a South African surrogate, Dr Savimbi is unlikely to curtail his operations when the signs are he already has a substabtial military and political grip on the country's hinterland.

Which all adds up to a very dicey political equation filled with if's and but's.

The whole exercise is so fragile that any excitement at this stage will have to be very seriously held in check, until the fruits of the offer begin to fall.

And even then, all could be lost with one landmine explosion, one assasination, or one misplaced reconnaissance flight.

But to the people of southern Angola, at least there could be a measure of peace, a holiday from war, even if only for a few weeks or months.

Mr Dirk Mudge — Namibia's most seasoned moderate politician — spoke for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

Andreas Shipanga — expelled from Swapo for revisionism — spoke for Swapo-D, a party which is generally classified as being black nationalist, differing little from the founding principles of Swapo.

Moses Katjiuongua — the flamboyant Maoist turned moderate — spoke for the South West Africa National Union, while Eben van Zijl spoke on behalf of the rightwing National Party.

Completing the line-up were the ultra-conservative Hans Diergaard of the Rehoboth Liberation Front, which seeks "independence" for the tiny "principality" ruled by the Rehoboth Basters, and Justus Garoeb, long-time sleeping ally of Swapo — an outspoken black nationalist who leads the Damara Raad.

Their pronouncements on Tuesday, herald a major shift in the pattern of Namibian internal politics, and indeed, in the whole Namibian ball game.

ing up a constitution for post-independence Namibia.

This bombshell pronouncement meant one thing and one thing only.

They are pre-empting phases eight and nine of the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435, which makes provision for the election of a constituent assembly which will draw up the very same constitution the MPC has taken upon itself to compose.

Second, they announced that although it was not as yet definite, one of the alternatives they were considering as part of their deliberations on political developments, was the formation of an "interim government".

This ties in exactly with the provisions made in Dr van Niekerk's proclamation for the abortive State Council — rejected by all internal parties excepting the DTA, the National Party and the tiny NCDP.

Their promise to Mr Botha that they would — as a matter of urgency — work towards a political and constitutional framework ac-

State Council's mandate.

The method of voting, of deciding important matters in committees and of later testing their decisions in a referendum or election, also echoed the State Council's mandate.

Finally, party leaders on Tuesday stressed that although they could not be definite about things at this stage, the possibility existed that they could fight independence elections as a united front.

Mr Shipanga was clearly unhappy about this, as he was about the vague murmurings on an interim government, but he is in the MPC for better or worse and could find himself committed to an anti-Swapo election front — indirectly sponsored by South Africa.

Whether the MPC likes it or not, they have been manoeuvred by the South African government into forming a back-door state council.

At the same time, they have significantly altered the internal dynamic of Namibian policy, by actively working towards an alternative to resolution 435

Fourie stakes all on SWA plan

SOUTH AFRICA'S most distinguished diplomat has his reputation staked on Pretoria's pledge to trade Namibian independence for Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

If a deal is set on Cuban withdrawal and South Africa does not then accede to the plan for supervised independence, then Dr Brand Fourie will quit. This he assured top United Nations officials over a glowing camp fire, deep in the SWA/Namibian bush.

The circumstances — an Etosha pan braaivleis for Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar — were curious, but South Africa's wry ambassador to Washington commands a special respect from the UN heirarchy, born of a 30-year relationship.

From RICHARD WALKER in New York

The US then set as bait its recognition of the Luanda government, with the implied promise of aid, and crossed fingers for a step-by-step process of accommodation.

The US objective is obvious enough — a Cuban exit would be a nifty bonus for President Ronald Reagan's re-election campaign, while a Namibia settlement would do much to justify his policies with liberal critics.

The South African strategy is a lot less clear, while the Angolans are an enigma, even to their friends. Swapo is fretful. It has long anticipated South Africa making a settlement contingent upon a regional non-aggression



MR BRAND FOURIE ... won't retire until SWA independence is settled.

ington, the greater the pessimism. On the left, some wonder, Mr Kurt von Schirnding. There is rumour of it picking up the tab for the Cubans, which would divert hundreds of millions of rands into the rickety Angolan economy.

The UN's, Mr Perez Cuellar concluded after his visit to Luanda that Unita was not strong enough to topple the MPLA, a common view among those who also see the MPLA incapable of crushing Unita.

Cynics might see such a situation ideal for South Africa, so long as it could be maintained at acceptable cost and did not escalate into the "real war" that the UN chief warned of when heading for Cape Town last would be considered hostile."

The abiding memory was of Dr Willie van Niekerk, the Administrator General, filling the Etosha air with gynaecological metaphors. Namibia had undergone "a favourable pre-natal examination," he pronounced with professional aplomb.

Luanda, by comparison, was all ardour and intractability.

Swapo's Mr Sam Nujoma made his pitch for an immediate ceasefire and Angola's Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos assembled the local masses to hammer out the party line: All South African involvement in Angola, directly or through support for Unita, had to end before there could be discussion on other matters.

It was as brave a show of

Cuba not the force they were

From CHARLES MITCHELL in Addis Ababa

THE IMAGE of the invincible Cuban soldier, once the scourge of African battlefields, is now badly tarnished.

Gone is the bold image of the "game winner" that surrounded the introduction of the Cubans in the African wars of the 1970's.

Western diplomats estimate that between 30 and 40 Cubans die each month in combat in Angola.

"The mystique is gone. They are expensive to maintain on a day-to-day basis and at least in Ethio-

Angola) in the civil war there.

But even then, according to military analysts, the Cubans were unable to hold off a South African invasion that brought them to the doorstep of the capital, Luanda.

The South Africans retreated not from the Cuban onslaught but rather because the West backed out of agreeing to supply the South Africans further.

It was a Cuban expeditionary force in Ethiopia that drove out the invading Somali army in 1977, lead-

the SWA/Namibian busi.

The circumstances — an Etosha pan braaivleis for Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar — were curious, but South Africa's wry ambassador to Washington commands a special respect from the UN heirarchy, born of a 30-year relationship.

He told them he hoped to reture with the Namibia issue resolved. "Africa's a funny place," he said, when asked just how a deal might be possible. Attitudes, he implied, could change as quickly as the weather.

Five months from that Etosha night, the Fourie theory is being put to the test. Spurred by the United States and an agreement hammered out with Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha in Rome late last year, we have "disengagement", the purposely vague ceasefire proposed by Pretoria and variously interpreted to their advantage by everybody else.

While South Africa talked of a conditional "stand-off", the Americans were explicit. South Africa had decided "to unilaterally disengage and withdraw for a month," said UN ambassador, Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick.

a Namibia settlement would do much to justify his policies with liberal critics.

The South African strategy is a lot less clear, while the Angolans are an enigma, even to their friends. Swapo is fretful. It has long anticipated South Africa making a settlement contingent upon a regional non-aggression pact that would leave it without refuge.

Joker in the pack is Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita, harrying so much of Angola that the Cubans seem to be have been caught up in serious fighting for the first time. There is said to be growing disillusion in Havana, which hardly expected to be pinned down in this way for almost a decade.

Those surest of the US pulling off a deal are those closest to the Reagan administration, or to Dr Savimbi. Mr Charles Lichenstein, Mrs Kirkpatrick's tart-tongued deputy, has confidently predicted a settlement incorporating Cuban withdrawal, while officials at Freedom House, the organisation that hosts Dr Savimbi's visits to the US, are betting on a deal that gives him a slice of the central government.

The further from Wash-



MR BRAND FOURIE ... won't retire until SWA independence is settled.

ington, the greater the pessimism. On the left, some wonder aloud about Luanda's survival. The ANC is said to be pulling people out of Angola.

There is word of a new front opening in the north-east and talk of Mr Holden Roberto being reactivated — the American-backed guerrilla leader from colonial days, the biggest loser in the post-independence struggle. Wild talk even exists of Zaire, South Africa and the Israelis in cahoots on a plot to bury the MPLA government.

Against this, Moscow has gone to unusual lengths to stress its commitment to Luanda, including a rare direct warning to Pretoria, conveyed to UN Ambassa-

not be replaced by any other "hostile" element.

The notion of a public relations stunt was not discouraged in some quarters. Joked one official: "Right now, I think even Americans

the MPLA incapable of crushing Unita.

Cynics might see such a situation ideal for South Africa, so long as it could be maintained at acceptable cost and did not escalate into the "real war" that the UN chief warned of when heading for Cape Town last August.

For a Savimbi-led Angola might be no more palatable than the present one — less so, maybe, since it would deny Pretoria the key propaganda tool that confronting Cubans and Russians provides.

The UN team came away from Cape Town and Windhoek assured, but confused.

The talks with South Africa had been blunt, but surprisingly productive. There was only one really explosive encounter in private and when it was over, Mr Botha declared that UN impartiality was no longer an issue holding up the settlement process — only the Cubans were.

Yet others whispered otherwise. Impartiality could always be revived, next time championed as a concern of the internal parties, it was noted, as was South Africa's condition that the Cubans

Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos assembled the local masses to hammer out the party line: All South African involvement in Angola, directly or through support for Unita, had to end before there could be discussion on other matters.

It was as brave a show of solidarity as you could hope for in the squalor of a dilapidated capital short of everything except slogans and AK-47 rifles.

"See you in Namibia," long ago became a derisive greeting among UN staff, some of whom gave up apartments and other commitments in expectation of serving in Untag — the UN Transition Assistance Group — that was supposed to see the territory to independence by 1979.

The consensus is that Pretoria would still want more time to tinker with the internal structure — something Tuesday's statement to Parliament seemed to imply.

With Las Vegas bookmakers offering odds of three to one on Mr Reagan's re-election, Pretoria might feel it has that time. Any disengagement process could be a long one.

tion of the Cubans in the African wars of the 1970's.

Western diplomats estimate that between 30 and 40 Cubans die each month in combat in Angola.

"The mystique is gone. They are expensive to maintain on a day-to-day basis and at least in Ethiopia they don't do much fighting," said a Western diplomat.

"It has been a long time since they have come up with a victory worth their keep," he said.

The memory of those heady days of a quick victory with Cuban support are as faded as the jungle fatigues they wear.

The invincibles are now at best viewed as a necessary evil in most countries. The image of liberators has melted into an image of surrogates for the advancement of Soviet policy in Africa.

It was a Cuban expeditionary force in 1975 that turned the tables in Angola on the Western supported independence movements of Mr Jonas Savimbi and Mr Holden Roberto and led to the victory of the Marxist MPLA (Movement for the Popular Liberation of

The South Africans retreated not from the Cuban onslaught but rather because the West backed out of agreeing to supply the South Africans further.

It was a Cuban expeditionary force in Ethiopia that drove out the invading Somali army in 1977, leading to victory in the Ogaden war.

Since then, the track record of the Cubans has been dubious at best.

The Ethiopian government introduced compulsory military service in January to fill the void left by the Cubans. The void mainly consists of simple garrison duty away from the front.

In Angola, the Cubans, who number according to some estimates as many as 30 000 including civilians, have a more active combat role but still remain the single biggest drain on a treasury near bankruptcy.

Their effectiveness against the Unita rebels of Mr Savimbi has been eroded to the point where Unita now operates as close as 160km to the capital.

Only two years ago the rebels were confined to the southern provinces. — UPI.

What the SWA war costs South Africa in lives

THE war in South West Africa is costing South Africa at least R2-million every day and over 75 lives a year, according to observers.

But South Africa also faces an enormous political, diplomatic and social cost as a result of the war, according to Unisa political scientist, Dr J A du Pisani.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said this week that South Africa was not prepared to shoulder the "tremendous financial burden" of SWA, alone.

Estimates of the cost for South Africa of the war range from well over R750-million a year to R1 000-million a year.

By ANTON HARBER

Dr Du Pisani said that in 1983/4, South Africa spent well over R750-million, of which R134-million was a grant to equip and train the SWA Territorial Force.

This was escalating every year and it was difficult to know the cost of major operations in Southern Angola, he added. Last month's major operation — which Dr Du Pisani called "a trans-border mugging" — was likely to push the figure up substantially.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in a speech last year that the war was costing South Africa nearly R1 000-million per year.

According to newspaper files, 76 members of the South African Defence Force and the SWA Territorial Force died in action last year.

In addition to this, 146 civilians died and 101 were wounded. According to SADF claims, 918 Swapo insurgents were killed and 264 civilians abducted.

Internally, the political cost was the "Vietnam sydrome", whereby South Africans would increasingly question the presence of their army in SWA.

The attitudes of black Namibians were also being formed in such a way that would have political consequences for South Africa. "South Africa's position is weakened because the army is not seen as a gentle giant protecting the people.

"There is a perception of the South African Defence Force as an occupying army and a destructive force. This is definitely increasing and is now well established," he said.

But the most enduring cost was probably the break-up of the SWA social fabric and the fragmentation of communities, he said.

There was also problems created by the war such as the refugee problem, the disruption of health services in northern SWA, the breakdown of administration in this area and the spreading of disease as a result.

There was also an important psychological dimension, in that people in a war situation lost their "sense of normal activity" and this would affect the fabric of communities, he said.

ANGOLA Argus 3/2/84 (5)

Guarded optimism on ceasefire

GERALD L'ANGE, Argus Foreign Service, Washington

AMONG diplomats made cautious by years of breakdowns rather than breakthroughs in the SWA/Namibia negotiations there is guarded optimism that the fragile ceasefire exercise now apparently beginning along the Angola border will lead to more positive steps towards a settlement.

The optimism has been strengthened by Prime Minister Botha's announcement that South Africa had begun the promised disengagement of its forces in southern Angola. Mr Botha's statement was widely reported in American newspapers.



Dr Chester Crocker

Uncertainty

There is still uncertainty in diplomatic circles, however, whether the operation will involve the complete withdrawal of the troops South Africa is believed to have kept permanently in the area since 1981.

Also in question is whether Swapo will respect the disengagement as requested by South Africa.

The State Department again refused to confirm reports that Dr. Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State, last week gave Mr Botha assurances from the Angolan government that it would respect the disengagement. According to knowledgable sources, however, Dr Crocker did give such assurances in his talks with the Prime Minister.

The Angolans are said to have indicated a desire to do all they can to ensure Swapo's cooperation. Whether they have the power to do so remains to be seen.

To London

The State Department also has not confirmed that in his visits to frontline African states Dr Crocker obtained support for the disengagement exercise.

Dr Crocker was in Maputo this week after visiting Lusaka, Dar es Salaam and Malawi (which is not a frontline state but is believed to have been included in the itinerary to enable Dr Crocker to pay a courtesy call). He will go next to London for talks with British government officials before returning to Washington.

The State Department has thrown no light on the "monitoring steps" that Dr Crocker is reported to have said will have to be taken, apparently to ensure that Swapo does not try to sneak insurgents into Owambo during the disengagement period.

But diplomats here have noted nothing in the somewhat ambiguous statements from Swapo spokesmen to indicate that the organisation will try to take advantage of the South African gesture to improve its military position.

That there will be some violations of the disengagement is considered likely. The question is how much tolerance Pretoria will show before calling off the disengagement.

"This is the first positive step we have had for some time," said a diplomatic source. "But it's a long way from that to implementation of Resolution 435."

The resolution sets out the settlement plan that would go into effect once agreement was reached on unsettled issues, primarily the desire by South Africa and the United States for a prior withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola.

Getting-out is the priority in Namibian-Angolan war

3/2/84

THE time has come to clarify South Africa's own priorities in what is now no longer merely the perennial SWA/Namibian question, but the ongoing Angolan War.

Indications that the government itself is beginning to think along these lines may perhaps be the most significant aspect of the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament earlier this week.

The announcement that South Africa will begin a process of military disengagement from Angola in preparation for a possible ceasefire is of course an important development in itself, but it can all too quickly be undone in the tense and complex pattern of conflict which prevails in the area.

Mr Botha's statement that, if necessary, South Africa's own interests will have to come first may indicate a more lasting watershed.

What are South Africa's interests and priorities in this matter?

One of the most worrying aspects of an exceedingly complex situation has been the ambiguity of South Africa's ultimate intentions.

In particular it has never been quite clear whether South Africa is fully committed to an international settlement of the Namibian question where this may well entail a Swapo victory in the ensuing elections and Mr Nujoma's coming to power in Windhoek.

On the one hand, South Africa has repeatedly confirmed its agreement, barring some technical and transitional problems, to all the substantive provisions of the Western contact group's settlement plan in terms of UN Resolution 435 which clearly holds out this possibility.

On the other hand, it is to prevent just this that the SADF and its allies have been stepping up their operations against Swapo to the point of open conflict involving Angolan and Cuban forces as well.

The South African ambivalence has been a significant factor in the protracted history of diplomatic negotiations.

Indeed, the sought after goal of an acceptable settlement has shown a disturbing tendency to recede, like the horizon, before every new advance towards it.

Time and time again, when substantive progress seemed within reach, some "technical" problem would begin to grow into an insurmountable obstacle.

At various times, such issues as the delimitation of transitional authority, the composition of United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), and the position and monitoring of military bases have been used, by South Africa as well, to stall further progress towards the actual settlement itself.

No doubt these are serious matters which deserve the most careful scrutiny. But first things first: If we really want a settlement, then we cannot allow the whole thing to break down on "technical" problems.

And conversely, if we continue to allow such transitional problems to get in the way, the question arises whether South Africa does have the political will needed for a settlement.

The latest and most obdurate of these obstructions in the way of a settlement is, of course, the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

Formally, the issue of Cuban withdrawal from Angola does not come into the agreed settlement process for Namibia at all, but the Reagan Administration's stress on the de facto "linkage" between the separate but parallel processes of Namibian settlement and Angolan normalisation has meant that to all intents and purposes the issue of Cuban withdrawal has become an essential part of the overall equation.

"OPINION"

A WEEKLY FEATURE PRESENTING A WIDE VARIETY OF VIEWS

By ANDRE DU TOIT

Professor of Political Philosophy, University of Stellenbosch

This has served to increase the ambiguities in South Africa's declared position.

Since we know that the US is serious about the need to get the Cubans out of Angola it has been easier for South Africa to agree to the goal of an international settlement of Namibia — on this (stated or unstated) precondition of Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

But if we also know that it is in fact highly unlikely that Angola will ever agree to a withdrawal of the Cubans prior to a settlement in Namibia, this could simply mean that South Africa may have calculated that it is quite safe to go along with the settlement proposals for the time being, while reserving judgment on the main question until such time as the Cuban precondition is met.

Meanwhile the SADF can use the threat posed by the Cuban presence and the cover of the American policy of "constructive engagement" to step up our military presence on the Angolan border and to stage pre-emptive strikes and retaliatory raids deep into Angolan territory.

If this does not make it any easier for the Angolan government to agree to withdrawal of the Cuban forces, then that is not our concern — even if this would push back the prospects for a Namibian settlement indefinitely.

From a purely technical point of view South Africa has no doubt been exploiting the tactical opportunities in the great diplomatic and military game with considerable skill. But to what purpose?

If our objectives merely are to play for time and to keep our options open, then we have done so with some success. Yet this cannot ever be an end in itself. Sooner rather than later we must face up to the central question: Are we really prepared to accept an international settlement in Namibia and to live with the consequences? And, if not, what are the alternatives?

Clearly, if the attempts at an international settlement fail, the war will continue. In that case, South Africa could aim to win the war. Or can it? What could victory possibly mean in this Namibian-Angolan war?

No matter how many military battles are won, it is difficult to conceive of any set of political consequences that would be at all acceptable.

Suppose the SADF routs Swapo and Fapla, the Cubans and all, takes Luanda and installs Savimbi — and then?

The Angolan civil war would continue, though in a different form, with every prospect of becoming an arena for superpower confrontation.

South Africa will be sucked into these internal Angolan conflicts and faced with impossible peace-keeping responsibilities as the thankless burden of a neo-imperialist power.

Or it will be pushed aside by the superpowers as the US bring in their aircraft carriers offshore and the Russians install ever more sophisticated missile systems. This is the way to Lebanon.

Is it perhaps possible to conceive of a more narrowly defined victory?

Suppose we can narrow the war to Swapo only. Suppose the SADF can achieve every possible military and counter-insurgency objective against Swapo with pre-emptive strikes razing Swapo bases deep into Angola and setting back all Swapo's planned insurgency campaigns for a year, two years.

And then? Military defeat of external Swapo will not necessarily mean that internal Swapo will lose all political support — a point which Afrikaner nationalists with a memory of the Anglo-Boer War and its aftermath will surely understand.

When it comes to elections, needed for international recognition, Swapo is bound to be a main contender and we are right back with the prospect of a possible Swapo government in Windhoek. Is this what the SADF and its allies would have been fighting for?

Could we go it alone? Is it possible that South Africa might continue to hold out against an international settlement and that as a result of sustained military defeats Swapo will "peter out" as a military and insurgent threat?

But this is to ignore the most fundamental fact about the whole situation: The way in which the South West African question has become internationalised over the last 20 years.

The future prospects of Swapo are no longer a matter of its own resources only. UN recognition and Soviet bloc support mean that powerful interests have acquired a stake in keeping Swapo a viable force.

The Frontline states and the Western contact group have likewise invested considerable political capital in bringing about an international settlement, something that is inconceivable without full Swapo participation. Politically, it is wishful thinking that Swapo will somehow just pack up if you keep on hitting them hard enough.

And these are the possible fruits of "victory" — for we have been assuming the most favourable cases only.

The costs and losses of a more indecisive continuation and escalation of the war can be spelt out at great length.

If this burden has to be borne, the South African Government will have to convince its own people, including the Press, the taxpayers, those affected by military service and the business community, just what the overriding South African interest is which is preferable to an international settlement in Namibia.

The point is that military strategy can only make good sense if it is tied to sound and clear political objectives.

In the absence of any clear and credible purpose to the war, the inevitable burden of casualties and economic costs must become a demoralising force among the fighting forces and the civilian population alike.

Ambiguity as to our real intentions and commitments cannot but sow confusion and suspicion which the intricate negotiation process simply cannot afford. Whatever the eventual outcome, the public needs to be prepared and educated to know what they can expect.

What is needed, then, is a clear and unambiguous South African commitment to an international settlement in Namibia with all which that entails.

On that basis, and with constructive help from the US and other Western powers as well as the Frontline states, a way might be found to resolve even the Cuban presence in Angola.

But without it, chances are that the vicious circle of failed negotiation and military escalation will continue for a long time indeed.

In that case we had better be clear about at least one serious consequence of a continuation of the war for long-term South African interests. Above all, the ongoing war in Namibia and Angola is contributing to the internationalisation of conflict in Southern Africa. That is surely the last thing South Africa needs.

Non-interference in the affairs of neighbouring states has long been the mainstay of South African foreign policy. And for obvious reasons: Given the worldwide rejection of apartheid policies and the efforts of exile movements like the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC) to gain international support, the South African Government has every interest in insisting on respect for territorial sovereignty.

Yet by letting the South West African question drag on interminably, we ensure that the Frontline states, the Western powers, the United Nations and Russia itself all become increasingly involved.

By flaunting the established conventions of international law when it is to our military advantage to mount pre-emptive strikes, hot pursuits and retaliations across our borders, we establish a general condition in which it is taken for granted that conflict in the region overrides considerations of territorial integrity.

On this basis it is going to be very difficult to resist the argument that it is quite legitimate for external powers to concern themselves with our "internal affairs" as threats to regional and world peace.

When the day comes that we attempt to put our own house in order, an internationalisation of our conflicts will be the last thing we need.

It is in the interest of all South Africans that we begin to disengage from the SWA/Namibian question. And the first step towards that is an unambiguous acceptance of the goal of a proper international statement.

NAMIBIA/ANGOLA

Getting close to resolution



The first real move in years to defuse the bush war in Namibia and Angola is likely, soon, to produce a ceasefire. While many obstacles remain, the benefits to SA of Namibian independence could be very substantial indeed.

It would do Ronald Reagan's re-election chances nothing but good were there to be concrete progress towards Namibian independence, and peace in Angola. It would, above all, demonstrate the efficacy of American diplomacy in southern Africa, as opposed to the Soviet method of pouring weaponry into the turbulent area. Perhaps, above all, it would serve to show that the policy of "constructive engagement" with SA had, at last, produced tangible foreign policy benefits.

For their part, the South Africans appeared reassured enough by the US to proceed with complex and highly significant moves towards achieving just those goals. Let there be no mistake: Prime Minister P W Botha's statement on Namibia this week is the most important step towards settlement of this vexing question since his predecessor, John Vorster, announced in April 1978 that SA had accepted Western proposals for an independence plan.

Resolution 435

These proposals were later enshrined in UN Security Council Resolution 435. For six laborious years since then, there have been scores of attempts to get 435 implemented. As a result of patient diplomacy and arduous effort, all but the most daunting of obstacles to implementation have been removed. That is, the insistence of Washington and Pretoria that there can be no lasting settlement in Namibia while the Cubans remain in Angola.

So what is new? The Cubans remain in Angola, therefore 435 continues to gather dust on the UN Secretary General's desk.

But there is an important difference. Unlike all previous attempts at settlement, the latest initiative is the first which did not begin by putting the cart before the horse. In other words, it looks as though it will start with a ceasefire. In the past, SA's Namibia strategy appeared to run on two tracks — the military and the diplomatic. They were not always compatible, for history shows that the one can easily derail the other.

Now, if the shooting stops, there is a real chance that international negotiations may produce something out of the hat.

The reason for believing this is to be found in Botha's statement to Parliament: "We believe there is a possibility for achieving a climate of increased security in that area (Namibia and Angola) and are prepared to negotiate practical arrangements to ensure that this possibility is given every chance of success. To achieve this objective (a ceasefire), trilateral discussions between SA, the US and Angola are not excluded."

This could mean a good deal more than it says. The fact that Botha's statement makes no reference to Swapo is seen as particularly significant. It probably means that the US has received iron-clad guarantees from Luanda that Swapo will not jeopardise talks leading to a ceasefire in the period following the SA forces' disengagement in Angola. These assurances were conveyed to SA when US Deputy Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker was in Cape Town last weekend.

By holding out the possibility of trilateral talks between SA, the US and Angola, Botha could well be confident that something more than a ceasefire could ensue. It could mean that the US has finally persuaded Luanda to start talking about the Cubans. Western diplomats in Cape Town detect an unprecedented mood of optimism in the US camp. Naturally, speculation is once again rife that Crocker's deputy, Frank Wisner, has secured a "deal" with Luanda: an "offer" of formal US recognition of the MPLA government, followed by the inevitable "massive flow" of US investment and development aid — *if* the Cubans go home and *if* some accommodation can be found for Jonas Savimbi and his Unita movement.

The positive signs

Right now, that seems to be so much pie in the sky. Effusions of often baseless optimism usually follow rumours that wars are to end. But there are aspects of the latest development which reinforce bullish notions.

First, there is the unexpectedly strong statement Botha directed at the "internal" parties of Namibia, whom he reminded in the clearest manner yet that "if there is to be a choice between the interests of SA and the interests of SWA, I will give priority to the interests of SA." He also reminded them of current SA aid, direct and indirect, totalling R560m, which does not include R400m-R500m SA has spent in the current

THE US PERSPECTIVE

P W Botha's disengagement announcement sent sighs of relief through the White House halls this week. The timing could not have been better for the Ronald Reagan administration, according to our Washington correspondent.

The news came on the same day as Congress began debate on the first of many anti-apartheid bills scheduled to be discussed this session. Reaganauts hope the ceasefire moves will defuse some of the politically costly bombs that congressional Democrats are likely to lob at the administration's policy of "constructive engagement."

Reagan's officials are well aware that the touchy SA amendments have the potential to turn into an all-out bipartisan war, one which the White House can ill-afford to lose. So it was that Chester Crocker, armed with words from the White House, flew to SA last week to apply pressure for what US officials hope will be more than a temporary ceasefire. Although Crocker came away with less than he had hoped for — the US had, in the beginning, urged for a 90-day ceasefire — all US officials agreed that there had been progress.

While official reports of Crocker's visit with Botha could hardly be called overjoyed, Western diplomats did sound cautiously optimistic that the withdrawal, if it went smoothly, might lead to a meeting between the South West Africa People's Organization (Swapo) and a delegation led by Administrator General Willie van Niekerk. The disengagement, most agree, could build confidence for future negotiations in southern Africa.

Back home in the US, Reagan was pleased with Crocker's 10-day jaunt through southern Africa — and well he should be. The intense negotiations by Crocker and aide Frank Wizner, who worked out the Angolan end of the bargain from Lisbon, could be just the preventive prescription Reagan needs if he is to ease the pain as his SA policy comes under fire in Congress in the next few months.

If the ceasefire succeeds, observers say, US mediators will then try to persuade SA to end its support for Jonas Savimbi's rebels and attempt to cajole the Angolans into removing Cuban troops. Nobody is holding his breath for that to occur, but in the White House officials are at least breathing easier.

financial year "on the security and protection of the people of SWA."

Moreover, he said, SA guarantees for Namibian domestic and foreign loans in the period to March 31 this year will be nearly R700m which, "in the event of a SWA default, carries the possible implication of paying interest equal to double the capital owing, should investors insist upon the Republic honouring the full investment terms."

SA's determination to protect the people from attacks, he said, has exacted a heavy price in terms of material, international condemnation "and in the lives of our young men." He then added an extraordinary warning: "However, it goes without saying that SA will not continue to bear this heavy burden if it seems that the continued presence of our forces does not enjoy the wholehearted support of the people of SWA."

Botha has seldom been as blunt on the subject of the price of the war. Neither has he ever hinted that the Namibian defence exercise could well be seen to be futile if the internal political groupings cannot come to terms behind the protective shield young South Africans are giving their lives to provide.

This leads on to another reason why things may be on the mend: feedback from the constituencies of mounting disillusionment with the bush war among ordinary people. Militarist rhetoric about the total onslaught means nothing to people who sacrifice a loved one. MPs have perceived signs of the start of a "Vietnam" syndrome. In the readers' columns of English and Afrikaans newspapers, people are questioning the purpose of an SADF presence in northern Namibia and southern Angola.

There is growing evidence that if the war in southern Angola continues, there could be a quantum leap in the number of casualties suffered. Operation Askari, as the papers showed last weekend, encountered evidence of Cuban, MPLA and Swapo deployment of weaponry of unprecedented sophistication. In addition, the USSR has warned that it will intensify its military support to the MPLA in terms of treaties entered into nine years ago.

For Botha, the political consequences at home of a disengagement in Namibia no longer seem as daunting. The result of the white referendum must have been encouraging. The result also indicated that whites want change, and they want it fast. The war in Namibia will slow that process and cost him support. In the event, Botha has probably calculated that he can get away with a pullout, a ceasefire and a UN settlement. And no PM ever lost support by offering the prospect of peace.

Then again, the financial consequences of SA's military involvement are staggering. The country will probably never be told the full extent of government spending overruns demanded by doing battle hundreds of kilometres inside Angola. It could be R400m-R500m in the current year. This has obvious implications for ordinary taxpayers, who are being prepared (statements about the drought, continuing weakness of the gold price, pay rises for civil servants, and so on) for further fiscal depredations on their disposable incomes.

Of course, it never pays to be sanguine about these things. The Namibia trail is littered with phony expectations and dashed hopes. We trust this is something different.



Crocker flanked by Defence's Malan (left) and Foreign Affairs' Botha

THE WINDHOEK VIEW

Excitement in SA about a ceasefire and a settlement in Namibia is not shared in Windhoek. While realising that it probably is not "the same old story" this time round, people remember the repeated warnings about "no red flag in Windhoek" that came from Cape Town.

It seems clear that SA is now pinning its hopes on the ability of the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) to keep the "red flag" from Windhoek. What that translates into is that the "internal parties" must cohere into a credible alternative to Swapo. On Tuesday night, the leaders of the MPC gave clear indications that they are considering forming an interim government in the near future.

The MPC did not seem concerned about Botha's statement that the interests of SA will come first in future. But Dirk Mudge did add that the MPC will opt for the interests of Namibia over those of SA, if it had to choose.

What really disturbed Namibian businessmen, however, was Botha's statement that SA will not in future be prepared to shoulder the financial burden for Namibia on its own. With a badly crippled economy that relies heavily on grants from SA, that was bad news.

SUN INTERNATIONAL

The empire maker

Now that the high drama surrounding the formation of Sun International has abated, the group is consolidating and preparing for expansion. For the foreseeable future its style will be very much that of one man.

No one in the hotel business will dispute what amounts to Sol Kerzner's new role as emperor of the Good Life. Almost singlehandedly, he changed the face of the industry when he created Southern Sun. Under his imaginative direction the group mushroomed into the most powerful luxury hotel chain in the country — and in a relatively short time at that.

The gap left by Kerzner, after his departure last year to form Sun International, is unlikely to be easily filled; and the consequences for Southern Sun have yet to be fully assessed.

Meanwhile, the scale of Kerzner's ambition is beginning to be realised. Sun International is nothing if not a lusty infant. In typical Kerzner fashion, no time was wast-

Angola: US 'deal' likely, say sources

Cape Times 6/2/84

By TONY WEAVER

WINDHOEK. — Speculation intensified in Namibian political circles at the weekend that the current flurry of activity on the SWA/Namibian and Angolan deadlocks is linked directly to an imminent announcement of major changes in US-Angolan relations.

"Call it blackmail or call it diplomacy — it boils down to the same thing," one source said.

"The Luanda regime is in serious military, political and economic trouble, and the Americans are offering them a way out in exchange for a settlement in SWA/Namibia."

'Disengaging'

South Africa's Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, announced in Parliament last week that South Africa would begin "disengaging" its forces in Angola and the decision was based on "assurances" received from the Americans during last month's talks in Cape Town.

Informed sources in Windhoek — who emphasized that their information was based on "informed speculation" — said aspects of the peace package, leading ultimately to SWA/Namibian independence, could include:

● Economic and diplomatic trade-offs between Luanda and Washington, including United States financial aid for the ailing Angolan economy, and US diplomatic recognition of the MPLA regime.

● In exchange, Luanda would force Swapo into either direct or indirect talks with South Africa leading to a "compromise" independence settlement in Namibia acceptable to both sides.

Cubans

● Luanda would also begin a gradual phasing-out of the presence of the estimated 30 000 Cuban troops, and could begin negotiations with the Unita rebel movement to end the eight-year-old civil war.

● Washington would pressure Zaire and Israel to put a halt to their alleged support and training of anti-government rebel forces along Angola's northern border.

● Similarly, President Hastings Banda of Malawi and the South African Government would cease their alleged support of Mozambiquan rebels fighting under the banner of the MNR.

SA troops

Sapa-Reuter reports from Lisbon that the Angolan Defence Minister, Colonel Pedro Mario Tonha, said yesterday that South African troops were still occupying parts of southern Angola.

A South African Defence Force spokesman said last night that he was not prepared to comment on allegations emanating from Angola.

He said the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, had made a statement in Parliament, and the SADF had nothing to add to that statement.

Mercury 6/2/84 (3) ~~3~~

New era for U S-Angola relations

Windhoek Bureau

SPECULATION mounted in South West African political circles at the weekend that the current flurry of activity on the South West African and Angolan deadlocks is directly linked to an imminent announcement of major changes in U S-Angolan relations.

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The Luanda regime is in serious military, political and economic trouble, and the Yanks are offering them a way out in exchange for a settlement in South West Africa.'

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Informed sources in Windhoek — who emphasised their information was based on 'informed speculation' — said aspects of the peace package, leading ultimately to South West African independence, could include: Economic and diplomatic trade-offs between Luanda and Washington, including U S financial aid to the ailing Angolan economy, and U S diplomatic recognition of the MPLA regime; in exchange, Luanda would force Swapo into either direct or indirect talks with South Africa leading to a compromise independence settlement in South West Africa, acceptable to both sides.

Pressurise

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Swapo

Fears that the delicate state of the 'disengagement' of South African and Angolan forces could be wrecked through hasty action by South African battle commanders in the war zones receded at the weekend with the news that the chief of the SADF, Gen Constand Viljoen, had visited the war zone in person.

Meanwhile in Cape Town our Parliamentary Correspondent reports that a strong indication of Swapo's direct involvement in the diplomatic manoeuvres was given by Mr Botha at his Press conference when he appeared to be genuinely surprised at reports that Swapo's leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, had immediately rejected South Africa's disengagement move.

Mr Botha questioned the reliability of the reports saying he would be surprised if Mr Nujoma made the statement. This seemed to indicate that Mr Botha had been assured that Mr Nujoma was in on the deal.

SA's Angola ceasefire plan is in jeopardy

By Peter Honey, The Star Bureau

WINDHOEK — Significant details of South Africa's ceasefire bid — including probable talks with Angola about a "ceasefire monitoring force" — have emerged amid signs that the peace initiative is under mounting strain.

Yesterday the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was reported as saying he had "serious doubts" about Angola's ability to restrain Swapo's military activities.

Earlier, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda was quoted as saying he doubted South Africa had stopped its military activities inside Angola.

The statements add fuel to the misgivings felt by some observers about the success of the initiative in the light of Swapo's recent undertaking to press ahead with the war inside Namibia.

Swapo, it is reported, wants direct talks with South Africa on implementing the United Nations Security Council settlement plan for Namibia, Resolution 435 of 1978.

South Africa, for its part, is steadfastly refusing to talk directly to Swapo. Reliable sources have said South Africa hopes to discuss the establishment of a ceasefire monitoring force in southern Angola.

The "disengagement" means Angola, Swapo and the Cubans are not supposed to re-occupy those regions of southern Angola — specifically Ngiva and Xangongo — which have been out of their hands for more than two years.

There has until now been no public mention of a foreign monitoring force in northern Namibia and Angola except that of the United Nations multinational Untag force.

News that South Africa intends discussing the establishment of yet another monitoring force suggests it envisages fundamental changes to Resolution 435.

Unconfirmed rumours yesterday indicated a possible trilateral meeting within the next 10 days. These could not, however, be confirmed.

Apart from the obvious points of discussion, such as the proposed withdrawal of Cuban troops, it appears certain that South Africa plans to discuss the matter of a foreign monitoring force.

It is still not certain when — and if — the trilateral talks will take place, nor when a ceasefire is scheduled to begin.

But there are hints that the Americans are working towards implementing some sort of strategy soon after March 15.

March 15 has been set as the deadline for the Multi-Party Conference of Namibia to report back to the South African Government about what plan of action it has chosen for the interim future of the territory.

Peace or war are the options — Pik

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Southern Africa's states had to choose between war and peace, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said on SABC-TV at the weekend.

Although he had praise for Zimbabwe and Botswana, he warned Lesotho's Chief Leabua Jonathan "he is flirting with the wrong people who will only bring misery to his country".

Mr Botha dealt with the latest Namibian peace initiative, describing South Africa's move as a simultaneous withdrawal and ceasefire offer.

He said the offer was for a specific period: "Thirty days is a testing period — if it lasts, touch wood, then naturally we could continue.

"There is severe suspicion on our side and I concede that there is severe suspicion on their side as to whether all this is sincere," Mr Botha said.

South Africa was concerned that Swapo was not capable of being controlled and that it would exploit the situation.

Occupation continuing — claim

LISBON — The Angolan Defence Minister, Mr Pedro Maria Tonha, said yesterday South African troops were still occupying parts of southern Angola even though Pretoria said they had withdrawn, the official news agency Angop reported.

In a speech marking the 23rd anniversary of the start of the Angolan war against Portuguese colonialism, Colonel Tonha said the South African troops remained in spite of international condemnations of their invasion.

Angop said Colonel Tonha described the activities of South Africa and the anti-government Unita guerillas as "banditry" and said they were part of an American strategy to weaken the Angolan revolution.

He praised the Angolan troops who had resisted the most recent South African incursions which began on December 14. — Sapa-Reuter.

US urges Angolan rebels not to thwart peace bid

By Gerald L'Ange
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Unita insurgent movement is being pressed by the United States not to torpedo the fragile ceasefire that is growing from South Africa's military disengagement in Angola.

The US has been in direct communication with Unita in the past few days urging the Angola rebels to refrain from using their capacity to prevent the disengagement growing into a more permanent ceasefire, according to official sources here.

The US is hoping to use the disengagement as a basis for building an independence settlement in Namibia and it does not want the Unita guerillas launching military operations in Angola that could wreck the plan.

South Africa has agreed to go ahead with its 30-day military disengagement on the strength of assurances conveyed by the Americans from the Angolans that they will not take advantage of the move.

The US is reasonably certain Swapo will likewise not try to exploit the disengagement to improve its military position and that Angola will try to ensure Swapo's good behaviour.

There is less certainty about Unita, which is considered here to be largely independent of outside influence despite the conviction that it receives substantial support from South Africa.

Unita once said there could be no Angolan ceasefire to which it was not a party.

But Unita is considered by some analysts here to have good reasons of its own to respect the disengagement and hoped-for ceasefire.

It could, for instance, lead to the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola.

Dr Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, has had talks in London with representatives of the British and other Western governments and no formal meeting of the Western Contact Group on Namibia is planned to discuss the latest developments, it was learned here.

The US attitude to the disengagement exercise was spelled out in Washington yesterday by a State Department spokesman who pointed out that it was not a formal ceasefire or formally negotiated agreement of any kind.

"If all parties co-operate in the disengagement and if progress can be made on the broader issues we would hope that the conditions brought about by the disengagement could be prolonged," the spokesman said.

"Disengagement could lead to a ceasefire and to the implementation of the United Nations plan."

Asked about the possibility of talks between South Africa and Swapo, the spokesman said these would be useful to the extent that they contributed to peace in the region.

Border peace moves, but war goes on

The Star's Foreign
News Service

LISBON — Unita claims that it is "indirectly but actively" involved in moves to bring peace to the border between Namibia and Angola as a first step towards a Namibian independence settlement.

This was confirmed last night by Unita's chief international spokesman, Mr Fernando Wilson dos Santos.

But in Lisbon, a Unita spokesman told foreign reporters: "Angola's war will not end with an independence settlement for Namibia — which we would welcome."

He said this after claiming major victories for the movement.

The rebels said in a communique that their forces had carried out 14 big operations in nine provinces between January 21 and 30, and claimed that Luanda's toll was 262 killed — including 17 Cubans — and 23 captured.

They acknowledged the loss 45 men — 32 killed and 13 missing — and 77 wounded.

The strikes were from the north-western coastal province of Luanda, to extreme south-eastern Kuando Kubango. They claimed to have demolished six bridges and destroyed nine Soviet-supplied T-34 tanks, five helicopters, and 43 other vehicles.

The fighting preceded the announcement by South Africa on January 31 that it was withdrawing from Angolan territory and disengaging its troops from the Namibia border for a 30-day trial period.

The communique is believed to be the first official reaction by Mr Jonas Savimbi's movement to Pretoria's peace initiative.

The claims "mean we're active on the terrain and acting autonomously from any international diplomatic arrangement", the spokesman said.

Diplomatic moves seen to be hitting black exiles

LUSAKA — The latest diplomatic initiatives in Southern Africa appear to have led to strains between South Africa's black nationalist exiles and the black-governed countries of the region.

Diplomats said the strains became apparent at the two-day annual meeting of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference, a group of nine countries working to become economically independent from South Africa.

The meeting, which ended on Friday, brought together high-level delegations from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabawe, plus 67 delegations from Western donor nations and aid agencies.

No representatives from the African National Congress or Swapo were involved in the meeting.

Many Western diplomats said they considered the meeting a success because its communique included a statement conciliatory toward South Africa. The communique welcomed "signs of a less aggressive stance from South Africa" and said the parties "recognised that continued international pressure on South Africa was essential to peaceful change in the region".

The phrase "a less aggressive stance" apparently alluded to South Africa's annnouncement of a military disengagement from Angola and to the talks between Pretoria and Maputo.

But the ANC strongly disagreed with the communique's conciliatory stand toward South Africa. The ANC also expressed surprise that it and Swapo had not been invited to the annual meeting; representatives of the two have attended previous meetings.

Angolan and Mozambican representatives said privately that they had sought to encourage moderation at the conference to support diplomatic activity which could bring peace to their countries.

Even a Zimbabwean official at the conference said signs were hopeful that the new regional negotiations could lead to a settlement in Namibia. "It could mean great things, peace and stability for the whole region," he said. — New York Times News Service.

SA Army captain held — MPLA

8/2/85

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The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Luanda Government claims to have captured a South African Army captain serving with the Unita guerillas in Angola.

Radio Luanda said the captain was captured during a Unita attempt to take the town of Luena in Moxico province between January 28 and February 1.

The captain was not identified in the broadcast, which said "more than 123" Unita men were killed in the operation.

Radio Luanda last week made other claims that were viewed with extreme scepticism by observers here.

One claim was that United States officers had been sent to Namibia to plan South African military incursions into southern Angola to destroy Namibian refugees".

The same broadcast said the Angolan military commander in the southern region denied South African forces were withdrawing. It said South African troops were seen in Otechinjau in Cunene province "covered in black paint" in an attempt to disguise themselves as Unita guerillas.

A South African Defence Force spokesman today said no South African army captain had been captured by MPLA forces.

ıbled area



latest anti-dissident drive.

edia at the time, and units of the ifth Brigade were withdrawn with consequent decline in violence.

The reports of violence started oming in again during the latter lf of last year, according to Father ilson, and informants are still com- g forward to describe alleged bru lities by security forces in a num- r of districts in the province.

Father Wilson has been interro- ated by the country's Central Intel- gence Organisation (CIO) on three ccasions concerning his work for he justice and peace commission nd his statements to reporters. Last ovember, he was warned, he said, y his questioners, that he could face stiff fine or jail sentence for "pass- g information which would dam- ge state security".

Security Minister Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa said this week that security forces had killed or captured 459 bandits since operations began. He made no mention of government dead or wounded.

White farmers in the province, whose morale has slumped after the recent murders of the Loxton family in Kezi and the subsequent complete evacuation of that area by the remaining farmers, appear to be adopting a "wait and see" attitude.

After a weekend meeting with farmers, Mr Mnangagwa promised that the Government would do its best to try to improve the security siaution.

Mr Mike Wood, chairman of the Matabeleland branch of the Commercial Farmers' Union, said that no mass exodus of farmers from the province had taken place despite the Kezi withdrawals.

Some of his members had become "weekend farmers" — living in Bulawayo and visiting their farms regularly to keep things running — because of the security situation.

Portuguese ex-officers now train Swapo

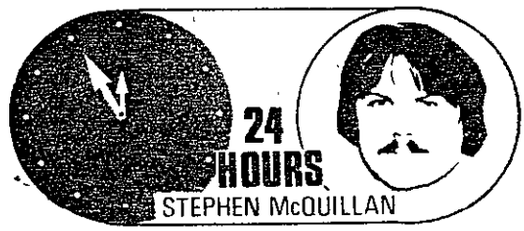
Swapo guerillas and Angolan troops are being trained by crack former officers of the Portuguese colonial forces recruited by the KGB, sources have disclosed.

Former high-ranking commanders are training Fapla troops and Swapo elements in camps on the outskirts of Luanda, the 24 Hours team was told.

The man behind the clandestine recruitments is Admiral Rosa Coutinho, the "Red Admiral of Angola".

These are the claims of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) — the anti-communist nationalist movement fighting Cuban and Fapla forces in the north of the country.

The claims have been partly confirmed by sources in South Africa.



The FNLA says recruitments started at the beginning of November and latest reports suggest about 40 former Portuguese commanders are involved.

"Some are already active in the field, most of them in training camps around Luanda, where there are a couple of camps for Swapo and a couple for Fapla," said an FNLA source. "The FNLA now has evidence to indicate some are already in the field directing troops."

The movement accuses Admiral Coutinho of recruiting the officers through a "front" organisation based in Lisbon.

The admiral — who was High Commissioner of Angola before independence — was nicknamed the "Red Admiral" after being accused of strongly favouring the MPLA.

He was a powerful member of the junta which ruled Portugal after the 1974 coup, and was forcibly retired in 1977 after appearing before a naval disciplinary council on charges of violating human rights.

The FNLA now accuses the admiral of being "a puppet of Soviet intelligence services".

"He is a member of Portugal's Communist Party and undoubtedly a Soviet 'mole'," said the FNLA source. "He now runs a mercenary recruiting organisation, well-disguised, in Portugal.

"He is recruiting communist or leftist officers who were formerly in Portugal's army, navy or air force.

"The people already recruited are all ex-officers of high rank. Some may have been forced into retirement because they were detected as strong communist supporters."

The decision to recruit the Portuguese officers was partly because of Soviet and Cuban difficulty in breaking "a psychological gap" between themselves and the Angolan troops.

For some time observers have suggested Cuban and Fapla troops are unable to work together successfully. It was reported in 1979 that Cubans and Fapla fought each other in Malanje for two or three hours. Observers are still not sure why the conflict occurred.

The FNLA claims it is satisfied that the admiral, who drives round Lisbon in a bullet-proof car with four bodyguards, was and still is a KGB operative.

The FNLA also believes the admiral was partly responsible for disruptions in the Portuguese army during the early 1970s.

"There were popular tribunals against officers, and soldiers sometimes refused to carry out orders. This disruption was no doubt stirred by the Russians."

A Soviet-watcher in New York who specialises in interpreting KGB operations told 24 Hours that Portuguese communists could be replacing a similar number of Soviet advisers in a move connected with the Cape Verde Island talks.

Reports from London say the former officers have already formed an elite combat brigade of 500 Angolan troops, which has already been thrown against Mr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces.

The general reorganisation of the Angolan army was part of the plan, along with the arrival in Luanda during December of Mr Arnold Kalinin, the new Soviet ambassador.

He is reputed to be one of Moscow's most able envoys, and has just spent six years in Lisbon.

CAPE TIMES 9/2/89 (S)

Angola climate 'very promising'

A CEASEFIRE was "in practice at this moment" in southern Angola amid "a very promising climate" for an extended halt to the bush war, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Mr Botha, who was briefing foreign correspondents in Cape Town, said: "Steps are being taken by the South African Government and, I believe, the Angolan Government to put into effect a ceasefire for 30 days and, I hope, beyond."

Meanwhile, high-level government officials said yesterday they could not confirm reports that Mozambique had expelled Mr Joe Slovo, a top ANC official, to meet South African conditions for a peace agreement between the two nations.

The ANC said on Tuesday it had no information that Mr Slovo had been expelled but acknowledged that South Africa was demanding that Mozambique alter the ANC presence there.

He said he believed South Africa and Mozambique were nearing an agreement on mutual security problems. — Sapa-AP

Angola ceasefire now 'in practice'

Mercury 9/2/84 (5)

CAPE TOWN—A ceasefire was 'in practice at this moment' in southern Angola amid 'a very promising climate' for an extended halt to the bush war, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Mr Botha, who was briefing foreign correspondents here, said: 'Steps are being taken by the South African Government and, I believe, the Angolan Government to put into effect a ceasefire for 30 days and I hope beyond.'

Mr Botha told the correspondents: 'We have in practice at this moment a ceasefire. A very promising climate has existed for more than a week.'

South Africa would continue to insist on the removal of Cuban soldiers from Angola as part of an overall South West African peace settlement.

'The American Government fully agrees with this and there are a considerable number of important African leaders who want them out.'

At the same time a Mercury Correspondent reported from Rome that Swapo leader Sam Nujoma yesterday pledged that his forces would respect a 30-day ceasefire in South West Africa on conditions.

Speaking at a Press conference he said: 'We will observe the so-called 30-day disengagement of forces, provided that after 30 days there will be talks between Swapo and South Africa to sign a ceasefire.'

He was suspicious of South Africa's motives in calling the disengagement unilaterally but said Swapo would respect it nevertheless.

Mozambique

Mr Nujoma said Swapo had called on the UN Secretary General to convene a meeting between South Africa and Swapo to discuss ways of implementing Security Council Resolution 435.

In Cape Town Mr Botha said he believed South Africa and Mozambique were nearing an agreement on mutual security problems and he expected the two countries to agree on a means of mutually monitoring any security agreement between them.

High-level Government officials said yesterday they could not confirm reports that Mozambique had expelled Joe Slovo, communist commander of the banned African National Congress, to meet South African conditions for a peace agreement between the two nations.

They said the ANC's 'military presence' in Mozambique would have to be removed as part of a settlement.

The ANC said yesterday it had no information Mr Slovo had been expelled but acknowledged South Africa was demanding Mozambique alter the ANC's presence in the former Portuguese colony.

On other topics, Government officials said a 'white foreigner' acting for the ANC had carried out the December, 1982 bombing of the Koeberg nuclear power plant.

No one had been charged with the sabotage. — (Sapa-AP)

Boxer fined

PRETORIA

CONFLICTS

US pressing Unita not to upset fragile ceasefire

ARGUS 10/2/84 (5)





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Left: The United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

Right: The United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

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Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The Unita insurgent movement in Angola is being pressed by the United States not to torpedo the fragile ceasefire stemming from South Africa's military disengagement.

The United States has been in direct contact with Unita in the past few days to urge the guerrillas to refrain from using their capacity to prevent the disengagement from growing into a more permanent ceasefire, according to official sources in Washington.

America is hoping to use the disengagement as a basis for building an independence settlement in SWA/Namibia and it does not want the Unita guerrillas to launch military operations in Angola that could wreck the plan.

South Africa has agreed to go ahead with its 30-day military disengagement on the strength of assurances conveyed by the Americans from the Angolans that they will not take advantage of the move.

The United States is reasonably certain Swapo will likewise not try to exploit the disengagement to improve its military position and that Angola will try to ensure Swapo's good behaviour.

There is less certainty about Unita, which is considered to be largely independent of outside influence in spite of the conviction that it receives subsantial support from South Africa.

Unita once said there could be no Angolan ceasefire to which it was not



The Zanu (PF) provincial chairman, Mr Edgar Tekere . . . berated by angry chiefs.

BELIEFS

Zanu (PF) accused of annoying ancestral spirits

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — Angry traditional chiefs and headmen have accused the ruling Zanu (PF) party of annoying ancestral spirits, resulting in two years of drought in Zimbabwe.

In the eastern border town of Mutare, chiefs from the Manicaland province berated the Zanu provincial chairman, Mr Edgar Tekere, for what they said was neglect of the traditional ceremonies for appeasement of the spirits.

Zanu leaders no longer took part in the ceremonies, as they had done during the bush war, and the spirits had been angered, the chiefs told a harassed-looking Mr Tekere.

BLOOD SPILLED

The good rains which fell in 1980 after the end of the conflict were to "wash away the blood which had been spilled", said Chief Makumbe of Buhera, adding there had been drought since then because Zanu chose now to ignore the tribal elders.

The chiefs also called on the Government to abolish the village and community courts which were set up after independence because these were diminishing the chiefs' power, which in turn came directly from the spirits.

Mr Tekere assured the chiefs that he would take up their complaints with the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe.

PROSPECTS

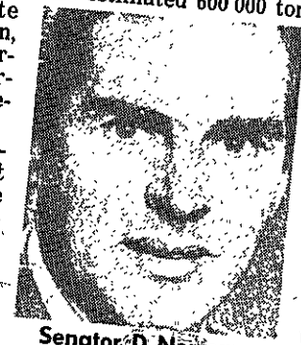
Hopes of saving Zimbabwe's crops

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — Widespread rains over most of Zimbabwe have raised hopes that large-scale crop failures may be staved off.

The Minister of Agriculture, Senator Denis Norman, said the rains had brought "enormous relief" and that maize crops would produce a "reasonably high yield".

He expected that maize harvests would be up from the estimated 600 000 tons last year.



Senator D Norman

There would be no immediate danger of the country running out of food, said Senator Norman, because his ministry always planned 12 months ahead to ensure there was plenty of food on hand.

The situation concerning other crops such as tobacco, soya beans and cotton looked much beter than it did a week ago, he added.

Analysts

But the movement is considered by some analysts to have good reasons of its own to respect the disengagement and hoped-for official ceasefire.

It could, for instance, lead to the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola that is demanded by Washington and Pretoria.

This would strengthen Unita's position in bargaining with the MPLA regime in Luanda for a political settlement in Angola.

The Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, has had talks in London with representatives of the British and other Western governments.

Efforts

Dr Crocker also briefed Mr Martti Ahtisaari, who as United Nations Commissioner for Namibia was closely involved in previous settlement efforts.

The American attitude to the disengagement exercise was spelt out in Washington by a State Department spokesman, who said it was not a formal ceasefire or a formally negotiated agreement of any kind.

"If all parties co-operate in the disengagement and if progress can be made on the broader issues, we would hope that the conditions brought about by the disengagement could be prolonged," he said.

Unita once said there could be no Angolan ceasefire to which it was not a party.

HOLDEN ROBERTO

Stepping up the fight

(5) FM 10/2/84



Holden Roberto has been leader of the Front National de Liberation de L'Angola (FNLA) since its inception in 1962. After the civil war of 1975 he was based in neighbouring Zaire where he got support from his brother-in-law, President Mobutu Sese Seko. In 1979 Mobutu asked him to leave, and since then Roberto has been in exile in Paris. The *FM* interviewed him in Europe after reports that his organisation had intensified its military campaign.

***FM:* It is said in Angola that the FNLA is dead.**

Roberto: False reports have been spread through the press by the communists that the FNLA is no longer in existence. This was done to give the impression that the only resistance is in the south by Unita under the guidance of SA in order to draw some sympathy from abroad. But the truth has a way of surfacing and several Western journalists have recently visited the north and reported that my men are still fighting. What is true is that the supplies in the north are at their lowest since 1976. Being land-locked, the FNLA forces have to get their supplies from the enemy.

How strong is your army and where does it operate?

We have about 7 500 men fighting in the six richest provinces: Zaire Province, Uige, Cuanza-Norte, Luanda, Malange and Lunda Norte. It is a jungle part of the country where we fought against the Portuguese for 14 years. The terrain is favourable and my men fight in small groups, so they survive. In fact, they are controlling some areas.

What is your popular support in Angola?

The FNLA was the first movement to start the war in Angola. All Angolans know that. In the north, our support is overwhelming and the rejection of the MPLA is total. But we even have support in the south.

Do you plan any wider military action in future?

We will intensify the struggle the moment we get supplies, especially arms, ammunition, medicine and clothing. We are land-locked and have no neighbouring country helping us. That is the only reason why I am in Europe — to actively promote my organisation, and to seek aid. Give me enough military supplies and I will be back with my men tomorrow.

What is the present situation in Angola?

Terrible. Very, very bad. There is almost no civil administration or medical services and the people are starving. Diseases like sleeping sickness, leprosy, small pox, TB, black plague and kwashiorkor are allowed to spread by the communists in order to force the people to surrender. The birth-rate is high and increasing, but child mortality has reached alarming proportions. Life expectancy is now only 30 years. This is the dramatic situation which has been imposed on Angola by Moscow through the MPLA. The economy has disintegrated. Nobody is working. Angola went from the fourth biggest coffee producer to producing almost no coffee at all.

What happens to Angola's oil and diamonds?

The oil fields of Cabinda and Santo Antonio do Zaire are operated by Western companies. They pay the MPLA regime about $600m in oil royalties. Diamond exports have fallen from 2,5m carats in 1976 to less than 800 000 carats, also taken out by Western multinationals. The role of these American and Western companies is very tragic. If they stop giving that money, the MPLA will collapse. The Russians cannot afford to support a war like that over a long period. These companies must get out because they are supporting Soviet expansionism.

What companies are you talking about?

Gulf Oil, Texaco, Shell, Marathon, Bank of America, Getty Oil, Agip, Petrogal and others.

You have paid several visits recently to the US and are on your way back there now. What is the purpose of your visit?

The people are very badly informed about Africa and Angola. I am trying to inform them and at the same time I am trying to get the Clarke Amendment, that stops US government support for the Angolan opposition, scrapped. I am trying to tell the Americans that the Soviets want to take control of southern Africa and that will endanger the whole Free World. The last target will be SA. The Soviets are pretending that they want to liberate the people from apartheid. I think communism is no better than apartheid. If I have to choose between communism and apartheid, I will choose apartheid.

Apartheid is a last island that will disappear in time and it is not expansionist. Communism wants to take over everywhere in the world, and you can see the system in action in Angola. The communists are not in Angola to fight SA. They are sitting in the north protecting American interests like oil and diamonds. SA is deep into Angola with her troops, but the Cubans never fight them. That proves the Cubans are there to take over, to occupy. I see it as an immediate danger to countries like Zaire and Zambia, and eventually the whole Western world.

How do you see the Namibian situation?

We hope that Namibia will become independent soon, but not in the framework of Soviet expansionism. We know what that means and we do not wish it on our brothers in Namibia. My fear is that the Cubans will be sent to Namibia in case of a communist government. I think we should solve the Angolan problem first before we solve the Namibian problem.

So you are in favour of linkage between a Cuban withdrawal and Namibian independence?

It is not a question of linkage, it is logical thinking. If the Cubans are still in Angola and the Angolans are not free, the election in Namibia will not be a free one. It will be influenced by the Cubans and the Soviets in Angola. If SA pulls out of Namibia now, two days later the Cubans will be there. Let the Cubans pull out of Angola first, then SA will have no excuse to hold on to Namibia.

How do you see a solution in Angola?

Before anything else the Cubans and Soviets should leave. No foreign troops must ever be allowed. Then let the Angolan people choose their government freely, if necessary, under the auspices of the UN.

Is that a possible scenario?

One day Luanda will be forced to do it. You cannot win against the people. The MPLA will remain in Luanda only. One day there will be an uprising in Luanda itself against the Cubans and the MPLA. There are only four or five *mulattos* running the government and many people are unhappy with that. People like Lucio Lara, Paulo Jorge, Iko Carreira. They only remain in power because the Cubans are protecting them.

Is there still bad blood between the FNLA and Unita? Are you thinking about getting together?

Unita is our ally. The bad blood is something of the past. I have no problem getting together with Unita; they are also fighting against the Cubans and the Soviets and they also want a free election. If they intensify the struggle in the south and we intensify it in the north, we will catch the Cubans and the MPLA in the middle and our combined effort can only accelerate the liberation. But you will have to ask Savimbi about this.

What is your programme of action now?

Firstly to get arms and ammunition to intensify the struggle. The one superpower is already in Angola, now the other one must help us. I then want to get the American companies or the "capitalist comrades" as the MPLA refers to them, to stop financing oppression.

Are you optimistic?

The Cubans will probably be very reluctant to move. The 40 000 Cubans in Angola will be a serious problem to Castro if they go back home where there is high unemployment. Maybe he will send them to Latin America. But in the end the people will win. You cannot break the brave people of Angola.

Will you accept aid from SA?

It will be difficult for me do it, but if the situation goes on like this, I will take it as a last resort. Why not?

Disengagement on schedule

Star 13/2/86

By Peter Honey,
The Star Bureau

WINDHOEK — The South African military disengagement from Angola is expected to be completed by Wednesday, it has been learnt.

The successful completion of the manouevre would, according to sources, set the scene for trilateral talks between SA, Angola and the US on how to extend the "hands-off" situation into a more permanent and formal ceasefire.

It is also understood that an announcement in this regard could be made this week.

But if the present unofficial state of ceasefire appears to be moving towards a potentially more constructive phase, it is also becoming more dangerous.

Once the disengagement is deemed to have been completed, any movement by Swapo, Angola or the Cuban troops might be regarded by South Africa as a breach of undertaking and, according to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, might lead to a serious military re-engagement.

It is clear to military observers that any future military action in southern Angola by South Africa would entail far heavier commitment than was the case in the recent operation Askari.

It is still unclear exactly what the disengagement entails, but sources close to the negotiating process say that Angola and America are clear about the extent to which South Africa should have "disengaged" by February 15.

It is also understood that should Angola wish to re-occupy those areas which have been outside its control since August 1981, when South Africa launched Operation Protea, it would have to consult with America.

'No pay cheques for many teachers since December'

By MAGGIE ROWLEY
Education Reporter

MANY teachers at coloured schools in the Peninsula, who have not received salary cheques since early December, are existing on loans.

The Directorate of Coloured Education, which falls under the Department of Internal Affairs, has blamed the delay in salary payments on principals, saying they did not submit the necessary documents according to the department's instructions.

Teachers interviewed at 12 schools in the Peninsula claimed an average of five members on each staff had not received their salaries at the end of January. Most received their cheque for December on the last day of school last year.

NEW APPLICATIONS

They said it was not only new appointees — whose salaries take six weeks to come through — who had been affected, but also teachers who had been at the same schools for years.

The major problem appears to lie with temporary teachers who have to renew their applications each year.

Those who were on temporary staff who had not yet received their salaries said they had submitted their application forms to their principals last year to avoid late payment.

All the teachers interviewed said they had been borrowing money to get through this month.

Another teacher, with five years' service, said owing to "bureaucratic bungles" she had not received her salary cheque on four occasions.

"The beginning of last year was the worst. I did not get paid a full salary for the whole first term. Apparently the department did not have copies of my BA degree and Higher Education Diploma, although I handed them to the headmaster the first week I was there.

"Consequently, I was paid about R200 a month, which is the salary given to a school-leaver with a senior certificate. I resigned at the end of the term as I could not live on that salary, and only after another couple of weeks and many hours at the department did I get my money."

Mr Noel Eales, press liaison officer for the Directorate of Coloured Education, said it was the department's objective to pay all teachers' salaries timeously "as far as it is practically possible".

"To ensure that its objective is reached, the directorate arranged as far back as 1982 that documents for the appointment of temporary teachers be dispatched direct to head office," he said.

He said departmental instructions were directed to all school principals on November 7 1983 and again on November 30.



Mr Franklin Sonn

'Bring those responsible to book'

Education Reporter

THE PRESIDENT of the 20 000-strong Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA), Mr Franklin Sonn, has called on the Department of Internal Affairs to "bring to book" those responsible for delaying the payment of teachers' salaries.

Mr Sonn said the CTPA had taken the matter up with the department on a number of occasions recently.

He said he did not think the fault lay solely with the principals.

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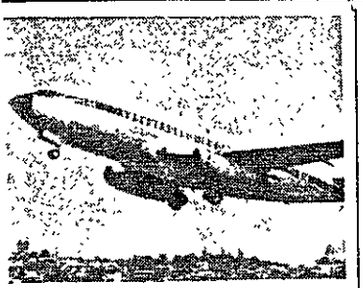

A Boeing 737

Angolan Boeing shot down — Unita

LISBON. — Angolan rebels said today they had shot down a Boeing 737 carrying Angolan Government officials and Cuban troops over the central city of Huambo.

A communique issued in Lisbon by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) did not say how many troops were on board the aircraft, brought down last Thursday.

It also said rebels had shot down a MiG-21 fighter-bomber and a helicopter in eastern Moxico province.

SIX TANKS

Also, between January 31 and last Friday, 118 Government soldiers and 29 Cubans were killed and 15 captured for the loss of 25 Unita rebels, with 58 wounded and eight missing.

Unita said six tanks and five assault vehicles were destroyed in actions against Government forces.

The Boeing, carrying the registration D-2-PDV, was shot down on its way from Huambo to Luanda.

LISTED

The statement listed a series of actions in 10 of Angola's 18 provinces as evidence of Unita's continuing offensive.

It said that in the province of Lunda, rebels attacked a convoy of 450 vehicles on February 1, destroying 37. In Huila province, 10 Cubans died when their vehicle hit a mine.

In November last year, Unita claimed to have shot down an Angolan Boeing 737 which it said was carrying 126 "military recruits".

However, the offical Angolan news agency, Angop, announced that the aircraft had crashed because of "technical failure". — Sapa-Reuter.

● Angolans weary of war, blame Swapo — Page 3.



ANGOLANS

olans weary of war

put

ut blame on Swapo

Argus 13/2/84



McCandless uses the manned manoeuvring unit as allenger during the shuttle's eight-day space mis- uts sailed home from space on Saturday to a red- g the flawless first shuttle landing in Florida.

Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Clear evidence has emerged that the people of Angola, weary of a war they cannot afford, are venting their anger against Swapo as the cause of their woes.

This frustration, underlined by severe economic problems in Angola, has forced the MPLA regime to come to terms with South Africa.

The evidence, which has just come to hand in Washington, shows that the bitterness against Swapo, which is blamed for bringing the war to Angola, goes back as far as February last year, and probably before that.

It is contained in a memorandum which was one of thousands of documents captured by US forces when they ousted the communist regime in Grenada and threw Cuban forces off the island.

The Americans are releasing the documents in batches after analysing them.

"Comrade Rojas"

The memorandum was written by a Grenadian official named as Comrade Don Rojas. It describes a visit to Angola a year ago, when he conferred with the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paolo Jorge.

In a section devoted to observations of life in Luanda, Rojas wrote: "There were unmistakeable signs in the capital that the country is on a war footing and in the grip of serious economic difficulties. There is a nightly curfew at 11 pm.

"From a large, modern city built by the Portuguese in the late 50s and 60s, Luanda today is relatively underpopulated and in a state of physical deterioration.

"Closed and abandoned shops, stores and apartment buildings are the norm rather than the exception. Consumer items are scarce and expensive.

"Essential public services such as water and sanitation are provided at very low levels. In the hotel where we stayed, for example, we went without water for functional usage for three-and-half days."

Rojas said it cost seven American dollars to buy a pack of cigarettes.

Apart from the struggle against South Africa, Rojas reported, the Angolans were wrestling with a "dismal socio-economic legacy" left by the Portuguese when they left after the 1975 MPLA victory.

"The masses move around in a listless manner," he noted. "One gets the impression that they are tired of war.

"Although the MPLA remains popular and in firm control of most of the country (except those provinces in the south and east occupied by racist South Africa and its Unita puppet bandits) we were told by the Swapo comrades that more and more the less-conscious elements among the Angolan masses are blaming Swapo for their problems.

Immense pressure

"Such sentiments, coupled with the negative impact of the world capitalist crisis and the necessity to divert economic resources away from social development into the war effort, are putting immense pressure on the MPLA."

Rojas concluded that this pressure had made the MPLA willing to hold talks with South Africa on the Cape Verde Islands.

The country had a 95 percent illiteracy rate, and ... "2 000 industrial enterprises shut down overnight because no trained Angolan cadres are available to operate them".

Ninety percent of the 6,5-million Angolans had no access to health care.

l to arrive in Reunion

men being freed at 10 am on Friday, according to reports.

South Africa's consul-general in Reunion, Mr Johan Marx, has met the Air Madagascar flights to St Denis's Gillot airport with special instructions to either renew their passports or issue emergency travel documents to the men.

After Mr Marx yesterday personally checked all disembarking passengers from an Air Madagascar Boeing 747 and received assurances from Reunion immigration authorities, he told waiting reporters from South Africa's main newspaper groups the men were not on the flight.

He could give no explanation for their failure to be on the second flight to fly from Tananarive to St Denis since their release.

Mr Marx confirmed that the fines for the men's release had been paid to the Madagascar authorities.

Mr Wight and Mr Marais, son of former United Party MP, Mr Dave Marais sen., were sentenced to five years in jail after making an unauthorised landing in Madagascar in January 1977.

They were given an extra two years and fined for their dramatic escape attempt with the help of a French mercenary, Mr Eddie Lappemen. The American diamond dealer who was with them was released two years ago for good behaviour.

Wife 'murdered, dismembered'

HOBART (Tasmania) — An Australian scientist was accused today of killing his wife, cutting up her body and flushing pieces down a toilet.

Mr Rory Thompson, 41, appearing in the Hobart Criminal Court, pleaded not guilty to murdering his wife last September.

The prosecution said Mr Thompson tried to dispose of the body by cutting it up and flushing it down a toilet. Parts were found in drains and the rest was unearthed from nearby hills.

The trial continues. — Sapa-Reuter.

Anti-Swapo feeling pressured Angola into talks with SA

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Clear evidence has emerged that Angolans, weary of a war they cannot afford, are venting their anger against Swapo as the cause of their woes.

This frustration, underlined by severe economic problems in Angola, has forced the MPLA regime to come to terms with South Africa.

The evidence which has just come to hand in Washington shows that the bitterness against Swapo — which is blamed for bringing the war to Angola — goes back at least as far as last February.

It is contained in a memorandum — one of thousands of documents captured by US forces when they ousted the communist regime in Grenada.

The Americans are releasing the documents after analysing them.

The memorandum was written by a Grenadian official named as Comrade Don Rojas. It describes a visit to Angola a year ago, during which he spoke to the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paolo Jorge.

In a section devoted to observations of life in Luanda, Mr Rojas wrote: "There were unmistakable signs in the capital that the country is on a war footing and in the grips of serious economic difficulties. There is a nightly curfew.

"From a large modern city Luanda today is relatively underpopulated and in a state of physical deterioration.

"Closed and abandoned shops and apartment buildings are the norm. Consumer items are very scarce and very expensive.

"Essential public services, such as water and sanitation, are provided at very low levels.'

"The masses move around in a listless manner," he noted. "One gets the impression they are tired of war.

"We were told by the Swapo comrades that more and more the less conscious elements among the Angolan masses are blaming Swapo for their problems.

"Such sentiments, coupled with the negative impact of the world capitalist crisis and the necessity to divert economic resources away from social development into the war effort, are putting immense pressure on the MPLA."

Mr Rojas concluded that these pressures had made the MPLA willing to hold talks with South Africa on the Cape Verde islands. "Such are the grim consequences of unceasing imperialist destablisation of the Angolan revolutionary process," he wrote.

The country also faced a 95 percent illiteracy rate, and "2 000 industrial enterprises shut down overnight because no trained Angolan cadres (are) available to operate them".

Angola denies Unita claim

(5) 20M 14/2/84

Mail Correspondent

LISBON. — The Angolan government has denied a claim by Unita guerrillas that they shot down a Boeing 737 aircraft carrying government and Cuban troops, last Thursday.

The guerrillas said they hit the plane on takeoff from Huambo Airport in central Angola, with an air-to-surface missile.

Lisbon radio, reporting the claims, said 100 people on board had been killed but there was no immediate independent confirmation of this.

In its version, Angolan radio said the aircraft had made an emergency landing shortly after takeoff from Huambo but the radio made no mention of any casualties. The guerrillas said the aircraft had been carrying military forces from the town back to the capital, Luanda.

This is the second time in three months that Unita has claimed to have brought down a civilian airliner on the same route.

Last November it said 150 passengers, all soldiers, had been killed after their jetliner crashed on takeoff from Huambo as a result of a guerrilla attack. The Angolan government maintained the plane had crashed due to a technical fault.

The latest Unita communique says the movement is active in ten of the country's 18 provinces and lists a number of "military successes" between January 31 and February 10 , resulting in the killing of 118 government and 29 Cuban soldiers for a loss of 25 rebels.

The latest claims are seen as an effort to underline Unita's independence in the face of current peace efforts in tha former Portuguese colony, involving South Africa, Angola and the US.

Three-corner ceasefire talks imminent

By John D'Oliveira,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — There is a growing belief in Western diplomatic circles that a meeting between South Africa, Angola and the United States is imminent. The meeting, to discuss a ceasefire in Namibia, is expected to be held in Lusaka.

It is believed the Americans have told the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, that significant progress has been made in the arrangements for the discussions.

If and when the discussions take place they could open the door to the internationally accepted Namibian independence which the US and its major European allies have been seeking for so long.

The foundations for the tripartite discussions were laid during intense international diplomatic activity over the past three months.

This activity led to the "disengagement" of South African forces from southern Angola at the beginning of this month — in effect a unilateral ceasefire for a trial period of a month.

While officials will not comment on the situation, it is clear that the US is still hard at work to ensure that Swapo does not "exploit" the current situation, and that the momentum generated by the ceasefire leads to further discussions between the South Africans and the Angolans.

At these discussions a formal, permanent ceasefire would be discussed — and possibly even arranged.

It is understood that a senior American official met Mr Sam Nujoma, the Swapo leader, in Rome earlier this month and that this meeting contributed to Mr Nujoma's more conciliatory line.

There are also suggestions that US officials are engaged in discussions with the Angolans.

Lusaka has been mentioned as a likely venue for the tripartite discussions.

Reuter reports from Lisbon that the rebel Unita movement said in a statement that no ceasefire in Angola could be effective without its participation.

Unita said the Marxist-led government in Luanda was incapable of taking decisions on war and peace or of effectively honouring any agreement that might emerge.

SA-Swapo meeting on, say sources

By Peter Sullivan,
Political Correspondent

Delegations from South Africa, Angola and the United States will meet in Lusaka tomorrow for several days of talks on a peace settlement in southern Africa, the US Embassy said in a statement in Johannesburg today.

"The immediate subject will be maintaining the South African 'disengagement' of its forces from Southern Angola," it said.

The US delegation will be led by Mr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

A secret meeting between a South African representative and Swapo's Mr Sam Nujoma will take place at the same time as the trilateral talks between South Africa, Angola and America, according to diplomatic sources.

The direct meeting between South Africa and Swapo is the latest move in the frenzy of diplomatic activity this week aimed at extracting a ceasefire from the initial withdrawal of South African forces from southern Angola. — The Star's Political Correspondent.

Small foreign military force to police Angola?

By Peter Honey, The Star Bureau

WINDHOEK — A "small foreign monitoring team" — probably made up of American and Cape Verdean military personnel — is expected to move into the "disengaged zone" of southern Angola within the next few weeks, according to reliable sources here.

Final details of the size and time of arrival of the group are expected to be worked out at a meeting between South African, American and Angolan representatives somewhere in Africa this week.

The "small team", whose task will be to reconnoitre the southern Angolan region vacated this week by South African security forces, will most probably be the first practical move to put the disengagement on course for a more permanent ceasefire, it is believed.

Reliable sources say the group — which has also be known as a "unit" — will initially be made up of Americans and Cape Verdeans. The reason, it is understood, is that these two countries have the mutual trust of both South Africa and Angola.

The Americans have been responsible for the current flurry of international talks, while the Cape Verdeans have played an active role in hosting bilateral talks between Angola and America, and Angola and South Africa.

The disengagement of South African forces from southern Angola began on January 31, and was to have been completed today.

One source close to the diplomatic initiative believes the monitoring team could arrive as early as next week, while another stressed that the team's deployment would depend largely on what was decided at the end of the latest round of trilateral talks.

DISENGAGEMENT

South africa has said that the present state of disengagement is expected to last at least 30 days, as long as none of the parties breaks trust.

The source also stressed that the team would be "small" and was not a formal ceasefire monitoring force, as stipulated in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.

"The situation is still far from such a formal stage, but you could consider this team as some sort of reconnoitring group to ensure the situation stays calm on the military front," he said, adding that the deployment of the team was a "logical step".

Namibian leaders might be in London

By Peter Honey,
The Star Bureau

WINDHOEK — The Administrator-General of Namibia, Dr Willie van Niekerk, Swapo's co-vice-president in Namibia, Mr Hendrik Witbooi, and the head of the territory's largest church, Bishop Kleopas Dumeni, left Namibia separately this week.

It is believed the men might have travelled to London, where the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, was holding talks with British Government officials yesterday.

Observers in Windhoek believe that if Bishop Dumeni has been called to advise the Swapo President, Mr Nujoma is weighing up potentially momentous decisions.

Mr Nujoma is a member of Bishop Dumeni's church, the Evangelical Lutheran Owambo-Kavango Church, and as a Christian he is known to be dependent on the church for advice.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance chairman, Mr Dirk Mudge, a key member of the Multi-Party Conference (MPC), said today the MPC had been discussing "in depth" the possibility of "inevitable" future talks with Swapo.

Swapo has already indicated its preparedness to see the MPC as a representative of South Africa.

Angolan peace talks on the cards

By MICHAEL ACOTT
Political Correspondent

TOP-LEVEL talks between the South African and Angolan governments about regional peace seemed imminent yesterday, with speculation mounting about a possible venue.

The discussions, which could also involve United States representatives, have been expected ever since the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, hinted last month that this possibility was being explored.

Suggestions that the talks might be held in Luanda, the Angolan capital, have been discounted by Western diplomatic sources. They declined to say where the meeting would be, but observers believe one of the other "front-line" states has agreed to act as host.

Indications that further developments were expected began with the news yesterday that the South African Ambassador in Washington, Mr Brand Fourie, had been recalled for consultations.

Keen interest

Mr Fourie has been closely involved in discussions on Angola, Mozambique and SWA/Namibia, as the United States has taken a keen interest in all three initiatives.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, declined to comment yesterday on reports that he was to lead a South African delegation. He told reporters he had nothing at this stage to add to the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament last month.



Mr Pik Botha

Mr P W Botha announced on January 31 that South Africa was starting a month-long military "disengagement" of its forces in southern Angola and said this could lead to a ceasefire.

The Prime Minister told Parliament that his government wanted peace in Southern Africa, and particularly in SWA/Namibia.

"We believe there is a possibility of achieving a climate of increased security in that area and are prepared to negotiate practical arrangements to ensure that this possibility is given every chance of success.

"To achieve this objective, trilateral discussions between the Republic of South Africa, the United States and Angola are not excluded," Mr Botha said.

His announcement followed a diplomatic shuttle by the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker. Dr Crocker relayed Angolan assurances about the ceasefire after South Africa had made it clear that the peace effort would fail if either Angola or Swapo "exploited" the South African move.

Earlier talks

This initiative in turn was the result of earlier talks in the Cape Verde Islands involving South African, Angolan, American and Cape Verde officials.

There has been no indication so far of whether South African diplomats feel real progress is possible towards an Angolan ceasefire and, ultimately, towards an international settlement in SWA/Namibia.

More success has been achieved in talks on the other side of the continent with Mozambique. Further discussions between South Africa and President Samora Machel's government seem likely after current discussions in Lisbon over the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric agreement

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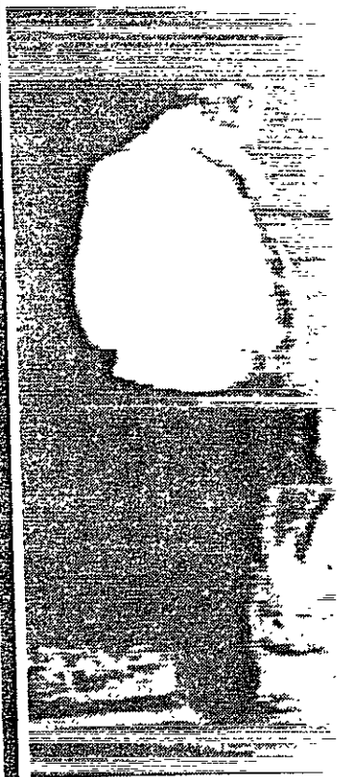

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SA, US compromise on Cuban issue, reports say

16/2/84 Star

From Neil Lurssen, Washington and Brendan Nicholson, Lusaka

South Africa and the United States have eased their initial demands on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola as a prerequisite for Namibian independence, according to diplomatic sources.

The sources say the modified conditions delivered to Luanda in recent weeks by America's Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, may allow the negotiators — from South Africa, the US and Angola — at today's talks in Lusaka to find common ground on the Cuban issue.

The diplomats said the Government of President Eduardo dos Santos was becoming increasingly weary of paying out close to R100 million a year to "hire" its Cuban protectors.

They said strong efforts had been made to persuade Luanda that Unita was in Angola to stay and must be considered seriously in any settlement plan.

But, the sources said, Pretoria would have to satisfy Angola that it would not militarily strengthen Unita once part or all of the roughly 25 000 Cuban troops in Angola were withdrawn.

US officials say their Government is willing, if asked, to join an international panel of observers to monitor South Africa's military disengagement from southern Angola.

But both South Africa and Angola would have to agree to American participation — probably a handful of military and civilian US officers.

Officials taking part in the talks include the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, Dr Crocker and Angolan Interior Minister Mr Alexandre Rodrigues.

Diplomats say the negotiators will concentrate first on completing the disengagement of troops in Angola and will then try to move towards a Namibian settlement. They stressed the talks were still "delicately poised".

But a senior official confirmed American willingness to join a monitoring commission.

In a major foreign policy speech in Boston, US, last night, the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, said that having defined the agenda for peace in Angola and having settled as a catalyst, the US was helping a step-by-step process that could — he emphasised "could" — lead to further progress.

Unita claim that 100 died rejected

(5) Star 16/2/84

The Star Bureau

LONDON — An Austrian doctor who survived a Unita attack on a Boeing 737 which crashed at Huambo airport last week, says the passengers' escape was "a miracle of God."

However, Dr Herbert Stoeger (59), director of the Seventh DayAdventist Church's health services for Africa and Europe, categorically rejects Unita claims that 100 soldiers died aboard the aircraft.

" That is totally wrong," he said. " No one died, and I know because I was on the aircraft.

" And it is not true that there were 100 soldiers on board. There were only three or four men in uniform - I do not know if they were soldiers or policeman - and the rest of the passengers were mainly women and children."

Speaking from Berne in Switzerland, the administrative headquarters of the church in Europe, Dr Stoeger gave a graphic account of what he later described to his wife as the longest journey of his life - " A journey out of the grave."

Dr Stoeger had been visiting the church mission hospital at Bongo, about 60 km from Huambo in the Angolan Highlands.

Last Thursday (February 9) he boarded a Boeing 737 for the 50-minute flight to Luanda.

" The aircrtaft was loaded to capacity, mostly with women carrying babies on their backs."

Grim facts boost peace prospects

Defence Reporter

IF delegations from Angola, South Africa and possibly Swapo sit down at the conference table in Lusaka today, it will mean that grim reality has finally triumphed over Southern Africa's long-standing divisions.

For various reasons, the SWA/Namibian border war's participants — and their allies — have never had a stronger motivation to settle than at this moment.

If that motivation is strong enough, it means that the border war is finally nearing completion of the classic military second phase and is about to enter the third and final phase — political negotiation.

Among the reasons which can be discerned are:

● **Financial problems**: The direct and indirect costs of the border war are beginning to bite.

At present spending levels, South Africa can probably afford the purely military costs of a border war for an indefinite period without drastically increasing defence spending or reducing the SADF's general efficiency.

However, purely military spending — which has been estimated at about R700-million a year — does not make up the lion's share of South African funds being pumped into SWA/Namibia at a time when economic prospects are cloudy.

The Republic's total expenditure on the territory runs to about R1 700-million a year, and till the country becomes independent under a recognized government, this expenditure cannot decrease and is more likely to go up.

Angola's situation is infinitely more desperate.

The economy is in ruins and has no hope of recovery while most of the revenue from its Cabinda oil-fields and its north-eastern diamond fields has to be diverted to fighting a war against the Unita insurgents, paying for the 28 000 or so Cuban troops that keep it in power and replacing the enormous amounts of weapons and equipment carried off in South African pre-emptive attacks.

● **Hunger**: Thanks to drought, warfare, lack of capital and mismanagement, not only Angola but other nations are beginning to go hungry.

In the case of Angola, an aggravating factor is that the south is now a battleground where the government forces not only contend with ever more aggressive Unita operations but are also increasingly drawn into fighting with SWA/Namibian-based intruders striking at Swapo bases.

● **Swapo weakness**: From South Africa's point of view, this is a good time to start talking — the best it has had since the war began in earnest in 1976.

Thanks to a long grinding-down process which culminated in Operation Askari, Swapo is at a low ebb materially and spiritually — so much so that it has indicated it is willing to open talks with Pretoria.

A contributing factor might be that Swapo still remains basically an Ovambo tribal organization and has not gathered mass support from other groups.

● **Pressure from allies**: Allies on both sides are proving troublesome. Russia has expressed its growing unease about the effects of the border war on its client, Angola, and South Africa's temporary working partner, the United States, wants convincing signs of a settlement to help in its presidential election campaign.

At the same time, the US is believed to be exerting pressure on Angola, which is very keen to establish diplomatic and trade relations.

Angola, SA in Lusaka talks

CMC Times 16/2/84 (5)

Political Correspondent

THE South African and Angolan foreign ministers meet face-to-face in Lusaka today to discuss the prospects for regional peace and a settlement of the SWA/Namibian dispute.

The meeting will also be attended by the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, and other senior officials from the three governments.

News leak

The talks, arranged in a series of secret communications, were confirmed by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, after news of the discussions leaked in Pretoria.

Mr Botha is heading a top-level South African delegation which includes the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, top diplomats and the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard.

The meeting follows South Africa's decision to start a month-long "disengagement" of its military forces in southern Angola. The disengagement, which started on January 31, is aimed at producing an Angolan ceasefire.

United States diplomats hope that this, in turn, could lead to a withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

Mr Botha said in a statement that Angola, South Africa and the United States would discuss a "cessation of hostilities" in the SWA/Namibia border area and steps needed to secure further restraint.

● It was reported in London that the Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, arrived in the city last night to start a series of high level meetings with the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Mr Nujoma's visit was described as private.

● **Grim facts boost peace prospects, page 2**

SA and US 'ease demands' for Cuban withdrawal

Argus 16/2/84 (5)

Argus Foreign Service

LUSAKA. — South Africa and the United States have eased their initial demands on a total Cuban withdrawal from Angola as a prerequisite for SWA/Namibian independence, according to diplomatic sources.

The sources say the modified conditions delivered to Luanda in recent weeks by America's Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, may allow the negotiators at today's trilateral talks in Lusaka to find common ground on the Cuban issue.

The diplomats said the Government of President Eduardo dos Santos was becoming increasingly weary of paying out close to R100-million a year to "hire" its Cuban protectors.

DR JONAS SAVIMBI

They added that strong efforts had been made to persuade Luanda that the Unita rebel movement of Dr Jonas Savimbi was in Angola to stay and so must be considered seriously in any settlement plan.

However, the sources said, Pretoria would have to satisfy Angola that it would not militarily strengthen Unita once part or all of the estimated 25 000 Cuban troops in Angola were withdrawn.

The talks began today in an atmosphere of intense secrecy with the American, Angolan and South African delegations all refusing to say even where they were taking place.

REMOTE AREA

So effective, in fact, was the cover-up that speculation was growing in Zambia that the main negotiators might have gone to an outlying area such as President Kaunda's Luangwa Valley game lodge.

The Times of Zambia went so far as to quote a news agency report from South Africa which said the talks were taking place in Luanda.

Diplomats say the negotiators will concentrate first on completing the disengagement of South African and Angolan troops and will then try to progress towards a SWA/Namibian settlement.

They emphasised that the talks were still "delicately poised".

"We are holding our breath," one source said.

ELISIO DE FIGUEIREDO

A climate of peace

Elisio de Figueiredo is Angola's ambassador to the UN and has been deeply involved in negotiations about Namibia and SA's troop withdrawal from southern Angola. He spoke to the *FM* in New York shortly after returning from a trip to Luanda.

***FM:* How does Angola view SA's announcement to withdraw from southern Angola?**

De Figueiredo: One has to bear in mind that SA has, in the past, created obstacles to the creation of a climate of peace in the region. However, and with some scepticism, we would want to feel that SA is sincere this time.

Are you hopeful now that a Namibian settlement will grow out of the ceasefire?

On January 5, the Security Council adopted Resolution 546 which specifically called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of SA troops from Angola. We understand that there is some movement now on the part of SA. Certainly, if they are indeed withdrawing, this is compatible with the Security Council resolution.

What are the terms of the ceasefire?

I mentioned the Security Council resolution. We believe that once the South Africans withdraw, there will be peace in Angola and in the region. And it would also create a climate for discussions between the parties involved insofar as implementation of Resolution 435 on Namibia is concerned.

Has there been an exchange of assurances — for example, that Angola would control Swapo movements, and Pretoria Unita's?

Angola certainly intends to honour its commitments. That is, within our territory, we intend to implement matters to the extent that there will be peace in the country. Insofar as the support that SA gives to Unita, which is an extension of the SA forces, is concerned — yes, we have told the Americans that SA must cease its help to Unita. Indeed, that would be a great contribution on their part to peace in the region. So we hope that SA will abide by it.

Is Luanda prepared to negotiate on the withdrawal of Cuban troops to get peace and a Namibian settlement?

The stumbling block in all this is the apartheid structure of the SA regime. There has been no instance of Angolan troops moving into Namibia or SA. The contrary is true. However, there is already a principle, a declaration in fact, of the Angolan government and the Cuban government in which it is clearly stated that the Cuban forces are going to leave — they are not in Angola forever.

But the Cuban forces do not constitute a threat to Namibian independence, as SA and some of its friends argue. If the South Africans can tomorrow solemnly state that they are ready to implement Resolution 435, then the Security Council will meet, UN troops would take up their stations in Namibia to facilitate the voting process, and eventually Namibia can become independent.

But to get that going, SA wants the Cubans out of Angola. Is that going to take place before, during or after the settlement?

You have to realise that the Cuban presence in Angola is not part of Resolution 435. The Cubans are there to help us — not only in our military defence; there are Cuban medical doctors, teachers and workers helping with our reconstruction.

Calling for the Cubans to leave is a gross interference in our internal affairs. We might then want to tell the South Africans to end apartheid and call for all those who are racists to leave that country.

But is Angola prepared to consider phasing out Cuban troops as the quid pro quo that SA demands for Namibian independence?

We are prepared to tell you that the principle of phasing out the Cuban forces already exists. There is an official document signed on February 4 1983 by the Cuban and Angolan foreign ministers to that effect. It is conditional upon the removal of the SA military threat. It was signed in Luanda on the occasion of the 12th anniversary marking the MPLA's launch of the independence struggle and is open for anyone to see. We intend to implement it.

Has Pretoria given any undertakings? What has Angola sought?

We only demand, like the rest of the international community, that Resolution 435 be implemented in Namibia — and, of course, that SA troops leave Angola.

Has the US offered to recognise the MPLA government and to provide economic aid if the Cubans leave and Savimbi's Unita is accommodated?

No, none of those things. We have official relations with just about all the countries in the world. It is the US that sought not to have diplomatic relations with us, even though commercially there are quite a number of US companies doing business with Angola. If the Americans want relations, we are ready to agree. However, we accept no preconditions to establishing relations.

Is a round of trilateral talks planned between Angola, the US and SA?

Not that I know of.

Can you foresee such talks?

Anything is possible with the withdrawal of SA troops from Angola — whenever that is completed. We have already, in the past, met SA without intermediaries.

Joint SA, Angolan body to oversee ceasefire

Cape Times 17/2/84

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa and Angola agreed in Lusaka yesterday to establish a joint commission to monitor the disengagement process in the war zone in southern Angola, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, announced on his return last night.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport, Mr Botha described the talks as "very successful" and his own mood as hopeful.

The first meeting of the joint commission to monitor the disengagement — and to investigate alleged breaches of it — was held in Lusaka yesterday, Mr Botha told local and foreign newsmen in a bus which served as a makeshift conference room.

The United States could participate in the joint commission at the joint invitation of South Africa and Angola, whose participation would be on a basis of parity, a buoyant Mr Botha said.

SA troops out

The meeting in Lusaka was a sequel to bilateral talks last month between the US and Angola, and later between the US and South Africa.

Mr Botha last night equated the "disengagement process" which began on January 31 with a ceasefire, and officially confirmed for the first time that disengagement meant withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola.

In response to a specific query, Mr Botha affirmed that a timetable had been set for the complete withdrawal of South African soldiers from southern Angola.

He declined, however, to disclose the target date for completion of the withdrawal.

South Africa's withdrawal would be accompanied by an Angolan reassertion of its sovereignty over the evacuated territory, but Angola would not allow its Cuban or Swapo allies into the reoccupied territory, Mr Botha added.

He rejected firmly and emphatically reports that the US was no longer insisting on withdrawal of the estimated 20 000 to 30 000 Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition for implementation of the United Nations peace plan for SWA/Namibia.

It would furthermore be contradictory for South Africa to agree to reduce its military strength in South West Africa to 1 500 soldiers and to confine them to two bases if Cuba were allowed to retain its full fighting force in Angola across the border, Mr Botha added.

He politely sidestepped a question on whether the Angolan rebel movement Unita figured in the talks.

Angolan minister

Mr Botha headed the South Africa delegation to Lusaka. He was accompanied by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Dr Willie van Niekerk, and the South African Ambassador to the US, Mr Brand Fourie.

The US team was led by Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

The Angolan delegation was under Mr Alexandre Rodrigues, the Angolan Minister of Interior, who figured prominently in previous bilateral meetings between South Africa and Angola.

● **JOHN BATTERSBY** reports from London that the British Government has given its full backing to the tri-party talks.

A Foreign Office statement welcomed the meeting unreservedly and expressed confidence that it would "cement disengagement and also lead to progress on other broader issues".

'Importance'

"We attach importance to the South African disengagement of its forces from Angola as a necessary step towards a Namibian settlement," it said.

The Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, met Mr Malcolm Rifkind, British Minister of State in the Foreign Office, yesterday and was due to meet the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, today.

Mr Nujoma is expected to discuss the possibility of direct talks with South Africa.

Lusaka talks pave way for normal relations

Angolan war: the end may be in sight

(5) Star 17/2/84

By Peter Sullivan, Political Correspondent, and Peter Honey, The Star's Windhoek Bureau

The end of the war in southern Angola may be in sight following an agreement thrashed out in Lusaka yesterday which effectively bans Swapo from the area and restricts the Cubans to the north.

South Africa has finally committed itself to a specific date for a total withdrawal.

In return, Angola will assert its sovereignty over the evacuated area but will keep its Cuban and Swapo allies away.

This is the essence of the message the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, brought back from Lusaka yesterday.

It is hoped the conflict in the Operational Area will soon wind down to a point where incidents become unusual, rather than commonplace.

Swapo has still not been tied down to the agreement but diplomatic negotiations are backed by the Frontline states. It will be pressurised to toe the line or face the combined wrath of America, Angola, the other Frontline states as well as its traditional foe, South Africa.

Cemented

Although yesterday's meeting simply cemented agreements negotiated some time ago, it was an important step towards normalising relations between Angola and South Africa.

Both countries were represented by top Ministers, and thought the talks successful. Mr Botha said there would be further meetings between Angola, South Africa and the US.

He said the meeting in Lusaka was an "important and constructive step" towards peace in Southern Africa.

South Africa and Angola have agreed to establish a joint commission — which will consist of possibly a "couple of hundred" personnel — to monitor the disengagement process.

Meeting

The first meeting of the commission will probably be held in southern Angola within the next two weeks, the SWA Broadcasting Corporation reported today.

Observers in Windhoek believe the venue could be the village of Ngiva, about 30 km north of the Namibian boarder.

This force would detect, investigate and report any alleged violation and ensure the effective end to hostilities, Mr Botha said. It is a ceasefire police force and if the disengagement process is successful, there will be a ceasefire on the ground.

One difficulty still standing in the way of an accord between South Africa, Angola and America is the status of the Cuban troops in negotiations on an internationally accepted settlement for Namibia.

Mr Botha stressed yesterday that the US was still firmly committed to Cuban withdrawal tied to a settlement process.

Zambia pleased with its role as 'broker'

By Brendan Nicholson, The Star's Foreign News Service

LUSAKA — The successful Lusaka talks have opened the way for Namibian independence, according to a senior Zambian Government spokesman.

Mr Milimo Punabantu, a special adviser to President Kenneth Kaunda, said his government was delighted with the way the talks had gone and with the success of its role as an "honest broker".

The success of the talks has heightened speculation in Lusaka that the Administrator-General of Namibia, Dr Willie van Niekerk, has either already met Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma or will meet him this week.

The Zambian Government is sticking strictly to its role of discreet host and would not comment yesterday on prospects for such a meeting other than to point out that further talks were planned.

CEASEFIRE

Other observers said the establishment of the disengagement monitoring commission had effectively imposed a ceasefire on Swapo which the organisation could not afford to break without offending its Frontline state backers.

The smoothness of yesterday's ministerial meeting highlighted President Kaunda's latest peacemaking effort which can be traced back to the "Maroela Summit" on the SA-Botswana border.

"Like the Maroela tree, it grows," Mr Punabantu said.

Reuter reports from Lisbon that Angola could not accept United States observers to monitor a possible truce between South Africa and Swapo guerillas, the official Angolan news agency Angop said today.

The agency was commenting on an American offer to contribute to an international panel of observers to monitor South Africa's military disengagement from southern Angola.

Lusaka talks 'very successful'

SA, Angola agree on commission

RDM 17/2/84 (5)

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

IN A new effort to establish peace in a key area of the sub-continent, South Africa and Angola agreed in Lusaka yesterday to establish a joint commission to monitor the disengagement process in the war zone in southern Angola, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, announced on his return last night.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport within minutes of disembarking from the aircraft which brought him back from Lusaka, Mr Botha described the talks as "very successful" and his own mood as hopeful.

The first meeting of the joint commission to monitor the disengagement — and to investigate alleged breaches of it — was held in Lusaka yesterday, Mr Botha told local and foreign newsmen in a bus which served as a make-shift conference room.

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The meeting in Lusaka was a sequel to talks last month between the US and Angola and, later, between the US and South Africa.

Mr Botha last night equated the "disengagement process", which began on January 31, with a ceasefire and officially confirmed for the first time, that disengagement meant withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola.

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He declined, however, to disclose the target date for completion of the withdrawal.

South Africa's withdrawal would be accompanied by an Angolan reassertion of its sovereignty over the evacuated territory, but Angola would not allow its Cuban or Swapo allies into the reoccupied territory, Mr Botha added.

He rejected firmly and emphatically reports that the US was no longer insisting on withdrawal of the estimated 20 000 to 30 000 Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition for implementation of the United Nations peace plan for South West Africa.

It would furthermore be contradictory for South Africa to agree to reduce its military strength in SWA to 1 500 soldiers and to confine them to two bases if Cuba was allowed to retain its full fighting force in Angola across the border, Mr Botha added.

He politely side-stepped a question of whether the Angolan rebel movement, Unita, figured in yesterday's talks.

Asked if he were hopeful about the talks in Lusaka yesterday, Mr Botha said: "Yes I am. We have put together the mechanism, the structure, to monitor the whole (ceasefire) process. Certainly I am. We have produced results."

But he warned that there were "elements" who were anxious to wreck the peace initiative and stressed the importance of being on guard against them. He declined to identify them.

If the peace drive on the Angolan-SWA front were successful, a similar initiative might be launched in a different region of the sub-continent, Mr Botha said. He declined to be more specific.

Mr Botha headed the South African delegation to Lusaka. He was accompanied by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, the Administrator-General of South West Africa, Dr Willie van Niekerk, and the South African Ambassador to the US, Dr Brand Fourie.

The US team was led by Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and the man who has played a pivotal role in reviving the, until recently, flagging settlement initiative for SWA.

The Angolan delegation was under Mr Alexandre Rodrigues, the Angolan Minister of Interior, who figured prominently in previous meetings between South Africa and Angola.

Mr Botha paid special tribute to the role President Kenneth Kaunda played in helping to ensure the success of yesterday's discussion.

Swapo: Angola to act, says AG

Cape Times 18/2/84 (5)

From TONY WEAVER

WINDHOEK. — The Angolan Government would "discipline" Swapo into stopping their military activities in the SWA/Namibian bush war, the Administrator-General of the territory, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said yesterday.

Briefing journalists on his return from tripartite talks between South Africa, Angola and the United States in Lusaka on Thursday, Dr Van Niekerk said: "The Angolans have undertaken to see to it themselves that Swapo will stop their guerilla war."

He added later that the MPLA government would "discipline Swapo", when asked about reports that Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma had rejected the formation of a joint South African and Angolan "disengagement-monitoring commission", on the grounds that Swapo was fighting its war in SWA/Namibia and not in Angola.

This is the first public indication that intensive behind-the-scenes diplomatic efforts by the US to press Angola into forcing Swapo into an acceptance of a ceasefire in the 17-year-old bush war have paid off.

Dr Van Niekerk referred to the "disciplining of Swapo" as being an "imposed ceasefire".

He expressed the hope that "we can look at a complete cessation of the guerilla war with its tragic consequences for the people of the territory".

During his briefing, which was largely "off the record" and not for publication, Dr Van Niekerk said that although talks between Angola and South Africa had not embraced the issue of a Cuban presence in Angola, South Africa and the US still saw their withdrawal as a prerequisite for SWA/Namibian independence.

However, indicating what could be a softening of the South African-US line on Cuban linkage, Dr Van Niekerk referred only to the withdrawal of "combat troops", distinguishing them from Cuban civilian personnel.

Calling the Lusaka talks "one of the most historic gatherings in the past few years with regard to the SWA/Namibia problem", Dr Van Niekerk said they had been "friendly and constructive".

The "facts" of the bush war were that "the Angolans have undertaken to keep Swapo and the Cuban combat troops out of the south of Angola".

"If Mr Nujoma does not like that, he must talk to the MPLA government."

He said he thought the "disengagement will lead to a ceasefire" and "any political solution must follow after peace; there must be peace before a political solution".

US presence

The disengagement-monitoring force, composed of Angolan and South African military personnel and a handful of Americans, would be based in "the southern part of Angola as soon as possible", he said.

They would be "a joint force, as they will always be together".

Dr Van Niekerk denied reports that he had met "anyone from Swapo in Lusaka" and added that "the subject of Unita was not discussed".

● Nujoma rejects 'disengagement', page 2

Cape Times 18/2/84 (5)

Saturday, February 18, 1984 ★

Nujoma rejects 'disengagement'

From STANLEY UYS

LONDON. — Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, poured cold water on the "disengagement" talks in Lusaka when he told a press conference here yesterday that the "disengagement" was purely between South Africa and Angola and did not involve either Swapo or Namibia.

He indicated that he knew less about the Lusaka talks than the press, and disclosed that no plans had been made for him to meet either South African officials or the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia or United States negotiators on his return to Africa.

Mr Nujoma said he wanted to make it "categorically clear" that in the absence of a SWA/Namibia settlement negotiated in accordance with Security Council Resolution 435, Swapo would "continue to resist South African suppression, regardless of the cost in lives".

"There is no ceasefire," he said. "There has been an offer of disengagement of forces in Southern Angola, not in Namibia. Our hope is that there will be a ceasefire as envisaged under Resolution 435. Swapo is ready to sign a ceasefire.



Mr Sam Nujoma

"Swapo has made it clear to the UN Secretary-General that he should convene a meeting between Swapo and South Africa specifically for the purpose of discussing the ceasefire to put an end to the war.

"We learn from the press that the South African Prime Minister, addressing Parliament on January 30, said disengagement would be followed by the decolonization of Namibia. We hope he will honour that statement."

Mr Nujoma said he did not regard the Lusaka "disengagement" talks as unnecessary or irrelevant, but they did not affect Swapo's struggle for the independence of SWA/Namibia.

Swapo was ready to negotiate its own ceasefire for SWA/Namibia with South Africa, but only under Resolution 435, he said.

Mr Nujoma said he would be prepared to talk to the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Dr Willie van Niekerk.

"We will not dictate to the Botha regime who should be its spokesman," he said.

Mr Nujoma said he did not dispute Angola's right to enter into "disengagement" talks with South Africa, and added that Angola had not asked Swapo to "discontinue its presence" in Angola.

Some observers detected in this remark by Mr Nujoma some anxiety on Swapo's part that, like Mozambique, Angola may be forced by the military and economic destabilization of its country into entering into an agreement with South Africa that would be detrimental to Swapo's interests. Mr Nujoma, however, did not dwell on the subject.

Mr Nujoma said he was in Britain to secure the Thatcher government's support for a peace settlement in Namibia under Resolution 435. The Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, had promised this support, he said.

Swapo wanted the British Government to impose economic sanctions against South Africa, "but you know the position of the British Conservative Government on sanctions — they own South Africa".

'Bantustans'

Mr Nujoma lashed out at the Reagan administration, accusing it of being pro-South Africa and anti-Swapo. He also said the Reagan administration had "misused" the five-member Western contact group, which was "finished".

Questioned about the South African Government's failure to decide yet which electoral system to adopt for SWA/Namibia's independence elections, Mr Nujoma said this was a potentially problematic issue.

He envisaged no difficulties if the elections were "free and fair", and "hoped the UN will not supervize elections based on "Bantustan electoral systems".

ANGOLA MAY REMOVE CUBANS TO KEEP UNITA OFF



Savimbi

How will peace talks affect the civil war?

w/e Argus 18/2,

By PATRICK BULGER,
Argus Africa
News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Peace talks involving South Africa and Angola will deeply affect the civil war being waged in Angola between the MPLA government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita rebels led by Jonas Savimbi.

In public both leaders have been conspicuously taciturn about how the 'internal' war fits into the greater scenario.

The talks appear to have concentrated on South Africa's military threat, the Cuban troop issue, Swapo and ultimately perhaps a Namibian settlement.

This is significant. The MPLA has always maintained Unita is a mere arm of the South African military.

By cooling its rhetoric on the Unita/South Africa issue, the MPLA may be revising its priorities and making two points:

Firstly, that the chances of escalating conflict in southern Angola are greater than Pretoria itself cares to admit, and secondly that it believes South Africa can be persuaded to withdraw its support from Unita and dramatically diminish the movement's military effectiveness.

This could be accompanied by a gradual withdrawal of the estimated 25 000 Cubans now propping up the MPLA.

Tragedy

The story of the Angolan civil war is an old one laced with the caprice, absurdities and tragedy that characterise much of Africa's post-colonial experience.

The MPLA (the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) is the oldest of the nationalist movements. It was formed in the harbour capital of Luanda in 1956 by a physician and poet Dr Agostinho Neto.

Spontaneous ghetto uprisings swelled its membership although its claims to being a mass movement have never been quite true and its followers have been largely confined to the intelligensia, workers, radical Portuguese and the Kimbundu tribe which makes up about 22 percent of the population.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, a stonemason's son who later studied as a petroleum engineer in Russia, was 14 years old when the MPLA was formed but in his late teens he became prominent as a successful organiser of student groups formed to back the movement.

A continuing Portuguese crackdown forced Dos Santos and the MPLA leaders into Leopoldville in the then Congo Republic in 1962 where they regrouped and prepared for armed struggle.

At about the same time another nationalist, Holden Roberto, was forming the FNLA and an "Angolan government-in-exile".

Jonas Savimbi — now 49 years old, Swiss educated and first involved in politics in 1961 — was appointed foreign minister in the "government".

Realising the FNLA's "tribal limitations" and that it was becoming a pawn in the hands of the United States Government, Savimbi resigned in 1964 and formed Unita (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) in 1966.

Meanwhile, the MPLA had been forced out of Leopoldville into exile in Congo/Brazzaville from where it launched its war with Portuguese garrisons through the Cabinda enclave in northern Angola in 1968.

Savimbi in the meantime had struck an agreement with the Portuguese secret police (PIDE) who offered to give his movement conditional sanctuary in Angola as a means of countering the MPLA.

It was a convenient, if somewhat devious arrangement and, together with Zambian aid, helped Unita consolidate itself as a powerful force. But it was one of a series of moves that was to [illegible] Savimbi and lessen [illegible] credence as a "genu[illegible] Angolan nationalist.

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Promising step

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The ceasefire agreement signed in Lusaka between South Africa and Angola is seen here as the most promising move towards a settlement in Namibia since the Geneva conference in 1981.

But like the Geneva talks, which failed after much initial optimism, the Angolan accord is recognised as fragile and vulnerable from several aspects.

While the Angolan government has undertaken to see that Swapo respects the ceasefire, its ability to keep the Swapo insurgents under control is uncertain.

Likewise, there is uncertainty about the intentions of the Angolan rebel movement, Unita, which has the capacity to break the ceasefire and has warned that there can be no lasting ceasefire in Southern Africa without Unita's participation.

Also unknown — outside of official circles, anyway — is what attitude is being adopted by the Soviet Union, which has powerful influence over the MPLA government in Luanda.

The Soviets have a direct interest in keeping in Angola the Cuban troops who are regarded as Moscow's surrogates in the country.

There are growing indications, however, that both the United States and South Africa have retreated somewhat from their original insistence that the Cubans be withdrawn as part of an independence settlement in Namibia.

Western officials have suggested that a compromise might be reached under which the eventual removal of the Cubans would be guaranteed by Angola.

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Y REMOVE CUBANS TO KEEP UNITA OFF ITS BACK

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W/E ARGUS 18/2/89



Dos Santos

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It was a convenient, if somewhat devious arrangement and, together with Zambian aid, helped Unita consolidate itself as a powerful force. But it was one of a series of moves that was to taint Savimbi and lessen his credence as a "genuine" Angolan nationalist.

It was not solely the efforts of the nationalist movements that paved the way for decolonisation. The Portuguese coup of 1974 was the catalyst, when the new government committed itself to an independent Angola and asked the rival movements to form a tripartite government. A shaky peace ensued before war broke out yet again.

Countering the South African invasion of late 1975 — an invasion aimed primarily at consolidating Unita — the MPLA, by this time strengthened by Cuban troops, captured Luanda and began receiving massive military aid from the Soviet Union.

Of the three separate governments formed, the MPLA government received the widest recognition and continuing military offensives soon had Unita and, to a greater extent, the FNLA in disarray.

Trump card

The Angolan war was all but over but Savimbi, survivor, opportunist, pragmatist and strategist, had still not played his trump card — South African assistance.

Although this is widely thought to be substantial, Savimbi has a wide circle of friends, among them conservative African states like Zaire, Morocco and possibly Zambia, and Arab nations including Saudi Arabia.

Dos Santos became president in 1979 and the country has been locked in a fierce war since.

Analysts believe that if Savimbi and his estimated 35 000 troops can hold their own without South African help for at least two years, Unita may well have a part to play in a future Angolan government.

Certainly he is more than a South African puppet and Dos Santos is grudgingly coming to realise this. A deteriorating Angola may swell Unita support while the Ovimbundu people who comprise 35 percent of the population remain staunch supporters.

But with South Africa keen to solve the Namibia problem and with increasing signs of a rapprochment between Marxist Angola and key Western states, notably France and to a lesser extent the US, Savimbi may be forced to play out his days as the rebel leader he portrays so well.

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Western officials have suggested that a compromise might be reached under which the eventual removal of the Cubans would be guaranteed by Angola.

State Department officials in Washington have kept close-mouthed about the ceasefire agreement while their colleagues were still in Lusaka tying up some loose ends.

But it has been made clear that if the US agrees to assign Americans to the ceasefire monitoring commission to be set up by South Africa and Angola only a small number, probably fewer than a dozen, would be involved.

And they would not take part in active patrolling but would be limited to a headquarters role.

The assignment of Americans to the ceasefire monitoring force is a sensitive issue in the US, where opposition to any kind of foreign military involvement has remained strong since the Vietnam war.

Official hits at raiding SADF

London Bureau

LONDON. — Attempts by the Angolan Government to improve the quality of life in that country have been subverted through South Africa's cross-border military raids, according to a spokesman for the Mozambique-Angolan committee based in London.

At a meeting last week, Mr David Kinven sketched the devastating effect of South Africa's military actions on the Angolan economy.

"The MPLA-government is forced to divert resources, much needed to improve living conditions inside Angola, to the defence of the southern regions where South Africa is active," Mr Kinven said.

He referred to an Angolan government white paper, which deals with the cost of the war, and said that until August 1981, the war had cost Angola R9 403-million.

Mr Kinven also said the sole reason the South African Defence Force launched an offensive inside Angola last December was because Unita was "receiving a drubbing" by Angolan forces.

Mr Kinven described Unita as "puppets" of the South African Government and the movement's morale as having been low.

He said the claim that Unita controlled large areas of Angola was a "lie".

Commenting on the South African condition for the proposed ceasefire, that Angola should not "take advantage" of the situation, Mr Kinven said:

"They are saying Angola must not attempt to re-occupy parts of its own country in the south, which are being controlled by the SADF."

We've killed 201 — Unita

LISBON. — Angola's main guerrilla movement — escalating strikes while Angola and South Africa implement a border truce — said yesterday its forces had killed 201 soldiers, including 28 Cubans, last week and hit a Soviet-piloted cargo plane.

In a communique, the Unita rebels claimed successful strikes and sabotage operations in five provinces between February 10 and 16, including four bombings in the central city of Huambo.

They claim 16 Cubans were killed in the attacks.

The communique said the Cubans were killed in the bombings at a bakery and the Himlaia Bar.

The guerrillas, whom intelligence sources say get South African aid, claim they shot down an Angolan civilian Boeing 727 with 135 people aboard over Huambo airport on February 9. The jetliner crash-landed but there were no casualties.

Intelligence sources have confirmed that Unita guerrillas are equipped with Soviet-made Sam-7 ground-to-air missiles.

In the recent seven-day period, said Unita, it killed a total of 201 soldiers, including 28 Cubans, and captured 19 government troops in the provinces of north and south Kuanza, Huambo, Moxico and Bie.

The rebels suffered 27 dead, eight missing and 60 wounded in the fighting, the communique said.

It said these actions "belie the triumphalist pretensions" of the Marxist government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and his estimated 30 000 Cuban allies.

Since last September, the government has claimed a series of important victories in the civil war which began with the oil-producing country's independence from Portugal in 1975.

On January 31, South Africa announced a 30-day ceasefire for its forces along the southern Angolan border with Pretoria-administered South West Africa. SWA nationalist Swapo guerrillas operate against South Africa from Angolan bases.

Last Thursday United States, Angolan and South African delegations met in Lusaka, Zambia, and agreed to set up a commission to supervise the border truce. — UPI.

More Portuguese in Luanda to train Swapo and Fapla

By Stephen McQuillan

Another group of hand-picked Portuguese mercenaries has arrived in Luanda to train Swapo guerillas and Angolan troops, sources in Johannesburg say.

The group, which left Lisbon on February 10, boosted to about 70 the number of crack, former officers of the Portuguese colonial forces now training Fapla and Swapo troops around Luanda.

About 40 mercenaries left Portugal during November and December.

Sources close to the FNLA guerilla organisation said between 20 and 30 left Lisbon for Luanda after being recruited by a clandestine organisation based in Lisbon and headed by Admiral Rosa Coutinho — the "Red Admiral of Angola".

The sources believe Admiral Coutinho — former high commissioner of pre-independence Angola — is acting on orders from Soviet masters.

One of the men in the latest group to leave Lisbon is believed to be a former major and a very experienced helicopter pilot.

The former major followed the same pattern as other recruits. He was left-wing and "had good friends in all Communist Party circles".

The FNLA claims the recruiting organisation is code-named Vespa, or Wasp in English.

"There is no doubt at all that this recruitment is connected with the Soviets," said one source.

The decision to recruit the Portuguese was taken partly because of Soviet and Cuban difficulty in bridging "a psychological gap" between themselves and Angolan troops, the FNLA believes.

Observers have suggested Cuban and Fapla troops were unable to work together successfully. It was reported in 1979 that they fought each other in Malanje for two or three hours.



The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, shakes hands with President Samora Machel in Maputo on Tuesday. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, looks on.

CAPE Times 23/2/84

OAU gives blessing to peace initiatives

From JOSÉ CAETANO

MAPUTO. — The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has given its blessing to the decision taken by Mozambique and Angola to hold negotiations with South Africa and has been monitoring closely the results achieved so far.

News of the OAU's approval came yesterday at the end of a visit to Mozambique by the organization's acting secretary-general, Mr Peter Onu.

Mr Onu's visit to Mozambique coincided with this week's latest round of talks between South Africa and Mozambique.

While delegations of the two countries were negotiating in Maputo last Monday, he was meeting the Mozambican Foreign Minister, Major-General Joaquim Chissano.

Mr Onu was briefed by General Chissano on the progress of the talks. Other subjects discussed were SWA/Namibia and Angola's stand on Chad and the war in the Western Sahara.

Speaking in Botswana on Sunday, Mr Onu said the OAU "agreed" with the negotiations between Angola and South Africa, held in Lusaka last week, "if these led to the implementation of United Nations' Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia".

Meanwhile, the first Mozambican reference to its future attitude towards the African National Congress (ANC) since Monday's talks, came in a speech made in Maputo on Tuesday by Mr Augusto Macamo, a member of Frelimo's Central Committee and secretary-general of Mozambique's Trade Union Organization.

He said Mozambique would continue "to be in solidarity with the struggle of the South African people".

"The solidarity between Mozambique and the ANC is sealed with blood shed for the common cause of peace and equality."

Mr Macamo was speaking at a political rally in Maputo commemorating the third anniversary of the speech made by President Samora Machel after the South African commando raid on Matola in February 1981, in which 13 members of the ANC were killed.

Last week, the defence ministers of the member states of the Southern African Development Co-Ordinating Conference (SADCC) met in Maputo to discuss common defence and security issues.

Angola confirms SA troop pullback

Cape Times 23/2/84

LISBON. — Angola has confirmed that South African troops occupying part of its territory are withdrawing, the state-run Angolan news agency, Angop, reported yesterday.

"The aggressive activities of the South African Army have ceased and they have begun withdrawing to Namibia," the Angop dispatch, monitored in Lisbon, quoted the Angolan Minister of the Interior, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Rodrigues, as saying.

He said the withdrawal would be supervised by the joint Angolan-South African commission which will be headquartered in Angolan territory.

The agency quoted Colonel Rodrigues as saying on Tuesday that "a symbolic number of American observers, two or three", would participate in the cease-fire commission.

This is a shift from an earlier position when, after trilateral talks in Zambia to seal the truce arrangement last week, Angola said it did not want United States observers because they were not impartial.

Colonel Rodrigues said long-standing demands by Washington and Pretoria for the withdrawal from Angola of about 25 000 Cuban troops were not discussed in the latest round of talks.

He said Swapo insurgents had pledged not to take advantage of the withdrawal, that "only Angolan forces" would move into areas left by the South Africans and that Luanda would "restrict" Swapo activities.

He said Angola's acceptance of the truce aimed at encouraging talks between Swapo and South Africa for an independence settlement.

● Angolan rebels yesterday accused the Angolan Government of massacring civilians and said their armed struggle would be intensified.

In a statement issued in Lisbon, Unita said 78 men, women and children were massacred in the suburbs of the central city of Huambo on February 15, 16, 19 and 20 and 254 were arrested.

The Unita statement called on negotiators seeking peace in Southern Africa and international humanitarian organizations not to keep silent on such violations of human rights.

● Meanwhile, an advance group of US technical personnel arrived in Windhoek yesterday in preparation for the opening of an American centre to help monitor the disengagement of South African forces in southern Angola.

A spokesman for the office of the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Dr Willie van Niekerk, confirmed the arrival.

Talks welcomed

● In Harare, Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, yesterday cautiously welcomed the current dialogue between South Africa and its black neighbours, saying the success of the negotiations would depend on Pretoria's willingness to honour its pledges.

● A Lusaka report quotes President Kenneth Kaunda as saying that independent African states looked forward to welcoming South Africa in the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) once the Republic proved genuine by removing troops from Angola and granting independence to SWA/Namibia. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI

Angolan ceasefire plan in balance

CAPE TIMES 24/2/84



ıelped to an ambulance after a knife- the City centre post office yesterday.

Pictures: Peter Stanford

Political Correspondent

THE South Africa-Angola peace initiative hung in the balance last night as South Africa warned of a Swapo advance which could break the fragile border truce.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said 200 Swapo guerillas had already crossed the SWA/Namibian border and 41 had been shot dead this month in Ovambo and West Kavango by security forces.

Mr Botha said they were part of an 800-strong Swapo force moving southwards in contravention of the peace "understanding" reached with Angola earlier this month.

Meeting urged

Mr Botha said he had sent messages yesterday to the Angolan and United States governments seeking an urgent meeting of the joint monitoring force due to oversee the "military disengagement" in southern Angola.

The month-long disengagement, instituted by South Africa on January 31, is aimed at producing a formal ceasefire in southern Angola.

Western diplomats have been hoping that this in turn could restore momentum to the stalled SWA/Namibia settlement talks.

The whole initiative is now threatened by the developments disclosed

derstanding would be enforced. Swapo leaders had been informed at the highest level a day or two before the Lusaka talks that they would have to respect any agreement reached between South Africa and Angola.

"Angola would not tolerate Swapo going against this," Mr Botha said he had been told

The Angolan representatives had also told him that Swapo forces had been moving southwards before January 31 in areas which were not at that time under Angolan control. Mr Botha had expressed his understanding of this but had stated South Africa would not tolerate the situation and reserved the right to act.

He said last night that his call for an urgent meeting of the joint monitoring commission was made in an effort to secure joint action to reduce distrust between the two sides and to prevent hostilities breaking out again

Mr Botha did not say how the latest development would affect the South African withdrawal from Angola which the Angolan Government confirmed earlier this week was underway

● **SIMON BARBER** reports from Washington that as Mr Botha made his statement, the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, emerged from talks with Dr Chester Crocker, the Assistant

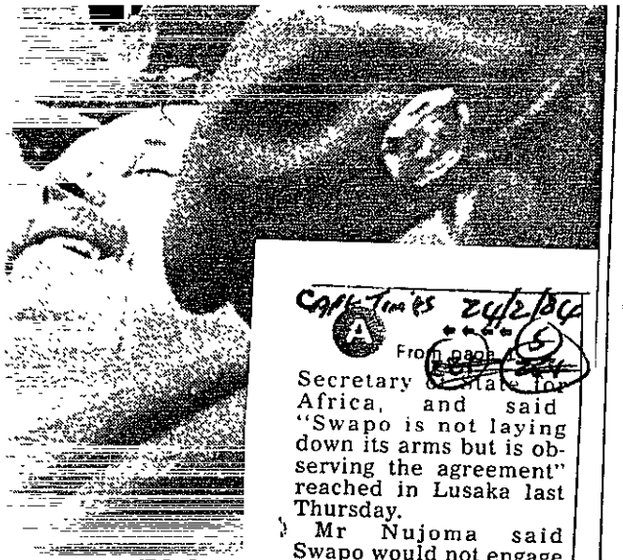
To page 2 A

x-wife sees ıan shot dead

Crime Reporter

'ITERWACHT man was shot dead in front of ormer wife after an argument with another ın front of a Vasco block of flats last night.





plan in balance

CAPE Times 24/2/84

Political Correspondent

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The whole initiative is now threatened by the developments disclosed in Mr Botha's statement.

SA condition

One of the South African conditions for a continuing truce was that neither Swapo nor Angola should exploit the situation for military advantage.

Mr Botha said that at the talks with Angola in Lusaka on February 16 he had told Angola that South Africa knew Swapo forces were moving southwards and that this could scupper the peace understanding.

"The Angolans assured me that the understanding would be enforced. Swapo leaders had been informed at the highest level a day or two before the Lusaka talks that they would have to respect any agreement reached between South Africa and Angola.

"Angola would not tolerate Swapo going against this," Mr Botha said he had been told.

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CAPE Times 24/2/84

From page 1

Secretary of State for Africa, and said "Swapo is not laying down its arms but is observing the agreement" reached in Lusaka last Thursday.

Mr Nujoma said Swapo would not engage in cross-border activities as long as the South African-Angolan disengagement plan was leading to implementation of United Nations Resolution 435.

The State Department could neither confirm nor deny the figures Mr Botha claimed for the latest Swapo incursion.

Reacting to Mr Botha's call for an immediate meeting of the joint SA-Angolan monitoring commission, State Department officials noted that the meeting had already been scheduled for tomorrow

United States officials said last night that in the course of the Lusaka negotiations, the MPLA had undertaken to restrain Swapo only in areas over which it had sovereignty, and this did not include those areas still occupied by the South African Defence Force.

The Lusaka plan called for the MPLA to have complete de jure, if not de facto, sovereignty over Angola within 30 days, the period over which the SADF would withdraw completely.

Leadership?

Officials also noted that if the incursion was truly on the scale claimed by Mr Botha, it raised serious questions about who was in charge of Swapo.

● **IAN HOBBS** reports from London that Swapo sources confirmed last night that "some of the most aggressive and best-trained" Swapo units had infiltrated SWA/Namibia some weeks ago.

An official spokesman for Swapo in London said South Africa was trying to create the impression that Swapo's military wing was operating entirely from Angola. This was untrue, he said.

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Swapo's latest incursion jeopardises Lusaka agreement

Urgent talks on threat to peace

By Peter Sullivan,
Political Correspondent

An urgent meeting of the joint monitoring commission for the South African-Angolan peace agreement has been arranged for tomorrow and one of its top priorities will be to assess the influx of Swapo insurgents into the border area.

Earlier today the fragile peace negotiations with Angola seemed likely to be shattered as South Africa and Unita raised objections to new offensives by Swapo and Cuban-led forces.

In a grim warning on the eve of the 30—day withdrawal period, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said Swapo was jeopardising the accord.

But, in a later statement, the Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed that the second meeting of the joint monitoring commission would take place tomorrow in Southern Angola.

Still holding

This announcement, considered with the disclosure of the South African representatives on the commission, means that the peace is still holding.

South Africa will be represented by Brigadier J M Diepenaar, Commandant W J le Crerar, Commandant P D Uys and Commandant J Kuhn, all of the SADF, as well as Mr Derek Auret of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Tomorrow's meeting of the commission will also be attended by Mr Dave Steward, of the Department of Foreign Affairs, General J Geldenhuys and Brigadier J Joubert, both of the SADF.

Threatened

In a statement last night Mr Botha said the peace had been threatened by a newly-gathered force of Swapo insurgents.

While South Africa accepted that 400 Swapo insurgents was headed for the border before the agreement, this force had now grown to 800.

The only party to the tripartite monitoring commission which has not yet named its appointees is Angola.

Three Americans have already been named, including a senior member of the American Embassy in South Africa, Mr Walter Stadtler.

Unita, the guerilla movement fighting against the MPLA for control of Angola, yesterday claimed that Luanda had launched a Cuban-led offensive to regain control of the eastern sector.

Unita also warned that it would not co-operate with the countries involved in the tripartite agreement.

Mr Stadtler said that any mass infiltration of guerillas into Northern Namibia by Swapo could plunge the Angolan-South African peace efforts into crisis if diplomatic efforts were not started immediately.

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Peace gains momentum

The enormous scale of intent of the regional peace initiatives in southern Africa is becoming ever more apparent. What appears to have occurred is a convergence of economic and military self-interest in these countries.

The remarkable thing about the frenzied diplomatic exchanges between SA and her most hostile neighbours is not that talks are taking place. It is that they are going so smoothly and that everyone is so optimistic.

Even Tanzania's Julius Nyerere has been driven to admit that there is now hope for peaceful settlements of southern African issues. This is a surprising turnaround for a politician who has previously used the security of his geographic remoteness from the region, and his tenuous claim to be a "frontline" leader, to preach a gospel of unremitting confrontation with SA.

In a curious use of language, of which probably only he is capable, former American Secretary of State Alexander Haig says the Namibian/Angolan negotiations have not yet reached an "exclamatory" phase — by which he seems to mean something capable of evoking exclamations of surprise or pleasure.

From the commanding heights of Haig's non-governmental position in Washington, southern African developments may not yet seem to call for the superlatives of Haigspeak. From a local perspective, they are little short of astounding.

There have been earlier diplomatic *démarches* on southern African issues — some of them seeming to involve many of the world's more meddlesome diplomats and governments. Always in the past, one or the other of the parties involved — be it Pretoria, Luanda, the UN, Namibia's internal parties, Swapo or Maputo — has discovered a need to place obstacles in the way of diplomatic settlements.

Among the issues that have blossomed, and then been forgotten, in the Namibian negotiations are the questions of UN partiality; the type of voting to be used in Namibian elections; the establishment of a demilitarised zone on the Namibian-Angolan border; and the composition of the UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag). Even the issue of a Cuban withdrawal from Angola was a latecomer — it formed no part of SA's original negotiating position.

The talking, and the fighting, dragged on for years. Suddenly, within little more than two months, there is not just a new Namibian initiative but a subcontinent-spanning series of moves involving, in particular, Pretoria and southern Africa's two avowedly Marxist states, Angola and Mozambique. Although they are not directly involved, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Zimbabwe, plus peripherally involved Zambia, are bound to be affected (for the better) by the diplomatic sea change sweeping the area.

What has changed? Certainly not black African hostility to the white-ruled south or Pretoria's distrust of the black Marxist states and their Soviet underwriters.

The answer seems to lie in a fortunate concentration of events. Some have been brought about by deliberate strategy; others have resulted from natural disasters, international economic conditions, and seemingly remote political needs that nonetheless have an impact on regional affairs.

Pretoria, in particular, can take pride in having followed a policy that, however savagely it was attacked, played a major part in creating a climate in which successful diplomatic initiatives were possible. That policy has been variously described as "acting as the regional power," "destabilisation" and "brutal aggression." It consisted of making plain that active hostility to SA, and in particular the harbouring of ANC and Swapo terrorists, carried an economic and military price. And that price would be exacted when it was judged to be necessary.

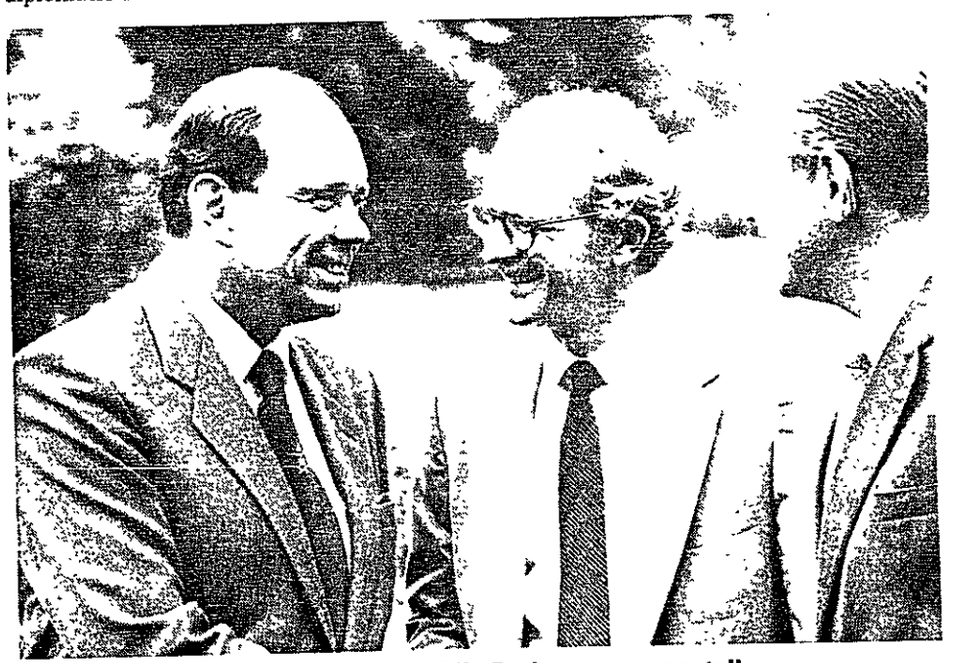
Thus military strikes — and alleged support for domestic insurgents in Angola and Mozambique — raised the price of active hostility to unacceptable levels. Where Maputo was concerned, there was, too, the ever-present threat of economic pressures.

Lesotho also suffered from military and economic action. And Zimbabwe was seemingly brought to heel, in short order, by measures such as cancellation and renegotiation of a trade agreement, the withdrawal of locomotives previously lent to Zimbabwe Railways, and the expulsion of Zimbabweans working in SA. In addition, Mozambique National Resistance movement attacks on transport links to Beira and on the Beira-Umtali oil pipeline made Zimbabwe even more dependent on SA transport links — and thus more subject to pressure. It is notable that the Department of Foreign Affairs says relations with Zimbabwe have been "realistic."

SA's tough policy might not, of itself, have been sufficient to change the diplomatic climate. But as war and insurgency swept their territories, both Angola and Mozambique were faced with natural and economic disasters. Where their economies were concerned, their troubles were at least partly due to the Marxist economic policies they insisted on following

The drought, however, was not due to anyone's policies. It affected all countries in the region equally. But only SA, and to a lesser extent Zimbabwe and Botswana, had the infrastructure and the finances to cope with its worst consequences.

In Mozambique, scores of thousands are reported to be starving. From arming to "resist" SA and its own insurgents, the Maputo government has been reduced to begging international aid to feed its starving masses. Angola, with its agricultural sector in ruins as the result of war, indiscipline and the flight of the Portugese, would



Malan, Crocker and Pik Botha ... peace talk

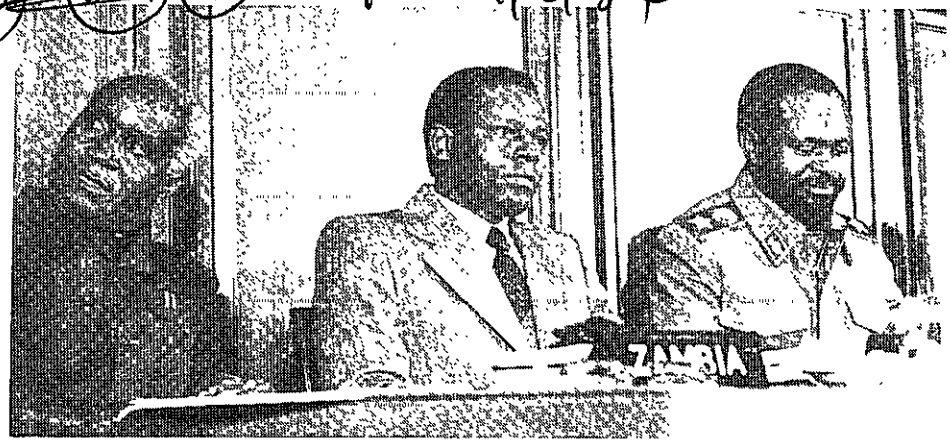
have suffered disaster even without the drought.

Ironically, the internal effect of SA's own tough military stance almost certainly contributed towards creating a climate in which Pretoria was also eager to grasp opportunities to reduce regional tensions. With the economy deep in recession, the gold price low, and the drought costing millions in lost exports, the cost of grain imports and drought relief worsened the burden of ever-increasing military spending.

Namibia, with its war paid for and its economy subsidised by the SA taxpayer, had become a military, economic and financial albatross. In addition, the SADF, painfully conscious of its budgetary and manpower limitations, was eyeing its potential commitments in SA itself and along the borders.

A Namibian settlement, if one could be obtained on reasonable terms, had become desirable. If it could be coupled to an agreement with Mozambique that would limit, if not eliminate, ANC cross-border activity, so much the better.

Simultaneously, Pretoria's perception of the threat from the rightwing, always ready to charge "sellout" in the event of a Namibian withdrawal, receded.



Kaunda (l) with Marxist friends . . . economic benefits for him, too

The final factor was the election-bound Reagan administration, which was looking for some electorally useful return for three years of "constructive engagement." With the Americans prepared to exercise their diplomatic and financial muscle in aid of a settlement, and able to offer both Mozambique and Angola desperately needed foreign aid, all the pieces for a settlement, or a series of settlements, were in place.

Talks with Mozambique are obviously in advance of those with Angola. Foreign Minister Pik Botha says he expects to sign a treaty, which he describes as "effectively" a non-aggression one, within weeks.

Where Angola is concerned, the vexed and related issues of the Cuban military presence and the future role of Unita remain to be settled. Euphoria over the successful Lusaka talks — and SA/Angolan cooperation on a commission to supervise the SADF disengagement — has not changed that.

Nonetheless, the diplomatic scene has changed dramatically. Six months ago, there would have been few who would have given odds on a quick settlement of SA's disputes with either Maputo or Luanda. Now the optimists rule — and they include some of government's hardline opponents.

review

ıay go



honoured he stars this week. It was time for the annual TV awards, when the critics who comment every day in tainment magazine paid tribute to the entertainers of the een. And there to add a special touch of glamour to the occasion were another pair of television personalities, and Audrey Landers, whose show opened last night at and one of the South African TV personalities tulated was producer Bill Faure, who was was the win- section for the Best Musical/Variety/Dance programme.

SA and Angola meet in town scarred by war

By Peter Honey, The Star's Foreign Service

WINDHOEK — An urgently convened meeting between South African and Angolan government personnel is expected to begin deep inside Angola this morning.

By late yesterday there had been no official confirmation of the venue, but it is believed to be the battle-scarred village of Cuvelai — 200 km north of the Namibian border, and the scene of one of the fiercest artillery battles between South African and Angolan forces in operation Askari, little more than two months ago.

The dramatic meeting of the nine-day-old joint disengagement monitoring commission comes at a time of South African claims that Swapo has began a massive infiltration of 800 guerillas into Northern Namibia.

By late yesterday the four American diplomatic and military personnel, sent to Windhoek to liaise with the commission, was still unsure that it would be attending the meeting.

The leader of the American mission in Windhoek, Mr Bill Twaddell, said that in terms of an agreement between his country and the commission in Lusaka last week some kind of "mechanism" would have to be triggered before the American representatives could join the meeting.

He declined to elaborate on this mechanism.

Mr Twaddell said he and his staff had held "very good meetings" with people concerned about the alleged Swapo infiltration yesterday.

It was clear he was referring to South African authorities when he said : "We think they are completely justified in expressing concern (about the infiltration,".

However, in Lusaka Swapo has flatly rejected the South African charge

"We can categorically deny any movements," senior Swapo spokesman Mr Hidipo Hamutenya told Reuters in Lusaka

The official, a member of Swapo's central committee, described charges of infiltration made by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday as "An attempt to drive a wedge between Swapo and Angola or to force Angola to act against us.

"We have no more interest in preventing the South African troops from withdrawing from Angola than we have in prolonging the armed struggle in Namibia itself." Mr Hamutenya said today.

He reiterated Swapo's willingness to sign its own ceasefire agreement with Pretoria as a first step towards implementing the UN independence plan

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia yesterday called for patience from South Africa on the reported Swapo incursion.

In an interview with SABC-TV News, he said Angola was determined that what had been agreed at the Lusaka meeting between Angola and South Africa should be achieved

President Kaunda asked the South African authorities to give Angolan authorities all their information about the movement of Swapo guerillas.

"All of us working together can through persuasion and other measures that are non-confrontational bring this under control We must not resort to attack and counter-attack," he said.

President Kaunda said he had brought Angola and South Africa together because he regarded the South African Government's withdrawal from southern Angola as a very positive step and one which he would like to pursue to its logical conclusion.

Unita grab more hostages — see Page 2.

The Maputo accord: What role now for the ANC?

CAPE Times 25/2/86

AS the historic meetings at Lusaka and Maputo recede into history, a rather more sober assessment of what is afoot is becoming possible and a surer grasp of its significance for the Republic and the sub-continent.

There has been a significant shift in South African style and tactics in a direction which the countries of the West, with much relief, find themselves able to approve.

Yet Pretoria's objective of continued domination of the region is unchanged and the National Party's resolve to retain political hegemony in the Republic is as firm as ever.

The West cannot live with a South Africa which makes a virtue of defying the world, particularly in the matter of SWA/Namibia, and Western pressures recently have been intense indeed, although tactfully and intelligently applied.

Now there has at last been movement on the diplomatic front and as long as there are such signs of movement continuing the West and notably the Reagan administration are likely to remain content.

Military

It seems that the military, who dominate policy-making in South Africa, have taken this point. They recognize the need to provide the requisite signs of movement.

We may be sure, however, that any ceasefire which may be achieved in Angola will be on SADF terms. It remains to be seen whether a ceasefire will be viable on such terms and whether South Africa is at last resolved to allow the implementation of UN Resolution 435 which provides for UN-supervised elections in SWA/Namibia.

Some of the shrewdest and most experienced observers of Southern African affairs, such as Stanley Uys, London editor, of the Cape Times, remain sceptical.

In the matter of Mozambique this very promising accord will likewise be on SADF terms. It is unlikely that the MNR guerillas, unacknowledged surrogates of the SADF, will be totally switched off — although we may hope that their murderous depredations in Mozambique will be scaled down.

If ANC bombings and terrorism continue in South Africa, however, MNR marauding will be intensified and hapless Mozambicans will continue to pay the price.

The SADF is unlikely to agree to abandon a weapon which they no doubt believe has been decisive in the battle against the ANC, forcing the ANC host nations to think again.

Credit

But can the proponents of clandestine "destabilization" of the neighbour states rightfully claim the lion's share of credit in the recent diplomatic breakthrough?

Many factors are in play. Both Angola and Mozambique are on their knees economically and are being steadily wooed away from the communist bloc by intelligent Western diplomacy, including the promise of American aid and friendship — which is worth a great deal more to them than the expensive second-hand armaments which Moscow is prepared to offer. It is also plain that Soviet influence is on the wane in Southern Africa and that the "total onslaught" rhetoric is so much hot hair.

In Mozambique the drought has been horrific in its effects. Children in their thousands are dying of starvation. It is the drought as much as "destabilization" which may be said to have finally persuaded the Mozambicans to talk. Well-timed Portuguese and American diplomacy has finally clinched the deal.

It would be a dangerous and morally nihilistic doctrine to propagate clandestine "dirty tricks" as the key to peace in the sub-continent. How can you motivate the youth of a Christian society to defend their country if the means to be adopted are morally ambiguous, to put it mildly?

Border wars

In any event, let us assume that current efforts on all sides to stabilize rather than destabilize the sub-continent achieve a measure of success, for the time being at least. Let us assume that border wars become a thing of the past. The spotlight of attention will then be fastened on the crux of the matter — on the plight of the blacks in South Africa itself.

It will be seen more clearly than ever that the threat to this country's security is not primarily external but arises from the presence *inside* South Africa



of a rightless and rootless black proletariat which is growing increasingly bitter and resentful.

The question will arise very pertinently why a policy of negotiation, so successfully pursued with the MPLA, Frelimo and, we may hope, ultimately with Swapo, should not also be pursued with the African National Congress and any other organizations able to claim support among the unfranchised black masses.

People will begin to ask whether an accord is not possible with the ANC, who are South Africans after all, when negotiated accords have been possible with foreign black leaders, themselves formerly the leaders of terrorist bands.

For the ANC, likewise, the new situation in the sub-continent may well force a re-assessment of tactics, with greater emphasis having to be given to legitimate political persuasion and propaganda and with the so-called "armed struggle" taking a back seat.

A guerilla war can seldom be effectively pursued in the absence of secure contiguous land bases. If the new diplomacy deprives the ANC of such bases, the organization may well be thrown back on its resources inside South Africa itself, whatever they may be. A body such as the United Democratic Front could come to the fore as a formidable political force, poised to mobilize industrial power to secure black rights.

If the Nationalist Government opts at that stage for a policy of banning and repression rather than negotiation, the stage would be set for industrial unrest. The consequences could be incalculable.

The regional peace would not long survive serious and sustained outbreaks of unrest in which many blacks were killed.

Ultimately, peace in Southern Africa as a whole will depend on the achievement and maintenance of peace in South Africa itself. And there will be no security for South African whites until they have reached an accord with South African blacks.

If the breakthrough at Lusaka and Maputo is to be seen as real rather than illusory, the end result will need to be an accord between white and black South Africans. This means talking to the ANC.

If such a goal remains remote, there are now at least some grounds for hoping that the logjam is at last breaking up. A change of style may become in time a change in substance, heralding a new era of genuine peace and prosperity.

ulu jailed charges

fore Mr T J le Grange.

Soon after sentence had been passed, Mr G Bizos SC, for the defence, made known his intention to file notice of appeal on conviction and sentence.

The hearing arose from a funeral of Mrs Rose Mbele, a former member of Fedsaw, on January 16, 1982.

Sisulu and Mali were charged with singing ANC songs during the service; distributing pamplets; displaying the ANC flag; praising the organization; draping the coffin with the ANC flag; distributing pieces of paper in the ANC colours and wearing the same as mourning ribbons.

a mystery

ff Reporter

ounds the suspension of per- ews — among them SATV — to s in the Peninsula.

suspended from February 15 pite of intensive inquiries, no e have yet been given by the

Parliament by Mrs Helen Suz- deral Party MP for Houghton, d to elicit an explanation

oornhof, Minister of Co-opera- nt, confirmed that the Western Board had suspended the per- , among them SATV, from Feb- uary 26.

inquiries have also failed to y.

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organisation has bath- cost for this purpose.

OR FURTHER INFORMATION

Monitoring of peace bid today

From PETER KENNY

WINDHOEK. — The joint monitoring commission on the South African/Angolan peace agreement was to meet in southern Angola today, a spokesman for the newly-established United States mission in Windhoek, Mr Walter Stadler, confirmed yesterday.

At the time of going to press, the United States mission, which established itself in Windhoek to monitor the peace process, did not know whether it would be participating in the second sitting of the commission set up to monitor the Angolan and South African agreement.

Mr Stadler said: "We are waiting to see if the Angolans will invite us."

Declaration

Meanwhile, the Multi Party Conference, consisting of seven SWA/Namibian political parties, issued a declaration here of basic principles in which it expressed the hope that the February 16 Lusaka agreement between Angola and South Africa would enable a discussion on the wider issues of a Namibian/SWA settlement and peaceful co-existence among the states within the region.

The meeting today, which could be held in the region of Ruacana on the Angolan and SWA/Namibian border will have among its participants the head of the South African Army, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and Mr Dave Steward of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

South Africa will also be represented on the commission by Brigadier J M Dippenaar of the SADF, Mr Derek Auret of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Commandant W J le Crerar, Commandnt P D Uys and Commanddant L Kuhn — all of the SADF.

The meeting follows Thursday night's call for an urgent meeting of the commission by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in the light of information that 800 Swapo guerillas were moving into southern Angola in the wake of the start of South Africa's troop disengagment there and that 200 of them had already crossed into SWA/Namibia.

Mr Botha said this was a serious threat to the peace agreement.

The SWA Broadcasting Corporation reported yesterday that two Swapo guerillas had surrendered to South African security forces in Ovambo. They may have surrendered in terms of an amnesty operating.

At the meeting in Windhoek, the Multi Party Conference reaffirmed that Security Council Resolution 435 was at present the only concrete plan on independence.

They maintained: "Namibia is one and indivisible and belongs to all its people who are willing to stay here, build and defend it."

● Meanwhile, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia yesterday called for patience from South Africa on the issue of a reported Swapo incursion into SWA/Namibia.

In an interview with SATV News, he said Angola was determined that what had been agreed at the Lusaka meeting should be achieved.

President Kaunda asked the South African authorities to give Angolan authorities all their information about the movement of Swapo guerillas.

"All of us, working together, can, through persuasion and other measures that are non-confrontational, bring this under control. We must not resort to attack and counter-attack," he said.

President Kaunda said he had brought Angola and South Africa together because he regarded the South African Government's withdrawal from southern Angola as a very positive step and one which he would like to pursue to its logical conclusion.

● The Swapo President, Mr Sam Nujoma, consulted United Nations peacekeeping chief Brian Urquhart in New York last night and stressed Swapo's adherence to the Angolan disengagement process, Richard Walker reports.

Mr Nujoma rejected as "lies" and "cheap propaganda" South African charges that hundreds of guerillas were heading south across the border, but at the same time insisted that the truce covered only Angola.

"No ceasefire was being observed in Namibia," he emphasized.

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REBEL/REVEL

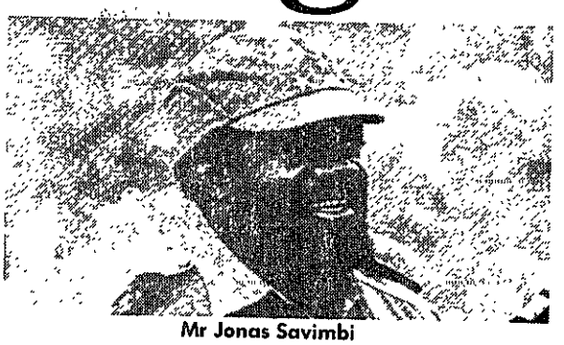
Unita kidnaps 77 foreigners

LISBON — Unita guerillas said yesterday they had kidnapped 77 Filipino, Portuguese and British workers from a diamond mining complex in the north-east of Angola on Thursday.

Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi said in a statement released here that his guerillas had overrun Kafunfo, captured 16 Britons, 15 Filipinos and 46 Portuguese. They had also seized an unspecified number of diamonds.

Mr Savimbi also said the peace talks underway between Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' MPLA-PT government and South Africa were "incomplete" without his group taking part.

He said Unita would "intensify its armed struggle" if it was left out of the process.



Mr Jonas Savimbi

He warned that any attempts by the Angolan army to free the latest hostages "would bring serious consequences for them (the foreigners)".

The Portuguese hostages would be freed unconditionally, though no date was given for their release.

No conditions were set down in the statement for the release of the Britons and Filipinos. Two of the Britons were identified as Dennis Clauson and Robin Kennedy. Four Filipinos were identified as: Courdo Hernandez, Ernesto Pasia, Albino Tabas and Rafael Drez.

A Unita spokesman here said the rebels were still holding 20 Czech technicians taken in a similar raid on another mining complex last year, plus an undetermined number of other foreign captives, including Japanese, Italian and Brazilian nationals.

Unita, which has fought the Angolan government since losing out in a civil war in 1976, last year said it would release the remaining Czech captives in exchange for six British mercenaries who fought against the MPLA-PT in the civil war and are now being held in government jails.

Angola and South Africa agreed last week to establish a joint commission to monitor a pull-out of South African troops from Angolan territory.

During the past year, Unita has opened up new battle fronts in the central and northern provinces. It has often threatened to attack the diamond mines in Lunda province.

Diplomats in Lisbon said there were about 90 British engineers and geologists working in the diamond area. Diamonds are Angola's most important source of foreign exchange after oil. — Reuter, Sapa-Associated Press.

WORLD WATCH

Pretoria's peace moves spell trouble for insurgents

LISBON

KEN POTTINGER looks at the future of two guerrilla groups

THE fate of two anti-Marxist guerrilla groups with links to South Africa is in the balance as a result of the moves to end the conflict between Pretoria and its Portuguese-speaking neighbours, Mozambique and Angola.

Spokesmen in Lisbon for the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) bravely assert that, despite detente, little has changed and the struggle will continue.

But Portuguese officials in Lisbon say the reality is quite different.

Nowhere is this truer than in Mozambique, where the resistance movement (known by its Portuguese acroynym of Renamo) is heavily dependent upon South Africa.

It was first set up by white-ruled Rhodesia's security forces before independence.

Frelimo claims it is now being used to destabilise Maputo's Marxist regime.

Renamo's actions have also affected other black-ruled neighbours like Malawi and Zimbabwe, whose road, rail and oil supply routes run through rebel areas in Mozambique.

Closer than ever

In Angola, it is claimed, South Africa has been largely sympathetic to Unita rebels led by Dr Jonas Savimbi, who has been operating through a broad piece of territory in eastern Angola.

The past few months of intense diplomatic activity, often with Lisbon as broker, have brought South Africa closer than ever before to a regional non-aggression pact with its ideologically opposite neighbours, and peace is in the air for the first time for nearly a decade.

For Renamo, peace could spell death.

Guerrilla activities are not



Dr JONAS SAVIMBI
Less support is likely

expected to cease overnight, mainly because the rebels have stockpiled sufficient supplies to stretch through the next two years.

But vital support that permits the rebels to train and transport themselves could become more problematical if the trend towards detente and rapprochement is maintained.

Until now Renamo has nominally been controlled by colonial expatriates, and the current secretary-general is Senhor Evo Fernandes.

Today, despite strong Frelimo government counter-offensives, the Renamo guerrillas have extensive influence.

They are present in force in three key central provinces — Sofala, Manica and Zambezia — and claim to be active in nine of the country's 10 provinces. The Mozambican army says it has surrounded upwards of 3 000 well-armed rebels in the Gorongoza area and is preparing for an onslaught to wipe them out.

Indeed, recent reports from Mozambique indicate that the winds of war may now be blowing in the government's favour.

And the amount of rebel counter-propaganda surfacing presently in Lisbon may be a measure of the pressures Renamo is facing.

On the Angolan front an end to a debilitating conflict seems to be in sight.

If the ceasefire between South Africa and Angola holds, conditions will be created for commitments by both sides to drop support for guerrilla groups.

South Africa will cut off backing for Unita and Luanda will end support for Swapo fighters in southern Angola seeking independence for South West Africa/Namibia.

In preparation for the day, Unita has been been busily shoring up support through Zambia and Zaire.

Areas of influence

It was seen as significant in Lisbon that a recent group of foreign journalists which visited Unita zones travelled via road links to Zaire.

But a mere halt in South African sympathy to Unita will not be nearly as devastating as a similar move against Renamo.

Unita is a tribally based group with acknowledged areas of influence in the south and centre of the country.

Most Angola watchers in Lisbon believe that, unlike Mozambique, the Luanda government will sooner or later be forced to a political settlement with Unita involving either a sharing of power or, more radically, a division of the country.

Talks with Angola hold — despite SA charges



Mr Pik Botha . . . described the meeting as "an emergency".

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The fragile disengagement exercise in southern Angola appears to be holding together, despite Pretoria's claims that Swapo is continuing to infiltrate insurgents into Namibia.

The United States seems to be pleased with the way the first meeting of the South African-Angolan Joint Monitoring Commission went at the weekend.

The two sides conducted "serious, businesslike talks" at the meeting at Cuvelai in southern Angola, according to a US State Department spokesman.

Another source said the meeting went "very well".

The US expects the disengagement exercise to be punctuated repeatedly by charges and counter-charges from both sides.

Washington is just hoping that none of the charges or reactions will be serious enough to derail the exercise.

So far the allegations of Swapo infiltration do not appear to pose a fatal threat.

The South African allegations are believed to have been prominent on the Cuvelai agenda.

The description by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, of the meeting as an emergency one called in response to the alleged Swapo infiltration, clashes with information here that it had been scheduled for Saturday before the allegations were made.

Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma has replied to the infiltration accusations by pointing out that the disengagement agreement signed in Lusaka by Angola and South Africa applied to southern Angola, not to Namibia, and by claiming that Swapo is operating from Namibian bases.

The first assertion is true, but there is considerable doubt among knowledgable observers here that there is much truth in the second.

Unita hostages face a march of several weeks

By Dirk de Villiers, The Star Bureau

LONDON — Unita is in no hurry to release the hostages it took in its raid on the Angolan diamond town of Kanfunfo last week, Mr Jeremiah Chitunda, Unita's foreign affairs secretary, has disclosed in London.

Mr Chitunda said that the main purpose of the attack was to deprive the MPLA of a vital economic source.

Unita also wanted access to the valuable diamonds for its own survival and programmes.

In Britain, Mr Stanley Ayres, father of geologist Mr Neil Ayres, one of the 16 British captives, said he was deeply concerned for his son's safety. He had heard no firm news since Neil was captured.

Neil worked for Mining and Technical Services Ltd, of London, and had been in Angola for about two years.

Only four of the 16 British captives have been named so far. Beside Neil Ayres they are Thomas Murphy, Dennis Clauson and Robin Kennedy.

Mr Chitunda said the hostages were now marching to Unita bases. The march would take several weeks, even months.

"The 77 prisoners will march in total safety — Unita will do all it can to ensure this. But their ultimate safety will depend in large measure on the behaviour of the Cubans and MPLA."

He said the British Government had not yet been in touch with him over the 16 British hostages.

"It is in the interests of the captives that they do so," he added. "Otherwise, Unita is in no hurry and is under no pressure. We will keep as many people as necessary as war prisoners."

Unita guerilla sources claimed in Lisbon that they shot down a helicopter last Friday, killing the Cuban crew. The helicopter was apparently destroyed as it flew over the column of hostages being marched southwards.

SA still cautious in SWA peace bid

CAPE Times 28/2/80 (5)

By MICHAEL ACOTT
Political Correspondent

THE South African Government last night rejected speculation that the public could expect peace and independence in SWA/Namibia by the end of this year.

Reports to this effect appeared in several newspapers yesterday after a report in a Washington newspaper which diplomatic sources said was inaccurate.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said last night that the reports did not represent the views of either the South African or United States governments.

It became clear yesterday that, far from working on the expectation of early or spectacular successes, South African diplomats are moving cautiously from one step to the next in building a peace plan which could collapse at any stage.

The major stumbling-blocks are the actions of two key elements not party to any of the agreements so far reached — Swapo and the Angolan resistance movement Unita.

The South African Government has stated repeatedly that the international SWA/Namibian settlement plan cannot be implemented without firm agreement on the departure of Cuban forces from Angola.

This, in turn, depends on a cessation of Swapo activities from Angola and on an end to the Angolan civil war through either the defeat of Unita or its inclusion in a coalition government in Luanda.

For the seven-month period from implementation of the settlement plan to pre-independence elections to produce an internationally-accepted Namibia this year, agreement would have to be reached on all outstanding factors within the next few months.

Mr Botha, said last week that a large-scale Swapo incursion into SWA/Namibia had been launched in contravention of the agreement reached with the Angolan Government in Lusaka.

After Mr Botha warned that this could jeopardize the whole peace effort, the Angolan Government renewed its undertaking to ensure that Swapo forces abide by the Lusaka agreement.

It has yet to be shown that Swapo, which is not a direct party to this agreement, is prepared to abide by it or that the Angolan Government is able to enforce it.

Most South African troops have already left southern Angola. A joint South African-Angolan force is to start monitoring the "disengagement" from March 1 in a month-long process designed to bring peace to the area.

● **PETER KENNY** reports from Windhoek that the multi-party conference (MPC), which is to draw up a permanent constitution for SWA/Namibia, aims to send a delegation to meet President Kenneth Kaunda of Zamiba and other representatives of "frontline" and Western states.

But a spokesman for the Zambian president's office said in Lusaka yesterday afternoon: "There is nothing firm yet."

● **Ceasefire: Swapo 'ready', page 2**

Guerillas pose two-way threat to Angola accord

Star 29/2/84

By Peter Honey, The Star Bureau

WINDHOEK — While the large-scale infiltration of Swapo guerillas has raised the tempo of the war in northern Namibia, the presence of Unita guerillas inside the disengagement zone of southern Angola is causing concern in the Angolan Government.

But the two-way guerilla threat to the tripartite peace initiative does not seem to have prevented the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) in southern Angola from continuing preparations for a staged withdrawal of South African troops from the region.

The JMC began its work at Cuvelai on Saturday and is believed to be planning to set up a joint South African-Angolan military force to police southern Angola.

This is expected to be operative from March 1.

There appears to have been a blackout on military news from northern Namibia. All information is being controlled by the Department of Foreign Affairs in a bid to co-ordinate military information with the progress of the JMC.

While it is believed that the incidence of fighting has risen sharply in northern Namibia in the past few weeks, no official military confirmation can be obtained.

The behaviour of the Swapo infiltrators is puzzling Windhoek because the guerillas seem less target-orientated and less willing to fight than in previous rainy-season thrusts.

It is also believed that no pattern has yet emerged to suggest that the Swapo incursion — said by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to involve 800 guerillas, 200 of whom had already entered the territory — is aimed at specifically penetrating the white farming regions south of the operational area.

There has been speculation that the guerillas have been sent to establish a military presence in the territory before the Angolan-South African agreement locks them inside Angola.

It is also understood that Angola has formally told South Africa of its fears that Unita guerillas are moving into the areas from which South African troops have withdrawn.

The region in southern Angola from which security forces are withdrawing is situated mainly between the Cunene and Cubango rivers while Unita's traditional area of control is to the east of this.

Questions are now being asked as to whether South Africa's commitment to peace in southern Angola is deep enough for it to cut off all possible logistical support for Unita and also to act against the rebel organisation.

Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi has been reported as saying that there will be no peace in southern Angola unless his organisation is in on the deal.

Similarly, there is believed to be an agreement that Angola should do all it can — even military action, if necessary — to restrict and restrain Swapo guerillas from entering the disengagement zone.

FNLA fighters winning private US cash for arms

By Stephen McQuillan

Guerillas operating in the tropical rain forests of northern Angola are winning support from the United States, it was disclosed yesterday.

A spokesman for the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) says it is receiving "help in a very positive way" from private organisations.

The support is seen as the most significant received since the US Congress adopted the Clark Amendment in 1976, forbidding Government assistance to the FNLA, which was backed by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The FNLA says it is pressuring the administration to overturn its policy and support the guerillas.

"The FNLA has established an official delegation in the States and has opened offices," a spokesman said.

The FNLA leader, Mr Holden Roberto, has been on a lobbying tour of the United States since September and is now in Florida, according to sources in Johannesburg.

"I recently spoke to Holden Roberto and he told me everything was progressing well. The things he said indicated the tour was a big success.

"It seems the delegation has established extensive support from the private sector. I understand the representatives have secured a large amount of cash to buy arms and ammunition."

"The general feeling now is that the FNLA position, which has been weak since 1976, has been totally revised and they are being allowed to operate openly in the US."

During the tour Mr Roberto has claimed African countries spent more than R12 million to lobby Congress to pass the Clark Amendment, to try prevent funds reaching organisations resisting Cuban soldiers in Africa.

The FNLA still claims to operate throughout the northern regions of Angola and within sight of the capital, Luanda.

In its largest single action last year, the FNLA said it ambushed a convoy and killed at least 30 soldiers.

Mr Roberto says he has an armed force of about 7 500, and could arm many more if he could buy weapons. But worse than the shortage of weapons was the lack of ammunition, he said.

The FNLA presence in the United States is seen as the group's most significant move since 1979 when Mr Roberto was asked to leave Zaire — his base after the Angolan civil war of 1975 — and went into exile in Paris.

destination. The alternative is to seek status through the Hydrographic Society.

THE ROLE OF THE HYDROGRAPHIC SOCIETY OF SOU

The Society has the form of a learned Socie promotion and advancement of hydrography in not restrict its membership and encourages in hydrography to join. It is an important its value as a meeting place for persons wi holding of symposia such as this it has foc of regional and national importance.

The Society does not have the attributes of It could choose to issue certificates of re to hydrographic surveying practitioners but all employers of surveyors and services did authority and judgement of the Society and persons. In taking such a course of action wise to adopt standards of competence lower the IHO-FIG. A disciplinary code would hav with clear justice.

The role that the Society must accept if it responsibility to promote and advance South is that of decision maker. The Society mus a profession to adopt and which route it wo surveyors take towards registered status.

This paper has not attempted to make choice opportunities and to emphasise the need for this has been done with sufficient convicti fraternity to take up the debate, the paper



Namibia package under fire

Gerald L'Ange
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Conservatives in America have launched a campaign to prevent United States recognition of the Angolan Government as part of a Namibian settlement package.

And they have brought the Angolan rebel movement Unita into the campaign. Unita has protested against being left out of the southern Angolan disengagement exercise initiated by South Africa and reportedly has said there can be no ceasefire without Unita's participation.

At a news conference held in Washington on Monday by the Conservative Caucus, the local Unita representative, Mr Marcos Samondo, was the main speaker.

He said Unita had been under the impression it would be involved in the disengagement exercise. Unita would continue with its military campaign in Angola regardless of the disengagement, Mr Marcos said.

The Conservative Caucus, which claims to have a membership of about 500 000, has appealed to conservatives to send telegrams to the White House protesting against any recognition of the Luanda government.

Conservatives have been angered by news reports here that as part of the Namibian settlement package being put together by the Reagan Administration the US will grant recognition of the Luanda government.

The State Department has not publicly denied that recognition of the MPLA government is part of the reported package.

Mr Samondo said it was unrealistic to expect the Cubans to be withdrawn from Angola if the South Africans pulled out because it was not the South Africans but Unita who posed the main threat to the Luanda government.

merely for pleasure. This definition embraces everyone attending this symposium but it does not help us discern the differences between us and the various conceptions we individually have of what being a professional means. We require, for reasons which will become clear in this paper, a more specific definition of profession and a clear appreciation of the depth and extent of our individual professionalism.

THE DEFINITION OF A PROFESSION

A number of writers have attempted to provide a single, complete definition of *profession* but it is a complex concept which does not yield its essential nature in a single phrase, however well chosen the words. Also it is necessary for us to decide what we want the term profession to mean. If the ordinary dictionary definition is in our eyes inadequate then we must accept the responsibility of giving authority to the definition that we choose to adopt and of submitting ourselves to that self-imposed authority.

The first step towards our definition of profession is to set down what we may term the essential attributes without any one of which a profession would seem to descend to the lesser condition of being a mere vocation. These attributes are:

The possession of skills which flow from a pool of knowledge itself based upon a body of consistent theory. The skills and knowledge that characterise a particular profession are gained by undertaking a structured and often prolonged programme of intelluctual education and practical training proven by tests of competency and sustained by a career-long study of developments in theory and techniques.

The possession of authority and judgement arises from the possession of special skills not available to nor understood by the layman client. The client engages the professional to diagnose problems and to select the most beneficial solutions. In so doing he accepts the authority and judgement of the professional man even though, as client, he cannot properly judge the calibre of the professional service he is receiving, other than by the reputation of the professional performing the service.

Possession of approval of the community. Having acquired skill and authority a profession will press to be given a monopoly in the particular service it is competent to provide, control over entry into

US refuses to argue with Swapo on Cubans

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The US State Department has declined to get involved in a public squabble with Swapo over the origin of the Namibian linkage issue.

The withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is tied to implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence under Security Council Resolution 435.

Swapo spokesmen say the Americans introduced the linkage concept, one of the chief stumbling blocks in Southern Africa.

But yesterday diplomats, who have been involved in America's peace initiative in Southern Africa, skirted around the question here.

They said privately the presence of Cuban troops in the region was simply a factor that had to be taken into account.

The South Africans had told the UN that it prevented them from implementing Resolution 435.

The Americans made no bones about the fact that they wanted the Cubans to get out.

And even the Angolans were looking for a way of getting rid of the Cuban troops, sources said.

One diplomat said those were the facts that mattered and not arguments about who said what first.

US originated vexing policy of Cuban linkage — Swapo

Star 31/10/84

By Andrew Walker,
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Top Swapo officials claimed at the United Nations yesterday that America and not South Africa had instigated the Cuban linkage issue which is being blamed for delaying Namibian independence.

The linkage of a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola to the implementation of Resolution 435, the UN blueprint for Namibian independence, was the greatest stumbling block in the Namibia issue, said the Swapo leaders.

Swapo secretary-general Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo and Mr Theo Ben Gurirab, head of the organisation's observer mission to the United Nations, told a Press conference that the linkage policy was designed by the Americans and supported by South Africa. This was an attempt by President Ronald Reagan's Administration to save the South Africans.

Mr Gurirab said: "When we negotiate eyeball to eyeball with Dr Chester Crocker (America's Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs), Americans do not deny that they claim parentage for linkage."

He claimed linkage had first been made an operational question in April 1981 by former American Deputy Secretary of State for African Affairs, Judge William Clark.

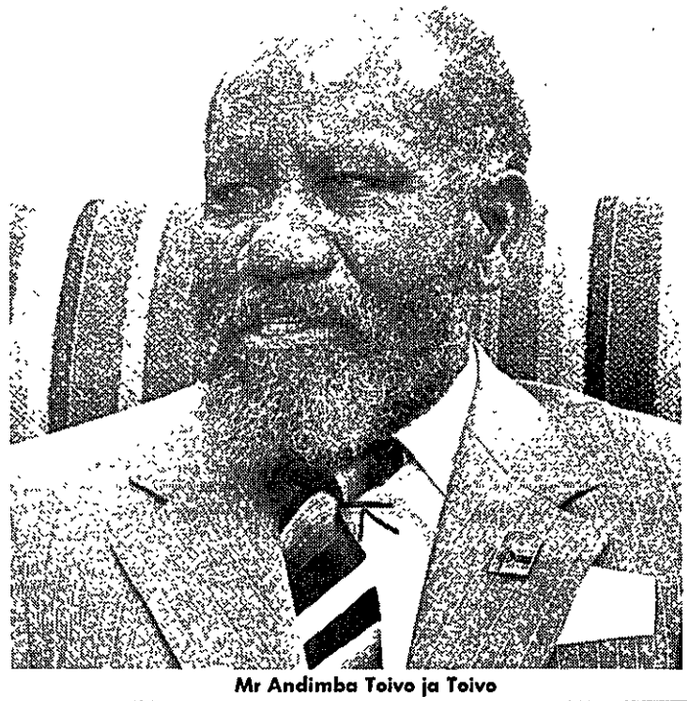
American officials have in the past denied initiating the linkage policy.

Mr Toivo told reporters: "All I can say is that the Reagan Administration wanted to save the racist South African regime.

"That is why it came up with the linkage of Cuban troops as a precondition for the decolonisation of Namibia."

He said Swapo was appalled by the stance taken by the Reagan Administration.

"As far as we and all the member states of the United Nations are concerned, the Cuban troops issue is an issue between two sovereign states, that is Cuba and Angola," he added.



Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo

NO DEVELOPMENTS

Mr Toivo said there had been no developments in attempts to decolonise Namibia.

Asked about South Africa's new constitution and its signing of security pacts with states including Angola and Mozambique, he said these did not represent any progress in Southern Africa.

"Whatever South Africa is doing today she is doing with encouragement from the Reagan Administration," he went on.

"Also, the recent tour of Mr Botha (a reference to State President Mr P W Botha's visit to European nations) has encouraged South Africa to go on with its bantustan system and with oppression of the majority of South Africans."

Move to fight Angola deal

ARGUS 1/3/84 (5)

Conservatives in US oppose recognition of Luand as part of SWA accord

Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Conservatives in America have launched a campaign to prevent United States recognition of the Angolan Government as part of an SWA/Namibia settlement package.

And they have brought the Angolan rebel movement Unita into the campaign.

The movement has protested against being left out of the southern Angolan disengagement exercise initiated by South Africa and is reported to have said there can be no ceasefire without Unita's participation

At a news conference held in Washington by the Conservative Caucus, the local Unita representative, Mr Marcos Samondo, was the main speaker.

He said Unita had been under the impression it would be involved in the disengagement exercise. Unita would continue its military campaign in Angola regardless of the disengagement, Mr Samondo said

However, he stopped short of saying Unita would try to disrupt the disengagement.

Mr Holden Roberto, leader of the other Angolan insurgent movement, FNLA, has also been involved in the campaign, even though his movement is considered to have nothing like the military strength or popular support of Unita.

Mr Roberto is reported to have met Senator Jesse Helms, a powerful conservative in Congress, to discuss the move to block recognition of the MPLA Government.

The Conservative Caucus, which claims to have a membership of about 500 000, has appealed to conservatives to send telegrams to the White House protesting against any recognition of the Luanda Government

The organisation claims that thousands of telegrams have already been sent.

Conservatives have been angered by news reports that as part of the SWA/Namibia settlement package being put together by the Reagan Administration, the United States will grant the recognition it has withheld from the Luanda Government since it seized power in 1975.

Other elements of the package are said to be the South African troop withdrawal from Angola, the withdrawal of the Cuban troops, South African agreement to the implementation of the SWA/Namibia independence process and the arrival in SWA/Namibia of a United Nations group to supervise the independence election.

The State Department has not publicly denied that recognition of the MPLA Government is part of the reported package.

Embassy

The Washington Times recently quoted a State Department official as saying discussions on opening an American embassy in Luanda were "in an advanced stage".

The newspaper reported that funds for establishing embassies in both Luanda and Windhoek had been set aside.

Senior Angolan Government officials are reported to have expressed optimism about the chances of early American recognition The machine immediately



The leader of the Poles reviewing PLO troops

French 'still held in Russia'

Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — More than 200 French soldiers are still being held in Soviet internment camps almost 40 years after the end of World War 2, says the French ex-servicemen's leader, Mr Jean Thuet.

Mr Thuet, a prisoner in a Soviet camp from 1945 to 1947, said the French detainees were German-speaking citizens from Alsace who were dragooned into the German Army and sent to the Russian Front.

NATIONALITY

"The Russians might have mistaken them for Germans at the outset," Mr Thuet said.

"But they certainly realised that they had French nationality at some later date.

"In order to avoid embarrassing explanations, however, the Soviet Government simply pretends that these men do not ex-

New tele callers

Argus Foreign S

TOKYO. — Obscene telephone chance to try out their heavy telephone answering device Japanese company.

Manna Company, which is tain town west of Tokyo, says inquiries from American and companies about its device f mous calls.

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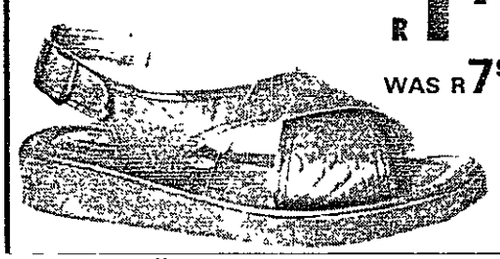
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SA-Angola troops to monitor border

Argus 1/3/84 (5)

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — About 300 South African troops are expected to join an equal number of their Angolan counterparts in an effort to put muscle into the fragile disengagement.

The joint troop deployment is remarkable if one considers that some of the soldiers might have been trying to kill one another during Operation Askari less than two months ago.

well-placed sources say about 10 top military and diplomatic personnel — comprising an equal number from the two countries — will sit at Cuvelai today to begin co-ordinating the military exercise.

Provisional plan

If all goes according to a provisional plan, the commission will stay in the small, war-scarred village — 200km north of the SWA/Namibian border — for a week.

It is then scheduled to move 50 km southwards to the tiny settlement of Mupa, and the Angolan Government will re-establish its sovereignty over the vacated region.

According to the tentative plan, the joint monitoring commission (JMC) is to spend a week at each town on its staged departure from Angola, until the commission's final meeting at Santa Clara, on the SWA/Namibian border.

The two other towns en route at which the commission is scheduled for a week's stay are Evale and N'Giva.

Proviso

However, informed sources emphasise that the staged withdrawal, and its timetable, are entirely dependent on agreement by the joint commission.

It is hoped that by the end of the month, the last South African soldiers will have left Angola and the MPLA Government will be able to re-establish its authority over the entire disengagement zone.

In the case of N'Giva and the town of Xangongo to the north-west, it would be the first re-occupation by the Angolan Government since August 1981.

According to agreements apparently reached at Lusaka two weeks ago, and again at Cuvelai at the weekend, the "joint monitoring teams" of South African and Angolan troops will be used to investigate — together, if possible — any reports or signs of breaches in the ceasefire.

Not permitted

All important decisions, however, will be made by the commission and, unless agreed to by both parties involved, no unilateral action will be permitted.

It is also reliably learnt that Unita and Swapo are not parties to the agreement.

"As regards Unita — that is something for the Angolans to settle by themselves," said a diplomat involved.

He pointed out that the entire withdrawal was dependent on the commission's being satisfied that no threat to either side remained in the area from which disengagement was scheduled.

Veil of silence

Meanwhile, a veil of silence on the situation in northern SWA/Namibia still exists, although unconfirmed reports reaching Windhoek suggest that security-force action against Swapo guerrillas inside the territory is continuing.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, recently announced that about 200 of a force of 800 Swapo guerrillas had entered the territory from southern Angola.

Swapo has denied this, and Angola has said that any Swapo movements since disengagement was meant to begin a month ago had come from regions outside MPLA control.

Diplomatic sources remain cautious about predicting a successful withdrawal, especially in the light of a few "false starts" in the peace process since the end of Operation Askari in mid-January.

It was still not certain by early today whether any of the American officials who have come to Windhoek would attend the sittings of the commission in southern Angola.

referring to Jews as "Hymies" and New York city as "Hymietown." After compounding the blunder by dithering for a couple of valuable days, Jackson finally apologised But the suspicion among Jewish voters that he is too sympathetic to Arab causes and goals cost him dearly in New Hampshire and will dog him throughout the rest of the campaign.

Whether Jackson's gaffe is fatal is uncertain. So is the question of whether "Mo" will remain loyal to Gary Hart. The problem with the Hart candidacy is that he comes from a small western state (Colorado) and that his campaign platform is disturbingly vague except for his opposition to US nuclear weapons in Europe and his assertion that it is time for a new generation to take over in Washington.

The race now switches to longer distances for greater numbers of delegates. It also shifts to the south where more conservative candidates, like Glenn, hope to get their bandwagons running. Between now and the end of March fully one-third of the convention delegates will be selected, and most pollsters agree a clear front-runner will be established.



Pik Botha . . . what to do about the 'wild cards'?

PEACE TALKS

Peace in March?

As Pretoria tried to tone down over-optimism for a speedy settlement in Namibia, the peace initiative itself gained momentum This week saw the beginning of the physical withdrawal of the last SA troops from southern Angola.

The target date for a final withdrawal, and possibly a formal ceasefire, is said to be March 15, or soon after. But the two combatant movements in the region, Unita and Swapo, are wild cards that could yet upset the peace plans

It is not clear what has happened to the force of 800 Swapo insurgents that Foreign Minister Pik Botha said was trying to infiltrate Namibia. There are indications that they intend to try to establish a pre-settlement presence within that country rather than to launch an offensive in the northern farming areas.

So far those who have crossed the border have avoided contact with the security forces. Their presence in the south of Angola, however, has not deterred the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) from meeting in Cuvelai, where a joint force of SA and MPLA soldiers started policing the area on Thursday. The agreement is that the MPLA will monitor the northern areas and SA the south. The headquarters of the JMC will gradually be moved southward from Cuvelai to the Namibian border as the withdrawal progresses.

The question remains, to what extent is the MPLA prepared, and able, to control Swapo? Unita, for its part, has made it

THOUSANDS FLOOD IN

There has been a heavy, mostly illegal, influx into SA of black work-seekers from five neighbouring countries. Much of the movement has resulted from the drought and from poor economic conditions in the states.

Official figures show that a total of 28 258 people from Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique crossed into SA between February 1 1983 and January 31 this year. The true figure — to which would have to be added those people who have managed to evade the authorities — is probably much greater.

Of the 28 258, government is aware of 23 465 who were repatriated The rest, numbering 4 793, have been granted exemptions to work in various parts of SA

The largest influx (22 073) came from Mozambique, where a combination of drought, insurgency and economic depression is ravaging the country. Of those, 20 141 were repatriated. Official figures show 3 749 mainly illegal work-seekers arrived from Zimbabwe.

Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland accounted for a combined 2 436 work-seekers. Of that figure, 912 arrived illegally and were repatriated.



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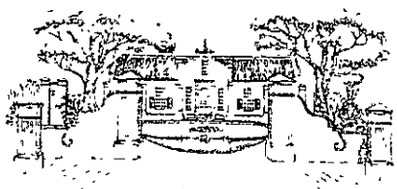

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clear that it does not view the SA/Angola peace talks as being in its interests. Unita leader Jonas Savimbi said this week that the MPLA and the Cubans took advantage of the easing of relations with SA to launch a major offensive against his movement in eastern Angola.

In the light of that offensive, he said "Unita will not co-operate in the ceasefire process in any part of our country where we have forces. Unita hopes the parties involved in the negotiations with the MPLA will understand our position since the survival and existence of Unita cannot depend on regional ceasefires supplemented by offensives in other regions"

In a statement on Wednesday, Savimbi warned the British government not to allow any more technicians to be sent to Angola after Unita captured 16 Britons in the diamond town of Cafunfo in northeast Angola. Unita will continue to capture foreign nationals working for the MPLA government, he said.

Meanwhile, the draft of a proposed non-aggression pact between SA and Mozambique was this week approved by a joint session of the Frelimo leadership and government. It is expected that the pact will be signed by President Samora Machel and SA PM P W Botha in the near future — probably in Cape Town

In another development, Botswana Minister of External Affairs Archie Mogwe and Minister of Mineral Resources and Water Affairs K T Chiepe, met Pik Botha and Minister of Industries, Commerce and Tourism Dawie de Villiers.

It is clear that the American plan for peace in the region has the full backing of Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and other frontline states. At the news of the Swapo infiltration, Kaunda in an almost emotional interview with the SABC, appealed to the SA government to "have patience" and not to act on its own.

In Namibia itself the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) is preparing to send a delegation to neighbouring states and will probably be received by Kaunda at least The MPC has also adopted a resolution calling for the release of Swapo founder members held on Robben Island. It is seen as significant that the conservative white National Party of SWA agreed to sign this statement.

Meanwhile, the internal wing of Swapo is trying to revive its organisation and has applied to have a public meeting on March 11 in Katutura township in Windhoek.

US PRESIDENTIAL RACE

SA a minor issue

SA issues are playing a very minor role in the campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination in the US. They barely receive a mention from the eight candidates

In American politics, foreign issues take

Former foes combine

Fragile border peace as SA troops withdraw

By Peter Honey, The Star Bureau

Windhoek

The real withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola is scheduled to begin today.

In what could be one of the most remarkable tactical manoeuvres in the undeclared war, about 300 South African troops will join an equal number of their Angolan counterparts in an effort to put muscle into the fragile disengagement.

The joint troop deployment is remarkable because some of the soldiers could have been trying to kill each other during Operation Askari less than two months ago.

Well-placed sources say that about 10 top military and diplomatic personnel — an equal number from each of the two countries — will sit at Cuvelai today to begin co-ordinating the military exercise.

If all goes according to a provisional plan, the commission will stay in the small, war-scarred village — 200 km north of the Namibian border — for a week.

It is then scheduled to move 50 km south to the tiny settlement of Mupa and the Angolan Government will re-establish its sovereignty over the vacated region.

According to the tentative plan, the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) is to spend a week at both Evale and N'Giva during its staged departure from Angola and its final meeting will be at Santa Clara, on the Namibian border.

But informed sources stress that the staged withdrawal and its timetable are entirely dependant on agreement by the JMC.

It is hoped that, by the end of the month, the last South African soldiers will have left Angola and the MPLA Government will be able to re-establish its authority over the entire disengagement zone.

According to agreements apparently reached in Lusaka two weeks ago and again at Cuvelai at the weekend, the "joint monitoring teams" of South African and Angolan troops will be used to investigate — together if possible — any reports or signs of breaches of the ceasefire.

But all important decisions will be made by the commission and, unless agreed by both parties, no unilateral action will be permitted.

It is also understood that neither Unita nor Swapo is party to the agreement.

No threat

A concerned diplomat pointed out that the entire withdrawal was dependent on the commission being satisfied that no threat to either side remained in the area from which disengagement was scheduled.

But there has been no report on the situation in northern Namibia although unconfirmed reports reaching Windhoek suggest that Security Force action against Swapo guerillas inside the territory is continuing.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, recently announced that about 200 of a force of 800 Swapo guerillas had entered the territory from southern Angola.

Swapo has denied this and Angola has said that any Swapo movements made since disengagement were meant to begin a month ago came from regions outside MPLA control.

Diplomatic sources remain cautious about predicting a successful withdrawal, especially in the light of few "false starts" in the peace process since the end of Operation Askari in mid-January.

SA has gained 'enormous credibility'

World hails Toivo release

By Peter Sullivan, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's sudden decision to release Swapo founder Mr Herman Toivo Ja Toivo has had a huge impact inside the country and abroad, with diplomatic and political observers labelling the move "brilliant".

"South Africa has played its cards perfectly," a diplomat said. "The move, its implications, its timing, the acceptance of its inevitability — South Africa has gained enormous credibility."

Mr Toivo's release is seen by many observers as an attempt to throw a cat among the Swapo pigeons as there has been much speculation about a leadership struggle developing between him and Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma.

This has been discounted as "wishful thinking" and the major considerations in the decision as to when to release him were more concerned with the question of how much it would influence the outside world's perception of South Africa's sincerity in the latest diplomatic forays.

While a muddying of the Swapo waters would be a useful spin-off, this was certainly not the main aim.

Releasing Mr Toivo has shown that the Angolan peace initiative is tied directly to an attempt at an international settlement for Namibia.

His release was timed to give the maximum impact at a time when South Africa's sincerity in moves towards a settlement in Namibia was in the balance.

The announcement of the release came after the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) had called for it and was made by the Administrator-General of Namibia to give them both more credibility in the territory.

All parties knew that Mr Toivo would have to be released at some stage and the sooner it was done the better it would look and the more effect it would have.

At one time Mr Toivo worked as a garage attendant in Cape Town, just around the corner from Parliament.

He was sentenced in 1968 for terrorist activities but always maintained that the court had no right to judge him as he was a Namibian and South Africa had no jurisdiction over the territory.

In 1958 he was in trouble with the authorities for sending tape-recordings to the United Nations, protesting against "the oppression of the Owambos".

He was given 72 hours to leave the Cape by the then Chief Native Commissioner for South West Africa, Mr B Blignaut, and lost his job because of the tape-recording incident.

The decision to free him now is seen as a by-product of last month's Lusaka agreement between South Africa, America and Angola.

It caught diplomats in Cape Town and around the world completely by surprise, although it was expected to happen at some time.



Face to face ... the South African and Mozambican delegations in Cape Town yesterday. The Africans were led by Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha (arrowed left) and the Mozambicans Minister of Economic Affairs, General Jacinto Veloso (arrowed right).

It's a deal (contd)

tion, saying this was not material to the discussion or the agreement which was merely that the territory of his country would not serve as a base for aggression against South Africa, and vice versa

Asked about South African properties in Mocambique, he said: "The question of properties of South Africans who for some time have been unable to use these properties for holiday homes will be solved by the governments of Mozambique and South Africa."

Asked how the agreement would affect his relations with the Soviet Union, he said Mozambique had relations with all countries of the world regardless of their orientation or their political beliefs.

Asked to react to charges that he had "sold out" the ANC in its struggle against the South African Government, he said not aware of these charg hear them for the firs now".

Mr Botha was asked the agreement was a t nowlegement that South supported the Mozambi sistant Movement, Rena replied that neither gove had made any admission

"We did not try to much we differed or to one another," he said an that the positive spirit gotiations had enabled to be made.

Lebanese Syrians

...usberg ...tor the featured ...s" from

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crowd roared with delight," she said.

"Four men were standing quite close by. They made no attempt to stop the animals.

"Mr Lausberg carried me out of the ring and he was beaten up."

... of St Mark's, ...t Six, dies at 60

...ter ...ey Gray, ...linkerkie" Anglican ...ict Six — a long ill-

who was been rec-

tor of St Mark's since 1977.

He was ordained at St George's Cathedral in 1970 by the present Archbishop, the Most Rev Philip Russell, and served in Malmesbury, Kensington and District Six.

He was chaplain to former Archbishop Robert Selby Taylor in the 1970s and served as chaplain to the Cape Corps and to prisoners on Robben Island.

While he was at St Mark's it was involved in a controversy with the Government over the Anglican Church's refusal to sell the property. The matter has not yet been resolved.

Father Gray leaves two sisters and a brother.

A requiem Mass led by Archbishop Russell will be held at St Mark's at 10.30am on Wednesday.

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of a timetable for a Cuban withdrawal.

The next step is reported to be another tripartite meeting between South Africa, Angola and the US at an unnamed venue on a date still to be disclosed.

Ground-rules

This will follow the Lusaka accord, where the ground-rules for the Joint Monitoring Commission operating in southern Angola were determined.

On the Mozambique front, the successful negotiations at the weekend simply needed a formal signing ceremony to bring them into effect. This is likely before the end of the month, with Botswana and Malawi cited as the two most likely venues.

Malawi bisects Mozambique territory and it would have an interest in the formalising of a non-aggression treaty.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night that a number of other parties complicated the SWA/Namibian peace effort.

Red threat

"There is a far more direct involvement of the Soviet Union. There is the presence of the Cubans," he said.

Reports from Washington suggest another tripartite meeting is on the cards, that it could happen soon and that a timetable for a Cuban withdrawal would be the main item on the agenda.

Meanwhile the activities of the Joint Monitoring Commission will continue in southern Angola and diplomats still believe a final settlement is unlikely without some form of agreement between Unita and MPLA

Policeman denies jail torture

East London Bureau

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — A Ciskeian police officer today denied he had tortured a member of the Sebe family.

Warrant Officer H Tsewu described as "lies" allegations that he had twice placed a tube over Mr Colin Sebe's head and tortured him with it.

Warrant Officer Tsewu said that to his knowledge "it (torture) never happens in Ciskei".

He was testifying in the Supreme Court in a trial within a trial to judge the admissibility of statements made by Mr K Sebe, Mr T Sebe and Mr C Sebe.

The three, together with Mr M Xaba and Mr N Mlotana, have pleaded not guilty to charges of terrorism, intimidation and attempted murder.

"NEVER HAPPENS"

The trial is a sequel to a shooting incident at the house of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Brown Pityi in July 1983.

Warrant Officer Tsewu said: "I didn't see anyone doing anything to him. I've never heard of a tube being used."

He said he had read of allegations of detainees being tortured but "to my knowledge it never happens in Ciskei".

He also denied that he had tortured Mr Sebe at Phunzana police cells.

(Proceeding.)

Three other unions, often described as "community-linked" or general, with no clear industrial demarcation, have withdrawn from the feasibility committee set up last year to discuss the structure of the federation.

This emerged from the latest round of union talks held in Johannesburg at the weekend.

In what might prove to be the most decisive step yet towards trade union unity, the seven unions have committed themselves to a federation "of industrially demarcated unions with the eventual aim of having one union for one industry".

WITHDREW

The seven unions are the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union, the Federation of South African Trade Unions, the Food and Canning, and African Food and Canning Workers' Unions, the General Workers' Union, the Council of Unions of South Africa, and the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association.

The South African Allied Workers' Union, the Municipal and General Workers' Union, and the General and Allied Workers' Union withdrew from the meeting after the decision to form an industrially based federation had been adopted.

In a statement issued after the meeting, the feasibility committee said "little progress" in forming a federation had been achieved.

This was because some unions, not demarcated along industrial lines, were not "ready or able to join a federation".

City attorney loses appeal

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The Appeal Court has refused with costs an application by Roger Jeffrey Asherson of Sea Point against a judgment that brought into operation a prison sentence of 12 months for non-compliance with a restraint order.

On September 30 1982 Asherson, an attorney, was restrained from harassing, interfering or communicating with either Mr John Ian Simon, a Cape Town attorney, or Mrs Jeanette Helena Margaretha Traverso, a Cape Town advocate, or their families or any member of Mr Simon's firm.

On October 22 1982 he was committed to prison for 12 months for non-compliance with the order, but the committal was conditionally suspended for 12 months.

INDEFINITE

On July 26 1983 the imprisonment was indefinitely suspended on certain conditions.

On December 15 1983 in the Cape Supreme Court Miss Justice L van den Heever ordered that the 12 months imposed on October 22 1982 come into operation.

The prison authorities were requested to ensure that Asherson was not released from imprisonment until his sentence had been served. — Sapa.

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African heads 'ready to give peace chance'

Cape Times 5/3/84

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night that he hoped the recent peace initiatives between Pretoria and Maputo would encourage the Angolan Government, SWA/Namibian leaders and the frontline States to play their part in bringing peace and stability to Southern Africa.

In an interview on SATV, he said there were signs that Southern African leaders were ready to play a positive role, Sapa reports.

"Despite the immense ideological and political differences, there is this emerging pattern which is firming up, which is crystallizing, of a resolve of the leaders of Southern Africa to get down to the first priority of the region — that is peace and stability — and I do not think that events in Angola, which may take long to settle, will influence this almost irresistible desire on the part of the leaders to give peace a chance."

Asked how the Mozambique initiative would influence the Angolan-South African situation, he said:

"I would hope that it would have a spillover effect" and that it would serve "as an encouragement for the Angolan Government, for the leaders of South West Africa, for the leaders of the frontline States all to play their part to try and bring about peace and stability".



Mr Pik Botha

But it was necessary to bear in mind that in the case of Angola and SWA/Namibia, there were quite a number of "additional parties which complicate the peace effort very much".

"There is a far more direct involvement of the Soviet Union, there is the presence of the Cubans."

Asked about the suddenness in the movement, over the past two months, leading up to an agreement with Mozambique, Mr Botha said:

"It hasn't come about all of a sudden. This has taken years to put together. There were various attempts in the past. There were meetings stretching now over two years, and every time the two governments were moving towards an accord, something happened — like the Pretoria bomb. We could have been close if it hadn't been for that Pretoria bomb explosion almost a year ago."

He added: "We could not go ahead, under circumstances where it was obvious that the African National Congress had a fairly free reign and were allowed the use of the Mozambique territory fairly freely to perpetrate, plan, execute, and implement the sabotage and violence that they they did in South Africa."

● Our Correspondent in Johannesburg reports that the South African Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, is to arrive in Maputo today for consultations with the Mozambique Government on the next round of talks affecting the future of Cabora Bassa hydro-electric scheme.

The talks are scheduled for March 13.

Swapo activities not affecting withdrawal

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The South African military withdrawal from southern Angola is proceeding on schedule, in spite of the intensification of military conflict in SWA/Namibia to the south, it is reliably learnt.

"At this stage there is no reason to believe the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) will not be able to move southwards from Cuvelai later this week," an informed source said today.

The withdrawal began officially on Thursday at the village of Cuvelai, about 200km north of the SWA/Namibian border.

Gradual move

According to a provisional plan, the JMC is to spend a week at the battle-scarred town and move southwards in week-long stages to Mupa, Evale and N'giva and finally the border town of Santa Clara.

Should nothing happen to disrupt the withdrawal, the last South African soldiers will be out of Angola by the end of the month and the Angolan Government will have regained sovereignty over the entire disengagement zone.

Meanwhile, the infiltration from Angola of about 800 Swapo guerrillas appears to be continuing.

Towns attacked

Two garrison towns in northern SWA/Namibia, Opuwo in Kaokoland to the west and Ondangwa in central Owambo, have been attacked by Swapo guerrillas and at least nine insurgents were reported in the white farming area of Tsumeb last week.

The Opuwo attack at the weekend suggests a pincer-like movement of the guerrillas, moving southwards to the east and west of the Etosha National Park.

Sporadic rains in the western region of Kaokoland, and more regular showers in the Tsumeb farming district and the Owambo region to the north are reported to be providing adequate water and ground cover for the camouflaged insurgents.

There is reason to suspect that Swapo's primary aim in this year's mass infiltration is to inject guerrillas into the territory to enable them to wage the war before the disengagement cuts them off.

People flee as Swapo hits village with mortars

5/3/84

Argus Foreign Service

WINDHOEK — A mortar bomb struck a house in the small town of Opuwo in SWA/Namibia's north-western Kaokoland region during a Swapo guerrilla attack apparently aimed at a military base.

No one was injured in the home of Mr Willem van der Merwe, a businessman, but the mortar passed through the roof and caused extensive damage to two rooms.

A neighbour said today that security forces had shot one of the guerrillas dead during follow-up operations on Saturday.

LATE ATTACK

The attack began late on Friday night. About five mortars fell in and around the town, mainly near the military base and fuel storage depot.

A mortar landed on a small house in the black township but failed to explode. It was later defused.

A white resident said people had fled their houses, and one family had sheltered under a tree.

THE MOUNTAINS

The attack appeared to have come from the mountains on the outskirts of Opuwo, the capital of the mountainous and arid Kaokoland.

The air base of Ondangwa in Owambo was mortared 10 days ago but there was no damage.

● Security forces in Tsumeb are continuing [illegible]

Long queues for food in land of buried treasure

(5) Star 6/3/84

Pierre Haski, a leading French journalist and expert on African affairs, sizes up Angola's economic situation in this report from Luanda.

"The economy supports the war: the war supports the economy," the national radio reminds Angolans every day.

Looking at the smartly turned-out army, with its brand new Soviet equipment, and the shabbily dressed civilians queueing for scanty food supplies, it becomes clear that this is more than a slogan.

"First we mark off what defence needs, then we share out what is left between the other sectors." This is how Planning Minister Lopo do Nascimento explains the drafting of the Angolan national budget.

Officially, Angola spends 29 percent of its budget on defence. But food for the troops comes under the Trade Ministry, fuel comes under the Oil Minister ... the list is a long one.

Diplomatic circles in Luanda reckon 70 percent of Angolan resources are swallowed by the war effort, an enormous burden that no economy could stand for long.

"It is difficult to think too much about planning when a war is on," the Planning Minister sighed.

Before independence, Angolan industry and agriculture were run by the Portuguese. Now, the few qualified Angolan technicians are in the army.

Angola is an economist's nightmare. The country is one of the richest in Africa, with oil, diamonds, iron, copper, uranium and 30 other metals and minerals lying beneath its fertile soil.

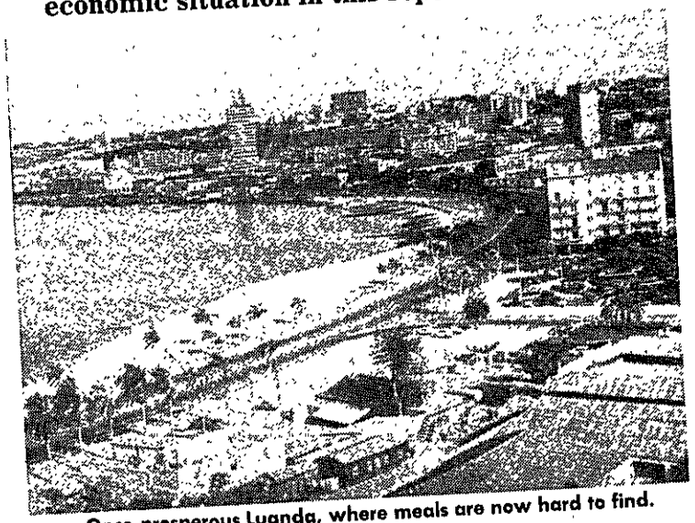
With the country's varied climate and land, virtually anything grows easily — even strawberries in the south.

So why do people spend so long in queues for food that they have no time to work? And why do so many — one I met was a qualified agronomist — accept as part of their salary a full square meal a day in a Luanda restaurant?

"When we came to power, we had no idea how to run a country," one Minister admitted candidly. "In the first revolutionary fervour we spent money like water. We had plenty more with our oil, we thought.

"Why manufacture when we could afford to import, we thought. And the public settled down to enjoy the fruits of independence without working."

One major disaster area is coffee. Before independence, Angola was the fourth-biggest world producer, with 220 000 tons. Last year it barely managed 20 000 tons.



Once-prosperous Luanda, where meals are now hard to find.

The reason, apart from the departure of the Portuguese who knew the market inside out, is that labourers, often forced to move north to the plantations, have now moved to the south, leaving the coffee trees to run wild. In a bid to save the situation, about 520 ha of coffee trees have been handed out to small farmers.

Mr Do Nascimento easily admits what has gone wrong with the country's food production.

Until three years ago, all government money went on equipping state farms, with nothing for the peasants who produce 70 percent of the country's food.

When it was no longer worth their while, the farmers stopped producing a surplus, growing just enough for their families. The result is that getting a meal in Luanda, which is overflowing with refugees from the south, is a major operation.

But food is to be had in Luanda — at a price. Flourishing black markets operate in the shanty towns on the edge of the capital, with a bottle of whisky fetching 10 000 kwanzas — two-thirds the monthly salary of an office worker. (The official exchange rate is 30 kwanzas to the US dollar, but the black market has little use for the local currency, and a dollar can easily fetch 1 000 kwanzas).

The worst offenders in the black market are the "Zaireans." These are the tens of thousands of Angolans who returned after as much as 20 years' exile in Zaire, an excellent school in sharp dealing.

The Government is only too conscious of the problem: "We need monetary, financial, political and repressive moves," the Planning Minister told me.

The authorities have started with the easiest: heavy-handed clearing up of the black markets.

On February 18, security forces surrounded a suburban "Zairean" market and razed it to the ground after seizing vast stores of contraband goods.

Smuggling and fraud operate on a huge scale in the diamond industry and cost the Government a fortune each year.

At independence, official production was 2,4 million carats: last year it was under a million carats.

A team of Angolan airline pilots was arrested recently for diamond smuggling along with several dozen state officials.

But everyone knew this was just the tip of the iceberg.

The only sector where business is good is oil. Americans, French, Italians and Belgians have nothing but praise for the Angolan oil authorities and see a big future for the industry.

The oil industry is treated with almost as much respect as the army — and with good reason, for oil accounts for 91 percent of Angola's foreign currency earnings.

The biggest operators are Gulf Oil who have become over the years the Luanda Government's best ambassador in Washington.

The Gulf royalties go straight to Moscow to pay for arms and to Havana to pay for troops. Neither the Angolans nor the Americans seem to find this strange. In fact, 70 percent of Angolan trade is with the West.

Asked whom he preferred to deal with, the marxist Planning Minister replied without hesitation: " Ah, the Americans. It's far easier to do business with them."

The man in the middle

BUT I'M HORING TO

Associated

5 women, 4 children among hostages

Star 6/3/84

By Joao Santa Rita

Five women and four young children were among the 44 Portuguese hostages kidnapped by Unita rebels in the Angolan diamond mining town of Kafundo last month, Portuguese diplomatic sources said today.

They were kidnapped with 16 Britons and 15 Filipinos.

NATIONALS

The sources said the Portuguese Ggovernment now had all the names of those nationals taken hostage.

"Unita said they had taken 46 Portuguese out of a total of 77 hostages. However we have established that there were 44 Portuguese nationals," the sources said.

There was however concern over the exact number of hostages kidnapped. "We know that two Filipinos and a Portuguese died during the attack. Another Portuguese is said to have died 'in an accident'," the sources said.

WOMEN

The women hostages are Mrs Maria de Lurdes Rodrigues, Mrs Afa Maria Luisa, Mrs Maria Matos da Costa, Mrs Maria Julia Santos and Mrs Maria Idilia Felgueiras. They are the wives of Portuguese technicians, who were also kidnapped.

The children have been named as Vanessa Rodrigues (5), Maria Sofia Santos (6), Telmo Jose Felgueiras (4) and Monica Matos da Costa, whose age is unknown.

They face several weeks of forced marches through the bush before reaching Unita controlled areas.

"We have been told it could take months before they reach areas under total Unita control," the sources said.

Five Portuguese and a Brazilian couple managed to escape from the town during the attack. Previously the British ambassador to Luanda had said that four Britons had escaped from the town during the attack.

KDM 7/3/84

Angola, Mozambique tell of harsh realities

ADDIS ABABA. — The 21-year struggle of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) against South Africa entered a new era this week when, with unusual candour, Mozambique and Angola explained the harsh realities that led them to negotiate with Pretoria.

A week-long OAU ministerial session approved a resolution late last night expressing "sympathy and deep understanding" for the two states, both targets of attack by South African troops as well as by Pretoria-backed rebel movements.

Explaining to other Ministers why they held separate talks with Pretoria earlier this year, representatives of Mozambique and Angola complained bitterly about the failure of the OAU to support them in defending themselves and supporting nationalist groups in South West Africa and South Africa.

"The Council (of Ministers) was told that the Angolan people felt abandoned," Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Paulo Jorge was reported as telling the session.

"In the current circumstances, it is difficult for the Angolan people to fight alone. In fighting alone Angola has suffered many losses. Thousands of men have been mutilated, handicapped for life and uprooted. Material damage is colossal", he said.

Mozambique, Angola and other so-called Frontline States back black nationalist movements fighting in SWA and South Africa. The OAU session admitted that for many reasons, "the liberation movements are going through a difficult period."

Mozambican Foreign Minister, Mr Joaquim Chissano, told the session that South Africa frequently attacked his country on the pretext of hitting at ANC bases and that Pretoria-backed Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) rebels were fighting the Maputo government.

Faced with this situation "it became necessary, even imperative, to find a good-neighbour formula with South Africa", said Mr Chissano. But he pledged to continue to give the ANC moral, political and diplomatic support.

The ANC's United Nations representative, Mr Johnny Makatini, was gloomily realistic.

"What else could Mozambique do?" he asked.

Mr Makatini was bitterly opposed to attempts by some delegates to have Maputo and Luanda's talks with Pretoria described as a "victory for African diplomacy" in a draft resolution which would have "fully supported diplomatic efforts" by both governments to bring about a peaceful solution to Southern Africa's problems.

"Victory? Victory for whom? Is this what the OAU has fought for for 20 years? No it has fought for the total isolation of South Africa," he said last week.

The session reiterated its support for the ANC and for Swapo which is fighting for the independence of SWA, but was reminded that support so far was little more than lip service. — Sapa-Reuter.

Cubans still key to Namibia peace

Star 5 7/3/84

By John D'Oliveira,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The withdrawal of between 20 000 and 30 000 Cuban troops from Angola remains central to a Namibian settlement.

While Western diplomats believe the military disengagement agreement between South Africa and Angola has considerably improved the prospects of a settlement, it is clear they do not see a settlement as a foregone conclusion.

Diplomatic sources stressed that the full extent of the Lusaka agreement was the South African undertaking to withdraw its troops from Southern Angola and the Angolan Government's promise to restrain Swapo.

There was no discussion of the Unita rebel movement in Angola or of South Africa's alleged links with the organisation. Nor was there discussion of the presence of the Cuban troops in Angola.

However, diplomats believe it was tacitly agreed that the de facto ceasefire meant that the various parties involved could now give attention to the so-called "bilateral issues" that were holding up a settlement.

There was also tacit agreement at Lusaka that the continued war was no solution to the Namibian issue, that the military "disengagement" had to be seen as a beginning and that the outstanding political issues — the most important being the presence of the Cuban troops — now had to be worked out.

Once the Cuban troops issue had been resolved, South Africa would be in a position to press ahead with the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435.

Many Western observers now believe that South Africa has finally accepted the need for Namibian settlement.

They believe South Africa is finding the cost of the war in Namibia an increasing burden and that it is finding Angolan troops a more effective fighting force every time it engages them.

'No doubt' of SA aid to resistance fighters

ARGUS 8/3/84

By HUGH ROBERTON, Staff Writer

THERE was no doubt that the South African Government had assisted Unita over the years and on occasion perhaps directly attacked Angolan military and economic targets.

This was part of a deliberate policy of destabilisation, according to the professor of political science at the Rand Afrikaans University, Professor Deon Geldenhuys.

He was speaking at the golden jubilee conference of the South African Institute of International Affairs in Cape Town yesterday.

He said that it was also widely believed that the Mozambique rebel movement, MNR, had also been backed by the South African Government and that there had been indications of South African complicity in sabotage raids in Zimbabwe.

Promote profound changes

The purpose of the destabilisation strategy, he said, was not necessarily to topple the governments of those countries but to "promote or force profound political changes in the target state.".

There was little doubt that the rapprochement between South Africa and Angola and Mozambique in recent weeks had been influenced by South Africa's use of military and economic pressure, though American peace inititatives and a crippling drought had also played a role.

Perceived threats from surrounding countries were the principal factor behind South Africa's decision to resort to an offensive regional strategy, commonly labelled as "destabilisation" by its critics, Professor Geldenhuys said.

"The extension of a hawkish strategy from Angola to some of South Africa's other neighbours is based on the premise that the ANC poses an immediate threat to the Republic's security and calls for tough counter-measures," Professor Geldenhuys said.

"In terms of the hawkish strategy, diplomatic means are either insufficient or inappropriate in dealing with surrounding states threatening South Africa's security. Diplomacy has to be reinforced or even replaced by economic and military muscle.".

There had been charges of destabilisation and denials, Professor Geldenhuys said.

"There can be little doubt, however, that Angola has had to pay a heavy price for its continued support for Swapo.

"South Africa's use of economic pressure against Lesotho over an ANC presence there is well-known.

"Similar pressures may well have been applied against Mozambique. And then there is the Mozambique resistance movement, the MNR, widely believed to be backed by South Africa.".

There could be no doubt about South Africa's sympathies for the MNR, Professor Geldenhuys said. And South Africa's recent role in helping to secure to release of 12 Soviet prisoners held by the MNR "proved that it was not without influence over the rebel movement.".

"Very aggressive" policy

● South Africa's "very aggressive" policy towards neighbouring states was forcing member countries of the Southern African Development Co-lordination Conference (SADCC) to transfer funds originally earmarked for SADCC projects to security projects instead, the Director of Zimbabwe's Institute for International Affairs, Mr B V Mancama, said at the conference yesterday.

He said that the hawkish South African policy was one of the primary reasons why progress in the SADCC had been slower than expected.

The SADCC was established by the "front line" states as a means of reducing their economic dependence on powerful outside economies, among them South Africa's.

Mr Mancama said the SADCC looked forward to eventual South African membership of the organisation once the country had brought about the necessary changes to its domestic policies and said it was hard to understand why there appeared to be apprehension in South Africa about the SADCC.

"South Africa is, and will remain, the most powerful economic entity in the region and it will be a while yet before development in the SADCC group offers a serious challenge to this position.

"There is little doubt that economic development and progress in the region would greatly benefit from South Africa's contribution if she were to join the SADCC."

The means of economic pressure ranged from the manipulation of exports to "target" states, to cutting back on the importation of labour. Military pressure could likewise take various forms, ranging from sabotage of strategic or symbolic targets and material support for a rebel movement in a target state.

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● Thinking of electrical repairs or installations?
● Checked your funeral insurance lately?
● Ever wondered about how the building society calculates your mortgage repayments?

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DO you think people are too sentimental about domestic animals? If you would like to comment on this or any other issue phone Teleletters on 24-2233 between 9am and 12 noon. Please keep your comments brief and be prepared to give your name and address if you want to be quoted.

BUSINESS BRIEF

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FT index (close)	844,10
RDM 100	1 044,30
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'Talks must exclude Angola' — Nujoma

CAPE TIMES 13/3/84

LUSAKA. — Swapo would accept a South African call for a regional conference only if it focused on SWA/Namibia and excluded discussion of Angola, Swapo president Sam Nujoma said yesterday.

On Sunday South Africa called for a conference of all parties concerned with SWA/Namibia and Angola, including Swapo and Unita.

Speaking to reporters in Lusaka, Mr Nujoma said the issues of SWA/Namibia and Angola were separate and should not be linked. "The (South African) Prime Minister is trying to throw confusion into two separate issues," he said.

Unita 'bandits'

Describing Unita rebels led by Dr Jonas Savimbi as bandits, Mr Nujoma said they should be excluded from any conference.

But he said Swapo would agree to the attendance of SWA/Namibia's internal Multi-Party Conference (MPC) grouping, which it accuses of collaborating with Pretoria.

"The internal parties are very unfortunate, misguided Namibians who are on the payroll of the enemy, but if the Pretoria regime included them in the South African delegation Swapo has no objection to them being present."

'Ready to meet'

Mr Nujoma said his organization was ready to meet Pretoria's representatives anywhere.

He suggested Geneva, New York, or the Zambian capital of Lusaka.

"All that we want to do is to talk to the colonial officials in Namibia... about the splitting up of the administration of our country from South African colonialist domination," he said.

● The MPC began talks with the Administrator-General of the territory, Dr Willie van Niekerk, in Windhoek yesterday on the future of SWA/Namibia following a South African Government offer to participate in a conference aimed at ending conflict in SWA/Namibia.

The South African

To page 2 A

France — a land of many scents

PARIS. — The French, renowned for their production of sophisticated scents, are among Europe's smelliest, dirtiest peoples, according to a study by the French Perfume Committee.

The French wash with less than half the amount of soap used by the British, averaging 2½ bars a year per individual against England's five. Italians are cleaner than the French by these standards, using more than three bars annually, but not as spic and span as the Germans, who use close on four.

The French use half the amount of toothpaste and deodorant used by Americans.

Only one out of every three French people boasts his own toothbrush, a rare and precious instrument that lasts its owner a full two years.

A can of deodorant is another unusual item in the French household. Only 20 percent of all Frenchmen use it.

The French neglect personal hygiene, the study says, out of laziness, in protest against social norms, and because of a lack of education.'— UPI

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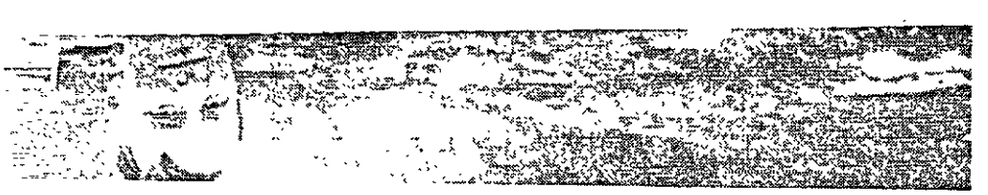


From page 1

Government said the MPC's participation in such a conference would be unconditional.

The conference would consist of the South African and Angolan Governments, the Unita resistance movement in Angola, the MPC and Swapo.

Stanley Uys reports that the Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's proposal for a multiparty Namibia-Angola conference would be unacceptable to the MPLA government in Luanda, according to a reliable source in London.

Alternative body

The source said the proposal was an attempt to bypass UN Security Council Resolution 435 and to entrust the supervision of a ceasefire and independence elections not to the UN but to an alternative body, which would probably include the United States.

● In Washington, the United States reacted cautiously yesterday to the proposal.

State Department spokesman Mr John Hughes welcomed South Africa's willingness to solve regional problems through negotiations. But on the proposal itself, he said only that "we take note of the Foreign Minister's latest idea".

He said the US intended to work with all parties towards SWA/Namibian independence under UN Security Council Resolution 435, calling for UN-sponsored elections in the territory to be followed by the granting of nationhood.

US press reports said yesterday that Mr Bôtha's proposal would sidestep the UN and promote the interests of Unita. — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent

City advocate on the mend

Staff Reporter

CITY advocate Mr J R Dendy Young, 76, was out of the intensive care ward and in a "comfortable" condition, a Groote Schuur Hospital spokesman said last night.

A week ago he was mugged near his Kenilworth home and left in a ditch, unconscious and with a broken nose.

6.05: Ikhaya Labantwana (pre-school education programme). Pig has a new wheelbarrow with an unusual shape. Duck uses this to show the children what a triangle looks like.
6.15: Unosigcawu (Spiderwoman). Magini uses his magic to steal, but he is captured by Spiderwoman.
6.37: Ezodumo (music programme)
7.00: Izindaba (news).
7.13: Ngokwasemthethweni Nokungenga-Semthethweni (Small Business Enterprise). The difference between formal and informal business.
7.35: Thangwaga/Thangwaha (actuality)
7.42: Regional round-up from Port Elizabeth.
8.05: Contemporary Art Series. We talk to Billy Molokeng, an artist from Tembisa who has exhibited his oil and water-colour paintings all over the world.
8.19: Inselele Kumakhosikazi/Umgeni Kuma Khosikazi. The role of women in the community.
8.32: Impilontle Yoluntu (Human Welfare)
9.00: Iindaba (news)
9.28: Imozulu (weather)
9.31: Ezenkolo (epilogue)

★ Tonight's choice ★

At 9.56 — Kennedy Centre Honours

US leads skin-diving event

Own Correspondent

PLETTENBERG BAY. — The weigh-in after the first day of the International skin-diving competition between South Africa and the United States was held here at the San Marina Caravan Park yesterday.

The United States team weighed in 45 fish, having a total weight of 69kg and giving them 114 points in the competition. The Springboks weighed in 26 fish with a total weight of 33kg, giving them 59,7 points.

The members of the four-man US team are all from California, while the South Africans are all from the Western Province.

Halfway through yesterday's competition, Tommy Botha, the Springbook captain, was badly stung by bluebottles and had to leave the water.

The competition ends today.





Mr P W Botha

US paper suspicious of PW's motives

By Ramsay Milne, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The New York Times yesterday questioned the motives of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, in talking peace with South Africa's black neighbours.

Conceding that "something interesting" was happening in Southern Africa, the paper, known for its stridently critical editorial view of South African Government policies, said: "What this shrewd Prime Minister may be angling to do is stretch out his overtures until he knows whether Mr Reagan will remain in office, without yet yielding anything meaningful."

The paper described South Africa's new diplomacy as "pragmatic engagement" and conceded that if a bargain similar to that struck between South Africa and Mozambique could be struck between South Africa and Angola, it would be a triumph for the Reagan Administration.

The Reagan Administration had argued all along, it added, that befriending South Africa was the best way to achieve peace in Africa without "accepting" South Africa's apartheid policies.

"South Africa's Prime Minister may have finally understood that his regime will never again enjoy so much American backing — support that will vanish if it refuses again to relinquish its illegal rule over Namibia."

None the less, what Mr Botha seemed to be doing was to yield nothing important until it was known whether Mr Reagan had been voted back into the White House.

The paper said the success of Mr Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa would soon be clear.

Cuba changes mind on Angola pullout

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — In what could become a key contribution to peace in Southern Africa, the Cuban Government has indicated its conditional willingness to withdraw its troops from Angola where they have supported the MPLA regime since 1975.

Cuban officials said the prospects for a withdrawal — a key goal for South Africa and the United States — had improved recently, but emphasised that it depended on Angola's ability to reach an agreement with South Africa on the ending of "attacks on Angola" and on the future of Namibia.

News of Cuba's change of attitude came in a report from Havana by Washington Post reporter Edward Cody.

MrCody said that, despite deep-seated distrust of South Africa's good faith, the Cubans acknowledged that prospects had improved and that the possibility of withdrawing the estimated 25 000 troops was "drawing nearer".

He quoted Cuban Vice-President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez as saying: "We have always said that we see nothing inappropriate in this. We have never envisaged an over-long presence of our forces."

In Washington, senior American and South African officials noted Mr Rodriguez's remarks in the Post report. But they said they would withhold reaction until they had studied the report in detail.

Privately, they agreed cautiously that Mr Cody's interview could be a precursor to a significant development in Southern Africa.

A State Department official, who has been closely involved in the negotiations leading to the ceasefire process in Angola, said the report reflected a hopeful stage-setting, an interesting state of mind in Cuba.

Analysts in Washington believe that the Cubans would need progress in these areas to justify to their people a withdrawal from Angola so soon after their troops were thrown off the Caribbean island of Grenada by US forces and after most Cuban forces had left Ethiopia.

Such progress would enable them to say that their mission in Southern Africa had been accomplished.

But the Cubans remain suspicious about the intentions of South Africa in Namibia and about US readiness to put pressure on the South Africans to speed up the process towards independence and a withdrawal from the disputed territory.

Cody quoted Vice-President Rodriguez as saying: "This is a process that has begun. But there are — in Africa and also outside Africa — many who are suspicious about how this process will work.

"Nothing concrete exists yet to show that the apparent willingness of South Africa to negotiate a withdrawal from Namibia is a real willing ness."

One of the biggest stumbling blocks to a Cuban withdrawal from Angola is the armed rebellion of Unita and fears in the Soviet bloc that the MPLA might collapse without a Cuban shield.

MrCody said Cuban officials wanted to see an attempt to resolve the Unita problem, probably through negotiations, included in any deal between South Africa and Angola.

Washington analysts said this appeared to reflect a shift toward moderation in the communists' position which had consistently promised a defeat of the "South African puppets" led by Dr *Jonas Savimbi.*

MrCody also quoted informed sources as saying that, even if Cuban troops withdrew, civilians such as doctors and teachers would probably stay on to help the Angolans.

US hesitant on conference plan

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South Africa's proposal of a regional peace conference on Namibia has been given a less than enthusiastic reception by the United States.

The State Department yesterday welcomed the idea insofar as it is an indication of South Africa's readiness "to resolve the problems of Southern Africa through negotiation".

But the official statement stopped short of giving the proposal its full blessing. It appeared to imply that the US has reservations, especially about bringing the Luanda Government and the rebel Unita movement together at a conference table at this point.

The statement said the US took note of the South African proposal, but said the US position would depend on further developments in the negotiations and the desires of all parties involved.

The US intended to work with all parties to build from the disengagement in southern Angola, said the statement. It added, however, that the US still took the view that the civil strife in Angola could only be resolved politically by the Angolan parties themselves.

Analysts believe the South African proposal is badly timed from the US point of view, coming when Washington is in the middle of delicate efforts to persuade the Luanda Government to agree to the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Luanda in tandem with the implementation of the Namibian independence formula.

A conference involving South Africa, the Multi-Party Conference of Namibia and Swapo is seen as a more realistic exercise than one involving the Angola parties as well.

Angola said it rejected South African proposals for a regional conference on Namibia unless it took place under the auspices of the United Nations, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said.

UN Namibia plan can be bypassed, claims Zambia

By Brendan Nicholson,
The Star's Foreign
News Service

LUSAKA — The United Nations independence plan for Namibia can easily be bypassed if South Africa goes ahead and talks to Swapo, according to a senior Zambian source.

The only purpose of UN Resolution 435 (which outlines a complex plan for an internationally supervised ceasefire and elections) was to force South Africa to go through with the independence exercise, the source said.

"Once South Africa has genuinely decided to let Namibia go, then there is no reason for the whole circus to take place. We believe that Prime Minister Botha sincerely wishes to grant the territory independence, so most of what is covered by Resolutiom 435 is now obsolete."

STALEMATE

The one essential ingredient that was still missing was for Pretoria to accept that it must talk to Swapo. "South Africa must be convinced that it could live comfortably with an independent Namibia under a democratically elected Swapo government. We've reached a stalemate over 435. We've been marking time for four years."

The source said the disengagement agreement reached between South Africa and Angola proved that the Namibian independence issue could be solved by the countries of Southern Africa.

"Then the UN can come and host the signing ceremony. If Pretoria would only accept the reality of Swapo then we would be home and dry. Otherwise we could all sit looking at Resolution 435 for another 10 years, because there is no way independence is going to come without Swapo being involved.

"If South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was genuine in saying he was willing to talk to Swapo, then that is really a concession.

"If they mean it, then they have cleared the way for independence."

But while Swapo has said it is willing to include the Namibian internal parties in such talks, there is no way in which Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel movement in Angola could be involved, the source said. It was possible that Mr Botha had included Unita in his talks proposals to render the exercise impossible, while appearing helpful.

"That would be ludicrous. If they want Unita there, let us include the African National Congress and make the scene complete."

The source said that for years South Africa had avoided speaking to Swapo, as though doing so would give the organisation credibility.

"They say they send their troops and planes into Angola after Swapo, and they kill Angolans in the process. But in terms of finding a settlement, they try to pretend Swapo does not exist.

"South Africa talks to the internal parties already, so it would not be making any special concession to Swapo.

"At present Mr Botha is caught up in the cobwebs of 435, but this thing can be solved without the UN. Once they sit down together they will reach an agreement.

"Then all it will take will be a radio broadcast that the war is over, and the shooting will stop," the source said.

Earlier, Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma said the movement was willing to meet South African representatives anywhere — "in New York, Geneva ... or here in Lusaka" — and would be happy to include the internal parties.

But, he added, such talks could not include Unita. South Africa's offer of talks which would include Angola and Unita was an attempt to cloud the Namibian issue by including in it the affairs of a neighbouring country.

JMC's move south seen as a sign of success

Star
14/3/24

By Peter Honey,
The Star Bureau

WINDHOEK — The Joint Monitoring Commission supervising a South African troop withdrawal from southern Angola has already begun to move south from its inaugural base at Cuvelai, 200 km north of the border.

This movement is regarded as a sign that the JMC is succeeding in its task, although slowly.

The JMC, comprising 10 Angolan and South African military and diplomatic officials, has a target plan to withdraw from Angola in week-long stages, about 50 km at a time, from Cuvelai to Mupa to Evale and N'giva before concluding its business at Santa Clara on the Angolan-Namibian border.

These moves are taking place against a background of dramatic developments in Swapo's continuing attempts to infiltrate Namibia.

Details of the developments, however, cannot be made public in terms of the Defence Act.

CONFERENCE CALL

According to well-placed diplomatic sources the continuing military activity in southern Angola was one of the major reasons for Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's call this week for an all-party conference involving the South African and Angolan governments, Unita, Swapo and the Namibian multi-party conference (MPC).

The MPC last night accepted Mr Botha's call.

Angola has said it would be prepared to take part only under the auspices of the United Nations. Swapo has said it is willing to participate in talks involving the MPC but rejects Unita involvement.

The US and other Western countries received Mr Botha's offer unenthusiastically because, as one American diplomatic source said: "Everyone's a little worried that it might scare the Angolans away. We won't stand in the way, but we suspect the time is not yet ripe for such a move."

Speculation over Angolan leader's visit to Cuba

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is due in Cuba this weekend. This has prompted speculation that he will discuss the withdrawal of Cuban troops from his country.

News of the trip comes after reports that Cuba has indicated its willingness to withdraw its troops.

The presence of the Cubans remains an obstacle to South Africa's implementing of the Namibian independence plan in terms of United Nations Resolution 435, despite the breakthrough made in the disengagement agreement between Angola and South Africa.

South Africa has said it will not implement Resolution 435 until it gets a guarantee that the Cubans will leave Angola.

The United States also wants Cuban withdrawal, as a "parallel" exercise to the independence plan.

But independent analysts believe Luanda finds it difficult to ask the Cubans to leave without having some other protection against the continued advances of the Unita rebels.

● The US State Department yesterday accepted South African assurances that it did not intend to bypass the UN plan for the independence of Namibia.

● The UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has said he is satisfied that South Africa has a commitment to Resolution 435.

A spokesman for the UN chief said he had taken note of an interview given by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

● See Page 12, World section.

Spotlight on . . .

Master plan to keep 'disguised' troops — claim

24 HOURS
The team that wraps up the news

By Stephen McQuillan

Thousands of battle-hardened Cuban troops will remain in Angola in the guise of "peasant farmers" under an extraordinary plan approved by the Marxist MPLA Government, FNLA guerilla leaders have claimed.

The FNLA says that the Cubans will be granted Angolan citizenship despite demands from the United States and South Africa for a Cuban withdrawl.

It is not clear how many of the estimated 25 000 to 45 000 Cubans will stay but the FNLA, continuing its fight in the north of the country, claims that the mostly black contingent which arrived in 1975 would be involved.

FNLA president Mr Holden Roberto said the Cubans would be granted citizenship after they had lived in the country for 10 years.

Thousands of Cubans — those who arrived in Angola in 1975 to support the MPLA — would be eligible early next year.

Three political sources in Washington told the 24 Hours team that the move was "highly likely" and said the scheme had been rumoured for months.

They said a Cuban presence was vital to the survival of the Marxist regime.

A South African Government source said the plan was "plausible". Other officials refused to comment because of the delicacy of negotiations on the Angolan issue.

But an Africa Institute researcher on Angolan affairs, Mr P Botha, said he doubted the validity of the FNLA claim.

In the past 10 years, Unita had done all the fighting and the FNLA was now busy trying to "pick up some of the pieces" with a big propaganda campaign before Unita took over the country, he said.

But, he said, Cuba had an unemployment problem and many permanent force personnel — in other words, battle-trained troops — were working in construction and technical jobs around the world.

A document written by Mr Roberto and made available to the 24 Hours team said: "The MPLA central committee called a few months ago for a very restricted meeting and a decision on the subject of granting citizenship to each and all the Cubans living in Angola was made.

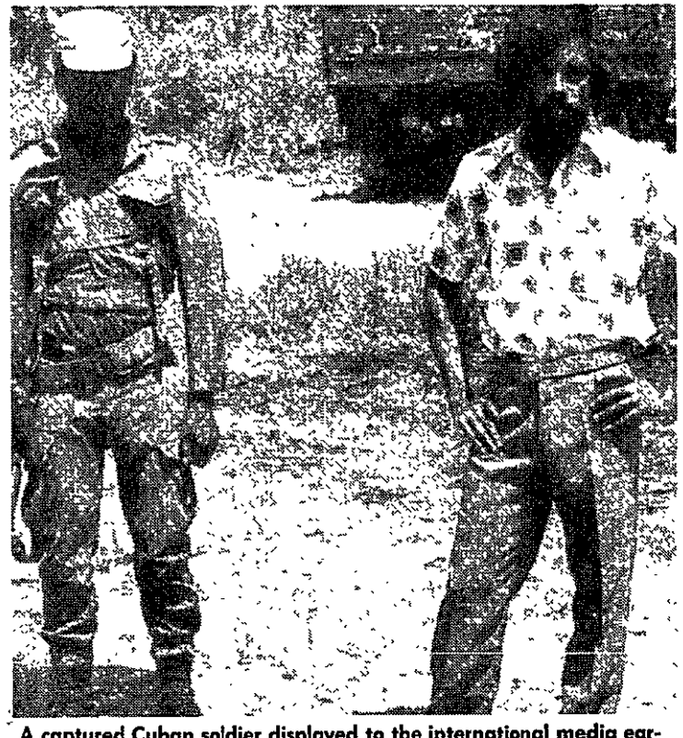
"This Angolan citizenship will be granted by the beginning of 1985 — when the Cubans are supposed to have completed 10 years of residence in Angola."

A member of the central committee of the FNLA and delegate to the United States and Canada, Mr Jose Rebelo, said the citizenship plan had been approved "at the highest level".

Mr Rebelo told 24 Hours from Sacramento, California: "The Cubans are willing to stay. There was never any intention that they should return to Cuba — they were on a one-way ticket.

"No one can challenge the Luanda Government on that because it is the law of the country."

The Star's Lisbon correspondent understands the Luanda Government is completing another citizenship law, but no details are yet available.



A captured Cuban soldier displayed to the international media earlier this year. A Unita soldier (left) stands guard.

By Stephen McQuillan

Granting Angolan citizenship for a "palace guard" contingent of Cuban troops would have a threefold benefit for the Luanda Government.

Many Cubans are believed to have been settled as farmer-militia throughout the country.

Sources in Washington say a farming population of highly-trained Cuban troops would earn its own upkeep — and produce extra food for the rest of the country.

It would also provide a vital buffer against a possible onslaught by Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerillas — if Luanda agrees to send home Cuban troops as part of an overall Angolan settlement.

The Cubans could be mobilised as an efficient fighting unit at short notice.

Leaders of the FNLA guerilla group claim the Angolan Government is going ahead with plans to make thousands of Cubans citizens of the country.

They expect the Cubans to become citizens early next year, having been in the country for 10 years.

The Alvor Agreements — signed in 1975 by Portugal, the MPLA, Unita and the FNLA — allowed for residents, particularly Portuguese, to become citizens after living in Angola for 10 years, says the FNLA.

. . . the Cubans in Angola

Luanda might have 'palace guard' in fields

A political source in Washington said the attraction of the citizenship scheme was that Cuba and Angola would not have to pay for the troops' upkeep if they became peasant farmers.

"Earnings from the Cabinda oil fields are being swallowed up at a million dollars a day to keep the Cubans," he said. "The citizenship plan would allow a permanent force of troops to remain in Angola without cost.

"A reasonable analysis is that Cubans could be planning to keep non-military people in Angola for a long time."

A member of the FNLA's central committee and delegate to the United States and Canada, Mr Jose Rebelo, told the 24 Hours team from California: "Castro will clear up many of his racial problems by allowing the Cuban ethnic blacks to stay in Angola.

"Most of the Cubans who arrived in March 1975 were black, and when they arrived they brought with them children, wives and possessions. Some of the Cubans have married local people, but there is reluctance by the population to accept the Cubans, who are seen as the new colonialists.

"We fear the Cubans will try this same ploy in other countries in Africa and around the world. The citizenship move could spread like a cancer to all fragile African countries."

Sources in Washington believe the Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Oscar Oramas, hinted at the citizenship plan during a tour of southern Africa last month.

In speeches in Lesotho and Mozambique, the Minister said a "new agreement" over Cuban troops had been reached.

The FNLA claims there are also about 10 000 North Koreans, East Germans and Ethiopians in Angola.

Swapo 'in fights with Angolans'

From TONY WEAVER

WINDHOEK. — Guerillas of Swapo's military wing, the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), have been engaged in military battles with Angolan Fapla troops in two separate incidents — one involving a mutiny by Plan men, according to reports here yesterday.

The reports, published in two local newspapers, the Republikein and the Windhoek Advertiser, coincide with well-sourced information received by this correspondent confirming the incidents.

And South West Africa Territory Force Headquarters announced yesterday that three Swapo guerillas had been shot dead by security-force units close to the Etosha Pan Game Park.

On a farm

They were killed late on Wednesday afternoon on the farm Leeudrink, 25km south of the Ovambo war zone and on the Etosha border.

The three were part of a group of nine who penetrated the white farming area around Tsumeb on February 15, two of whom were shot dead earlier this month.

The Republikein reported yesterday that Plan guerillas based near Lubango in southern Angola had mutinied.

Information reaching Windhoek is that the mutiny took place at the Tobias Hainjeko training camp 16km from Lubango, and that it had been put down by Angolan Fapla troops at the request of the Swapo high command.

The Republikein speculated yesterday that, according to reports received from "informed Ovambo sources", "the Swapo's are split into two distinct camps".

"One group is sick of the extended military struggle, and the other group reckons Swapo must, for old time's sake, throw everything into the struggle."

But no independent confirmation of this could be obtained yesterday, and the reasons for the alleged mutiny remain obscure.

Both the Advertiser and the Republikein reported in their main stories yesterday that Angolan government troops had engaged Swapo guerillas moving through southern Angola last week, and that some guerillas had died.

The Republikein speculated that "the possibility exists that the Fapla force was on its way to join the joint (South African and Angolan) monitoring force, but no mention is made in the reports of South African involvement in the incident".

SWATF Headquarters said last week that there were now "over 800 Swapo guerillas operating in the the northern SWA/Namibian war zones, and 33 guerillas had been shot dead in the past week.

Fords

Pact may be end of 'armed struggle'

Cape Times 17/3/89

From
JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — The pact between President Samora Machel and Mr PW Botha could mark the beginning of the end of the "armed struggle" in Southern Africa — and in South Africa itself.

The rapprochement will certainly precipitate a dramatic change in the nature of the liberation movements. The pact is an important first step towards the demilitarization of these movements and could change the course of events where, even months ago, violence appeared to be escalating.

While the ANC and Swapo clearly have been unnerved by both the content and speed of recent events, it is not yet clear what the long-term effects on them will be.

But observers agree that if Pretoria achieves its objective of cutting off vital ANC infiltration routes through Mozambique and secures a compliant government in Windhoek, which would exclude ANC activity within its borders, the ANC would have to go back to the drawing board.

Apart from the physical damage caused by ANC-inspired acts of sabotage in South Africa, the armed struggle has served a vital publicity role for the ANC. Without this platform within the country the ANC would face the prospect of becoming increasingly forgotten by the black community in South Africa.

Playing a key role in the initiatives is President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

In recent weeks President Kaunda has made a remarkable contribution to the atmosphere of co-operation by offering to promote South African membership of the OAU in return for a Namibian settlement.

President Kaunda has also sounded an early warning to Swapo not to provide the ANC with bases in Namibia after independence but to leave the fight against apartheid to the OAU.

This was followed by an offer to host a meeting between Mr Botha and leaders of the Frontline states to acquaint Mr Botha with African thinking on developments in the subcontinent. With new allies in President Kaunda and President Samora Machel, Pretoria has made an astounding breakthrough.

The commander-in-chief of the Mozambique army, General Sebastiao Mabote, recently told a French newspaper that, unlike Zapu and Zanu in former Rhodesia, the ANC was waging what amounted to a civil-rights campaign and not an armed struggle for national liberation, because South Africa was a sovereign republic recognized by the United Nations.

If the accord holds and proves to be effective in curtailing infiltration into South Africa, the ANC will no longer be able to offer black South Africans the hope of liberation from outside — thereby greatly increasing the pressures for liberation from within.



President Kaunda

But after a quarter of a century in exile, the ANC would find difficulty gaining control of increasingly autonomous trade unions and of the newly formed United Democratic Front, which shares its objectives.

With the internalization and formalization of reform, Pretoria's philosophy of promoting regional and African solutions to the sub-continent's problems would gain international currency.

The respect which the ANC commands within South Africa will not be easily wished away, but without the lever of the armed struggle, an exiled ANC leadership clearly would be readier to talk compromise with a conciliatory Pretoria.

If Pretoria succeeds in convincing the leaders of the Frontline states that it is in their interests to co-operate and negotiate, the ANC will find itself having to collaborate with the government it has fought for 25 years — or be overtaken by history.

In the case of Swapo and Angola, however, Pretoria has a much bigger problem.

Observers here believe that the initiative by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, to seek African backing for an all-Africa initiative to solve the problem, could have been at worst a blunder, or at best premature.

Clearly timed to capitalize on the euphoria generated by the accord with Mozambique, Mr Botha's proposed conference to link a Namibian settlement with the composition of the Luanda government could backfire and reunite Swapo and the MPLA government, whose paths have been diverging as the ceasefire initiative is consolidated.

The president of Angola, Mr Eduardo dos Santos, has rejected the offer and the leader of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, has made it clear that he would not accept the presence of Unita or the tabling of the internal situation in Angola as a legitimate item on the agenda.

Both Whitehall and Washington have re-affirmed their commitment to Resolution 435 without criticizing Pretoria's new initiative.

If Pretoria could get states such as Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana to back an African initiative to achieve peace in the region and broaden the issue of Namibian independence to include the accommodation of Unita by the MPLA government or a trade-off of Unita for Swapo, Swapo could be rendered toothless.

Already facing total economic dependence on South Africa if it came to power at independence elections, Swapo would lose its international forum if the UN plan was given an African flavour.

In short, a compliant and economically dependent Swapo government in Windhoek would be far less troublesome than a Soviet-/Cuban-backed Swapo launching attacks from Angolan soil.

At the same time there are signs that, while still paying lip service to the UN plan for independence (Resolution 435), the United States would be prepared to gradually throw its weight behind a new Pretoria-led initiative, provided it did not depart substantially from Resolution 435.

The West, however, is sure to withhold its support from such a plan until the Frontline states are prepared to back it.

Even six months ago the prospect of African support for such an initiative would have been unthinkable. But with the dramatic events of the past two months there is no room for cynicism.

If Pretoria is prepared to trade-off its support for Unita for Angola's isolation of Swapo the plan could still see the light of day. That would be Pretoria's first prize.

Swapo denies clashes with Angola

WINDHOEK — Swapo denied knowledge of any fighting between its guerillas and members of the Angolan defence force, a Swapo spokesman in Lusaka said this morning.

The Lusaka representative, Mr Aaron Muchimba, was commenting on reports this week that heavy fighting had broken out between Angolan regular forces, Fapla, and members of Swapo's fighting wing, the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan).

The reports, published in two Windhoek dailies, the Windhoek Advertiser and Die Republikein, said the fighting had taken place in the south of Angola at the town of Cuvelai.

A joint monitoring commission to oversee the disengagement of South African forces from southern Angola is based at Cuvelai, about 200km north of the SWA/Namibian border.

Under the terms of an agreement signed between South Africa and Angola in Lusaka last month, Pretoria will withdraw its forces from southern Angola while the Luanda government undertakes to prevent Swapo using its territory as a springboard for raids into SWA/Namibia.

The Press reports said it could not be ascertained if the Swapo insurgents had been killed by Angolans working in co-operation with the commission.

The Republikein said there had been a mutiny among Plan members at the "Jumbo" base near the town of Lubango and the Angolan Government had to call in Fapla to restore peace.

In Windhoek, Swapo's secretary for foreign affairs, Mr Nico Bessinger, said the home office had no facts "to deny or confirm" the reports. He said he had first read of the fighting after his return to Windhoek from a meeting with the Swapo leader in Lusaka, Mr Sam Nujoma, earlier this week.

The SWA territorial force would not comment.

Meanwhile Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos arrives in Havana today for talks with Cuban leader, Dr Fidel Castro, amid growing doubts about Cuba's future role in Angola because of last month's agreement with South Africa.

As many as 25 000 Cuban troops are stationed in Angola where they have supported its Marxist Government for almost nine years.

Cuban officials would make no comment about the possibility of bringing the troops home.

NOW THE CU
MAY GO H

S-Times 18/3/84

By KEN POTTINGER in Lisbon, PATRICIA CHENEY in Washington and COLIN McSEVENY in Havana

THE withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola — key to a Namibian settlement — moved a giant step closer this weekend.

Reports from Washington, Havana and Lisbon claim that Angola is asking the Cubans to go home.

Following on the heels of the signing of the Nkomati Accord between Mozambique and South Africa on Friday, the possibility of a Cuban pull-out means that peace could soon spread to South West Africa.

This would crown one of the most stunningly orchestrated diplomatic manoeuvres of recent times.

In a series of developments this weekend:

- Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos arrived in Havana for talks with Cuban leader, Dr Fidel Castro on repatriating some 20 000 Cuban soldiers and auxiliary staff, who have been in Angola since the outbreak of civil war in 1976.
- Portuguese Prime Minister Mario Soares said in Washington that he thought the Soviet Union and Cuba had decided on a course of "gradual disengagement" from Angola
- News reports in Lisbon claimed that the Cubans would soon be heading for home, if yesterday's talks in Havana were successful.

The Havana talks follow

Accord sparks trade and aid

S-Times 18/3/84

By BRIAN POTTINGER
CAS St LEGER
and BENNIE van DELFT

SOUTH African investors, benefactors and tourists are about to invade Mozambique in the wake of the historic Nkomati Accord.

The peace agreement, signed on the joint border on Friday, has already sparked an impressive spillover in investment interest, diplomatic initiative, development assistance and humanitarian aid.

Among major developments on the economic and aid front immediately sur-



Things go better for Wendy with Coke

By BARRIE TRACEY
Madrid

WHEN an attractive South African mum took a friend along for an international screen test, she landed the job herself.

Now Wendy Boland will star in the latest of the world-famous Coca-Cola adverts.

A retired model now living in

Dr No's men wo shell ou for Jan 50 000 tortoise

By WIM VANVOLSEM

THE Conservative Party's image has given a busine R100 000 headache.

Mr Jan Smit, a Pretoria medal sitting with thousands of gold badges, cufflinks and spoons ord enthusiastic members of the C

The men planned to sell them ty's symbol in the recent Soutp

THE CUBANS AY GO HOME



Things go better for Wendy with Coke

By BARRIE TRACEY
Madrid

WHEN an attractive South African mum took a friend along for an international screen test, she landed the job herself.

Now Wendy Boland will star in the latest of the world-[illegible] Coca-Cola ad-

Dr No's men won't shell out for Jan's 50 000 tortoises

By WIM VANVOLSEM

THE Conservative Party's tortoise image has given a businessman a R100 000 headache.

Mr Jan Smit, a Pretoria medal designer, is sitting with thousands of gold and silver badges, cufflinks and spoons ordered by two enthusiastic members of the CP.



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South African fishing vessels from Mozambique waters in 1975 came as a hard knock to local companies.

The possible re-opening of Mozambique fishing waters has been the best news for local companies for many years, and a much-needed boost to the industry.

On the diplomatic front the Nkomati Accord has already led to a miraculous easing of the once knife-edge relations between the two countries.

Although full diplomatic relations between the two countries is not on the cards — neither side feels the pressure for it — the status of relations between the two countries has been discreetly upped.

Recently the South African trade representative in Mozambique — a member of the Department of Industries, Trade and Tourism — was replaced by a serving member of the Department of Foreign Affairs thus bringing relations between the two states to a par with those between Pretoria and Harare.

It was the first improvement in official diplomatic relations since ties were severed in 1975.

And, on Thursday night, a



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in the wake of the historic Nkomati Accord.

The peace agreement, signed on the joint border on Friday, has already sparked an impressive spillover in investment interest, diplomatic initiative, development assistance and humanitarian aid.

Among major developments on the economic and aid front immediately surrounding the accord are:

● Confirmation that organised commerce and industry in South Africa is taking active steps to investigate investment possibilities in the new atmosphere of detente.

● News of plans to improve Maputo harbour facilities, and a meeting this week in Johannesburg at which port officials spoke to 70 South African importers and exporters.

● Hints that hotel magnate Sol Kerzner may have ambitious hotel plans for Mozambique tourist spots in the pipeline.

Oil

● Indications that offshore oil exploitation in Mozambique, long-delayed by the internal instability created by the MNR rebels and backers, could be a reality by 1986 with the possibility of some South African involvement not ruled out.

● An offer by the Deciduous Fruit Board to donate 25 000 cartons of export apples worth R250 000 to the drought-stricken Mozambican provinces.

● Completion of a massive plastic pipeline contract by a South African company to enable the United Nations Children's Fund to lay nearly 106km of water piping in the worst-hit northern provinces.

● An immediate donation of R6-million worth of medicines by a South African pharmaceutical company

South African fishing com-

As the ink dries on the treaty ... Pages 28 & 29

panies are also gearing up to claim their share of the expected economic windfall following the signing of the peace treaty.

Mr Charles Atkins, group general manager of Irvin and Johnson's fish division, said his company would definitely be interested in expanding operations to the East African fishing grounds.

"But any future transaction would be subject to the overall package deal on economic relationships between the two countries.

"We would not like to jump the gun and broadcast our intentions until we have finalised any possible negotiations," said Mr Atkins.

Fishing companies are known to be especially interested in the prawn grounds off the Mozambique coast.

They have been out of bounds to South African trawlers since Mozambique became independent in June, 1975, and the territorial limit was extended to 200 miles offshore a few months later.

The forced withdrawal of

□ To Page 2

civil war in 1976.

● Portuguese Prime Minister Mario Soares said in Washington that he thought the Soviet Union and Cuba had decided on a course of "gradual disengagement" from Angola.

● News reports in Lisbon claimed that the Cubans would soon be heading for home, if yesterday's talks in Havana were successful.

The Havana talks follow an intricate diplomatic formation dance in the past week.

First, sources in Windhoek claimed that plans were afoot for a meeting between Swapo and the Multi-Party Conference which could lead to a Namibian settlement outside UN Resolution 435.

Then the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, floated the idea of a regional conference in which Angola, Unita and South Africa, Swapo and the internal parties could get together.

Finally, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said he was willing to host a meeting between South Africa and the frontline states — an idea which was enthusiastically received by Mr Botha.

Meanwhile behind the scenes several African leaders, including President Machel of Mozambique, an old comrade of Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi and President Kaunda are believed to be exerting pressure on the MPLA Government to enter into negotiations with Unita.

A Unita-MPLA meeting would open the way for a Cuban pull-out — and, perhaps more important for the frontline states — would help secure both a Namibian settlement and the prospects for peace and economic growth in the whole of the subcontinent.

Portuguese reports claim that conditions are now being created in the peace initiative between Angola and South Africa which will allow the Luanda government to dispense with the costly Cuban aid.

President dos Santos, in a speech in Luanda earlier this month, repeated that the Cubans would be withdrawn "once all possibilities of aggression or armed invasion against Angola have disappeared."

According to reports reaching Lisbon from several sources, President dos Santos' government is sharply divided on the future of the Cubans and indeed on the whole state of the present South African peace initiative.

The ruling Marxist MPLA is split into several factions and despite the influential position of the President's supporters, pro-Soviet groups in the government are pushing hard to keep Moscow's influence high.

There was even a rumour, quickly discounted, that the in-fighting had led to a coup in the capital last week.

The far trickier problem of possible negotiations with Unita rebels, if the present ceasefire leads to a non-aggression pact with South

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dro-electric scheme winding to an end, the joint monitoring and enforcement of security along the powerlines is now pressing.

Top South African conglomerates this week expressed interest in investment prospects in Mozambique, but first wanted clarity on a number of issues — including availability of labour, security of plants, repatriation of profits, communications systems and credit lines.

A significant number of top businessmen — headed by retired Anglo chairman Mr Harry Oppenheimer — watched President Machel, holder of the Lenin Peace Prize for 1977, and Mr P W Botha, proclaimed protagonist of free enterprise, sign the non-aggression and good-neighbourliness agreement.

The Nkomati Accord, meanwhile, has implications which stretch far beyond the political.

For President Samora Machel it was probably the most significant act since he crossed the Rovuma River on September 25, 1964, with a handful of guerrillas to begin his war against the Portuguese colonial powers.

In March, 1980, the Frelimo Government announced a major shift in economic policy with a substantial return to private enterprise — an admission of the failure of his socialist model for economic development.

But the full impact of that decision has not yet had a chance to be tested — soon afterwards the MNR, with alleged South African aid, began stepped-up destablisation of an already fragile economy. The domestic political impact of massive Western investment still has to be tested.

Implications

But, for South Africa as well, the implications — the "price of peace" referred to by the Prime Minister on Friday — could be high.

The country is in no position to offer significant development aid, but it can provide some technical assistance, encourage tourism, buy raw materials and power and offer its good offices for securing lines of credit.

Sources have confirmed that the question of credit lines has been on the agenda in discussions of the joint economic committee.

We must stop MNR — Machel

AFTER the signing of the Nkomati Accord the principal task facing Mozambicans was to "finish off" the Mozambique Resistance Movement, President Samora Machel told a crowd of 70 000 in Maputo yesterday.

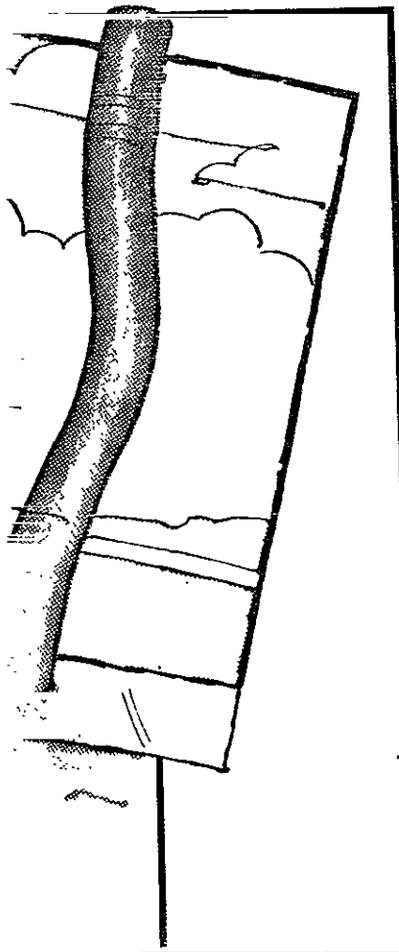
The Mozambican news agency, AIM, said a burst of applause greeted the President when he said Mozambique had gone to Nkomati "to turn off the tap" on which the MNR depended.

He said the agreement would "allow us to concentrate our energies on the economic development of the country in peace".

Calling the accord "a weapon in the struggle for peace, for equality, for mutual respect, for justice and democracy", he said it consisted of "a set of rules, universal principles", which had to be respected by both countries.

"It's an agreement on non-aggression. Mozambique mustn't attack South Africa, and South Africa mustn't attack Mozambique".

Respect for the frontier meant, among other things, an end to poaching. "The ivory over there belongs to the South Africans — it doesn't belong to you".



Cubans may be going home

Africa, is also producing increasing tension in Luanda.

Last week the Foreign Ministry — which may not fully reflect the views of the presidential faction of the government — said it "categorically rejected any and all negotiations with the band of criminals and Angolan traitors (Unita)".

The President himself however said that any citizen who felt he had been misled by joining the rebels ranks, could present himself to the authorities and become part of the effort aimed at national reconstruction.

This was a more conciliatory tone than that adopted by the Foreign Ministry.

There were also reports of unprecedented clashes in southern Angola between Swapo and Angola government troops who had rushed to Swapo's main camp at Lubango to put down a mutiny between hard line guerrillas wanting to keep up the fighting and those who support the current peace initiative.

Meanwhile Portuguese Prime Minister Mario Soares told US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, this week that advances made by the guerrilla movement, Unita, were forcing the Soviets and Cubans to choose between either stepping up forces in the region or a gradual withdrawal.

He said: "It seems they have opted for the second."

The Portuguese Prime Minister added that the Soviets and Cubans feared "that to continue and increase their presence would place them in a Vietnam situation."

Reuters reports that in Havana Cuban officials would not comment on the possibility of bringing the troops home and the Angolan Ambassador to Havana, Mr Mawete Joao Baptista, restated his country's view that the Cuban presence should not be connected with SWA/Namibia's independence

A Cuban pull-out from Angola would be popular among ordinary people in Havana, many of whom are unconvinced that Cuba's "internationalism" should stretch as far as Africa.

But Cuba's economy would be hurt if the troops were removed, according to Western analysts who believe that Angola, rich in oil and minerals, is paying as much as R625-million for their presence.

An early report on a possible Cuban pull-out surfaced in the Washington Post, this week.

The report quotes an an article in the Cuban Communist Party newspaper, Granma, which said that the recent talks in Lusaka between South Africa and Angola were being interpreted by foreign diplomats as preparing public opinion for a possible return of the Cuban troops.

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BUSINESS ABBREVIATIONS

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, MARCH 18, 1984

Is this good-bye

SA ready to dump Savimbi in exchange for deal to

By Graham Ferreira

LEADING political and intelligence sources disclosed this week that South Africa was on the point of dumping Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in exchange for a favourable deal with the MPLA Government in Angola.

Savimbi, one of South Africa's few black allies, will be sunk without South Africa's logistical support. But the option of getting the Cubans out of Angola will outweigh considerations of loyalty to one of Africa's few non-Marxist leaders, seen by many outside governments as a black puppet of Pretoria.

A source close to the Department of Foreign Affairs said South Africa, having achieved diplomatic breakthroughs with Luanda and the disengagement agreement in Angola, and the non-aggression pact signed with Mozambique this week, was eager to keep the new wave of co-operation going. Pretoria was eager to conclude a deal with Luanda which would clear the way for the Cubans to leave Angola.

But while Savimbi and his rebel Unita forces continued to be a formidable presence in Angola, it was unlikely the Cubans would leave. South Africa would have no option but to withdraw logistical support for Savimbi, leaving him to the mercy of the MPLA.

A highly placed military intelligence source said: "Up to now South Africa has given arms, food and ammunition to Unita in exchange for information about Swapo's movements and activities in areas of southern Angola controlled by Savimbi's forces.

"But now it's a Catch 22 situation. We want the Cubans out of Angola as a priority, but we are supporting the reason for their staying."

Now that the Swapo threat from Angola has been eliminated, continued support for Unita in its fight against the Angolan Government would be a direct and inexcusable interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

The diplomatic source said it was generally believed that the Cubans themselves would be pleased to withdraw from Angola.

"From what I can gather the Cubans are heartily fed up with the situation. But they can't withdraw now because they would loose face in the rest of Africa, and it would be a diplomatic disaster for them.

The situation between Unita and the MPLA in Angola is comparable to Frelimo/Renamo conflict in Mozambique. Although Pretoria has constantly denied helping the Mozambique resistance in its fight against the Frelimo Government, it was an accepted fact that the old Rhodesian regime helped Renamo.

When Zimbabwe became independant, Renamo turned to South Africa. It is arguable how much help South African actually gave Renamo but the situation now is that Frelimo and South Africa will be fighting together as a security force to ensure the safety of the Cabora Bassa powerline.

"And that is a drastic turnabout compared to the political situation just a few weeks ago," said the source.

Many top level political observers and sources close to the Government were caught completely by surprise at the speed at which the peace accord with Mozambique became a reality.

"The turnabout in Angola is equally dramatic." Unita has been a constant thorn in the flesh to the Marxist MPLA Government who, up to recently, were sympathetic to Swapo. Unita and Swapo also clashed constantly, and Savimbi's dominance in the south was one of the reasons



, Jonas?

get Cubans out of Angola

which forced Swapo training bases further and further north, making it more difficult to infiltrate Namibia.

One of the reasons for the Angolan Government allowing Swapo the use of its territory was that Swapo were committed to fight Unita.

It was the agreement of disengagement in Angola which has crystalized the issue. With Swapo being pushed out of Angola by the ever southward moving disengagement line, the way is clearing for a showdown between Unita and the MPLA.

One of the possible solutions is an Angolan Government including both the MPLA and Unita, but the MPLA has already defeated Unita in the 1975 civil war when South Africa sided with the rebel forces, and with upwards of 30 000 Cuban troops backing the MPLA, it is unlikely that the President Jose dos Santos will be willing to divide his power, especially given the ideological differences betwen himself and Dr Savimbi.

Recently there were rumours of a split in the ruling MPLA, and Dr Savimbi has called for peace negotiations. But since then the peace initiatives with South Africa started, and with Swapo out of the way, South Africa will find itself hard pushed to find an excuse to continue support for Savimbi.

"The last thing we want is to be seen interfering in another country's Government," said the source.

UDF affiliation

-taff Reporter

-l conference in Johannesburg at -ack Sash decided not to become United Democratic Front (UDF). -r, the national president, said Black Sash nevertheless would on its councils and seek to co- DF at every opportunity.

* there had been about a 50-50 -tion of affiliation. Many mem- to lose the independence which * enjoyed.

Cubans could leave Angola

Own Correspondent

LISBON, — There are increasing indications that the 20 000- to 25 000-strong contingent of Cuban soldiers and advisers in Marxist-ruled Angola may soon be sent home, nine years after they arrived to help defend the newly-independent government in Luanda.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and his Defence Minister paid a surprise visit to Havana this weekend for talks with Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

Diplomatic sources in Havana said the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola was expected to be discussed.

The Havana meeting came as the peace initiative between Angola and South Africa gathered strength, and Portuguese reports indicated that the ceasefire between the two countries was building up a momentum likely to make it possible to dispense with the Cubans in the near future.

In a speech in Luanda earlier this month, President Dos Santos reiterated that the Cubans would go home, "once all possibilities of aggression or armed invasion against Angola have disappeared".

But the decision to return the soldiers to Havana has not yet been made, and significant barriers remain to be surmounted.

Not the least of these is the sharp ideological division within the ruling MPLA government, where pro-Soviet factions retain a powerful hold over party decisions. Luanda is also said to be reluctant to antagonize the Soviet Union by removing its Cuban surrogates.

The state of tension in Luanda was reflected in Portuguese reports this weekend of a rumoured coup over the current peace initiative. This was subsequently denied, but incidents involving moderate presidential supporters remain to be explained.

One of the fears over a Cuban withdrawal is that the regime might collapse, especially if pressure from Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels is stepped up.

Part of the current peace talks with South Africa involve a pledge by Pretoria to drop its support for the guerillas and cut supply routes from Namibia.

But Unita spokesmen have made it clear that the movement had alternative sources and will survive a South African cut-off. Most observers here believe that in spite of vehement denials in Luanda, the Angolan Government will be forced into political negotiation with Unita should the war with South Africa end.

Too late for classification

DEATHS

JONES. — Kerry Lee, passed away peacefully on Monday, aged five days. Deeply mourned by his parents and grandparents. Memorial service at the Human and Pitt Chapel, Blankenberg Street, Bellville on Monday, March 19 at 11am. Cremation private. Arrangements AVABOB Human & Pitt. Telephone 97 2601 Bellville.

SHAW. — Wally, passed away suddenly on March 16. Fondly remembered by Dennis, Joan, Peter, Arthur, Norah and Mabel of Balderton, Nottinghamshire.

SHAW. — Wally, passed away suddenly on March 16. Beloved son of, Norah Marchbank and brother of Lionel and Marjorie, and brother-in-law of Keith. Sadly missed.

SHAW. — Wally, passed away suddenly on March 16. Beloved father of Janet and granddad of Timmy. Sadly missed. Funeral notice later.

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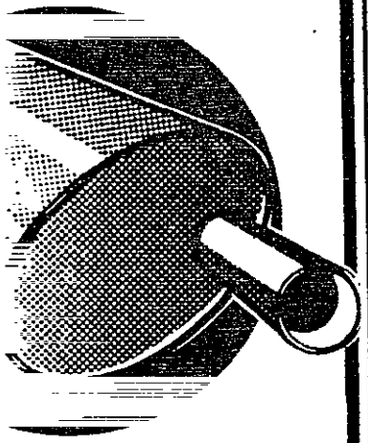

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Traffic lights computerized

Staff Reporter

MOTORISTS, cyclists and pedestrians using the Liesbeek Parkway/Park Road/Campground Road intersections may discover that the traffic lights are being a little friendlier to them from this morning.

Last night technicians from the city's Electrical Department switched on a new R7 000 computerized controller to activate the traffic lights.

"We don't promise a dramatically shorter waiting time, but the micro-processor in the controller will optimize operations," said Mr M van Rensburg, Assistant City Electrical Engineer (Test and Metering).



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Conditions for withdrawal are laid down

Cuba agrees to pull troops out of Angola

Havana

Cuba has agreed to a gradual withdrawal of its estimated 25 000 troops from Angola provided certain conditions are met, an official announcement in Havana said yesterday.

A joint statement signed by President Fidel Castro and visiting Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said the main conditions were:

- A unilateral withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory.
- Acceptance of United Nations rulings calling for the withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia and its "true" independence.
- An end to all acts of aggression against Angola by South Africa, the United States and its allies and an end to aid for "counter-revolutionaries".

The declaration said that meeting these conditions would merely mean respecting "the norms of international law and of the United Nations Charter".

Diplomats and Western analysts had speculated that Angola would ask Cuba to remove its troops as part of a regional peace plan.

They said that, while most of conditions for a troop withdrawal appeared the same, the timing of the declaration was crucial.

"It shows that the Cubans are definitely prepared to go along with the recent peace moves in Southern Africa," a diplomat said.

But President Castro told a visiting European Minister last year that he believed the Angolan Government would collapse without the support of the Cubans, who also have several thousand technicians, teachers and doctors in Angola.

Western analysts say that Cuba receives almost R500 million a year in badly needed hard currency from Angola for stationing its troops there.

Step forward

The Star's Political Correspondent reports that the Havana announcement means that the tripartite accord thrashed out in Lusaka has taken another step forward.

While the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, today refused to comment significantly on the move it seems that some hard negotiating still has to take place on the conditions set by Angola.

Already met

The first of the three conditions, a unilateral withdrawal of South African soldiers from Angola, has already been met in principle.

The second condition is so vague that it needs further explanation — it calls on South Africa to accept UN rulings on withdrawal of troops from Namibia.

So far, the only UN rulings are those associated with Security Council Resolution 435 and South Africa has said it is willing to implement these if the Cubans leave.

The final condition, that America and South Africa cease their support for Unita and end acts of aggression against Angola, could be the trickiest to fulfil.

Unita has support from a large lobby in Washington and rumblings have already been heard about Unita being "dumped" by South Africa.

Argus 26/3/82

Pik reacts to offer with caution

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE announcement that Cuba is willing to withdraw its troops from Angola under certain conditions means that the tripartite accord agreed to between South Africa, Angola and the United States in Lusaka can go another step forward.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, today declined to react significantly to reports from Havana about an offer to withdraw Cuban troops on certain conditions.

All that a spokesman for the department would say was that the full text of a statement was being awaited before the department could react.

NUJOMA'S APPEAL

Mr Botha was also cautious in his reaction to an appeal by the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, for urgent and direct talks between Swapo and the South African Government on the South West African dispute.

Mr Nujoma did so in an interview from Lusaka.

Mr Botha said: "I do not consider it advantageous for the initiatives launched by the South African and Angolan Governments to promote peace in the border area continually to react to the public pronouncements of individual leaders of South West Africa."

Sharp rise in level of rhetoric, but . . .

Angolan peace talks still on course

By Peter Sullivan,
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The Angolan peace initiative remained on course today despite a sharp rise in the level of rhetoric between the South African and Angolan Governments.

Harsh criticism by Cuba and Angola of the "disgraceful apartheid regime" coupled to their "conviction that such a repugnant regime is historically condemned to disappear" lit a short fuse at the Department of Foreign Affairs and elicited a sharp retort.

The Havana statement's labelling of the African National Congress (ANC) as the sole and legal representative of the people of South Africa has particularly infuriated the South African Government.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said that, if this accurately reflected the Angolan Government's views, it would be more consistent for it to negotiate the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola with the ANC.

He has demanded an urgent clarification of the Angolan Government's position, tossing the diplomatic ball back into Angola's court by requesting answers to two questions:

- Does the Angolan/Cuban statement constitute a repudiation of the Lusaka agreement?
- Is this statement a call by the Luanda regime for an end to the activities of the Joint Monitoring Commission?

Mr Botha said the language of the Havana statement was unacceptable to the South African Government.

But, as far as the conditions set by the Havana statement for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola were concerned, Mr Botha was more moderate in his response.

He said South Africa's position remained that it was prepared to seek a peaceful settlement in Namibia on the basis of UN Resolution 435.

"The one issue still to be resolved is the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola on the understanding that they will not be replaced by any other hostile forces."

Agreement

"Firm agreement will have to be reached on the fundamental requirements of Cuban withdrawal and a committment will have to be obtained from the Angolan Government regarding the implementation of such an agreement."

Mr Botha said South Africa still believed its proposal for a regional conference of all parties involved in the conflict would help to create the atmosphere for a resolution of the problems of the area, including the withdrawal of Cuban forces.

In surprising contrast to the anger within the rhetoric, Mr Botha expressed South Africa's satisfaction "with the co-operative relationship which has thus far been developed between the Angolan and South African components of the JMC".

Mr Botha said the statement by President dos Santos and President Fidel Castro earlier this week in Havana starkly contradicted the spirit and letter of the Lusaka Agreement.

The Havana statement is filled with typical Eastern Bloc sloganeering.

For instance, it says that the Cuban Government "honours the heroism of the Angolan people who, for almost a quarter of a century, have been waging a liberation war against the colonists, racists and the imperialist masters and their lackeys, and who have paid a high price in blood to gain Angolan independence and to provide internationalist aid to other brother countries".

The reason for the sudden rhetoric from Angola and Cuba has been given as Soviet pique at the apparent success of South Africa's peace pact with Mozambique and an attempt to regain some face in Southern Africa.

10 JMC casualties all Angolans

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The casualties suffered by the joint patrols of the Angolan and South African monitoring commission are all Angolans.

Since the JMC started overseeing the disengagement of South African troops in southrn Angola, there have been three clashes between JMC members and Swapo "elements", Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said yesterday.

In the clashes eight members of Swapo were killed, two members of the JMC killed and eight injured.

According to Government sources none of the injured soldiers was South African.

The clashes were on March 8, 11 and 12.

Mr Botha said the JMC was due to move south to Mupa as soon as "practical arrangements have been finalised".

"The problems which caused the delay in the commission's scheduled departure from Cuvelai (its northern starting point) included the continuing presence of Swapo elements in the area monitored by the JMC, as well as other violations in terms of the Lusaka agreement," he sais.

Moves point to pull-out of Cubans

Cape Times 21/3/86 (5)

From STANLEY UYS

LONDON. — Two developments were seen here yesterday as indicating that the Angolan Government may be poised to begin the phased repatriation of the 25 000 Cuban troops in the country.

In Havana, Cuba's President Fidel Castro and the visiting Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos issued a joint communique saying the withdrawal of Cuban soldiers could begin as soon as South Africa complied with three conditions.

In Lisbon, it was learnt that the heads of State of the five former Portuguese colonies are to meet "soon" in the Angolan capital Luanda for an extraordinary summit on the Angolan-SWA/Namibia peace negotiations.

It was further reported in Lisbon that the peace terms with South Africa were causing strains in the MPLA government in Luanda, but that the pragmatists under President Dos Santos were in the ascendancy over the hardliners.

The joint communique issued in Havana caused a stir in international diplomatic circles. The general view among Western diplomats was that the communique should not be taken at its face falue, which appeared to be a restatement of conditions that have not been wholly acceptable to South Africa until now.

Compromise

The feeling is that President Dos Santos would not have gone to Havana and spent three days in discussion with President Castro if he did not believe a compromise was possible.

The first condition stated in the communique — that of a unilateral withdrawal of South African troops from Angola — in fact is already under way if the Unita will continue to receive support through Zaire from various backers.

Even this reservation, according to some observers, need not necessarily prove to be an insurmountable obstacle, because Angola can repatriate a contingent of Cuban soldiers, leaving enough other Cubans behind to help protect Luanda against Unita attacks.

The symbolic effect of 10 000 or more Cubans withdrawing from Angola, it is felt, would be dramatic, and would please both the South Africans and the Americans.

Observers who have studied the wording of the communique believe that in spite of the harsh tone of the three stated conditions, the Angolan Government's position is in fact a flexible one, and that a compromise is within reach, although such a compromise would not necessarily lead immediately to SWA/Namibia's independence.

As Angola and South Africa inch towards a peace settlement, Unita is showing signs of concern that it may be left high and dry. It issued a statement in Lisbon yesterday expressing the belief that the Angolan Government would be obliged soon to open talks with it.

Unita claims the MPLA government is sharply divided into factions, for and against talks with Unita.

Unita is hoping that the talks will lead to it acquiring a share in the Angolan government. This is also believed to be Pretoria's desire.

The five heads of State who will meet in Luanda soon will be from Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome/Principe.

Contacts



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The first condition stated in the communique — that of a unilateral withdrawal of South African troops from Angola — in fact is already under way if the term "unilateral" is interpreted losely. Angola, by this definition, is also "unilaterally" observing the "disengagement" and non-violation of the operational area.

The second condition stated in the communique is seen as the tricky one — acceptance by South Africa of UN resolutions calling for the withdrawal of South African troops from SWA/Namibia and of the territory's "true independence".

Flexible

Few diplomats expect SWA/Namibia to attain its independence this year, and they expect that the process of "true" independence will be protracted. But they believe that if Angola is flexible on this point, a formula acceptable to both sides can be found.

The third condition calls for an end to all acts of aggression against Angola by South Africa, the United States and its allies and an end to aid for "counter revolutionaries", particularly Unita.

South Africa, it is thought, will find little difficulty over publicly affirming its compliance with this resolution. But the Angolan Government may fear that Unita studied the wording of the communique believe that in spite of the harsh tone of the three stated conditions, the Angolan Government's position is in fact a flexible one, and that a compromise is within reach, although such a compromise would not necessarily lead immediately to SWA/Namibia's independence.

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Contacts

Mozambique and Angola are likely to report on their contacts with South Africa and on Mozambique's conclusion of a non-aggression pact at Komati last week.

● The US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, yesterday gave a cautious welcome to the Cuban agreement to gradually withdraw its troops from Angola under certain conditions.

Asked about the communique at a press conference, Mr Shultz said it seemed to indicate that the Cubans and the Angolans were discussing "the right subject".

He said that if the talks led to progress towards withdrawal of the Cubans, "I think that's positive".

Administration officials called the communique a major statement and said the US wanted to talk to the Angolans about it.

Mr Shultz also called last week's signing of a security agreement between South Africa and Mozambique "an historic event".

Andre Viljoen reports that the Swapo department of information and publicity in Lusaka yesterday declined to comment on Cuba and Angola's conditional agreement to withdraw Cuban troops from Angola.



Angolan pact in jeopardy

CNT Times 21/3/84 (5)

By MICHAEL ACOTT
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA's relations with Angola went from cautious friendship to crisis last night following official Angolan backing of Swapo and the African National Congress.

An angry statement by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, countered cautious hopes that Angola was willing to send home the Cuban troops and thus facilitate a settlement of the lingering SWA/Namibia dispute.

The government has now seen the full text of the joint declaration in Havana on Monday by the Angolan President, Mr Eduardo dos Santos, and President Fidel Castro of Cuba.

It is not particularly worried by conditions set by the two presidents for the withdrawal of Cuban forces. They are not new and officials do not regard them as necessarily precluding agreement with Angola.

Doubts

But the government believes a section of the statement not previously reported in full raises doubts about the willingness of the Angolan Government to keep its agreement with South Africa.

That agreement, made in Lusaka last month, has led to the formation of a joint South African-Angolan force to monitor the military "disengagement" in southern Angola, including neutralizing Swapo and ANC forces in the area

South Africa believes the agreement, and with it the progress towards peace in Angola and ultimately the prospects of a SWA/Namibian settlement, has now been jeopardized.

There was speculation last night that the Angolan statement might have been prompted by Soviet anger at last week's South African-Mozambique peace pact, or by a radical faction in the Angolan Government wanting to stop a possible South African accord with Angola.

The government has been angered by President Dos Santos expressing admiration for and solidarity with "the heroic struggle being waged by the peoples of Namibia and South Africa under the direction of their sole and legal representatives, Swapo and the ANC".

Mr Botha asked in a statement how the Angolan Government could co-operate in a joint force which had already engaged Swapo guerillas in southern Angola and at the same time support Swapo in this way.

"It is evident from the statement that the Angolan Government identifies itself with Swapo's aggression against South West Africa and the ANC's violent activities against South Africa," he said.

He also made it clear that the South African Government regarded the statement, signed by President Dos Santos and President Castro on Monday, as more than predictable emotional rhetoric.

Mr Botha said South Africa was still prepared to implement the United Nations settlement plan for SWA/Namibia on condition there was agreement on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola. He repeated his proposal for a conference of all parties to the conflict in Angola and SWA/Namibia.

Critical

"However, before there can be any progress on these questions, the South African Government will have to obtain an urgent clarification of the Angolan Government's position in the light of the critical situation which has been brought about by the Angolan-Cuban statement," he said.

"In particular, it will have to establish whether this joint statement constitutes a repudiation of the Lusaka Agreement and whether it indicates a call for the end to the activities of the Joint Monitoring Commission by the Luanda regime."

Observers believe this last sentence is the key one and expect the United States Government and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to be asked to mediate.

If Luanda indicates the agreement with South Africa still holds, the peace plan can be saved in spite of the Havana statement.

● **Moves point to pull-out of Cubans, page 7**
● **See leading article, page 14**

JMC 'clashes with Swapo'

CAPE TIMES 21/3/88

Political Staff

JOINT patrols of South African and Angolan military forces had clashed with Swapo guerillas in Southern Angola on at least three occasions since the begining of the month, it was disclosed in Cape Town last night.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said eight members of Swapo and two members of the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) had been killed in the clashes and five members of the JMC had been injured.

The JMC was set up at a meeting in Lusaka last month by Angola and South Africa to monitor military disengagement in Southern Angola as a prelude to a SWA/Namibia settlement.

There were suggestions last week that JMC operations had been carried out against Swapo, but they could not be confirmed.

Last night Mr Botha said: "A number of incidents resulting from Swapo activities were brought to the commission's attention and practical action is being taken to counteract Swapo infiltration."

He said there had been clashes between mixed JMC patrols and Swapo elements on March 8, 11 and 12.

Mr Botha added that the South African component on the JMC was satisfied "at this stage" that "adequate steps" were being taken to resolve violations of the terms of the agreement reached between Angola and South Africa in Lusaka on February 16, "including the removal of Swapo from the area monitored by the commission".

It is reliably understood that the members of the JMC who were killed in the clashes were Angolan troops.

ANC viewpoint

He said the ANC was entitled to its viewpoint that the attainment of "freedom and democracy in South Africa" would be delayed unless countries in the region granted it their full support and the right to establish bases there.

"We ourselves would have felt like them had we been the party affected — that's only natural.

"But we have also pointed out to the ANC that we are a very vulnerable country and that we haven't got the

they provoked South African attack.

He also pointed out that the countries of Southern Africa were the only major contributors to the OAU liberation committee fund which channels money to the liberation movements.

On his attitude towards violent change in South Africa he said:

"That is a matter for the people of South Africa, their liberation movements and their leadership to decided.

"We feel that as long as whatever form of struggle they decide to undertake is moral, justified and has the support of the people of South Africa, then who are we to deny them moral support?"

He supported the principle of an economic constellation of Southern African states but said he would not support South African participation in such a venture until it had a "sufficiently democratic" internal political system.

He said Zimbabwe remained opposed to direct contact with South Africa at ministerial level although contacts between trade and security officials of the two countries continued as they had been doing for a long time.

Zimbabwean security officials had complained to their South African counterparts about South African destabilization activities which he said included the "management of dissidents in Matabeleland" and the infiltration of saboteurs into Zimbabwe.

He had not yet studied the text of the conditional offer by Angola and Cuba to withdraw Cuban troops from Angola, but said he had long been aware that Angola was prepared to start withdrawing Cubans on condition that South Africa also withdrew its troops and took steps towards implementing United Nations resolution 435 on SWA/Namibian independence.

● 'Peace out of a barrel of a gun,' page 2

● ANC slates Maputo pact, page 6

West is cool over SWA peace upset

Cape Times 22/3/84

By MICHAEL ACOTT
Political Correspondent

WHILE South Africa awaits an explanation from Angola about its support for Swapo and the African National Congress, Western diplomats do not believe the regional accord has suffered a serious setback.

They concede, however, that the South African Government has been genuinely angered by the statement issued in Havana earlier this week by President Dos Santos of Angola and President Castro of Cuba.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said on Tuesday night that "a critical situation" had arisen by what amounted to implicit Angolan repudiation of its agreement to monitor the military disengagement in southern Angola.

He rejected as "unacceptable" the Cuban and Angolan statement that Swapo and the ANC were the sole and legal representatives of SWA/Namibia and South Africa respectively.

It is understood that messages have been conveyed directly to the Angolan Government, and through the United States and Zambian governments, seeking the "urgent clarification" Mr Botha demanded.

But Western diplomats said yesterday they were not too concerned about the development, which South Africa sees as jeopardizing progress towards a settlement in SWA/Namibia by threatening a peaceful settlement with Angola.

Annoyance

They believed the South African reaction was based only partly on genuine annoyance. Part of it they see as designed for internal political consumption in South Africa.

Western governments believe the important part of the Havana statement is the preparedness to withdraw Cuban troops from Angola, not the formal statement of support for Swapo and the ANC.

Analysts have pointed out that the conditions set by President Dos Santos and President Castro for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola have not been rejected by South Africa and could be resolved in further talks.

Disgraced footballer takes overdose

LIMA, Peru. — A soccer player who missed what would have been his team's winning goal committed suicide after being driven off the field by hoots and catcalls from the fans, police said.

Police in the north Peruvian city of Trujillo said on Tuesday that 19-year-old Aldo Durand died on Sunday from an overdose of insecticide.

Earlier that afternoon, he had played a tough match for his soccer team, Deportivo Chau. The team was awarded a penalty kick. Durand lined up to carry it off but missed the goal that would have put Deportivo Chau ahead.

Disgraced, Durand was hissed and booed by the fans and even by his own teammates, police said. He returned home and killed himself. — UPI



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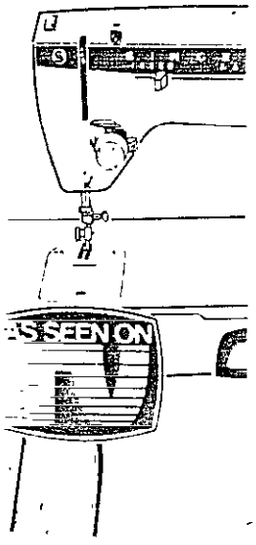


US and Angola to talk on Cubans?

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A meeting between the United States and Angola to discuss the next move in the Namibia peace effort is expected to be held soon.

Observers here believe those at the meeting might discuss the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, said to be the only remaining obstacle holding up implementation of the United Nations plan for independence.

Apart from confirming that the meeting would be held "in the near future", a State Department spokesman yesterday had no details.

He confirmed that the "disengagement" operation involving the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola was "proceeding satisfactorily".

He indicated that the US did not believe the disengagement had been jeopardised by the angry reaction of South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to Angolan-Cuban communique on Monday which agreed to the withdrawal of Cubans — on certain conditions.

"The South Africans have made their point," he said. "South Africa, like the other parties, continues to approach the peace process in a serious manner, and we are working with all parties to carry that process forward.

"We note that South Africa has not taken exception to the basic message in the communique and has expressed its satisfaction with disengagement"

While South Africa has been pursuing the disengagement exercise, the US is believed to have been working actively to get the MPLA Government in Luanda to agree to specific details of the Cuban withdrawal

Such an agreement is seen as the logical next step after the disengagement agreement

Pik: Report in Post not accurate

By Peter Sullivan

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, today moved to defuse the controversy caused by an interview the Washington Post had with the Administrator-General of Namibia, Dr Willie van Niekerk.

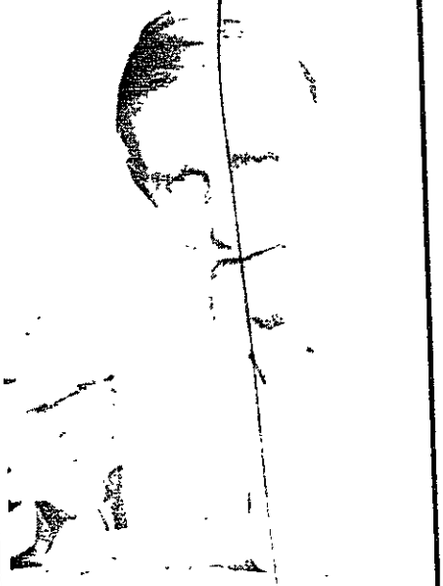
The Post report implied Dr van Niekerk said the South African Government was no longer interested in implementing UN Resolution 435 and alternatives should be considered.

Mr Botha said he had personally contacted Dr van Niekerk about the report, and had been assured it was not accurate.

"In my opinion Dr van Niekerk correctly conveyed the Government's position

"The Government has consistently made it clear that Resolution 435 could not be implemented unless agreement was reached on a Cuban withdrawal.

"Obviously if such an agreement cannot be reached an alternative way of achieving the territory's independence will have to be found — preferably with international recognition."



KWV's Hugo ... scented sparkling is the solution

dy's archrival, Scotch whisky. It's time, he says, to stop fighting the whisky men and to develop alternative brandy products. Again he suggests a lighter, lower alcohol-content product to try and capture the whisky drinker.

One gets the feeling, though, that he wouldn't be averse to slapping higher duties on whisky. But he admits that this would probably lead to retaliatory action against local agricultural exports.

The member of Parliament for Ceres — in which district lie his family farms "Hugoskraal" and "Wilgevlei" — Hugo is practically a Cape institution. He's Boland Bank's chairman, a director of Nasionale Pers, as well as being on the board of various co-operatives.

He says he has reached the age where he needs to relax at times. This he does by getting away from it all — spending time with his Afrikander cattle on Wilgevlei.

JONAS SAVIMBI

His way, his war

These days there seems to be only one real obstacle to a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, and implementation of the UN settlement plan in Namibia. It's the continuation of the civil war waged by Jonas Savimbi's *Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola* (Unita).

Few people feel neutral about this bearded, thickset guerrilla leader — you either admire him or despise him. He's seen either as a brave African nationalist who refuses to give up his struggle against foreign occupation of his country; or as a puppet of SA and the West. Some even label him power-hungry, the leader of a "bandit" gang.

But many respect him for rewriting the textbooks on guerrilla warfare. Unita is fighting its war entirely from within its own territory — a unique situation. It's also the first anti-communist movement to be doing so well.

That has become a problem. Unita's momentum is such that even without outside help it will continue its bloody war against the Cubans and the MPLA.

Savimbi is said to be a man with considerable charisma. He's articulate, affable, and hardly needs anyone's testimony to his perseverance. Some believe his greatest mistake was allying with SA during the civil war and invasion of 1975, a taint that's counted against him in other African states. But supporters argue that it was stunning foresight to get on terms with the regional superpower.

Jonas Malheiro Savimbi is the son of a very prominent Ovimbundu family from Chilesso in Angola's Bie province. He was born on August 3, 1934, at Munhango, in the Moxico province on the Benguela railway line.

His father, Lot Savimbi, was the stationmaster, an active Protestant — founding schools and churches wherever he went. Young Savimbi got his (Protestant) schooling in the area. In 1958 he was awarded a scholarship by the United Church of Christ to study medicine at Lisbon University.

He was a brilliant student, but left Portugal for Switzerland following harassment by the Portuguese secret police. There he studied at Fribourg University and later at the University of Lausanne, where he eventually received a doctorate in political and judicial studies.

At the suggestion of Kenya's Tom Mboya, Savimbi in 1961 joined a movement formed by Holden Roberto. He became secretary-general. With Roberto he created the FNLA on March 27 1962, and established a government in exile (GRAE) later that year.

But Savimbi and Roberto did not see eye to eye for long. Savimbi broke away in 1964. On March 23 1966 he founded Unita with a solid base of support in eastern Angola and what he then called "12 men with knives" as the nucleus of his force, called the Forcas Armadas de Libertacao de Angola (Fala), which grew into Unita's armed wing, now 15 000 strong.

Fala fought long and skilfully against the Portuguese, then against the Cubans and MPLA in the war of 1975; and then in August last year the really big offensive began. This enabled Unita to occupy the entire border with Zambia, most of the border with Zaire, and large sections of half the provinces of Angola.

Although many Unita leaders — including Savimbi — have had training in Russia, the Soviets were quick to put their money on the MPLA. This was apparently because Savimbi was too much an individualist for them.



Unita's Savimbi ... Jonas's last stand?

Worse, he was then supported by China. Indeed he still has some Maoist leanings. At the moment, though, his organisation is fiercely anti-communist and pro-West.

Unity of all Angola's people still is one of the strongest points in Unita's political programme. But strong tribal divisions and personality clashes make it virtually impossible. Not even unity with the pro-Western FNLA is on the cards. But Africa and the world will still hear a lot from Savimbi.

WYNAND VAN GRAAN

Going after growth

You have to catch Bophuthatswana's National Development Corporation (BNDC) head, Wynand van Graan, on the wing. Briefly alighting in an ultra-plush Johannesburg hotel, he's just back from Bremen and London, on his way to Mmabatho for a morning before trekking off to Bloemfontein...

"If it's Friday it must be Jo'burg," he says, only half joking.

Van Graan's brief is to oversee and facilitate the development of an industrial and commercial sector in Bophuthatswana. All would-be investors are referred to the corporation for scrutiny or assistance.

Bophuthatswana is a test case of a kind. Of all SA's homelands, it's the most economically viable. There are its mines, proximity to the PWV, land area, some industry — and a relatively stable govern-

(5) Daily Dispatch 23/3/84

SWA second option may leave US in dust

By SIMON BARBER

Daily Dispatch man in Washington who is now on a refamiliarisation tour of South Africa.

DURBAN — Much to the Reagan administration's dismay, the South African Government believes it can exploit its growing rapprochement with the frontline states to grant Namibia independence without first receiving a commitment from Luanda on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

While there can be little doubt that Foreign Minister Pik Botha is sincere in his insistence that UN resolution 435 can be implemented only after the Cuban issue has been settled, it is equally clear that he and his advisers are increasingly enamoured with a second option.

The new scenario, which has emerged in a series of interviews with senior South African officials over the past fortnight, is based on Pretoria's now all but immutable decision to decolonise Namibia as quickly as is decently possible. It runs as follows:

Bottled up by Fapla and the SADF inside Angola, and smashed by Koevoet inside Namibia, Mr Sam Mujoma's Swapo guerillas are losing the war. The battered population of Ovamboland wants peace. The military struggle has been thoroughly deglamorised even among those it is supposed to liberate.

Politically, however, Swapo victory is assured. Let its leaders only return to the territory, settle upon a constitution and contest an election, and they can have everything through the ballot box they ever sought with AK 47s. South Africa has accepted this, and in its desire to be rid of the place, will not interfere.

If Swapo does go solely political, the need for 7 000 Untag blue helmets disappears. The transition would instead be monitored, and hopefully ratified, by the frontline states. In the newly popular phraseology, an authentically African solution would have been achieved to an authentically African problem.

By the same token the Cubans across the border would no longer present a problem. Pretoria has abandoned the "total onslaught" paradigm, and now concedes that its sole worry about the Cubans was their proximity, as the "sponsors" of Swapo, to the border region where most of the voting in a Namibian election would take place. Demilitarise Swapo and such "sponsorship" ceases to matter.

The South African officials wisely insist that this option can go into effect only if the frontline states, and, of course, Swapo and the Multiparty Conference, are agreeable. They further state that if Luanda does indeed come across with a firm commitment on Cuban withdrawal, the original 435 plan will still stand.

But as the Prime Minister noted in his January 31 statement to Parliament, and despite the promising noises from Havana this week, Pretoria's view is that the Cubans are not about to leave any time soon. Their presence is predicated not upon South Africa, but upon Unita.

No one was prepared to listen to Mr Botha's offer to mediate an Angolan settlement that might have obviated Luanda's need for its Cubans backers. Instead, the American ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel, condescendingly urged Pretoria to learn to walk before it tried to run. South Africa was "overloading the circuits", a phrase, interestingly enough, that the Americans also used at the outset of the negotiations which led to Nkomati.

This would have been fair enough, except that the Americans have themselves shown little inclination to confront the Unita issue. Furthermore, attempts by Dr Crocker to give Luanda some fresh incentive to deal on the Cuban issue — an offer, for example, of US diplomatic recognition before all the Cubans left — appear to have been rudely slapped down from within the Reagan administration.

For the Reaganites, the real issue in Southern Africa is Cuba, not Namibia. Central America is far more important to the administration than the dark and distant continent. And to inflict another defeat on Fidel Castro is politically a far more fruitful proposition than brokering independence for a country with minimal voter recognition.

Pretoria's position is that it is waiting for the Americans to negotiate a Cuban withdrawal package, but that it cannot wait indefinitely. Having achieved a historic rapprochement with Mozambique, and seeing the rest of South Africa's neighbours on their economic, political and social knees, Mr Botha is feeling his oats on the question of Africanising regional diplomacy and wants to give it a try on the other side of the continent.

From his viewpoint, the advantages must be enormous. To remove the UN from the equation would be a spectacular coup, eclipsing totally the failure to rid the region of Cuban forces. The problem is that is means leaving Dr Crocker and his colleagues — without whom the process might never have got this far — sitting in the dust.



Garoeb ... siding with the winner?

NAMIBIA

Peace survives

The promising Namibian settlement drive has run into deep, though not unnavigable, waters. Despite the growling from Cape Town and Havana, it has not been fatally damaged.

SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha's angry reaction to a statement by Cuban President Fidel Castro and Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos, supporting Swapo and the ANC's "struggle against apartheid," is seen as a tactical move. It is therefore strong protest — not an indication of breakdown. Official sources in SA told the *FM* that the matter would be discussed directly with the Angolan government "in the very near future."

Leaving aside the rhetoric to which Botha objected, the Cuban declaration of conditional willingness to withdraw from Angola is seen as significant and of psychological importance. It was made at the end of Dos Santos's visit to Havana and in the same week that two MPLA soldiers died in clashes with Swapo men in the area in which the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) is operating.

Until two months ago, Swapo and MPLA soldiers fought side by side against SA soldiers in southern Angola; now they some-[illegible]es shoot each other.

"... must all realise that radical decisions are being taken by a number of African leaders," a diplomatic source told the *FM*. "It would be unrealistic not to expect some rhetoric. There is a lot of facesaving to be done."

South African sources say the problem with the Havana statement is that it seems to go further than rhetoric; that it almost took the form of an international agreement. The *FM* was assured that SA would be satisfied with a statement by Angola that it stands by February's Lusaka agreement.

In Namibia itself, a shake-up in the internal political arena is looming. Chief Justus Garoeb, leader of the Damara Council and one of the strongest leaders in the Multi-Party Conference (MPC), this week secretly visited Lusaka for talks with Swapo leader Sam Nujoma. Sources close to Garoeb told the *FM* that he is "seriously considering" joining Swapo.

Garoeb, who is under strong pressure from pro-Swapo elements in his party, is expected to announce his decision to colleagues in the MPC on Monday. If he joins Swapo, it will be a blow for the conference, and others could follow.

The *FM* was told that Nora Chase, the secretary general of Swanu, also an MPC party, and the past president of the organisation, Gerson Veii, held secret talks with Nujoma two weeks ago. They, too, are expected to join Swapo.

Swanu president Moses Katjiuongua also asked for a meeting, but was told that Nujoma would only see him if he denounced the MPC. Katjiuongua had hoped to persuade Nujoma to hold talks with the MPC.

☐ Namibia also saw the emergence of a secret militant movement on the far Right this week. It was formed at Otjiwarongo and is called the White Liberation Front (WLF). It is said to incorporate an armed wing called the White Brigade. The leader is known as "the White Horse."

In its first statement, the movement threatened to "chase out or annihilate" any foreigners or UN troops who arrived in Namibia. It is possible the WLF has some support among rightwing radicals in the security forces — especially the commandos in the northern areas.

Angola claims 150 rebels killed

(5)

Star

23/3/84

LISBON — Angolan Government troops have killed 150 rebels in the southern Cuando-Cubango province bordering on Namibia, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported last night.

Angop added that in other recent operations in the province, over which the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) claimed control, government forces had freed "dozens of people kidnapped by Unita and captured enormous quantities of arms, ammunition and uniforms". — Sapa-Reuter.

Luanda struggle slows peace drive

THE snarl-up in the delicate peace initiative in the Angola-Namibia region has been traced to fierce internal conflict between moderates and radicals in Lunada's MPLA government.

By BRIAN POTTINGER

For the moment, everything is on hold pending a clarification from President Jose dos Santos of this week's controversial Havana statement — itself believed to be a symptom of a power struggle within the MPLA.

Requests for the clarification came from the South African and United States governments.

□ □ □

A response from the Dos Santos government is expected within days.

Upon it hangs the future of the next step in the Southern African peace initiative which has already been crowned with success in Mozambique and picked up considerable momentum in Angola.

Possibilities of further face-to-face meetings between the United States and Angolan governments in the near future are strong, and another high-level South African-Angolan tete-a-tete is also being cautiously explored.

For the moment, observers believe, indications are that Luanda will keep the initiative on course.

But strong reports persist that the Angolan Government is deeply riven between moderate factions — who wish to keep on with the peace initiative by expelling Swapo, retiring the Cuban military forces and striking a bargain with Unita — and the hardline elements who wish to see the initiative founder.

Indications were this week that President Dos Santos has majority support in pursuing the peace initiative with South Africa — but that he remains opposed to striking a deal with Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita.

Part of the internal MPLA power struggle surfaced this week when the relatively smooth unfolding of the Angolan initiative was rocked by a joint statement by Presidents Dos Santos of Angola, and Fidel Castro of Cuba, which ended with a ringing endorsement of Swapo and the ANC and condemnation of Pretoria.

□ □ □

The statement reaffirmed earlier Angolan and Cuban positions that the Cubans would be withdrawn only when agreement is reached on implementation of UN Resolution 435 in Namibia.

Significance was read into the timing of the statement, and South African sources maintain the preconditions set by the Angolans could still form the basis for negotiation.

But when the interpreted text of the statement with its barbed final paragraph was made available to the Department of Foreign Affairs on Monday, the immediate response in Cape Town was that the initiative be called off.

The US — key partner in the negotiating process — was informed of the South African view and immediately counselled caution.

By that time, however, the South African Government had already decided it would make a low-key statement calling on the Angolan Government to say whether it still stood by the spirit of the Lusaka Agreement — the deal whereby the South African military withdrawal from Southern Angola was settled.

The South African Government's attitude was conveyed to the Angolan Government via various channels including the Americans and, it is understood, some frontline leaders.

President Dos Santos, who arrived back from Cuba on Wednesday, was scheduled to discuss the issue with the Angolan Government's Central Committee this week.

United States sources have indicated a high-ranking meeting between the US Government and Angolan officials is on the cards to further discuss the wobble that has developed in the peace process.

Also on the agenda will be the sort of scheduling the Angolans have in mind for the withdrawl of Cuban forces in the event of agreement on implementation of Resolution 435.

□ □ □

The central issue now is the power balance within the Angolan Government.

Initial South African response to the Havana statement was that either the Soviet Union was attempting to derail the initiative or that more hardline elements inside the Angolan Government had swayed Dos Santos to make the statement.

South African Foreign Affairs sources dismissed suggestions this week that the



PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS
SA awaits clarification

response to the Angolan-Cuban provocation had been overkill and intended to protect the Government's back in domestic politics.

They claimed the status of the statement had made it impossible to overlook the rhetoric and a strong response was essential.

But despite the bumpy patch in relations the prospects for keeping the initiative on the rails appear good.

The Joint Monitoring Commission — now fielding combined South African and Angolan units to intercept Swapo elements moving south — has completed its work at Cuvelai and on Wednesday moved to Mupa, which is one step further south and another step towards complete South African disengagement.

SA-Angola peace plans still intact

By PATRICIA CHENEY
Washington

THE South African-Angolan peace initiative appears to be back back on the track.

US State Department officials this week accepted Foreign Minister Pik Botha's explanation concerning comments made by the South West African Administrator-General, Dr Willem van Niekerk, that the United Nations plan for SWA Independence was dead.

"Mr Botha said that Dr van Niekerk was misquoted, that in fact he said that if the Cubans did not withdraw from Angola then South Africa would have to look at an alternative plan for an internal settlement with international recognition," a senior official said.

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"As far as we are concerned Cuban withdrawal has always been a precondition of a SWA settlement and we are aiming for that," the official said.

He added that Mr Botha had assured the US that South Africa still viewed UN Security Council Resolution 435 as the legitimate route to a settlement.

Dr van Niekerk's comments, made this week to three newsmen, caused the State Department to react sharply and angrily to what they saw as an attempt to subvert the American initiative in the region.

The report, which appeared in the Washington Post, said Dr van Niekerk told reporters that he did not believe the Luanda Government would send home the Cuban troops which are currently shoring up the beleaguered regime.

The report quoted Dr van Niekerk as saying: "I can't see how they can afford to let them (the Cubans) go unless they start talking to Unita, and I don't see that happening.

"If there's anybody in his right mind who thinks Luanda can survive without the Cubans, well, I just can't subscribe to that view."

Said one senior US official: "What do the Angolans think when South African Government officials start to make comments that appear contrary to the accepted policy.

"This is the type of thing which makes the MPLA wonder with whom it is negotiating.

"It makes them think that there is some sort of secret agenda between South Africa and the US, which is nonsense."

Angola may be next to make peace with SA

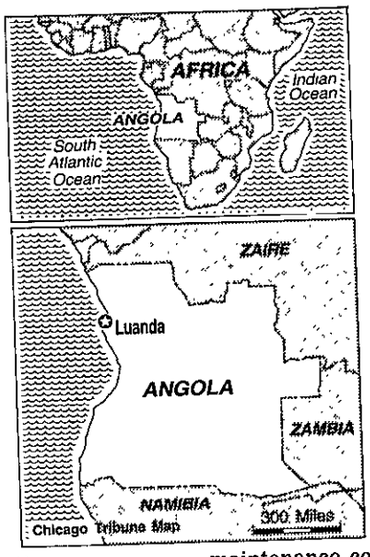
Cape Times 26/3/84 (5)



LONDON. — It is a sign of the times in Southern Africa that attention has once more become wonderfully concentrated on the earlier plan for "bringing the apartheid state to its knees". That is to say, by applying sanctions to the Republic.

The major strategists in organizing a world attack on apartheid, that is the United Nations and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, have recently had before them a paper on "Economic sanctions against South Africa" by Reg Green, a long-time student of the subject.

One article on sanctions urges a fresh look at this old weapon "as a vital fillip to current armed struggle which would appear, in recent months, to have suffered certain setbacks".



Consideration

Mr Green, who has in recent years been working as an adviser to Swapo, urges a close realistic consideration of the difficulties of mounting world-wide sanctions as "a failed attempt at a comprehensive sanctions operation would be more likely to make a second try harder to achieve".

Then he lays out the fields over which sanctions would be operated: on imports, on exports, on transport and communications, and on finance and sport.

Even with a "leak-proof" oil blockade combined with sabotage against oil-from-coal plants as well as a substantial sanctions enforcement naval force off the Cape and sea patrols in the Atlantic and Indian oceans, calculations seem to add up to a 15 to 20 year wait before sanctions become effective, or even start to bite.

Disgust

The world's much proclaimed disgust at apartheid may be difficult to organize into taking such active steps against it.

What sort of world will we have by the year of 2010 or 2030. How many African states will have gone bankrupt or have turned into starvation areas by that time, and be concerning the world even more than apartheid?

The fact is that in the time already spent in waiting for sanctions it has been the African states whose governments and organizations have come to the point of breakdown and South Africa that has been able to force a black neighbour to a point of negotiation.

The cost of maintaining some support of organizations dedicated to ruining apartheid has already caused Mozambique to call a halt and to ask South Africa for help and aid to mend its battered economy. The same consequences appear to threaten Angola.

Aid

The Mozambicans seem to have been unable to stir the rest of Africa, Eastern Europe and Russia, and some sympathetic Western countries into providing enough aid to rescue their country from a combination of natural calamities, political discontent and poor civil organization. The same allies may be unable to rescue Angola in spite of its greater possibilities of prosperity.

At the same time, there are signs that South Africa is feeling increasing strain in maintaining its position as a well-armed polecat, even against the diplomatic resources and material contributions of a weakened Africa. The Republic has had to appear to dismantle its sacred doctrine of apartheid, and promise a new beginning.

However, in a competition for existence between a long tactical retreat from white supremacy and constant reliance on world assistance to institute black supremacy, South Africa has certain lasting qualities, even if these may be worn away in a century or two.

Angola looks like the next African state to desert the OAU's demand for bitter and unbridgeable non-relations with South Africa.

The state has had to accept a praetorian guard of 25 000 Cuban troops to maintain an inner sanctum against attack. For this Angola has to pay a minimum maintenance cost of 600 dollars per soldier per year plus many other costs.

This makes a basic payment of 150 million dollars a year to Cuba — perhaps the Russians pay this in return for a great deal of coffee. And the Angolans have to live in the shadow of a huge and mounting debt to the Russians, knowing that the Russians always insist on being paid in the long run.

This, we are assured, has alreay split the Angolan government into two factions, the unreservedly pro-Soviet faction and a nationalist faction.

The cost of maintaining this extra armed guard has not even relieved the flustered Angolan government of having to fight off yet another group of compatriots, the people who support the Unita guerillas, who increase the price of administering the country enormously by overrunning about half of it from time to time.

True, the Russians, East Germans and Cubans do help to train some Angolans as teachers, small administrators and agricultural extension officers, but these, like the military personnel, only add to the general bill the Angolan government has to pay. It also prevents the Angolans from making full-blooded advances to Americans and Europeans, who might provide bigger markets for whatever Angola has to sell.

The Angolans are becoming increasingly aware that, however much help the Cubans and the Russians provide, this is in return for maintaining a stiff and essentially unproductive ideological stance.

This might very easily involve the country in staying very poor and largely under-developed circumstances for many years to come.

Even if the men of Swapo do manage to find themselves ruling the huge and empty, but mineral-rich, spaces of Namibia in due course, it is by no means certain that Angola will be able to profit by this. So there is no doubt a nagging inclination among them (the Angolans) to settle things with the South Africans and start doing business with the world.

At the same time, I don't think the Angolans will be willing to join the South Africans and the people of Unita along with the Swapo organization in a general debate on what they are all doing together in those parts. This might mean the casting off of the UN. The Angolans might like to get rid of the expense of the Russians and the Cubans, but will certainly hang on to the general protection the UN will afford.

600 killed as key town is seized, claims Unita

LISBON — The Angolan rebel movement Unita claimed today that its forces seized control of Novo Redondo, the capital of central Kwanza-Sul province, in a massive assault on Sunday that took more than 600 lives.

In a statement released here, Unita also said a joint statement last week by the Angolan Government and Cuba had "forced Unita to adjust its strategy", noting the alleged Novo Redondo fighting could be a prelude to greater violence in Angola. Unita would make an important announcement on April 2.

According to the Unita statement, a 5 000-strong rebel force fought with government troops for six hours before taking the city, 300 km south of Luanda.

It said 500 army regulars loyal to the MPLA Government were killed in the fighting, along with seven Soviets, 62 Cuban troops, five Italian technicians and 12 Bulgarians.

The rebels also claimed to have shot down two Soviet-built MI-25 helicopters, and to have freed 1 200 "Unita sympathisers held in MPLA jails".

Referring directly to the Angolan-Cuban offer to send home Cuban troops in return for an end to South African action in Angola and Namibia, the Unita document said the rebels remained "convinced the Cubans will never leave Angola without direct negotiation between the MPLA and Unita".

The rebels repeated earlier calls for formation of a coalition of the two Angolan parties.

The statement concluded by saying Unita's central committee was in session and would make "an important declaration on April 2 defining (Unita's) position in relation to Angola and on the general situation in Southern Africa".

A Unita spokesman said in an interview that the month-long ceasefire between Angola and South Africa and the two countries' participation in the Joint Monitoring Committee had forced the rebels to "rethink our position".

He would not say if alleged South African support to Unita had been halted, as had been agreed.

He said the new situation had brought about the Unita central committee meeting. "We're waiting to see if things are going to get better."

CAPE TIMES
, Wednesday, March 28, 1984

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Unita claims town captured

LISBON. — Angolan rebels said yesterday that they had captured a coastal town 300km south of the capital, Luanda, and warned of intensified fighting unless the government agreed to direct peace talks.

A communique issued here by Unita said 5 000 guerillas stormed Sumbe, capital of Cuanza-Sul province, during a six-hour battle on Sunday.

Unita said more than 500 government troops, 62 Cubans, seven Russians, 12 Bulgarians and five Italian technicians were killed and 65 Angolans, four Bulgarians and 10 Portuguese captured.

Unita losses were given as 42 dead, 103 wounded and seven missing.

Unita has been fighting the Marxist rulers in Luanda since the 1975 civil war that followed independence from Portugal.

In Luanda, the official news agency Angop countered these claims by saying Unita "bandits" who attacked an outlying suburb of Sumbe had been put to flight after losing at least 30 men. It said 12 guerillas and much Unita equipment were captured.

Angop said the Unita men killed eight civilians, wounded 40 and kidnapped civilians and foreigners.

Unita called the attention of the Western contact group, which is trying to speed the independence of SWA/Namibia, the United Nations and the "front-line" African states around South Africa "to the fact that this attack on a provincial capital on the Atlantic coast could be a prelude to greater violence in Angola".

Unita said it was convinced the estimated 25 000 Cuban troops in the country would never leave unless the ruling MPLA negotiated peace and the formation of a government of national union with Unita.

"Avoiding this . . . will only prolong the war in Angola and indefinitely delay the independence of Namibia," the communique said.

The rebels said they had freed 1 200 Unita sympathisers, including 25 women and two Portuguese, from MPLA jails in Sumbe. — Sapa-Reuter

Parliament and Politics

Angola response 'pleases' SA

CAPE TIMES 28/3/84 5

Political Staff

THE South African Government is understood to be pleased with the Angolan Government's response to its request for urgent clarification of the joint Angolan-Cuban statement issued in Havana last week.

The delicate peace negotiations between the Republic and Angola hung in the balance last week following the joint communique signed by President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and Fidel Castro of Cuba.

Reacting to the communique, South African Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Pik Botha, described the language of the statement as "unacceptable" particularly the support it expressed for both Swapo and the ANC as being the "sole and legal representatives" of South Africa and Namibia.

In a brief statement issued yesterday, Mr Botha said the Angolan Government had, through the Angolan component of the Joint Monitoring Commission, indicated its continued support for the Lusaka Agreement in terms of which the JMC was set up.

It added that in the light of this the work of the JMC would continue as planned, the statement said.

It is understood that the Angolan Government indicated to the Republic that the emphasis of the joint communique should have been seen as being on the fact that both Governments agreed to a phased withdrawal of the Cubans currently in Angola subject to certain conditions.

It is further understood that the meeting between the Angolan and Cuban leaders in Havana was far from "rosy" and that Mr Dos Santos was treated brusquely and with a considerable degree of "impoliteness".

The Angolans were assured that the joint statement would not be made public but in fact it was released almost immediately.

The pressure put on the Angolans by the Cubans is being interpreted as Russian influence with the aim being to drive a wedge between Angola and the Republic and so destroy the current peace initiative.

Important step

Meanwhile the summit meeting in Maputo on Sunday of the five former Portuguese colonies, Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau and Sao Tome e Principe is being seen as an important step as far as the Republic's Southern African peace plans are concerned.

It is understood that the five states are likely to support the Nkomati Accord — the non-aggression pact signed by South Africa and Mozambique 10-days ago — and also back the current peace initiatives between Angola and the Republic.

Angolan assurance is satisfactory, says Pik

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday that he was satisfied with an assurance from Angola that it remained committed to a peace initiative with South Africa.

Mr Botha had called on Angola to explain a joint statement made with Cuba last week in which the two countries expressed support for guerilla movements fighting the South African Government and South African rule in Namibia.

The Angolan delegation to the commission monitoring South Africa's troop withdrawal from southern Angola had confirmed that the Marxist-ruled country stood by the accord with South Africa, Mr Botha said.

His one-paragraph statement suggested that a possible breakdown in the peace initiative had been averted. Mr Botha indicated last week that he interpreted the Angolan-Cuban statement, issued in Havana, to mean Angola was reconsidering its commitment to the peace process begun at a meeting in Lusaka in February.

That meeting set up the monitoring commission to oversee South Africa's troop withdrawal and to make sure that Namibian guerillas did not move into the region vacated by the South Africans.

On Tuesday, Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Moura was quoted as saying in Luanda that Angola would abide by the Lusaka accords.

He also said that Angola "laments the fact that due attention was not paid" to the substance of the Cuban-Angolan communique.

That document set out conditions for the withdrawal of the estimated 25 000 Cuban troops in Angola upon which South Africa insists as a condition for granting independence to Namibia.

Mr Botha confirmed last week that troops from the joint monitoring commission had clashed with guerillas of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) in southern Angola.

Angola and Cuba said the Cubans would be pulled out if South Africa withdrew from Angola, set in motion the Namibian independence process and halted all aid to anti-Marxist guerillas fighting the Angolan Government.

Mr Botha did not comment directly on those conditions beyond saying they appeared to be a reiteration of past position statements. — Associated Press.

gives UK ultimatum

CAPE TIMES 2/4/84 (5)

More reports on Savimbi's bush meeting, pages 2 and 3

the MPLA, Dr Savimbi's enemy in the eight-year-old post-independence conflict.

The incident occurred when Dr Savimbi, styled "President" of "Free Angola" and who effectively controls a large part of the south, held a mass rally, military parade and international press conference at his "provisional Angolan capital" Jamba, deep in the lush south-eastern bush country of Angola.

Dr Savimbi had organized the events in a clear effort to emphasize — as peace moves get under way in the sub-continent — that he is a factor to be reckoned with. He was concerned to draw a strong distinction between his escalating guerilla campaign and that of the MNR in Mozambique, widely expected to peter out because of the accord between Pretoria and Maputo.

The military parade, carried out with well-drilled, heavily-armed and immaculately-uniformed Unita soldiers, was watched by thousands of local people. Mortars and field-guns were on display, and huge posters depicted the Unita struggle, with laudatory references to certain black nationalist leaders and attacks on the Russians, Cubans and MPLA.

As a public-relations effort, the occasion was extremely effective. Editors of major South African newspapers and representatives of several influential Western news organizations attended. The fact that Dr Savimbi could guarantee their safety over long distances inside Angola emphasized that his writ runs far.

Of the prisoners, he said: "They are in good hands", then made his announcement about the release, except for the British. He would keep them a year or two if necessary. He pointed out that the Czech Government had been prepared to deal with him at ministerial level, but not the British.

Immediately before this threat at the press conference, I had interviewed the British prisoners. They sat on wooden benches with other prisoners, numbering in all about 70 and including some nuns and women and children, watching the festivities at Savimbi's bush rally ground. They said they had been working as technicians on a diamond mine in the town of Cafunfo, far to the north, when Unita had raided at dawn just over a month ago.

They had heard that some Filipino civilians and MPLA soldiers had been killed in the fighting. The Unita soldiers had herded the prisoners together, firmly and calmly, and marched with them for 30 days in the bush, including some women and children, until trucks took them on the last leg to Jamba.

They said they hoped Mrs Thatcher would do something about their plight. They confirmed that they were well cared for, with medical help when necessary, and that they felt safe in Unita hands.

● Our Correspondent in London reports that the Foreign Office yesterday said they had heard various interpretations of what Dr Savimbi requested from Britain. As the International Red Cross was handling the matter for Britain, this organization had been asked to establish exactly what Dr Savimbi was asking for. There could not be reaction until there had been clarification.



Jamba in south-east
isional capital of free
ge 2



Some of the British prisoners who were on show at the parade at Unita headquarters in south-east Angola on Friday. From left: Bill Clawson, Tony Dixon, Alf Tasker, Ian Fenton and Tom Murphy.

of boy | It was a day for

ALFRED DUNHILL, LONDON, PROUDLY PRESENTS

75 Unita hostages safe

(5) Star 30/3/84

LISBON — Seventy-five Unita hostages, including six women and four children, have arrived safely in a southern Angolan base after a 1 120 km march through the bush.

And it is understood that within 48 hours Unita will announce the unconditional release of the 46 Portuguese members of the hostage party.

The hostages, 16 Britons, 15 Filipinos and the Portuguese, were seized by Unita a month ago during a raid on a northern Angolan mining centre.

Mr Wilson dos Santos, Unita's secretary of information and a member of the central committee, confirmed early today the safe arrival of "all 75 hostages".

Although the Portuguese are understood to be on the point of release, the Filipinos and Britons are unlikely to be freed soon.

Dr Jonas Savimbi is to hold a Press conference next week about their future.

MAIZE

Prices set to soar

There appears to be no way that Minister of Agriculture Greyling Wentzel can avoid announcing a stiff maize price increase next month.

The farmers' representative body, Nampo, called for a 25% hike at its Potchefstroom congress earlier this month. It says this year alone farmers lost R1 billion on planting and cultivating maize which was devastated by the drought.

Government also wants an increase because it has to pay the difference between the current price of R187/t and the cost of imported maize. So far the premium on imports is about R35/t above the official price. With about 4 Mt to be imported this year government will have to find R140m.

The Maize Board (MB) too is likely to push for an increase. It met this week to prepare its recommendation.

The drought has underlined the importance of correct assessments of the maize crop, as mistakes can affect pricing decisions and negotiations on purchases (or sales) on world markets.

MB GM Hennie Nel admits that "mistakes are made" in assessing maize crops, but are to be expected, given SA's varied and irregular climatic patterns. Furthermore estimates by government and the board do not always agree.

The Department of Agriculture's (DA) official assessment of the maize crop in March was about 4,1 Mt, but the board's previous preliminary assessment was only 3,5 Mt (*FM* March 16).

A DA spokesman says his department's system of assessing crops is "reasonably good," and has usually been within 5% and 6% of actual figures.

He says the department investigated the use of US Department of Agriculture's Landsat satellite pictures to refine crop estimates in 1978, but found this too costly and complicated (a special computer is required). In addition Landsat pictures have to be confirmed and tested "on the ground," which demands additional technical staff.

The board wants to refine its assessment method in the coming year, starting preliminary assessments as early as December. Using agricultural co-ops, its agents in production areas and its more than 300 receiving points, it would use this system and a mass of continuous information to form assessments of maize and other crops. This would be done with, and not in opposition to, the DA's official assessments.

Nampo economist Kit le Clus says he doubts the wisdom of publicly announcing crop assessments, as this could influence prices on world markets, depending on SA's import or export requirements.

According to him, government should determine an import budget, as soon as final crop assessments are received, which should then be handled on a day-to-day basis by the MB, as the administrative importing arm of the industry and of government.

"The present system, with imports managed by the board and government's special Import Advice Committee, is far too cumbersome," he says. "Meetings have to be called and resolutions passed asking government's authority to import. The process can take weeks and has caused the country to lose some good deals in the past.

"Where there is a set offer, a decision should be reached immediately on its acceptance as international markets are subject to daily and even hourly changes and price movements."



Maize consumers ... in for a shock?

SUGAR

Saved by Tongaat?

Happily for SA's hard-pressed sugar industry, artificial sweetners may not emerge as a serious rival in the industrial market.

The most suitable alternative, HFCS, is not manufactured in SA and some sceptics doubt whether it ever will be. A reason for this is that major sugar producer, Tongaat, owns African Products (AP), which manufactures a range of stach-based sweeteners such as glucose, maltose and dextose.

Tongaat recently acquired AP from Amic.

AP has the capacity to produce HFCS, but MD Jeff Alabaster admits that any capex programmes previously contemplated may have been thrown in the balance by the change in ownership. He sees movement into HFCS as a logical extension of the operation, but says no firm decisions have been taken.

In the US and Europe starch-based HFCS and chemical derivatives saccharine and aspartame have made major inroads — particularly in the soft drink industry (see graph). Coca-Cola, for example, has announced that it is raising sugar substitution levels on its cola products from 50% to 75%.

SA's soft drink manufacturers make no bones that they would like to follow suit — especially since last month's 10% sugar price increase. At R510/t sugar is by far the industry's most costly raw material input. And with consumption running at around 110 000 t/year, bottling companies remain sugar's biggest users.

WATER RESTRICTIONS

Are they justified?

As the *FM* went to press, the chairman of the Rand Water Board, Dale Hobbs, was in conference with officials from the Department of Environmental Affairs — reviewing the water supply position of the Rand area. The betting among Water Board officials was that further restrictions would be imposed.

If so, officials could have difficulty justifying the change to domestic and industrial consumers — given the levels of the dams supplying the PWV region and the optimism created by recent rains. Not to mention the fact that by far the greatest proportion of water is used by agricultural irrigation schemes.

A comparison between the position now and that of a year ago is, at least superficially, illuminating. In late March 1983 the Vaal Dam was down to 35% of capacity and water restrictions had been introduced.

The restrictions were, however, less onerous than those currently in force — with the Vaal well over 50% full and receiving a still-undetermined amount of run-off from the recent and current rains. Domestic consumers in Johannesburg, for instance, could at that time use hoses to water their gardens on two days a week — and that had just been reduced from six days a week.

Some other dams in the Vaal system are also considerably better off than a year ago. The Grootdraai Dam, for instance, is full while Sterkfontein, despite being lower than a year ago, is still some two-thirds full.

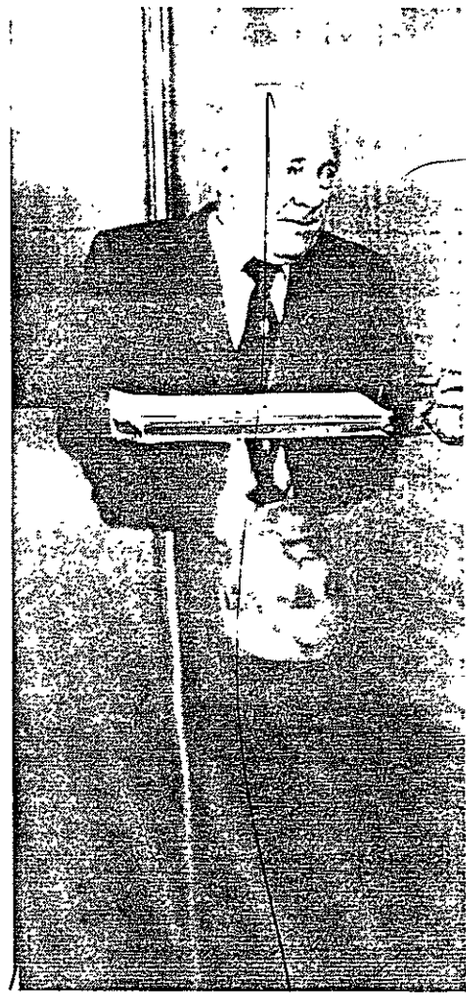
In addition, Grootdraai and Sterkfontein are fairly new dams which did not exist when the Vaal Dam was last full, in 1976, and they intercept water which previously flowed into Vaal Dam. Sterkfontein alone, even at two-thirds capacity, holds far more water than the Vaal Dam at present.

Water Board officials argue, however, that the figures are deceptive and that the water crisis is far from over. Grootdraai, for instance, serves Sasol 2 and 3 and its water is largely unavailable for other uses.

Irrigation

A major problem, officials say, is the Bloemhof Dam, which serves the Vaalhartz irrigation scheme and which is all but empty. Therein lies the difficulty — because, on 1982 figures, irrigation schemes account for some 72% of water usage from the dam system. This compares to 14% used for domestic consumption and 8% used by industry.

Supplying irrigation schemes with a necessary minimum of water — and some are allowed only about 25% of normal usage — takes a disproportionate amount of stored water. In addition, officials say, although they have no actual figures, they doubt whether the recent rains will cause an appreciable run-off into the dams.



Hobbs . . . a strong case will be needed

Another problem for the Rand Water Board is that the drought has severely affected its income. It has been selling considerably less water than before. Hence higher water rates and proposals for even higher rates for those using more than a set minimum of water.

No one is likely to argue that the authorities should not take prudent measures to conserve water supplies — at least until it is certain that the crisis is over. There remains, however, a suspicion that once restrictions are imposed, on anything, the bureaucracy is always reluctant to remove them. In the words of A P Herbert, which he mockingly put into the mouths of officials in his *Song of the Bureaucrats*: "Let's go out and find someone who is doing something — and stop him."

In the light of this attitude, and of the fairly low proportion of water used by domestic and industrial consumers, the authorities will need to make a strong case if they decide on further restrictions — and higher rates.

ANGOLA

Unita's big push

The Angolan rebel movement Unita's new offensive, which started on March 3 and apparently culminated in the occupation of the capital of Kwanza Sul province on Sunday, may threaten the negotiations for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola. It is possible, however, that it could convince the Luanda regime of the necessity of negotiating with Unita.

Sunday's "Battle of Sumbe" is claimed as a dramatic Unita victory. According to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, 62 Cubans, seven Russians, 12 Bulgarians, five Italian technicians and more than 500 MPLA soldiers were killed. In the previous two weeks Unita claims to have killed 256 MPLA soldiers, 15 Cubans and three Russians and to have shot down a Russian helicopter.

Diplomatic sources believe that the Unita claims are inflated; but there is little doubt that the movement has made progress and that the MPLA regime is in even deeper trouble than before.

In a statement on the battle of Sumbe, Savimbi warns that it is only a prelude to greater violence. He says his "bottom line" is direct negotiations with the MPLA and the formation of a coalition government.

Some diplomats believe that Angola's "Bloody Sunday," marking the first loss of a provincial capital, might force the MPLA to talk to Unita — especially now that it seems clear that stopping SA aid to Unita is not going to stop the war.

The *FM* was told last week that direct, but secret, talks between Unita, American and SA officials were on the cards after the joint Cuban-Angolan statement that the Cubans are willing to withdraw under certain conditions. Unita's European spokesman Carlos Kandanda, a member of the movement's general staff, told the *FM* that "there has already been such contact," but he would not elaborate.

In contrast to Unita's offensive the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) of SA and MPLA soldiers is making excellent



Toivo ... returning to lobby for Swapo

progress in monitoring southern Angola and handing it back to MPLA control. The JMC is moving its headquarters further south to Evale for the next phase of the operation.

Last week's tension between SA and Angola has subsided with an "unambiguous assurance" from Luanda that it stands by the Lusaka agreement that set up the JMC. Angolan deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura said this week that the Angolan-Cuban statement of support for Swapo and the African National Congress (ANC) merely repeated "positions of principle." He regretted that attention was not paid to the statement's "most important part: the gradual withdrawal of Cuban troops in Angola under certain conditions."

In Namibia itself the political scene is in turmoil. The Multi-Party Conference (MPC) was dealt a blow when one of its most prominent members, Chief Justus Garoeb, withdrew his Damara Council and went into an alliance with Swapo.

Patriotic front

The indications are that Swapo is trying to form a "patriotic front" with other groups to undermine the MPC. Swapo leader Sam Nujoma has had meetings with dissidents from another MPC member, Swanu, and has reportedly offered to finance a palace revolution in the party.

If Swanu president Moses Katjiuongua gives in to pressure for a party congress, there is a chance that the party might also decide to ally itself with Swapo. It is thought in Namibia that Swapo has appraoched other internal politicians and that lobbying will be continued by Herman Toivo ja Toivo — who is on his way home from vists to Lusaka, Dar es Salaam, Harare and Luanda.



Nujoma ... offer to finance a 'palace revolution'?

PERSONALITY OF THE WEEK: JONAS SAVIMBI

Savimbi: in pursuit of the grandiose

The leader of the Unita forces has held his ground even when the odds appeared at their most impossible. And the rumours that South Africa is now gearing itself to 'dump' him has been received with the style that those who know him have come to expect.

By Garner Thomson
The Star's Foreign News Service

RUMOURS in Washington that South Africa is gearing itself to "dump" Jonas Savimbi and his troops have been received with equanimity by the burly Unita leader himself. No one should be surprised that this is so.

Savimbi has held his ground even when the odds appeared at their most impossible. Now that the Cubans and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos are talking withdrawal, and exiled anti-Government movements add their voice to the cry for freedom, the 50-year-old Savimbi has grandly rejected their support.

This was — and still is — Unita's struggle, he says.

There is no room for latecomers "now that we have almost reached our objective".

The gesture is expansive ... and thoroughly in character.

The grandiose effect is something Jonas Savimbi has always pursued.

Writer Fred Bridgland recalls an incident he witnessed in 1981 when Savimbi was marshalling the army which has subsequently had such extraordinary success.

The speech he gave was commanding, and mercifully short.

Savimbi in full flow has been known to talk non-stop and without notes for seven hours.

But on this occasion he suddenly plunged into the middle of a platoon and emerged with his arm round the shoulders of a young recruit, barely 16 years old.

"This young boy is away from his mother and father for the first time in his life," he announced. "He gets no pay in our army — only his food, uniform, boots, rifle and the chance to fight for Angola's freedom. You officers must therefore not neglect his needs. You are now his mother and father ..."

Then, as he had for the previous decade or so, Savbimbi was predicting a successful march on Luanda. Victory within Unita's grasp was the gist of his speech. The troops were not only to perform well, they should look good as well, he said, for the world would judge them as much by their appearance as by their deeds.

It's a measure of Savimbi's charisma that his men demonstrated their fierce loyalty to his ideals then, and haven't wavered since. The doctorate, from the University of Lausanne, is in philosophy, but Savimbi is a born psychologist and for the entire duration of the war he has presented precisely the picture of power mixed with compassion that a first-class leader should have.

A burly man with a general's three stars and shoulder flashes, he moves far more lithely than his bulk would suggest.



His needs appear spartan: He eats only one meal, and that late at night, in the best officer tradition, after his men have eaten.

He talks quickly and energetically, his voice booming with confidence, his monologues punctuated with expansive gestures and sharp little stabbing motions of his silver-tipped ebony walking-stick.

For Unita's most-wanted rebel, Dr Savimbi has an elegant pedigree.

Former secretary-general of the Portuguese UPA and later Foreign Minister of the Revolutionary Government in Exile, his loyalties have always been placed carefully and in diametric opposition to the communists.

He founded Unita in 1966 and embarked on what looked like an unwinnable war against the ruling gvernment after the withdrawal of the Portuguese some nine years later.

In another grandiose gesture, and swimming well against the international current, he proclaimed himself President of the People's Democratic Republic of Angola in November 1975.

The rival MPLA had the international recognition, but Savimbi continued the battle with implacable concentration.

The fact that he came to receive the active support of South Africa in exchange for providing a buffer between the encroaching communist forces and the Republic miti gated against Savimbi in terms of Western support. But that, too, had little effect on his vision.

With the coming to power of the Reagan Government, Dr Savimbi found himself with even more powerful support, even though Washington was then publicly committed to bringing the two factions of Angola together as part of its two-track initiative to secure the withdrawal of the 30 000 Cuban troops from Angola and the departure of South African troops from Namibia.

Circumstances, as much as tactics, have served Savimbi well.

President dos Santos has found the civil war frankly ruinous. Luanda traders have all but closed down, and in the south an open shop or a valid banknote is virtually unknown.

For the guerillas the battle has been logistically formidable — but without the back-breaking demands of running a country at the same time, they have been more or less free to pursue their war.

Since early 1982 Unita has been controlling about a third of the country, and over the past few months a huge push has demonstrated to the ruling MPLA that the rebels are far from finished.

Just how Dr Savimbi views the recent announcement from Havana about Cuban withdrawal is yet to emerge. From South Africa's point of view it is clear that the tripartite accord thrashed out in Luanda has taken another step forward.

The condition that South Africa withdraw its support from Unita is likely to be the most difficult to meet.

But Dr Jonas Savimbi has made it clear that whatever kind of future for Angola is visualised by the rest of the world, the only one that has any chance of succeeding is one that grants him and his Unita forces an active and honourable part in the country's affairs.□

The Star's London Bureau.

SAVIMBI: What happens when SA turns off the tap?

w/e Argus 31/3/86 5*

From GARNER THOMSON
Argus Foreign Service, London

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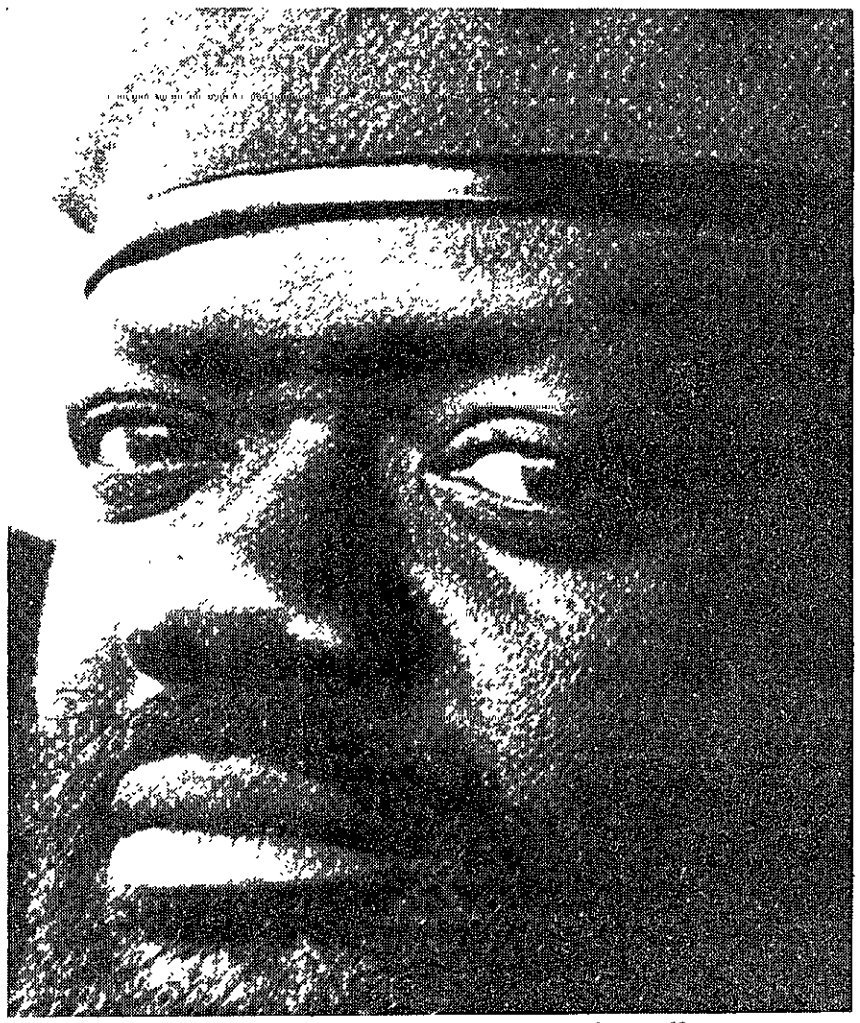

Jonas Savimbi . . . going for the grandiose effect.

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Accord with Angola will not be so easy

By JEAN LE MAY

MANY people think that now Mozambique and South Africa have come to an agreement that will eventually stop the operations of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), it will be a relatively simple matter between Angola and South Africa to pull the rug out from under Unita as well.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The problems posed by Unita are far more serious for South Africa, as far as the Angolan/Namibian settlement is concerned, than the MNR was in reaching an accord with Mozambique.

This is because Unita, a powerful movement, and the MPLA Government, which it is fighting in the Angolan civil war, are regarded in various quarters as being legitimate.

Twenty-three years ago this week, most South Africans saw the outbreak of civil war in northern Angola as another far-away peasant revolt against a colonial power.

Accustomed to reports of atrocities in the Congo, they believed — to use the political vocabulary of the time — that the anti-Portuguese atrocities in Angola were another manifestation of the slumbering African giant's awakening to rid itself of white overlordship.

But the Angolan revolt escalated into a bitter civil war which still rages 10 years after the Portuguese left.

Today, a quarter of a century later, young South Africans who were not born when it began are serving in Angolan territory in an operation directed at a guerilla movement — Swapo — whose efforts are directed not against Angola, but against South Africa.

And the Angolan war rages on. The implications for South Africa are enormous, and highly dangerous — for there are those who believe that as long as the war lasts in Angola, there will be no peace in Namibia.

So South Africa has indicated that Unita is one of the parties involved in the Namibian peace settlement with which it is prepared to talk. This alone highlights the difference between Unita and the MNR, for there were no discussions with the MNR before the Nkomati Accord was signed (if there were, they were secret — for the South Africans have never acknowledged contact with the MNR.)

When the Portuguese pulled out of Mozambique, they handed over to Frelimo, which was acknowledged by the rest of the world — including South Africa — as the legitimate government.

But the MPLA Government in Angola is on less firm ground. Diplomatic recognition is still withheld by many Western countries, including the United States, because the MPLA has never controlled — and has not been accepted by — the whole of Angola.

When the Angolan revolt against the Portuguese started in 1961, three liberation movements existed, drawn largely from the three tribal streams of Angolan nationalism. They were:

● The MPLA, which has its strength mainly in the towns and among educated people. When it was founded in Angola in the early 1950s, it consisted largely of people of mixed Angolan/Portuguese blood, with a sprinkling of white Communists.

Later, the MPLA also attracted support from the Kimbundu of the northern provinces. Its great strength arises out of its recognition from the Organisation of African Unity liberation committee in the mid-1960s while it operated from exile in Zaire. It also received assistance from the Soviet Union.

Moreover, as early as 1966, Cubans were providing technical advisers and instructors to the MPLA, so the Cuban presence in Angola is nothing new.

● The UPA, which was founded in 1957 by exile groups in what was then the Belgian Congo. In 1962 it joined a party led by Dr Holden Roberto and was renamed FNLA.

At one stage Dr Roberto received substantial support from the United States — possibly as much as $30 million (about R36 million) — and from Russia. However, Roberto fell out with his brother-in-law, President Mobutu Sese Seko, of Zaire, accusing him of stealing several million dollars intended for the FNLA, and was thrown out of Zaire.

It was reported early last year that Dr Roberto had been deposed, but the FNLA still claims 600 000 supporters, mostly Bakongo in the northern provinces.

● Unita, which was founded in 1966 by Dr Jonas Savimbi, who had been associated earlier with the FNLA but who broke from it in 1964. Dr Savimbi, who claims 1,8 million supporters, has his base in the south-eastern provinces.

Attempts were made by leaders of African countries — notably Dr Kwame Nkrumah, of Ghana — to bring Unita and the MPLA together in the struggle against the Portuguese, but they failed. And the bitterness between them has persisted to the present day.

Before the Portuguese left, they tried to form a national Angolan government consisting of representatives of all three movements, but failed.

The MPLA took over only because of its position of strength in the capital, Luanda — an assumption of power which has been described as "a geographical and historical accident".

The three movements cooperated for a time but internal fighting soon started. A Unita officer said later that "the killings (of other Angolans) perpetrated in the north by Roberto's men were always the most serious handicap to a national struggle".

Unita controls at least a quarter of the Angolan territory outright — the lower right-hand sector, if the country is divided roughly into four squares. This includes the entire Zambian border, 200 kilometres of the border with Zaire and the length of the vital Benguela railway

Unita also claims influence as far north as Malanje, a town deep in the interior of Angola directly inland from Luanda.

In effect, its writ runs from the Kunene to the Zaire rivers with the MPLA controlling Luanda and two other ports rendered inoperable for want of exportable commodities, an infertile coastal strip and some deserted coffee plantations in the north.

And Unita does not lack friends. Dr Savimbi himself has claimed that South Africa consulted Zambia, Zaire and the Ivory Coast before its disastrous invasion of Angola in 1975 and "did not act without their approval".

As long ago as 1976, the then South African Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, told Parliament: "South Africa's involvement was not an isolated involvement. Others were also involved. It is impossible for me to tell you their names."

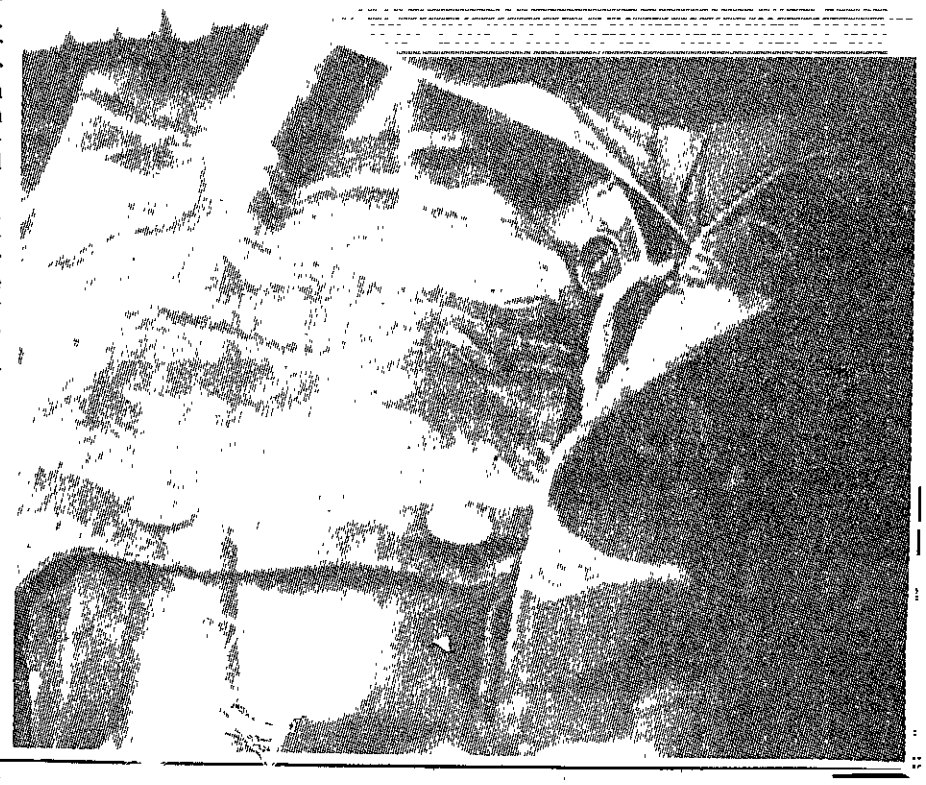
Moreover, Dr Savimbi has always insisted that Angola, in the long run, is for the Angolans and that all foreign troops must leave.

It could be that President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, through a tentative move to get rid of the Cubans, is paving the way for some accommodation with Unita.

Suggestions have been made that the answer lies in a federal state of Angola with Unita ruling the southern provinces. That is something for the Angolans to sort out for themselves — but until they do, South Africa is painfully aware that there will be no peace in Namibia.

Dr Savimbi, the founder of Unita





Negotiate or SWA peace bid ends, says Unita's leader

SAVIMBI: I'LL TAKE WAR TO THE CITIES

Weekend Argus Correspondent

UNITA guerrilla leader Dr Jonas Savimbi today threatened to take the eight-year-old Angolan civil war to the cities unless the ruling MPLA Government opened negotiations with him to form a government of national unity.

In a dramatic Press conference in the Angolan bush, he also threatened to hold indefinitely British hostages captured by Unita unless Britain negotiated with Unita.

A group of 75 hostages, including women and children, had been force-marched for 33 days through the Angolan bush to be displayed before assembled South African and international newsmen.

Dr Savimbi also said there could be no SWA/Namibian settlement or peace until the West realised Unita played a pivotal role.

Appeal

He appealed to the MPLA government of Angola to enter into negotiations with Unita with the view to forming a government of national unity.

Dr Savimbi said Unita had proved it could intensify the bush war by this week taking and holding the provincial seaboard capital of Novo Redondo for 12 hours. The city is just 125km from Luanda.

During the action Unita took about 80 foreign nationals hostage.

The bush meeting itself was a public relations coup for Unita. Assembled were top representatives of South African newspapers and the international news media for the day-long briefing at his Jamba headquarters.

In days

Dr Savimbi lashed the British and West German governments for ignoring Unita. He said Portuguese, Filipino, French and even Czech citizens held hostage would be released as soon as possible, some within days.

But the British would be held for two or three years, or as long as it took to force the British to negotiate with Unita.

All 17 Britons are technicians captured at a diamond mine in northern Angola. Unita also took an undisclosed number of diamonds. Four foreigners were killed in the attack.

Dr Savimbi dismissed speculation that South Africa would abandon Unita. He said he had warm and close relations with a number of South African leaders and also with influential people in the US, although the French Government did not favour him.

They were nevertheless fair towards Unita.

UK will be 'pleased' if Cubans go

Star 31/3/84

By Peter Sullivan,
Political Correspondent

WINDHOEK — Britain has rejected the idea of linking a Cuban withdrawal to a Namibian settlement, but has left a diplomatic door open by saying the United Kingdom would be pleased to see the Cubans leave Angola.

In a major policy address to the Namibia Chamber of Mines here last night, the British Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Ewen Fergusson, reaffirmed his country's commitment to UN Resolution 435.

He did not rule out any internal settlement by the parties concerned, but pointed out that getting any other plan accepted would be "extremely difficult". He did, however, state emphatically that Britian did not see — and never had seen — Swapo as the sole and legal representative of the people of Namibia.

Mr Fergusson said the merit of Resolution 435 was that it already had the agreement of all the parties involved plus full international backing.

The plan worked out under Resolution 435 was endorsed by all parties concerned, it guaranteed international recognition, was supported by the Frontline States, and was accepted by the UN.

His government did not shrink from the practical fact that it would be difficult to reach a settlement without creating a situation under which South Africa would be prepared to withdraw its forces. "In short, the removal of all foreign troops from Angola would be helpful in trying to solve the problems of the region."

Mr Fergusson painted a picture of what Namibia would be like after implementation of 435.

- Free elections will have been held with every adult Namibian entitled to vote by secret ballot.
- The Administrator-General will have repealed all remaining discriminatory legislation, and all political prisoners will have been released.
- Refugees outside Namibia will have been permitted to return.
- All parties will have ceased hostile acts.
- SADF forces will have been restricted to base.
- Citizen forces, commandos and ethnic forces will have been demobilised.

ANGOLA – GENERAL

1984

APRIL ~~JANUARY~~ —— DEC

(5) 22 254 S. Times 1/1/84

Ceasefire more remote as Angolan fighting worsens

THE escalating fighting in southern Angola is casting further gloom over the already slim prospects surrounding South Africa's offer of a cross-border ceasefire.

This became clear last night as Western nations stepped up their criticism of South Africa's military offensive, and the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Perez de Cueller, presented a gloomy report on settlement prospects in SWA-Namibia.

In its second statement in only a few days, the US State Department reiterated its concern over the situation. It expressed the hope that South Africa's pledge of an early end to its military involvement in the area would make possible a disengagement of forces.

The department said it was hopeful that a disengagement of forces could be "expanded into a durable ceasefire, thus establishing the climate needed for broader

By BRIAN POTTINGER, NEIL HOOPER and KEN POTTINGER

progress in ongoing negotiations".

France and Britain, as well as other nations, have condemned the South African offensive.

System

Meanwhile, in a year-end report Dr Perez de Cuellar said there was no progress towards achieving independence for Namibia.

He said South Africa had so far failed even to inform him what kind of electoral system — proportional representation or a constituency system — it had chosen for UN-supervised elections for a constituent assembly.

Pretoria told the UN chief in October that the issue was not important and should not cause unnecessary problems.

It said no settlement plan could be implemented without a firm agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The new SADF raid into southern Angola — a response to intelligence reports that Swapo special units were preparing an annual rainy-season raid into Namibia — coincided with the ceasefire offer by South Africa in the UN Security Council.

Foreign Affairs sources said the raids were "coincidental" and that diplomatic advantage had to be measured against other priorities such as ensuring the safety of the Namibians.

The director-general of the Institute of International Affairs at the University of the Witwatersrand, Prof John Barratt, said yesterday that he believed the South Africa ceasefire offer — made on December 15 — was a genuine "last-minute" effort to avoid bloodshed.

Special force

He added that, while he had not expected Angola to accept the offer, he thought it had been made as a diplomatic gesture to put South Africa in a better light, "particularly in the eyes of the Western powers".

Prof Barratt said that the South African offer was still open and this put South Africa in a stronger position and Swapo in a weaker one. He believed there was still a a possibility that the ceasefire offer might yet be accepted.

Intelligence sources say that when Mr Pik Botha made his ceasefire offer an estimated 1 400 Swapo "special force" troops had been trained and seven companies each of about 120 men were making their way towards the Namibian border as part of a well-orchestrated operation.

The companies were to split up into groups of six or seven after arming themselves from caches of weapons and landmines buried close to the border.

After crossing into Namibia they were to reform for a short period before again splitting up into groups of two or three.

More than 700 terrorists split up in this way throughout the territory would have severely strained the resources of the Namibian security forces.

The Angolan version of events is different from that being put out by Pretoria: yesterday it was claimed by Angop, the official Angolan news agency, that South Africa was reinforcing its deployments in southern Angola.

The agency, monitored in Lisbon, claimed that South African planes were carrying out heavy bombing backed by artillery barrages of towns and villages in the southern provinces of Huila, Cunene and Cuandao Cubango.



R10-million a mont

THAT'S THE SHOCK FIGURE FACING SOUTH AFRICA'S BOND-HOLDERS

SOUTH AFRICA'S hard-pressed mortgage bond-holders could cough up an extra R10-million a month after this week's shock announcement of yet another bond increase of 1,25 percent.

Leading estate agents this week predicted that house prices in the upper bracket could slump by as much as 20 percent as a result of the pu-

By RUTH GOLEMBO and BARRY SERGEANT

They also foresaw a spate of building society repossessions as home owners are pushed beyond their limits.

Building society executives this week forecast that bond rates could be even higher in 1984 and say that there is nothing they can do about it.

ed subsidised housing which came in for heavy criticism from top economists. They claim subsidised housing was responsible for rocketing property prices of the past few years and has prejudiced unsubsidised bond-holders.

The latest increase, to come into effect on February 65 percent of subsidised bond-holders.

Banks have not yet indicated whether their bond rates will rise.

Dr Ockie Stuart, deputy director of the Bureau of Economic Research at Stellenbosch University, said fringe-benefit taxation would help to bring subsidised and non-subsidised homeowners on a more equal level.

But the law would have to be amended before public servants could be taxed on their housing subsidies.

The Commissioner for Inland Revenue, Mr C S Schweppenhauser, said he could not anticipate the Government's decision on whether or not the law would be amended and tax on civil servants housing perks introduced.

He said in recent months the interest rate had increased from 10,3 percent to 16 percent and it was inevitable that the lending rate would have to increase too.

Mr Brian Short of the NBS agreed that little relief could be seen during 1984. He stressed that building societies would do everything to keep margins low to help houseowners.

ments to be tax deductible against family income."

Mr Tony Leftwich, managing director of the residential sales section of Ian Howcroft Estates said: "It is time that the Government started doing something for all bond-holders, not just subsidising their own employees' housing."

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SADF's pictures back claims of hit on Swapo HQ

By MIKE CADMAN

THE South African Defence Force yesterday released the first pictures of this week's airstrike on the Swapo headquarters 300km inside Angola.

The pictures were taken by the navigator of one of the four jets used in the strike.

Several bombs can be seen exploding in the area said to be the Swapo headquarters known as 'Ongulunbashe'. A SADF spokesmen said the pictures were proof that Angolan claims that the South Africa bombers had missed their target were untrue.

"The area bombed was the Swapo military headquaters where the Swapo people live in underground bunkers," the spokesman said. "Nobody else lives in the area and the nearest town is that of Lubango, about 10km south-east of the camp"

This meant that people killed in the airstike were either Swapo members or Swapo sympathisers, the spokesman said.

Angola claimed the South African attack was not against a Swapo base but against the small town of Luivo, 16km from Lubango, and that a number of civilians had been injured in the attack.

The SADF spokesman said: "The attack on Ongulunbashe was carried out despite the fact that SAM 3s (Russian-made surface to air missiles) are located in the hills behind Lubango

"The Swapo camp falls under the defensive umbrella of these missiles," the spokesman said

The raid was aimed at crippling Swapo's infrastructure.

Earlier this week, the Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, said intelligence reports indicated that there were between 300 and 500 Swapo soldiers inside the camp when it was bombed but losses would be small as the base was well constructed.

Gen Viljoen said SADF aircraft also attacked Cuban and Swapo manned missile sites which opened fire on South African aircraft near Cahama in south western Angola.

The SADF claimed that no South African aircraft were lost but one aircraft returned to base with an unexploded SAM 9 misssile-head lodged in it's tail.

Sapa yesterday reported Angolan allegations that South Africa had increased the strength of it's forces in the south of the country.

The official news agency Angop said three South African motorised brigades, 100 aircraft and artillery units using 155mm and 140mm guns were engaged in fierce fighting in three sou Angolan provinces.

Angop said South Afr forces had launched pe tent attacks against towns of Cahama, Cu Mulondo and Caiundo had only captured the of Kassinga during figh on December 20.

In combat at Cahama, Angolan forces had cap a 155mm gun, Angop s

So far it has been repo that nine South African SWA Territorial F troops have been killed the fighting.

The South African o tion in Angola has attra widespread internati criticism.

The governments of W Germany, France, the U

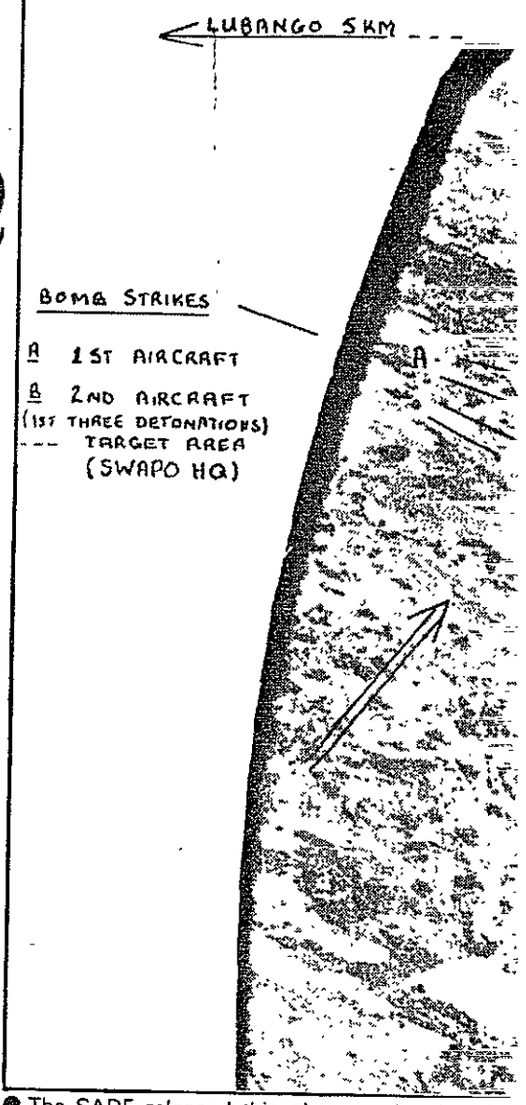
MAJOR OIL FIND FOR ANGOLA

LISBON — The national fuel company of Angola, Sonangol, yesterday announced the discovery of an offshore oil well with a capacity to produce 5 100 barrels a day, Portuguese Radio reported.

The well is at a depth of 2 550m in Angolan waters off the northern province of Zaire. It is the first oil find in the Angolan prospecting area known as Block Two.

The US-based oil company Texaco has a 40% share in the group of companies prospecting Block Two. The other companies are the Brazilian company Braspetro and Total Oil, each with 17,5%, and Sonangol with 25%.

The radio quoted an Angolan oil official as saying the well held "appreciable reserves". — Sapa-AP



● The SADF released this photograph taken fro bombing raid in Angola. The SADF's marks on th

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FOR ANGOLA

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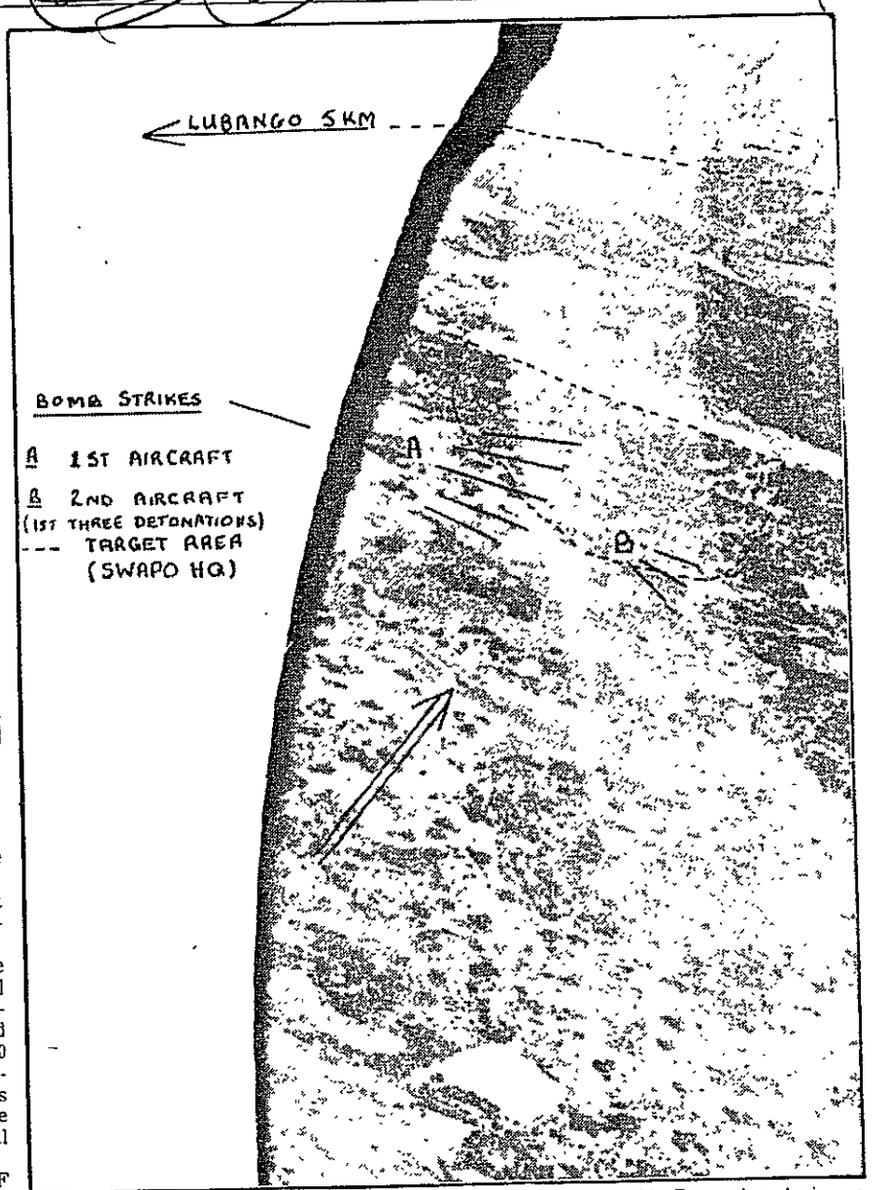

● The SADF released this photograph taken from a SA Air Force jet during a bombing raid in Angola. The SADF's marks on the picture show the jets' targets

missiles) are located in the hills behind Lubango

"The Swapo camp falls under the defensive umbrella of these missiles," the spokesman said.

The raid was aimed at crippling Swapo's infrastructure.

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The official news agency Angop said three South African motorised brigades, 100 aircraft and artillery units using 155mm and 140mm guns were engaged in fierce fighting in three southern Angolan provinces

Angop said South African forces had launched persistent attacks against the towns of Cahama, Cuvelai, Mulondo and Caiundo but had only captured the town of Kassinga during fighting on December 20.

In combat at Cahama, the Angolan forces had captured a 155mm gun, Angop said.

So far it has been reported that nine South African and SWA Territorial Force troops have been killed in the fighting.

The South African operation in Angola has attracted widespread international criticism.

The governments of West Germany, France, the United States, and Britain have called for an end to the fighting.

The West German statement said that it noted with "deep concern" that Pretoria was not only continuing "but considerably stepping up it's military operation in Angola".

"These acts of violence risk bringing about a wider threat to international peace," the statement said.

The US State Department stressed its concern over the renewed violence and said it hoped that "disengagement of the forces could be expanded into a durable ceasefire, thus establishing the climate needed for broader progress in on-going negotiations".

The long march of little Monica

S. Times 1/4/84

By TERTIUS MYBURGH: Jamba, Angola

THREE months ago, red-headed little Monica Costa's mother brought her from Lisbon to celebrate her first birthday with her father, a mining engineer in the northern Angolan town of Cafunfo.

This weekend the 15-month-old child arrived at Dr Jonas Savimbi's Jamba base in southeastern Angola after being carried for 38 days on a long march through the African bush.

She and her parents were among 81 prisoners — 44 Portuguese adults, four children, 15 Filipinos, 17 British and one Czech — who were taken prisoner when Unita forces captured Cafunfo on February 23.

Looking little the worse for her harrowing experience (apart from a bad rash on her bottom), Monica played in the sand among the other prisoners as they watched a military rally on the parade ground.



Mr GRADE COSTA
We were well treated

Helpful

Her father, Grade, and mother, Eugenia, described the march as the prisoners and their guards walked southwards, all the time fearing attack from pursuing MPLA forces.

"It was hard, but we were well treated," said Mr Costa.

"We marched for about six hours a day and I carried her most of the way. The female Unita soldiers were very helpful and they carried her towards the end. They even provided a baby's bath.

"The food was spartan, but our captors did their best for us.

"Look at my daughter; she is completely fit."

Mr Costa, like all the other prisoners, spoke very highly of the discipline of the Unita troops.

He had been living at Cafunfo for three years when, early one morning, Unita troops launched a rifle-and-mortar attack on the mining town, which is occupied mainly by contract workers.

He said the MPLA (or Fapla) forces fled almost immediately. All the contract workers were rounded up and told they were to march south.

Not Britons

They walked for 30 days, only once hearing distant gunfire, until they reached the Benguela railway line.

From there they were transported to Jamba in trucks, which, in three days, stopped only at mealtimes.

This weekend Dr Savimbi announced that all the prisoners — except the Britons — would be released as soon as arrangements could be made with the Red Cross.

At a Press conference, the Unita leader said: "I will not release the British prisoners until their government talks to us. Meanwhile, they are in good hands."

Asked to comment on the humanity of taking civilian hostages in the war, Dr Savimbi said that contract workers were taken prisoner because Unita feared they might be killed in reprisals by MPLA troops.

He added that one of Unita's goals was to hit economic targets, and the removal of skilled technicians reduced the MPLA's capacity to earn foreign currency.



The captives at Savimbi's base — all are being released except the 17 Britons

The 'secret' war escalates on SA's border

From PETER KENNY in Windhoek

IT HAS BEEN dubbed Africa's secret war. Not because Africa does not have a profusion of them.

This one has been hitting world headlines, with bombs falling in the major Southern Angolan town of Lubango, where Swapo has its main headquarters, and claims by Angola that it has downed three South African aircraft.

In a statement from its London office this weekend, Swapo denied it had a military headquarters in the Lubango region or that it had anti-aircraft batteries.

When war broke out in North Africa — in Chad — journalists watched from various hilltops as different sides strafed and killed each other.

War in Ethopia and the Ogaden brought in a phalanx of foreign correspondents.

But for people observing wars in the headlines, southern Africa's latest conflict seems to be a statement war.

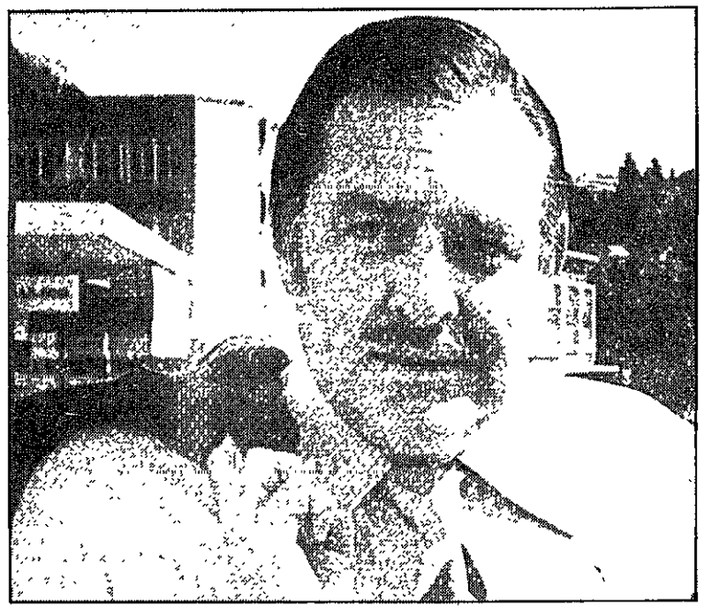
Communications in that region of northern South West Africa and southern Angola are bad, and distances to be covered are huge. A journalist trying to get to the flashpoint areas by road might get there days after the conflict. Flying in a chartered plane, he will probably be rocketed down.

Because it is being fought in a huge area of southern Angola, it is watched, analysed and discussed for the Western world from two capital cities, Pretoria and Lisbon.

Pretoria, because that is the headquarters of the South African Defence Force, and Lisbon because that is the clearing house of statements from the official Angolan news agency, Angop.

And what is the war allegedly being fought about? The independence of South West Africa, a United Nations mandated territory under the control of South Africa which is facing an onslaught from 800 to 1 000 Swapo guerrillas infiltrating from Angola, the chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, told military correspondents in South Africa last week.

He said seven companies of Swapo's military wing were attempting to push into South West Africa from southern Angola in a four pronged attack taking advantage of the rainy season, a habit of the insurgents who take advantage of plentiful supplies of water to sustain them and grow the vegetation that gives them protection against the security forces.



MR PIK BOTHA ... said: "South Africa cannot sit with folded hands while hundreds of Swapo terrorists infiltrate South West Africa to commit murder."



GENERAL CONSTAND VILJOEN ... South Africa's recent attack was a "limited pre-emptive strike".

And, after the worst drought ... century, which has left the fragile ...nomy reeling and a normally parched land devastated, South West Africa appears to be receiving an above average rainfall — a sign of progress in this beleaguered territory.

Both General Viljoen and South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, have said unequivocally that "South Africa cannot sit with folded hands while hundreds of Swapo terrorists infiltrate South West Africa to commit murder," using Angola as their stepping stone.

Earlier, during December, South Africa held out an olive branch offering a ceasefire and a halt to cross border operations from January 31.

This, of course, would have to have been met with an undertaking from the Angolan government that it would not allow Swapo to use its territory as a launching pad for attacks into SWA by such forces.

The ruling MPLA party in Angola and Swapo rejected the South African peace offer as a ploy, and since then all havoc has broken loose in Southern Angola as South Africa has unleashed its forces in a "limited pre-emptive strike", as General Viljoen described it.

The official news agency of Angola, Angop, claimed that three South African motorised brigades had invaded to Cassinga, where forces from South West Africa made a ferocious attack in 1979 killing and capturing hundreds of people.

Angop also claimed that South Africa had bombed the important strategic towns of Caiundo, Cahama and Cuvelai.

A Reuters report from Lisbon said military analysts believed the current South African operation against guerrillas to be its biggest in two years.

Swapo's aim in its infiltration into South West Africa during the rainy season is to cause havoc in the predominantly white farming areas south of Owambo and Kavango — an event almost as fixed on the annual calendar as the sometimes hesitant rainfall.

People in Windhoek, who see things on a global rather than regional scale, have been wondering whether the latest conflict in southern Angola coupled with the astounding inroads and aggression of the forces of Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita forces, might result in the installation of a new regime in Luanda.

They cannot decide whether such a government might be a coalition government of the ruling President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Dr Savimbi, or a lone Savimbi government which would in turn have to embark on a holding operation against ousted MPLA forces.

With the unashamed strong talk from the United States following its entry into Grenada and its refusal to pull its troops out of Lebanon, and the Soviet backing of the Cuban forces who help prop up the ruling government in Angola, bar talk and coffee shop gossip in South West Africa's thirsty waterholes is rife.

All that is certain is that the United States has a Presidential election this year, South West Africa's indepenedence is on the horizon and nobody can say how many soldiers and pieces of armament are taking part in Africa's secret war.

The only people who can see the war are journalists acceptable to the Angolan government who are prepared to be escorted around Angola, or those acceptable to Unita, who are prepared to be escorted to areas they control, or members of the SADF.

But what they really see they cannot necessarily write about in South Africa. After all, it is 1984.



DR JONAS SAVIMBI . . . Will he form a coalition government with the ruling President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, or a government of his own, which would have to embark on a holding operation against ousted MPLA forces.

6.40 **Sportfokus.**
Second programme on the SABC Snooker Challenge.

7.19 **Heimat of die Vlakte.**
A documentary about the German community of the

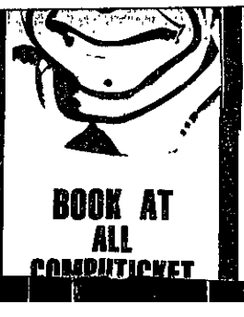
stream. Doctors and scientists worldwide are probing the secrets contained within a tiny fragment of a human chromosome.

11.16 **News.**

11.20 **Epilogue.**

. . . AND ON TV2/3

TV2	TV3



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Frelimo's Lisbon voice angers Angola's MPLA

Mail Correspondent

LISBON — Diplomatic relations between Portugal and its former colony of Angola, have deteriorated significantly in recent weeks as a result of the activities of Unita representatives in Lisbon.

The Portuguese news agency reported yesterday that Angola had protested firmly to Lisbon over the presence in southern Angola of a Portuguese state television team, filming the post-Christmas release of Portuguese and other prisoners held by Unita.

Marxist-ruled Angola has warned Lisbon on several occasions recently that the presence of a Unita spokesman in Portugal is harming relations between the two countries and will result in trade sanctions and other signs of disapproval.

Last week Luanda reversed its original decision to allow the Portuguese state oil company to participate in offshore oil drilling in a new discovered field, as part of the pressures to get Unita outlawed in Portugal

The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr Jaime Gama, subsequently summoned the Angolan ambassador to register Portugal's displeasure at the move.

The ambassador reportedly produced a long list of complaints about Unita's activities and warned of Angola's unhappiness with the situation. On several occasions Portugal has affirmed that as a democracy it could only act against Unita's representatives if they broke the law.

Sapa reports from Lusaka that preparations are being made to fly home about 2 000 refugees who crossed into Zambia from central Angola ten days ago to escape fighting between government forces and Unita.

United Nations sources in Lusaka said many more might have to be repatriated as, apart from those officially registered by Zambian immigration and officials of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, others may have slipped over the border into Zambia's remote north-western province and settled in areas where they have felt safe.

UNHCR sources say that a few Angolan government and military personnel had also been driven out of Angola in the latest fighting. The first Angolans are expected to leave tomorrow.

Angolan rebels demanded hostages sign documents renouncing their Angolan citizenship before releasing them to the International Red Cross, former captives told reporters in Lisbon yesterday

Nineteen Portuguese settlers who were naturalised Angolans arrived here yesterday after they were released with seven other hostages on Thursday by Unita

They said the rebels forced them to sign two documents before their release. One was a pledge not to return to Angola while the guerrilla campaign continued. The second was a renunciation of their Angolan citizenship.

Meanwhile Mozambican guerrillas say they have killed 244 government soldiers, wounded 350 and captured 27 since a new rebel offensive began on December 4

The Lisbon-based spokesman for the Mozambican National Resistance Movement said yesterday that three Soviet-built T-54 tanks, 14 other armoured vehicles and 18 trucks had been knocked out and large quantities of equipment captured.

The guerrillas also sabotaged railway lines linking the port of Beira with Malawi and Zimbabwe and the capital Maputo with Zimbabwe, the spokesman said The Beira-Maputo highway had been cut, rail bridges destroyed and power supplies interrupted in several areas.

Guerrilla casualties over the period of operation were given as 19 dead and 36 wounded

In Maputo, the official Mozambique news agency, Aim, said 54 rebels surrendered with their arms and equipment in Inhambane province between November 1 and the end of 1983.

Angola wants UN action on SA incursion

LISBON — Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has called for an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council to discuss South African attacks in southern Angola.

The official Angolan news agency, Angop, said today the request was made in a letter to UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar. The letter, dated December 31, was handed over by the Angolan Ambassador to the UN, Mr Elisio de Figueireido, yesterday.

President dos Santos alleges in the letter that South African forces, including paratroops, tanks and helicopters, were trying to push further north in fierce fighting, having already engaged Angolan troops more than 200 km north of the Namibia border.

He said he had appealed for the meeting in order "to prevent the war from assuming proportions with unforeseeable consequences, which could endanger peace and security in the region".

Angola has rejected South African claims that the offensive is directed against Swapo camps.

In his letter, President dos Santos said the attacking South African forces consisted of three motorised infantry brigades, four artillery groups, two battalions of paratroops, 100 aircraft — including helicopters — and an unspecified number of armoured cars and tanks.

The chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, last week described the South African incursion as "not being of major propotions". The general said the SADF was carrying out operations purely against Swapo to pre-empt a planned rainy season offensive into Namibia.

The Star Bureau in London reports that the South African Ambassador to Washington, Mr Brand Fourie, has been warned by Russian diplomats that if Unita rebels in Angola did not reduce the pressure on the Luanda government, the Soviet Union would be forced to respond, the Guardian newspaper reported yesterday.

The newspaper, quoting United States officials in Washington, said the Soviet Union has warned South Africa that it will not tolerate the overthrow of the pro-Marxist Angolan government by Unita, which Russia says is fully supported by South Africa.

According to one account by South African diplomatic sources, Mr Fourie's reply to the warning, said to have been made six weeks ago, was to ask whether this was a direct threat.

A second version of the reported warning — that does not necessarily contradict the Guardian report — is that South Africa and the Soviet Union have held friendlier contacts in which both agreed they shared an interest in not being in direct confrontation in Angola.

Neither the State Department nor the South African embassy would confirm that a message concerning Angola had been passed between Moscow and Pretoria, which have no diplomatic relations.

A State Department official said: "The Soviets may be trying to transmit signals about their nervousness about the outcome. They are concerned."

● A spokesman for the South African Defence Force confirmed in Pretoria today that the latest death toll for operations in Southern Angola was 14 South African and SWA Territory Force men killed in action and 56 Swapo dead.

The spokesman said the Swapo death toll of 56 did not include the number of insurgents who may have been killed in artillery and air attacks.

The spokesman refused to disclose how many South Africans had been wounded in the fighting.

The death in action of five South African soldiers was announced yesterday.

The dead were named as Second Lieutenant Piet Marais Liebenberg, of Pretoria, Rifleman Johan Karel Fourie (21), of Bellville, Rifleman Matthys Cornelis Smit (18), of Ladybrand, Rifleman Derek John Schronen (18), of Bothasig, and Rifleman Gabriel Pieter le Roux (18), of Cullinan.

● See Page 3.

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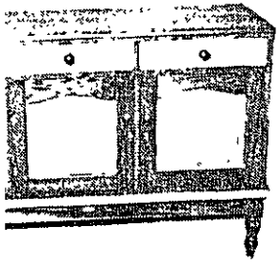
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We deliver in
the Peninsula

Two W Cape soldiers among 5 dead in Angola

AKGUS 3/1/84

Tygerberg Bureau

TWO Western Cape soldiers are among five South Africans killed in action against Swapo guerrillas in southern Angola.

They were Rifleman Johan Carel Fourie, 21, of Mabel Street, Oakdale, Bellville, and Rifleman Derick John Schrönen, 18, of Bosheuwel Road, Bothasig.

Rifleman Schrönen leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs A J Schrönen, two sisters and a brother.

Mr Schrönen said today: "There is nothing we can say, except that Derick matriculated in 1982 from the Bosmansdam High School and was called up for national service soon after that. We heard from him last three weeks ago, and he seemed happy. We are heartbroken."

Rifleman Schrönen was a keen athlete and took part in north Peninsula athletics meetings while at school.

Rifleman Fourie completed his national service in 1981, joined the Stellenbosch Fire Brigade in February last year and was called up for a three-month border camp in October. He was to have returned home soon.

Wrote often

He leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs "Boelie" Fourie, four sisters and a brother.

Mrs L W G Fourie said today: "It is so ironic. Johan wrote so often and always wrote of the plans he had for his return. He wrote so often that we never had time to reply to all of his mail."

Rifleman Fourie matriculated from the Westcliff Technical School in 1980.

The other three who died at the weekend were Second-Lieutenant Pieter Marius Liebenberg, 21, of Pretoria; Rifleman Gabriel Pieter le Roux, 18, of Unie Road, Cullinan, near Pretoria, and Rifleman Matthys Cornelis Smit, 18, of Church Street, Ladybrand, Free State.

The Argus correspondent in Bloemfontein reports that Rifleman Smit's father, Mr C J Smit, did not know he was in the operational area.

His youngest son, Basie, said today: "The news came as a terrible shock to my father. Matthys didn't want him to worry, and he only told our sister that he was going to the border".



Rifleman Johan Fourie



Second-Lieutenant Pieter Liebenberg

After leaving school in 1980, Rifleman Smit joined the SA Transport Servies at Germiston as a loading-master.

The Argus correspondent in Pretoria reports that Lieutenant Liebenberg was the son of Professor and Mrs B J Liebenberg, of Wangemann Street, Groenkloof.

Professor Liebenberg is head of the History Department at Unisa.

At university

Lieutenant Liebenberg matriculated in 1980 from the Afrikaans Hoer Seunskool with distinctions in English and art. He studied architecture for two years at the University of the Orange Free State.

Last year he decided to do his national service before completing his studies.

His mother, Mrs Cora Liebenberg, said today he was due to come home in November, but telephoned at the last minute to say he had been called up to the border for three months.

Rifleman le Roux joined the Permanent Force after matriculating from the Hoerskool Erasmus in Bronkhorst spruit in 1982.

He leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs J C G le Roux, seven brothers and a sister.

The Officer Commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General George Meiring, said in a statement that security forces had shot dead 56 insurgents in current operations against Swapo's military wing, and an unknown number had been killed in air raids and artillery attacks.

A South African Defence Force spokesman said in Pretoria that the five deaths at the weekend took the South African and South-West-African death toll in the operation to 14.

Shark scare

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Lifeguards rushed to order holiday crowds from the sea at Durban's North and Bay of Plenty beaches today after a large shark was spotted.

Bathers scrambled from the water.

Bathing has now been restricted to knee-depth.

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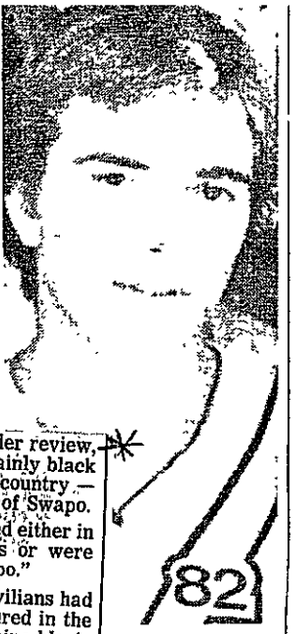
Adventure in Nature No.1
Saving the Acinonyx jubatus

Five SA soldiers die in fighting

SADF kills 56 Swapo guerrillas



"In the year under review, 146 civilians — mainly black inhabitants of the country — died at the hands of Swapo.

"They were killed either in landmine incidents or were murdered by Swapo."

A total of 101 civilians had been seriously injured in the past year in landmine blasts or in Swapo attacks, Gen Meiring added.

An earlier statement by the chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, said Swapo had mustered between 800 and 1 000 insurgents for the movement's annual armed thrust into SWA/Namibia from southern Angola.

The rains in SWA/Namibia, which began a month early, had precipitated a pre-emptive strike against Swapo's military wing (the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia), he said.

The defence chief said that the security forces from SWA/Namibia were trying to avoid armed contact with Angolan government forces (Fapla), but Swapo had adopted tactics of shielding behind Fapla forces.

Angola radio reported at the weekend that SA was stepping up operations and was heavily bombing and shelling towns and villages in the southern provinces.

The SA offensive, the third into Angola against Swapo since 1978, has been widely condemned by Western nations. The United States, Britain, West Germany, France and Portugal have called for Pretoria to withdraw.

South African Defence Force chief General Constand Viljoen has called the offensive a "limited" operation."

He said last week South African jets had bombed an alleged Swapo headquarters 300 km inside Angola near Lubango, and ground forces had encountered Swapo 250km north of the country's border with SWA.

Meanwhile, in Lisbon yesterday Angolan defence forces claimed they had killed 27 guerrillas belonging to the Unita rebel movement in operations in the central province of Benguela between December 21 and 26.

Two other rebels and ammunition allegedly supplied by SA were captured during the operations, the Angolan news agency, Angop, said in a report monitored in Lisbon.
— Sapa-Reuter-AP, UPI.

WINDHOEK.

SOUTH African security forces operating inside Angola killed 56 Swapo guerrillas in weekend battles, military spokesmen said yesterday as the SA cross-border thrust against Swapo neared its second month.

Nine SA soldiers and five black SWA soldiers have been reported killed by Swapo since the offensive began in early December, including the names of five released yesterday.

The dead were identified yesterday as Second Lieutenant Pieter Marius Liebenberg, 21, of Pretoria; Rifleman Johan Karel Fourie, 21, of Bellville in the Cape; Rifleman Matthys Cornelis Smit, 18, of Ladybrand in the Free State; Rifleman Derek John Schrönen,18, of Bothasig, Cape Province; and Rifleman Gabriel Pieter le Roux, 18, of Cullinan.

Lieut Liebenberg is survived by his parents, Professor and Mrs B J Liebenberg. Rfn Fourie by his parents, Mr and Mrs L W G Fourie, Rfn Smit by his parents, Mr and Mrs C J Smit, Rfn Schrönen by his parents, Mr and Mrs A J Schrönen, and Rfn le Roux also by his parents, Mr and Mrs J C G le Roux

South West Africa Territorial Force commander Major-General George Meiring said in Windhoek yesterday a further unknown number of Swapo fighters had been killed in air raids and artillery attacks.

Gen Meiring did not specify where the guerrillas had been killed, but a defence spokesman in Pretoria confirmed the casualties stemmed from "operations inside Angola"

"With the early onset of the rainy season, Swapo is at present busy with attempts — as is the custom annually — to infiltrate SWA." Gen Meiring said

"The security forces are engaged in follow-up and disruption actions to stop these infiltration efforts."

The security forces were continually "adjusting their positions to Swapo's movements and to exert pressure on these terrorists."

The statement said that during 1983 Swapo terrorist action had still been aimed mainly at civilian targets.

"In the year under review, 146 civilians — mainly black inhabitants of the country — died at the hands of Swapo.

"They were killed either in landmine incidents or were murdered by Swapo."

A total of 101 civilians had been seriously injured in the past year in landmine blasts

Please see

News

Gerhardt caught cold

ALTHOUGH SA spy Dieter Gerhardt was formally arrested by South African security police a year ago, he was first apprehended in the US by the FBI.
— PAGE 2

Anger over Unita

RELATIONS between Angola and Portugal are poor, following Lisbon's allowing of Unita activists in Portugal. They have deteriorated further since Portugese TV filmed a Unita Christmas party in the Angolan bush.
— PAGE 2

Decision on new deal

THE coloured Labour Party meets in Port Elizabeth today to decide on whether it will opt for a referendum on the new constitutional plan for coloureds.
— PAGE 2

Royals 'besieged'

BRITAIN'S Royal Family found their traditional Sandringham New Year intruded upon by a royal obsessive — and by a lot of journalists obsessed by getting a royal holiday story.
— PAGE 3

Business Mail

Dull days for JSE

DULL, listless, boring, flat — these are the words gloomy Diagonal Street analysts are using to describe the market for 1984 as the gold price continues to skulk below $400 and interest rates rise.
— PAGE 9

Rates set to stay up

A MARGINAL easing of rates was discernible as the money market wound up business at the end of the

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Oil found off Angola

LISBON. — Angola's national fuel company, Sonangol, has announced the discovery of an offshore oil well with a 5 100 barrel-a-day production capacity.

Portuguese Radio reported the well is at a depth of 2 550m in Angolan waters off the northern province of Zaire.

It is the first oil find in the Angolan prospecting area known as Block Two.

The US-based oil company Texaco Inc has a 40% share in the group of companies prospecting Block Two.

The other companies are Sonangol with 25%, the Brazilian company Braspetro and Total Oil each with 17,5%.

The radio quoted an Angolan oil official as saying the well held appreciable reserves. Prospecting is continuing in the region. — Sapa-AP.

Five SA soldiers killed

PRETORIA. — Defence Force Headquarters announced here yesterday that five South African soldiers — two from the Bellville area — had been killed in action against Swapo guerillas in southern Angola.

They were identified as Rifleman Derick John Schronen, 18, of 47 Bosheuwel Street, Bothasig; Rifleman Johan Carel Fourie, 21, of 29 Mabel Street, Bellville; Second-Lieutenant Pieter Marius Liebenberg, 21, of Pretoria; Rifleman Matthys Cornelis Smit, 18, of Ladybrand in the Free State, and Rifleman Gabriel Pieter le Roux, 18, of Cullinan, near Pretoria.

Rifleman Schronen matriculated from Bosmansdam Hoërskool in 1982 and started his military training at the beginning of last year.

He was a keen athlete and took part in the North Peninsula athletics meetings while he was at school.

He leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs A J Schronen, his sisters, Marian, 20, Joy, 16, and his eight-year-old brother, Arno.



Rifleman Derick John Schronen



Rifleman Johan Carel Fourie

Rifleman Fourie completed his two-year stint in the Defence Force in 1982 after matriculating from Westcliff Technical School in 1980.

He was a trainee fireman attached to the Stellenbosch Fire Brigade last year and in October, was called up again for three months' duty.

Rifleman Fourie is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs L W G Fourie, four sisters, Jeanette, Julie, Rita and Irlene, and his brother, Leon.

No funeral arrangements have been made by either family.

● It was reported in Windhoek that SWA/Namibian security forces have shot dead 56 Swapo insurgents in operations presently being waged against Swapo's military wing. Four Swapo insurgents were shot dead in battles over the weekend.

In a statement issued in Windhoek yesterday, the Officer Commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General George Meiring, said that an additional unknown number of Swapo insurgents had been killed in air raids and artillery attacks.

Meanwhile, a radio report from Luanda quoting Angolan Government officials, stated that fighting between Angolan troops and forces from SWA/Namibia continued in the southern provinces of Cunene, Huila and Cuando Cubango. — Sapa and Staff Reporter

Deep in Angola, rebel leader Jonas Savimbi talks... Tertius I

DON'T DA
DEAL ME

5 S-Times 1/4/84



Talking gently, talking tough: Savimbi this week

Jamba, Angola

IN a dramatic move to end the war in Angola, Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi has offered to open talks with the MPLA government in Luanda to form a government of national unity.

But the offer by Dr Savimbi, until now the wild card in Southern Africa's unfolding peace process, carried a warning: If you try to deal me out, I'll carry on fighting.

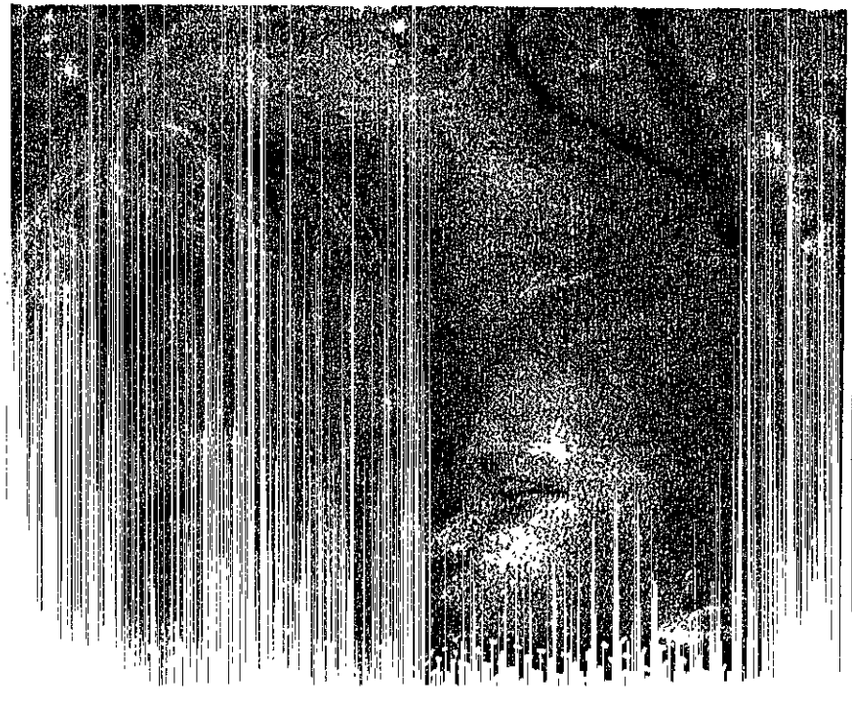
In an interview at his headquarters at Jamba, deep inside the south-eastern Angola bush, he expressed admiration for the atmosphere of subcontinental detente being created the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha — but he was equally insistent on his right to full participation.

He expressed pride in the fact that Unita had engaged in dialogue with the South African Government long before other black African governments.

After 23 years of lonely guerrilla struggle, the tough and charismatic Unita leader has built up his forces to a point where he is now demanding a place at the table to resolve the interlocking problems of Angola and Namibia.

At a military rally on a parade ground at Jamba, Dr Savimbi announced that he would launch a major diplomatic campaign to bring

The mother and child who marched through the hostile bush for 33 days



Fury mounts over planned rugby tour

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BODYGUARDS were last night
South Africa and other beauty co
"maniac" scare in Hawaii.

Police warned organisers of the
glamour pageant that a suspected
who is obsessed with beauty queens

The man is wanted in con-

Unita leader has built up his forces to a point where he is now demanding a place at the table to resolve the interlocking problems of Angola and Namibia.

At a military rally on a parade ground at Jamba, Dr Savimbi announced that he would launch a major diplomatic campaign to bring about MPLA-Unita talks.

He would send letters to all African heads of state and to the five governments of the Western contact group (the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada).

At the same time, however, he would intensify his military attacks on the MPLA, taking the bush war into Angolan towns and cities.

Last weekend's successful attack on Novo Redondo (Sumbe), the first successful assault on a provincial capital, was the prelude of this campaign, he said.

Cubans

Later, Dr Savimbi said it would be impossible to expel the Cubans from his country until a deal had been struck with Unita.

"The Cubans are not in Angola because of South Africa," he said.

"They are here to keep Unita at bay and to keep the MPLA in power.

"The key, therefore, is to bring the MPLA and Unita together so that the Cubans can leave."

Dr Savimbi launched his new initiative by inviting senior South African journalists and foreign correspondents to his headquarters, the first such move by the normally secretive and inaccesssible Unita movement.

Sitting in an armchair covered with leopard skin, five of his top advisers by his side, Dr Savimbi confessed in an interview that he had been "caught napping" by the Lusaka meeting between MPLA leaders and the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, at which the monitored disengagement of South African troops from Angola was agreed.

Delicate

Asked whether he believed there was any intention to cut his movement out of negotiations between Luanda and Pretoria, he said:

"This is a delicate situation, and I must confess that we were worried.

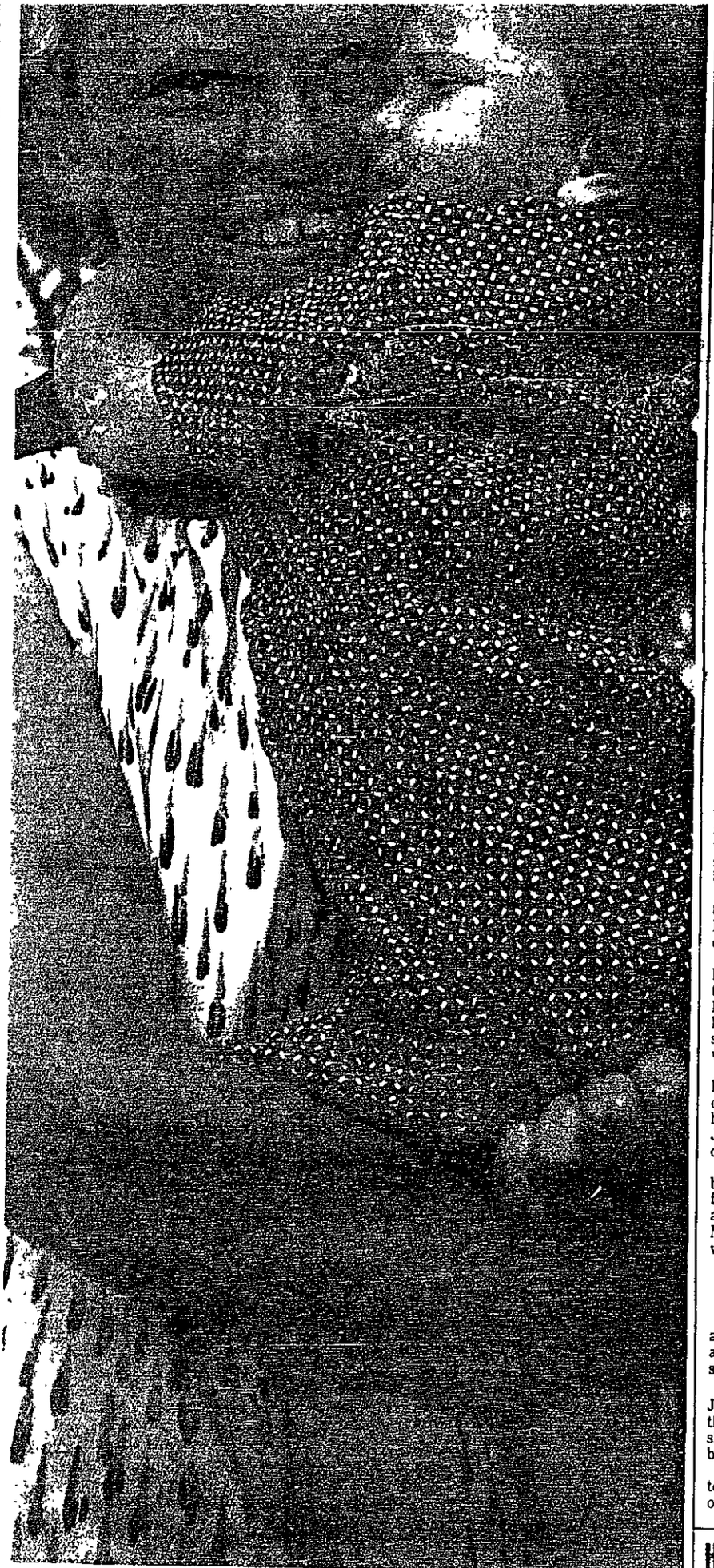
"The first thing we did was to address the problem to the Americans because they are at the centre of these affairs and we received an assurance that the objective was not to harm Unita."

Then he added: "We feel there is no sentiment in South Africa for leaving Unita in the lurch."

He said that among moderate African states — who knew of his eight-year dialogue with South Africa — it would make a bad impression if Pretoria dropped its friendship with Unita.

"We are not asking South

❑ To Page 2



FLOTSAM OF WAR ... this mother and her baby were captured by Dr Savimbi's advancing forces. Six hours a day, for 33 days, the child was carried by her father through the bush — and took no harm but a rash on her bottom. The family story is told on Page 2

Tor

BODYGUARDS were South Africa and other "maniac" scare in Ha

Police warned organi- glamour pageant that a who is obsessed with bea

The man is wanted in connection with the disappearance of several young women.

Tight security has been mounted to protect Miss SA, Lorna Potgieter, and 33 other national contestants in Honolulu, capital of Hawaii.

The girls were warned to stick together and to keep their eyes open for trouble.

There were fears that any one of them might be targets for the suspect, a 39-year-old Australian, Christopher Wilder, who is being hunted by the FBI and police in Florida.

Guards

In addition to the disappearance of the women, he is wanted for kidnapping and rape. He lures women out by posing as a photographer.

Lorna said: "Now that we've been warned, everyone is on the alert and I don't think there is anything to worry about.

"We go everywhere with security guards, even shopping just across the street from our hotel."

The alarm was raised when the suspect tried to lure a former Miss Florida who works for Hawaiian Tropic suntan lotion, sponsors of the beauty pageant.

The approach was made 8 000km away in Daytona Beach, Florida, headquarters of Hawaiian Tropic.

The founder of the firm, Mr Ron Rice, said Wilder telephoned his secretary, Miss Janet Chessor, who was Miss Florida last year, and said he was a photographer who wanted to meet her.

Mr Rice said: "It's my belief he was planning to murder Janet. Police have told us he is a suspected killer. But Janet's a smart girl and didn't go."

After the phone call police broke into Wilder's flat and found newspaper cuttings about Janet and other former Miss Floridas all over the wall. But Wilder had fled.

Heavyweights

Mr Rice said: "He could be anywhere between Florida and Australia. Hawaii is a stop along the way.

"Also, the guy might think Janet has come to Hawaii although she hasn't. In fact she's in hiding for the time being.

"That's why we're having to put extra-tight security on our contestants, almost one

Hallo Dandy wins

HALLO DANDY, ridden by Neil Doughty, won the Grand National Steeplechase at Aintree, Liverpool, yesterday from Greasepaint and Corbiere, last year's winner. — Sapa-Reuter



The captives at Savimbi's base — all are being released except the 17 Britons

Savimbi makes dramatic move to end Angola war

□ From Page 1

Africa to hang herself for us," said Dr Savimbi.

"But Unita is the best ally South Africa can have in these parts — and we were the ones who supported dialogue with Pretoria long before anyone else did."

Dr Savimbi, the man who believes he was cheated out of power when the Portuguese left Angola and who has systematically been fighting his way towards Luanda ever since, clearly set great store by this weekend's display of authority and power at what he describes as the provisional capital of Angola.

Weapon display

The South African and other foreign journalists flew in chartered aircraft to an airstrip at Coutade do Mucasso and were then transported to Jamba in captured Czech trucks in a bone-bruising, eight-hour drive along rutted bush tracks.

Weapons captured from the MPLA — troop carriers, trucks, artillery pieces, heavy machine-guns and rocket launchers — were on display at the military rally.

Three companies of neatly uniformed troops, all carrying AK-47 rifles, paraded on a football field carved from the lush forest. The perimeter was festooned with huge posters depicting Unita's struggle, first against the Portuguese and then against MPLA-Cuban rule.

In his address, Dr Savimbi, wearing camouflage uniform and carrying an ivory-topped ebony cane, said that in nine years Unita had totally "liberated" one-third of Angola, was able to move at will in another third, and had a presence in the remainder of the country.

He stressed the linkage between the Namibia and Angolan problems by declaring: "If the Cubans are sent packing from Angola, Namibia shall henceforth be free.

"However, as long as MPLA fears Unita, the Cubans will not leave Angola.

Dialogue

"Therefore, the independence of Namibia depends upon direct dialogue between Unita and MPLA."

He urged the governments of Britain and West Germany to "follow the examples of the United States, Portugal and France, who have understood the motives of Unita's struggle".

The creation of a government of national unity would be transitionary, to be followed by elections.

Dr Savimbi said he did not believe in a one-party state and Unita would guarantee minority rights in Angola.

Unita's economic policies, he said, were based on a belief in free enterprise.

At the Press conference, which followed a lunch of impala stew and rice (washed down with beer and Tassenberg dry red wine), Dr Savimbi was flanked by Unita's secretary-general, General Miguel Zau Puna, and other military commanders.

'Humiliated'

"We have humiliated the MPLA by taking the first provincial capital," he said, adding that he had instructed the commander of the Unita forces to vacate the city after two days so as not to provide a sitting target for the massive Cuban-led retaliation which followed the fall of the city.

Five thousand troops were deployed in Unita's biggest military action yet.

An intelligence officer said 440 MPLA and 32 Cuban soldiers had died in the battle. Unita casualties numbered 45.

He said there was a struggle between hawks and doves within the MPLA and that the militants were failing in their promises to defeat Unita.

"The alternative is obvious," said Dr Savimbi.

Repeating his threat to intensify the war, he said: "We have gathered the human and material means and we have set our target. If the MPLA do not talk to us in 1984 or early in 1985, something dramatic will happen."

Elaborating on a statement in his speech to the rally ("The internal winds of political changes in South Africa are blowing, and can be intensified by the attitude of individual African states"), he said the Republic's new constitution represented real progress.

'A start'

"Participation by Indians and coloureds is something, and I have heard South African leaders say that it is not the end of the road. It is a start."

Asked about Namibia, Dr Savimbi said: "We are not against independence for Namibia, with Swapo participating or not. It is not our affair.

"It is the duty of South Africa to decolonise the area in a responsible manner — not like the Portuguese did in Angola, where they left the power in the streets."

Were there parallels between Mozambique's and Angola's relations with South Africa?

"There is a big difference between the two," said Dr Savimbi.

"I don't see a possibility of things moving in the same way as they did with Mozambique. Relations will be good, but different."

Would he support the African National Congress?

"I have never been a friend of the ANC," the Unita leader replied. "I have never had any contact with them."

humanity of taking civilian hostages in the war, Dr Savimbi said that contract workers were taken prisoner because Unita feared they might be killed in reprisals by MPLA troops.

He added that one of Unita's goals was to hit economic targets, and the removal of skilled technicians reduced the MPLA's capacity to earn foreign currency.

mpics coach r in jeopardy

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... conceived and ... by former Brit... Bob Cockburn, ... in South Africa ... to by Mr ... he "wants to ... what the ath... is like" in this ... is due to start on ...

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Thursday a com... ... withdrew the ... had promised to ... McNab's airfares, hire of a car.

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BOB COCKBURN
companys approached

the balance, the issue was becoming too political.

Mr McNab, one of the most respected professional coaches in the world, was the main athletics consultant in the making of the film "Chariot's of Fire", and is author of the book "Flanagan's Run".

"I don't know what to do," a distraught Mr Cockburn said.

"I've known Tom since I was a youngster, and I persuaded him to come to South Africa after he'd seen the film Ron Pickering made which was anti-South African athletics."

Various companies were approached to take over the sponsorship, but all have indicated that they cannot, or will not, contribute.

Mr Cockburn is a mining consultant who was reserve in the British Olympics team in 1958

...lars of the present ... tional initiative.

Although the G... has set April 15 as ... line for the reports, it ...sible this will b... slightly.

A top Government ... confirmed this week ... reports could form ... for legislation later ...

It is not clear, ... whether the ... structured new ... third tiers of gov... will be brought to ... this session of Par... held over for the ... cameral session.

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SA Govt studying offer of truce

ARGUS 4/1/84 ZBV

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Government is studying the latest proposals by Angola to call a ceasefire in the SWA/Namibian war.

Angola's qualified acceptance of the South African offer to call a truce comes as the United Nations Security Council is about to hear new charges that South African forces and Angolan troops are involved in "violent combat" more than 200 km inside Angola.

In a letter to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said he had a mandate to accept a 30-day truce, subject to important conditions.

These included the withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola and a promise from Pretoria to begin implementing the UN plan for SWA/Namibia's independence within 15 days of the truce.

This, Mr dos Santos said, should be done without "extraneous considerations" — a reference to the linking of a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola to a SWA/Namibian settlement.

Any truce would also have to be agreed by Swapo.

NEGOTIATED DATE

The exact date of the ceasefire should be negotiated between Swapo and SA — it was a matter that involved "only these two parties", Mr dos Santos said.

A UN official said Mr Perez de Cuellar was studying Mr dos Santos's letter and it might not be a good idea for the Security Council to rush into another debate. A fortnight ago, the Security Council ordered Pretoria to withdraw all its troops from Angola.

● SABC said today South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Dr Brand Fourie, had denied he had been approached by Soviet diplomats with a warning.

Britain's Guardian newspaper said at the weekend South Africa had been warned Russia would not tolerate the displacement of the MPLA government in Angola by South African-backed Unita rebels. — Argus Foreign Service, Argus Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP.

CAPE TIMES 4/1/84 5

Angola accepts SA 'truce' offer

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — Angola yesterday took up South Africa's military disengagement offer and agreed to a "truce" — on condition that South Africa pulled out its forces and set a mid-March launch date for the SWA/Namibia independence process.

The counter offer, made by President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, came just as the Security Council had agreed to meet on an Angolan plea for help to contain the fighting, which Mr Dos Santos called "violent and worsening".

Angola wished to avoid "a situation that would lead to disastrous consequences," the Angolan leader asserted. The council meeting will begin late today.

Key to Mr Dos Santos' response to South Africa's December 15 disengagement offer is its condition that South Africa accept a SWA/Namibia settlement not tied to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

The disengagement — Mr Dos Santos used the Portuguese word for "truce" — would begin on January 30 and last for a trial 30 days, as South Africa proposed, but South Africa would also have to "solemnly promise, without extraneous conditions," to initiate within a further 15 days the seven-month process leading to UN-supervised elections in SWA/Namibia.

The Angolan proposal is conditional on Swapo also accepting it. Swapo yesterday restated its readiness for a ceasefire tied to a go-ahead to the settlement plan, which was first approved by the Security Council in 1978.

The UN Secretary-General is said to consider the Angolan gesture a significant development and is expected to say so when he addresses the council today.

Mr Theo Ben Gurirab, Swapo's permament observer at UN, termed the Angolan response "a good negotiating position" and indicated that it had been worked out in a flurry of secret diplomacy over the New Year weekend.

The UN chief was apparently involved, being in private contact with the Angolans and South Africans on Monday.

There was no immediate reaction from South Africa's UN Ambassador, Mr Kurt von Schirnding. South Africa has long tied a Namibia settlement to getting a firm agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban forces.

Only four days ago, Mr Perez de Cuellar reported deadlock because of this, and offered no prospect of the situation changing.

Tanks destroyed, hundreds killed in bloody 3-day clash

SA troops battle Cubans

By Deon du Plessis

South African forces came face-to-face with Cubans in a bloody three-day battle inside Angola this week.

In what appears to have been the fiercest battle of the Angolan Campaign so far, South African Forces killed 324 Cuban, Angolan, and Swapo fighters for the loss of seven of their own.

A communique from the South African Defence Force last night announced that four more South African soldiers had died in action (see accomanying box) bringing the security forces death toll so far to 21 in this campaign.

This week's battle, which raged from Tuesday to Thursday, took place near the Angolan Hamlet of Cuvelai. The SADF communique gave no indication of where Cuvelai is situated or how far it lies from the Namibian border.

Security forces destroyed 11 Russian-made T-54 tanks during the battle for Cuvelai, an important Swapo command post.

With the Cuban/MPLA/Swapo counter-attack on Cuvelia now repulsed and with security force actions against other Swapo infiltration routes having proved highly sucessful, the communque noted, South African forces are now "scaling down" their "current follow up operation."

The Communique gave no indication of whether this meant South African Forces were preparing to withdraw from Angola.

The battle for Cuvelai began on Tuesday when security forces, engaged in operations against elements of Swapo's seven companies in the area, came under attack by a combined force of Cubans and Angolans.

"Although the attack was successfully repulsed, the relatively small security force was surprised by the aggressive way in which this new force intervened," the communique said.

"Fighting continued until Thursday under difficult weather and other circumstances. The security forces will leave the area as soon as the mopping-up for mines and weaponry has been completed. A large amount of weaponry and equipment was captured and large destroyed."

The Cuban/Angolan intervention, the communique said, proved that Swapo operated "under the direct umbrella protection" of the Angolans, Russians and Cubans. This sort of intervention can result in a serious turn in the fight against Swapo."

The leaders of the Swapo camp, about five kilometres north east of Cuvelai, were housed with Cuban and Angolan officers in the town itself, the communique said.

The town was also used by Swapo as an storage area for supplies.

But most important, the movement of seven Swapo companies was planned and controlled from the Cuvelai headquarters, the Communique said.

A Swapo political commissar showed the South African forces seven catches of weapons along infiltration routes.

The names of four more South African soldiers killed this week were released by the Defence Headquarters in Pretoria last night.

Then men are: Lance corporal Wouter Theron Steenkamp (19), survived by his parents the Rev and Mrs N S Steenkamp of 7 Kerk Street Strand Cape. Rifleman Leon Frederik Pearson (19) survived by his mother, Mrs J C M Du Plessis of 148 Minnaar street, Balfour, Rifleman Hendrik Andre Heyns (22) who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs H J Heyns of 19 de Beers Road Strand Cape and Rifleman Daniel Abraham Louw (19) who leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs D A Louw of Plot 145 Leeukuil, Pietersburg.

UN tells SA: Get out

NEW YORK — The Security Council yesterday strongly condemned South Africa for its military strikes in Angola and demanded the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all its forces from that territory.

The resolution, the second on the question within 18 days, was approved by 13 votes to none with abstentions cast by the United States and Britain.

France and the Netherlands, the other Western members, voted for it.

The resolution was a watered-down version of a text that had contained a threat of sanctions against South Africa if it did not stop attacking Angola.

In its new form, it referred only to "more effective measures in accordance with appropriate provisions of the Charter of the United Nations" but this was still insufficient to win U S and British support.

The council decided to meet again if South Africa did not comply with the demand that it stop immediately all "acts of aggression" against Angola and pull out its troops.

Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar was given until Tuesday to report on South Africa's response.

He is scheduled to leave New York on Thursday on a nine-nation African tour, but his spokesman told reporters yesterday that he was prepared to remain at the U N

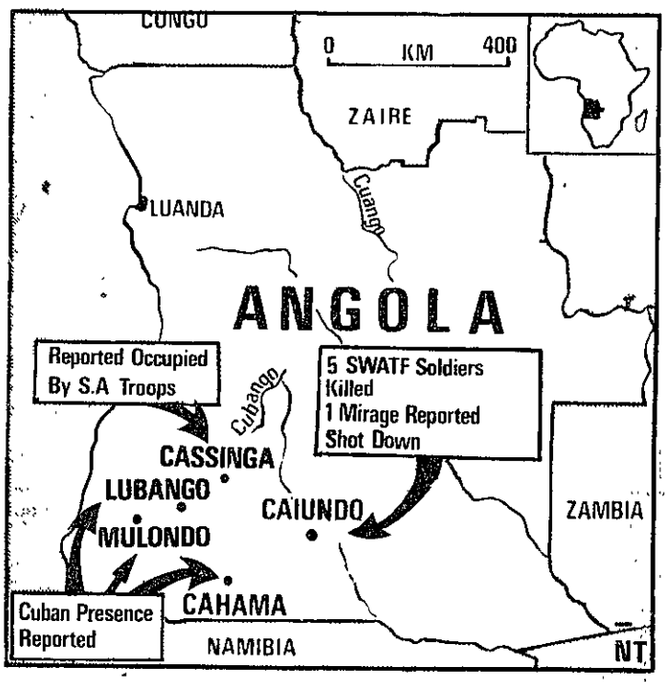
The council reaffirmed the right of Angola to "take all the measures necessary to defend and safeguard its sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence".

All member states were asked to extend "all necessary assistance to the People's Republic of Angola, so as to defend itself against South Africa's escalating military attacks as well as its continuing occupation of parts of Angola". — Reuter.

How news of SA's operation trickled out to the world

Angola has called for an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council to discuss South African attacks in southern Angola. Observers believe the South African Defence Force is involved in the biggest operation into Angola since Operation Protea in 1981 — a raid that was not confirmed by the SADF until the operation was well underway and had been widely reported abroad, based on Angolan claims. SHERYL RAINE of The Star's Pretoria Bureau, looks at the claims, counter claims and denials involved in the issue.

Diary of the strike deep into Angola . . .



The South African Defence Force began its latest operation against Swapo in Angola on December 6.

News of the full-scale operation which resulted in clashes between South African troops and Angolan and Cuban forces was only confirmed by the SADF on December 26 at a Press conference held by the chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen.

This is how news of the South African strike deep into Angola trickled out in a series of claims, denials and counter claims:

DECEMBER 20: Angola claims that SAAF Mirages and Bucanneers bombed Caiundo in Cuanda Cubango province for eight hours on December 18, killing "dozens of civilians" and destroying a school and a hospital. Four columns of the South African army were in southern Angola it says.

SADF spokesman in Pretoria says: "There is no point in reacting to repetitive allegations which may 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 had died in action on December 18 in the "operational area".

> **'The enemy will say it has shot down South African aircraft and that South Africa has hit civilian targets.'**
> — General Constand Viljoen at a Press conference the day after an air attack on Swapo headquarters.

ports said SA security forces began thrusts into the Huila, Cunene and Cunado Cubango provinces of southern Angola on December 14.

DECEMBER 25: Angolan deputy Foreign Minister claims a South African Mirage was shot down and that SAAF aircraft had bombed economic and civilian targets in the south.

DECEMBER 26: General Constand Viljoen tells a Press conference that South African troops have become involved with Cuban and Angolan forces for the first time since Operation Protea in 1981.

He revealed that Fapla ambushed a South African platoon involved in follow-up operations against Swapo near Caiundo the previous week and five members of the SWA Territory Force were killed.

A base with 200 Swapo fighters had been attacked and they had fled to Cahama.

General Viljoen claims that 900 Swapo fighters were heading towards the Namibian border. South African forces had been deployed over a wide area of southern Angola as far north as possible, to intercept the Swapo offensive.

Cross-border operations would continue until South Africa had reached its objective.

General Viljoen denies a Mirage was shot down by Angolan troops or that SAAF aircraft attacked civilian targets.

DECEMBER 27: Angola says South African forces occupy Casinga, more than 200 km inside Angola. The BBC reports an Angolan claims that South Africa has increased air and ground forces in various regions.

The SADF declines to comment and refers to General Viljoen's statements. The General denies South African forces attack civilian targets. He said repeated claims that SADF bombers constantly attacked economic targets as well as schools and villages was a propaganda ploy to get sympathy from the world.

An a SADF Press conference it is disclosed that SAAF aircraft launched an attack on Swapo headquarters near Lubango, 300 km inside Angola knocking out anti-aircraft missile sites and radar facilities in continuing operations over a wide area of southern Angola.

The SADF also announced the death of another soldier, bringing the death toll to nine for the South Africans.

The SADF confirms 52 dead Swapo in some 50 clashes with South African security forces since December 6.

General Viljoen denies South African forces are holding Casinga.

He anticipates claims by Angola about the operation and predicts that the "enemy will say it has shot down South African aircraft and that South Africa has hit civilian targets".

DECEMBER 30: Angola claims three SAAF aircraft were shot down in Southern Angola. The SADF denies the claim.

JANUARY 2: The SADF announces the death in action of five security force men in Southern Angola.

JANUARY 3: Angola claims to have shot down 10 South African aircraft and that the strength of the South African forces in Angola had now reached nine battalions, two companies and three army units supported by war planes and helicopters.

An SADF spokesman said he had nothing to add to the statement made on December 29 by General Viljoen.

DECEMBER 22: Angolan radio reports fierce fighting between South African and Angolan forces in the south of Angola. Angola claims that South African forces have launched an attack against its forces near Cahama and reinforced their units at Quiteve and Otchinjau and bombarded Mulundo 275 km north of the Namibian border.

SADF spokesman says he has nothing to add to the statement issued on December 20.

DECEMBER 24: Angola claims Fapla forces have repulsed an attack by South African security forces against Swapo at Caiundo killing five members of the SADF and capturing a Namibian soldier as well as South African military equipment.

A SWA Territory Force spokesman partially confirms an Angolan radio report that its troops captured a Namibian soldier saying the soldier was "presumed" to have been captured.

The SWATF says five black soldiers were killed during "follow-up operations against Swapo in southern Angola during the last few days".

The spokesman declined to comment on further claims by Angola that its troops had repulsed continual attempts by South African troops to take the town of Caiundo.

Earlier Angolan radio re-

Pretoria and Moscow — the oddest of couples

gy, dictates that Soviet and South African foreign — some would even say domestic — policy coincide very closely. Psychologically, both feel acutely impermanent.

Albeit to degrees, both control vast, subject majorities in the time-honoured manner. Neither is appreciated by the Western democracies. Neither is accorded the prestige and influence to which each feels entitled.

Furthermore, it admirably suits the purpose of each that the other exists.

For the Soviet Union to foster and keep its African friends and Third World standing without undue expense and coercion it helps to have a consensus devil in the form of apartheid.

Similarly, South Africa finds considerable merit on the satan of communism to ward off excessive Western unpleasantness.

And neither could be happier if the United States is viewed as Pretoria's friend, for such a perception legitimates the ambitions of both.

The relationship reminds me of a couple I once knew who were married in the Greek Orthodox Church and who decided, amicably and pragmatically, that they needed a divorce.

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Twisted a little, the metaphor applies neatly to what currently appears to be transpiring in Angola.

Pretoria and Moscow are locked into a chaotic civil war which profits neither, yet which neither can afford to see resolved.

From the Soviet point of view, resolution means either upping the ante, and risking deeper conflict with South Africa, or conceding a stand-off, withdrawing the Cubans, abandoning the MPLA to Unita and permitting President Reagan the diplomatic coup of a Namibia settlement.

The implications for Pretoria are similiarly bleak: the prospect of a direct and devastating confrontation which might result either in defeat or the accession to power of a Dr Jonas Savimbi determined to prove his anti-apartheid credentials; or, and almost as bad, the negotiated departure of the Cubans, who pose no threat to South Africa, and the embarrassment of having to abandon SWA to a Swapo government as promised.

In short, the seemingly belligerent status quo is very comfortable for this oddest of couples, and between them they are quietly arranging for it to persist.

With supplies of surplus Cubans and materiel — including, recently, surface-to-air missiles — the Soviets ensure the MPLA retains enough will to keep on fighting.

Pretoria, meanwhile, while arranging to prove its goodwill to the West by promising to withdraw conditionally from southern Angola on January 31, does its bit by launching an offensive against Swapo (which only a few months ago, the DFA and the SADF were calling militarily defunct) with such vigour that the stakes are raised and real disengagement becomes impossible.

Ironic, but starkly realistic. However much the United States would like to deny it (in both senses of the word), the Soviet Union is a major player in the region.

Pretoria, isolated and reviled by its natural friends, has chosen to accept that fact. And why not? It, not Washington, is on the sharp end.

Prime Minister Botha and his colleagues most assuredly realise that the United States will never — can never — pull South Africa's fat from the fire if they lose control of the pace of domestic change.

They must also appreciate that revolution — in the short to medium term at least — will not erupt uncontrollably in South Africa without material support from outside, and that the spigot of that support is, and will likely remain, in Soviet hands.

Moscow, meanwhile, does not relish the idea of being called in by some third-rate Marxist in Luanda or Maputo to rescue his sublimely unstrategic country from the sadf. The price is too high, the return too minimal.

The Kremlin would like, however, to have the prestige — thus far the preserve of the United States and its European allies — of participating in regional negotiations; to be recognised, in other words, as a superpower and a legitimate player in the region.

Many will find much of the above outlandish, and I am not suggesting for a moment that the Soviet and South African officials who met said anything of the sort to each other.

But that is not the point. The nub is that they met — not to posture or threaten, but to talk — and that their meeting alarmed the United States Administration.

Last November, at about the time the talks are understood have taken place, Mr Frank Wisner, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, gave a speech in Munich on "constructive engagement".

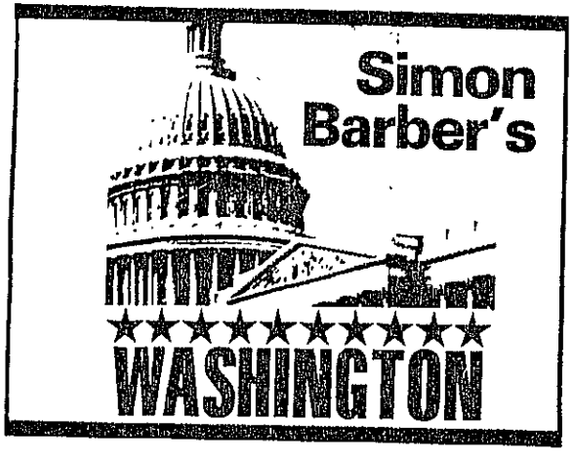
One of his more thought-provoking formulations was this: "A South Africa out of touch with the West can do grave damage to our interests in the region ... South Africa must respect Western interests in the region.

"But, indeed, these often coincide with South Africa's best interests, although some in Pretoria may be reluctant to see that."

The Reagan Administration has always held that white minority rule is an open invitation to Soviet intervention. That, possibly, was all Mr Wisner meant.

I cannot help feeling that he meant more ... that, in a quiet way, he was telling Pretoria: "We know you are trying to play both ends against the middle. Desist."

Pretoria and Mos — the oddest of c



Dr Brand Fourie, South Africa's Ambassador to the United States, is reported to have denied that he was approached by Soviet diplomats with a warning about Angola. Meanwhile, SIMON BARBER gives this view from Washington . . .

THIS YEAR opens with what — on the surface at least — might be a shock: news that South African and Soviet diplomats have been discussing their shared interests under circumstances more formal than the Washington cocktail circuit.

The talks, which are said to have taken place both in Washington and in New York, centred on Angola. The tone was apparently friendly.

The Soviets warned Pretoria against trying to oust their friends from Luanda; Pretoria's response, though as yet unspecificied, was such that it prompted a United States Administration official to remark, with some vigour, that "the South Africans are playing a very dangerous game".

The official went on to suggest, again energetically, that the South African Government was extremely naive to trust Moscow because the Soviets could very quickly, and without excessive effort, bring enough force to bear in Angola to inflict a major defeat on the South African Defence Force.

This would have have been unexceptionable but for the fact that this same official and his colleagues had previously been going to extreme lengths to insist that the Soviets and their proxies in Angola posed no direct threat to South Africa and that hardline theories to the contrary were entirely misled.

It is hard not to conclude that something transpired at the talks which the Americans find deeply disturbing.

What follows is some educated speculation, which may also explain why the mere fact of the meetings should shock no one.

It is no secret, for example, that Russian and South African officials convene regularly to discuss gold at the Soviet-owned Wozchod Bank in Zurich, or that South Africa routinely exported grain to the Soviet Union when the United States embargo was in place, or even that De Beers mines diamonds in areas of Angola still controlled by the MPLA.

Both South Africa and Russia want American technology for their industries and war machines, but are hampered by United States export controls.

Is it really so mysterious that an entrepreneur like Richard Mueller might see advantage in trying to satisfy both demands through a front company in Cape Town?

Ah, you say, commerce may be one thing, but diplomacy is different.

Moscow and Pretoria can hardly be said to see eye-to-eye on South Africa's survival.

Are not Soviet-backed hordes even now plotting to descend — Genghis Khan-like — from the north?

No. "Total onslaught," like so much ideology and sloganeering, is for the consumption of the led, a tool for the acquisition, maintenance and application of power.

And power, not ideology, dictates that Soviet and South African foreign — some would even say domestic — policy coincide very closely. Psychologically, both feel acutely impermanent.

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Russia says SA troops must quit

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union today demanded that South Africa withdraw its troops from Angola and called for "urgent and concerted international action" to remove what it called the South African threat to neighbouring countries.

The demands were contained in a statement by the official news agency Tass, an infrequently used form of report thought to reflect the thinking of the top Soviet leadership.

The statement praised proposals from UN Secretary General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar for Angola and Namibia as "timely and well-justified" and urged their implementation.

Mr Perez de Cuellar has called for South African withdrawal from Angola and a solution to the Namibian problem.

The Soviets echoed the UN demand for a South African troop withdrawal and demanded an immediate halt to "all South African acts of aggresssion, both direct and indirect, against Angola".

The statement accused South Africa of "grossly flouting" UN decisions by pushing into Angola and charged that South African troops had bombarded several inhabited areas of the country with "massive missile and bomb strikes and artillery shelling".

South Africa aimed to overthrow the Angolan Government which is pro-Soviet, the statement said, adding the almost ritual Soviet charge that the US was behind the actions of the Pretoria Government.

"It is perfectly obvious that South Africa's latest intrusion into sovereign Angola is directly linked to the stepped up aggressiveness of international imperialism, first and foremost US imperialism, and to acts of lawlessness perpetrated by it against the peoples of Grenada, Lebanon and Nicaragua," the statement said.

"Pretoria's racist regime would have been unable to act so arrogantly and impudently if it had not felt the support and encouragement of Washington."

In New York, Security Council sources said last night that a council resolution hinting at imposing sanctions on South Africa unless it immediately withdraws its troops from Angola was almost certain to be vetoed unless it was toned down.

The resolution is being sponsored by Angola, India, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Tanzania, Upper Volta, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

● The president of Cuba, Mr Fidel Castro, said in an interview with Newsweek magazine this week he would never stop supporting Angola and Swapo no matter what diplomatic and economic inducements the United States might offer his country. — The Star Bureau, Reuter, Associated Press.

Pik Botha admits to Soviet warning on Unita victory

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, admitted yesterday that the Soviet Union had warned Pretoria in November last year it would not tolerate the overthrow of the Angolan Government by Unita.

Mr Botha said representatives of the Soviet Union had approached a South African diplomat in connection with the Namibian question and the conflict in Angola.

Mr Botha was reacting in a statement to reports this week ot the warning from Moscow to Pretoria — reports that followed this pattern.

● Over the weekend The Guardian, London, quoted diplomatic sources in Washington as saying the warning had been issued.

● On Tuesday The Star quoted The Guardian's report and added details of further claims of contact between the Soviets and South African diplomats.

● Yesterday the SABC said the South African Ambassador to Washington, Mr Brand Fourie, denied there had been any contact between the two countries.

● Mr Fourie yesterday discounted the reports in an interview with The Star Bureau in Washington.

"I can't speak for other parts of the world. I can only speak for Washington. I can give you an assurance that I have had no contact with and no discussions with any Russians.

"We certainly didn't put out any feelers. In fact, I'd go so far as to say I don't see any chance of the South African Government putting out feelers asking the Russians to talk to them," he said.

● A spokesman for the Soviet Embassy in Washington said he had no knowledge of any talks with the South Africans.

"I very much doubt it would happen," he said.

Mr Botha said in his statement that Mr Fourie was not involved in the contacts.

He said the Soviet Union had made it clear it was tied to Angola by an agreement of friendship and co-operation, and would give Luanda all the support it needed. — Sapa, Reuter, The Star Bureau.

Southern Africa's secret war

5/11/84 D. Dispatch

PETER KENNY writes from Windhoek

It has been dubbed Africa's secret war. Not because Africa does not have a profusion of them.

This one has been hitting world headlines, with bombs falling in the major southern Angolan town of Lubango, where Swapo has its main headquarters, and claims by Angola that it has downed three South African aircraft

In a statement from its London office this weekend Swapo denied it had a military headquarters in the Lubango region or that it had anti-aircraft batteries.

When war broke out in North Africa in Chad journalists watched from various hilltops as different sides strafed and killed each other

War in Ethiopia and the Ogaden brought in a phalanx of foreign correspondents

But for the people observing wars in the headlines, Southern Africa's latest conflict seems to be a statement war.

Communications in that region of northern Namibia and southern Angola are bad and distances to be covered are huge. A journalist trying to get to the flashpoint areas by road might get there days after the conflict To fly there in a chartered plane is asking to be rocketed down

The war is being fought in a huge area of southern Angola and for the Western world it is watched, analysed and discussed from two capital cities, Pretoria and Lisbon.

Pretoria, because that is the defence headquarters of the South African Defence Force and Lisbon because that is the clearing house of statements from the official Angolan news agency, Angop.

And what is the war allegedly being fought about? The independence of Namibia, a United Nations mandated territory under the control of South Africa, which is facing an onslaught from 800 to 1 000 Swapo guerillas infiltrating from Angola, the Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, told military correspondents in Pretoria.

The Chief of the SADF said seven companies of Swapo's military wing were attempting to push into Namibia from southern Angola in a four-pronged attack taking advantage of the rainy season — a habit of the insurgents who take advantage of plentiful supplies of water to keep them sustained and grow the vegetation that gives them protection against vigilant security forces.

And after the worst drought this century that has left the fragile economy reeling and a normally parched land devastated, Namibia appears to be having above-average rainfall



General Constand Viljoen — South Africa cannot sit with folded hands.

— a sign of progress in this beleaguered territory!

Both General Viljoen and the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, have said unequivocally that "South Africa cannot sit with folded hands while hundreds of Swapo terrorists infiltrate South West Africa to commit murder", using Angola as their stepping stone.

Earlier, in December, South Africa held out an olive branch, offering a ceasefire and to halt cross-border operations from January 31

This, of course, called for an undertaking from the Angolan Government that it would not allow Swapo to use its territory as a launch pad for attacks into South West Africa.

Angola's first reaction was to reject the South African peace offer as a ploy, and then all havoc broke loose in southern Angola as South Africa unleashed its forces in a "limited pre-emptive strike", as General Viljoen described it

Angop claimed that three South African motorised brigades had infiltrated to Cassinga, where forces from Namibia made a ferocious attack in 1979.

Angop claimed also that South Africa had bombed the important strategic towns of Caiundo, Cahama and Cuvelai

A Reuter report from Lisbon said military analysts believed the current operation against guerillas to be South Africa's biggest in two years

Swapo's prime aim in its rainy season operations is to cause havoc in the predominantly white farming areas south of Owambo and Kavango — an event more firmly fixed on the annual calendar than the sometimes hesitant rainfall.

People in Windhoek who see things on a global rather than regional scale, have been wondering whether the latest conflict in southern Angola, coupled with the astounding inroads and aggression of the forces of Mr Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita forces, might result in the installation of a new regime in Luanda.

They cannot decide whether such a government would be a coalition of MPLA President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Dr Savimbi or a lone Savimbi government — which then would be involved in a holding operation against the ousted MPLA forces

With the strong talk from the United States following its invasion of Grenada and its refusal to pull its troops out of Lebanon, and the Soviet backing of the Cuban forces who help prop up the ruling government in Angola, bar talk and coffee shop gossip in Namibia's thirsty waterholes is rife

All that is certain is that the United States has a presidential election this year, Namibia's independence is on the horizon and nobody can say how many soldiers and pieces of armament are taking part in Africa's secret war.

The only people who can see the war are journalists acceptable to the Angolan Government who are prepared to be escorted around Angola, or those acceptable to Unita who are prepared to be escorted to areas Unita controls, or journalists accredited to the SADF

But what they really see they cannot necessarily write about

'Angola's compliance will decide'

SA notes new Soviet 'threat'

By GERALD REILLY
Pretoria Bureau

SOUTH AFRICA would find difficulty in seeing anything less than a threat in a Soviet "message" on the involvement of South African forces in Angola.

This was confirmed in a statement last night by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

He was commenting on a message conveyed in November last year to "a South African representative" in Washington by Soviet representatives concerned with the conflict in Angola.

The representative was asked to convey the message to the South African Government.

In it the Soviets said the USSR was committed to Angola by a treaty of friendship and co-operation that would give that country all the support needed to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Broadly, the Minister said key points in the Soviet message were:

- Concern over the fact that the situation in South West Africa was now more "acute" than every before;
- The continued occupation of Angolan territory by the SADF was unacceptable;
- So too was South African support for the "anti-Government bandits" of Unita;
- South Africa would be unreasonable not to take advantage of the already existing opportunity for a speedy solution of the South West Africa problem and the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola;
- Cuban withdrawal as a precondition for a South West African settlement would under no circumstances be accomplished by the Americans — the "Chester Crocker cycle" had now ended and it would be in South Africa's interest to accept this reality;
- The message should not be seen as a threat but was intended to make South Africa aware of the "logical and reasonable consequences" of its actions and to ensure that South Africa made the "correct deductions".

In his reaction to the Soviet message, the Minister said the South African representative involved brought the following points to the attention of the Soviet representative:

- It would be difficult for the South African Government to see anything less than a threat in the message;
- If indeed this was the case the Government would see the message in an extremely negative light;
- South Africa would not be intimidated by such threats;
- While an increase in the conflict situation was neither in the interest of South Africa nor the Soviets, South Africa would protect its own security interests against any threat; and
- South Africa was well aware of the co-operation between Cuban, Fapla and Swapo in Angola and found it necessary to oppose any threat from the area, irrespective of its origin.

The Minister would make no further comment. Neither would he comment on whether follow up discussions took place with Soviet representatives

Meanwhile, during a special UN Security Council session on escalating conflict in southern Angola yesterday, South Africa's UN ambassador, Mr Kurt Von Schirnding, confirmed the Government's offer of a military disengagement in Angola still stood — but that the Angolan Government would have to comply with conditions for peace

He was replying to Luanda's conditional acceptance on Tuesday of the South African offer to begin withdrawing its troops from the area at the end of January

After first rejecting the offer outright, the Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, accepted it — on condition that South Africa pulled its forces out of Angola and set a mid-March launch date for South West Africa's independence process.

"The South African offer still stands," Mr Von Schirnding said in a speech to the Security Council.

"The Angolan Government is, however, the one which will have to comply with the conditions for peace, not the South African Government."

The language of the South African offer was clear — should Angola desire peace, it could have it by not allowing Swapo to operate from its territory.

Angola: SA offer 'still stands'

Cape Times 5/1/84

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PRETORIA. — The South African Government's offer of a military disengagement in Angola still stood, but the Angolan Government would have to comply with conditions for peace, the South African Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, said last night.



Mr Kurt von Schirnding ... Angola will have to comply with the conditions for peace.

Speaking during a special Security Council session on escalating conflict in southern Angola, Mr Von Schirnding was replying to Angola's conditional acceptance on Tuesday of the South African offer to begin withdrawing troops from the area at the end of January. His address to the Security Council was released here last night.

After first rejecting the offer outright, the Angolan President, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, accepted it — on condition that South Africa pulled its forces out of Angola and set a mid-March launch date for the SWA/Namibian independence process.

"The South African offer still stands," Mr Von Schirnding said in a speech to the Security Council.

Conditions

"The Angolan Government is, however, the one which will have to comply with the conditions for peace, not the South African Government."

The language of the South African offer was clear: If Angola desired peace, it could have it by not allowing Swapo to operate from its territory and by not exploiting any arrangement for the cessation of hostilities.

According to Defence Force authorities, South African troops have engaged in a "limited preemptive operation" against Swapo forces in southern Angola since the beginning of December.

However, according to Angola, heavily armed South African forces, including paratroops, tanks and helicopters, are trying to push further north in fierce fighting, having already engaged Angolan troops more than 200km north of the SWA/Namibian border.

Cubans

Referring to the Angolan condition that South Africa should undertake, "without extraneous conditions", to begin the process leading to UN-supervised elections in SWA/Namibia within 15 days of the military disengagement, Mr Von Schirnding said: "South Africa has stated it remains prepared to begin the process of implementation (of UN Resolution 435) ... upon resolution of the problem of Cuban forces in Angola. That remains South Africa's position."

Earlier in his speech, the ambassador accused Angola of hypocrisy in telling the Security Council that it wished to avoid a situation that would lead to "disastrous consequences".

Swapo

"It is the actions of the Angolan regime in aiding and abetting Swapo's terrorist aims, and in allowing Swapo to launch attacks from and maintain bases on Angolan territory, which will lead to 'disastrous consequences',

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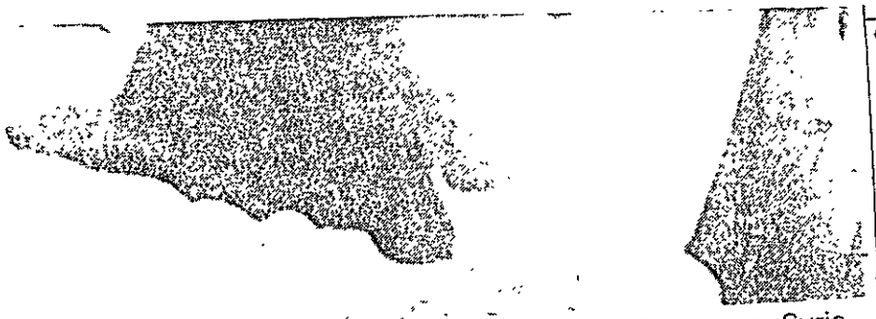


...v Jesse Jackson at his side, raises his hand in Damascus, Syria, ...nment on Tuesday. He had been in captivity since December 4 last ...n, was shot down over Lebanon. ● **Syria condemns decision, page 4.** Picture: UPI

C.T. 5/1/84 (227)

From page 1

unless the Luanda regime comes to its senses," he said.

Mr Von Schirnding warned Angola against providing military support to Swapo He said if it interfered with South African operations against the guerilla movement, it "must bear the full responsibility for the consequences".

"South Africa furthermore denies that its forces commit atrocities against the civilian population of Angola,"

"If the Luanda regime is so concerned with the threat to peace and security in the region, it should take the necessary steps to ensure that its territory is not used for the launching of aggression against its neighbours"

He said the presence of Cuban forces in Angola was a threat to peace and security in the region, and was "leading Angola to disastrous consequences because its people refuse to succumb to the tyranny which has been imposed upon them with the direct assistance of the Cuban forces". — Sapa

Cousin finds Ciskei boy, 9,

Staff Reporter

A NINE-YEAR-OLD Ciskeian boy was miraculously reunited with his family last night after he had been separated from his mother and brother while they were boarding a crowded train at Cape Town station at lunchtime yesterday.

How the Xhosa-speaking boy, Sandi Nyandeni — a stranger to Cape Town who cannot speak English or Afrikaans, had arrived in Langa, where he was found quite by chance alone and terrified last night, is a mystery.

According to Mrs Eve Gohl, of Sea Point — where Sandi and his brother are staying on holiday with their mother, Mrs Jane Nyandeni — the boy was spotted by his cousin, Lister, and brought back to Sea Point.

His mother was still searching for him in Guguletu when he was brought home.

Lister, who cannot speak English or Afrikaans either, had not known Sandi was lost until he approached him. He could not explain how Sandi had arrived in Langa.

"Among all those people in Langa and at night as well; I think it's a miracle that the two happened to meet each other," Mrs Gohl said.

Sandi got lost when his family boarded a train for Claremont. Mrs Nyandeni tried to get off the train to reach him, but the crowds were pushing against ... couldn't

Injured envoy 'in his rights'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A Zimbabwe deputy trade commissioner who was assaulted by a traffic officer when he refused to let his car be searched at a roadblock in the Northern Transvaal last week was well within his rights to refuse because he had diplomatic immunity.

This was confirmed by a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday, soon after the South African Government had formally apologised to the Zimbabwe Government over the incident.

The spokesman said that although the Zimbabwean envoy, Mr David Buyanga, who is based in South Africa, did not have political status, he had civil and jurisdictional immunity.

This would entitle him to refuse to have his car searched by traffic police at roadblocks should he identify himself satisfactorily.

Mr Buyanga was assaulted and apparently had his arm broken after being stopped at a roadblock near Louis Trichardt on December 29

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday he had been told of the incident and received the news with "deep regret and disappointment".

He was informed of the incident on the evening of December 30 and had immediately given instructions that the Director-General of Foreign Affairs investigate the matter.

The head of protocol and the departemental desk officer responsible for Zimbabwe visited Mr Buyanga on December 31 to offer the minister's and the government's condolences.

Mr Botha also requested the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Willem Cruywagen, to provide Mr Buyanga with assistance regarding travelling costs and medical expenses

Mr Botha emphasized that all representatives of foreign governments were entitled to "dignified" treatment.

The Chief of the Transvaal Provincial Traffic Department, Mr Gerrit van der Veen, said last night he was aware of the incident, but declined to comment.

Pinetown man quits election

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Pinetown's mayor, Mr Glen Billson, has withdrawn from the parliamentary by-election, making it a straight contest between the New Republic Party's Mr Frank Martin and the Progressive Federal Party's Mr Roger Burrows

Mr Billson has thrown his weight behind Mr Martin, using former Pinetown mayor and Nationalist provincial candidate Mr Vernon Hall as a mediator

Yesterday Mr Billson said: "I believe that by standing as an independent I would split the vote away from the NRP.

Tea-price rise will affect SA

THE sharp increase in the price of tea on the world markets, following a decision by India to stop exporting one of its popular grades, will have a definite effect on the price of tea in South Africa.

The managing director of a tea wholesale firm, Mr T L Gawith, said the price of tea will rise by between 50 cents and a rand a kilogram in about a month's time.

South Africa imports about 65 percent of the tea sold in the country. — Sapa

High-school orientation

Staff Reporter

ORIENTATION classes for schoolchildren going into Std 6 have been organized by the South ... held at the Grassy Park Civic Centre in Victoria Road, Grassy Park; the Methodist Church, at the corner of Comet and Klipfontein roads, Ath-

Too late for classification

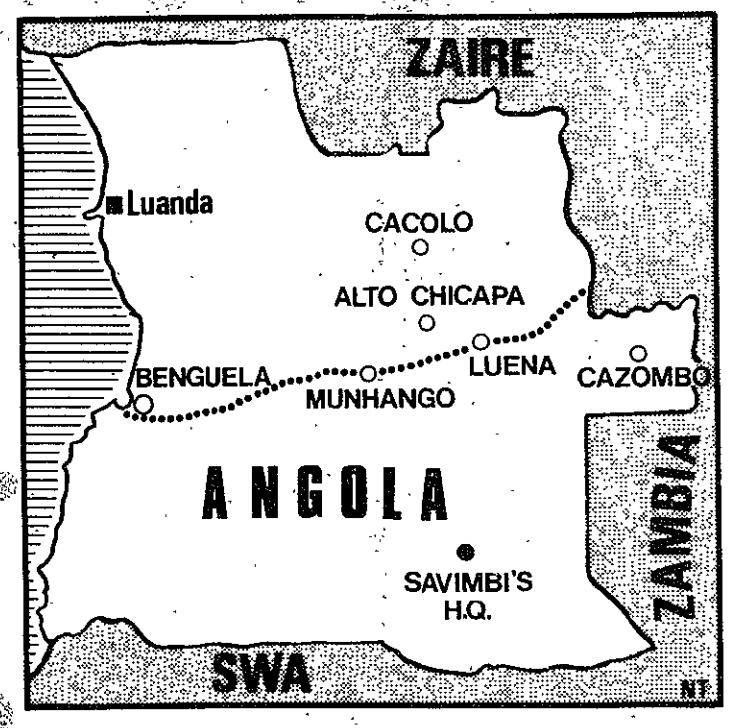
DEATHS

SCHRONEN. — Our beloved troopie, son and brother Derick John killed in action on the border on December 31, 1983 "I know that my Redeemer liveth and that in the end He will stand upon the earth" Very deeply missed and longed for by Mom, Dad, Marian, Joy and Arno Service at St John's Church, corner of Nassau and Buren Streets, Bothasig, on Friday, January 6, at 1.30pm Thence to Maitland Crematorium No flowers by request. Donations in lieu thereof to the Headmaster, Wolraad Woltemade Primary School, Naerhof Street, Bothasig.

Angola — melting pot of Southern Africa

Newsman visits the battlefront

No country in Africa has experienced as tumultuous a transition from colonial rule to independence as Angola. Eight years ago the Portuguese withdrew from Angola after five centuries of occupation.
Elections scheduled to mark the country's independence never took place.
Instead a civil war broke out which rapidly escalated to include Cubans, South Africans, Russians, Americans, Chinese and many other nations in a scramble to secure the strategic prize that Angola represents.
In 1976 the war seemed to have ended when the Marxist-oriented Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) formed the first independent government of Angola with Cuban and Soviet military support.
But the war has rumbled on ever since, still stoked by outside powers, and it is now bigger than ever, with the country being laid waste by at least five armies.
Entering 1984, Angola is perhaps the key country in a changing and unstable Southern Africa. It is also one of the focal points in international East-West tension.



FRED BRIDGLAND, a British journalist and The Star's special correspondent on Angola, has just returned from a trip to Angola that took him more than 1 000 km into the war-torn country.

Today, in the first of three articles, he assesses the complex fighting in progress.

Unita pushes hard in drive for power talks

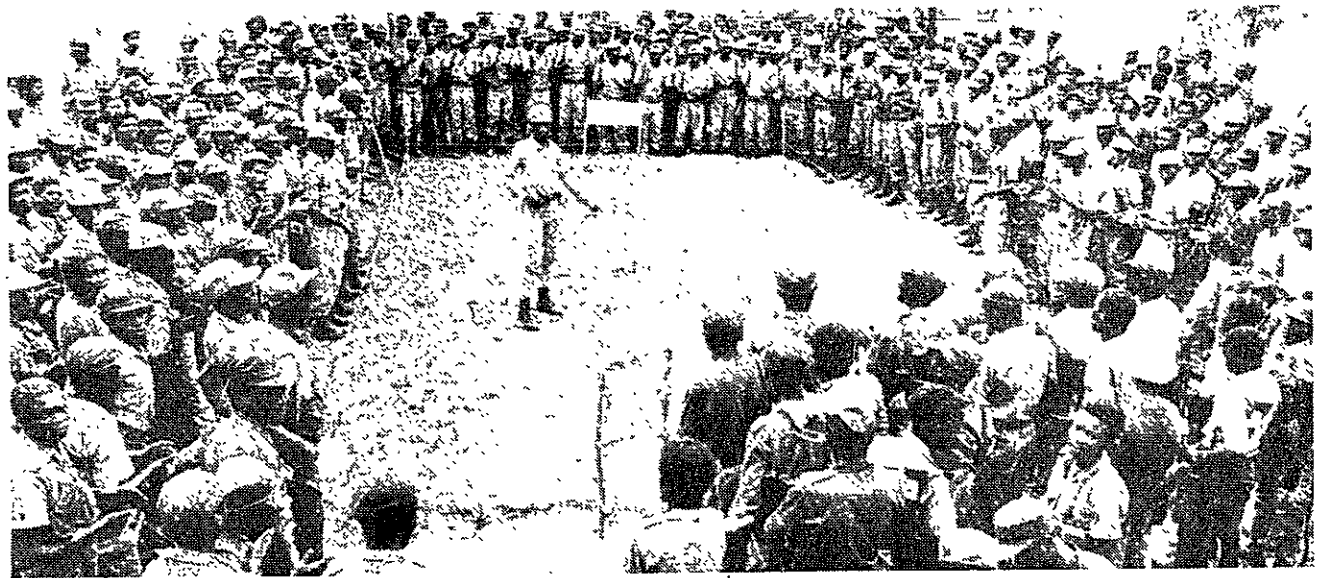
South African forces were beginning their biggest raid into Angola in two years when I left territory held by the rebel movement Unita at the end of last month.

From bases they established in Angola's Cunene province, South African forces with air and artillery support fanned out through south-west Angola, hitting bases of the South West African Peoples' Organisation.

The current South African offensive is designed to frustrate the annual rainy season offensive by Swapo into Nambia.

Having returned so recently from Angola, questions are fired at me about the South African offensive. To which I have to reply that I didn't see it, but saw an entirely different but perhaps more significant one many hundreds of kilometres further to the north.

While South Africa treats south-west Angola as a shooting gallery in persuit of Swapo guerillas, a civil war for Angola itself is being fought with fast-growing intensity between Fapla Government forces and the army of Mr Jonas Savimbi's rebel movement, Unita.



Geraldo Nunda briefs his men around a giant relief model of the town of Alto Chicapa before an attack.

A month before South Africa launched its attacks against Swapo, Unita began its biggest military offensive yet which is designed to force the Government to the negotiating table.

The Unita offensive is on five fronts. To reach one front I travelled from Unita's general headquarters in the south-east by truck 800 km into Angola along the Savimbi Trail. The trail is a network of tracks through the forests of Central Angola which Unita uses to transport war materials to the fighting zones. Some 250 trucks ply the trail, but Mr Savimbi expects to increase his fleet to 400 by the scheduled end of the current offensive next April.

The branch of the trail I followed [illegible] Benguela and allow the enemy a clear avenue of escape.

Then began the usual pattern of Unita post-battle activities — the rounding up of the civilian population (described in a Unita communique on the attack as "MPLA prisoners") to be resettled in rebel bases, villages and agricultural cooperatives; the blowing up of the main installations so that the town would be useless to the enemy if ever they recaptured it; and the construction of a new forward military base in the nearby forest in preparation for the next push northwards.

"My soldiers feel they were not really tested, and they want a new and bigger target soon," said Brigadier Nunda. "I'm deciding on one."

I left the brigade and [illegible]

Railway, the strategically important British-owned rail line which neatly bisects Angola into northern and southern halves.

When I visited Unita territory earlier in 1983 the Savimbi Trail ended some 160 km south of the Benguela Railway.

From Munhango I trekked north of the Benguela Railway for more than 160 km through villages and countryside entirely controlled by the rebels to join Brigadier Geraldo Nunda, the 31-year-old commander of Unita's northern military front.

Brigadier Nunda's base was spread over several square kilometres of forest.

Like many other Unita bases I have seen it had a football pitch, military parade ground, open-air theatre, hospital, command centre and communications centre, as well as the dug-out huts housing the troops.

Straight paths marked neatly by bark-stripped stakes linked the different parts of the camp, while overhead droned Antonov aircraft ferrying supplies from Luanda, the Angolan capital, to the major town of Luena (formerly Luso) in eastern Angola where Government and Cuban forces are cut off by land and surrounded by rebel forces.

wards towards the railway line. On the way I passed another battalion of 600 Unita soldiers "yomping" northwards at more than 40 km a day, carrying more than 20 kg loads on their heads and backs, to join Brigadier Nunda.

Within three weeks the Nunda brigade had moved another 80 kms northwards and on December 18 overran the major town of Cacolo, on the tar road which links Luanda, on the coast, with the diamond mining province of Lunda in the north-east.

On my way south I passed within 30 km of the Benguela Railway town of Cuemba, where an MPLA brigade is under siege by more than 1 500 regular Unita troops.

The Unita commander, Colonel Ben-Ben Arlindo Pena, said he was delaying the final attack on the garrison until he had collected more intelligence on Government dispositions in the town.

The fall of Cuemba would extend Unita-controlled territory onto the most densely populated area of the high Central Plateau, which in the past was the agricultural breadbasket of Angola.

Back in Unita's southern bases Canadian and Portuguese hostages gave eye-witness accounts of another important Unita military victory in the east-

> **"My soldiers feel they were not really tested, and they want a new and bigger target soon. I'm deciding on one.**
> **— Brigadier Nunda."**

For three days I walked with Brigadier Nunda's brigade of 2 000 soldiers across countryside resembling that described by Rider Haggard in his novels of Africa. There were high, rolling forested hills scoured and interwoven by cliffs and ravines clothed in delicate curtains of green fern.

There were fast-flowing rivers, crossed by rustic Unita bridges, and waterfalls tumbling over cliffs.

We crossed big rivers, such as the Cuango, a tributary of the mighty Congo, by inflatable rubber dinghies carried by the soldiers and by dug-out canoes.

Before the attack on November 29 on the small town of Alto Chicapa, about 160 km north of Luena on the road to Luanda, Geraldo Nunda briefed the three battalions of his brigade around a giant relief model of the town constructed by intelligence officers who had been gathering information for four months.

Two battalions were used in the attack with the third held in reserve. The brigade moved on the town during the night.

As the sun began to rise artillery units pounded it from the west with 81 mm mortar and 75 mm cannon fire.

Then 1 000 infantrymen swept in from the north, spraying a sheet of automatic rifle fire before them.

"It should all be over in an hour," Brigadier Nunda told his brigade at the briefing. It took 40 minutes.

When I approached the town with the command group, Fapla dead littered the ground to the north of Alto Chicapa. In the main street Government soldiers, bound and blindfolded, were being interrogated by Unita intelligence officers.

Most of the garrison, estimated at 700-strong before the attack, seemed to have fled southwards. It is a deliberate rebel ploy to attack in overwhelming numbers — to minimise Unita losses and so maintain its soldiers' morale —

ern town of Cazombo, in a salient of Angola which juts eastwards between Zambia and Zaire.

Fernando Moreira, a 34-year-old Portuguese who had worked as a shopkeeper in Cazombo for 12 years, said there were about 1 000 Government troops in the town.

"The Unita attack came at 7 am. The firing lasted about an hour, but Fapla lost the initiative after five minutes and most of them started running away towards Zambia.

A column of eight Government trucks carying weapons, food and other supplies had arrived in the town the night before the attack. The Portuguese said the Unita force captured these along with several other trucks and four tractors, a large supply of weapons and ammunition, and a military warehouse stacked with rice, cooking oil, dried milk, tinned meat and soap.

The Canadians, two missionary nurses, Nora Draper and Marion Wilson, and the 34 Portuguese had been marched southwards through Angola to the base — a distance of about 800 km.

Miss Draper said they were captured by Unita troops at the clinic outside Cazombo where they treated up to 1 000 sick peasant people each day.

"We shut ourselves in our house when the troops arrived," said Miss Draper.

"I had just finished stitching a small head wound on a child who had been hurt in the fighting in Cazombo. The soldiers told us to come out. They put ther arms around us and said we were to go with them.

"We didn't know who they were until I noticed Savimbi's portrait on some of their rifle butts. We were very frightened for the first two days, but their captain assured us we would be safe."

The Canadians, who were flown to freedom on Christmas Eve after being released, said they had not expected to be attacked.

Estimated 3 000 Cuban casualties in Angolan campaign

(5) E. Post 21/9/84

WASHINGTON — An estimated 3 000 Cubans are believed to have been killed or wounded in the nine-year Cuban military presence in Angola, and the casualty rate has been increasing, American officials say.

The number of Cuban casualties has been largely ignored since the Cuban troop commitment began in 1975.

The Cubans, initially sent to protect Angola against a South African invasion, have become increasingly involved in Angola's civil war.

As part of an agreement with Angola reached early this year, most South African forces have been withdrawn and only a small contingent remains in Angola near the border with SWA/Namibia.

Unita, the pro-Western guerilla movement headed by Dr Jonas Savimbi, has been steadily gaining ground against the Cuban-backed Government in Luanda. American officials say Unita appears to concentrate on Cubans in their attacks.

The actual number of Cuban casualties is a well-kept secret in Havana.

The presence of the 25 000 to 30 000 Cuban troops in Angola is a sore point in US-Cuban relations.

The Reagan Administration has cited the Cuban presence there as an example of the country's role as a Soviet "surrogate".

However, some Africa specialists believe Cuba established its own links with the Angolan leadership many years ago.

"In the struggle against Unita, the Angolans are not in as good a position as they were a year ago," a senior American official said.

"Next year, they'll be in a worse position unless an agreement is reached."

Final agreement is partly delayed by uncertainty over what Swapo will do once South Africa withdraws from Angola.

Without an agreement under which Angola continues to restrain Swapo, "the war is going to heat up again. Swapo will pour across and South Africa will go back in and get them," the senior official said.

The official said the Administration was hopeful that South Africa would agree to a ceasefire in SWA/Namibia and set a date for implementing a UN-sponsored plan for the territory's independence.

Swapo truce plea: SA wait its details

By Donald Knowler in New York and Peter Sullivan in Pretoria



South Africa is to consider the dramatic call last night by Swapo for ceasefire talks between its forces and South Africa.

A message asking UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar to convene this meeting was delivered as the Security Council deferred a vote on a draft resolution which makes a qualified demand for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa because of its strikes against Swapo in Angola.

South Africa will consider the call once the full text of the Swapo letter to the UN has been studied.

At this stage it seems unlikely that the SADF will halt operations in southern Angola.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said today he would study the offer as soon as it had been sent to him.

"As is diplomatically correct, I must first study the full statement before reacting," Mr Botha said in an interview.

"Until I have seen the exact text of Swapo's letter I am a bit hesitant to react."

Mr Sam Nujoma, the Swapo president, said in the letter that Resolution 435 — the UN blueprint for Namibia independence — did not make provision for a "temporary ceasefire".

Mr Nujoma, therefore, asked the UN chief to convene a meeting between Swapo representatives and South Africa.

Said Mr Nujoma: "In order to contribute meaningfully to an early ceasefire agreement and the implementation of Resolution 435, Swapo suggests the (Secretary-General) should immediately initiate steps to ward convening a meeting between Swapo and South Africa to discuss the final details of a ceasefire."

The Swapo call follows an earlier statement yesterday by the Angolan ambassador to the world body, Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, in which he said his Government was willing to "test" the truce offer by South Africa from January 31.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola said on Saturday that his forces were willing to comply with a ceasefire, but only if South Africa began implementing Resolution [illegible].

He said a truce needed Swapo's support.

Asked about the status of the various ceasefire proposals, Mr Botha said Angola's original counter-offer had been "ludicrous" because it tied a ceasefire to a two-week run-up before implementation of the independence plan.

There was no way the United Nations could deploy its forces within that time.

"If Angola wants to test the sincerity of our offer, I welcome it," Mr Botha said.

"This willingness ought to imply that they do not intend to exploit the situation."

As the chances of peace talks took a turn for the better, the Security Council last night deferred the vote on a resolution strongly condemning South Africa for its latest raids into Angola.

Despite some slight softening of the original text, the resolution still threatens comprehensive UN sanctions against South Africa if it fails to unconditionally withdraw its troops "immediately".

The threat of sanctions and other tough language make the draft unacceptable to the United States and Britain and also pose difficulties for France, council sources said. All three Western powers have the power of veto.

SADF toll rises to 17 as strike goes on

Three more members of the South African Defence Force were killed on Wednesday [illegible] action against Swapo terrorists, Defence Headquarters announced last night.

This brings to 17 the number of South Africans who have died in the operation that was launched into southern Angola last month.

The men killed in action were named as Rifleman George Alexander Lennox (19), Rifleman Brian Geen (18) and Rifleman Pieter Daniel Pretorious (20).

In Maputo today the Mozambique news agency, AIM, reported that the SADF has overrun all but two towns in Cunene province.

The agency said Cahama and Cuvelai were the last positions held by the Fapla in the province.

Fapla was holding the towns against repeated attacks, AIM said.

The chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, denied last week that South African forces were holding the town.

[illegible] New York yesterday the Angolan ambassador to the UN, Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, said Cuban troops were not involved in fighting between Fapla and South African forces.

He said, however, that his Government reserved the right to call for military help from other countries, including Cuba.

● See Page 9.

Soviets sabre-rattling, say S African experts

Staff Reporter

THE demand from the Soviet Union that South Africa withdraw its troops from Angola is seen by local experts as "sabre-rattling" unlikely to lead to action.

The Soviet Union has called for "urgent and concerted international action" to remove the "South African threat" to neighbouring countries.

The Russians have warned that they will not tolerate an overthrow of the Angolan Government by SA-backed rebels.

Sir John Killick, a retired British ambassador who served with the diplomatic corps in Moscow, said today that "my fundamental conviction is that the Russians do not have and never have had any intention of getting themselves involved in direct military confrontation in Angola, with the possible exception of the provision of air-defence systems manned by their own personnel".

"Lot of noise"

Sir John, while emphasising he had only what he had heard on radio and television to refer to, said he saw the latest moves as "a lot of noise with no real intention behind it".

Political scientist Dr Robert Schrirer, of the University of Cape Town, said he believed neither South Africa nor the Soviets wanted a confrontation.

Neither country wanted to become more deeply involved in the Angolan situation. "In essence, the two powers are trying to be very explicit to the other as to what their respective positions are," Professor Schrirer said.

While the Russians had indicated they would not stand by if any direct threat were made to the Angolan Government, South Africa had also laid out its "ground rules" on hot pursuit, which was no threat to the Angolan Government, he said.

No major change

Professor Schrirer said he saw the Soviet warning as "public sabre-rattling, not a dramatic new development" in the situation and he did not foresee any major change in the situation.

Sir John said he had seen similar situations where the Russians had threatened dire consequences when in fact they were not in a position to do anything.

Quoting the example of Afghanistan, Sir John said the Soviets had not invoked the United Nations (as they had done now) when they had direct action in mind.

"I do not think they will get themselves into a direct confrontation situation," he said.

While noting that the Cubans also wished to avoid a direct fight with the South African forces, Sir John said that it "all leaves lots of room for the provision of arms".

"I do not know what they hope to achieve, because if it is a bluff, as I suspect it is, they are not going to achieve anything."

He said, however, that the Soviets might frighten the Western Five into believing in an escalation situation in Southern Africa, in turn putting pressure on South Africa.

The United States — which he described as being "even-handed" — was the key. "If they do not bring pressure to bear, the ploy will not work," said Sir John.

"It is an old gramophone record I have heard before. The more noise they make, the more they invoke the UN, the less they intend to make some move themselves," Sir John said.

Three SA soldiers die in Angola

PRETORIA. — Three South African Defence Force soldiers have died in action against Swapo terrorists in southern Angola, Defence Headquarters has announced.

They were Rifleman George Alexander Lennox, 19, who is survived by his father, Mr D V Lennox, of Bellgrove Hotel, Brandfort, and his mother, Mrs Rawl of Maselspoort Waterworks, Bloemfontein; Rifleman Brian Geen, 18, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs C L Geen, of Rooiblom Street, Roodekrans, Roodepoort, and Rifleman Pieter Daniel Pretorious, 20, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs P D Pretorious, of Dirk van Deventer Drive, Wonderboom, Pretoria. — Sapa.

Door open on SA withdrawal from Angola

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

THE prospect of South African troops leaving Southern Angola along the lines suggested by Pretoria last month could not be discounted totally, informed observers said yesterday.

They were commenting on Angola's conditional acceptance of the offer which was subsequently reiterated by the South African Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Kurt von Schirnding.

South Africa originally offered to "disengage" from cross-border raids into Angola for a trial period of a month, starting on January 31, provided Angola and its Cuban and Swapo allies agreed not to "exploit the resulting situation".

Angola initially rejected the truce offer outright, but later accepted it on condition Pretoria agreed to withdraw its troops from Southern Angola and solemnly undertook to begin implementation of the United Nations' settlement plan by March 15.

In his reply, Mr Schirnding rejected Angola's conditions but repeated South Africa's original offer.

"The door has not been completely shut," said a well-placed source. "Angola has stated its conditions and South Africa has given its reply. The diplomatic game is now on."

"The latest Angolan statement was an opening bid and Von Schirnding did not shut it off completely," a diplomat observed.

What was needed to narrow the gap was renewed direct talks between South Africa and Angola, Professor John Barratt, director-general of the Institute of International Affairs, said yesterday.

"Bilateral talks are a way of inducing trust between the two sides and of creating understanding of their respective problems. If they continue to shout at one another at the United Nations, it will only make matters worse."

But, it was reliably learnt yesterday, there are no immediate plans for a renewal of the direct talks between South Africa and Angola which took place at Cape Verde late in 1982 and again early last year.

The presence of Cuban troops in Angola remains the biggest single obstacle to a settlement of the South West African dispute, which has spilt over into Angola because of the use of the territory as a base by Swapo fighters.

While South Africa — encouraged by the United States — has insisted on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a pre-condition for settlement of the South West African dispute, Angola's MPLA Government has refused to countenance their withdrawal as long as it is threatened by Unita rebels.

Soviet warning on Angola seen as only a plea

6/1/84

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union's warning to South Africa about its military activities in Angola is more a plea to Pretoria for restraint than a direct threat.

This is the opinion of Washington political analysts both within and independent of the United States Government.

Though South Africa sees the message, conveyed last November to a South African official in New York, as a threat and says it will not be intimidated, analysts here say the last thing the Soviets want is to get involved in a major conflagration in Southern Africa.

A Reagan Administration official said the message probably reflected Soviet nervousness about the deteriorating political, military and economic situation in Angola.

After the Soviet-bloc setback in Grenada, where Cubans and other Soviet surrogates were ejected, Moscow is anxious to avoid another international disaster.

This view was partially confirmed in Washington by a senior Soviet diplomat who said the message to Pretoria was a simple "statement of fact".

The fact is that the Soviet Union is committed to supporting Angola's Marxist MPLA Government and could not sit idly by while it was being destroyed.

One of Washington's most respected Africa specialists, who is regularly consulted on events in the region by Government and business officials, said: "I don't think the Soviets want to become directly involved with South African troops, and I don't think they want the Cubans to get into a large scale fight with South African forces.

"It does not fit into any realistic analysis of the Soviet Union's goals there in the medium term. The long term may be something else.

"The Soviet message was a warning of a kind — but only in the sense that they were saying they would be forced to react if they were pushed too far.

"In other words, they were trying to tell South Africa there is a line beyond which they would have no option but to take action, however reluctantly."

Swapo offer: SA awaiting full text

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa is to consider Swapo's dramatic offer for talks once the full text of Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma's letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations has been studied.

But at this stage it seems unlikely that it will halt the limited war in southern Angola.

So far 17 servicemen have died in the current South African thrust, and ceasefire offers have been made by South Africa and Angola.

Today the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said he would study the latest offer by Swapo for cross-table talks as soon as it had been sent to him by the South African ambassador at the United Nations.

"As is diplomatically correct, I must first study the full statement before reacting," Mr Botha said in an interview.

"My problem is I have not yet seen the exact text of Swapo's letter and I am a bit hesitant to react until it comes.

"Experience has taught me that news agencies often take short cuts. There is nothing wrong with that as it is their job, but in my job I have to study the full text and background before reacting."

Mr Pik Botha

Mr Sam Nujoma

"Ludicrous"

Asked about the status of the ceasefire proposals, Mr Botha said Angola's original counter-offer had been "ludicrous and farcical" because it tied a ceasefire to a two-week run-up before implementation of Security Council resolution 435.

There was no way the United Nations could deploy its forces within that time.

Last night Angola declared its willingness to test South Africa's offer of a military disengagement, when the Angolan representative at the United Nations said: "Angola is willing to test the offer made by the South African regime."

Mr Botha said: "If Angola wants to test the sincerity of our offer, I welcome it. This willingness ought to imply that they do not intend to exploit the situation and I will always welcome anything that brings a ceasefire without exploitation."

Mr Botha pointed out that the basic source of the conflict in southern Angola was the forces of Unita who were engaged in a struggle with the Angolan Government, and until that struggle was resolved, peace would not occur.

Not unexpected

Swapo's sudden offer for talks with South Africa was not completely unexpected in South African diplomatic circles as Swapo has been signalling its intention to ask for talks.

Swapo's offer came in a personal letter from Mr Sam Nujoma to Mr Perez de Cuellar delivered today and suggests that details be worked out immediately for a ceasefire between South African and Swapo forces.

We will retaliate, says Kremlin

Soviets warn US on Angola

RDM 6/12/84

MOSCOW.

The Soviet Union yesterday accused Washington of supporting and encouraging South African raids into Marxist Angola and it warned of retaliation.

South Africa "would have been unable to act so arrogantly and impudently if it had not felt the support and encouragement of Washington," the official Tass news agency said.

It warned that "aggression cannot be left unpunished".

The Marxist government in Angola is backed by 30 000 Cuban troops and advisers and receives military aid from the Soviet Union. Western military experts say.

Early in December South Africa launched a major offensive into Angola against Swapo guerrillas fighting Pretoria's rule over South West Africa,which shares a border with Angola

South Africa also backs anti-communist Unita guerrillas fighting the Angolan government

The Soviet warning is the latest in a series of protests both directly to South Africa and at the United Nations

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that just prior to the Soviet warning, official US sources said Swapo forces were having to fight Unita as the price for their continued protect on by the Angolan government

The sources said this was a "recent" development and said it showed increased desperation on the part of the MPLA.

Unita's US representative, Mr Jeremias Chitunda, yesterday agreed the South African backed Angolan rebels were encountering Swapo opposition, but added such confrontations had been occuring sporadically over a long period.

The latest encounters did not constitute "a new round of fighting between Unita and Swapo", he said.

The US sources contended Swapo's engagement of Unita was significant, however. They said it suggested the MPLA and its Cuban allies were now being stretched too thinly to deal with Unita and to protect Swapo from the SADF at the same time.

In yesterday's statement by Tass the Soviet Union also demanded South Africa withdraw its troops from Angola and called for "urgent and concerted international action" to remove what it called the South African threat to neighbouring countries.

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BATSMAN -



FAST BOWLE

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The statement praised proposals from the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, for Angola and SWA as "timely and well-justified" and urged their implementation.

Mr Perez De Cuellar has called for a South African withdrawal from Angola.

The Soviets echoed the UN demand for a South African troop withdrawal and demanded an immediate halt to "all South African acts of aggression — both direct and indirect, against Angola."

The Tass statement accused SA of "grossly flouting" UN decisions by entering Angola and charged that South African troops had bombarded several inhabited areas of the country with "massive missile and bomb strikes and artillery shelling".

"It is perfectly obvious South Africa's latest intrusion into sovereign Angola is directly linked to the stepped up aggression of international imperialism — first and foremost US imperialism and the acts of lawlessness perpetrated by it against the peoples of Grenada, Lebanon and Nicaragua," the statement said.

Meanwhile, it was reported from New York that a UN Security Council resolution threatening South Africa with sanctions unless it withdrew its troops from Angola immediatedly, was almost certain to be vetoed unless it was toned down, council sources said.

The draft, sponsored by eight non-aligned countries, strongly condemns South Africa and demands it stop all acts of aggression and unconditionally withdraws all its troops from Angola.

It was due to be put to a vote either late last night or today, but the sources predicted it would be vetoed by the US and possibly other Western countries unless its tone was softened during the course of private consultations.

The resolution was submitted on Wednesday night after Angolan ambassador Mr Elisio de Figueiredo said South Africa had launched a major offensive — with three motorised infantry brigades, 100 fighter aircraft, tanks and artillery — on places more than 200km inside Angola.



Seam-stitched . . . Left-arm opening bowler Gillian McConway, of [illegible] cricket team, needed three stitches in her left hand after fielding a Minnaar in the women's Test between South Africa and the Uni[illegible] yesterday.

Transvaal split threat after LP voting walkout

By CHRIS FREIMOND

PORT ELIZABETH — The coloured Labour Party congress ended in drama yesterday when a group of Transvaal delegates walked out after their provincial leader, Mr Jac Rabie, failed to be elected as national chairman.

The drama began soon after the Rev Andrew Julies was elected national chairman. There were three other nominees, Mr Rabie, Mr Charles Radcliffe and Mr Louis Dewrance.

A group of delegates, accompanied by Mr Rabie, left the hall with some shouting: "All Transvalers out."

When reporters tried to leave the hall, two were mentioned by name by Mr Hendrickse and warned that if they left they would not be allowed back.

Most of the Press contingent of about 20 then got up to leave in protest, but returned to their seats when one of the doors was locked and after Mr Rabie came back.

Outside the hall, Mr Rabie addressed a group of about 40 people and tried unsuccessfully to get the protesting delegates to go back. When asked what the problem was he said: "Basically there is no problem," but would not comment further.

However some Transvaal delegates said they were finished with the LP and would probably break away. They were dissatisfied that Mr Julies had been elected ahead of Mr Rabie.

Some said they were from Reiger Park, Boksburg, Mr Rabie's home base.

At a Press conference later Mr Hendrickse said he could not comment on the walk out because he did not know anything about it.

He read a statement issued by the LP's Press officer, Mr Les Abrahams, which said "about 15 delegates" left the hall when Mr Rabie failed to be elected.

● See Page 2

Workers bleat and boss' job goes with shish-kebab

MOSCOW. — You cannot pull the wool over some workers' eyes, a police chief and power-station chief from the Caucasus have learnt.

According to the newspaper Sovetskaya Rossia (Soviet Russia) yesterday, Chief Ivan Eremin presented 45 sheep to the regional director of power stations to be made into shish-kebab on the electrical workers' national holiday.

The Prikuban region boss, Vasili Sobolkov, accepted the sheep and ordered a station chief to watch over them until they grew fat enough for slaughter.

Peter Bondar, the station manager, "immediately ordered that his staff take care of the flock."

Engineers began grumbling that taking care of sheep in the hills was going to affect the power station.

"A collective, so solid before, split," the newspaper said, reporting that "failures occurred more often and a major transformer failed".

This put an end to the enterprise and the career of the station manager — UPI

Breakfast Quip



". . . and I thought we'd done with Dallas."

Watchman had to have sex wi[illegible]

SYDNEY. — Australians who wanted to know what it would be like to be raped by a creature from outer space found out today in the first issue of a new, racy, gossip-mongering tabloid.

The Star Enquirer served up similar titillating and scandalous fare to the successful US paper, the National Enquirer, on which it is based.

The new weekly has bought the publishing rights to National Enquirer stories and will have a blend of half-American and half-Australian content, according to editor Mr Bob Gordon.

"Sean Connery posed nude, polished coffins and mixed cement", was a headline sample of the American offerings, which also included an odd tale about a nightwatchman who claimed he was forced to have sex with a dwarflike creature from

Nujoma in bid for ceasefire

CAPE TIMES 6/1/84

NEW YORK. — The South West Africa People's Organization (Swapo) last night asked the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, to arrange a ceasefire between its forces and the South Africans through direct talks.

A message to this effect from Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, was delivered to the UN chief as the Security Council debated a charge by Angola that South African troops were conducting a big military campaign far inside that country.

Before the council resumed debate, Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, the Angolan delegate, affirmed his government's willingness to "test" a 30-day truce from January 31, as proposed by South Africa.

President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola said in a letter to Mr Perez de Cuellar last Saturday that a truce needed Swapo's agreement also.

Mr Nujoma said in his letter to Mr Perez de Cuellar that Swapo had always been agreeable to signing a ceasefire with South Africa.

"Accordingly," he said, "we agree with the Angolan proposal for the Secretary General to initiate consultations with the two parties concerned to agree on the exact date for a ceasefire in Namibia..."

Mr Nujoma said that "in order to contribute meaningfully to an early ceasefire agreement Swapo suggests that steps should be taken immediately towards convening a meeting between Swapo and South Africa to discuss the final details of the ceasefire.

A South African spokesman at the United Nations said last night that South African officials had never sat down with Swapo representatives face-to-face, although all parties to the SWA/Namibia problem attended an abortive conference in Geneva in January, 1981.

Richard Walker reports that a move to spur South African withdrawal from Angola by threatening it with punitive sanctions was blocked by the United States, which made clear its readiness to resort to the veto.

Britain and France also opposed elements of a strongly-worded draft resolution that for the second time in a fortnight sought to demand the unconditional withdrawal of "occupation" forces.

Black African delegates were said to be incensed, but they later withdrew to modify the text.

17 deaths

Meanwhile, SADF headquarters in Pretoria announced last night that three members of the South African Defence Force had died in action against

Full SC results for Cape blacks

Education Reporter

THE Cape Times today carries the full list of the results of black Cape matriculants who wrote the National Senior Certificate under the Department of Education and Training last year.

Considerable confusion over how the Department of Education and Training would release the results to the press has caused the delay in their publication.

They were released in Pretoria last Thursday, but copies of the results were not forwarded to the Cape Times.

Educationists have expressed concern over the low pass rate — this year 50,04 percent passed — and candidates interviewed yesterday said there was considerable dissatisfaction among them over this.

They attributed the high failure rate to a lack of educational facilities for black pupils and expressed concern over the increasingly costly examination fees.

● A complete list of the results is on page 4



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ceasefire

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BY TEST THE BEST
ONE HOUR
DEVELOPING AND PRINTING

crack of dawn



"If this gets off the ground, truce would be stranger than fiction."

CAPE TIMES 6/1/84

(5) A

From page

his parents, Mr and Mrs C L Geen of 15 Rooiblom St, Roodekrans, Roodepoort, and Rifleman Pieter Daniel Pretorius, 20, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs P D Pretorius of 146 Dirk van Deventer Drive, Wonderboom, Pretoria.

An SADF spokesman confirmed that 17 servicemen had been killed in the current operation in southern Angola.

Unlike the comparatively mild December 20 Security Council call for a South African withdrawal, this time the African bloc wanted the council to threaten South Africa with "effective measures" under sanctions-invoking provisions of the UN Charter if it did not comply with an exit order within 48 hours.

The situation had worsened and firm action was "imperative," the Angolan Ambassador, Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, said.

● The Soviet Union yesterday demanded that South Africa withdraw its troops from Angola and called for "urgent and concerted international action" to remove what it called the South African threat to neighbouring countries.

A Tass statement praised proposals from the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, for Angola and SWA/Namibia as "timely and well-justified" and urged their implementation. — Sapa-AP-UPI

UN orders SA out of Angola

(5)

Cape Times 7/1/84

NEW YORK. — The United Nations Security Council yesterday condemned South Africa for its military strikes in Angola and demanded the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all its forces from that territory.

The resolution, the second on the question within 18 days, was approved by 13 votes to none, with the United States and Britain abstaining.

France and the Netherlands, the other Western members, voted for the resolution.

Watered down

The resolution was a watered-down version of a text that had contained a threat of sanctions against South Africa if it did not stop attacking Angola.

In its new form, it referred only to "more effective measures in accordance with appropriate provisions of the charter of the United Nations", but this was still insufficient to win US and British support.

The British delegate, Mr John Margetson, objected to "the extreme language in which it is couched" and suggested a more "dignified" approach.

The council decided to meet again if South Africa did not comply with the demand that it stop all "acts of aggression" against Angola immediately and pull out its troops.

The Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, was given until Tuesday to report on South Africa's response.

Ceasefire

He is scheduled to leave New York on January 12 for a nine-nation African tour, but his spokesman told reporters yesterday that Mr Perez de Cuellar was prepared to remain at the UN if developments in Southern Africa warranted it.

The UN chief has been asked by both Angola and Swapo to hold talks with South Africa with a view to arranging a ceasefire among the opposing forces.

The council reaffirmed the right of Angola to "take all the measures necessary to defend and safeguard its sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence".

The council reaffirmed that Angola was entitled to compensation for damage to life and property.

South Africa has said its troops were chasing SWA/Namibian guerillas. However, Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, the Angolan delegate, told reporters that none were in the areas under attack.

Meanwhile, both Angola and Swapo announced their agreement to a truce with South Africa from January 31, but with conditions that Pretoria has previously rejected.

Cubans

Among these was the dropping of South African demands that Cuban forces be withdrawn from Angola as a precondition for SWA/Namibian independence.

When the Security Council resumed debate on Angola yesterday, French delegate Mr Luc de la Barre de Nanteuil said the attacks were totally unjustified.

"The territory of the South African Republic is not threatened in any way and nothing gives Pretoria grounds to attack Angola in the name of the inhabitants of Namibia," he said. — Sapa-Reuter

Strand men among dead

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Defence Headquarters last night announced the death of four members of the Defence Force who died in action against Swapo terrorists in Southern Angola on January 4.

They were: Lance Corporal Wouter Theron Steenkamp, aged 19, who is survived by his parents the Rev and Mrs N S Steenkamp of 7 Kerk Street, Strand, Cape.

Rifleman Leon Frederick Pearson, aged 19, who is survived by his mother Mrs J C M du Plessis, of 148 Minnaar Street, Balfour.

Rifleman Hendrick Andre Heyns, aged 22, who is survived by his mother and father Mr and Mrs H J Heyns of 19 De Beers Road, Strand.

Rifleman Daniel Abraham Louw, aged 19, who is survived by his parents Mr and Mrs D A Louw of Plot 145, Leeukuil, Pietersburg.

Earlier this week Defence Headquarters also announced the death of Rifleman G A Lennox, Rifleman B Geen and Rifleman P D Pretorius.

Father tells of letter

● "I'm homesick for mum's food", Lance Corporal Steenkamp wrote in a letter to his parents shortly before he was killed.

His father told the Cape Times last night that Wouter was "very happy" to do his military service, but liked his mother's food better than camp food.

He left home for the army in January 1983 and would have returned at the end of this year.

Lance Corporal Steenkamp is also survived by a sister, Eleen, 24, and two brothers, Francois, 21, and Nico, 15.

● UN condemns Pretoria ● US steps in ● SA pull-out anticipatec

TRUCE HOPES IN SPITE OF BATTLE

W/G ARG US 7/1/84 (5)

Weekend Argus Political Staff

HOPES remain high for a truce between South Africa and Swapo in spite of this week's fierce battle near Cuvelai in southern Angola.

SADF kills 324 in battle

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — In what appears to have been the fiercest battle of the Angolan campaign so far, South African forces this week killed 324 Cuban, Angolan and Swapo fighters for the loss of seven of their own.

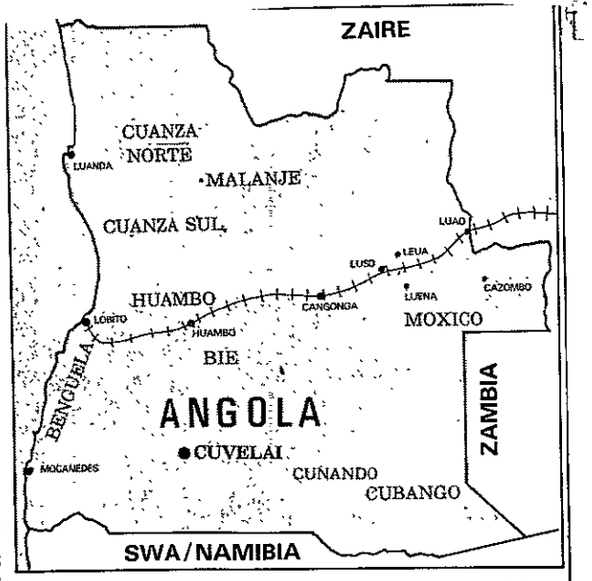
The communique from the South African Defence Force last night said the security forces'

Responding to the United Nations' Security Council's latest resolution calling on SA to withdraw from Angola, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, warned that SA would not allow itself to be intimidated.

From Washington, Weekend Argus Foreign Service reports that South Africa is expected to go ahead with its offer to withdraw its troops from Angola by January 31, setting the stage for a major advance towards an independence settlement in SWA/Namibia.

Two abstained

The United States, anticipating a withdrawal, is trying to persuade Swapo not to launch attacks into SWA/Namibia



The map shows the hamlet of Cuvelai in southern Angola, the centre of this week's fierce fighting.

Pik reaffirms Govt's stand

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, today reaffirmed the Government's stand that it would act against any terrorist organisation trying to determine SWA/Namibia's future by violent means.



RESEARCH DIVISION,
SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS,
ROBERT LESLIE BUILDING,
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN,
R.O.N.D.E.B.O.S.C.H.

TELEPHONE 69-8511 (Ext 440)

Mr Botha rejected the resolution adopted by the Security Council last night condemning South Africa for its military strikes into Angola and demanding the immediate unconditional withdrawal of all its forces from the territory.

He said the Government's standpoint might lead to confrontation with the world, but the "Security Council and the world must take note that the South African Government is prepared to accept the conflict and strife which may result from this". — Sapa.

death toll for the campaign now stood at 21.

This week's battle, which raged from Tuesday to Thursday, took place near the Angolan hamlet of Cuvelai, an important Swapo command post.

Security forces destroyed 11 Russian-made T-54 tanks.

Successful

With the Cuban-MPLA-Swapo counter-attack on Cuvelai now repulsed and with security force actions against other Swapo infiltration routes having proved highly successful, the communique noted, South African forces are now "scaling down" their "current follow-up operation".

The communique gave no indication of whether this meant South African forces were preparing to withdraw from Angola.

The battle for Cuvelai began on Tuesday when security forces engaged in operations against seven companies of Swapo in the area came under attack by a combined force of Cubans and Angolans.

"Although the attack was successfully repulsed, the relatively small security force was surprised by the aggressive way in which this force intervened," the communique said.

"Fighting continued until yesterday (Thursday) under difficult weather and other circumstances ... the security forces will leave the area as soon as the mopping-up for mines, weaponry and equipment has been completed. A large amount of weaponry and equipment was captured and large ammounts which were not recoverable were destroyed."

During the 30 days the South Africans are expected to pull their forces south of the Angolan border.

The Security Council's condemnation of SA's raid into Angola was the second time in less than three weeks, Sapa-Reuter reports from New York.

Thirteen voted for the resolution yesterday and none against, with the United States and Britain abstaining.

Positive

Washington is taking the Angolan Government's willingness to "test" the 30-day withdrawal as a positive response, in spite of the awkward conditions Luanda has set for the truce.

But Angola's response appears to be an acceptance of Pretoria's terms that the withdrawal not be exploited by the Angolan, Cuban or Swapo forces.

Reserve right

South Africa has indicated willingness to extend the 30-day withdrawal period if its terms are adhered to. Implicit in its offer is that if Swapo sends insurgents over the border, South Africa reserves the right to send its troops back into Angola.

But encouragement has been drawn from Swapo's request that the UN negotiates a ceasefire and arranges a meeting between itself and South Africa.

A State Department spokesman here said today the US "will be encouraging interested parties to co-operate in bringing about an effective disengagement of forces by January 31".

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Govt studies Swapo request for ceasefire talks . . .

Strong UN vote against SA raids

THE United Nations Security Council yesterday strongly condemned South Africa for its military strikes in Angola and demanded the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all its forces from that territory.

NEW YORK.

The resolution, the second on the question within 18 days, was approved by 12 votes to none with abstentions cast by the United States and Britain, reports Sapa-Reuter.

France and the Netherlands, the other Western members, voted for the resolution.

The Rand Daily Mail's Political Editor PATRICK LAURENCE reports that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was yesterday studying the text of a request from Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, for direct talks between Swapo and South Africa to negotiate a ceasefire to the fighting in southern Angola, but Pretoria is unlikely to respond positively to Swapo's overture.

South Africa is expected to stand by its previously stated view that any talks with Swapo should involve South West Africa's internal or "democratic" parties, since, in its view, the dispute in SWA is essentially between Swapo and these parties.

Pretoria's interpretation is strengthened by the involvement of South West Africans in the SWA Territorial Force in the fighting in Angola, five of whom have been killed since the incursion into Angola began a month ago.

Mr Nujoma's request was made in a letter to the UN Secretary General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, asking him to use his office to arrange direct talks with SA.

His request came in the wake of a conditional acceptance by President Jose Dos Santos, of Angola, of a South African offer to "disengage" from cross-border operations into southern Angola for a trial period of a month, starting on January 31.

South Africa's offer, made on December 16, was dependent on Angola's agreement not to "exploit the resulting situation" and to prevail on Angolan-based Swapo fighters and Cuban troops to do the same.

Angola flatly rejected the offer initially and President Dos Santos' later condition is seen as evidence of pressure on his government by South Africa's "pre-emptive" strike into Angola.

The strike was aimed primarily at Angolan-based Swapo fighters poised for a guerrilla attack on SWA and Mr Nujoma's quest for a ceasefire is seen as further evidence of its effectiveness.

In these circumstances Pretoria is unlikely to budge from the conditions set to its original December 16 offer, conditions which were repeated by South Africa's Ambassador to the UN, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, in his response to President Dos Santos' partial acceptance of it.

Nor, according to well placed sources, is South Africa likely to modify its insistence that implementation of the UN settlement plan for SWA can only begin after the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

Despite threats of intervention on the side of President Dos Santos's MPLA government from Soviet Union, the prevailing view in Pretoria seems to be that South Africa can ride out the storm — and that military and political pressures on President Dos Santos and Swapo are greater than those on South Africa.

The Mail Africa Bureau in Windhoek reports that in his letter to the UN Secretary-General, Mr Nujoma said: "Swapo has always been agreeable to the immediate signing of a ceasefire between itself and South Africa."

Mr Nujoma said in his letter:

"As your excellency is well aware, provisions of Resolution 435 do not in any way refer to a temporary ceasefire arrangement in Namibia.

"In order to contribute meaningfully to an early ceasefire agreement and implementation of 435, Swapo suggests your excellency should immediately initiate steps towards convening a meeting between Swapo and South Africa to discuss the final details of the ceasefire."

● See Page 3

Latest troop losses worst

By CHRIS OLCKERS
Chief Reporter

SOUTH AFRICAN forces have suffered their worst losses in a single operation since the beginning of the latest search and destroy action against Swapo in southern Angola with 17 young men losing their lives since mid-December.

But military strategists yesterday said that despite the losses the military objective of halting Swapo's planned infiltration had succeeded.

One strategist said: "The cost of lives could have been much higher if Swapo had executed their plan to infiltrate South West Africa.

"If they had managed to get through the material cost of searching for small bands of terrorists would have been enormous.

"What people forget is that this operation has been going on for a month now and that more people die on our roads during any given weekend than the losses suffered during an intense operation of this kind.

"It is also important to remember that our soldiers are fighting trained men who are using real bullets," he said.

"It is sad that some men die in action and far too many people judge the success of an operation with the number of enemy killed. It is obvious that the strategy was to disrupt Swapo and to prevent them from getting close to the border.

"This objective has been achieved Swapo cannot move away from the protection of Fapla and the Cubans," he added.

A Defence Force spokesman said the SADF regretted losing any men.

"But our soldiers die in action to safeguard and protect the people of SWA," he said.

The Star REVIEW

Saturday January 7 1984

ISSUE OF THE WEEK

Peace ? — not that ea

There is some feeling in South Africa that we may soon be wandering down charming little narrow streets (right) in Maputo and Launda once again. Peace, after all, is just around the corner — or is it? **Brendan Nicholson** reports.



A FLURRY of diplomatic activity in Southern Africa and abroad has created a dangerous illusion that prospects for peace are good, that South Africa's enemies are finally "seeing the light" and that the Republic's citizens might soon be dining on prawns at the sidewalk cafes of Maputo and Luanda.

Over the past 18 months there has been a succession of "developments", "talks", "truce offers", "summits", "moves" and "meetings", interspersed with various military invasions and all intended bring peace and security to the sub-continent.

One fatal flaw damns all of these hopeful prospects to irrelevance in terms of bringing long term peace to Southern Africa.

They are all based on the premise that South Africa is fighting a valiant battle against the evil forces of international communism on behalf of the Free World.

And Pretoria's policy of battering its neighbours into submission with a combination of military and economic force appears to contain an inherent rejection of any possibility that the rulers of countries which support the African Nationalist Congress might be motivated by a genuine desire to destroy, not the West nor even South Africa, but simply the apartheid system.

Many governments with a stake in the future of Southern Africa agreed long ago that the logjam of confrontation on the sub-continent could be broken by a peaceful transition to independence in Namibia.

Then, using the jargon which has added an impression of movement to the whole confused process, the phenomonen of "linkage" was created by someone in Washington or Pretoria who insisted that before the benighted territory could be given independence the 30 000-odd Cuban troops in Angola should be sent packing.

"Lingage" turned out to be simply a giant spanner which caused prospects for Namibian independence to grind promptly to a halt.

There are good reasons for South Africa and the United States, along with several moderate governments in Southern Africa, to want the Cubans out.

Washington does not want a Soviet surrogate force sitting in a strategic part of the world, Pretoria does not want such a force poised on the Orange River and the Angolan rebels of Mr Jonas Samimbi's UNITA movement would like to see the Luanda government lose its Cuban protectors.

But no one has explained yet how President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola is to be persuaded to commit political and military suicide by sending the Cubans packing.

As long as UNITA is a threat to his government the Cubans will remain in Angola.

If, with the direct or indirect support of South Africa, UNITA can make sufficient territorial advances to force the MPLA to negotiate with a view to forming a government of national unity then the picture might change.

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If, with the direct or indirect support of South Africa, UNITA can make sufficient territorial advances to force the MPLA to negotiate with a view to forming a government of national unity then the picture might change.

That prospect appears to be some way off.

Most of Savimbi's substantial gains so far have been in the comparatively thinly-populated south and centre of the eastern "side" of Angola and so far he does not appear to have come up against any large concentrations of Cuban troops determined to stand and fight.

Having been outmanoeuvred and humiliated in

To Page 2.

HERE'S SOMETHING

(5)

Angolan rebels anger Luanda government

LISBON. — While Portugal assures Angola of solidarity in its former colony's confrontation with South Africa, the Luanda government is becoming increasingly irritated by the activities of Angolan rebels in Lisbon.

A propaganda campaign being waged in Portugal against Angola's Marxist government, mainly by the powerful Unita guerillas headed by Mr Jonas Savimbi, threatens to wreck reconciliation moves which appeared extremely promising as recently as last October, diplomats say.

Protest

Angola last week protested to the Socialist-led government of Prime Minister Mr Mario Soares against a visit by a Portuguese state television team to southern Angolan territory controlled by Mr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces.

It was the latest in a series of protests against the activities in Portugal of Unita and other rebel organizations such as the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA), the Angolan National Convergence Movement (CNA) and the Cabinda Liberation Front (FLEC).

Unita and the FNLA, both defeated by the ruling popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in the civil war which followed independence from Portugal in 1975, have been putting out a flood of communiques here claiming major successes in guerilla warfare against Cuban-backed government troops.

Displeasure

Angola recently showed its displeasure in concrete form by warning that it would import less from Portugal if these activities continued. It also excluded the Portuguese state oil company Petrogal from taking part in new prospecting off the Angolan coast.

Luanda was also irked by the visit to Lisbon by South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha last November — the first of its kind since the 1974 revolution which restored democracy to Portugal and precipitated the break-up of its African empire.

At a news conference Mr Botha praised Portugal's insight into Southern African problems and its potential role in helping promote peace in the area, notably in its former colonies of Mozambique and Angola.

The South Africans have since renewed talks with Mozambique to seek a modus vivendi, but large-scale fighting has again erupted in Angola, into which South African troops have penetrated from neighbouring SWA/Namibia.

Guerillas

Angola is the main base of guerillas fighting for Namibia's independence against South African-led forces.

Mr Botha's visit to Lisbon followed one by Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Paulo Jorge, seen as a big step towards repairing strained relations between Portugal and its former colony.

After Mr Jorge's visit, Portuguese Interior Minister Mr Eduardo Pereira banned dissident Angolan groups from holding a news conference in a leading Lisbon hotel.

But a spokesman for the dissidents, an FNLA representative, held an impromptu conference with reporters in the street outside, drawing another Angolan protest.

Portuguese President Antonio Ramalho Eanes, who has just sent a warm message of support to Angolan head of state Mr Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, is on record as opposing the holding of press conferences in Portugal here by opponents of the Luanda and Maputo governents.

Dictatorship

But with memories of an all-powerful secret police under the former dictatorship still vivid in the new Portuguese democracy, the authorities are obviously reluctant to clamp down, knowing this might be seen as a threat to free speech and human rights.

However, continued activity by Angolan dissidents here is not going to help Portuguese fence-mending policies in Africa — although few diplomats believe Angolan anger will go as far as a diplomatic breach over the thorny issue. — Sapa-Reuter

Angola: 331 die in tank battle

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A combined Cuban and Angolan force, using Russian tanks, attacked South African security forces on Tuesday while they were conducting operations against elements of Swapo's seven companies in the area of the hamlet of Cuvelai in southern Angola.



Cuvelai in southern Angola — the scene of a major battle in which the SADF knocked out 11 T54 tanks this week.

This was announced here last night by the Chief of the SA Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen.

The attack, he said, was successfully repulsed and 324 members of Swapo and the combined force were killed. Seven members of the security forces died in the action.

The attack was preceded by the addition of at least two battalions of Cuban soldiers as reinforcements for Cuvelai.

General Viljoen said the attack proved that Swapo operated under the direct umbrella protection of the Angolan, Russians and Cubans.

"This sort of intervention can result in a serious turn in the fight against Swapo."

Tanks destroyed

The attack occurred while the security forces were operating against a Swapo base and technical headquarters about 5km north-east of Cuvelai.

General Viljoen said Russian T54 tanks were used in the attack. The security forces destroyed 11 of the tanks.

It has since become known, said General Viljoen, that "the Swapo leader element had a headquarters at Cuvelai and were also housed with the Cubans and Angolan military leader element in Cuvelai".

The movement of the seven companies among others was also planned and controlled from this headquarters.

Cuvelai was also used by Swapo as an important logistic storage area and the security forces found large quantities of weapons and ammunition there.

The so-called Swapo political commissar also showed the security forces seven caches of weapons and ammunition along their infiltration routes, the statement said.

General Viljoen also confirmed that security-

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force action had been so successful that a large portion of the combined forces had returned to their depot line bases from fear that they could become involved in clashes with the security forces or that these bases could be attacked by the security forces.

He also labelled the Cuvelai area as a key point in Swapo's actions against SWA/Namibia.

"Although the attack was successfully repulsed, the relatively small security force was surprised by the aggressive manner in which this force intervened in its operations against Swapo," he said.

Ended yesterday

Fighting continued till yesterday under difficult weather and other circumstances against the attacking force.

The security forces will leave the area as soon as the mopping up of mines, weaponry and equipment has finally been completed.

A large amount of weaponry and equipment was captured and large amounts, which were not recoverable, were destroyed.

"The actions of the Cubans and Angolan forces in support of Swapo reinforces intelligence reports that Angola and its Russian advisers are trying to create incidents by this type of aggressive action," General Viljoen said.

The intervention was apparently aimed at trying to neutralize the security forces initiative and their effective checking of Swapo's infiltration attempt and trying to prevent Swapo from being isolated from the protection of its allies.

Meanwhile, the security-force actions against Swapo along the other infiltration routes had been so successful that elements of the security forces had started scaling down their operations.

"The scaling down of the current follow-up operation has therefore started," General Viljoen said.

SAVIMBI talks about Angola, Swapo and South Africa

BRITISH journalist Fred Bridgland, who has just returned from seven weeks with Unita guerrillas in Angola, met rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi. These are extracts from their conversation . . .

QUESTION: You've just launched a military offensive into the northern half of Angola which is planned to last until April. What are your main military and political objectives?

SAVIMBI: It is a dual assault towards Luanda and Lunda (the diamond mining province in the northeast). By March-April my regular forces intend reaching the Zairean border.

The political aim remains to force the MPLA into negotiations. We have to advance militarily to persuade the MPLA to talk. If we extend our control on the ground and disrupt government economic projects, that group within the MPLA which favours negotiations with us to end the war, will grow stronger.

We have made contact with the "negotiations faction" within the MPLA. That faction is growing stronger and is willing to relinquish the Cubans.

They realise the truth is that while the Cubans remain in Angola the South Africans will use that as an excuse for not leaving Namibia.

If the Cubans leave Angola, the South Africans will have to leave Namibia: They will have no excuses left.

QUESTION: On what terms are you prepared to reach agreement with the MPLA?

SAVIMBI: The Cubans should leave before we negotiate. Then comes the formation of a government of national unity. But the long-term solution requires elections, perhaps after a year or two when old animosities have cooled down.

QUESTION: If the MPLA refuse to negotiate, how long will it take for the war to be fought to some kind of conclusion?

SAVIMBI: From March, one more year will be sufficient to bring dramatic changes. Life will be unlivable in Angola.

Already the will of the MPLA soldiers to resist is collapsing and we are getting deserters every day. Soon the Russians and the Cubans will have to decide whether to fight this war as their own.

But they will find they are getting sucked in at the wrong time, just as the Americans got sucked into Vietnam when the will of the South Vietnamese to fight was collapsing.

QUESTION: It's self-evident that South Africa is still a major source of, and channel for, your supplies. Do you have any regrets that this has been the case?

SAVIMBI: No, we don't have any regrets. It is difficult to explain and the MPLA has been capitalising on it. But we had no choice. Unless you consider accepting domination by the Russians and Cubans as a choice? We could accept defeat or resist. To resist, we needed the help of somebody.

South African strategy is to resist the Russians, Cubans and Swapo. They found that by supporting Unita they could stop these people from coming to influence things in Namibia.

It is a marriage of convenience: Our interests coincide. It is not the first time in history that such a thing has happened.

When Stalin signed a pact with Hitler, it did not mean that Stalin admired the Nazi philosophy. And, later, when Churchill became an ally of Stalin, does any one seriously believe that the British leader wanted to embrace Communism?

The South Africans never asked me or any other Unita leader to sign any document. We don't have anything signed about the aid they give us. But we are conscious of the fact that since they are giving us aid they hope for co-operation.

QUESTION: What kinds of things are the South Africans looking for in return, and what kinds of thing are you willing to give?

SAVIMBI: In the long term they want friendship. Everybody is hostile to them, and they hope a Unita government in Angola will be more friendly.

QUESTION: So will you give them friendship?

SAVIMBI: Oh yes. I would invite Botha to my own capital and receive him as a head of state. It wouldn't mean I believe in apartheid. I cannot. And I cannot become less black than I am. But I will meet him on my own ground: I won't go to somebody else's border to meet him like Kaunda, who has, anyway, conceded the principle that it's necessary to talk to the South Africans.

There are things we have to understand about South Africa. The whites either have to dismantle the apartheid system or there will be a revolution. But if there is a revolution against the Boers other states need to realise what the consequences will be.

The Boers cannot be compared with the Rhodesians or Portuguese. They are incredibly tough and they won't sit idle if revolution comes. And we need to think whether there is any guarantee that a revolution will actually bring a majority to power. The consequences of revolution in South Africa will affect every state in the region.

So it is better to have reform. People say the present reforms in South Africa are cosmetic, but who ever made a complete reform overnight? All of us in this region need reform rather than revolution, and it actually needs courage to make the first reform step. The first step will require a second step, and the second a third. If Botha continues with courage he is the one who will avoid a revolution.

QUESTION: Would a Unita government permit Swapo to remain in Angola?

SAVIMBI: Swapo would not be allowed to have bases in Angola. I think it is a British saying that charity begins at home. So we are not going to sacrifice progress in Angola for Swapo. And anyway Swapo is not an Angolan responsibility: The Swapo problem is a problem for Africa or for the international community.

Why put all the weight of the problem on the Angolans? If Swapo has the backing of their own people they will not die because they have no bases in Angola.

QUESTION: Finally, what do the next few months in Angola hold?

SAVIMBI: Within another year we will control all the countryside. But while we are taking all the countryside and forcing the Cubans and MPLA into the big towns we are preparing for the assault that we must make on the towns.

There will come a moment when it is important politically to take them, but we will have to pay a high price in lives.



HOW SADF BE THE RUSSIA

S. Times

8/1/84

By GARY DIXON

RUSSIAN military commanders were in direct control of the defeated Cuban, Fapla and Swapo forces during this week's massive battle at Cuvelai against outnumbered South African troops.

The South African forces scored a decisive victory.

They have thus far destroyed 25 Russian-built tanks and killed "about 400" enemy troops during the month-long anti-Swapo operation in southern Angola.

At Cuvelai alone, 324 enemy troops were killed and 11 Soviet tanks destroyed. The month-long operation has so far claimed the lives of 21 South African soldiers.

South African Defence Force intelligence sources are satisfied that this week's victory at Cuvelai was essentially a pitting of Russian against South African military commanders — which the South Africans won hands down.

Military observers say the involvement of Russians in the conflict adds an ominous new dimension to the war.

The direct role which Russia has assumed in the war in Angola throws new light on a Soviet warning this week against South African "aggression", and on disclosures that South Africa and the Soviet Union were in direct contact last year on the Angolan issue.

The South African Defence Force's Chief-of-Staff Operations, Lieutenant-General Ian Gleeson, told a Press briefing in Pretoria yesterday that intelligence sources had confirmed that in several areas of the present month-long operation culminating at Cuvelai, Russians were known to have been issuing orders and guidelines to Angolan, Cuban and Swapo forces.



Lt-Gen Ian Gleeson ... the operation was a success

Gen Gleeson said it had been estimated that there were just under 5 000 Russians spread throughout Angola acting in instructive, technical, command and maintenance capacities.

Until now they had not been directly involved in the fighting. But in the latest operations probably a few hundred were involved.

The outnumbered South African force, which last week had Angolan, Cuban and Swapo forces reeling in retreat, registered one of the biggest victories thus far in the war.

SADF chiefs believe it has probably set Swapo back by more than a year.

Gen Gleeson said the pre-emptive action achieved all its major objectives and consideration was being given to a scaling-down of the operation and possible withdrawal of conventional and mobile forces.

But South African forces would remain on full alert during the withdrawal and for the next few weeks in case of a regrouping by Swapo forces and further attempts at infiltration.

SADF sources have compared the operation's success with that of Operation Protea in 1981, when Swapo plans and objectives were again set back by about a year.

They believe the operation has thwarted Swapo's hopes of infiltrating large contingents of terrorists into SWA early in the New Year in the hope of significant military gains before January 31 and the proposed ceasefire negotiations.

Destroyed

Gen Gleeson also released more details yesterday of the battle centred in the Cuvelai area southwest of Cassinga where an important Swapo command post was destroyed.

In the process, incalculable harm was done to Swapo's entire logistical set-up in Southern Angola, destroying supply and command structures which will take many

□ To Page 2

'Russians ordered attack'



PRETORIA: A number of prisoners — including Angolans — were taken captive by South Africa during the combined attack on its forces by Cubans and Angolans near the southern Angolan town of Cuvelai this week, the SADF's Chief of Staff Operations, Lieutenant-General Ian Gleeson, disclosed yesterday.

"I cannot disclose how many prisoners were taken, but there were prisoners taken and they include members of the Swapo and Angolan forces," he told a Press conference in Pretoria.

He also disclosed that intelligence reports had confirmed that Soviet advisers had given instructions and guidelines for the attack, launched while South African forces were busy with a follow-up operation against Swapo guerrillas near Cuvelai, about 200 km north of the SWA/Namibia border.

"They (the Soviet advisers) issued the necessary orders for these units to take action against us and to see to it that successful action was taken to the last man," Gen Gleeson charged.

South African forces killed a total of 324 hostile soldiers for the loss of seven of its own members, and destroyed 11 Russian T54 tanks during the pitched battle at Cuvelai, which lasted three days.

Gen Gleeson said South Africa had achieved its military objective in its latest strike, which began on December 6, and that security forces were prepared to begin scaling down their operations against Swapo.

An estimated 400 Swapo and Angolan cadres had been killed and more than 25 enemy tanks destroyed so far in the latest drive, he said. South African soldiers had also destroyed a sizeable amount of military hardware, including sophisticated air radar systems, and had captured a large quantity of enemy arms in the raid.

"We have reached a stage where we can consider the possible commencement within the next few days of a scaling-down of our mobile and conventional forces (in southern Angola)," Gen Gleeson said.

"But we will have to remain on full alert for a possible regrouping or reorganisation of Swapo forces in southern Angola and any further possible infiltration attempts by Swapo," he added.

Gen Gleeson said the security forces' operations had effectively dislocated Swapo over a wide front and destroyed the central axis of its preparations to infiltrate SWA/Namibia.

He said the chief problem faced by the SA forces "was the continued integration of Angolan forces and Swapo terrorists, and the close proximity of their headquarters in the same areas."

"These actions by the Angolan forces, despite our repeated warnings not to interfere, forced us to respond, in the interests of our own security, with our own conventional weapons — including the use of the SAAF.

"The problems we faced in this type of situation also led to our most serious losses, and time and again gave Swapo the opportunity to flee."

The most serious of these actions had been the battle at Cuvelai "where the combined forces crossed the bow of the SADF."

Replying to a question, Gen Gleeson said South Africa had so far never used tanks in southern Angola, but "would be compelled to consider their use" if the situations encountered in the latest campaign continued.

The Russian T54 tanks knocked out at Cuvelai and other Swapo PT37 tanks in smaller skirmishes during the campaign, had been destroyed by South African infantry using anti-tank weapons, and 90mm cannon on infantry fighting vehicles. — Sapa

SA pulls troops out of Angola

CAPE TIMES 9/1/84

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South African security forces began to withdraw from southern Angola yesterday, more than a month after launching a "pre-emptive strike" against Angolan-based Swapo insurgents.

The withdrawal, announced yesterday by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, began after South African soldiers had been in several major battles with Swapo fighters — and their Angolan and Cuban allies — against a backdrop of international concern over the escalating conflict.

General Malan said South African forces had successfully disrupted the logistic foundation of the planned Swapo attack, and had forced more than 1 000 Swapo insurgents to flee northwards.

General Malan warned that the Defence Force would attack again if necessary, "regardless of the consequences".

'War machine'

He said Swapo had not yet experienced the full firepower of South Africa's war machine.

The phased South African withdrawal began in the wake of a United Nations Security Council resolution on Friday night demanding the immediate withdrawal of South African forces.

Earlier, both the Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, and the Chief of Staff Operations, Lieutenant-General Ian Gleeson, had described the incursion into Angola as successful enough to facilitate a "scaling-down of operations".

At the same time, details were released of a major clash last week in which South African forces repulsed a combined attack by tank-supported Angolan and Cuban soldiers at the small town of Cuvelai, 200 km into Angola.

The attack resulted in the death of 324 Swapo insurgents and Angolan and Cuban forces who tried to come to their aid. Seven South African soldiers died in the three-day battle.

It was not clear last night whether the decision to withdraw was prompted in any way by the Security Council resolution.



Lieutenant-General Ian Gleeson ... "scaling down of operations".

The UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has to report tomorrow on South Africa's reaction to it.

At the weekend, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, took a hard line against the UN resolution, condemning it for "virtually condoning violence" planned by Swapo against the inhabitants of SWA/Namibia.

"The South African Government rejects that decision and reconfirms its standpoint that it will continue to act against any terrorist organization which is bent on determining the future of SWA/Namibia with violent means," Mr Botha said.

'Hypocrisy'

"The South African Government accepts that its standpoint may lead to confrontation with the world.

"Nevertheless, the Security Council and the world must take note that the South African Government is prepared to accept the conflict which may result.

"As far as the Security Council is concerned, the South African Government gives notice to that council that it can do whatever it pleases and take any decision that it may choose. The South African Government is sick and tired of the hypocrisy of that council and its members.

"I trust that the Security Council and the world will now clearly understand the South African Government's viewpoint that we will not allow ourselves to be prescribed to and we will not be intimidated."

The troop withdrawal means that South Africa may be in a position to implement an offer — made in a communique to the UN Secretary-General on December 15 — to "disengage" from cross-border raids, provided Angola agreed not to exploit the "resulting situation" and to prevail on its Swapo and Cuban allies to do the same.

The offer, which was later conditionally accepted by President Jose dos Santos of Angola, was originally meant to come into operation for a trial period of a month, starting on January 31.

General Gleeson denied at the weekend, however, that the "scaling-down" of Defence Force operations in Angola was connected with the December offer to disengage.

But in his statement yesterday, General Malan identified himself with the view that the dispute over SWA/Namibia should be solved by negotiation rather than force.

He said: "It is believed that the Angolan Government realizes the seriousness of the situation and that it will stop protecting and actively assisting terrorists to carry out their plans of murder and crime against the local population of South West Africa."

In a related development, Mr Botha responded to a request last week from the Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, for direct truce talks between Swapo and South Africa.

South Africa would not object to direct talks between Swapo and a delegation headed by the Administrator-General of South West Africa, Dr Willie Van Niekerk, Mr Botha said.

● **UK explains, page 2**
● **See leading article, page 8**

SA raiders in Angola smashed Russian missile network

AR645 9/11/84 (5) 330 250

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Security Forces are destroying and carting tons of sophisticated Soviet weaponry worth millions of rands out of Southern Angola as they withdraw from one of the bloodiest battle fronts in the 17-year SWA/Namibia bush war.

The raiding South African forces smashed a network of Russian-made radar and surface-to-air missile installations at garrison towns in the southern provinces of the former Portuguese colony.

Armaments being brought from Angola include some of the most modern the Defence Force has come across in its intensified "seek and destroy missions" against Swapo, north of SWA/Namibia.

The exact quantity and types of weapons seized in the month-long operation have not been specified.

As South African troops were pulling back, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, warned that firm action would be taken against Swapo if the SADF considered it necessary "regardless of the consequences."

Swapo had not yet experienced the full capability of the Defence Force's prowess, he added.

The fate and exact number of the Angolan and Swapo captives taken by the SADF in fierce fighting at the town of Cuvalai have not yet been announced.

South African forces killed about 400 Cuban, Angolan and Swapo fighters and destroyed about 25 Russian tanks in the operation. They lost 21 men.

Our political staff reports that South Africa's withdrawal will allow the United Nations Secretary General, Dr Javier Parez de Cuellar, to report favourably to the world body tomorrow — but the timing of the pullout was merely coincidental to UN demands.

MR MALULI even showed me photographs.

bush spectacle

Unita leader's unforgettable

By A H HEARD
Editor of the Cape Times, who attended the rally

JAMBA, Angola. — A bush durbar in striking contrast to a more formal African event across the continent, the Nkomati Accord, was held here somewhere in the remoteness of the south-east of the country on Friday.

For a Capetonian more used to the sedate happenings of the parliamentary capital, it was a rousing experience. The kingpin was Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, the great survivor of African guerilla warfare, who was putting on an unforgettable bush spectacle.

The event was a mass rally, military parade and international press conference.

"President" of what a poster termed the "Freeland of Angola", Savimbi appeared on foot, with ebony walking stick, slouch-angled beret and immaculate camouflage uniform and boots, to be welcomed wildly by the crowd which had been preparing for hours for his arrival at the makeshift stadium-cum-parade ground in the African bush.

The crowd numbered several thousand, and was undoubtedly genuinely enthusiastic. This was no rent-a-crowd.

Savimbi's aides, equally smart and giving the impression of being busy fighting Luanda with not over-much time for festivities (and some of them looking remarkably like their leader), strode in with him as singing and cheering continued.

Smart and keen-eyed soldiers toting AK-47s stood guard around the dais and beyond, and were quick to follow any visitor straying from the general throng and ask politely if they could "assist". A visit to the loo became a strict but polite guided tour.

In contrast with the sense of formal history of Nkomati, where lounge-suited guests including ambassadors and top government and business figures gathered in an atmosphere of gentility and protocol, Jamba was casual, a riot of colour, cheering, music, enormous posters, recitations, demonstrations, dancing, brought to an end by a massed march-past of about 700 troops and support groups.

In a corner of the crowd, sitting on benches, were several dozen prisoners, civilians from different countries taken hostage by Unita on its many forays into MPLA territory. They were subdued, but apparently safe and well and (except for the British, victims of Savimbi's gamesmanship with Whitehall) likely to see early release.

A significant link with Nkomati was Dr Savimbi's declared belief that he was not a casualty but a beneficiary of such accords, as they vindicated his dealings with South Africa and would not undermine his support, which he says is deeply embedded among his people and does not rely on outsiders.

We, a party of editors and senior journalists mainly from South Africa, but including representatives of the New York Times, Le Monde, National Broadcasting Corporation of the USA, Daily Telegraph and other Western media, had taken the opportunity of an invitation extended by Dr Savimbi through emissiaries to attend his rally and press conference.

Getting there involved chartering a Dakota and flying straight across Botswana and the Caprivi and about 150km into southern Angola to the Unita-held airfield of Coutado do Mucusso.

Locals turned out in force to dance and sing. Unita soldiers, heavily armed and extremely polite, treated us to the first of a fair number of stew dishes, with South African wine, cool-drinks, home-made white bread and black coffee.

Since Savimbi claims to control the territory, immigration control — rather rough-and-ready — is conducted on the back of a truck, and thumbprints taken. Passports appear to be an optional extra.

Then there was a truck drive which takes between eight and 10 hours, depending on conditions, detours, U-turns and pit-stops, which can only be described as a hell run. The roads are muddy tracks, ferociously bumpy. The lush bush is everywhere.

There is, apparently, no landing strip at Jamba, Savimbi's Edgar Rice Burroughs-like headquarters deep in south-east Angola which, it seems, is in the general area of what used to be national parks in Portuguese days.

Asked about the absence of a landing strip, Dr Savimbi simply said: "Security reasons."

He is similarly brief when asked where Jamba is. "In Angola."

Jamba is a sandy, neat series of reed and thatch "casinos" where visitors enjoy a rudimentary lifestyle which is pleasant if not luxurious.

There is immense appreciation among all Unita personnel that a good public image will contribute to Unita's bargaining position in the world. Walking around outside the immediate area of the casinos is not encouraged, and inevitably earns one the company of a pleasant but armed guide who steers one back to the main throng.

Hardly a soldier is unarmed. Yet the atmosphere is not at all tense. Clearly, Savimbi is king in this area, and he plans to use his firm sanctuary, and recent military successes, to strike out into a broader Angolan leadership role.

● His hopes, and chances, will be discussed in an article in the Cape Times tomorrow.

Savimbi plays his ace card

Cape Times 2/4/84

Cape Times Special Representative

JAMBA, south-east Angola. — Dr Jonas Savimbi, veteran black guerilla who has fought the Portuguese and their successors in Luanda for more than 20 years, has played what he feels is his ace card as Southern Africa edges closer to peace.

He sees the dialogue between South Africa and formerly hostile African governments such as Maputo and even Luanda as vindicating his admitted relationship with Pretoria. He feels that far from worsening his position, latest developments in the sub-continent put him in the key position of influence.

Coalition

He put it this way at his mass rally in his "provisional capital" of Jamba: "If the Cubans are sent packing from Angola, Namibia shall henceforth be free. However, as long as the MPLA fears Unita, the Cubans will not leave Angola. Therefore, the independence of Namibia depends upon a direct dialogue between Unita and the MPLA."

He then called for direct talks with the MPLA, and what amounts to a coalition with Luanda in a transitional government of national unity (in which he does not appear to be demanding the leading role), followed by the elections which because of civil war did not take place in 1975, which he clearly banks on winning.

From his remarks later at a press conference, he believes that the majority in the Luanda government, particularly President Dos Santos, favour talks with Unita.

Both at the rally and the press conference, Dr Savimbi sought to dispel the thought that in view of the closer accord between South Africa and Luanda in recent weeks, the "rear base" (meaning South Africa) of Unita had been eroded.

His point was that Unita's rear base was not South Africa, but the support of the Angolan people. He was careful to note "tremendous differences" between his struggle and that of the rebel MNR in Mozambique.

By producing scores of prisoners from different parts of Angola, including MPLA-held territory far to the north, he was seeking to demonstrate that his claims of occupation and effective guerilla activity were not far-fetched.

The point was underscored by the clearly genuine enthusiasm of the crowd at the rally and the relaxed, unified atmosphere.

Yet his peace offer to Luanda, Africa and the West had a barb. He warned that Unita was now strong enough to take the war to the towns and cities, as happened when, he said, 5 000 Unita troops had the Sunday before taken a provincial capital, Novo Redondo (known as Sumbe) and held it briefly.

He disclosed that his Unita commander had wanted to remain in Novo Redondo, but that he had ordered him to withdraw in the face of heavy Fapla (MPLA troops) and Cuban reinforcements sent from Luanda by sea.

At his press conference, asked whether he could ever hope to take and hold towns of any size in the face of heavily-armed Fapla and Cuban forces, Dr Savimbi disclosed that he now had anti-tank weapons "which can deny Fapla security.

Guerilla methods

"Our troops do not run away from the MPLA mechanized brigades."

Asked about his guerilla methods, he said his only targets were military and economic, not civilian. Prisoners were taken on occasion to protect them against MPLA action.

Dr Savimbi sketched a decidedly Western-leaning Unita political and economic programme — no one-party state, guarantees for minorities, a free "and private" press, a state based upon law, heavy emphasis on private enterprise and little state intervention — though he threatened in an unspecific way international oil companies which are backing the MPLA.

Mass parade

In foreign policy, he supported a non-aligned position, with participation in the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, and laid heavy emphasis on the contacts he had built up with successful black nationalist leaders over more than 20 years of guerilla fighting. His choice was rather random — vast portraits of Nasser, Senghor and Nkrumah loomed over the mass parade in the open.

Sitting under plastic sheeting made by a South African firm, drinking Fanta orange (nothing stronger) and treating his newspaper guests to "tassies" wine, he did not disclaim links with South Africa. He said: "We have never denied that we have contact with South Africa. We have a relationship with South Africa and we have wanted to strengthen this."

He saw significance in reform moves in the Republic and the "winds of change" that were blowing. He dealt curtly with the African National Congress (some of whose armed groups in northern Angola had been pinpointed by a senior intelligence officer in a briefing for the visitors): "I have never had contact with the ANC."



Victims of war. One of the civilian prisoners taken by Unita in the far north of Angola and marched for 30 days through the country to Unita's headquarters in Jamba, was Mrs Eugenia Costa, with her daughter Monica.

CAPE TIMES 2/4/84

Mother weeps at prisoner's letter

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The mother of a prisoner captured by Unita forces in February broke down and wept yesterday as she caught the first glimpse of her son's handwriting on a letter handed to her by the Rand Daily Mail's editor, Mr Rex Gibson.

Mrs Maria de Sousa's only child, Mr Manuel Dias, 34, was among the 81 prisoners captured when Unita forces took Cafunfo on February 23.

He sent the letter to his mother via Mr Gibson, who was attending a press conference called by Dr Jonas Savimbi at Unita's Angolan headquarters.

Clutching the letter, Mrs De Sousa, 57, was at a loss for words. "Thank you," she said repetitively.

She said Manuel had come out from Portugal on a two-year contract with a Cafunfo mining company.

He had been in Angola for only six weeks before his capture and his wife Amalia and two children, David, 12, and Ruth, 7, were anxious for news.

A translation of the Portuguese letter reads:

"I am fine, very well. I am very thin because we have been walking long distances. The guards are looking after me well and soon I will be going back to Portugal. Maybe I will be able to see you in transit at Jan Smuts Airport. This letter is not clearly written because I am standing up as I write. Please keep this letter and send it to ... (indistinct). One big kiss for everybody and see you soon."



Mr Manuel Dias, one of the 81 prisoners captured when Unita forces took Cafunfo on February 23, writes a letter to his mother, Mrs Maria de Sousa, in Jamba on Friday.

Optimistic Unita leader explains his strategy to dramatic Press conference in bush

Confident Savimbi plans to force the issue in Angola

Star 2/4/84

A group of South African editors and senior journalists visited guerilla leader Dr Jonas Savimbi (right) at Jamba, his headquarters and the provisional capital of the "Free Territory of Angola" deep in the bush of the south-east corner of the war-racked country, at the weekend. DEON DU PLESSIS reports.



Unita, says the movement's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, is the key to peace in Southern Africa.

Dr Savimbi said last week at a dramatic Press conference in the Angolan bush: "If the Cubans left Angola the South Africans would feel easier about relinquishing their mandate in Namibia and living with a Swapo Government in Windhoek.

"Unita, therefore, is fulfilling the desire of the Angolan people to be rid of the Cubans, just as they wanted to be rid of the Portuguese, and is the key to the whole situation."

Dr Savimbi said he would like to have a meeting with the MPLA Government in Luanda, leading to the formation of a traditional government, followed by Angola's first universal franchise elections.

To this end, he said, he was writing to all African heads of state, the "European Contact Group" and the MPLA "to state firmly the necessity of initiating direct talks between Unita and the MPLA".

Dr Savimbi said he was convinced that a majority of the MPLA's central committee, including President Eduardo dos Santos, favoured talks with Unita. The "hawks" who had Cuban support, were in the minority.

To force the issue Dr Savimbi has adopted a two-pronged approach.

First, he is expanding the war, carrying it to the Cubans and the MPLA wherever they might be in Angola.

The other is to woo the "Contact Group" — the United States, West Germany, Britain, France and Canada — into supporting Unita and, to this end, he is adopting some muscular political postures.

Last week he said that he was not prepared to release the 16 British technicians, captured in Unita's onslaught on the northern diamond mining town of Cafunfo, a month ago until the British Government was prepared to talk to Unita.

The British, he said, were a "critical problem ... they are hostile".

To change Whitehall's mind, Dr Savimbi has no qualms about playing power games with civilian prisoners as pawns.

He said that Unita would not be idle while giant oil companies, including American heavyweights such as Texaco and Gulf, lobbied against Unita's interests in international forums.

These companies, which were mining off-shore oilfields in the northern enclave of Cabinda under licence from the MPLA, would feel Unita's wrath, Dr Savimbi said.

Just as Unita had moved into the diamond area, it was now moving into the oilfields where it had the capability to harm the oil companies, he said.

But a weakness of this strategy, which is aimed at forcing the MPLA to the negotiating table by going for their throats, could be that, the harder he goes for the Government, the more they will need the Cubans.

And the fact is that the only people who can send the Cubans home are the MPLA, the ruling party — the very same people Dr Savimbi is trying to force against the wall.

But Dr Savimbi denies this.

He says that his strategy is to make things so hot for the enemy that two things will happen — the MPLA will do anything, including talking to Unita, to obtain relief, and the Cubans will be faced with such a ruinous and costly situation that they will wish to leave anyway.

To these ends, Dr Savimbi says, it is imperative that the West should throw its full wight behind Unita, the spearhead of the struggle.

Foreign support

The fact that his is a guerilla army without a manufacturing infrastructure behind it to supply what it needs to win the war, means that Dr Savimbi is totally reliant on foreign logistical support.

Clearly, this is the weakest link in his chain because, if foreign support were to dry up, so, inevitably, would Unita.

Is he not, in consequence, worried by the peace initiative in Southern Africa, by the fact that the South Africans, in cooperation with the MPLA, are withdrawing from Angola?

Is there not a possibility that South Africa and the MPLA will be able to achieve what has to be done without reference to Unita?

Dr Savimbi denied these suggestions vehemently.

He was hugely encouraged, he said, by the peace initiatives in Southern Africa. They created a mood of optimism and positive thinking in the region which could work only to the benefit of Unita.

There was no possibility of Unita being cancelled out as, it appeared, was happening with the Mozambique Resistance Movement.

"The world accepts that there is a tremendous difference between the Mozambique Resistance Movement and Unita. Even the Zambians say Unita cannot be left out. And, in any case, our rear base does not lie in Namibia, it lies in the support of our own people."

But weapons, ammunition, petrol and similarly important items have to come from somewhere and could easily be shut off?

"We have alternatives," Dr Savimbi said enigmatically. "We will survive as long as need be."

To the inevitable and, by now, traditional question — was he, as a black revolutionary leader, not embarrassed by his links with South Africa? — Dr Savimbi had the perfect answer.

"That is a silly question. What's wrong with talking to South Africa? Ask them in Maputo. Ask the MPLA."

Dr Savimbi remains tuisome in his praise for South Africa and is quite unabashed about it.

In 1974, he said, he had advocated dialogue with the white south. Now everybody was doing it.

In 1976, when the emergency session of the OAU clarified beyond doubt the desire of Africa to see foreigners abandon Angola, "the South Africans left at once — but the Cubans increased their number to 35 000".

It was ridiculous to scoff at South Africa's new constitution, Dr Savimbi said.

"The participation of Indians and coloureds cannot be ignored — it is important. And no leader in South Africa has ever said it is the end of the road."

There are, Dr Savimbi's intelligence officers said, two battalions of the ANC quartered in northern Angola.

His attitude to them?

"I have never been a friend of the ANC. I have never had contact with the ANC. Anyway, there is no question to answer if you look at what the Mozambique Government is doing with the ANC."

One of Dr Savimbi's generals who was at the briefing table muttered something inuadible. But Dr Savimbi heard.

"Fight? Fight the A N C?"

"Now I did not say that. This man ..." He indicated his general. "This man said that."

It was then that the thought occurred.

Wasn't he laying it on a little too thick?

South Africa has its pluses in this part of the world, but there are minuses too.

Dr Savimbi did not mention one. Not in a whole day of rubbing shoulders with a group of senior South African journalists.

And that, of course, brings the question: why did he invite the group?

Could it be that he is feeling the first chill wind from the south?

His perceived necessity to remind South Africans, through their newspapers and television, that, in him, they have a committed and potent ally?

For me, the vital question is diesel fuel.

Dr Savimbi enjoys financial support from such places as Morocco and Saudi Arabia. It is also clearly true that the hearts and minds of many Angolans belong to him.

But diesel fuel is another matter. Any successful modern war turns on diesel fuel and, in Dr Savimbi's case, that has to come, in sufficient quantity, from a little closer to home than Morocco or Saudi Arabia.

It is possibly true that, as Dr Savimbi says, Unita is embarking on a new phase of the war — the onslaught on provincial capitals in Angola — and that he honestly sees negotiations with the MPLA as an imminent prospect.

In that case, he invited us to Jambo simply to prepare us for great things that are about to happen.

The visit provided no clear-cut answer.

But, I suspect, given the South African/MPLA peace initiative on the one hand and Dr Savimbi's aggressive approach on the other, the answer to that question will be considerably clearer by the end of 1984.



Maria Rodrigues (above) waited two-and-a-half years before joining her husband in Angola.

Within six weeks of joining him, they and their five-year-old daughter Vanessa were captured by Unita and taken on a 1 200 km 33-day hell march across Angola.

Antonio Rodrigues had been storeman at Cufufu diamond mine for more than two years, but his wife had hesitated before joining him in such an isolated area with a small child.

Soon after she arrived they were awoken at their house in the compound by the sound of crashing mortars. Then there was a knock at the door. A calm young officer told them to leave the house immediately as it was about to be destroyed. Without waiting to gather any possessions and dressed only in their nightware, the family fled the house.

It was only when they were out of the village that they realised they, along with 72 other foreigners, had been captured by Unita forces.

For 33 days the hostages marched through the bush, freezing at night, chaffing in their sweat-sodden clothes in the day and often drenched in tropical downpours.

On average they walked 20 km a day, on occasion 35 km. In the end Unita drove them to Jamba to be exhibited to the gathered Press.



A Unita fighting platoon in the southern Angolan bush.

Cape Times 2/4/84

It's up to Mrs Thatcher, say prisoners

Special Correspondent

JAMBA, South-East Angola — Britain was given a blunt ultimatum here at the weekend by Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita: "Talk to me, or the British prisoners we have captured will stay here indefinitely."

The generally soft-spoken guerilla leader was particularly tart about Britain's attitude towards him during a remarkable press conference in the bush town of Jamba, his "provisional capital".

Minutes earlier, newsmen had spoken to some of the 17 bearded Britons, who said they hoped their government would move swiftly to obtain their release. "It's up to Mrs Thatcher," commented one. They had been marched through the bush for 30 days by Unita soldiers but seemed well cared for.

During the military parade, the British prisoners sat on wooden benches with the others.

There are more than 80 prisoners in all. I spoke to 28-year-old Maria Rodriques. She was taken prisoner with her daughter Vanessa, aged 6, and her husband Antonio in Cafunfo.

'We were afraid'

"I came from Lisbon to visit my husband who works in Cafunfo. We were sleeping on February 23 when we heard shots and someone knocked on the door and said: 'This is Unita, don't be afraid.' We packed a few things and went with them.

"We heard there had been some people killed in the shooting.

"We walked a lot, for 33 days. Sometimes for 16 hours, sometimes we rested. They gave us corn and meat and milk, and sometimes a little rice in the first days.

"One day we heard planes; they were the Russian planes. We stayed under the trees and we heard them shooting. But they did not know where we and the soldiers were. We were afraid.

"The children cried sometimes because they were tired. But the soldiers carried them. They looked after us well. There was a doctor with the soldiers; he looked after us every day."

'The soldiers were friendly'

I asked if they were given enough to eat or whether she ever felt hungry. She smiled, a little embarrassed. "Sometimes we would like more."

The group were kept together except towards the end, when the strong men were separated from the rest because they could move faster. The last three days they travelled on truck to get to Jamba.

Dr Savimbi had spoken to them all the day before. He had told them they would be released quickly.

"They soldiers were friendly — we did not know what would happen but they said we would not be troubled."

Mr Manuel Dias, whose mother lives in Johannesburg, was also taken at Cafunfo. He said the area through which they moved seemed under total Unita control.

"They seem a very organized army" he said.

Savimbi gives UK ul

CAPE TIMES 2/4/84 (5)

Cape Times
Special Representative

JAMBA (south-east Angola). — Hopes of an early release for 16 British prisoners in Unita-held territory in Angola were dashed when Dr Jonas Savimbi castigated Britain for not dealing with Unita.

His ultimatum to Mrs Thatcher's government — talk to Unita or risk the non-release of its nationals — came at a remarkable bush gathering deep in south-east Angola on Friday, planned to boost Dr Savimbi's image.

He used the occasion to make a strong call, to be circulated in letters to all African heads of states, to the Western contact group and to the MPLA itself, for direct talks between Unita and the MPLA government in Luanda.

I had just spoken to the Britons, bearded and nervous but well cared for, in spite of having endured a 30-day march as Unita hostages through the Angolan bush. They had expressed the hope that their government would move quickly to secure their release. Minutes later, Dr Savimbi dashed their hopes, declaring at a press conference: "Why does Britain, an old democracy, refuse to talk to me ... Britain is a critical problem."

By contrast, a group of Portuguese, Filipinos and Cape Verdeans were promised early release, and Dr Savimbi said he "may" release some Czechs — whose government works closely with the MPLA, Dr Savimbi's enemy in the eight-year-old post-independence conflict.

The incident occurred when Dr Savimbi, styled "President" of "Free Angola" and who effectively controls a large part of the south, held a mass rally, military parade and international press conference at his "provisional Angolan capital" Jamba, deep in the lush south-eastern bush country of Angola.

Dr Savimbi had organized the events in a clear effort to emphasize — as peace moves get under way in the sub-continent — that he is a factor to be reckoned with. He was concerned to draw a strong distinction between his escalating guerilla campaign and that of the MNR in Mozambique, widely expected to peter out because of the accord between Pretoria and Maputo.

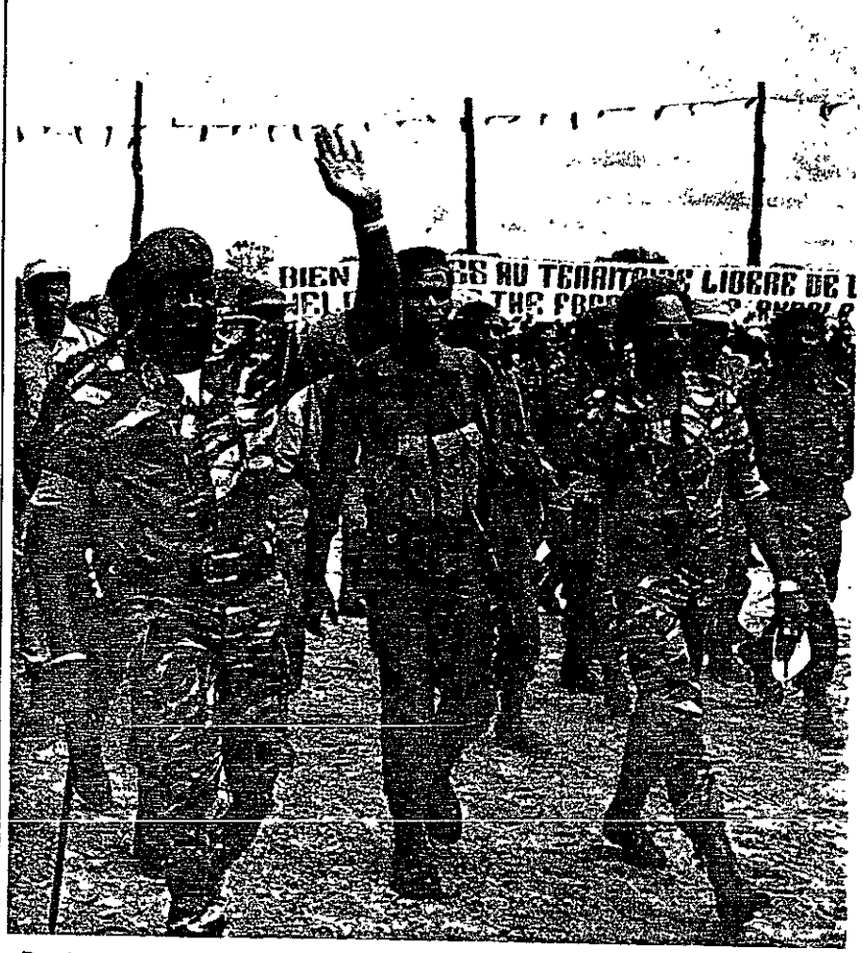
More reports on Savimbi's bush meeting, pages 2 and 3

The military parade, carried out with well-drilled, heavily-armed and immaculately-uniformed Unita soldiers, was watched by thousands of local people. Mortars and field-guns were on display, and huge posters depicted the Unita struggle, with laudatory references to certain black nationalist leaders and attacks on the Russians, Cubans and MPLA.

As a public-relations effort, the occasion was extremely effective. Editors of major South African newspapers and representatives of several influential Western news organizations attended. The fact that Dr Savimbi could guarantee their safety over long distances inside Angola emphasized that his writ runs far.

Of the prisoners, he said: "They are in good hands", then made his announcement about the release, except for the British. He would keep them a year or two if necessary. He pointed out that the Czech Government had been prepared to deal with him at ministerial level, but not the British.

Immediately before



Dr Jonas Savimbi strides into the arena at Jamba in south-east Angola — declared by Unita to be the "provisional capital of free Angola". ● More pictures, page 2



Some of the British prisoners who were on south-east Angola on Friday. From left: Bill C and Tom

Bonus bond prize-winners

PRETORIA — The first

Body of boy found at

It was a day for

ALFRED DU

gives UK ultimatum

CAPE TIMES 2/4/84 (5)

More reports on Savimbi's bush meeting, pages 2 and 3

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Of the prisoners, he said: "They are in good hands", then made his announcement about the release, except for the British. He would keep them a year or two if necessary. He pointed out that the Czech Government had been prepared to deal with him at ministerial level, but not the British.

Immediately before this threat at the press conference, I had interviewed the British prisoners. They sat on wooden benches with other prisoners, numbering in all about 70 and including some nuns and women and children, watching the festivities at Savimbi's bush rally ground. They said they had been working as technicians on a diamond mine in the town of Cafunfo, far to the north, when Unita had raided at dawn just over a month ago.

They had heard that some Filipino civilians and MPLA soldiers had been killed in the fighting. The Unita soldiers had herded the prisoners together, firmly and calmly, and marched with them for 30 days in the bush, including some women and children, until trucks took them on the last leg to Jamba.

They said they hoped Mrs Thatcher would do something about their plight. They confirmed that they were well cared for, with medical help when necessary, and that they felt safe in Unita hands.

● Our Correspondent in London reports that the Foreign Office yesterday said they had heard various interpretations of what Dr Savimbi requested from Britain. As the International Red Cross was handling the matter for Britain, this organization had been asked to establish exactly what Dr Savimbi was asking for. There could not be reaction until there had been clarification.



Jamba in south-east
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ge 2



Some of the British prisoners who were on show at the parade at Unita headquarters in south-east Angola on Friday. From left: Bill Clawson, Tony Dixon, Alf Tasker, Ian Fenton and Tom Murphy.

of boy | It was a day for

ALFRED DUNHILL, LONDON, PROUDLY PRESENTS

Britain to talk with Savimbi

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The British Government said last night that it would negotiate with Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Unita rebels in Angola, to secure the release of 16 captured Britons.

Mr Malcolm Rifkind, number two at the Foreign Office and with special responsibility for African affairs, said he would be willing to open negotiations with the rebels.

He was responding to a televised statement here by Dr Savimbi, who said he was angered that the Conservative government showed such hostility to Unita.

With major publicity being given here to the arrival of the captured Britons in Unita's headquarters at Jamba in south-east Angola, the affair is a propaganda coup for Dr Savimbi.

Mr Rifkind said he did not think British negotiations with Unita would be seen as an affront to the legitimate MPLA government in Luanda.

He said Britain, already negotiating for the hostages through the International Red Cross, would be involved in a strictly humanitarian action.

The negotiations will be in response to emotional pleas for help from the hostages and the Unita threat that otherwise, they could be held in captivity for up to two years.

One of the British hostages captured during an attack on Cafunfo five weeks ago said on television that Britain served no purpose by "pretending that (Unita) don't exist".

He said: "They clearly do exist in large numbers and I cannot see any good reason why the British Government cannot acknowledge the existence of Unita."

Confirming that he would talk directly with Unita, Mr Rifkind said they had been waiting for the hostages' 1 600km forced march to reach Dr Savimbi's base so that Britain could hear his terms.

He said Britain had no involvement in Angolan internal affairs, as the civil war was for the Angolan people to resolve themselves.

● **Savimbi factor won't go away, page 12**

ANGOLA

ARGUS 3/4/84

Unita strikes hard

A group of South African editors and other senior journalists visited guerrilla leader Jonas Savimbi at Jamba, his headquarters and the provisional capital of the "Free Territory of Angola" deep in the bush. ANDREW DRYSDALE reports



Immaculately uniformed Unita troops stand proudly in front of a giant image of their leader

JUST over a week ago Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel raiders launched an offensive which could be a turning point in the eight-year-old Angolan civil war.

The target was the coastal town of Novo Redondo (also known as Sumbe), capital of Kwanza-Sul province. It is barely 125km from Luanda, seat of the Marxist MPLA government.

The Unita assault, masterminded by Savimbi himself, came at 5 am on March 25 in that hour before dawn when the alertness of defenders is at its lowest. Four hours later, according to Unita's account of the action, Novo Redondo had fallen, albeit temporarily. The casualties were 440 government (Fapla) troops killed and 45 Unita.

Of particular significance was that Unita, which usually operates in far smaller numbers, had been able to build up a strike force of 5 000 for its biggest, bloodiest and most concentrated attack of the war.

Through the bush

Typically, they seeped undetected through the bush on foot — pack animals in support — to take on an entrenched enemy armed with sophisticated weaponry. The mission was secretly put together over three months.

That they were able to marshal such numbers in strength lends credence to Unita's contention that it controls, or is active in, two-thirds of Angola and that it operates with wide popular support. How else, they argue, could they infiltrate and engage government forces across the length and breadth of the country?

Savimbi's men seized control of the centre of Novo Redondo, then attacked the garrison. They held their positions until the next day when they withdrew after a full-scale counter-attack by two brigades, Migs, helicopters and a sea-borne force.

Savimbi, who is hailed as a strategist, told us he personally ordered the withdrawal in spite of his field commander's determination to stay put. To do so would have been to "give away" his troops, Savimbi commented.

In any event, Savimbi reckons, the real point had been made — to humiliate the MPLA, and to demonstrate Unita's capacity to overrun a provincial capital.

To the cities

Indeed, the battle of Novo Redondo underscores Savimbi's "avowed and firm intention to take the bush war to the big cities" as part of a new strategic dimension to persuade, or coerce, the MPLA regime to start meaningful talks on the formation of a government of national unity and therby rid Angola of the detested Cubans.

While these military signals are undoubtedly ominous for the hard-pressed MPLA, Unita's latest wide-ranging declaration of policy is nevertheless conciliatory in some key aspects. As a starting point it seeks by all means possible a dialogue with the MPLA to end the war which is claiming more lives, devastating the infrastructure and national economy.

To this end Unita is sending messages to African heads of state, other interantional parties and Luanda urging direct negotiations.

As the Unita puts it: "For 23 years we have fought for the freedom of Angola ... 15 years against Portuguese colonialism and eight years against Cuban and Russian domination.

"During this long period of suffering in search of liberty and a new nation all sincere Angolans want to know where is the freedom that has taken so much blood; where is the new nation with the people's participation in public affairs, and where is the economic and social progress?"

Dialogue

Savimbi holds there are strong indications that a majority within the MPLA favours dialogue, but he concedes that as yet there is no official contact.

Unita's emphasis on the peace process, undoubtedly stirred by political and diplomatic events elsewhere in the sub-continent, goes further. It declares that in seeking "true and objective non-alignment" in foreign relations, Unita would not adopt an uncompromising posture towards Cuba and the Soviet Union, provided they, in turn, were flexible.

The thrust, then, is peace through dialogue. But there is a forceful rider; that Unita has "sufficient determination and material means to continue the war."

Novo Redondo was but the first of what appears to be a concerted drive against demoralised MPLA forces who are said to lack food, uniforms and medical assistance. Fapla apparently relies on forced recruitment, starting at the age of 13, with pain of death for desertion from the front line. And that after a meagre three weeks' training.

Novo Redondo was followed late last week by a string of aggressive Unita actions across the waist of Angola in which towns were bombarded, three tanks destroyed, war materials seized and government battalions put to flight.

The line-up of combatants, by Unita estimates, is:

- Unita has 35 000 men under arms — 15 000 regulars and 20 000 guerrillas, plus other clandestine elements (some of whom planted a bomb which destroyed an Angolan Boeing 737 in Huambo in February because, they claimed, it was ferrying troops).
- Against them are pitted 80 000 Fapla, 30 000 to 35 000 Cubans, 3 500 Portuguese, 2 500 East Germans and 1 500 Soviets. Most of the major combat activity is controlled by Cuban and Soviet bloc advisers.

Unita claims to have killed 8 000 Cubans since 1981 (there is no independent confirmation of this) and has unconfirmed information that a 3 000 others may be on their way from Ethiopia. Last year alone it accounted for 6 000 Fapla, it says.

The numbers game is deceptive, as is geographical control.

Whatever the true situation, Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, General, has played his hand dramatically at a time when international and regional realignments and detente are delicately but promisingly poised. He insists Unita is a vital part in the scheme of things. The options, as he sees it, are a stepped up war — or peace.

Savimbiland: how to get there . . .

SOMEONE who's been there before says it's "a bit like Mala Mala*."

So we go on the ride, high across the semi-desert and the swamps, then lower and lower over tree tops as we home in on the secret airstrip.

As a dateline "Somewhere in Africa" has a nice mysterious ring about it. This place has co-ordinates on the map to be sure, but where precisely we are we do not know. The motors cut and we clamber down to a ululating welcome by a glee club in green caps, black blouses and maroon skirts.

This is Savimbiland. And to prove it Unita immigration officers dutifully hand out for completion the Form of Entry in the Free Territory of Angola, with fingerprints affixed if you please.

In the reception rondavel, partially underground, a sign proclaims "Savimbi is the guide of the people of Angola."

The label on the bottles of vino identifies it as good old Tassies. The lunch menu, one of recurring consistency during our sojourn, is stew with rice/potatoes or potatoes/rice with stew served always with generous hospitality and politeness.

The road to Jamba (The Place of the Elephant), Unita's hideaway provisional capital, is eight to ten hours distant.

This part of the journey is unlikely to be on TV.

It is, for the first half-hour, an enchanting excursion through a remote, unspoilt land. An authority among us volunteers that this is the territory the Portuguese of old called *fim do mundo*, The End of the World. We are soon to believe it, for it is a region beautiful and seemingly uninhabited.

The initial wonderment becomes all the more frayed as the trucks wind through forest, skirt a flood plain, then plunge back into the trees on an agonising switchback of potholes and junior dongas.

The trucks, big Soviet-built brutes of immense power, scream and bellow as they thump to near axle-depth before miraculously pulling clear.

The trouble, though, is that when a panel light does happen to blink red it's not quite like hiring from Hertz; making head or tail of the Russian manual is something else.

Still, we manage to press on.

Jamba, when finally it arrives, is the stuff Hollywood made of Africa.

The guest abodes, *casinos* they're called, are rough and rudimentary, of earthen floors, reed and thatch but meticulously kept. Wash basins and zinz bath tubs are provided. There is no running water. Sanitation is of the long drop system.

Electricity from a generator is the only concession to modernity.

There is about the whole place a brisk military efficiency. English-speaking officers assigned to us are immaculate in bearing and manner, and are formally correct and polite. They are sincere in every effort to grant whatever comforts Jamba offers.

But there is an ever-present watchful presence about us. At the perimeter of the compound armed guards shuffle patiently in the soft sand. There is clearly a dual purpose in this; to keep others out, and keep us within strict limits.

Next day we watch Unita's impresssive show of strength at a parade in this forest fortress, Jonas Savimbi makes his declaration to the world and we spend two hours questioning him at a news conference afterwards.

Africa time wins again and the convoy starts back to the airfield after dark. The truck I am in has no cover. It rains for ever, in torrents.

Ten hours later, the plane. We are shattered, exhilarated too, by this extraordinary mission.

I must go down to Mala Mala some time .... it ought to be a load of fun.

(Mala Mala, a plush private game reserve near the Kruger Park).*

. . .and the man who rules the bush

HIS politics are the wrong shade of course, but Dr Jonas Savimbi is to many in Angola what Chè Guevara was to Latin America.

Some may argue the toss on that, but there is no denying Savimbi's charisma, intellect, loyal following and reputation as a politician, guerrilla campaigner and strategist.

Whatever the opposing faction, the Portuguese in colonial times or the MPLA, the Cubans et al, Savimbi has been "in the struggle" since 1958. He is one of Africa's longest-serving dissidents — and survivors.

Unita and Savimbi may be out in the cold for the time being but personal connections and influence, among Africa's hierarchy, past and present, cannot be lightly dismissed. Some were named at the Jamba rally — Senghor, Obote, Kaunda, Mugabe, Boigny, Sekou Toure, Nkrumah, Mobutu, Selassie, Kenyatta, Moi, Nyerere and Samora Machel.

If events were such that Savimbi were to emerge unscathed from Angola's civil war, it would restore a formidable personality and presence to centre stage in Africa.

He is by any measure an impressive leader.

The three-star general's beret, camouflage battle dress, silver-plated six-shooter on his hip, the ebony and ivory walking stick, these are the trappings of military authority — and image. Inevitably there is an element of showmanship about it all.

But Savimbi carries it off well with his burly, broad-shouldered frame and purposeful stride, that wide smile flashing from the depths of a full beard.

Curiously, his style and oratory before the faithful in the stadium at Jamba was subdued, perhaps because he was reading a formal declaration by Unita's central committee.

Yet Savimbi the politician came across as something else in his encounter with international newsmen.

He is attentive, alert and remarkably articulate in either Portuguese, French or English.

He is also outstandingly forthright on contentious issues such as his relationship with South Africa, the capture of hostages, foreign oil interests and so on. Moreover, there's an easy assurance about the man that belies his shrewd toughness in domestic and international affairs.

Dr Jonas Savimbi may be heading for tough times, but he has already proved fully capable of exercising two critical options — shoot it out, or talk it out. Right now he is prepared to do both.

No Unita-Cuban trade-off, says US

Star 3/4/84

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States has denied reports that a deal was being made for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola in exchange for an end to South African support for Unita.

A State Department spokesman said the US was still trying to advance a negotiated settlement in Namibia and "the terms of the settlement have not yet been worked out." The spokesman was referring to a report by NBC television news that such a deal was "in the works."

He was asked to comment also on the statement by the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, that his organisation would carry its war into Angola's cities if the Luanda government rejected Unita's offer of negotiations for a national unity government.

The spokesman said Dr Savimbi had also expressed support for the peace process in general and the disengagement in southern Angola in particular.

The Reagan Administration had made it clear, the spokesman said, that it regarded Unita as an important movement in Angola and there would be no durable peace and stability in Angola unless the question of Unita was addressed.

At the same time the administration had made it clear it regarded the situation in Angola as a matter for the Angolans themselves to resolve without any outside interference.

Bulgaria's claim that the US and South Africa were reponsible for the capture of three Bulgarians by Unita in its attack on Sumbe was also rejected by the State Department spokesman.

The Bulgarian government said the US and South Africa were responsible because they gave support to Unita.

US aid to Unita was prohibited by law (the Clarke amendment), the spokesman pointed out. He noted that the Bulgarians had been working in an area where there had been hostilities for some time.

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Savimbi factor won't go away

By A H HEARD, Editor of the Cape Times, after a visit to Jamba, headquarters of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

WHAT is Dr Jonas Savimbi's objective, and what are his chances in Angola? These questions come to the fore after his image-boosting bush parade and press conference last week.

Does he really believe, as he says, that the peace move in Southern Africa plays into his hands, or is he, in fact, rather disturbed at the sudden prospect of lessening South African and other support? My judgment is that it is a bit of both.

One thing he made plain to the assembled band of editors, journalists and broadcasters at his "provisional capital" of Jamba: Savimbi has so far defied the African maxim that regional treason cannot prosper. He has built up a secure base in the south-east, from the ragtag band of guerillas who lost the civil war in 1976.

The Savimbi factor in Angola simply refuses to go away, and as he sends his trained soldiers and saboteurs into ever-widening arcs of harassment of the MPLA, he becomes a more significant factor. But can he win?

On the plus side are his morale-boosting self-confidence and charisma, his undeniable military achievements, his shrewd tactical ability, his essential toughness and high intelligence. He can, moreover, count on total support among the people in the south-east, and probably far beyond — as he showed when his men marched civilian hostages for 30 days from far in the north to his area.

Go it alone

Whatever underpinning South Africa has given him in the eight years since he lost out in the civil war, he is far more than just a lackey of Pretoria. He stresses that there are "tremendous differences" between Unita and the MNR rebel movement in Mozabique, which is probably on the skids after the Nkomati accord.

Clearly, he believes that he can go it alone, if necessary, without South African help. He might be able to hold fast to his sanctuary, but whether he could pursue his guerilla war on an escalating basis under those circumstances would remain to be seen. As things stand, in spite of his defiant claims that he can take towns and cities, and has new anti-tank equipment to ward off mechanized Fapla and Cuban brigades, it seems unlikely that he could gain permanent footholds in Luanda or the bigger provincial capitals. His undeniable success has to be kept in perspective.

Are there differences between Savimbi and other famous but failed regional dissident leaders in modern African history, people such as Biafra's Ojukwu, Katanga's Tshombe or Matabeleland's Nkomo? One difference, it seems, is that the ferocity of response to Savimbi's rebellion has been less than in most other cases. He has not faced Fapla and Cuban offensive operations on the scale that Nigeria unleashed on Biafra, the Congo on Katanga or Zimbabwe on Matabeleland.

The simple reason is that he is almost unreachable in his remote bush capital of Jamba.

From that secure base, his forces range over a vast territory, sabotaging trains, aircraft and economic installations and taking on military forces, but it has been a slow, low-level process most of the time. Wisely, Savimbi has shown a preference for Fabian tactics, such as taking Novo Redondo just over a week ago, but getting out before reinforcements by sea from Luanda could produce really serious casualties.

Another indication of mildness in the war is the obvious fact that Soviet MiGs could bomb his headquarters in Jamba. Damage would be light because Jamba is simply a widely-dispersed series of reed and thatch huts, but the propaganda advantage would be considerable. That is presumably why Savimbi has no airstrip of any size in Jamba, and access is by helicopter or atrociously bumpy bush tracks. After making the journey overland, I wish any invading force the best of Cuban luck.

Benguela line

Towns and villages seem to change sides like cricket teams in the unresolved war. Savimbi has effectively cut off vital rail and road communications, including the Benguela line. He claims to be squeezing the MPLA out of the north-east, bordering on Zaire.

It would seem that the situation is stalemated. It is understandable, therefore, that his objective, while threatening to escalate the war, is to go for a quick political settlement with Luanda, while the going's good.

Specifically, he calls for talks with the MPLA, leading to what amounts to a coalition between Unita and the MPLA and others, as part of a provisional government of national unity, and then elections — which he clearly feels he can win. It is the last bit that would worry Luanda, because the MPLA government is clearly unpopular in much of the country after the long war and the deprivations it has caused — and Savimbi could present himself as the man who can deliver the peace, and better days, although he would have serious tribal problems outside his immediate area.

There are many imponderables in the situation, which make it difficult to forecast. If Savimbi's word can be taken at face value, he controls one-third of Angola and has guerillas operating in another third. But who can say if this is so? The actual war is virtually unreported.

The obvious imponderable is the extent to which he can survive a withdrawal of support from South Africa, and possibly from other countries which currently help him. From where, for instance, would he truck or fly in supplies?

His political contacts appear to be very much from the right-wing in the Western world. He praises Mr Strauss of Bavaria and General Haig of the USA as great friends, but castigates Mrs Thatcher's Tory government, which is not calculated to win him friends in influential quarters.

Prisoners

Another negative factor is his taking of civilian prisoners. Even if he rationalizes this on the basis that it is done for their own safety, for the returning MPLA would victimize them if he did not spirit them away, it amounts to kidnapping, and holding hostages. This is universally condemned, and though I should far rather be a prisoner of Savimbi than a prisoner of Zipra irregulars in western Zimbabwe, the objection in principle remains.

One slip on the part of his men escorting dozens of prisoners south after the attack on Cafunfo a month ago, and he could have lost them — nuns, women and children and all. He would be advised to rethink this strategy if he wishes to win support abroad.

Overall, Savimbi has what most guerilla fighters desperately need: a sanctuary. Usually, this comes from a friendly contiguous land base, and when that land base is taken away the guerilla effort falters. But his sanctuary is *within* Angola, and pretty secure. This is his trump card, plus the hostility of many Angolans to Luanda's reliance on Cubans — something he dwells on most effectively.

His claim that Unita is THE key to peace in Southern Africa is overstated, though it is clear that peace with Unita would make Luanda happier about a recall of the Cubans. "A" key is perhaps more apt.

THE key, the real key, to continuing peace in Southern Africa is not Savimbi, Dos Santos, Machel, Kaunda, Masire, Jonathan, Nujoma ... but Mr P W Botha. Whatever happens in terms of new accords and arrangements with Mozambique, Angola and even SWA/Namibia, if the Republic cannot secure the peace within its own boundaries, the prospects for the whole region are endangered.

TMS 6

(a) Normal Tax - J. Brown (Pty) Ltd

Operating income		R450 000
Dividend - s.10(1)(k)(i)		-
Sundry allowable expenses	R300 000	
Salary to director, J. Brown	18 000	
Rental in respect of machine	2 000	
Buildings:		
R400 000 x 2% annual allowance	8 000	
R 50 000 x 20% investment allowance	10 000	
R 50 000 x 2% annual allowance	1 000	

(It is assumed that the extensions



Dr Savimbi and his aides stride to the dais at the bush stadium in Jamba where he held his mass rally on Friday.

Cu

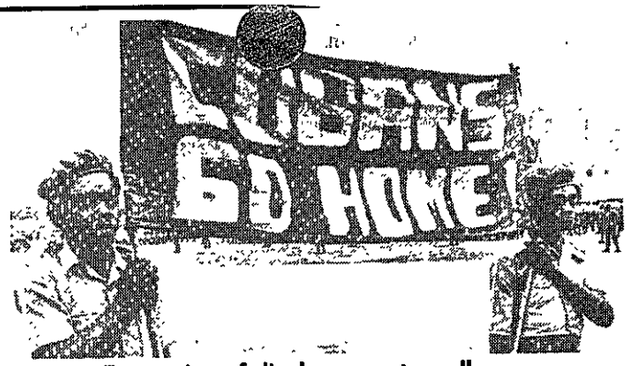
Increase $\frac{17\ 000 - 16\ 000}{16\ 000} = 6{,}25\%$

therefore the allowance is -
75% of marketing expenditure, i.e.

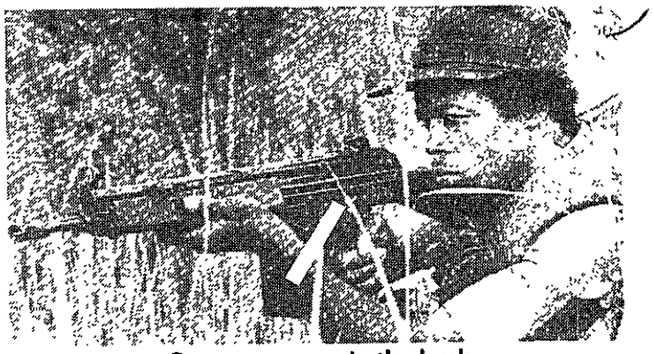
75% x (9 600 - 3 000)	4 950	
	R376 169	R452 000
		(376 169)
TAXABLE INCOME		R 75 831
NORMAL TAX PAYABLE		R 31 849



Unita soldiers on patrol.



Expression of displeasure at a rally.



On manouevres in the bush.

The unclouding scene: Unita is prepared to talk to the MPLA

Dr Jonas Savimbi has a feel for public relations and a style of communication that American presidential candidates should envy. Having attracted world news agencies, foreign correspondents, South African editors and international television crews to his grass-hut headquarters deep in the Angolan bush, he delivered a major "pan-African policy statement" in Portuguese, French and English. Here are the main points from that speech.

For 23 years we (Unita) have fought for the freedom of Angola. That is 15 years against Portuguese colonialism and eight years against Cuban and Russian domination.

During this long period of suffering in search of liberty and of a new nation, all sincere Angolans, inside and outside Angola, want to know: where's the freedom that has taken so much blood?; where's the new nation with the people's participation in public affairs?; where's the economic and social progress?

The people of Angola are not longing for Portuguese colonialism to replace national independence. They are fed up with the civil war that's going into its ninth year; they are fed up with the awful MPLA government which has brought about the country's dilapidation. They continually look back to the economic indexes of colonial days, seeing them as desirable, but unattainable, targets.

Unita was founded by true Angolans who, since the '50s, actively took part in the hatching of the Angolan armed struggle in March 1961, and who participated in the making of the OAU on May 25 1963.

The founders of Unita enjoyed the esteem and confidence of political personalities of Africa and the world with whom they discussed national, continental and international affairs.

These were, among others, Leopold Senghor, Milton Obote, Abdel Nasser, Kenneth Kaunda, Robert Mugabe, Kwame Nkrumah, Jawaharlal Neru, Ché Guevara, Mao-Tse-tung, Chou-En lai, Henry Kissinger, Alexander Haig, Jomo Kenyatta, Arap-Moi, Hastings Banda, Samora Machel and Julius Nyerere.

The patriotic efforts of Unita were officially recognised not only by the OAU in January 1975 but also by the UN on the occasion of Unita's participation at the PNUD's conference in Geneva in May 1975.

Throughout its existence Unita has advocated the unity of all Angola.

The invasion of Angola by the Cubans in January 1975 obstructed elections foreseen in agreements which were to lead to the formation of a true democratic Angolan government.

The South African entry into Angola in October 1975, was a result of panic in the West, pressed by some African countries not to allow Angola — situated in such a sensitive zone — to fall into the Soviet sphere of influence.

A large part of the then independent African states supported and encouraged the West's initiative in pushing the South Africans into Angola.

The South Africans soon left. But the Cubans increased their numbers to 35 000 men. Here is the legality of Unita's fight against the Russian and Cuban domination of our motherland.

Africa cannot now sneak out of its responsibility in supporting the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola.



Jonas Savimbi and his lieutenants singing a freedom song.

Unita rejoices over all contacts made so far, and still to be made between South Africa and independent African states, for only direct dialogue can end armed conflict. Unita has advocated this dialogue with South Africa since 1974. The present unclouding scene in Southern Africa will not necessarily lead to peace and stability as long as Unita is not part and parcel in the process.

During nine years of struggle with minimum aid from friendly countries and maximum support of the Angolan people, Unita has totally liberated a third of the country, and it continues its struggle in an area that is larger than one third of Angola. The MPLA, for the time being, is confined to less than a third of the country.

Thus, from the total of 16 Angolan provinces, Unita's presence is yet to be felt in Mocamedes, Zaire and Cabinda Provinces. To ignore such a tremendous force inside Angola is to mortgage that same unclouding scene now in action. Unita calls attention to the West not to repeat in 1984 the errors of 1976, when the Clark Amendment served but the interests of the Soviet Union.

If the Cubans are sent packing from Angola, Namibia shall henceforth be free. However, as long as MPLA fears Unita the Cubans will not leave Angola. Therefore, the independence of Namibia depends upon a direct dialogue between Unita and MPLA.

Thus Africa needs orginality and political courage in order to prevent Southern Africa continuing to be the scene of confrontation between the super-powers.

Unita seeks by all possible means a dialogue with MPLA in order to end the civil war which has been destroying our country. Unita knows that on both sides of the barricade the Angolan people are urging talks to take place between Unita and MPLA.

Unita is sending letters to all African heads of state, to the governments of the Contact Group, and indeed to MPLA, in order to state firmly and minutely the imperious necessity to initiate at once direct talk between Unita and MPLA.

Unita shall continue to urge the governments of Britain and Germany to try to follow the examples of the US, Portugal and France that have understood better the real motives and objectives of Unita's struggle.

Their interests will be jeapordised if they continue to ignore Unita — it is Unita's avowed and firm intention to take the bush war to the big cities, of which the Novo Redondo (Sumbe) assault, provincial capital of Kwanza-Sul province, was the prelude.

TCS 4

1. Calculation of normal tax

Gross income :	Sales (450 000 + 300 000 + 250 000 + 225 000)	R1 225 000
Dividends :	Exempt	
Less:		
Deductions :	Purchases (120 000 + 110 000)	R 230 000
	[illegible]	00 000
		5 000
		6 000
		5 000
		375
		3 000
		75 625
		75 625
		40 000
		15 625
		20 000)
		95 625
		4 539)
		7 861)

Unita government: what it will try to achieve

What will be the policy of a Unita Government?

Unita struggle for a true national harmony through the formation of a government of national unity. While the government of national unity is in power, which will be one of transition, and after the formation of a government elected by the people of Angola, Unita will tolerate the existence of other political groupings, which is to say that Unita is not a protagonist of a one-party system as the only handle of a government of national unity.

Unita struggles for a true national harmony rights, being they racial, religious or ethnic. The peculiar social situation of Angola calls for harmonious co-existence of all ethnic groups and races that are the components of the Angolan nation.

Unita advocates the freedom of the Press and accepts the idea of a national, free and private Press in Angola.

Unita advocates a state based upon the rule of law.

Unita advocates the protection and the respect of all national culture.

Unita guarantees the freedom of creed and worship and shall protect all religious institutions.

Turning to the economy, Unita considers the agriculture sector as the most important lever of the Angolan economy. In this sector Unita guarantees private initiative with the minimum necessary intervention of the state.

Unita advocates the creation of a national issue and reserve bank side-by-side with the privately owned banks and insurance companies.

In the economic field in general, Unita [illegible] lans and foreigners, within the laws and policies of the government.

Unita advocates the participation of the State with private companies in the field of oil exploration in equal parts. Unita shall take into account the present behaviour of certain oil companies established in Angola.

In education, Unita is strongly opposed to the systematic cultural genocide being perpetrated by MPLA through the forced transfer of Angolan children to Cuba where they are subjected to brutal brainwashing and political indoctrination.

Unita shall guarantee the establishment of official and private schools insofar as the latter comply with the country's regulations.

Unita is for the establishment of good relations with all neighbouring countries regardless of their political systems.

Unita is for regional groupings, not only to deal with differences but also to devise common projects capable of boosting the economic progress. In this particular sector, South Africa has an important role to play as the present political realities have been dictating lately.

It's Unita's opinion that the winds of political change are blowing in South Africa which can be incremented by the attitudes of individual African neighbouring States.

Unita stands for a true and objective non-alignment and thus shall not adopt an uncompromising posture towards Cuba and the Soviet Union insofar as these two countries adopt a flexible attitude in relation to peace in Angola.

Unita is searching for peace through dialogue, but it has sufficient determination and material means to continue the

Public company	50% x $\frac{140\ 000}{1\ 015\ 625}$ x 995 625	(6 590)
DISTRIBUTABLE INCOME		R 66 635
Less: Dividends paid (specified period 1.10.82 to 30.9.83)		(4 000)
DISTRIBUTABLE BALANCE		R 62 635
UPT payable	33 1/3% x R62 635	R 20 878

*Workings

Prospecting allowance limit:

50% (1 015 625 - 20 000 - 404 539) = R 295 543

SOVIET STRATEGY

Argus 4/4/84

How SA called the Russians' bluff

JOHN D'OLIVEIRA of the Argus Foreign Service reports from London

SOUTH AFRICA'S spectacular diplomatic agreements with Mozambique and Angola had helped tarnish the Soviet Union's carefully-nurtured image of a superpower able to take military action in Africa.

This is the view held by Dr Winrich Kuhne, a recognised German expert on Soviet foreign policy.

Dr Kuhne works for Germany's Research Institute for International Politics and Security, a unit of the highly respected Foundation for Science and Politics.

In an interview here, he discussed the events which led to the Lusaka Agreement and the Nkomati Accord and to the effects the agreements would have on the Soviet reputation.

Dr Kuhne has long held that the Russians have never been as deeply committed to Africa as many in the West and in South Africa believed, that they were reluctant to do much more than provide "freedom fighters" with the arms they needed to take over from the colonial powers and that the limits of their commitment were to help keep the new pro-Russian regimes in power.

"This approach was clear from the carefully-worded treaties which the Russians negotiated with the Mozambique and Angolan governments."

However, despite this lack of real commitment to Africa, the Russians wanted to be seen as ideological, political and military players on the continent. They wanted to be seen as having, at least, an equal say with the United States in Africa.

In 1974/75, with the help of the Cubans, the Russians created the impression that they really were in a position to act as a military superpower in Africa.

In the years that followed, it became clear the Russians became convinced that it would be too costly and too difficult to do much more than keep the Frelimo and the MPLA regimes in power.

Russia could not or would not provide the military aid to eliminate Unita in Angola or the MNR in Mozambique. Nor could it provide either country with the economic assistance it needed.

The watershed for Mozambique came in 1981/82 when it was refused membership of the communist economic grouping Comecom. This showed the Machel Government that the Eastern Bloc did not offer a "significant aid option for its long-term development".

"It is clear the foundation for the spectacular opening to South Africa and the West was laid when Comecon refused to include Mozambique," Dr Kuhne said.

For Angola the turning point came — possibly in 1983 — when the Dos Santos Government realised that Communist military aid would stop short of what was needed to keep South Africa out and defeat Unita.

All this took place against a background of longer-term concern over economic development and, here again, it was clear that the Soviets and their allies would not be able to help very much.

It also appeared that the South African military had a "very clear understanding" of how far the Russians would go in Africa and, in a sense, they were prepared to call the Russians' bluff.

Finally American diplomacy managed to "tie it all together" and help create the atmosphere in which it was possible for South Africa to reach agreement with her neighbours.

New move on Sullivan Code

Star 4/4/84

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Rev Leon Sullivan, author of the fair employment code for American companies in South Africa, has launched a world-wide campaign to persuade 1 000 multinational companies to practice equal rights in this country and to take a stand against apartheid.

Mr Sullivan, who recently returned from Europe where he has promoted his campaign, is also lobbying here for the Sullivan Code to become mandatory in US law for the 350 US companies in South Africa.

Many of the larger US companies already adhere to the code, but if a measure shortly to come before a conference of the US Senate and House of Representatives is approved, all will have to observe the code or face financial penalties in the US.

Mr Sullivan wants to extend his equal rights campaign to companies based in Europe and Japan.

He argues that US adherence, even if mandatory, is not enough to eliminate apartheid.

At a meeting here attended by Secretary of State Mr George Shultz, Mr Sullivan said he had met government, industrial and religious leaders in Europe.

"The beginning of a network of mutual interest has been established that, if developed, can assist in bringing about this world multinational effort," Mr Sullivan said.

He called on the US Congress to make the Sullivan Code mandatory, saying that it would influence the actions of companies and governments throughout the world.

Kidnapped tourists alive in Zambia?

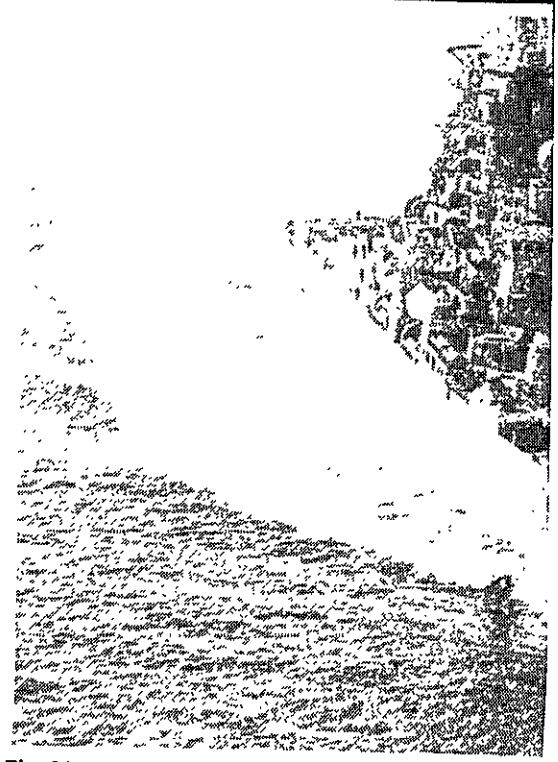
HARARE — Zimbabwe has denied a rebel gang commander's claim that six foreign tourists kidnapped in Matabeleland were alive and being held in neighbouring Zambia.

"Zambia was consulted on the matter and the results were negative," Minister of Security Mr Emmerson Munangagwa said in an interview with the Harare Herald newspaper today.

Mr Gilbert Ngwenya, head of a rebel gang alleged to have kidnapped the tourists on July 23 1982 told a court in Matabeleland on Monday that the two Americans, two Australians and two Britons would be freed if certain demands were met by the Zimbabwe government.

Mr Ngwenya, a former guerilla commander for opposition leader Mr Joshua Nkomo in the seven-year independence war, told the magistrate that if properties confiscated by the government from Mr Nkomo two years ago were returned, the six abducted tourists would be returned.

Mr Munangagwa told the Herald there was no evidence the tourists were alive in Zambia — Mr Nkomo's base during the war. — Associated Press.



The 22 000-ton nuclear-powered Soviet battle cruiser Kirov, pictured during her sea trials in 1981. She is reported by the British Defence Ministry to be leading

Red navy flexes its muscle

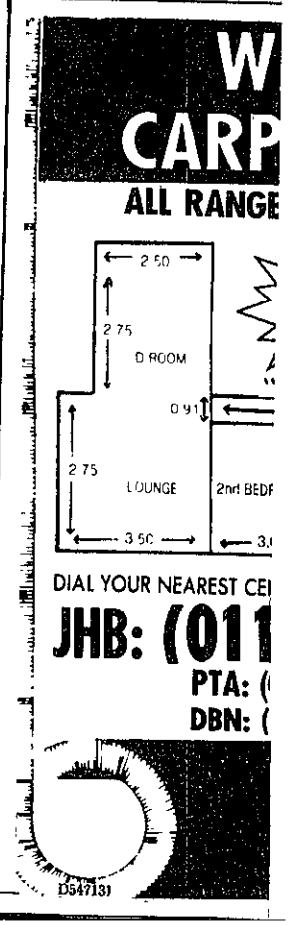
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Large-scale Russian naval manoeuvres now taking place in the Norwegian Sea seem designed "to show the Soviet navy's ability to defend its homeland," the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation said.

The manoeuvres, the biggest seen in north Atlantic waters, are mainly concerned with practising anti-submarine warfare.

Yesterday more than 20 submarines had been detected with three groups of warships, the largest of which is being led by the 22 000-ton nuclear-powered Battlecruiser Kirov, from the Northern Fleet.

The Kirov group of 15 warships was spotted last week heading west past



Pik, Steyn meet for talks

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The South African Ambassador in London, Mr Marais Steyn, has started talks with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in Cape Town.

Mr Steyn was recalled after the arrest of four South Africans in Britain, who appeared in a British court charged with ille-

French pay tribute to Mark Raubenheimer

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS - About 500 people attended a concert here by four leading young French professional pianists in memory of their South African colleague Mark Raubenheimer.

Mr Raubenheimer (21), African community here in Madrid in December. Critics had predicted a brilliant future for the South African, who won the International Piano Concours at Santandar, Spain, in 1982.

The South African Ambassador in Paris, Mr Robert du Plooy, and about 40 members of the South

Luanda drops leaflets to FNLA forces

By Stephen McQuillan

Thousands of propaganda leaflets have been air-dropped in northern Angola by the Marxist Government in an effort to persuade a liberation movement — dismissed as a "detail" by a United States African affairs expert — to surrender.

The leaflet appealed to the FNLA to surrender to the MPLA Workers' Party or the Government would take "appropriate measures".

It addressed directly "the brother commanders, sergeants of units, soldiers of the FNLA in Kikemba, Kazambula-Mambo (Dange) and other places in the northern front".

The leaflet listed the names of a dozen FNLA soldiers or officers who had already "defected".

The letter was used by FNLA leader Mr Holden Roberto — now in the United States — to attack the deputy assistant secretary for African affairs, Mr Frank Wisner, on a statement he made during a visit to Portugal.

A journalist asked: "You never talk about the FNLA. Why?"

Mr Wisner replied: "Obviously I do not follow events in the interior of Angola in all its detail, but in the field of battle the two parties in confrontation are, without doubt, Unita and MPLA.

"The facts speak for themselves."

MISSING DETAILS

Informing the State Department about the propaganda leaflet, Mr Roberto said: "In the light of this (leaflet), Secretary Wisner, would it not be worth your while to smoke out some of those missing details?

"The Cubans seem to know about at least one other party than the two you have mentioned. The FNLA exists and is fighting on.

"If reality continues to be ignored by those who attempt to find a solution to the Angolan problem, I'm afraid that the chance of seeing a peaceful and prosperous Angola are very low."

150 000 Cubans served in Angola

Star

6/4/84

By James Tomlins,
The Star's Foreign News Service

Paris

President Fidel Castro has sent 150 000 Cuban troops and technical advisers to Angola in the past eight years, Foreign Minister Mr Isadoro Malmierca has revealed in Paris.

It is the first time information of this sort has been made public by a high-ranking Cuban.

Western intelligence services had estimated that there were between 25 000 to 27 000 Cuban soldiers and civilians based in Angola. The total of 150 000 given by Mr Malmierca for 1976 to 1984 points to an average of about 35 000 at any given time, analysts here say.

Mr Malmierca arrived in Paris last weekend and returned to Havana on Tuesday after talks with French External Relations Minister Mr Claude Cheysson.

Before leaving, Mr Malmierca told a restricted circle of pro-Castro newsmen: "There are more Cuban doctors, teachers and agricultural workers in Africa than soldiers. Cubans who have been to Angola total 150 000, and the majority of them were not soldiers."

Withdrawal conditions

Asked how many Cuban troops were in Ethiopia, he said there were "fewer than at the time they were sent — at the request of the Ethiopian Government".

French Intelligence sources claim that at one time there were 16 000 Cuban soldiers in Ethiopia, compared with about 4 000 now. The other 8 000 have returned to Havana in the past four months.

Mr Malmierca emphasised that Cuban troops would not withdraw from Angola until Namibia was given "real independence", South African soldiers had left Angola and Pretoria had halted all aid to Unita.

● Sapa-Reuter reports the official Angolan news agency as saying that government troops have killed 54 Unita guerillas in the past few weeks in three provinces.

The agency said said the government troops had also captured 20 guerillas. It named the provinces where the clashes took place as Bie, Huambo and Kwanza Sul.

UNITA

King Jonas of Jamba

Jonas Savimbi and his not-so-ragged army are on the march. With clearcut policies for the future, a widely based support structure and a highly effective fighting force, he may yet provide the key to eventual peace, of sorts, in Angola. But, how much blood will be spilt along the way?

He's every inch the swashbuckling guerrilla leader, and he's intent on getting to Luanda — one way or another. For Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, this is the "year of the anti-Cuban patriotic front." Recent attacks on the diamond town of Facuco, the seizure for a few hours of the provincial capital of Novo Redondo (Sumbe), on the coast and the destruction of a Boeing 737 carrying Angolan government troops were all designed to show the reach and effectiveness of his military authority.

In his 50th year, and his 23rd as a guerrilla, the president of the central committee of Unita has spent a lot of time fighting the colonial domination of the Portuguese — and *a luta continua*. Now he sees the Soviets and the Cubans as the new colonialists, and he is taking the war into their areas with increasing audacity.

Savimbi wants the Cubans out; he wants the world to recognise that he is a force even without SA support; and the sharp edge of his tactics is designed to compel the MPLA government to bargain with him man-to-man and, at the very least, to include him in mapping out the future of a genuinely free Angola.

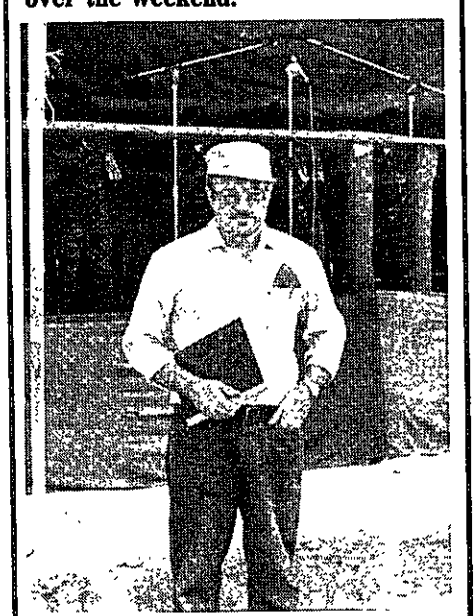
Last week, at Unita's provisional capital of Jamba in south-eastern Angola 2 000 km from Sumbe, Savimbi played host to a group of leading newsmen — mainly, but not exclusively, from SA. At a mass rally on a parade ground bedecked with massive posters suggesting his ideological allegiances — to pan-Africanism, a version of African socialism drawn from Senegal's Leopold Senghor, and the non-alignment of figures such as the late Nasser of Egypt — he was very much the warrior-king at home.

Superbly disciplined troops, captured armaments, bedraggled but unharmed hostages — these provided the carefully orchestrated emblems of his power. Unita, he told the journalists, was the key to genuine peace in the sub-continent.

Savimbi's immediate war priorities are to capture — even if only symbolically, for a few hours — the provincial capitals theoretically under Luanda's control, but with Soviet or Cuban personnel in command positions. He has made overtures to the MPLA; but if they do not respond by early 1985, at a minimum, "something dramatic will happen." The intention, then, is for Unita to move out of the bush to make increasing strikes at non-civilian targets in the towns and cities — possibly of increasing ferocity.

As for the hostages — the capture of Portuguese, British and other technicians is meant to convey a message to Western governments and companies operating in Angola. Simply put, this is that they cannot rely on the MPLA and the Cubans for their security; and they had better begin pressuring Luanda towards reconciliation with Savimbi.

The writer of this article, *FM* assistant editor Peter Wilhelm, was among a party of journalists who met Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi at his Angolan bush headquarters over the weekend.



While Jamba is far from the major conflict areas (see box), it is the administrative centre of an area comprising at least a third of Angola; and a further third has seen Unita incursions or is under the movement's control. Indeed, as the over-running of Cafufo in the diamond-rich north demonstrates, few regions are ultimately safe from Unita's 35 000-strong army. In the Unita strongholds, 20 000 regular troops provide logistical and other support for a further 15 000 guerrillas, though how many of these are in the field at any one time is an open question.

Savimbi's insistence that the 17 British hostages currently held by Unita will be released only when the UK deals directly with him must sound warning bells for Western technicians in the oilfields and coffee plantations, as well as the diamond installations. They are regarded as legitimate targets since, in Savimbi's eyes, they are collaborators with an illicit regime, and assist in the generation of the foreign exchange which helps pay for the Cubans.

However, since the Cubans have said — conditionally — that they are willing to leave; and since SA now co-operates with the MPLA on the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC); the question arises of Unita's political intentions.

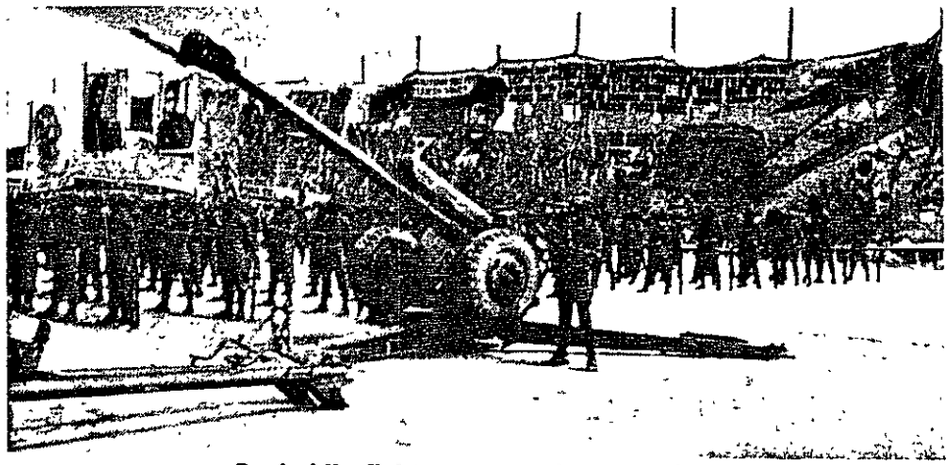
There is the often alleged link with SA, which, Savimbi says, "we have never denied ... we have a relationship." But is that relationship cooling? Can Unita survive without SA? He says yes: but it is not a matter on which he cares to be drawn too much. He sees SA as the major regional power; and he has studiously avoided attacking the JMC, though he claims that elements of his forces have been present in the Swapo-SA conflict zone for some years. And he dislikes the ANC. All in all, whatever his past relations with Pretoria, he feels confident enough in present circumstances that he will not be abandoned —

hinting that SA will also be pressing for Unita's inclusion in a government of national reconciliation.

Given the great expanses of territory which Savimbi controls, or through which he can move freely (the 75 hostages from Cafufo were force-marched some 570 km through MPLA territory for 33 days without hindrance), he clearly has resources which can sustain the movement independently for a long time to come. These include food producing regions, and enough administrative manpower to maintain education and health services in his traditional heartland, the Cuando Cubango province. Seizure of foreign assets — or banditry as the MPLA would put it — could, if it came to it, help pay for fuel and ammunition.

So although Unita cannot realistically conquer the country — it has no air or sea power — it can strike bloodily and effectively almost at will, and could even possibly win a protracted war of attrition which has already prevented any real reconstruction or development of Angola since the civil war in 1975-76.

He has, he says, the "people" behind him: they "are fed up with the civil war that's going into its ninth year; they are fed up with the awful MPLA governing that has led to the country's dilapidation, without any achievement, and (they are) looking time and again to the economic indices of colonial days as desirable but yet never attainable targets."



Savimbi's fighters ... and captured gun

He feels that the Portuguese decolonisation was over-precipitate (and he warns against a repetition of a comparable flight of skills and capital in Namibia), though he was a genuine nationalist fighter against colonialism. He points out that Unita was officially recognised by the OAU in 1975, and says that within recent weeks Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda has called on the MPLA to talk to him.

He is, therefore, particularly bitter about the US Congress's passage of the Clarke Amendment in 1975, which cut off American aid to Unita and opened the door to the Cubans. This historic error, as he perceives it, has led to the following situation: "If the Cubans are sent packing from Angola, Namibia shall henceforth be free. However, as long as the MPLA fears Unita the Cubans will not leave Angola. Therefore, the independence of Namibia depends upon a direct dialogue between Unita and the MPLA."

To achieve that, he will maintain the

THE ECOLOGY OF WAR

The name Jamba, Unita's provisional capital, means "The Place of the Elephant." But there are no elephants left. The destruction of the war has meant that in south-eastern Angola at least — once a huge game reserve — an eerie silence prevails where wildlife once teemed.

Though the occasional buck can be seen, the killing of animals for food has meant that even birdlife is scant. The region's ecology is scarred and depleted by war.

Estimates are hard to come by, but Jamba is perhaps 120 km north of Caprivi, and the same distance west of Zambia. It is served by an airstrip at Contado do Mucusso in the bush near the Caprivi border — perhaps 240 km of atrocious, sometimes waterlogged bush road distant. The journalists who visited Jamba last week endured an outward journey of eight hours packed on the back of a captured Soviet truck; and the return journey by night, in cold and wet, took 10 hours.

Jonas Savimbi appears unwilling to build an airstrip of any significance closer to Jamba — probably because it could then easily be used for an assault on his capital. As it is, bunkers at Jamba provide shelter against air raids. But the capital is served by electricity, and there is even a hospital.



Unita's Savimbi ... talking tough

This is the heart of "Savimbiland," where the general can count on traditional tribal support. But he claims support throughout the country, even in the northern regions where the FNLA once held sway. In addition, he claims to have built up a clandestine network of resistance agents in the urban areas. The Boeing 737 Angolan troop transport destroyed in February, for example, was not shot down: a bomb was planted on board.

Ranged against Savimbi are, according to his figures, 80 000 MPLA (Fapla) troops; up to 35 000 Cubans; 2 500 East Germans; 1 500 Soviets; and 2 500 Portuguese. Since these forces have overwhelming mechanised transport, and air and sea cover, Savimbi's activities are in the classic guerrilla mould, though he is building a significant corps of regular soldiers, in addition to a large number of auxiliaries.

Savimbi says his men have killed 8 000 Cubans from 1981 on and that, in recent years, there have been over 3 000 engagements of varying orders of magnitude. These figures must be questioned; but the evidence of hostages and captured armaments does suggest an intensifying scale of hostilities. While it all continues, Angola's prospects for reconstruction recede, and it is unlikely that the ecology will ever be restored.



Savimbi's hostages ... caught in the middle

pressure of his small-scale, but increasingly bitter war; and simultaneously seek to use diplomatic means — with his friends in Africa and the West as the intermediaries.

Unita will, too, "intensify its information drive in order to acquaint African and international opinion with the real situation that prevails in Angola and the dangers it entails (for) explosions of bigger proportions in southern Africa.

"Unita shall continue to urge the governments of Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany so that these could try to follow the examples of the US, Portugal and France that have understood better the real motives and objectives of Unita's struggle."

While Savimbi has not forsworn his African socialist orientation, there is an anti-Soviet, pro-capitalist leaning in his current thinking which would seem to have as its object the creation of a mixed economy in Angola.

In practice, an announcement by Unita's central committee states that this means a concentration on the agricultural sector — "the most important lever of the Angolan economy." In this sector, the movement "guarantees private initiative with the minimum necessary intervention by the State. For agriculture to prosper in Angola (it now occupies 85% of the entire population) the farmer must find not only an outlet for his products but also a material stimulus so that we can avoid the exodus from the countryside to the cities."

Such a rural policy contrasts with the ideologically-inspired moves of the MPLA, which have included the settlement of Cuban peasant farmers in selected regions to assist in the collectivisation of agriculture.

There are other far-reaching economic proposals of a "mixed" nature — the creation of a new national currency and Reserve Bank to operate "side by side" with privately-owned banks and insurance companies. Free enterprise generally is to be encouraged to a far greater extent than in the past. Ocean fishing will be regulated to prevent the depletion of the sea resources by foreign (mainly Soviet) operators; and exploration for new oil resources will be on a 50/50 State-private corporation basis.

In the early years of development, national industrial priorities will focus on selected consumer goods. This would seem to imply a movement away from a reliance on imports financed by oil, diamonds and coffee — and so foster an entrepreneurial spirit. And, as Savimbi says, the socialist element of some of these plans must be regarded as "an African perspective." He likes to point to the Francophone states as development models. Clearly he envisages a new kind of relationship with the metropole, Portugal.

Savimbi's anti-Soviet bias is apparent, too, in his declaration that freedom of the press, religious observance and the rule of law will be fostered and safeguarded once he runs, or helps run, Angola.

The programme is not unacceptable. And Savimbi is clearly correct when he warns of his movement's ability to disrupt the regional peace process — should his demands not be met. He is equally right to point out that Unita cannot realistically be compared with the Mozambique National Resistance movement — it is too widely-based for that.

As part of its rapprochement with the MPLA, Pretoria's interests would seem to be well-served through the encouragement of Luanda to talk to Unita as a first step in the creation of a genuinely representative national government in Angola. Unita's disruptive capacities are too strong for it to be "cut loose" — a move that could make guerrilla warfare in Angola last for decades.

In African terms Savimbi is a moderate. He hints that there are members of the MPLA who would like to deal with him — among them, possibly, President Dos Santos. Pretoria, as the regional power broker, should do its utmost to encourage such a step. This would pre-empt any move within Unita itself to mobilise for an all-out struggle that would be profoundly damaging not only to Angola, but to the sub-continent as a whole.

THE BUDGET

Credibility gap

Finance Minister Owen Horwood's Budget was oddly unfinished — and somewhat unrealistic. Its message does not bode well for the fiscal year ahead.

Last week's Budget was the quintessence of the style that Finance Minister Owen Horwood has perfected over the past 10 years. It was more contractionary than it looked. And it will be more expansionary than it is. Few commentators have failed to point out this element of sleight of hand.

Horwood budgeted for an 11,7% rise in total government spending in the 1984-85 fiscal year. However, almost R500m of the increase is an accounting item to balance the effect of selling government stock at prices below face value. The effective spending increase is 9,4%.

As a policy, this is admirably in line with the economic orthodoxy that has arisen to meet the challenge of inflation. Views on both the possiblity and the practicality of controlling money supply differ. But very few economists today disagree with the need to keep a tight check on the tendency of government bureaucracies to grow and grow. Horwood's long-term version of this has been to produce budgets that allow for little or no real increase in government spending. If this stays constant year after year, while the non-government sector grows with the economy, the share of the typically unproductive State will steadily diminish.

Horwood's paperwork exemplifies this approach, and he has gained a firm reputation for being a tough controller of government spending. This is a curious thing. For, under him, the real budgets — the actual amounts that government has spent each

UK talks to Unita

7/4/84 Star

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Britain has had further discussions with representatives of the Angolan Unita rebel movement about the fate of 16 British hostages.

A spokesman for the Foreign Office said yesterday that there had been further contact and that the next move was up to Unita.

In reply to a question from Conservative MP Mr Edward Leigh in the Commons yesterday, the Minister of State at the Foreign Office, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, said his government's interest in the 16 hostages was "humanitarian" and that it wanted to see them released as quickly as possible.

"Consistent with our own normal position on hostage-taking, we are quite happy to speak to anyone if that is what is required to secure their release and we are already in touch with Unita."

In reply to other questions from Mr Leigh, Mr Rifkind said:

- The British Government had received confirmation that all the British hostages were in good health.
- The British Embassy in Luanda had kept regular contact with the Britons working in the diamond mining area in north-eastern Angola (from which the hostages were taken) and with the company employing them regarding the security situation and the risks involved.

"The company has not considered it necessary to withdraw its personnel," Mr Rifkind said.

UK faces a trap of its own making in Angola

5 Star

9/14/84

By Fred Bridgland, Special Correspondent

LONDON — The Foreign Office's problems in Angola are only just beginning as it enters negotiations with rebels holding 16 British subjects hostage.

Though Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Unita insurgents, has said that all the British Government needs to do to secure the freedom of the hostages is to make an official request, the real solution will be less simple and full details will not be made public.

The government established its first admitted official contacts with Unita last Tuesday when an hour-long meeting took place at the Foreign Office, which is now about to find itself caught in a trap made by its own opportunism, conventional thinking and limited imagination.

For years the standard Foreign Office advice to British governments, overriding that given by some intelligence officials, has been that the Cuban-and Soviet-supported government in Angola which came to power in 1975 is there to stay.

Despite some evidence of armed opposition, there was no prospect of the government being overthrown. Britain might not like the Angolan Government's ideology, a mish-mash of Marxism-Leninism, but there was good business to be done with it. And to keep British noses clean in the eyes of the Angolan Government, there would be no talking to the rebels.

So conventional and limited was official thinking that the Foreign Office failed to inform hundreds of British technical experts taking up lucrative short-term contracts in Angola that they were endangered by that country's civil war.

Indeed, late last year Mr Marrack Goudling, the British Ambassador in Luanda, Angola's capital, visited Cafunfo, a diamond mining centre in northern Angola near the Zaire border, and told his countrymen working there that Unita was not capable of launching an attack on the town.

"We only stayed on because of those assurances," said Mr Robert Jones, area manager in the Cafunfo mines who was among those captured and is acting as spokesman for the British hostages. "We now know, of course, that the advice was inaccurate."

Scouting mission

As late as November Mr Malcolm Rifkind, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, was in Luanda talking about the "good prospects for bilateral trade" between Angola and Britain and promising that a British Overseas Trade Board delegation would visit Angola in the new year.

The eight-man trade delegation, headed by Trade Board executive secretary Lord Jellicoe, duly arrived in February, a week before the Britons at Cafunfo were taken hostage — and Lord Jellicoe told his hosts that he favoured increased participation by British companies in Angola's economic development.

While the Foreign Office sent Lord Jellicoe to Angola on a scouting mission for British business, it either chose to ignore or was scandalously unaware of the nature of the regime with which it was collaborating.

The Foreign Office is unlikely to find Unita awed by the weight of British tradition and history. The main sentiment towards Britain within Unita is one of contempt, though this is tempered by the diplomatic savvy of Dr Savimbi.

The rebels are only too well aware that, until the kidnap of the 16 Britons, the Foreign Office had not been prepared to look rigorously at the evidence and analyse the serious human crisis in Angola.

Unita will attack if Cubans go

12/11/84 C. Times 5

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Corresponent

JAMBA, Angola. — The looming prospect of being locked out of negotiations on a SWA/Namibian settlement and the withdrawal of Cubans from Angola is making Unita leader Jonas Savimbi edgy.

He is also openly worried by signs that the partition of Angola has crept on to the agenda in the latest round of trilateral negotiations between the MPLA government, the United States and South Africa — as this would threaten his dream of eventually ruling this vast country.

But the concerns that are gnawing away at the wily bush fighter are tempered by a brazen confidence that his well-supplied 40 000-man military machine will torpedo any attempts by negotiating parties to downgrade his status as a key actor in the power play in Angola.

Won't fret

But just in case the United States or South Africa was harbouring such motives, the resourceful leader staged yet another public relations extravaganza for dozens of Western journalists aimed at thrusting him back into the international spotlight.

And even if his latest publicity exercise did not re-establish him as a key figure in the ongoing SWA/Namibia-Angola negotiations, he served clear notice that he would not sit back and fret.

First, he warned that Unita's burgeoning army would take every possible military advantage of a Cuban troop withdrawal and would mount an intensified military campaign with freshly trained troops on several fronts in northern Angola, including the capital, Luanda.

'Fictitious'

Second, he claimed Unita had already set up alternative logistical routes to supply his army in the event of the implementation of Resolution 435 in SWA/Namibia and the consequent severing of his traditional, largely South African, supply lines.

At a colourful and impressive military parade at Jamba Stadium on Friday, General Savimbi told about 2 000 crack troops, thousands of civilians and party officials that Unita refused to be "traded in for a fictitious withdrawal of Cubans from Angola".

He claimed that in the past three weeks the MPLA had brought in 2 500 black Cubans — who cannot be distinguished from black Angolans — to supplement the 35 000 already in the country.

Bad faith

"This shows that they are not negotiating with the Americans in good faith because even as they are talking they are finding ways to get by what they are agreeing to."

The feisty general argued that it was Unita's growing military strength that had forced the MPLA to the negotiating table and since only the Cubans stood between Unita and victory, the MPLA would not dare send them home.

Although making a number of conciliatory noises about South Africa and emphasizing his long-standing friendship with President P W Botha, he conceded: "In politics you have permanent interests, but no permanent friends or enemies."

US snub

He had been in contact with Pretoria about the recent Cape Verde talks, "but I have not been given any assurances that South Africa will not drop me", he said in an interview.

General Savimbi showed less patience with the Americans. They have been ignoring him since May and he found it necessary to demand that the State Department's position on Angola and SWA/Namibia should be "unequivocally clarified, and the sooner the better".

But South Africa could well become the major focus of the Unita leader's anxiety this week following the announcement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, at the weekend that SADF troops could be out of southern Angola "within days" of the November 15 meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission.

Letter says official helped MPLA win

A letter purporting to show alleged double-dealing in Angolan independence arrangements 10 years ago was taken seriously by intelligence officers in at least one Western country.

The letter indicated that the former high commissioner in Angola, Admiral Rosa Coutinho, was backing the Marxist MPLA liberation movement in 1974 — at the expense of Unita and the FNLA — while acting as a "neutral umpire" in independence talks.

One intelligence analysis read: "Rosa Coutinho threw the whole weight of his office behind the MPLA and used his position to undermine the two other movements."

The report said crates of Russian arms labelled "footballs" were unloaded at Luanda Harbour and escorted by heavily armed Portuguese troops to MPLA barracks.

At the barracks, Portuguese instructors put raw MPLA recruits through a crash training course.

"The results are well known," read the intelligence report. "Although Coutinho was eventually replaced, he had laid the foundations well." The MPLA forces had driven the other liberation movements from the capital, consolidating their hold on the nerve centre of the country.

"Then terror broke out in the rest of the country, resulting in the flight of 500 000 whites and an unknown number of blacks," said the report. "Some authorities put the death toll as high as one million. The true figure, of course, can never be known. The MPLA forces, with the help of Cuban mercenaries and Russian arms, seized Angola."

Man who provides Luanda with its military hardware

The man accused of helping to put the MPLA Angolan liberation movement in power nearly 10 years ago now has sole rights to sell armaments — outside those from the Soviet Union — to Luanda, according to Western intelligence officers.

Admiral Rosa Coutinho, nicknamed the "Red Admiral of Angola", sold Angola about R11 million worth of weapons and ammunition in 1982 alone through a clandestine company called Vesper, based in Portugal, they say.

And a company called Coteco — a sister company of Vesper — is recruiting former Portuguese military officers who have been trained in anti-guerilla warfare methods for service in Angola.

About 70 former officers are now reported to be training Swapo and MPLA troops on the outskirts of Luanda, Benguela and Huambo.

Military analysts say Angola and Portugal established Vesper which is now run by Admiral Coutinho. Angola holds an estimated 51 percent of the company shares.

The company headquarters is in Lisbon and intelligence sources say the main directors are Admiral Coutinho, General Enrico Carvacho, Major Jose Silia and Captain Costa Martins.

"During an MPLA Central Committee meeting in November 1981 it was declared that Vesper had sole rights whereby Angola could buy its ammunition," said an intelligence report.

Admiral Coutinho was a former captain in the Portuguese Army and served in the revolutionary council when the Armed Forces Movement (AFM) took control of Portugal in 1974. Admiral Coutinho was later sent to Angola to orchestrate independence arrangements, said the report.

He now uses his knowledge of the former members of the Directorate of General Security (DGS), whom he knew during his service with the Portuguese fleet, to intimidate them into co-operation with Vesper.

The Portuguese Navy, with which Admiral Coutinho had strong relations, was largely pro-Communist.

After 1974 many intelligence officers in Portugal fled, later to return secretly.



Salute in the forest . . . FNLA youngsters train in the northern rain forests. Children help clean weapons from about five and up.

Roberto questions peace accords with Communists

By Stephen McQuillan

Angolan rebel leader Mr Holden Roberto has questioned the importance of the peace accords involving "the Communists of Luanda and Maputo".

Mr Roberto, leader of the FNLA fighters in the north of Angola, said those who were engaged in the talks should remember two basic principles of Lenin.

- "Two steps forward, one step backward."
- "A treaty is nothing but a piece of paper which can be thrown away."

Mr Roberto, continuing his extensive tour of the United States in an effort to win support, was interviewed by the 24 Hours team through an intermediary:

Highlights:

Q: Mr Roberto, it is claimed the FNLA is a spent force and that key personnel defected or surrendered to the MPLA during the past year. Is the FNLA still a force and can its activities be seriously compared with the apparent Unita successes?

PROBLEM

A: Facts about the Angolan problem have been misrepresented. It is said there is no fight going on in the north of the country. It is natural in a fight to have deserters, but ours were weak followers without conviction.

In 1974/75 the FNLA was the greatest force in Angola with about 32 700 men. It is stupid and irrational to think they have now vanished. Of course you cannot compare the struggle of the FNLA fighting without support with Unita which has the logistical support of South Africa.

Q: Where are your forces operating inside Angola?

A: They operate in the north, including Cuanza Norte. The Marxists in Luanda failed to crush the FNLA resistance after eight years and are now trying to achieve through propaganda what their well-equipped army and Soviet/Cuban allies are not capable of achieving.

Q: Does the FNLA hold any towns?

A: In a guerilla action there is no need to occupy cities. The means we have do not permit us to do so. But the northern countryside is under our control.

Q: Where have FNLA gains been made outside towns?

A: We have undermined agriculture and therefore the economy. Angola is no longer the big coffee producer it was in the '70s. Angola's north is no longer the breadbasket of the country.

Q: How effective is the Cuban-backed MPLA in the north?

A: Since most of Angola's wealth is in the north, that is the area where the Cuban presence is greater in order to preserve the income of such wealth. Hardly any Cuban forces are involved in encounters between South African forces and Angolan forces in the southern war.

The Cubans are not good soldiers compared with Portuguese colonial troops. Their only advantage is sophisticated weaponry. Even with this concentration of Cuban forces, Luanda admits the "non-existent" FNLA controls two provinces.

Q: How many men does the FNLA have under arms?

A: We have about 15 000 soldiers, but only half that force is armed.

Q: Do you have an operational timetable?

A: Without proper means and aid it is difficult to have a timetable and make predictions.

Q: The FNLA obviously suffered badly after the arrival of Cuban forces in Angola. How successful has the rebuilding operation been?

A: The FNLA went back to the bush in 1976. We did not lose the war, only the battle. Our people have continued the struggle that will end only when free elections take place.

Q: There have been claims that you have been deposed as FNLA leader and that most of your key people formed a new group. Your reaction?

A: A few traitors dreamed they could control the FNLA in my absence but the people do not follow them. Six journalists visited the northern territories in the past 18 months and had never heard of this so-called new group, "Comira". It never existed.

Q: How successful is your visit to the United States?

A: Quite successful. For the first time in the past eight years American people are hearing the truth and realities of the Angolan situation.

Q: Are you receiving help from African countries?

A: We have not asked African countries for help because we are fighting a superpower and need assistance from another equally strong force.

Q: Why has it taken the FNLA so long to again attract attention?

A: The Luanda regime does not want to focus its propaganda on us because it would make them look bad. How could they justify that the FNLA resistance — without help — is causing them embarrassment? It's also a matter of timing and a question of opportunity.

We're just waiting for Cubans to go — Fourie

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South Africa would be willing to begin implementing the Namibia settlement plan tomorrow if the Cubans were to leave Angola, the South African Ambassador in Washington, Mr Brand Fourie, has told an American radio audience.

Interviewed on a New Jersey radio station, Mr Fourie said: "There was a difference of opinion between the United Nations and ourselves. That has been resolved. All the issues have been resolved.

"South Africa is willing and ready to proceed tomorrow to implement the settlement plan and to have elections and to have an independent South West Africa/Namibia.

"There is only one issue, only one, and that is the presence of the Cubans."

Asked if South Africa would move towards "popular sovereignty" in the territory if the Cubans departed, Mr Fourie replied: "If the Cubans move tomorrow, we are ready, willing, waiting and anxious to implement the settlement proposal."

Earlier Mr Fourie had insisted South Africa had never occupied Namibia. He said after it had been a German-ruled colony, it had become a man dated territory. South Africa would continue to administer it in the spirit of that mandate.

Questioned about South Africa's domestic policies, Mr Fourie said the policy of apartheid had been distorted abroad.

" You must remember that this policy of apartheid that you refer to — that policy as it is portrayed abroad, the image that has been created for that policy — is non-existent.

" It does not exist in South Africa; it does not exist as far as the Government is concerned."

He said South Africa was moving in a direction of fairness, but the situations of the past could not be changed overnight.

It was South Africa's hope and ideal to conclude pacts or agreements — such as the recent agreement with Mozambique — with all its neighbours.

" South Africa has . . . started similar discussions with some of the other neighbours. We believe this might set the pattern for a whole new approach in Southern Africa," he said.

Asked about the motives of the African National Congress, Mr Fourie said the organisation had been inspired and led by communists almost since its inception.

" It is a group that does not represent a substantial following of black people in South Africa."

Mr Fourie said in the past year steps had been taken to give blacks living in urban areas "virtual complete government of their own within their municipalities".

He compared their situation with that of the American capital, Washington DC, saying it was almost the same.

● Until a decade ago, Washington was under the control of the US Federal Government. It now has "home rule" and chooses its own mayor and council.

Residents of the capital have a delegate in the US congress but he cannot vote. The Congress has veto power over the city's financial affairs but seldom uses it. Residents of the city can move into neighbouring states of Virginia and Maryland freely if they wish.

'Russia spent R960-m on Angola aid last year'

Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The Soviet Union in 1983 agreed to provide Angola with almost $800-million (R960-million) in military aid to support Luanda's fight against Unita, the United States Department of Defence says in a new report to be released later today.

The report, which is signed by Defence Secretary Mr Caspar Weinberger and based on the latest US intelligence and surveillance information, is a detailed analysis of the Soviet Union's world-wide military power.

It says that instability in Southern Africa provides the Soviet Union with opportunities for continued sales of military equipment in the region. "The acquisition of hard currency has been an increasingly important aspect of Soviet arms sales," the Pentagon report says.

"In 1982 the Soviets earned over $6-billion in hard currency receipts from arms sales, and currently arms sales account for about 15 percent of their hard currency earnings."

Dominant

In a section dealing with sub-Saharan Africa the Pentagon analysts say Moscow is the dominant supplier of arms.

"Ethiopia and Angola are the USSR's most important clients, with Ethiopia accounting for over 50 percent of all Soviet military sales to sub-Saharan Africa since 1977.

"During the past three years Moscow shipped an average of 25 000 metric tons of equipment worth about $1-billion to support Ethiopia militarily. In 1983 Moscow agreed to provide Angola with almost $800-million in military aid to support Luanda's fight against Unita.

"The likelihood of continuing military conflict and instability in the Horn of Africa and Southern Africa provides the USSR with opportunities for continued sales in this region the report claims

"Indeed, the Soviets have recently stepped up deliveries of sophisticated arms to Angola, including air defence equipment and advanced jet aircraft."

It says more than 3 500 Soviet military advisers in sub-Saharan Africa are concentrated mainly in Ethiopia and Angola.

According to the report, the massive Soviet military aid that has enabled Cuba to maintain some 30 000 troops in Africa was stepped up in 1981, 1982 and 1983 — far exceeding the yearly average of 34 000 tons supplied since the sixties.

Equipment provided to the Cubans includes modern MiG-23 fighter aircaft, various helicopter types, rocket launchers, surface-to-air missiles and at least 100 medium tanks and patrol hydrofoils.

"The use of proxies permits the promotion of anti-Western causes and the extension of communist influence while minimising Moscow's risk," the analysis says

"Proxy forces are intended to project the appearance of international support for 'progressive' forces in a regional conflict."

Some 40 000 Cuban troops and advisers are active throughout Africa and the Middle East.

Argus 10/4/84

SA delaying pullout of troops, says Angola 10/4/84

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South African troops are delaying withdrawal from Angola while Unita guerillas move into the southernmost province of Cunene in strength, according to Angop, the official Angolan news agency.

It said the new Unita influx into the area was massive, and the guerillas were destroying the few remaining economic and social infrastructures which remained after the South African invasion three years ago.

The withdrawal of the South African troops was agreed to in Lusaka in February — and was expected then to be completed by the end of March.

SUPPORT

Angop said: "Pretoria is giving us serious cause to question its true intentions."

Victoria Brittain writes in The Guardian, London, that the Lusaka accord has two distinct strands: the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola and an end to South African logistical and other support to Unita from neighbouring Namibia.

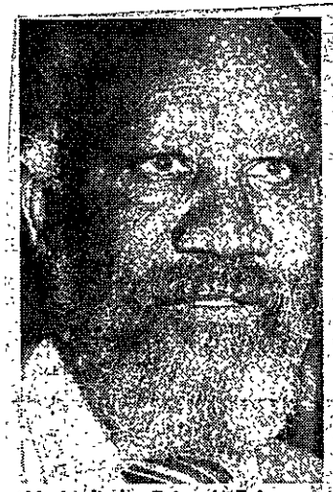
The latter was expected to be more difficult to monitor, and the extensive propaganda of the last two weeks by Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has deepened Angolan suspicions about the South African promises.

FIREFIGHTS

During the evacuation by South Africa of the northermost half of Cunene there have been several firefights between Swapo guerillas and the Joint Monitoring Commission.

The Angop statement appeared to be referring to thess when it said: "Proof has been given of the will of our government to take the peace process in Southern Africa seriously, and with the greatest sense of responsibility."

Angola-Swapo links still sound



Mr Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo ... private talks with Mr Oliver Tambo.

By Peter Honey,
The Star Bureau

WINDHOEK — Swapo was under no pressure from the African Frontline states to end its armed struggle in Namibia, the veteran Swapo co-founder, Mr Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo, said in Windhoek this week.

But if Angola signed an agreement with South Africa similar to the Nkomati Accord, it would undoubtedly weaken Swapo-MPLA relations in the same way that Mozambique-ANC relations had been affected, acknowledged Mr Toivo, who now prefers to be called by his African first name "Andimba" rather than "Herman".

Speaking at his first Namibian Press conference a week after returning from a 28-day African tour, an obviously tired Mr Toivo said his stay in Angola had shown him that Swapo's relations with that country had "not at this moment" been weakened.

Mr Toivo did say, however, that he had been unable to meet the Angolan President, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, while in Luanda because the MPLA chief had been "busy with his own party".

A top Angolan official had told him that the disengagement zone in southern Angola, where the Joint Monitoring Commission is currently operating, was a kind of no-man's zone in which Swapo and Cuban forces were not allowed.

"But the Angolans assured us they would do everything possible to see to it that we are still able to use their soil."

He confirmed earlier reports that he had met the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, in Harare last month and had discussed Swapo-ANC relations, details of which were confidential.

He said he wanted to rest for a few weeks before deciding on his next political moves inside the territory. He did not intend visiting his birthplace, Owambo, in the near future.

Swapo wanted to sign a formal ceasefire with South Africa — a move which would prove Pretoria was serious about granting independence to Namibia and which should also trigger implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 — the internationally accepted blueprint for independence.

"There is no necessity for us and South Africa to sit around the same table for the signing. They can sign wherever they like. We will sign probably in Luanda or maybe even in Windhoek."

Talks between Swapo and other political groups, such as the Multi-Party Conference (MPC), were out of the question.

"Swapo has no power. The internal parties have no power, so what should we discuss? No, we have nothing to discuss."

Asked about co-operation between Swapo and the Damara Council, which recently broke away from the MPC, Mr Toivo said Swapo would talk to anyone who was genuinely for the independence of Namibia — but only once implementation of Resolution 435 had begun.

— Toivo

The two greatest obstacles to independence were the issue of Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola being linked to Namibian independence and the fact that South Africa had still not committed itself to an electoral system for Resolution 435.

Once these issues were settled, implementation could begin, Mr Toivo said.

His companion at the Press conference, Swapo's Joint Foreign Affairs Secretary, Mr Niko Bessinger, said there had been no real progress towards resolving the Namibian problem because the linkage idea had expanded the problem and taken the emphasis outside the territory's borders.

The withdrawal of South African forces from Angola merely meant an end to "South Africa's aggression against Angola because there was no war in fact" between the two countries, Mr Bessinger said.

South Africa and the United States were finding themselves in isolation on the question of linkage between Namibian independence and the presence of Cuban forces in Angola.

"There will be no real progress on the Namibian problem until the true issues relating to Namibian independence and Resolution 435 are being dealt with," Mr Bessinger said.

TV report shows three bodies

16/4/84



A South African medical officer treats a wounded Angolan soldier. The photograph was taken off a television screen.

JMC has 'killed Swapo guerillas'

Star

A joint South African-Angolan commission monitoring the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola has killed Namibian nationalist guerillas, a South African television report indicated last night.

The report also backed up a recent South African statement that the guerillas, members of the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), had delayed a planned move of the commission's headquarters towards the Namibian border.

Correspondents have not been allowed to observe the work of the commission, set up to monitor the disengagement of South African troops involved in a large-scale foray into Angola late last year.

The video report showed troops from both countries operating jointly on foot and in helicopters.

The number of Swapo troops killed was not disclosed but the report showed three bodies, apparently those of guerillas, and said a number of Swapo insurgents were killed in a gunfight with commission troops on March 13.

Windhoek newspapers reported last month that Angolan soldiers had killed Swapo fighters, but said it was not clear whether the Angolans were attached to the commission.

The commission was announced in mid-February after American-sponsored talks in Lusaka. Two weeks earlier, South African Prime Minister Mr P W Botha had said that South African troops were disengaging from Angola.

The term "disengagement" has not been defined and the report mentioned neither the present position of South African troops nor the size of the commission.

Under the terms of the Lusaka agreement, Angola is charged with preventing Swapo from using the area vacated by the South African troops as a springboard for raids into Namibia.

South Africa has complained that Swapo forces, which have fought a 17-year bush war to wrest control of Namibia from Pretoria, were jeopardising the accord by moving through Angola into the territory.

Last night's report also said some commission troops had been injured and showed two Angolan soldiers receiving attention for shrapnel wounds from South African medical staff.

South Africa said yesterday that the commission's headquarters would move shortly from Mupa to Evale, about 100 km north of the Namibian border.

According to the television report, the commission, which started 200 km north of Namibia at Cuvelai on March 1, should have moved in weekly steps to Mupa and Evale, finishing at Oshakango on the border.

There had been a marked decrease in the number of Swapo "violations" since the commission moved to Mupa, the report said.

It described the commission as quite effective, but said it had to cope with operating in a large, heavily-wooded area which had been made almost impassable by seasonal rains. — Reuter.

'Cuba may disrupt ceasefire'

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Fidel Castro of Cuba would try to disrupt the Angola-South Africa ceasefire in an affort to ensure his troops were not withdrawn, an American newspaper said here.

The Washington Times, quoting diplomatic sources, said the Angolan Government's decision to sign the Lusaka ceasefire agreement with South Africa "came as a surprise and a blow" to Dr Castro.

The sources expected him to try to disrupt the implementation of the Lusaka agreement, which would lead to the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola.

The Times report contradicts previous reports that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola got Cuba's agreement to the withdrawal of its troops when he flew to Havana after the signing of the Lusaka accord.

It said Mr dos Santos went to Havana to fill Dr Castro in on the accord and to pacify his anger. But he got a cool reception.

Dr Castro opposed the withdrawal as it would have been seen as another setback after the Cuban troop withdrawal from Ethiopia and Cuba's eviction from Grenada.

A Times source said: "Dr Castro is concerned over the trend. He wants to keep his troops in Angola. He is nervous."

The newspaper added: "Dr Castro, it is expected, will do what he can to sabotage any effort to carry out the terms of the Angolan-South African agreement."

Mr dos Santos was in East Europe last week on what some knowledgable analysts speculated was an attempt to get support for his government's agreement to send the Cubans home.

Cuba has deflated hopes on troops

HAVANA — There is no eEarly solution to the situation in Angola, where about 25 000 Cuban troops are stationed, the Cuban Foreign Minister, Mr Isidoro Malmierca, said yesterday.

Mr Malmierca, who returned recently from an African tour, said: "South Africa is not ready to accept the conditions for the independence of Namibia."

He then repeated a phrase used in an Angolan-Cuban declaration last month which South Africa said endangered tentative peace moves between Pretoria and Luanda: "We maintain our support for the South West Africa People's Organisation, the sole and legitimate representatives of the Namibian people."

Western diplomats had speculated that Cuba was preparing to pull its troops out of Angola, but yesterday's statement indicated the opposite, they said.

Mr Malmierca made no comment on the non-aggression pact signed recently between Mozambique and South Africa, but said every nation had the right to protect its sovereignty.

Questioned about the size of the Cuban force in Ethiopia, Mr Malmierca said he had no idea how many troops were there — but he implied that the number must be sizeable.

"As in Angola's case, when there is a guarantee of peace and no danger of outside threats the troops will have the opportunity to leave," he added. — Sapa-Reuter.

Unita says: 'Our bomb killed 200'

PARIS. — Unita claims it has blown up an army barracks in the central Angolan city of Huambo, killing more than 200 people, including two Soviet army lieutenant colonels and 37 Cuban officers.

The official Angolan News Agency, Angop, has not confirmed the blast, but the Soviet news agency, Tass, reported from Luanda that about 100 people died in the bombing attack last Thursday, which it termed a "monstrous crime".

In a statement issued in Paris, Unita claims the Huambo bombing was the beginning of a new campaign of urban terror. It said a 350kg charge of TNT "completely destroyed" a building housing Soviet and Cuban officers.

Several Angolan army officers, "unhappy with the Cuban occupation of Angola," collaborated in the afternoon attack, Unita claims.

Tass said women and children were among those killed in the bombing, which it said took place near a dormitory housing Cuban civilians. The Soviet agency made no mention of Soviet or Cuban victims.

The Yugoslav news agency Tanjug reported that about 30 people were killed and scores were injured seriously in the explosion.

Professors, doctors

The report from Luanda said the dead included about 20 Cubans and about 10 Angolans.

The authorities blamed Unita rebels for the blast, the agency said.

The explosion occurred in front of a multi-storey building, which collapsed, killing the Cuban occupants — technicians, civil engineers, professors and doctors — and Angolan passersby, it said.

The agency quoted official sources in Luanda as saying the afternoon explosion killed and injured more than 100 people.

'Enemy increasingly dangerous'

The agency quoted the MPLA Politburo member, Mr Lusio Lara, as saying on Angolan television last night that the explosion was "another crime of Unita rebels against the Angolan people" which showed that "the enemy has become increasingly dangerous in its hopelessness".

The explosion occurred early in the afternoon, when many workers were going home, the report said.

Doctors in Huambo and Luanda were fighting for the lives of many of the injured, while a large number of the victims could not yet be identified, the report said.

In a later dispatch, Tanjug said the Angolan government has now called on the population to "increase vigilance" and has announced it would "strengthen measures of security and defence".

The final death toll has not yet been given, as many of the injured are in a critical condition.

The agency further quoted Mr Lara as condemning "imperialism and the racist South Africa for acting as if it is interested in peace with the states of Southern Africa".

Army 'cleaning up'

The explosion at Huambo occurred as the Angolan army was in the midst of "cleaning-up operations" against the rebels in the province, Tanjug said.

In the past few weeks the army "liquidated" about 100 rebels at Huambo, the report said, adding that the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, himself comes from the province and counts on support by the Ovimbundu tribe there.

Tanjug said such "cleaning- up operations" are also in progress in the Angolan provinces of Bia, Cuanza-Sul, Cuanza-Norte, Cuando Cubango and Moxico. — Sapa-AP.

Argus 23/4/89

Car-bomb kills 24 in Angola

Cape Times 24/4/84 5

LISBON. — Angola's state-run news agency, Angop, confirmed yesterday that a bomb-laden vehicle had exploded in the central city of Huambo last week, killing 24 people and injuring 30.

In a report from Luanda, Angop said "criminals working for Africa's most hateful regime" had set off a booby-trapped vehicle on the city's main street, February 4th Avenue, last Wednesday.

The government of Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos customarily refers to Unita as criminals or "puppets" and alleges the group is backed by South Africa.

'Dissatisfied'

In a report from Lisbon, a spokesman for Unita said more than 200 people, mostly Cuban and Soviet advisers and their families, had been killed in the car-bomb attack on their hostel building.

He said a jeep loaded with 350kg of explosives was detonated beside the building in Huambo, central Angola, with the help of dissatisfied Angolan army officers concerned about the presence of Cuban troops and Soviet involvement in the country.

The spokesman said 67 Cuban officers and two high-ranking Soviet officers had died in the attack, and that the building was destroyed.

Unita has been fighting Angola's Soviet-backed Marxist MPLA government since independence from Portugal in 1975. It claims control of large parts of the Angolan hinterland.

'No peace'

In Paris, the Unita representative said the bombing marked the beginning of an urban guerilla campaign in Angola's major towns.

"As long as the Cubans and Soviets remain in Angola and Unita is not a participant in negotiations toward a settlement of the situation in Southern Africa, there will be no peace in this region," he said.

"Moreover, peace in Angola necessarily requires a reconciliation between Unita and the MPLA," he added. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

CapC Trails 24/4/84 (5)

Russians step up arms supplies to Angola, says Pentagon report

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — A new United States Departmen of Defence study shows that the Soviet Union is increasing its arms shipments to Angola.

The same study shows, however, that the number of Cuban troops supporting the MPLA government appears to be remaining constant.

The report is called "Soviet Military Power 1984" and is the third in an annual series put out by the Pentagon since President Reagan took office.

Only a small part of the report deals with Southern Africa but it makes clear that the Reagan administration is convinced that Moscow's involvement in the region does pose an important threat to Western security.

It also strongly suggests that the Pentagon will not be satisfied with any Namibian settlement that does not entail a significant diminution of Soviet activity in Angola.

The study puts Cuban troop strength "supporting the MPLA in its efforts to neutralize Unita" at 25 000. This figure is lower than the 30 000 plus often mentioned in South Africa. However, "another 6 000 to 7 000 Cuban civilian advisers provide vital support to the Angolan civil infrastructure".

More worrying are the expanding shipments of hardware, the report says.

"In 1983, Moscow agreed to provide Angola with almost 800 million dollars in military aid," it says.

It says that this included stepped-up deliveries of sophisticated arms including air-defence equipment and advanced jet aircraft.

This puts Angola virtually on a par with Ethiopia, which has long been considered the chief Russian interest in Africa and which has received 1 000 million dollars worth of Soviet military aid over the past three years.

The reasons for the increased deliveries are not simply military, however. The report says that Angola is having to pay for much of its weaponry. It says the acquisition of hard currency is an increasingly important part of Soviet arms tranfers.

"In 1982, the Soviets earned over six billion dollars in hard currency receipts from arms sales, and currently arms sales account for about 15 percent of their hard currecy earnings," according to the report.

The study makes no mention of the standard arguments for Western concern about Moscow's meddling in the area — access to strategic minerals and the security of the Cape sea route. It does, however, sound alarm about Soviet use of Luanda as a regional base.

On the question of whether the Cubans can ever be dislodged from the region, the report offers little but pessimism. It notes that Havana's 25 divisions, 950 tanks and 270 jet combat aircraft comprise a military force larger than those of Brazil, Mexico and Canada.

Futhermore, the study claims, Cuba's militarization is just beginning. President Fidel Castro has promised to enlist more than two million men and women into a militia.

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US hopes for May pull-out

Argus 25/4/84 (5)

Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States Government is hoping that the South African troop withdrawal from Angola will be complete by the middle of next month.

If it is, American diplomats will be able to launch the next phase of the process they hope will lead to independence for SWA/Namibia.

A senior American official said yesterday: "The sooner the South African withdrawal is completed, the sooner we can say to the Angolans: 'Your move — what are you prepared to offer on the Cubans?' "

Earlier it was expected that the withdrawal would be complete by the end of March.

"They are nowhere near that," the US official said. He added that the most important thing was not a timetable, but that the South Africans and Angolans were moving towards mutually agreed tasks and resolving difficulties.

Meanwhile, the American official who will replace Mr Dennis Keogh, killed by a terrorist bomb in SWA/Namibia last week, leaves for his new post today. He is Mr Doug McElhaney, a political counsellor at the American Embassy in Brussels.

Like Mr Keogh, Mr McElhaney's posting at the US liaison office in Windhoek assisting the Angola ceasefire monitoring commission, is for 30 days only.

Govt to 'change rules of game'

Political Staff

THE Government has moved to prevent similar court cases to the one which forced it to halt the controversial plans to cede Ingwavuma and Kangwane to Swaziland.

In a Bill dealing with laws affecting blacks, published today, a retrospective clause has been included.

This will prevent anyone from using the legal arguments presented successfully to the courts by Kwazulu and Kangwane to prevent the Swazi land deal going ahead in any similar action.

"NO INTENTION"

A spokesman for the Department of Co-operation and Development said today there was no intention in the legislation of setting aside the court decisions on Kangwane and Ingwavuma.

Mr Ray Swart, Progressive Federal Party black affairs spokesman, said today the clause was "sinister" and his party would examine its full implications.

"It appears they are changing the rules of the game after losing, to ensure they win, " he said.

OOTH'S

Savimbi warns the West

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has warned all players in the Namibian settlement stakes that they deal him out at their own risk.

By BRIAN POTTINGER: JAMBA, Angola

And he flatly rejected any partition of Angola — a proposal that Unita believes is gaining currency in the latest round of United States/South African/Angolan negotiations.

Refusal to bring Unita into direct participation in the Namibian settlement talks would lead to a dramatic escalation of the Angolan civil war, the leader of the 40 000-strong Unita army intimated yesterday.

Dr Savimbi told 46 South African and foreign Pressmen at his headquarters in southern Angola that by December he would have 7 000 additional troops to throw against Luanda.

The Jamba Press conference came at the conclusion of an extraordinary congress of Unita — the first in its 18-year history.

At the root of the problem is Unita's growing fear that it will be frozen out of an Namibian/Angolan settlement and left diplomatically and militarily isolated in their grinding guerrilla war which they believe they are winning.

Fortress

The uncompromising Unita stand will be carefully weighed by Pretoria — traditional allies of Unita — in the negotiations on an Angolan proposal to withdraw Cuban troops north of certain parallels.

The proposal has immediately led to speculation that the MPLA Government is intending to fortress itself in the Angolan economic heartland and Unita believes this is the first step to a formal partition.

Key points made by Dr Savimbi yesterday:

- Unita would take every military advantage possible in the event of a Cuban withdrawal if it was not consulted about the terms of withdrawal.
- He refused to accept a partition of Angola into an MPLA-held north and a Unita-controlled south.
- He rejected any idea of extending Angolan citizenship to Cuban non-combatants.
- Claimed that new logistical routes had been established to supply his army in the event of implementation of Resolution 435 in Namibia and a consequent cutting-off of existing supply lines.
- Withdrew his offer to enter reconciliation discussions with the MPLA Government until they gave positive proof of their intention to create a

□ To Page 2

Don't leave me out, warns Jonas

□ From Page 1

Government of National Unity.

Dr Savimbi slammed the Lusaka Agreement whereby South African forces are being withdrawn from Angola as a "dilly-dallying manoeuvre".

The bellicose Unita stand comes at a time of great flux for the organisation.

Guerrilla operations have taken them to the gates of Luanda and inside, but on the diplomatic front Unita believes that the latest round of negotiations could rob them of the gain made in nine years of war.

The ebb of Unita fortunes is reflected in their leader.

A brisk and at times brusque Dr Savimbi yesterday contrasted with the relaxed and expansive leader who met the Press in July.

The fact that Unita claims it has already established alternative supply lines, suggests that it believes an agreement prejudicial to itself is imminent.

Ties

In a speech to 7 000 Angolans at the Jamba Stadium and at a later Press conference Dr Savimbi showed failing patience with the US.

Although welcoming President Reagan's re-election, he demanded the State Department's attitude towards Angola and Namibia should be unequivocally clarified and the "sooner the better".

Dr Savimbi reaffirmed his close ties with South Africa — claiming that relations with Pretoria were good, describing State President PW Botha as "my friend".

Significantly, he acknowledged that Mr Botha had his own country's interests to consider and that he did not expect him to sacrifice those interests for Unita.

Dr Savimbi said Unita would have to be a party to all negotiations affecting the future of Namibia and the corresponding withdrawal of the Cubans.

"We insist that all the parties involved should recognise Unita as a central factor with sufficient means to influence the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola."

Dr Savimbi declined to respond directly to the Cape Verde talks as he had not been informed officially.

But it is understood the South African Government has unofficially informed him of the Angolan proposals.

"I don't want to rock the boat, I want to be part of the boat," Dr Savimbi said.

He rejected US signals that Unita should not press Luanda too hard because this might delay a Cuban withdrawal.

He claimed it was military pressure which had forced the Angolan Goverment to negotiate seriously about Cuban withdrawal.

"You're a nice guy when you are losing but a bad guy when you are strong," he observed.

Laws allow Cubans to stay as Angolans

ARGUS 26/4/84 (5)

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Thousands of Cuban troops and other communists can stay in Angola under extraordinary new citizenship laws, it was learnt today.

The legislation, outlined in the Diario da Republica — similar to South Africa's Government Gazette — allows any foreigner to be granted citizenship at any time.

This move could provide a face-saving way out for most of the parties involved in the SWA/Namibian-/Angolan issue

Cuba could leave enough troops in Angola to avoid earning a reputation for letting its allies down.

"Palace guard" strong enough

This "palace guard" could be strong enough to protect the MPLA Government from the Unita rebels.

Washington could unburden itself of its insistence on the "linkage" of SWA/Namibian independence and a Cuban withdrawal.

And Pretoria could reassure its right wing that it has negotiated away the threat of a Cuban horde should Swapo come to power.

● Unita is today releasing nearly 100 hostages of different nationalities, Portuguese diplomats said.

The hostages, captured in several parts of Angola in the past few months, are expected to land at Jan Smuts Airport today

Sixteen British citizens

"We were told to expect more than 60 Portuguese citizens. We know about 40 of them were captured in the the mining town of Cafunfo but we don't know where the rest come from," a Portuguese spokesman said.

The other hostages to be released include 15 Filipino and eight missionaries of Portuguese, Japanese, Spanish, Italian, Brazilian and Polish nationality.

Sixteen British citizens captured in Canfunfo with the Portuguese and Filipino citizens are not expected to be released, as negotiations are still continuing between Unita and the British Government.



The home of Mrs Nora Otto after the fire.

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Gericke tells court how he beat wife's children

Argus Correspondent

GEORGE. — Mr Deon Gericke, 33, charged with attempting to kill his wife and an eight-year-old boy, told the Supreme Court here today that he and his wife had often argued about her housekeeping and her children's discipline.

He is alleged to have shot and wounded M[illegible] that a woman's place is in the home. It is important to me to have meals at regular hours. Often supper was not ready at 7 pm.

"We also argued about the fact that she ran her own business.

"We had an argument because some clothing I needed had not been

"I feel that the man should be in control."

"I wanted marital power so I wanted to be married in community of property. Denise would not sign the will but led me to believe she had."

Mr Gericke mentioned four occasions during arguments when he had

SA prisoner and Cuban in Angolan war swop

ARGUS 26/4/88 (5)

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An exchange of prisoners between South Africa and Angola will take place after talks in Lusaka between Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and senior representatives from Zambia and Angola.

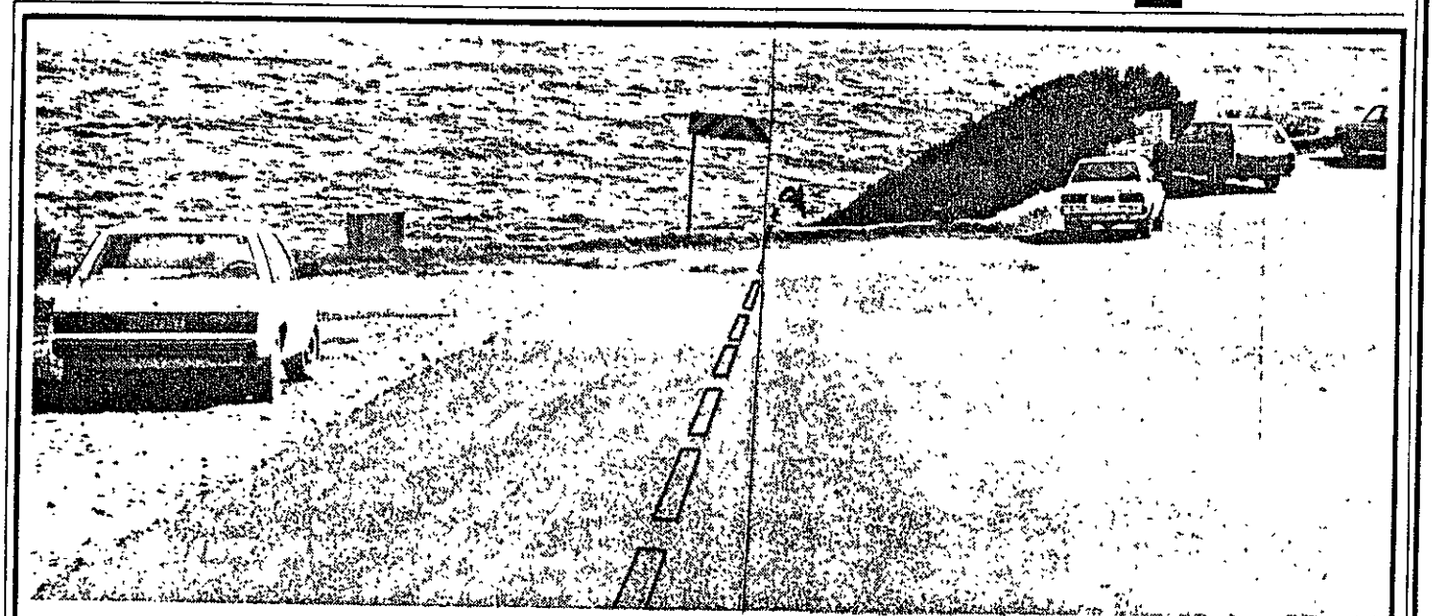
Mr Botha, accompanied by General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence, and Dr Willie van Niekerk, the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, was received in Lusaka by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, who was host to the discussions concerning peace.

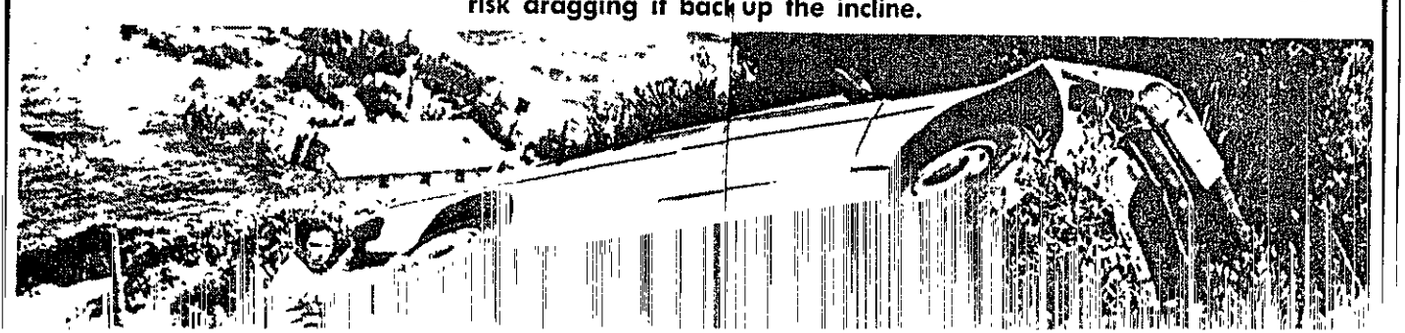
At a Press conference last night Mr Botha said: "At this stage I can only say that we have agreed to swop one South African, one Cuban and Fapla prisoners."

Problems

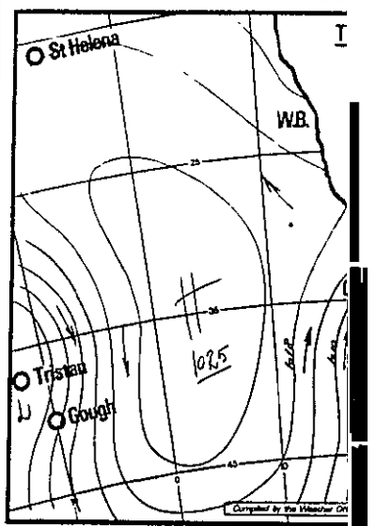
He said problems for both South Africa and Angola had been encountered regarding the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola.

"There were paragraphs in the Lusaka Agreement which had been misinterpreted by the two countries. These were clarified and misgivings arising from the Havana statement were [illegible]."





Above: A single chevron, the only sign pointing out the danger of the 100m drop that lies behind. Mr Eyssen says it is not visible at night. Below: Mr Eyssen and the problem — his car. No one is willing to risk dragging it back up the incline.



Past frontal weather condi
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Clearing, wi

WEATHER forecast for the Peni
for the period ending 6 pm tomor

☐ Cloudy and cold with showers, Peninsula and Boland.

☐ Wind: Fresh to strong westerly southerly to south-easterly tomor

☐ Minimum temperature at D F tween 4 and 6 deg C.

THE MOON

Full moon	May 15
Last Quarter	May 22
New Moon	May 01
First Quarter	May 08

THE SUN

Sets today	1810
Rises tomorrow	0717

THE TIDES

High water:

Today: 0048; 1310
Tomorrow: 0123; 1343

Low Water

Family who seek council house evicted from shack

Staff Reporter

A FAMILY of eight, who say they have been waiting for a municipal house for 10 years, have been evicted from their shack in pouring rain, highlighting again the critical shortage of housing in Cape Town.

The Rosekrans family, who have been living in a wood-and-iron shack in Ben Street, Grassy Park, for eight years, were served with a court eviction order in January when the owner of the property decided to build a house.

Yesterday a messenger of the court arrived at the shack after Mr Abraham Rosekrans had left for work and served Mrs Rosekrans with a final eviction order, telling her to clear her belongings from the shack.

SITTING IN RAIN

She did this, and when Mr Rosekrans returned home late last night he found his wife and children sitting in the rain in the gravel road.

It was only after an Argus reporter helped them contact an attorney acting for the property owner that the family could "legally" return to the shelter of the shack for the night.

However, today they are again faced with the problem of where to go.

A Red Cross Children's Hospital social worker said she knew the family and that the children had chest complaints. They were treated regularly at the hospital.

She said she believed the family had been on the municipal waiting list for a house for 10 years They could not afford other accommodation with Mr Rosekrans being the only breadwinner, she said.

Gemayel talks peace with Saudi diplomat

BEIRUT. — President Amin Gemayel, who is expected soon to name Mr Rashid Karami Lebanon's next prime minister, has had talks in Beirut with Saudi Arabian envoy Mr Rafiq al-Hariri.

They discussed current efforts to form a national unity government to reform Lebanon's political system and to reconcile warring factions. — Sapa-Reuter.

SA prisoner and in Angolan war

ARGUS 26/4/84

Argus Correspondent

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"There were paragraphs in the Lusaka Agreement which had been misinterpreted by the two countries. These were clarified and misgivings arising from the Havana statement were removed," Mr Botha said.

Interpretations

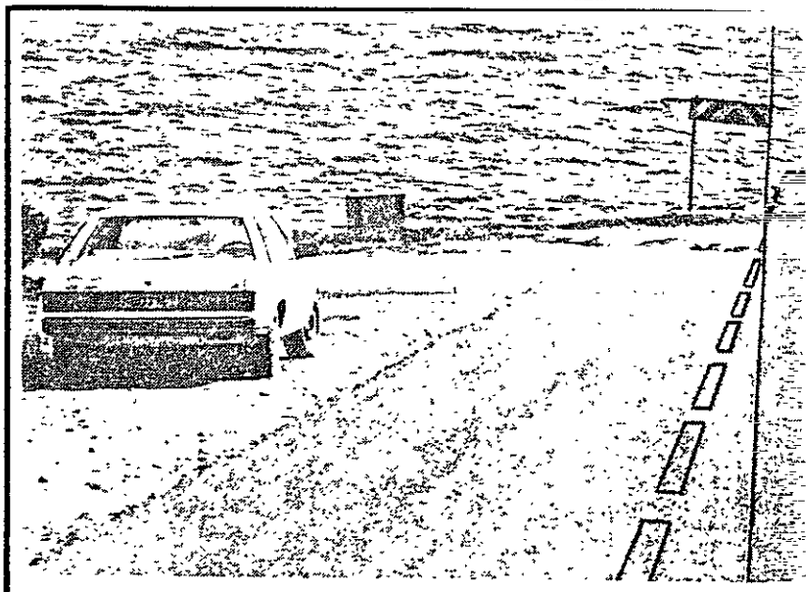
"I was encouraged that neither Angola nor South Africa insisted on strict tactical interpretations of the agreement and can see no further obstacles regarding the statement.

"We also discussed values and delicate aspects regarding the SWA/Namibia situation and an exchange of prisoners."

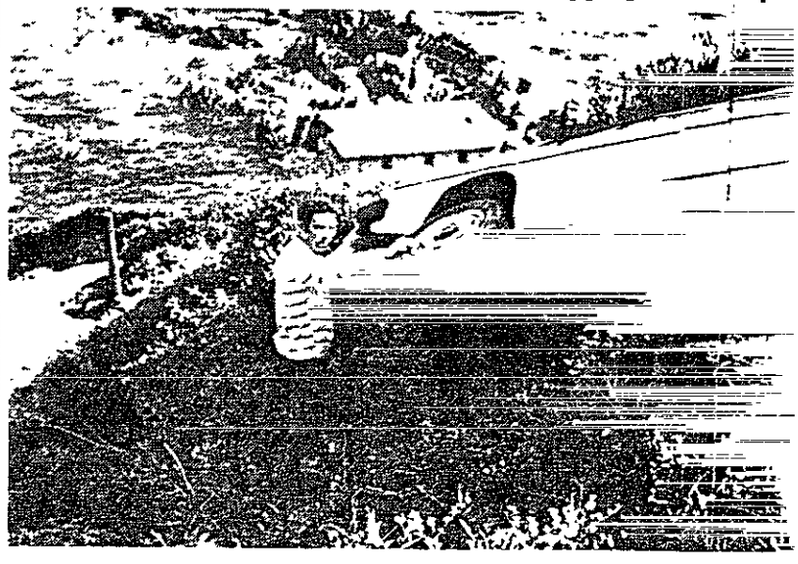
When asked whether the difficulties could jeopardise peace , Mr Botha said any disagreements were serious if they were not resolved.

"We have planned further meetings with Angola, but I am optimistic about peace and progress as the latest discussions were most fruitful."

The South African prisoner is a black soldier taken by Angolan forces in an ambush. A member of the South West African Territorial Force, his name was withheld to protect his family.



Above: A single chevron, the only sign pointing out the d... Eyssen says it is not visible at night. Below: Mr Eyssen and ... risk dragging it back up ...



Roller-coasting cop loses

Staff Reporter

TRAFFIC officer Daniel Eyssen's Easter weekend has left him with a R10 000 problem that no one has yet been able to solve.

Mr Eyssen took a scenic drive to Gansbaai. The trip ended on the road to De Kelders with a stomach-lurching, roller-coaster ride down a steep incline — in his almost-new car.

The problem: no tow-truck service has so far been willing to risk pulling the car back up the incline.

Mr Eyssen was lucky. A bush stopped him from hurtling 100m down the slope, possibly to his death. His car came to rest 25m down the incline and has been there since Sunday night.

Every tow service he has contacted has refused to take the risk of salvaging the vehicle.

"They all say the car is in

such a move... bottom their ... Do you cost to like th...

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8, 'told ep still, twice'

USTINE NOFAL

ght-year-old boy told in the e yesterday how he and his his stepfather, Deon Gericke, r George on December 27 aded not guilty to two charges

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ng on the bed'

sleep, I was lying on my stom- ing with my electronic game. My ssing.

e in and shot me and then my the ground. Then he asked her m. Uncle Deon sat on the steps ep still because I was wriggling, gain twice.

d him to help her. He put a pil- d and told my sister to telephone

er Schyff, father of Mrs Denise paralysed from the neck down in , told the court that ten days be- there had been a family meeting y to solve the Gerickes' marital

atened to kill her'

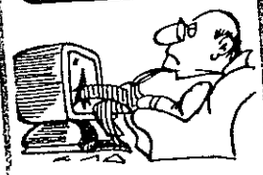
r side of the story, saying that her ally hit her children and threat- and her children. When asked to the story, Deon got up and said to uld leave.

d, saying she was scared of him. id he would never divorce Denise r wipe out the lot of us."

inues today.

r sat with two assessors, Mr H J Luttig a. Mr G D van Schalkwyk, SC, assisted d instructed by Mr J F van Niekerk, of ared for Mr Gericke. Mr T J Prins ap-

Tele Views



Readers wishing to comment on TV programmes or on any television issues can phone their comments through after 6pm from Monday to Friday to ☎24-2233 ext 216.

crack of dawn



"Diplomatic immunity is one thing. Diplomatic impunity is another!"

SA, Angola in new agreement

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Delegations of the South African and Angolan governments met in Lusaka yesterday and reached agreement on "procedural problems" with the South African withdrawal from Angola and an exchange of prisoners.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who headed the delegation, announced this at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport last night.

Zambia's President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, hosted the meeting. Mr Botha declined to say whether they had discussed Dr Kaunda's suggestion of a summit of Southern African leaders.

The prisoner exchange would involve one South African, one Cuban and a number of troops of the Angolan army, Fapla, he said.

He declined to say when the exchange would take place.

Mr Botha said the two sides had encountered certain procedural problems with the agreement on South African withdrawal from Angola, but they had discussed these at length and had come to a satisfactory agreement.

'No obstacles'

"I see no obstacles to the implementation of the withdrawal," Mr Botha said.

They had also discussed "certain aspects" of the SWA situation, he said.

Mr Botha declined to give details of the agreement, saying he first had to report to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha

Bus commuters wait in rain

DRIVING rain, which set in just before the end of the working day yesterday, added to the discomfort of hundreds of City bus commuters.

Bus commuters have had to endure long delays since the service was disrupted by a partial work-to-rule by disgruntled bus drivers who are refusing to work overtime.

During the afternoon rush-hour yesterday, commuters waited in long, tightly-packed queues in the available bus shelters.

A meteorological office spokesman at D F Malan Airport said that only the first part of a cold front had reached the City and yesterday's temperature was "still relatively mild".

Di's brother bares all

LONDON. — Viscount Althorp, younger brother of Princess Diana, admits he has erotic dreams about women and is not averse to a "little bodice-ripping" himself.

"I often fantasize about a girl I'm interested in," the 19-year-old viscount confessed on a television show, Men Only, to be screened in July.

"And then, when we're actually together, I fantasize about being away from her and in a Roman orgy or something. That's the trouble."

He told presenter Paula Yates when the show was videotaped that he was often the victim of pushy mothers who wanted to marry him off to their daughters — but he had become very wary.

It was usually the girls who did the seducing.

"You're grabbed by some raging nymphomaniac who is some three to four years older than you," he said.

But he admitted: "Sometimes you know that if you're going to get anything you are going to have to pounce. And if it's a bodice that gets in the way ..."

A spokesman for Yorkshire TV said later that Viscount Althorp, making his chat-show debut, was "very honest in his answers for a young man of 19". — Sapa-AP



BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close) ..	$382,75
FT index (close)	887,60
RDM 100 ...	1070,50
Dow Jones ..	1163,53

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..... 20	Cinema ... 10, 11	Crossword 14	Parliament 4	Weather 12
..... 12	Classified .. 20-24	Editorials 14	Racing 8	What's on? 12
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.... 16-19	Comics 21	Horoscope 12	Sport 25-26	World Report ... 5

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Cape Times, Box 11, Cape Town.
(Registered at the GPO as a newspaper.)

Angola passes dual citizenship law to allow Cubans to stay

5 stew 26/4/84

By Stephen McQuillan

Thousands of battle-blooded Cubans and other communists are to be allowed to remain in Angola for good under extraordinary new citizenship laws.

The legislation allows any foreigner to be granted citizenship at any time — at the whim of the Marxist MPLA Government.

It also implies that new citizens can retain their original nationality — leaving the way open for military advisers, troops or technicians to remain under the control of Havanna or Moscow.

In theory, the dual passport legislation allows a permanent foreign military machine to be "renationalised" — while remaining a puppet of Russia.

The new laws are outlined in Diario da Republica — the official organ of the People's Republic of Angola. A copy was handed to the 24 Hours team.

The document — similar to the Government Gazette in South Africa — gave a summary of the new Nationality Act, approved by the People's Assembly (parliament) on February 6.

It said that Act 2/84 cancelled the Nationality Act approved on November 11, 1975.

Article 5, Clause 1 says the People's Assembly can give Angolan nationality to foreigners who request it, provided:

- They are "of age" under Angolan law and the law of their original country.
- They have been permanently resident in Angola for at least 10 years.
- They offer political and moral guarantees that they will integrate themselves into Angolan society.
- They lose their previous nationality.

But Article 6 states: "The People's Assembly can give Angolan nationality to any foreign citizen who has provided an important contribution to the country."

The paragraph implies that there is no time qualification for nationality, and anyone granted citizenship under Article 6 would not have to relinquish his original nationality.

● See Page 11, World section.

24 HOURS



Terça-feira, 7 de Fevereiro de 1984 — I SÉRIE — N.º 31

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ÓRGÃO OFICIAL DA REPÚBLICA POPULAR DE ANGOLA

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SUMÁRIO

Assembleia do Povo

Lei n.º 2/84:

Da nacionalidade — Revoga a Lei da Nacionalidade, aprovada em 11 de Novembro de 1975

Lei n.º 3/84.

Sobre o Plano Nacional

ARTIGO 5.º

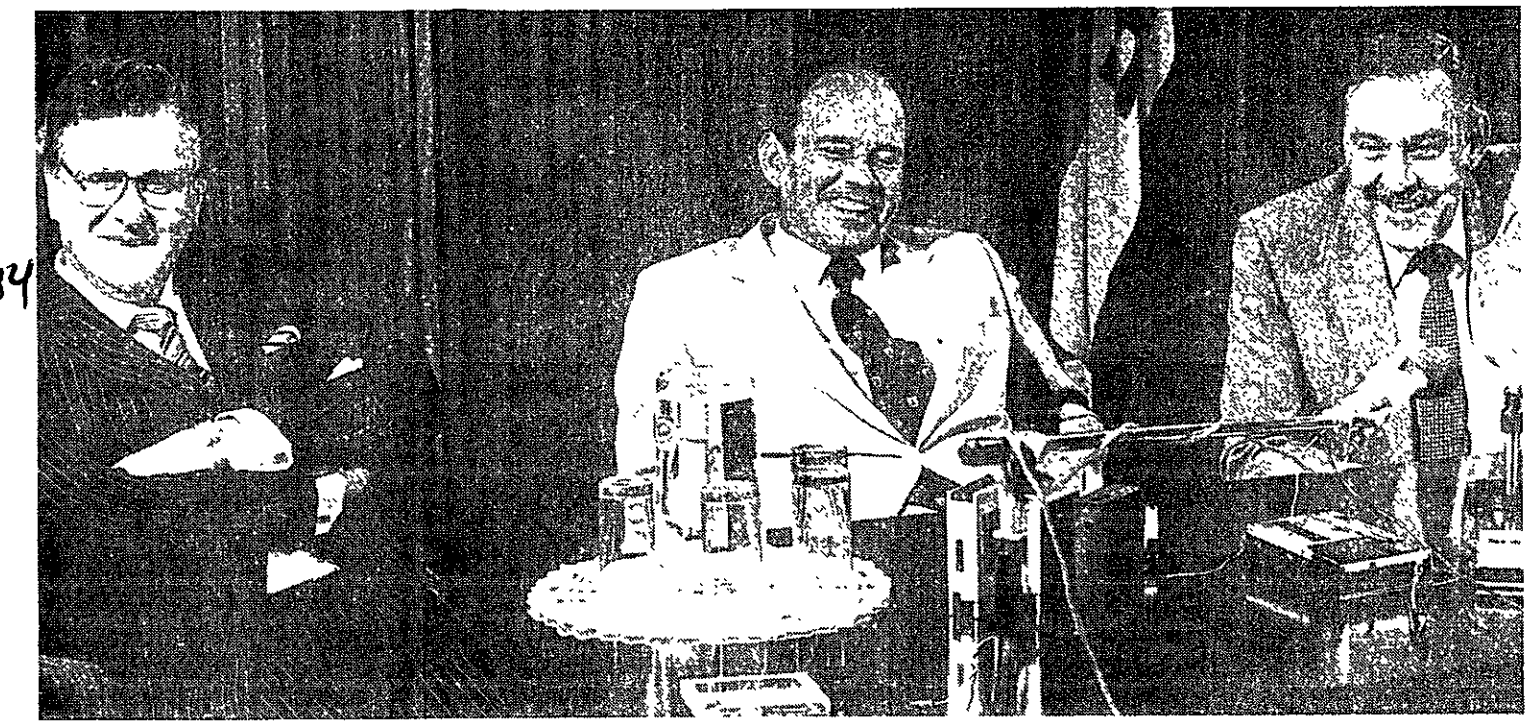
1. A Assembleia do Povo poderá conceder a nacionalidade angolana aos estrangeiros que o requeiram e, à data do requerimento, satisfaçam cumulativamente as seguintes condições:

a) serem maiores perante a Lei Angolana e a Lei do Estado de origem;

b) residirem habitual e regularmente em Angola, há pelo menos dez anos;

c) oferecerem garantias políticas e morais de integração na sociedade angolana;

The official Angolan Government document outlining the extraordinary new citizenship laws. The legislation allows foreigners to be granted citizenship at any time, at the discretion of the government.



The South African delegates share a joke after returning from Lusaka last night where they held talks with Angolan and Zambian representatives. They are (from left) the Administrator-General of Namibia, Dr Willie van Niekerk, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha. ● Picture by Rebecca Hearfield.

SA-Angola set to swop war prisoners

By Caroline Hurry

An exchange of priers between South Africa and Angola is likely after discussions in Lusaka between the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and top-level Zambian and Angolan representatives.

Mr Botha, accompanied by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and Nambian Administrator-General Dr Willie van Niekerk, was received in Lusaka by President Kenneth Kaunda, who hosted the peace discussions.

However on his arrival back here last night, Mr Botha said problems had been encountered on the disengagement of SA forces from Angola.

"There were paragraphs in the Lusaka agreement which had been misinterpreted by the two countries. These were clarified and misgivings arising from the Havana statement were removed," he said.

REFUSED

Mr Botha refused to say which paragraphs had been misinterpreted or discuss the difficulties encountered between South Africa and Angola, saying only that a mutual acceptable agreement had been reached during the past few days of negotiations.

"I was encouraged that neither Angola nor South Africa insisted on strict tactical interpretation of the agreement and can see no more obstacles regarding the statement.

"We also discussed values and delicate aspects regarding the Namibia situation and an exchange of prisoners between South Africa and Angola.

"At this stage, I can only say that we have agreed to swop one South African, one Cuban and Fapla prisoners."

When asked whether the difficulties could jeopardise peace in Southern Africa, Mr Botha replied that any disagreements were serious if they were not resolved.

"More meetings with Angola are plannned but I am optimistic about peace and progress as the latest discussions were most fruitful."

DELEGATION

Mr Kito Rodrigues led the Angolan delegation to the talks.

● The Star's Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the South African involved in a pending exchange of prisoners with Angola is a black soldier captured during Operation Askari in January.

The soldier was taken by Angolan forces in an ambush, the SA Defence Force said at the time.

Crocker opposes 'military struggle'

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — It was a "fatuous illusion" to suggest that South Africa could be transformed into a non-racial society by armed struggle based on external guerilla movements, Dr Chester Crocker, President Reagan's chief Africa policy-maker, said here today.

He said that such an illusion tended to reinforce the counter-illusion — that the problem facing South Africa was one of total marxist onslaught and that one should therefore gird one's loins for, in effect, a military struggle.

These two illusions diverted attention away from the real issue, which was change inside South Africa, he said.

Dr Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, was participating in a panel discussion on US policy in Southern Africa.

CRITICISM

He defended the Reagan policy of constructive engagement — of which he is the principal architect — against criticism by Congressman Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House of Representatives' Africa Sub-committee, Dr Gerald Bender, a specialist on Africa who is based at the University of Southern California, and Nigeria's Major-General Joseph Garba, chairman of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid.

Dr Crocker said the US was working towards peace in the region and the agenda defined by American diplomacy had already produced tangible results.

He disputed the argument of Dr Bender that US ties with South Africa had actually exacerbated the situation in Angola by making it more difficult for Angola to send home the Cubans.

Dr Bender, considered an expert on Angolan affairs; said the Angolans had difficulty accepting the "linkage" of Namibian independence to a withdrawal of Cuban troops because it would mean putting their fate in the hands of Pretoria and Washington.

US anxious for SA troops to quit Angola soon

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States Government is hoping that the South African troop withdrawal from Angola will be completed by the middle of next month.

If it is, American diplomats will be able to launch the next phase of the delicate process which, they hope, will lead ultimately to independence for Namibia.

That phase is to seek a firm commitment from the Angolans on the withdrawal of Cuban forces.

A senior Reagan Administration official said: "The sooner the South African withdrawal is completed, the sooner we will be in a position to say to the Angolans: 'Your move: what are you prepared to offer on the Cubans?'"

So far, the Americans have carefully avoided setting deadlines for the various phases of the intricate diplomatic process.

Earlier, when the Lusaka agreement was reached and when the Joint Monitoring Commission was set up, it was expected that the South African withdrawal would be completed by the end of March.

"They are nowhere near that," the US official said. "But, to our mind, the most important thing was not a timetable of events but rather that the South Africans and the Angolans were moving towards mutually agreed tasks and that they were resolving the problems as they came up."

An indication that the Reagan Administration has been hoping for a completion of the South African withdrawal by mid-May came in a Los Angeles Times interview with Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

Dr Crocker said the South African withdrawal could be completed by then, with Angolan troops moving in behind them as they departed.

In the interview, Dr Crocker sounded a cautionary note.

Asked about the thaw between South Africa and her black-ruled neighbours, notably Mozambique, he said: "We hope it is a real turning point for the region — but it is not an irreversible situation."

Dr Crocker said it was not realistic for the parties involved in Southern Africa to lay down preconditions for the others.

"No-one has the right, or the capability, to impose preconditions, with the other guy having to move first," Dr Crocker said.

"It is really a question of devising a package that has something to meet the needs of all."

In Washington, a US Government source emphasised this approach, adding that the US was trying to assist in the creation of conditions that would allow the parties to proceed to the twin goals of removing Soviet-bloc troops from Southern Africa and achieving Namibian independence.

Angolan holiday hike was 'a bit too much'



Mrs Maria de Lurdes Rodrigues.

Mrs Maria de Lurdes Rodrigues of Setubal, near Lisbon, is returning home on Tuesday, after the longest and most exciting holiday of her life.

She arrived in Angola on January 2 for a two-month holiday with her husband in the town of Cafunfo where he was working under contract in the diamond mines.

The holiday turned into forced marches through the Angolan bush with her five-year-old daughter and husband as hostages of one of the oldest guerilla movements in Africa, Unita.

"I was already packing to go back home. I had only four days left when on the morning of February 23, at about 4 am, the shooting started. It was the begining of my extended holiday," she said, laughing.

"Mortars and bombs started to fall and one hour later someone knocked at the door," she recalled.

Mrs Rodrigues, who was released yesterday with dozens of other hostages, said her husband, Antonio, had answered the knock to find a Unita guerilla.

Mrs Rodrigues did not seem bitter about the experience but said she found 33 days of marching in the bush a bit too much.

"Of course the food wasn't good. We ate manioc and maize all the time. In the beginning there was a bit of rice and spaghetti.

Her daughter, Vanessa, was five years old when captured. She is now six and has lived to tell her friends she spent her birthday party with guerillas in the bush marching towards southern Angola.

Her birthday party goodies were of course ... manioc and maize.

Freed hostages praise treatment by Unita

The largest group of hostages released by the Unita rebel movement in Angola, yesterday praised the guerillas who took them prisoner.

All those interviewed by reporters said they had no complaints.

Mr Jose Luis Moreira Martins, who was taken prisoner at the mining town of Cafunfo with 43 other Portuguese and 15 Filipino workers, said that at least 2 000 guerillas had taken part in the operation.

"We knew they were around because there had been the occasional attack on army convoys. But we never expected such a big attack.

"A Unita commander later told me that 600 men stormed the town. Another 1 400 were ready to take part in the fighting, if necessary."

Mr Martins said he found the guerillas highly disciplined, well trained and motivated.

"Their morale is high and they believe in what they are fighting for," he said.

Mrs Maria Eugenia Costa said her two-year-old daughter Monica became ill during the forced marches through the bush.

"We had days in which we walked for 19 hours non-stop. It was exhausting," she said. "However, when my daughter fell ill a brigadier in charge of the guerillas made sure she got everything of the best they could provide."

The Portuguese expressed surprise and shock when told that one hostage, Mr Luis Rodrigues, had died in a Unita camp — as reported by The Star two weeks ago.

"We knew he was ill, because he suffered from diabetes. Nut nobody told us he had died," said Mr Martins.

He added that the 16 British citizens being held by Unita were in good health.

A Filipino citizen, Mr Laurentti Burgos, said he had worked in Angola for five years.

He said eight other Filipino citizens, who were also working at Cafunfo, disappeared during the confusion that followed the Unita attack.

"We don't know what happened to them. We hope they escaped and are still alive," he said.

Fate of remaining 47 is uncertain

At least 47 hostages are still being held by the Angolan rebel movement Unita, following yesterday's release of 89 civilian prisoners.

An International Red Cross spokesman, Mr T Germond, yesterday said it was not yet known when they would be released.

Mr Germond, who accompanied the hostages in their flight aboard a chartered plane from southern Angola to Jan Smuts Airport, said there were 16 Britons, 20 Czechs and one Jugoslav at Unita's main base in southern Angola.

But Portuguese hostages released yesterday said another 10 Portuguese were still being held by Unita, although they had not yet arrived in the safe Unita areas in the south.

They were captured during an attack last month against Sumbe and, contrary to Portuguese diplomatic sources, they were not released yesterday.

Mr Germond said he believed "some doctors" had been captured at Sumbe.

Diplomatic sources said at least four Bulgarian citizens had also been captured in Sumbe, raising the number of hostages still being held by Unita to more than 50.

Most Portuguese citizens released yesterday were captured with 15 Filipinos in the mining town of Cafunfo on February 23.

A Portuguese Embassy spokesman said the 66 Portuguese, including 19 children, would be flown to Portugal on Tuesday.

The Red Cross confirmed that the hostages were released without any conditions, although Portuguese citizens said they had to sign documents stating they would never return to Angola.

1/7/09

Step forward, Mr Cavaleiro

Mr Fernando Americo Soares Ferreira stepped out of Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after he and 65 other Portuguese citizens had been released by the Unita guerilla movement in southern Angola and immediately asked if anyone knew his brother and sister-in-law.

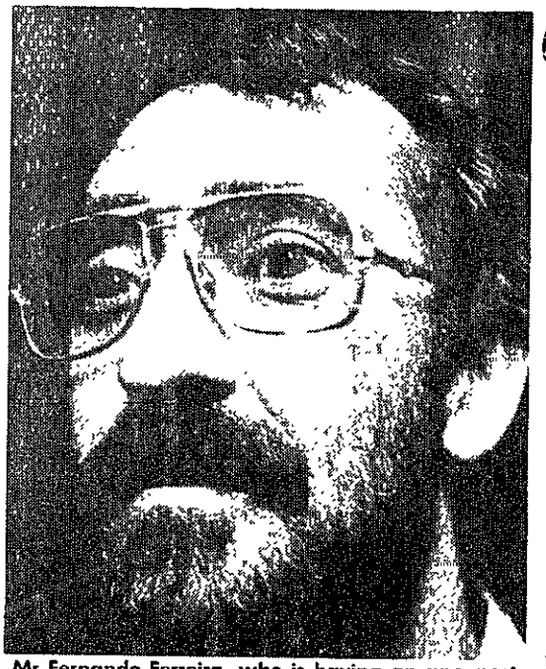
"They live in Johannesburg. He is Mr Cruz Cavaleiro and my wife's sister is his wife Maria Alice Lopes Cavaleiro," he said.

"I have not seen them for a few years but, shortly before I was taken by Unita in Cafunfo, my family told me they were still here. I even had their adresses but the guerillas did not allow me to take anything from home," he said.

Mr Ferreira, who is originally from Mozambique, said that another good friend of his from Mozambique was Mr Rogerio Leandro da Silva, who also lived in Johannesburg.

"I wish I could have brought my address book with me," he said.

Mr Ferreira said he would like to be contacted by his friends at the New Library Hotel in central Johannesburg.



Mr Fernando Ferreira, who is having an unexpected five-day rest in Johannesburg.



Little Monica Costa found the dozens of photographers and newsmen at Jan Smuts Airport terrifying. She screamed and shouted while her mother, Mrs Maria Eugenia Costa, tried to calm her. Mrs Costa told how Monica became ill during the hostages' march through the bush.

Reports: Joao Santa Rita
Pictures: Alf Kumalo

89 ex-Unita hostages arrive at Jan Smuts

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two months of captivity deep in the Angolan bush came to an end on the tarmac of Jan Smuts Airport here yesterday for 89 hostages captured by Unita forces in February this year.

The hostages — 66 Portuguese, including 19 children, 15 Filipinos and eight missionaries from Japan, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Poland and the Philippines — left from an undisclosed camp in Angola yesterday afternoon in an aircraft chartered by the International Red Cross.

Carrying only small bags, and some with only the clothes they were wearing, the hostages looked in good health as they faced a large contingent of local and international press members.

Their release follows soon after the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, had stated earlier this month that he would release all foreign hostages.

And it seems that the 16 Britons still being held in the territory are optimistic that they will be released within the next 10 days.

But this could not be confirmed by Mr Thierry Germond, the Geneva-based spokesman for the Red Cross, who said he had seen the Britons briefly, but while they looked in good health, he had no information about their release.

Mr Germond, who said this was the fourth Red Cross operation in Angola since last June, said there were also 20 Czechoslovakians and one Yugoslavian still being held by the Unita forces of Dr Savimbi.

The majority of yesterday's arrivals were captured early on the morning of February 23 in the mining town of Cafunfo.

Imminent release

From the few who spoke to the press, there were no reports of ill-treatment and they said they had been well fed and given relatively comfortable accommodation. Generally they spoke well of Unita.

Mr Laurentti Burgo, a technician from the Philippines, said they had first heard of their imminent release on Sunday.

Mrs Maria de Lourdes Rodriguez, 28, was on holiday in Angola visiting her husband, who worked on the mines, and had only a week left in the country when she, her husband and young daughter were captured.

She said that on the morning of their capture there was a knock on the door, with people shouting "It's Unita, don't be afraid".

She said the captives were divided into two groups according to physical condition and were marched south for 33 days and were then transported in lorries, near the journey's end, for three days and nights.

She estimated that they had covered about 600km from Cafunfo.

Argus 30/4/84 (5)

Senior MPs visit JMC headquarters

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — Three senior South African parliamentarians, accompanied by high-ranking military officers, paid a brief visit to the headquarters of the Joint Monitoring Commission at Evale in southern Angola at the weekend.

This came about during a whistle-stop tour of the SWA/Namibia operational area by a group of 40 members of Parliament.

Defence spokesmen for the Progressive Federal Party Mr Philip Myburgh, Mr Willa Heever of the National Party and Mr Vause Raw of the New Republic Party were accompanied by General Constand Viljoen, Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General Jannie Geldenhuys and the Chief of the Air Force, Lieutenant-General Denis Earp.

Mr Koos van der Merwe, defence spokesman for the Conservative Party, did not go on the trip because his party's congress was held at the weekend.

The senior parliamentarians and officers flew by helicopter into the zone being monitored by South African and Angolan forces to check whether there were any elements of Swapo in an area north of the cutline (border).

Mr Myburgh said he was fortunate to have been afforded the opportunity to visit the camp at Evale.

220 KILLED

"It was amazing to see how soon those men who not many weeks ago were killing each other were now keen to work together to bring about peace in that part of the world," he added.

The full group was told security force actions in the operational area this year had accounted for the death of about 220 Swapo terrorists, excluding the more than 300 killed in Operation Askari.

The visit started immediately after the House closed on Friday.

The MPs were brought up to date concerning events, operations and predictions of the situation in the operational area, as well as given the opportunity to speak to a number of soldiers and their officers.

Defence spokesmen for the three parties on the trip agreed it was important for MPs to visit the area to gain first-hand knowledge.

WARNING

Nuclear terrorists

Staff Writer HUGH ROBERTON interviews Dr Zbigniew Brzezinski

Spectrum

THE technical expertise and sophistication of terrorist organisations was bound to increase in coming years, feasibly to the point where they could make use of nuclear devices, Dr Zbigniew Brzezinski, former United States national security advisor, warned in an interview last night.

He said he was "very much afraid" that this could happen first in the Middle East in the struggle between Israel and Arab groups, or in an inter-Islamic conflict, and that this would "contribute to the dismal picture I see emerging there".

"We are certainly dealing with a situation which is very dangerous and in time the technical sophistication of terrorist organisations is bound to increase. The use by terrorists of a nuclear device is a very dangerous possibility. In the first instance, I fear the Middle East is the area with the highest degree of susceptibility to this sort of danger," he said.

Met the PM

Dr Brzezinski, who is in South Africa as the guest of the South Africa Foundation, has met senior Government and Opposition representatives, including the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

He declined to comment on the contrasting policies on Southern Africa of the Carter administration, in which he was one of the key policy formulators, and the Reagan administration, remarking that he was in the country "chiefly to learn about external security and internal change".

But he did say he felt it was still too early to judge the efficacy of South Africa's policy towards neighbouring countries. "I can only say that I have always felt a policy of combining pressure with diplomacy can be effective in this situation and I am glad to see that it has worked in the case of Angola and Mozambique. I have never believed in coddling the Soviet Union's surrogates."

Moscow

Dr Brzezinski said he did not believe that Southern Africa was part of the "central focus" of the Soviet Union's strategic and foreign policy, or that there was a pre-occupation with the region in Moscow.

Rather, he said, Southern Africa was seen by the Soviet Union as "a target of opportunity" where it could gain from conflict and tension but where it would "adopt a patient attitude and wait for another opportunity if it faced setbacks".

"This could change if there was a major deterioration in the West's position in the Middle East and the disintegration of regimes which in varying degrees are either dependent on the West or allied to the West.

"Then I think the next phase of Soviet activity would be a resumption of trying to gain strategic advantage in Southern Africa," he said.

The accords

The new accords between South Africa and neighbouring countries, however, representated "a significant setback" for the Soviet Union.

Dr Brzezinski said he felt that in the three main global areas where the US was in strategic competition with the Soviet Union — the Far East, the Middle East and Western Europe — the Middle East was the most precarious.

The short-term and longer term prospects for the US in this region were less promising than in either the Far East or Western Europe. US prospects in Western Europe were good in the short-term, following agreement on the deployment of new US strategic weapons there, but far less certain in the longer term. There were good short and longer term prospects for the US in the Far East, where US relations with both China and Japan were better than Soviet relations with either of those countries.

Dr Brzezinski

Mariental case: US 'concern'

CAPE TIMES 2/5/84 5

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The application before the Supreme Court of Namibia for the release of the Mariental detainees which was "banned" by the State President last week, was sponsored by an influential legal group in the United States.

It was learned yesterday that the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law instigated, and is funding, the petition before the Supreme Court of Namibia to secure the release of the Mariental detainees.

The Supreme Court's jurisdiction to hear the application was rescinded by the State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, on April 27, under a section of the Defence Act.

In a statement released yesterday, the Lawyers' Committee said the section of the Act "repudiates any notion of an independent judiciary or a commitment to the rule of law".

It has also been learnt that the director of the Civil Rights Committee's Southern Africa project, Miss Gay McDougall, was last week denied a visa to attend the proceedings as an observer, despite representations from the State Department's Bureau of Human Rights.

The group, whose board of directors contains a virtual Who's Who of top American lawyers, last year instructed Mr David Smuts, of the Windhoek law firm of Lorentz and Bone, to file "the closest thing possible in South Africa to a writ of habeas corpus" on behalf of 37 prisoners held without charge at Mariental since May 1978, Miss McDougall said.

She said that Mr Smuts had "done an incredible job" compiling the application.

The Reagan administration has repeatedly signalled its concern about the Mariental prisoners publicly and in private.

The State Department's latest annual human rights report notes: "The South African Government has confirmed that it holds 146 prisoners, including 14 Angolans, at a detention camp near Mariental, most of whom were captured in a raid on Swapo bases near Cassinga, Angola, in 1978.

"Since the South African Government does not accord these persons prisoner-of-war status, yet cannot convict them of ordinary crimes, they remain in indefinite detention as political prisoners."

Cyrus Vance

The Lawyers Committee was formed in 1963 at the request of President Kennedy. Its directors include the former Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, and a former Attorney General, Mr Benjamin Civiletti. The committee is privately funded.

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ably yesterday that negotiations were under way for the release of at least 14 Angolan citizens held in the camp — and a possibility exists that many more of the internees could be released in the near future.

Meanwhile, yesterday's statement by the Bar Council accused the South African Government of being in direct conflict with "application of any civilized legal system".

The Bar Council would bring the matter to the attention of the current commission of inquiry into security legislation in the territory, and "make other protests which we deem necessary".

Lusaka talks

The council "deplored the decision" which had the effect of denying a number of citizens of the territory access to any court of law.

Inquiries made to the office of the Administrator General, Dr Willie van Niekerk, yesterday, brought forth a statement that attention was being given to the exchange of Angolan and South African prisoners, in terms of the recent Lusaka talks held between the two governments.

Although the Administrator General's office would not specify whether or not the "Angolan prisoners" referred to were those at Mariental, it was con-

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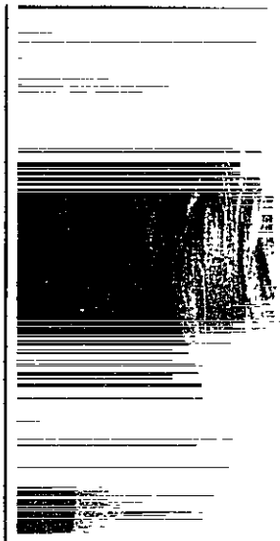
Wednesday Specials

WINTER SHEETS





Stuart Spence, 3, famous father, Mr Stuart has many pe mouse and a

crack of dawn



"We've had a report

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CAPE TIMES 2/5/84

From SIMON BARBER

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Stuart Spence, 3, is already following ... famous father, Mr John Spence, founder ... Stuart has many pets to play with, among ... mouse and a two-month-old Angol...

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crack of dawn



"We've had a report that this library's bookshelves are filled with underground literature."

Zola ... Prince...

From

LONDON. — Zola B... don's elegant Grosv...

The occasion was ... sportsmen and wom... through the Daily M... Princess Anne was ... African wonder run...

A Daily Mail sour... meeting indeed alt...

Zola was not in an ... to meet the Prince... feared that this cou...

Zola was the star ... rubbed shoulders w... sport.

Photographers mo... sport queued up to ... ain's greatest-ever ... proudly for pictures

SOUTHERN AFRICAN ACCORD

Argus 3/5/84

Pax Pretoriana has brought black Africa to crossroads

The options facing the OAU are set out in this article that appeared in The Economist

A posthumous vote of thanks to Ahmed Sekou Touré.

In death last month Mr Sekou Touré, the late un-great president of Guinea, did more for the Organisation of African Unity than he had ever done for it in life, when he imprisoned as a plotter and then starved to death a fellow Guinean who had been the OAU's first secretary-general.

Mr Sekou Touré was to have been host to this year's summit of OAU heads of state in Conakry on May 25th, the 21st anniversary of the signing of the organisation's charter "to promote unity and solidarity among African states".

No longer. The upheaval associated with his passing and with the military coup in Guinea's capital a few days later, is likely to provide a pretext for the leaders of Africa's other black-and Arab-ruled nations to move the meeting to a new place and time.

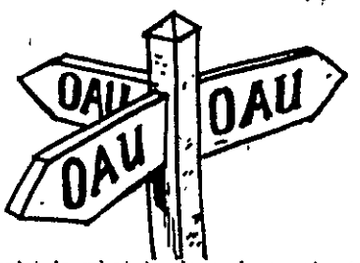
The likeliest alternative site is Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital and permanent home of the OAU secretariat. The possible date is midsummer or late in autumn, probably November — to avoid conflicts with Ramadan, Ethiopia's 10-year celebration of military rule and the opening of the United Nations Assembly in New York.

The OAU can use the extra time. A summit now would almost certainly fail, given the organisation's inability to resolve three problems — two old and familiar; the third, old with a baffling new twist.

The first of the problem is how to bring peace to Chad, where French and Libyan troops prop up government and anti-government forces.

The second is how to settle the quarrel over the western Sahara between Morocoo and the Polosario guerrila movement.

The old problem with the new



twist is what to do and say about white-ruled South Africa.

Condemnation of apartheid has long been almost the only item on the OAU's agenda for which unity has been real, not orchestrated. South Africa's friendship pact with Mozambique in March and its ceasefire agreement with Angola in February will not remove the issue from this year's summit, whenever it is eventually held. But the heads of state cannot ignore these successes for South Africa's prime minister, Mr Botha.

They have three options. The first, to go on as if nothing had happened, is the least sensible. A continued barrage of rhetoric against South Africa, by states geographically far removed from it, will embarrass not only Mozambique's President Machel and Angola's President dos Santos, but also Messrs Nyerere of Tanzania, Kaunda of Zambia and Mugabe of Zimbabwe, who backed the decisions to deal.

The second possibility is to attempt to hoist South Africa with its own petard.

The OAU could try to manoeuvre South Africa into a corner where, to keep its promises to Angola and the United States, it must move forward on Namibian independence.

One way of doing that would be to offer an OAU force to replace the 25 000 Cuban troops who now protect Angola's government, thereby meeting South African's main condition for a Namibia agreement.

It is true that OAU peacekeeping forces are expensive and usually unsuccessful; and South Africa might find another way of wriggling out of a deal. But the Cubans are now the main obstacle to the peace the OAU's front-line states are yearning for.

The third choice is to keep quiet and wait to see whether this year's agreements keep black Africans from dying before South Africa's guns. The OAU's council of ministers last month took this course, expressing "sympathy and deep understanding" to Mozambique and Angola, but refraining from total endorsement.

If the agreements break down, a return to the old script will be in order. But so long as they hold, the OAU's rear echelon may have to accept that it can for the moment do nothing about southern Africa.

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Parliament and Politics

JMC progress — in Angola's heaviest r

Has the troop disengagement in Southern Angola — which is now far behind schedule — ground to a dismal halt? Cape Times Defence Reporter Willem Steenkamp, who returned to Cape Town recently after serving on the Joint Monitoring Commission as a reserve officer, does not think so.

Defence Reporter

HAS the joint monitoring process which is overseeing the withdrawal of non-Angolan troops from Southern Angola — and which is now more than a month over schedule — ground to a halt?

This is the question many concerned South Africans have been asking ever since it became clear that the South African-Angolan Joint Monitoring Commission set up at Lusaka two months ago was lagging far behind the 30-day schedule drawn up at the Mulungushi Conferences on February 14 and 16.

In terms of the Lusaka agreement, a joint monitoring commission composed of equal numbers of South Africans and Angolans was to ensure that all South African, Cuban and Swapo forces withdrew from a huge tract of Southern Angola.

The so-called "recovered territory" would then be gradually reoccupied by Angolan local-government officials and elements of Fapla, the Angolan armed forces.

It was agreed at the second Mulungushi Conference at Lusaka on February 16 this year that the disengagement process would extend over 30 days, and that the Joint Monitoring Commission would start sitting at Cuvelai, about 200km inside Angola, on March 1.

However, the 30-day disengagement schedule was based on the premise that there would be no serious incidents to delay it. In other words, it would not necessarily be a hard-and-fast arrangement if circumstances were other than ideal.

A second rider was that the 30-day clock would not start running till the day the disengagement began to function effectively.

As it turned out, both these provisions were very sensible ones.

Ideally speaking, the JMC headquarters was to spend a week at Cuvelai while its South African and Angolan troops monitored the area north of Cuvelai and south of an agreed-upon line running above the Cassinga area.

Then, once the JMC had satisfied itself that the monitoring area was clear of all Swapo, Cuban and South African elements, it would move southwards to Mupa, roughly 50km away.

From its Mupa headquarters the JMC would then spend a week checking the enlarged monitoring area extending from Mupa to the Cassinga line, and then trek to Evale, another 50km further south. After repeating the monitoring process for a week at Evale it would move down to Ongiva and then finally reach the border post of Oshikango by March 30.

When this had been achieved, both sides would undertake to keep the monitored area clear of non-Angolan forces.

Theoretically, then, the JMC should have been sitting on the border at Oshikango by March 30. In fact this has not happened.

It did not move from Cuvelai to Mupa till March 22 — two weeks past the original schedule. On March 30, by which time it should already have reached Oshikango, it was still sitting at Mupa, and did not move down to Evale till April 17.

It was not till May 2 — Wednesday this week — that it started moving from Evale to Ongiva, one "bound" from the border post at Oshikango.

As a member of the JMC in the Cuvelai-Mupa period, however, I can state that the stretching of the original schedule was a positive rather than a negative indicator, and also that the disengagement process is not nearly as far behind schedule as it might appear.

What happened was that the monitoring task proved a formidable one for the troops on the ground — equal numbers of Angolan and South African soldiers, patrolling together in joint monitoring teams.

Not only was there a vast tract of heavily bushed and almost uninhabited territory to check, but the area was subjected to heavy downpours as the Angolan rainy season went through its final paroxysms; in fact, according to the Angolans their country has been experiencing its heaviest rainfalls since such statistics began to be recorded in 1805.

It is an unfortunate fact that the rainy season is not the best time for such an operation, but because of urgent political considerations the disengagement process — which the average man would have regarded as completely impossible just three months ago — could not be delayed.

One of the first joint monitoring patrols, for example, set out by vehicle to reach its jumping-off point for a fortnight's foot patrol — but never got there because its vehicles bogged down to their axles on the way and for more than a week defied all efforts to extricate them.

As a result the team's whole patrol programme had to be changed.

Another joint monitoring team spent more than a week moving through difficult terrain in constant rain at all hours of the day and night.

Yet another joint monitoring team had to be trooped in and out of its search area by helicopter because roads were impassable.

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Parliament and Politics

s — in Angola's heaviest recorded rains

Has the troop disengagement in Southern Angola — which is now far behind schedule — ground to a dismal halt? Cape Times Defence Reporter Willem Steenkamp, who returned to Cape Town recently after serving on the Joint Monitoring Commission as a reserve officer, does not think so.

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A further problem was that it proved difficult to contact some of the smaller detachments of Swapo to warn them to move northwards out of the monitoring area, and it is a fact that most of the delays have been due to major or minor violations of the Lusaka agreement by Swapo groups.

Because of these factors it was not till March 18 — more than a fortnight after the first formal JMC working session on the ground at Cuvelai — that the two components agreed that the 30-day monitoring clock could start running.

This is why the two components of the Joint Monitoring Commission agreed to stay on at Cuvelai till they were satisfied that the monitoring area was actually and not just theoretically clear of Swapo elements. Similar reasons and motivations delayed the move from Mupa to Evale, and from Evale to Ongiva.

It should also be pointed out that the soldiers and diplomats serving on the JMC's Angolan and South African components — and their superiors — are determined that the monitoring operation should not be merely a cosmetic exercise designed to please world or domestic opinion, but a serious operation which will have the desired long-term effect.

An added complication is that the process is a unique event in Southern African history, which means that each side is learning as it goes — and in this case, at least, the battle for peace is proving even more complicated than fighting a war.

Every word said, every move planned by either component must be carefully weighed, because it might have implications reaching far beyond the collection of tents and vehicles that make up the JMC headquarters.

Now that the JMC has reached Ongiva it could be, theoretically speaking, just seven days from the border and the last moment of disengagement. Whether it will keep within that schedule remains to be seen. By this time the mechanics of monitoring the disengagement are no longer unknown ground, as they were on March 1, but the operation remains as delicate as ever.

Nevertheless, officials feel the JMC has made considerable progress towards carrying out the Lusaka mandate, and that it has managed to lay the foundations for peace — albeit a very tentative peace — in the region.

The question that now remains to be answered is this: What happens after the JMC reaches the border? Will South Africa and Angola be able to consolidate the efforts of the JMC and build a lasting peace on what has been achieved so far?



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South African soldiers hand out sweets to young members of the local population at Mupa, which has suffered much deprivation during several years of intermittent disturbance. A few days before this photograph was taken in mid-April, the population experienced the first fruits of the disengagement process when an Angolan civilian convoy arrived to hand out supplies of food to them.



South African doctors and medical orderlies at the JMC headquarters at Cuvelai treat an Angolan soldier who received light shrapnel wounds in one of the early violations, while two senior Angolan JMC officers, extreme left and extreme right, look on. As soon as the wounded man's condition had stabilized, an Angolan helicopter evacuated him to the base hospital at Lubango.

SA still wants Cuban pullout

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Cuban forces in Angola had failed in their prime objective but South Africa still wanted their withdrawal before implementing resolution 435 on SWA/Namibian independence, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Replying to Opposition queries during the Foreign Affairs debate, he said people would be mistaken in thinking South Africa's stand on Cuban withdrawal was simply "rhetorical".

There were signs that Angola itself wanted the Cubans out.

He believed that South Africa could reach some arrangement with its neighbours but not with "Soviet-dominated regimes".

Mr Colin Eglin, chief Opposition spokesman, had wanted to know what the government's response would be if the Multi Party Conference and Swapo wanted to implement 435 without a Cuban withdrawal.

This was hypothetical and would have to be considered "within the context of the situation prevailing at the time".

Power

However, South Africa's position was clear.

"It will implement 435 if there is a firm agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola," said Mr Botha.

"Our position in this regard derives not only from the negative influence which Cuban forces might have on the outcome of elections in SWA/Namibia but also from our conviction that the consolidation of Soviet power in Angola poses the greatest possible threat to the security of our region and ultimately to the security of the Republic itself.

"Although we are confident that we can reach a modus vivendi with our independent neighbours, whatever their political systems might be, we do not think that we would be able to do so with Soviet-dominated regimes."

It would be a great mistake to create the impression that South Africa no longer insisted on Cuban withdrawal.

It would be particularly wrong to create this impression when pressures were growing in Angola itself for the Cubans' departure.

Pretext

"The fact is that there are very strong reasons why the MPLA Government should itself want to get rid of the Cubans," said Mr Botha.

"Firstly, with the disengagement of South African forces from southern Angola, the main pretext for their presence will have disappeared.

"Secondly, the Cuban forces have not been very effective.

"In fact they have failed to carry out the task for which they were really brought to Angola — to stop the advance of Unita.

"Thirdly, it has become apparent that they did not come to Angola as internationalist comrades.

"They are being relatively well paid in hard-currency from oil earnings which the MPLA desperately needs for the development of its shattered economy.

"Fourthly, the question must arise whether the presence of so large an alien force, acting at the behest of an expansionist superpower, does not pose a threat to the MPLA Government itself."

CAPE TIMES 14/5/84 (5)

Unita hostages safely in SA

JOHANNESBURG. — Seventeen British hostages released at the weekend by the rebel Angolan Unita guerilla movement arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday afternoon accompanied by Sir John Leahy, Britain's Deputy Under-Secretary for African and Middle East Affairs.

Sir John had travelled to Jamba, the Unita operational headquarters in south-eastern Angola, to take custody of the 16 Britons and the Portuguese-born wife of one of them. They flew into South Africa in a chartered aircraft and will leave for Britain tonight.

Sir John, the highest-ranking British Government official to have visited a Unita base, said he had held talks with the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, but emphasized that recognition by his government of the anti-MPLA movement had not "been an issue" in their talks.

"Dr Savimbi made it clear the decision (to release the captives) had already been taken whether we agreed or not in our talks. He proved as good as his word."

Sir John said they had discussed wide-ranging topics, including problems in Southern Africa. The possibility existed that there would be further contacts between Britain and Unita.

Only two of the captives, Mr Rob Jones, area manager for the Mining and Technical Services company at the Angolan mining town of Cafunfo at the time of the Unita raid on February 23, and Mr Doug Samuel, addressed the waiting press at the airport.

Both said they had been well treated by their captors and had been given books and a chess set during their stay at Jamba. Mr Jones said the captives, whom he described as "a good team", had kept up morale and played volleyball a lot during their time at the Unita headquarters.

They had always been confident the British Government would "get us home", Mr Jones added.

Mr Samuel said the Unita fighters had been "courteous and kind".

Several other foreign hostages have been freed by Unita in recent months. A total of 89, including others captured at Cafunfo, reached South Africa on April 26.

● The 17 Britons released are:

Mr Hywel Lloyd of Wales; Mr Ian Smythe of Sutton; Mr Graham Popplewell; Mr Robert Jones of Shrewbury and his Portuguese-speaking wife, Vera; Mr Tony Murphy, whose parents live in Johannesburg; Mr Bill Clawson and Mr Robin Kennedy of Lincoln; Mr Tony Dixon of Leeds; Mr Bud Sanders, Mr Alf Tusker and Mr Ken Moffat, all of Hereford; Mr Doug Samuels of Rhondda, Wales; Mr Ian Fenton; Mr Neil Ayres of Hartleypoole; Mr Bill Morgan of Usk, Wales, and Mr Martin Docherty of Swindon.

● The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, yesterday welcomed the release of the British hostages and said he was glad the "trying period" had ended happily. — Sapa

● Picture, page 2

GROUP NO 10
Transkei

Muller (not Wakelin) (43)
Cragg (44)
Tapscott et al (45)
Hendricks (294)
Tapscott and Muller (46)
Tapscott et al (48)

GROUP NO 11
Transkei 2

Moll (47)
Segar (49)
Nattrass (237)
Bembridge (261)

GROUP NO 12
Eastern Cape/Ciskei

Bekker (277)
Damana (40)
Manona (30)
* Ellis et al (189)
Schweitzer (190)
Roberts and Ripp (234)

GROUP NO 13
Natal/KwaZulu

Ardington (53)
**Webster (54)
Robbins (55)
Gandar and Bromberger (56)
Bromberger (272)
Bromberger (274)
McLaren (288)

GROUP NO 14
Transvaal

Van Nieuwenhuizen (63)
Schutte (64)
Templeton (77)
Schneider (66)
Harries (67)



Unita claims 797 victims in April

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A total of 728 Fapla soldiers and 69 Cubans were killed in clashes with Unita troops in Angola last month, Unita's chief intelligence officer, Colonel Juan Kasato, said at a weekend press conference in Jamba, Unita's capital.

He said Unita had captured 52 Fapla soldiers and 832 rifles in April.

According to Colonel Kasato, Unita had also shot down two MI 25 helicopters and destroyed 90 trucks, five armoured vehicles and one bridge.

Forty-three Unita soldiers were killed and 17 disappeared during these operations in April.

Colonel Kasato said 30 enemy brigades were at present preparing to launch a major offensive into Unita territory.

According to his information, these brigades, comprising 22 000 men, were equipped with 20 combat aircraft.

However, Unita intended concentrating its operations in the Zaire and Cabinda provinces in northern Angola.

Colonel Kasato said Unita would strengthen its ability to operate inside Luanda, and intended taking control of the Zaire border strip by September.

He said Unita had, for the first time, noticed in February this year that the Cubans had become "physically involved" with the MPLA.

The hostage drama

High-level talks, then freedom for 17

Stories and pictures: CHRIS STEYN

TALKS between a high-ranking British envoy and Dr Jonas Savimbi at Unita's operational headquarters, Jamba, preceded the release of 17 hostages at the weekend.

The Unita leader conferred with the British Deputy Under-Secretary for African and Middle East Affairs, Sir John Leahy, and the Third Secretary at the British embassy in South Africa, Mr Ric Todd, for almost three hours on Saturday afternoon.

The hostages were handed over to Sir John during a ceremony at the Gimno-Desportivo Stadium at 11pm on Saturday. The ceremony was attended by more than 3 000 civilians.

Two hostages, Mr Robert Jones, 36, and Mr Doug Samuel, 32, represented the other hostages who were sleeping during the late-night handover.

Formally handing over the hostages, Dr Savimbi shook their hands and said: "I hope you'll be all right."

Sir John said he was relieved to find the hostages in "such good shape".

Referring to the talks between himself and Dr Savimbi, Sir John said: "Although we found that our perspectives on certain subjects were not the same, Dr Savimbi did not change his mind about releasing the hostages.

"We did not agree about everything we spoke about but we covered a wide range of subjects and found a certain meeting of minds on quite a few subjects.

"I don't want to leave the impression that we disagreed about everything. Far from it."

Complimenting Dr Savimbi on the "splendid entertainment", Sir John said: "I've always heard about Dr Savimbi's great qualities of leadership and his colourful style. Today I've seen plenty of both."

Dr Savimbi told the Press afterwards that discussions with the British envoy took place in a "good atmosphere".

He said the talks had concerned "problems about our part of the continent", but declined to divulge details.

Dr Savimbi added, however, that he had explained the military situation in southern Angola and Unita's objectives to the British envoy.

He strongly denied that he had arranged talks in an attempt to gain recognition from the British government.

"We never expected recognition. We only wanted to discuss problems," he said.

However, before Dr Savimbi entered into discussions with the envoy, he told Press: "I want to talk to Britain because they have ignored the presence of Unita in Angola."

Asked whether his visit to Jamba heralded recognition for Unita, Sir John said the British government recognised states and not individual movements or organisations.



We killed 797 men, claims Unita

JAMBA. — A total of 728 Fapla soldiers and 69 Cubans were killed in clashes with Unita troops in Angola last month.

This was disclosed by Unita's Chief Intelligence Officer, Colonel Juan Kasato, at a Press conference in Jamba, Unita's capital, in Southern Angola, at the weekend.

He said, Unita had captured 52 Fapla soldiers and 832 rifles in April.

According to Col Kasato, Unita had also shot down two MI 25 helicopters, and destroyed 90 trucks, five armoured vehicles and one bridge.

Forty-three Unita soldiers were killed and 17 had disappeared during these operations in April.

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According to his information, these brigades, comprising 22 000 men, were equipped with 20 combat aircraft.

However, Unita intended concentrating its operations in the Zaire and Cabinda provinces in northern Angola.

Col Kasato said Unita would strenghten its ability to operate inside Luanda and intended taking control of the Zaire border strip by September.

"We don't want to deploy in conventional warfare, because that would make us an easy target. Only guerrilla warfare will see us through," he said.

There were 35 000 Cuban troops and about 80 000 MPLA troops in Angola. There were also 1 500 Soviet troops, 2 500 East Germans and 3 500 Portuguese soldiers.

Col Kasato said Unita had noticed for the first time in February this year that the Cubans had become "physically involved" with the MPLA.

He said the Cubans were supporting the MPLA because of the high rate of desertion among Fapla troops.

According to him, 545 Fapla soldiers deserted their units last month, while an average of 60 Fapla troops deserted every month.

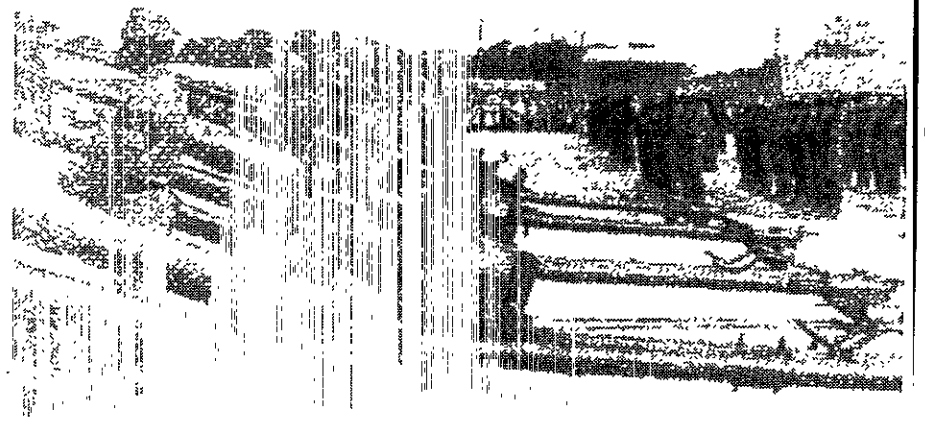
He pointed out that the enemy's strength lay in its 150-strong "collection" of combat aircraft. "Sometimes they operate with 30 combat aircraft at one time."

He said Unita now had effective control of one-third of Angola, while it was actively operating in another third of the country.

Unita had five fronts under



Some of the 17 hostages released by Unita at the weekend after being held captive in the Angolan bush for 80 days.



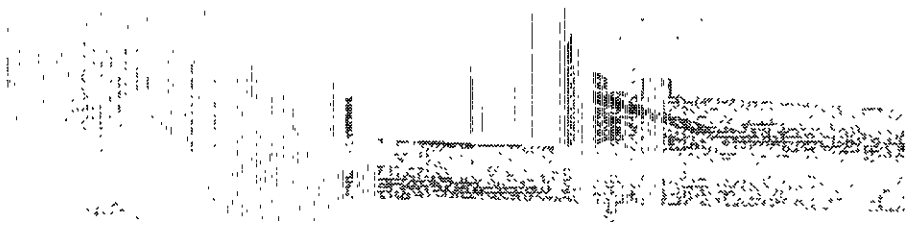




Unita soldiers counting and checking Soviet arms, captured in their fight with the Angolan government.

22 military regions, which the enemy controlled less than one-third of the country.

Unita's forces — 20 000 regular troops and 20 000 guerrillas — were increasing steadily through a programme of intensive training and recruiting.



Soviet weaponry captured recently by Unita on display at a ceremony held in honour of Sir John Leahy at Jamba on Saturday. Sir John was in the Unita capital to hold talks with the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi. After the talks he accompanied 17 British hostages freed by Dr Savimbi on their journey home.

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War contrasts in virgin country

TUCKED into the south-eastern corner of Angola is an example of military precision, impeccable organisation — and even comfort.

It is Jamba, the operational headquarters of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerrilla movement.

To travel to Jamba is to learn the real meaning of the contrasts and the conflicts in this war-torn but otherwise untouched country.

A contingent of 16 foreign and seven South African newsmen chartered a commercial aircraft from Johannesburg on Friday.

After a five-hour flight, newsmen had to undertake a gruelling 10-hour journey on the back of an open truck along almost impassable roads to Jamba.

The distance between the airport and Jamba is only about 200km — but the roads are so bad that the trucks could only average about 25km an hour.

Jamba features a primary school, where 500 pupils are enrolled, a secondary school with 1 000 pupils, a hospital, and workshops where weaponry is repaired and cannons manufactured.

Two surgeons perform an average of three operations a day at the Central Hospital, which can accomodate up to 250 patients.

More than 5 000 people attended a welcoming ceremony for Sir John Leahy, the highest ranking British government official ever to visit a Unita base.

The British envoy attended a military parade and musical programme given in his honour. Weapons, most of Soviet make and captured during raids, was on display.

The parade ground — a football stadium — featured large banners pledging a Unita victory over Marxist forces and calling for the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

The "3 de Agosto" and "Som de Liberdade" groups, and the 4 000-strong crowd sang songs about a free Angola, and unity for all the people — including the MPLA.

The main theme of the rally was contained in a cry for the expulsion of Cuban troops which "prevented Unita from solving its problems with the MPLA".

The ceremonial hand-over of 17 hostages was preceded by a cultural session, including a performance by Jamba's Choral Society, a musical show by "Estamos a Voltar", a show by a quartet and rhythmical gymnastics.

20 hostages to be freed

UNITA is to free 20 Czech hostages within the next week.

This follows a disclosure that another 50 foreigners had been captured during a strike about seven weeks ago on the town of Sumbe in Southern Angola. The group, which is at present on its way to Jamba, comprises about 45 Portuguese and five Bulgarians.

The 20 Czechs to be released soon were among 66 Czechs and 20 Portuguese captured in a raid on an industrial complex in Alto Catumbela in Western Angola last year. The rest were released a few months ago.

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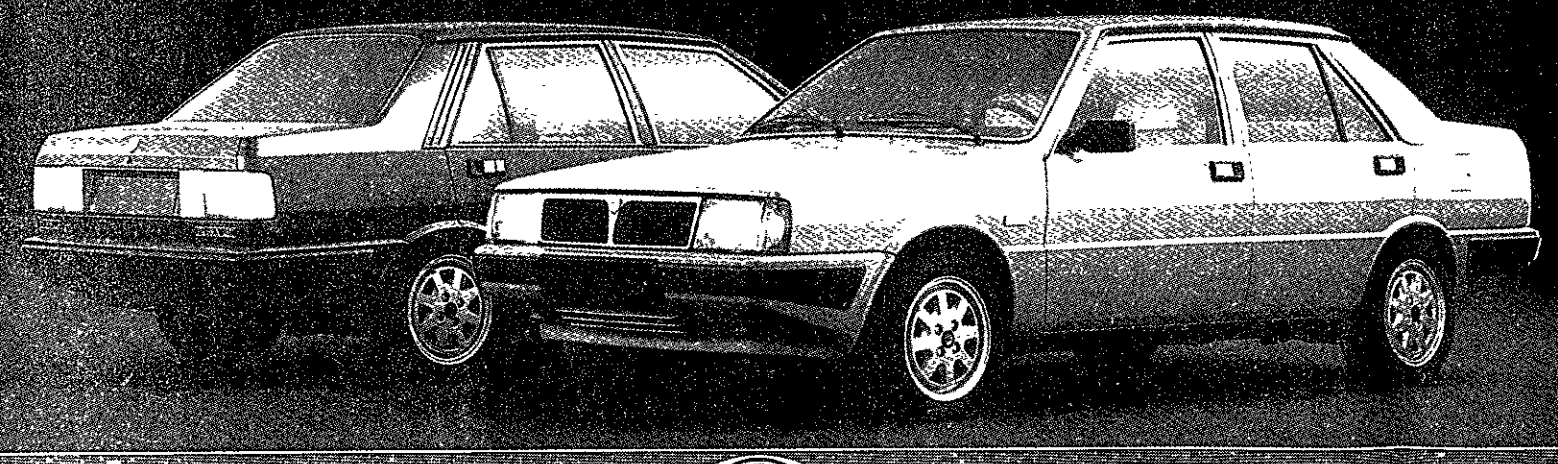

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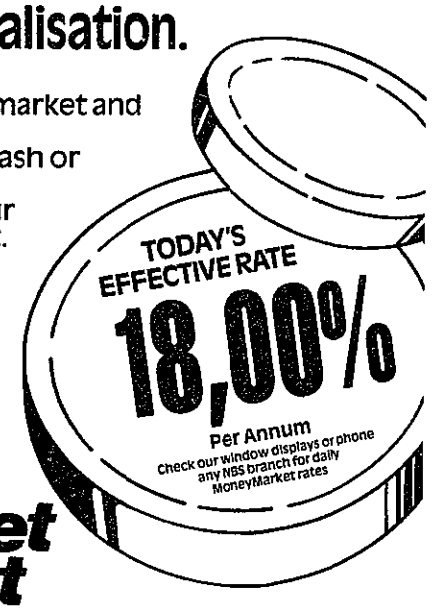

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Shock UK claims over Unita raid

RDM 17/5/84 (5)

By JOHN BATTERSBY
London Bureau

LONDON. — In a shock disclosure in the London Daily Telegraph yesterday it was claimed that a Tory MP had prior knowledge of the Unita raid last February in which 16 British hostages were seized.

The dramatic claims, which have sparked off a heated political row, were made by journalist Stephen Glover, who claims he was approached by the Tory MP 10 days before Unita attacked the Kafunfo diamond mine in Northern Angola on February 23

Glover, who does not name the MP, claimed the MP had proposed that he (Glover) and a senior director of Mr Tiny Rowland's Lonrho empire (whom the MP named) should travel in a Lonrho aircraft to Unita's headquarters at Jamba in Southern Angola "in order to preside over the return of 'the British hostages' ".

In another dramatic disclosure Glover said that six months before the raid — in July last year — a Tory Euro MP, Sir James Scott-Hopkins, warned the British Foreign Office on his return from a meeting with the Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi that Dr Savimbi had said Kafunfo would be attacked after Christmas.

Glover said the Foreign Office did not appear to have taken Sir James' warning seriously.

A spokesman for the Foreign Office confirmed yesterday that Sir James had passed on the Unita leader's warning that there was likely to be an attack in the Kafunfo area, but denied that the Foreign Office had failed to take the warning seriously.

The Foreign Office vehemently denied, however, that it had had any more recent warnings about the Kafunfo attack from any third party, including the unnamed Tory MP or Lonrho.

The spokesman said all warnings passed on to the Foreign Office were taken seriously and that the Unita warning passed on by Sir James last year had been acted upon.

The warning had been passed on to the mining and technical services, and the British ambassador in Luanda and his staff had visited the northern mining area and discussed security.

There had been warnings to British citizens employed on the mines that no guarantee of their safety could be given and that they should decide for themselves whether to stay on.

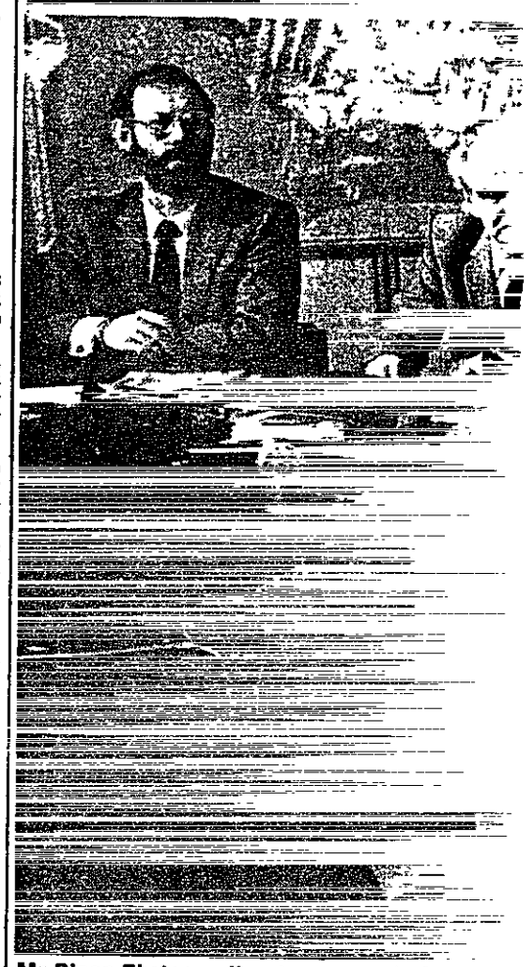
The claims were made in the wake of the return to Britain of the 16 hostages held by Unita and force-marched for 500km through the bush.

They have warned that the British government continues to under-estimate the strength of Unita at its peril.

A spokesman for Lonrho had no comment to make yesterday.

The disclosures are likely to have wide political repercussions at a time when speculation is rife about a possible shift in the British government's relations with Unita.

SABC top brass ll



Mr Riaan Eksteen, director general of the SAE officials with him are, from left, Mr Terry Ber

Portugal bans TV feature on Angolan rebels

London Bureau

LISBON. — A controversial Portuguese TV documentary on Unita, filmed in rebel-held territory in southern Angola, has been banned from the nation's screens to appease the Marxist rulers of the former Portuguese colony.

On Tuesday a government-appointed management board of the state television network RTP said the documentary, due to be screened after nearly six months of delays, had been cancelled.

The statement said the decision had been taken for technical reasons, but it was clear the Socialist-led government had ordered the move for fear of repercussions in relations with the Angolan Government.

Earlier, the president of the TV network, Mr José Palma Ferreira, had vehemently denied that he had been ordered to prohibit the screening. The producer of the programme, Mr Miguel Tavares, slammed the banning decision, saying it d[illegible] remain a fiefdom of the government of the day.

He complained that his producers were at the mercy of foreign ambassadors.

"First we were prevented from showing a film about apartheid because of pressure from the South African Ambassador and now this film has been stopped because it upsets the Angolan Ambassador," he said.

A Western diplomat commented that since the Socialist-led coalition had come to power a year ago, television news programmes had become indistinguishable from government propaganda.

Both the Angolan Embassy in Lisbon and the pro-communist morning Press have waged a strong campaign against the airing of the films made last December at the Unita base camp in Angola.

The film was said to include an interview with the rebel leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, and shows scenes of

RDM 17/5/84

Navy's biggest ship revamp

CAPE TOWN. — The biggest conversion of a naval vessel ever undertaken by the South African Navy should be completed in July at the Simonstown dockyard, Captain Chris Moon, Master of the SAS Tafelberg, said at a Press conference on board ship yesterday.

The Tafelberg, the navy's 19-year-old replenishment vessel, was being modernised and the ship's operational life would be increased by at least 10 years.

It was being structurally altered to enable her to carry two large Super Frelon helicopters. This would not only achieve greater reconnaissance and anti-submarine capabilities at sea, said Capt Moon, but would also be of great assistance during prolonged maritime search and rescue operations.

The ship would still act as a replenishment vessel and

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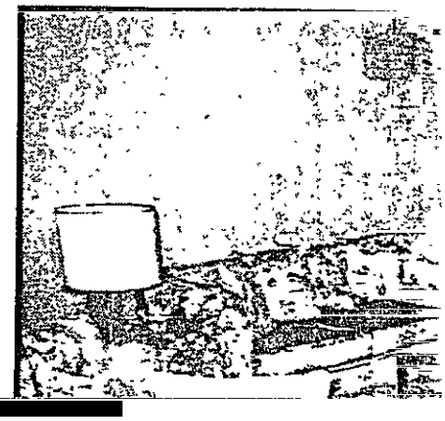


'Reds seek to quit Angola

Star

21/3/84

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — Moscow and Washington are reported to be negotiating secretly over a Soviet withdrawal from Angola and Mozambique, and a US official says the Russians may be seriously reconsidering their commitment to Third World countries.

Mr Stephen Sestanovich, who is on the staff of President Reagan's National Security Council, said the Kremlin had signalled that it might be over-committed to countries such as Angola.

A leading French editor and friend of President Francois Mitterrand, Mr Jean Daniel, writes in the left-wing weekly Nouvel Observateur: "The Soviet Union is negotiating secretly with the United States, through third parties, over its withdrawal from Southern Africa."

It is likely that the Kremlin is using Mr Anatoli Gromyko, son of Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Andrei Gromyko, in this initiative.

In a lecture in Paris earlier this month, Mr Anatoli Gromyko said the Kremlin did not believe that any African government deserved to be called communist.

● See Page 7, World section.

Prisoner swap delayed by Red Cross

CAPE Times 22/5/84 (5)

From TONY WEAVER

N'GIVA, Southern Angola. — Fifteen Angolan soldiers, held as undeclared prisoners-of-war by South Africa since August 1981, spent another night in captivity last night after a planned prisoner exchange had been delayed at the last minute.

It is reliably understood that the exchange, scheduled to take place in this war-devastated hamlet 35km into Angola, was delayed because officials of the International Red Cross in Luanda declined to travel in a marked Angolan military aircraft, as is their policy.

The Red Cross officials were to have escorted Mr Petrus Kandjende, a South West Africa Territory Force man captured by Angola in December last year to N'Giva for the swap.

The 15 Angolan Fapla soldiers, captured during the South African Defence Force raids on Xangongo and N'Giva during Operation Protea almost three years ago, have been interned at the controversial, top-secret Mariental camp, 258km south of Windhoek, since their capture.

They were accompanied on their flight from Windhoek yesterday by Mr Werner Schlaepfer, Red Cross representative in Windhoek, and Mr Andre Collomb, his counterpart in Pretoria.

The 15 men, dressed in civilian clothes and looking in good health, first sat inside a stifling hot Dakota for almost two hours before being allowed on to the massive tarmac airstrip.

After a wait of about three hours, Colonel Piet Hall, presently heading the South Africa component of the Joint Monitoring Commission, announced that there were "problems with the Angolan aircraft" bearing Mr Kandjende.

Major Mello Xavier, the Angolan commander of the JMC, returned to Luanda at 3.15pm yesterday in a Soviet Antonov aircraft to sort out the delay.

It is understood that Red Cross officials, in strict accordance with their principles, refused to fly in the Antonov, which was clearly marked as being Angolan Air Force.

Instead of bearing Mr Kandjende, the Antonov arrived carrying a consignment of frozen kabeljou and deep-sea crabs for the JMC.

The 15 Angolan prisoners spent the night in Oshakati last night, and will be exchanged for Mr Kandjende after lunch today.

A further 15 Angolans, captured during Operation Askari in December last year and January this year, will be released later this week.

It is also expected that a major announcement could be made later this week about the fate of more than 100 Namibians interned at Mariental under sections of the territory's security legislation.

Pik Botha back from Lusaka

CAPE Times 22/5/86

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, confirmed last night that he, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Dr Willie van Niekerk, had held talks with members of the Angolan government in Lusaka yesterday.

The talks centred on the Joint Monitoring Commission's future, and more specifically on what would happen when the border was reached and disengagement completed.

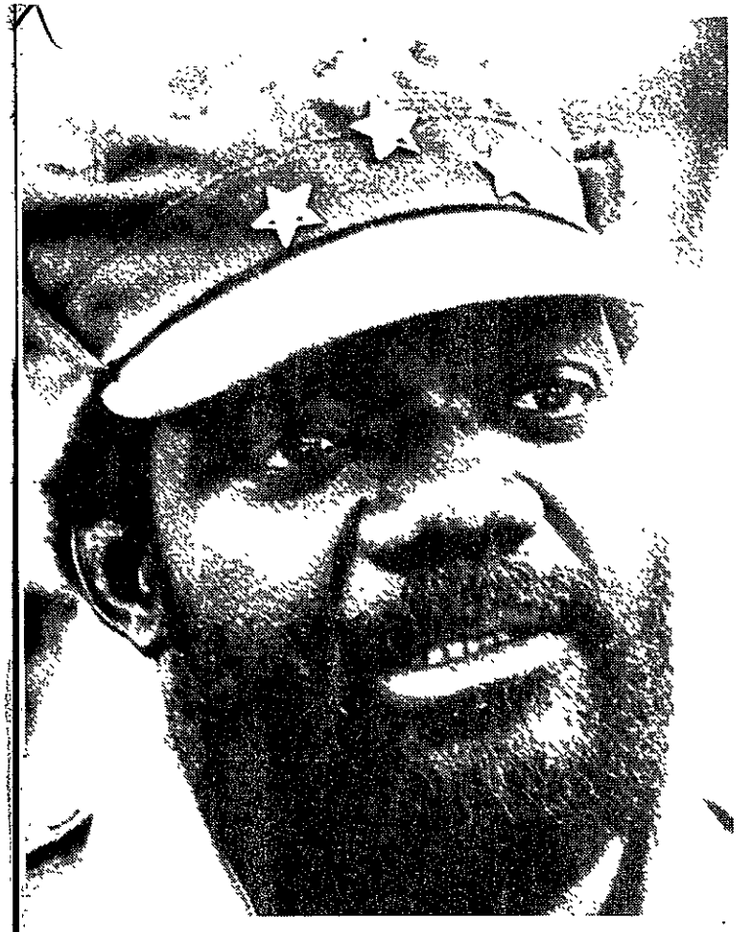
Mr Botha said certain proposals were presented by both sides, which now had to be considered by the respective governments. Further meetings of this nature were, therefore, envisaged.

The South African delegation saw the Zambian President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, and reported to him on the progress of yesterday's talks, the minister said.

It was his impression that Dr Kaunda was prepared to continue to play a role in this process.

● Prior to his departure from Lusaka, Mr Botha had said that withdrawal of South African troops from south Angola had reached an advanced stage and could be completed in a matter of days rather than weeks.

"The withdrawal process has made some progress — we have reached the last point before the border," he said.



Dr Jonas Savimbi . . . "national reconciliation will not be much of a problem as long as the hardline Marxists are pushed out of the picture".

Fapla and Cubans fought three-hour battle — Unita

(5) Star 22/5/84

By Gerald L'Ange,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Angolan Government troops recently fought a three-hour battle with Cuban troops in the city of Huambo, according to Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the rebel Unita movement.

Dr Savimbi cited this battle as evidence that the ruling MPLA party was fractured and that some members of it were ready to reach an accommodation with Unita.

"The MPLA is split," Dr Savimbi said in an interview with internationally known journalist Arnaud de Borchgrave published in the Washington Times.

"Some former Marxists are fed up with the Cubans and have become silent anti-Marxists," he said.

Reiterating his numerous offers over the past few years to hold reconciliation talks with the MPLA, Dr Savimbi said: "Many of them are ready for a deal.

"National reconciliation will not be much of a problem as long as the hardline Marxists are pushed out of the picture."

Dr Savimbi's allegations of a split in the MPLA coincide with a view in official circles here that the governing party is deeply troubled.

Knowledgeable sources have warned against regarding the MPLA as disintegrating.

But they said that information reaching the US indicated that the factional disputes that have long plagued the MPLA have now become seriously divisive.

The outcome of the struggle for control of the MPLA will have a direct bearing on whether the Luanda Government agrees to send Cuban troops home as part of a settlement in Namibia.

The struggle stems partly from disillusionment among some MPLA members with the results of the party's attempt to impose a socialist system on Angola, the sources said.

No confirmation of the reported battle between Cuban and MPLA troops in Huambo could be obtained from the State Department yesterday.

According to Dr Savimbi, the fighting ended only when the provincial governor stepped in.

The Unita leader told Mr de Borchgrave that, according to Unita's sources in Luanda, the purpose of the recent visit to Cuba by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was not to negotiate a timetable for a Cuban troop withdrawal.

"Castro was furious and lectured him on how shameful it was for South Africans and Angolans to be working together in a joint military commission," said Dr Savimbi.

But he said he believed the Cuban Government was "preparing itself psychologically and getting ready to leave. The Cubans know they have overstayed their welcome".

Dr Savimbi rejected the suggestion that Unita would be hard hit by South Africa signing a non-aggression pact with Angola similar to the one it had signed with Mozambique.

NAMIBIA

There was a vast difference between the situation in Mozambique and that in Angola, he said.

Dr Savimbi said that in his talks with Prime Minister Mr P W Botha, "I have been left with no doubt whatsoever that South Africa is fully prepared to give up Namibia".

Disengagement — a strange business

By Peter Honey,
The Star's Foreign News Service

NGIVA (Southern Angola) — The bullet-riddled ruins of Ngiva Airport serve as a macabre back-drop to the strange business known as "disengagement".

About 100 South African troops — national servicemen and Portuguese speak[illegible] of supplies —

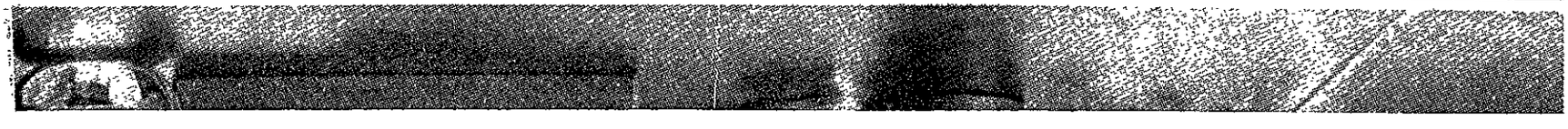
At night, they say, it is a regular sight for Angolan officers to share a drink, or watch videos, with their erstwhile foes.

A Russian-built Antonov-26 transport plane is parked not too far from two South African Dakotas.

for a photograph from an ancient Polaroid camera, or to swop experiences.

War, too, has its moments of poignancy: last week an Angolan pilot landed at Ngiva and came rushing over to greet his brother — a seasoned fighter for South Africa's 32 Battalion.

"Co-operation among the troops on the[illegible] must



SA and Angolan delegates discuss next step for peace

5

By Peter Sullivan,
Political Correspondent

The next step in the peace process in southern Angola — complete South African disengagement — was the major item discussed yesterday between South Africa's high-level delegation and Angola in Lusaka.

More talks are scheduled to be held as both parties try to establish a modus operandi for use when disengagement is finalised.

South Africa's delegation was led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who confirmed today that he, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Administrator-General of Namibia, Dr Willie van Niekerk, held talks in Lusaka yesterday.

The slow movement of the Joint Monitoring Commission towards the southern border of Angola is almost finished.

As the JMC has moved south, its components (South African and Angolan soldiers) have cleared the area of Swapo forces and moved South African forces southwards.

While the date on which the JMC will reach the southern border has not been predicted, it is expected to do so next month.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Botha said further meetings between the South African Government and Angola were envisaged, and Dr Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia had indicated he was prepared to continue to play a role in the peace process.

The SA delegation reported to Dr Kaunda yesterday.

The Angolan team's talks was headed by the Minister of the Interior, Mr Alexandre Rodriques Kito.



Mr Han-Dietrich Genscher

Genscher's Soviet talks look doomed

MOSCOW — West German Foreign Minister Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher held a second round of talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Andrei Gromyko today before meeting President Konstantin Chernenko.

Tass gave no details of the meeting but West German sources said Mr Genscher planned to raise the issue of banished dissident Dr Andrei Sakharov.

FROSTY

Mr Genscher was given a frosty welcome at his first round of talks with Mr Gromyko yesterday and the Soviet Foreign Minister attacked the United States and West Germany in a lunch speech.

The West German Minister was expected to meet Mr Chernenko at noon and appeal again to the Soviet Union to return to nuclear arms negotiations. He was to give a media conference later today to report on his discussions.

Western diplomats said Mr Gromyko's tough treatment of Mr Genscher yesterday meant his talks with Mr Chernenko appeared doomed before they had even begun. — Reuter.

EDUARDO DOS SANTOS

Speaking for Angola

Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos is more than usually in the news in the current diplomatic fracas over negotiations on Cuban-SA troop withdrawals. But what kind of man is he?

Diplomats abroad get angry at the tags pinned on the president "He is not pro-Soviet, he is not changing to become pro-Western. he is pro-Angola ... a patriot. That's what people don't seem to understand," fumed one over interpretations of Dos Santos's dealings with the US and SA.

This was certainly the Angolan leader's theme when he went public in a £11 000 full-page advertisement in *The Times*, London, with a plea to the United Nations (UN) last week. Much as it annoyed SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the core of the Dos Santos appeal was survival: "Angola cannot make concessions which would be suicidal to its national integrity ..."

Now only 42, Dos Santos has been involved in Angolan nationalist politics since he was a teenager. The son of a stonemason, he joined the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in the late Fifties. When Portugal clamped down on the nationalists in 1961, Dos Santos was among a group who fled to the Belgian Congo, and then onto Brazzaville.

Two years later he went to Russia, graduating as a petroleum engineer at the Baku Petroleum and Gas Institute in 1969. With the blessing of the Soviet authorities, he became a leading political organiser among the Third World students and followed his degree with a one-year course in military telecommunications

Despite his time in the Soviet Union, his student activities and the interest shown in him by KGB talent-spotters, there is evidence that Dos Santos returned to Angola little impressed by the Soviet model of political and economic development — and a long way from being the Kremlin's man in Luanda. He's described as highly pragmatic and is said to favour a mixed economy with a definite role for the private sector.

Back in Africa, he ran the MPLA's communications on the northern front of the independence war before moving up the party hierarchy and switching into diplomacy. A close ally of President Agostinho Neto, Dos Santos became Minister of External Affairs on independence in 1975, leading Angola into the Organisation of African Unity and, after a struggle, the UN.

Other jobs included education and economic planning plus the deputy premiership. Dos Santos married a Russian woman but, unable to adapt to life in Angola, she left him to return to Moscow in 1978.



Dos Santos ... a plea for survival

Neto's death

Within 24 hours of the death of Agostinho Neto in September 1979, Dos Santos was elected president and commander-in-chief of the armed forces (Fapla)

His rise to power drew dire predictions that Angola would be completely "Sovietised" But Dos Santos, a quietly-spoken, 18-hour a day worker who likes to play soccer for relaxation, confounded most of his critics He has had to steer a careful path through the ideological and tribal minefield which makes up the MPLA — consolidating his power base in the process.

Impatient with the slowness in resolving Angola's security, economic and social problems (90% of the 10m people are illiterate). Dos Santos showed his strength by dismissing Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge, who consistently opposed any concessions on the presence of Cuban troops.

But no-one who knows Dos Santos sees

SA, Angola to complete POW swop

23/5/84 Star

By Peter Honey, The Star's Foreign News Service

NGIVA (Southern Angola). — South Africa is expected to hand over its last 16 Angolan prisoners of war — including one Cuban — to the Angolan component of the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) outside this settlement today.

The Cuban is Private Pedro Torres (21), who was captured by Security Forces in southern Angola during Operation Askari in December last year.

The handover will complete the exchange which began here yesterday when 15 Angolans were released in exchange for a Namibian soldier, Rifleman Petrus Kandjendje (19).

He was captured during a South African raid into Angola five months ago.

COMPLAINED

The 15 Angolans were brought to Ngiva airstrip in two SA Air Force helicopters, while Rifleman Kandjendje arrived with an Angolan Foreign Affairs official and a delegate of the International Red Cross.

Rifleman Kandjendje complained of the lack of medical attention during his imprisonment.

"All I had to eat was fish, fish, fish," he said.

A spokesman for the Angolan prisoners, Private Jose Pedro, said he had been captured by security forces in February 1981.

Before the handing-over ceremony yesterday, the head of the South African military contingent of the JMC, Colonel Piet Hall, said the exchange was "an expression of the sincerity we have with regard to the efforts being made to bring peace to this region".

His Angolan counterpart, Major Melo Xavier, said the progress that had been made with the South African disengagement was "allowing us to guarantee peace in Southern Africa".

Unita claims more success in bush war

5 Star 24/5/84

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Unita has countered Angolan claims that government troops killed or captured more than 130 guerillas in recent fighting by saying that its forces have killed or captured nearly 240 Angolan troops, including 10 Cubans.

In a statement distributed here yesterday, Unita said its forces suffered only five dead and 17 wounded in strikes in Uige, Huambo, Lunda and Moxico provinces earlier this week.

The Unita claim raises alleged government casualties in the past six weeks to 640 dead, including 55 Cubans, and 45 captured.

In the most daring attack, said Unita, commando groups attacked Huambo suburbs, killing 10 Cubans.

Unita units ambushed a military train on the Benguela railway in Moxico, and attacked military garrisons in Uige and Lunda provinces, killing 219 Angolan soldiers.

ASE • WE AIM TO PLEASE

Inside Savimbi's capital

25/5/89 (5) E.Post

By TOM BALDWIN in Jamba (Angola)

NO roads lead to Jamba. Visitors to this rebel camp in the Angolan bush arrive at a remote grass landing strip by flying just above the trees to escape Government radar. Then they bounce in a truck for eight hours over rutted game trails.

Jamba doesn't appear on most maps, but guerilla chief Jonas Savimbi calls it "the capital of liberated Angola." His Unita group has been fighting the Marxist Government for nine years.

Wealthy Portuguese colonialists used to come to Jamba to shoot elephant. Today, Jamba is a community of some 20 000 guerillas and their families, dispersed over 100 square kilometres to make it difficult for Government bombers to find targets.

Jamba has never been bombed and the war is hundreds of kilometres away. The settlement is peaceful. Except for guerillas carrying guns, Jamba resembles a tourist safari camp.

Generators deliver electricity to tidy reed huts. Guerillas mustering at dawn sweep up litter before they eat breakfast.

Mr Savimbi and his aides gloss over assertions that they are supported by South Africa. But evidence abounds. Truck tyres say "Made in South Africa." Visitors enjoy wine from Cape Town, beer from Johannesburg. Unita officers smoke South African cigarettes. In an earth-floor foundry, machinists turn out mortar rounds using a South African shell as a model.

The Jamba region, in the south-east corner of Angola close to borders with Zambia and SWA/Namibia, was known to the Portuguese as "the end of the world." Kavango tribesmen call it "the place God forgot." In their language, Jamba means "elephant."

Even in winter, daytime temperatures often soar above 30C. Jamba's soil is sugar-like sand and doesn't retain heat. Nights can be near freezing.

Two physicians staff the 250-bed, thatched-roof hospital. An ageing medic who never went to school performs appendectomies and says he learned the technique by watching missionary doctors.

The operating room is spotless except for a battered steel bucket stained black with blood. Hendrik Raimundo, a university-trained surgeon, says it is testimony to his most common chore — amputations.

Captured trucks and artillery pieces are reconditioned in Unita's "repair shop" — reed-roofed buildings with earthen floors. Brake linings from British-made trucks are fitted into Polish vehicles. Welders mount anti-aircraft guns from the 1950s on American pick-up trucks made in the 1970s.

In the shade of trees, teenage boys operate the "arsenal."

A boy accepts an automatic rifle from a guerilla back from patrol, strips the gun and bathes the parts in oil. A second youth scrubs the parts. Another boy reassembles the weapon.

Last is the inspector, who slams the mechanism back and forth, sights down the barrel and clicks the trigger. Satisfied, he stows the weapon on a rack made from tree branches.

One rack is for Belgian rifles, another is for Portuguese. There is a place for Egyptian-made AK-47s and another for the Chinese and East German models of the same gun. Laughing, the youngsters claim there isn't a gun made that stumps them.

Katyusha rockets, looking like 1,8-metre lengths of plumber's pipe, are stacked alongside technicians who lengthen them with extra tubing and add more fuel.

"It doubles the range," said a captain named Michael.

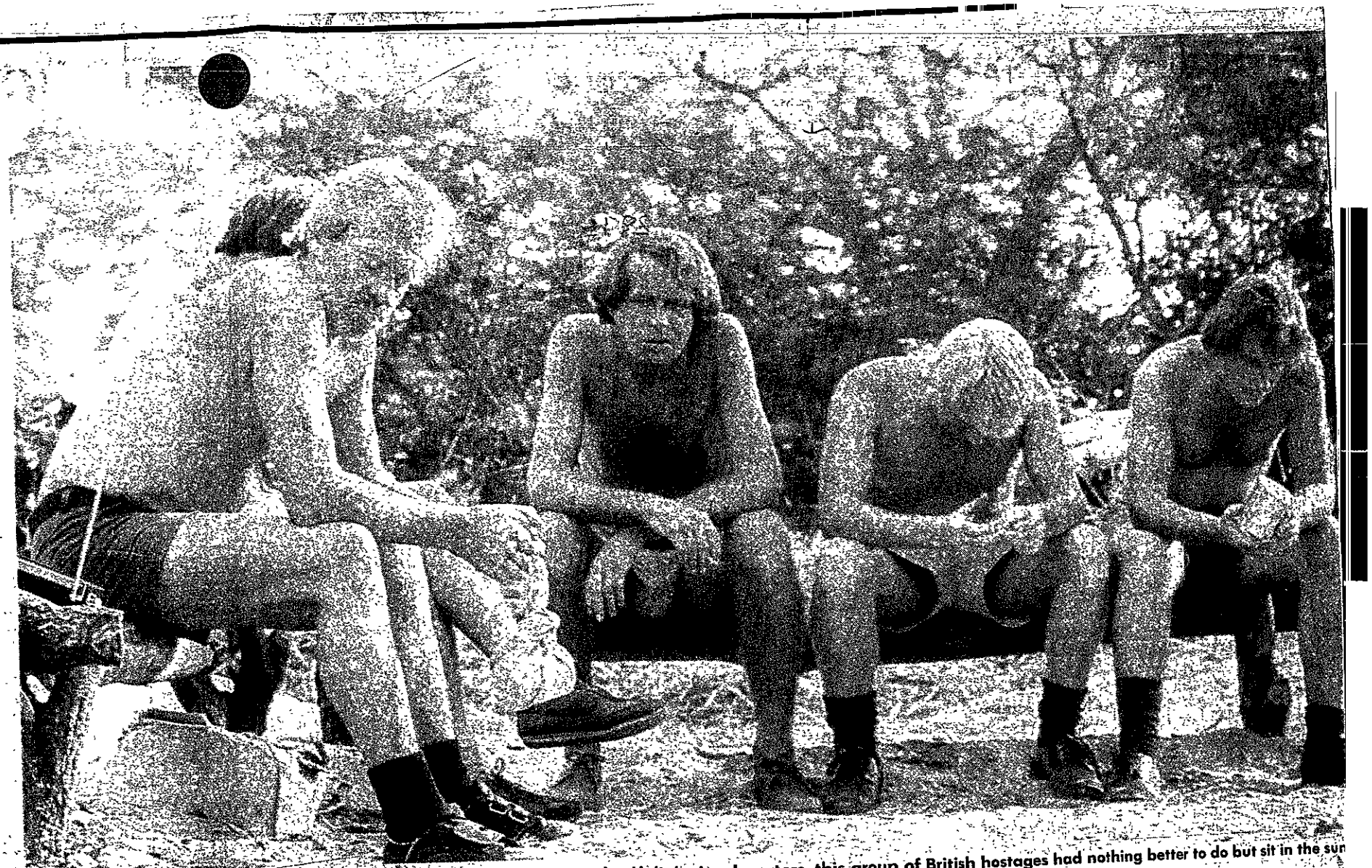
A visitor asks how the Soviet-designed missile — now crudely elongated — can be fired. The captain points to workers welding metal extensions onto captured Katyusha launchers. "We make them longer, too," he said.

After sundown on Saturday, at the end of the work week, a lathe operator remains by his machine. Elephant tusks are strewn nearby and the man has switched from turning out firing pins to making ivory bracelets.

"We in Unita want to be capitalists," he said, offering his wares for sale. — Sapa-AP

On a perilous march through Angolan bush as Unita hostages

One quiet night in February, Ian Smythe, a 27-year-old British metallurgist working on a diamond mine in Kafunfo, Angola, was taken hostage by Unita soldiers. With 77 others, he was marched 500 km across some of the most dangerous terrain in Africa. He kept a diary of his 81 days in captivity which captures the despair and anguish of the innocent captives and describes the conditions under which they were kept. This is the first in a two-part series, as told to TIM PATTEN of The Star's London Bureau.



The long hours of waiting for news of their release. Like all the hostages at Jamba, Unita's headquarters, this group of British hostages had nothing better to do but sit in the sun

Day one:

Thursday February 23:

It was 4.55 am. I was awoken by the sound of mortar and large calibre gunfire all around us. It sounded like ping-pong balls on the side of the wall. It was obvious that this was an attack.

I leapt out of bed, grabbed my trousers and knocked on my friend's door. He was obviously as worried as I was. We both lay on the floor getting as much solid structure as possible between us and the gunfire.

Noise was all around us and we could hear fragments of concrete falling. Suddenly there was a large explosion outside and two bullets shattered the front door.

After 10 minutes we heard someone breaking down the front door. My friend and I looked at each other and the fear was in our faces. Three Unita soldiers burst through the door and found us cowering in a corner.

They said: "Somos Unita (we are Unita)." At which I jumped up, shook their hands to show friendship and said: "Bom dia (good morning)."

Their urgency was obvious but we

Back on the march again soon and carried on until just before midday. BBC at midday (heard by hostages on radio smuggled along) says Kafunfo has been taken. Later BBC confirmed that 77 expats had been taken, including 40 Portuguese who were to be released unconditionally.

Our compass and map tell us we are heading slightly north of east in the direction of Zaire. If that's our destination we won't be walking for long.

The health of the women is deteriorating rapidly. Grade's wife (Eugenia) had to be carried in to the camp on a stretcher. Felgeuros's wife (Idilia) fainted on the last hill while Barbosa's wife (Lurdes) cried her eyes out on arrival at the camp.

Day three:

The day started with a speech by "the major" (the most senior Unita soldier responsible for us) explaining to us that they had no grudge against us for being there and would be in no danger, provided there was no intervention by Government forces.

It was a long hard morning, blisters were starting and tiredness was setting [illegible] We thought we had finished

managed to grab a few items of clothing before being herded out. There we saw other hostages being rounded up. They told us nothing and we had no idea what was in store for us.

It was then we learnt that at least two Filipinos had died in the shooting while others were injured. It occurred to us that we were being rounded up by a gang of gunmen and were being huddled against a house.

A thousand thoughts were going through our minds but only one was concerning us — were we to be shot?

We were relieved when they started moving us out of town and it seemed they wanted us to move as fast as possible. As we left there was sporadic gunfire — from whom we couldn't tell.

While being led away we were passed by a group of jogging Unita women, singing, jeering and chanting

'A thousand thoughts were going through our minds but only one was of chief concern to us — were we to be shot?'

with enormous packs of looted food on their backs.

By 7.30 am we were well on our way into the bush, but had no idea where we were headed.

We heard explosions and saw the dust from the direction of the diamond sorting house. (We heard later that the building had been razed and wondered if they had got the diamonds. Much later we learned they had missed R2 million worth in the safe).

During the morning we passed where the Unita troops had obviously camped the night before. Then they decided to send back all the Angolan mineworkers, leaving only the Angolan wife of a Portuguese electrician and her two daughters (Much later one of the Unita troopers wanted to marry one of the daughters).

At noon we stopped and it was really the first time a head-count could be done. There were 77 of us — 17 British, 15 Philipinos, one Yugoslav and the remainder Portuguese, including four women and four children, the youngest of whom was 14 months.

We also had our first taste of our bland rations we were to receive during the rest of the journey. They consisted of rice, manjoca or sweetcorn with a small amount of poor meat.

Unita soldiers erected shelters for us made from branches and bed sheets, demonstrating their willingness to assist us as much as they could. We remained wary of our captors.

Day two:

Wake me up, I've had enough of this nightmare. After a sparse breakfast we set off again but soon stopped.

As the Unita troops marched passed us we felt we were being shown their numbers, discipline and fire power.

Their only casualty appeared to be one soldier with a bandaged shoulder.

for the day when we sat down for a rest. But after a little food we were on the march again.

They pushed us hard until we were ready to drop and finally we stopped for the night at just past midnight. All were fit to drop just then, but then the rains started and with little cover there was no chance of a good sleep. Most simply huddled around the fire.

As dawn broke around 5 am, people were obviously at a very low ebb. Everything was soaked through, tiredness was taking its toll and hunger pains were intense.

Days 4 to 15:

Having set into a pattern of the life of a hostage on the march the images became a blur. Day became night, and night turned into day. You walked because the guy in front walked.

You stopped when he stopped, and you caught some sleep at every possible moment — which wasn't often.

That was especially true in the early days, for then we marched all hours, trying to kill the miles, and cross the open country by night. Several times we were on the move from dusk to dawn, mile after mile through open bush along sandy track and down through jungle valleys. They were the worst, the valleys.

The plains were riddled with rivers that dived into the valleys, dipping steeply into a swampy floor of living humus.

The trees and vines entwined eerily, just waiting to trip you. And trip you they did, because not only did they have the luck of cloudy nights but also no moon was to be seen.

Day 16:

Another day of marching, put us according to our calculations, close to another major river. All afternoon we rested and that evening we packed and were off again — finding the river less than 1 km away.

River crossings, at times, became an adventure. This one, the Cacombi, was no exception.

This was the second time we had to take to the inflatable rubber boat for a large river, which to transport over 1 000 men took more than 24 hours.

Generally logs or big trees would be felled to cross rivers. A couple of times we waded, and once they hadn't allowed for the excessive overnight rain and the wooden crossing was half a metre under water.

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● **TOMORROW — Marching, marching and more marching.**

The issue price requires, in terms of S.82, a special resolution, the notice convening the meeting being accompanies by a report setting out the reasons for the proposed lower issue price.

Authorise share capital will have to be increased. This requires authority in the articles and a special resolution. (S.75).

Savimbi will be hard-pressed without South African help

CAPE TIMES 28/5/84 (5)

From



Anthony Delius

LONDON — Next week, as the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, begins his visit to Europe and the last of South Africa's soldiers and guerillas cross the border out of Angola, the hardy men of Unita will be left contemplating their lonely role in what might be a very different struggle for Southern Africa.

What they would dearly like to be confident about in the oncoming months of diplomatic confusion and military uncertainty is how much further they can rely upon the South Africans.

Have they now become even more useful trading assets in the bigger game the Republic is playing for position in Southern Africa; or have they a more permanent value?

They must know how much the rest of Africa has fallen for the insistent anti-Unita propaganda that has been spread across the continent and wider afield both by the "progressive" African states and the far left among the Portuguese.



Dr Jonas Savimbi

Publicists

A mindless hate against them has been built up among the political majority of the black states.

They might, in fact, be the bravest and toughest nationalists on this continent, but in the minds of the publicists for African nationalism they are its major traitors.

In the mechanical reasoning process adopted by black journalists, academics and politicians, leaders of Unita have sold the pass by accepting South African support in the Angolan civil war in the long nine years since that began.

White South Africa is the great enemy in Africa's midst and any group of Africans associated with white South Africa is a group of traitors.

Trade-off

The refusal by Dr Jonas Savimbi, Unita's leader, to have any truck with communism or the popular version of African socialism has made them doubly reprehensible in other African eyes, especially those that read the propaganda on international affairs by the far left.

Dr Savimbi must know full well that any political trade-off proposed to South Africa for some temporary accommodation at the expense of Unita's position is one that offers many temptations to influential men in Africa.

Memories are not so short that it is no longer remembered how quickly even the sensible Dr Kenneth Kaunda was persuaded to change his description of Unita's enemies as "cubs of the Soviet bear" to something more flattering.

Dr Savimbi must have noted how the South Africans were willing to join the Angolan talks in Lusaka without the presence of Unita.

Faithfulness to former friends, many observers in Africa are now telling one another, is not a great distinguishing mark of politician undertaking what they believe will be negotiations likely to favour their own long-distance aims.

No doubt Unita has been assured by their South African contacts that their interests will not be forgotten in whatever deals the Republic's spokesmen are able to wring from Africans in the new diplomatic moves.

The Unita men, however, must be looking nervously over their shoulders at this particular juncture.

What adjustments of loyalty might come out of the Nkomati Accord? the Angola guerillas must ask themselves.

They must find themselves as suspicious of both friends and enemies, at the moment, as much of Africa's political leqdership is of Dr Savimbi himself.

Roberto

Speaking for myself, as an intermittent African political observer, I have been an admirer of Dr Savimbi for 20 years now.

I first encountered him on board a Nile steamer, where as a fresh-faced young black guerilla (he looks like a genial beared pirate now) he had come to announce his breakaway from the highly unscrupulous leadership of Mr Holden Roberto, leader of the UPA, later to be called the GRAE, the Angolan government in exile.

As the young "foreign minister" of the latter organization, Dr Savimbi had chosen his moment in the middle of an OAU summit to break away in protest against the highly questionable activities of his leader. He founded the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

He had then gone into the field against the Portuguese in Angola with a group of a dozen supporters. He claimed that they were armed with a dozen knives and some assorted explosives.

Soon he found himself fighting his fellow guerillas in the MPLA and the UPA for the right to go his own way.

About the time the Portuguese began their hasty pull-out from Angola his movement grew enormously, rivalling the MPLA under Dr Agostinho Neto, a Marxist poet.

Dr Savimbi regarded Dr Neto and his supporters as heavily dependent on the Soviets and unlikely to bring about the "total" independence of Angola.

After narrowly escaping with his life from attempts to negotiate an alliance with the MPLA, Dr Savimbi co-operated with the South Africans in an invasion of Angola against its MPLA rulers.

Then a heavy delivery of Soviet arms and the landing of Cuban troops in considerable numbers forced the South Africans to withdraw.

Relying upon his close connections with Angola's biggest tribal group, the Ovimbundu, Dr Savimbi remained behind to continue the fight in what was still a civil war. In spite of continuing heavy Soviet support and the growing presence of Cuban troops, Unita has expanded loose control over much of Angola.

He has been helped in this by South African supplies and finance plus further help from Morocco, Zaire, Saudi Arabia, and a bit from America.

Dr Savimbi reckons he is fairly well dug in and is intent upon winning Unita a partnership in running Angola — at the moment the MPLA government has no single member of the Ovimbundu group in its dozen members of the Politburo.

Though a strong nationalist and much against apartheid, Dr Savimbi would be hard-pressed if South Africa ceased to help him.

ARGUS 29/5/84 (5)



Moves to bypass the Cuban obstacle?

GERALD L'ANGE of the Argus Foreign Service in Washington reports on new developments that might indicate a shift in the American stance on the Cuban problem.

THE second withdrawal of invading South African troops from Angola in less than 10 years is due to be completed within the next few days.

It is being watched with close interest in Washington because of the problem that will follow — what to do about the Cubans.

South Africa's first withdrawal in 1976, after its armoured force had knifed spectacularly up the coast almost to Luanda, left the mission largely unaccomplished. It failed to prevent the Marxist MPLA from seizing power in the vacuum left by the Portuguese withdrawal — and left Cuban troops ensconced in Angola.

The second withdrawal, of forces stationed in southern Angola for the past three years to block Swapo insurgents trying to enter Namibia, may have left more solid accomplishment behind.

Angolan government forces have ostensibly replaced the South Africans and are committed to keeping Swapo from crossing into Namibia. And a new relationship has been established between Pretoria and Luanda that holds promise of helping to resolve the Republic's political conflicts with its fellow Southern Africans.

The South African pull-out would ostensibly open the way for implementation of the Namibia independence plan enshrined in UN Security Council resolution 435, were it not for South Africa's insistence that the Cubans first get out of Angola. This has led to speculation about the possibility of bypassing the Cuban problem.

Washington views the idea without enthusiasm — unless it can be made to work. If it can't, the feeling is that it will only jeopardise the hard-won progress towards a Namibian settlement.

The US has long joined South Africa in insisting that the Cubans get out. Unlike Pretoria, Washington has avoided making the withdrawal a condition of implementing resolution 435. It describes its demand as a "parallel" objective to Namibian independence.

According to a State Department spokesman, Washington has taken the statement by Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Parliament in May 10 as reaffirmation of South Africa's insistence on linkage.

Publicly the US has not changed its desire for a Cuban withdrawal, whether tied to a Namibian settlement or not. But sources have indicated that Washington's private position is that if all the parties concerned were to agree to a Namibian independence formula bypassing the Cuban issue, the US would not stand in their way.

Washington's attitude would appear to be that its efforts to get the Cubans out of Angola could be pursued at another time and in another context

If such an attitude has been conveyed to the other members of the Western contact group on Namibia and to the Frontline states South Africa will be more alone than ever in its insistence on "linkage".

Close-mouthed

Reports from Lusaka around the time of the meeting between Swapo and the Namibian internal parties earlier this month indicated that President Kenneth Kaunda, who hosted the meeting, believed Pretoria had softened its position on linkage.

If the State Department agrees with this assessment it is keeping close-mouthed about it and sticking publicly to saying it sees no change in the South African position.

The US is going ahead with its efforts to get the Angola government to agree to conditions for a Cuban withdrawal that would satisfy Pretoria. These include approaches to other countries to help put pressure on Luanda.

Yet there is scepticism that the Luanda government will be allowed by either Cuba or the Soviet Union to agree to a Cuban troop withdrawal before the American Presidential election on November 6. Cuba is believed to be unwilling to see President Reagan's re-election campaign helped by the withdrawal of its troops.

The US does not appear to be putting pressure on South Africa to abandon linkage to get a Namibia settlement before November 6.

The possibility of a six-month hiatus in the settlement initiative cannot be viewed with equanimity, however.

The Argus May 29, 1984

HUMAN DRAMA

Diary of a Unita captive

ONE quiet night in February Ian Smythe, a 27-year-old British metallurgist working on a diamond mine in Kafunfo in Angola, was taken hostage by Unita soldiers and along with 77 others was marched 500km across some of the most dangerous terrain in Africa. Every day during the 81 days of captivity he kept a diary of events. His diary captures the despair and anguish felt by the force-march group of innocent captives, and the conditions they were kept under.

DAY ONE: Thursday, February 23

IT was 4.55am. I was awoken to the sound of mortar and large calibre gunfire all around us.

I leapt out of bed, grabbed my trousers and knocked on my friend's door. He was obviously as worried as I was. We both lay on the floor getting as much solid structure as possible between us and the gunfire.

After 10 minutes we heard someone breaking down the front door. Three Unita soldiers burst through the door and found us cowering in a corner.

They said: "Somos Unita (We are Unita)." At which I jumped up, shook their hands to show friendship and said: "Bom dia (good morning)."

Their urgency was obvious but we managed to grab a few items of clothing before being herded out. There we saw other hostages being rounded up.

It occured to us that we were being rounded up by a gang of gunmen and were being huddled against a house.

We were relieved when they started moving us out of town and it seemed they wanted us to move as fast as possible. As we left there was sporadic gunfire — from whom we couldn't tell.

By 7.30am we were well on our way into the bush.

During the morning we passed where the Unita troops had obviously camped the night before. Then they decided to send back all the Angolan mineworkers, leaving only the Angolan wife of a Portuguese electrician and her two daughters.

At noon we stopped and it was really the first time a head-count could be done. There were 77 of us — 17 British, 15 Philipinos, one Yugoslav and the remainder Portuguese, including four women and four children, the youngest of which was 14 months.

We also had our first taste of our bland ra[illegible] often.

Our compass and map tell us we are heading slightly north of east in the direction of Zaire. If that's our destination we won't be walking for long.

The health of the women is deteriorating rapidly. Grade's wife (Eugenia) had to be carried into the camp on a stretcher. Felgeuros's wife (Idilia) fainted on the last hill while Barbosa's wife (Lurdes) cried her eyes out on arrival at the camp.

DAY THREE

THE day started with a speech by "The Major" (the most senior Unita soldier responsible for us) explaining to us that they had no grudge against us for being there and we would be in no danger, provided there was no intervention by Government forces.

It was a long hard morning, blisters were starting and tiredness was setting in rapidly. We thought we had finished for the day when we sat down for a rest But after a little food we were on the march again.

They pushed us hard until we were ready to drop and finally we stopped for the night at just past midnight.

As dawn broke around 5 am people were obviously at a very low ebb. Everything was soaked through, tiredness was taking its toll and hunger pains were intense.

DAYS 4 TO 15

Having set into a pattern of the life of a hostage on the march the images became a blur. Day became night, and night turned into day. you walked because the guy in front walked. You stopped when he stopped, and you caught some sleep at every possible moment — which wasn't often.

cross rivers. A couple of times we waded, and once they hadn't allowed for the excessive overnight rain and the wooden crossing was half a metre under water by the time we reached it.

We struck camp a few kilometres from the river, setting up our shelters and getting the camp fires going. While waiting for food, "The Major" summoned the leaders of the groups and lectured them on the reality of the situation.

A number of complaints had been voiced, concerning food its quality and quantity — the lighting of fires and the building of shelters. In short he told us to stop complaining. Food was running low, rice and milk had run out and we would have to live largely off the land.

DAYS 17 TO 21

MARCH, march, march.

The only relief from the monotony was the "python incident" on Day 18.

A group of Unita soldiers spotted a 4,5m python lying at the side of the path. One attacked it with a knife in the head, supposedly killing it.

Three Portuguese hostages lifted the python on to their shoulders and carried to the top of the hill where the rest of us had stopped for lunch. Half an hour later, while they were discussing how to skin it the snake suddenly turned and slithered off down the hill.

It was not allowed to escape. A soldier attacked it with a machette ensuring it was dead, cutting its head off. they skinned it, cut it up and distributed the meat among the hostages. it was the only food that evening.

reckoned to be 10-15km away.

Although (we were later told) they had been bombing only bush, it had been noted that the column was severely depleted and it would not have surprised me if diversionary tactics were being employed.

At least one dummy village was passed through on the trip. Later a second major wave came across bombing the same area. Almost certainly those same planes had been back to reload, probably at Malange, and were running a second unsuccessful mission.

Come evening we moved into their base near Alto Chicapa.

After a 24-hour rest, washing and eating as much as we wanted, we were ready to continue the dreaded march.

By now things had improved quite a lot because we had cattle along with us for slaughter. We also had blankets and had been provided with new socks, making life a lot more comfortable.

DAYS 24-31

THE hostages were split into two groups.

We had been told that this was for medical reasons, one of the groups being fitter and setting out ahead, the slower group included the women and children.

DAY 31

THE one target we had always had our sights on was the Benguela railway line, knowing that to be near the end of our walk. There was considerable relief when we reached it in the evening.

DAY 32

WE finally ended our exhausting walk, which had covered just over 500 km [illegible] at

none of which we had seen on the march.

There was to be no rest and at 11pm we were off again.

After picking up another truck on the second day of the truck journey the hostages spent the next three days crammed in the back of trucks heading south, stopping only for the call of nature. They reached Jamba, the sizeable Unita headquarters, on day 35 — on March 28, exactly five weeks after being taken captive.

The next 46 days in Jamba were full of boredom, speculation and waiting for news. The days were punctuated only with a few notable incidents.

The day after we arrived at Jamba the second group came in, having apparently been close behind all the way, with tales of desperation and dispair among their group. One hostage had attempted to commit suicide, and several others had become incontinent.

After cleaning ourselves up we were introduced to Dr Jonas Savimbi, who explained the situation — the only reasonable explanation we had had.

He told us that all that was requested was that British Government acknowlege the existence of Unita. There is no question of asking for aid, or even recognition of their cause, but merely that they talk directly to Unita rather than through intermediaries.

Meeting the journalists the following day was a highpoint as it was our first contact with anyone from the outside world. They questioned us on the taking of Kafunfo, the march and the way we were being treated.

Easter Sunday brought a pleasant surprise — no Easter eggs, but the International Red Cross representatives visited bringing nothing but good news.

They told us the Portuguese and Philipinos would fly out that Thursday, and that our repatriation would be in two to three weeks. Some people even received letters.

Our next visitor was not until day 78 — May 10 — when Dr Savimbi arrived with an American envoy, Arnaud de Borchgrave, who informed us that we would be leaving that weekend.

Sir John Leahy, the British Under-Secretary, arrived in Jamba on Saturday (May 12) to wrap up the final details. After a short, formal ceremony of handing over the hostages we left in the early hours of Sunday morning for as nine-hour truck ride to meet the C-130.

Only when boarding the plane were we able to release any emotion, and as we took off there was a roar of elation from one an all.



Some of the British captives at Unita's main base.

we were to receive during the rest of the journey — rice, Manjoca or sweetcorn with a small amount of poor quality meat.

Unita soldiers erected shelters for us made from branches and bed sheets demonstrating their willingness to assist us as much as they could.

DAY TWO

AFTER a sparse breakfast we set off again but soon stopped. As the Unita troops marched passed us we felt we were being shown their numbers, discipline and impressive fire power. Their only casualty appeared to be one soldier with a bandaged shoulder.

Back on the march again soon and carried on until just before midday.

The plains were riddled with rivers that dived into the valleys, dipping steeply into a swampy floor of living humus. The trees and vines entwined eerily, just waiting to trip you.

DAY 16

ANOTHER day of marching, put us according to our calculations, close to another major river. All afternoon we rested and that evening we packed and were off again — finding the river less than 1 km away.

This was the second time we had to take to the inflatable rubber boat for a large river, which to transport over 1 000 men took more than 24 hours.

Generally logs or big trees would be felled to

DAY 22

This was the only day we felt ourselves in real danger since we left Kafunfo. There had been a few anxious moments earlier on as a helicopter passed by and one or two planes had been heard, probably looking for us. But there was no real danger.

While crossing yet another swamp in the morning there was a series of big explosions heard over to the east. Instructions were shouted and everyone ran for the trees, with troops dishing out bits of trees and bushes as camouflage.

The whine of the high flying jets was clear, as was the distinctive sound of the spotter aircraft. The target was generally

10.30am when we reached a rendezvous in the middle of the bush. The truck which they had been promising us for the last four weeks finally arrived to a spontaneous applause from all of us.

After a meal of dry biscuits and peanut butter, the most delicious food we had had for a month, all 33 of us and 11 soldiers clambered into the back of a 5-ton open truck.

At 1 pm we started off on the bush track to Jamba having the most nightmarish trips any of us can remember.

A second truck had been promised but the time we reached the second encampment nothing had appeared. There we had a "real feast" which consisted of rice, corned beef, eggs and bread —



On the march — Unita troops and captives crossing a river.

It's the Marxist Christian revolution !

THERE are more Christians in Angola now than there were before independence, according to a delegation of the Angolan Council of Churches in the United States this week.

By JOHN MATISSON in WASHINGTON

The churches and the Marxist Angolan Government are engaged in "practical dialogue", said Rev Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga, general secretary of the council.

This dialogue follows a period when the MPLA Government tried to destroy the churches. After a period of conflict, a member of the MPLA Central Committee met with the church leaders. He said the Government had though it could "finish off the church in several months, but had learnt that was not possible".

Instead of trying to destroy each other, the Church and the State decided to have a "practical dialogue" — about what each can do in post-independence Angola.

The churches now have a written agreement about distributing food that comes in from overseas church organisations to feed displaced people.

These include Namibian refugees as well as over half-a-million Angolans who have moved because of the war or bad weather that affects crops. Angola has not suffered from the drought as badly as most of Southern Africa. Ironically, it has seen more floods which have had the same effect — washing away crops, and leaving the people hungry.

Rev Nzinga said the Angolan Council of Churches, which was formed in 1977, supported the agreement with South Africa for a joint monitoring force which would see South African soldiers leave Angola.

"But we regret that it is taking so long," the minister said.

He sees a need for Cuban troops in his country as long as South African forces are there. "But if the invasion stops, and the danger ends, we don't see why they have to stay," he said.

But he wants Cuban nurses, doctors and teachers to stay on, to help overcome the shortage of local teachers and medical staff.

About one third of the Angolan people are active, practicing Christains, Rev Nzinga said. Of these, two thirds are Catholic. During the civil war in Angola, says Rev Nzinga, many Protestants suffered political repression. On the other hand, the Catholic Church was close to the old Portuguese Government.

Despite the conflict with the Government, the council of churches — which consists of 13 Protestant and independent churches — prefers conditions in Angola to that under Portuguese colonialism.

"The Angolan people were very religious before being Christians and the number of Christians is rising," he said.

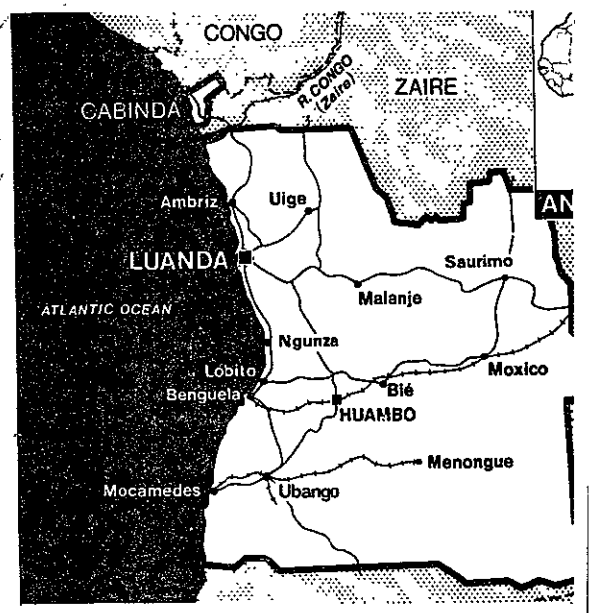
All the church schools were taken over by the Government in 1976. Under the Portuguese, parents paid for their children's education, and school was not compulsory.

Now all children must go through primary school, and all education is free. Employers have to pay full wages to their workers who want to study half-day, said Rev Nzinga.

Asked about propaganda by the Government in schools, another member of the delegation, Eva Chipenda, said: "The Government works in its own way, and we work in ours. We have extensive Sunday schools over weekends."

Church leaders have instructed ministers to read Marxism, "so that our Christianity is challenged" and able to debate with party officials.

The delegation visited Washington after a tour through Europe, and met American congressmen and administration and church officials.



ANGOLA: More Christians now that before the revolution.

LABOUR TALK-ABOUT

Crucial aspects of SA's industrial relations system will come in for some pretty high-level scrutiny at a conference on labour law at the University of Natal from July 9-11.

Organised jointly by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies and the University of Natal's Department of Public Law, the conference will look at:

- ☐ The Industrial Court;
- ☐ Collective bargaining and the law;
- ☐ Occupational health and safety;
- ☐ Law and dismissal;
- ☐ Law of strikes;
- ☐ Freedom of association and the closed shop; and
- ☐ Proposals to reform SA labour law.

Most of the scheduled speakers are labour lawyers and academics, but some have been drawn from trade unions, industrial relations consultancies and industry.

financial year.

The department has told black local authorities it will exercise overall control of their expenditure. It has appealed to them to adhere to guidelines laid down by Finance Minister Owen Horwood.

The increase in the total expenditure allowed each local authority for the financial year has been fixed by the Minister at 10% above the previous year's budgeted expenditure.

The limit can be exceeded only in exceptional circumstances, as in the case of:

- ☐ Labour-intensive projects in which more than half of the total cost of a project comprises pay for semi- and unskilled labour;
- ☐ Projects embarked upon to alleviate the prevailing unemployment problem;
- ☐ Projects launched in areas with severe unemployment; and
- ☐ Projects financed entirely by local authorities. (Central government will not provide additional funds.)

Each local authority has to submit its 1984-1985 budget, with detailed information on proposed projects, to the Finance Department for consideration and approval.

Overall control of expenditure is to be exercised by the department to achieve a co-ordinated pattern throughout the public sector, while the guidelines issued by the Minister are aimed at bringing about more "uniformity" in government expenditure.

INSURGENCY

How the ANC works

It is hardly surprising that SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan are believed to have discussed closing African National Congress (ANC) training camps when they met top officials of Angola's MPLA government in Lusaka on May 21. According to Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange, the Angolan camps are essential to ANC military and terrorist training.

If SA is indeed able to secure the closure of the camps in terms of an eventual Namibian/Angolan settlement, it will have struck at the core of the ANC's "army," Umkonto we Sizwe — which is generally referred to as "MK."

MK, which was founded in 1961, carried out about 200 relatively minor terror attacks in the country up to 1963. Then came the Rivonia trial and imprisonment of ANC leaders like Nelson Mandela (on charges which included sabotage), and a successful State crackdown on the banned organisation.

After the end of Portuguese rule in Mozambique and Angola in 1974, the ANC renewed its armed activities. The organisation was strengthened by an infusion of thousands of young blacks who left SA to join the ANC after the Soweto riots of 1976.

During 1977-1978, MK struck 31 times. In the next four years to 1982, no fewer than 108 acts of sabotage were attributed to the group. More than 60 people, black and white, have been casualties of MK attacks since 1980.

MK camps are located primarily in Angola: Le Grange says at Quibaze, Pango, Malange, Viena and Caxito. They are estimated to contain anything from 2 000 to 8 000 men. The SA Police, however, believes there are between 1 000 and 2 000 men involved.

The ANC sets aside $50m/year, half its budget, for MK training and operations, according to *Harper's* magazine, which was given an inside look at the MK last December.

Although Pretoria has described Joe Slovo, a white former Johannesburg advocate and leading figure in the SA Communist Party, as the mastermind behind ANC sabotage, the head of MK was recently revealed as Joe Modise. Modise is described as a 52-year-old former Johannesburg community leader and is known within the ranks as "The Commander."

The ANC itself is led by Oliver Tambo, formerly Mandela's partner in a legal firm, who left SA in 1960. The movement's Lusaka headquarters, a would-be government-in-exile, is made up of at least 11 departments and secretariats with many subdivisions and six co-ordinating committees.

The bulk of its non-military budget comes from Norway, Sweden and the UN (as refugee assistance). The main military backer remains the Soviet Union, although the movement claims to be non-aligned ideologically.

Communist

Although the SA Communist Party is an important component of the ANC, the movement also contains orthodox nationalists and liberals. *Harper's* concludes that its ideological diversity leaves it "far from united on a prescription for government in a future SA."

It appears that most political exiles from SA are given a choice when they turn up at ANC locations. They either join the military immediately, or they may attend party-run schools and enlist later. The educational route reportedly leads to the 1 600-strong ANC community in Tanzania for enrolment in party schools at Mazimbu. There are also about 1 500 ANC members with scholarships at various British, European and American universities.

MK recruits are sent to Angola to train at one of the camps provided by the MPLA government. The camps are planned to be self-sufficient and include agricultural projects adjacent to the bases, according to *Harper's*. MK seeks to train "political soldiers" who will both carry out sabotage and act as "undercover missionaries."

Training lasts for up to two years, with specialised military courses in the Soviet Union for promising candidates. In the past, trained men were transported in groups of three or four to staging posts in countries bordering SA. With infiltration routes through Mozambique and Lesotho now more or less closed, it will be interesting to see what new pattern develops.

Each guerrilla sent from Angola is instructed to recruit four new insurgents inside SA — each of whom is required to recruit four more. The efficacy of this tactic seems questionable in view of Le Grange's estimate that only some 10 to 30 terrorists are in SA at any one time. Some foreign sources, however, believe the true figure is considerably higher.

Once inside SA, the guerrillas make contact with MK agents in the townships. It is not known how many cells make up the organisation, but each cell has between five and 10 members who know each other, but not the membership of other cells.

The ANC would obviously like conflict to take root in the townships rather than have to rely solely upon infiltration and isolated acts of sabotage. However, there seems little evidence that it is achieving this goal. Even when there was unrest in 1976, the ANC seemed as surprised as Pretoria.

ANGOLA (5) FM 8/6/84

MPLA army purge

Renewed efforts to reconcile the warring Angolan factions and to get the Cuban troops to leave the country could suffer a setback as a result of the detention of several senior officers of Fapla, the ruling MPLA's army. They are all prominent members of the nationalist faction that wants the Cubans to leave.

The detentions come on the eve of a major new initiative in the Angolan/Namibian conflict which will, among other things, involve a final SA withdrawal from Angolan soil and a new round of talks between SA and the MPLA. The *FM* is told that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi will play a prominent role in the new initiative.

According to senior Unita sources, about a dozen senior Fapla officers — several of them members of the MPLA central committee — and many more junior officers are on trial in Luanda on diamond smuggling charges. They interpret the trials as part of a party purge.

"Nobody in Angola believes the charges," claims a Unita spokesman. "It is a typical Stalinist trial and everybody knows the officers involved are anti-Soviet. It is part of the systematic purge of Fapla. Too many soldiers are now openly expressing themselves against the Kremlin clique in the party and for reconciliation with Unita."

Among those reported to be on trial are a former army chief of staff, Colonel Xieto; the former chief of Disa (the MPLA's security police), Colonel Lundi; and the Fapla commander on the southern front, Lieutenant-Colonel Ndozi. Senior Air Force officers are also said to be involved.



Don Santos ... leading the nationalist factions

The arrests came shortly after an armed clash between units of Fapla and Cubans in the city of Huambo — at least according to Unita. The Unita spokesman claims there is "increasing co-operation" between Fapla soldiers in the field and Unita guerrillas.

If the Unita claims are accurate it is probable that Iko Carreira, the supreme commander of Fapla and the only non-Soviet ever to get the rank of general in the Russian army, is behind the purge. His partner in the "Kremlin clique" also holds a key position. He is Lucio Lara, secretary of the central committee of the MPLA Worker's Party. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, it is believed, belongs to the nationalist group but risks being overthrown if he goes against the radicals, who have the Cubans on their side.

Unita, which has an obvious axe to grind, believes that the MPLA is not sincere in its negotiations with SA and the US. "They have a double-track strategy," a spokesman said. "They are using Kito (the Minister of Internal Affairs, Alexandre Rodrigues Kito) to negotiate with America and SA to get a SA withdrawal from Angola and Namibia and to get Western money. In the meantime the Soviet hold on Angola is strengthening and, after a Namibian settlement, they plan to finish off Unita."

SA toughens its stand on Cuban withdrawal

By Andre Meyerowitz, Political Staff

BRUSSELS — South Africa is now demanding that, irrespective of any peace settlement in Namibia, the Cuban forces in Angola be withdrawn.

This shift of emphasis, representing a tougher new diplomatic stand, became known after talks in Brussels yesterday between South African Government leaders and their Belgian counterparts.

The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, spent about an hour with Mr Leo Tindemans, the former Prime Minister who is now in charge of foreign affairs.

Mr Botha said later: "Our insistence on Cuban withdrawal was put to him clearly. The question of their withdrawal is now not only linked to the peaceful settlement of the Namibia question, but South Africa — as a regional power — demands it. Mr Tindemans was informed of this."

Also discussed was the South African offer to other European leaders this week to hand over Namibia to them provided the Cubans left Angola.

Mr Tindemans, in turn, raised "certain aspects" of South Africa's internal policies. Mr Botha acknowledged that this part of their talks had been "pointed and direct".

But he said the discussion had been on the basis of non-interference by Belgium.

SATISFACTION

In another talk yesterday, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, met the Belgian Prime Minister, Mr Wilfried Martens..

Afterwards, Mr Botha expressed his satisfaction at the one-day stop in Brussels.

Today the touring party is in Austria.

The Prime Minister's round of talks with Austrian leaders started at 8 am with the Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr Norbert Steger.

By lunchtime he had also met Chancellor Dr Fred Sinowatz, leader of the Opposition Dr Alois Mock, and Chamber of Commerce president Mr Rudolf Sallinger.

PM's visit to France 'hypocrisy'

The Star's Foreign News Service

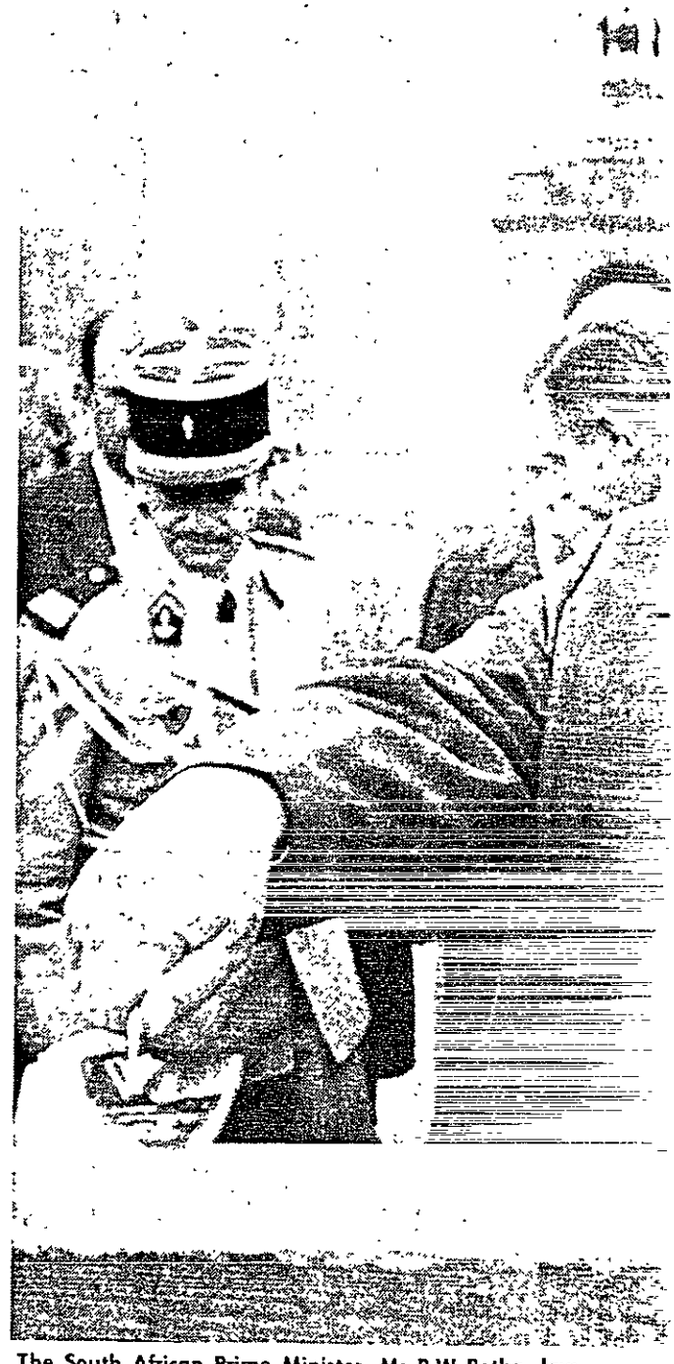
PARIS — South African author Breyten Breytenbach says the private visit to France of Mr P W Botha was "an enormous hypocrisy".

While Mr Botha inaugurated the new Delville Wood museum at Longueval, Breytenbach told French radio that the South African Premier represented a nationalist Afrikaner movement whose leaders during World War 2 were jailed for their pro-Nazi activities.

Breytenbach was repeating a charge made last week by French External Relations Minister Mr Claude Cheysson.

Breytenbach said that blacks and coloured people had also died in both World Wars and as far as he was aware there was not a single monument to them in South Africa or abroad.

The Mayor of Longueval, Mr Gaston Duclercq, was prevented from officially receiving Mr Botha in the town hall yesterday "becaue my life was threatened if I did so."



The South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, lays the foundation stone of the South African Delville Wood

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Star 8/6/84

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PM may see Pope

VATICAN CITY — A Vatican spokesman said yesterday that the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, had requested an audience with Pope John Paul but a meeting had not yet been arranged.

The Rev Romeo Panciroli added that, should there be an audience, it would certainly be private.

Mr Botha is due in Italy on Sunday. — Associated Press.



The South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, lays the foundation stone of the South African Delville Wood commemorative museum. In the background is the existing memorial.

Cubans remain vital SWA issue

CAPE TIMES 8/4/84 (5)

From ORMANDE POLLOK

BRUSSELS. — The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has said that South Africa's offer to withdraw from SWA/Namibia in favour of the Western Five was linked to Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

He confirmed that the offer had been made but said it had not been correctly portrayed in the press because the proviso concerning Cuban withdrawal had not been attached to the offer.

Proviso

"The Prime Minister has stated that if the Western countries were willing to take over the financial responsibility and the security of SWA/Namibia, South Africa would withdraw from the territory," he said.

"But he added a very important proviso — that South Africa demands the Cubans' withdrawal from Angola."

● **JOHN BATTERSBY** reports from London that pessimism is descending in Western capitals over negotiations for SWA/Namibian independence following Mr Botha's "offer".

This has been intensified by a Western reappraisal of the deteriorating internal situation in Angola which analysts believe has virtually ruled out the possibility of a withdrawal of the estimated 30 000 Cuban troops propping up the MPLA government.

'Propaganda'

Western Five diplomats have dismissed as a "non-starter" and a "propaganda exercise" Mr Botha's offer of a South African withdrawal from Namibia within two months if one of the Western Five nations would be prepared to take over administration and defence of the territory.

While they are not taking Mr Botha's offer seriously, they fear that South Africa might have reverted to its propaganda diplomacy and delaying tactics over Namibia as the possibility of a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola recedes.

Some Western diplomats are even beginning to ask whether they have misinterpreted Mr Botha's apparent new mood and flexibility over Namibia.

There has been optimism in some Western diplomatic circles that recent statements by Mr Botha indicated a new flexibility on Cuban withdrawal and raised hopes that Mr Botha might be prepared to trade off Cuban linkage for Western guarantees on Namibian non-alignment and non-aggression under a Swapo government.

Dos Santos

● President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has reiterated that an estimated 30 000 Cuban troops will not withdraw from Angola until the implementation of a United Nations plan for SWA/Namibian independence.

Speaking at the start of talks with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda in Luanda, President dos Santos said the Cubans would remain as a deterrent until the threat of South African aggression had stopped, the official news agency Angop reported yesterday.

CITY/INTERNATIONAL

Cubans must go whatever deal made on SWA — Pik

Political Staff

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SA offer on SWA

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In another get-together yesterday Prime Minister Mr P W Botha met Belgian Prime Minister Mr Wilfried Martens. Afterwards Mr Botha expressed his satisfaction at the one-day stop here.

"Put facts"

The South African touring delegation feels it "had the opportunity to put facts about South Africa and Southern Africa directly, and to exchange views at first hand."

Today the two Bothas are in Austria, where the offer on Namibia to Western nations will almost certainly come up again.

The touring party arrived in Vienna in their special jumbo jet at midnight last night.

Mr P W Botha's round of talks with Austrian leaders started today at an 8am working breakfast with the Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr Norbert Steger.

Will Savimbi spring surprise on SA?

(5) Star 13/6/84

How soon will the Russians and their Cuban friends give up Angola as a lost cause and get out — or at least scale down their presence — while they can still do so without indecent haste?

Quite soon perhaps, some Africa-watchers in West German Government and independent institutions are starting to think — if South Africa does not overplay its hand.

There is a new conviction in Bonn that Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi is becoming a serious threat to the MPLA regime of Mr Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda. And this has lately been reinforced by signals that Moscow is seriously considering its waning influence in Southern and Central Africa.

Dr Savimbi was initially viewed by most West Europeans as purely a South African mercenary stooge. Under Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's left-liberal coalition, Bonn had previously opened an embassy in Luanda, which remains an invaluable listening post.

All but the most right wing German analysts still think that under



Jonas Savimbi . . . very much his own man.

charismatic founder-President Agostinho Neto, the MPLA had enough battlefield legitimacy to brush aside Savimbi and the now defunct FNLA's Holden Roberto to take over Luanda without democratic elections in 1975.

But if Neto was the undoubted popular leader before his death in a Moscow hospital in the late 1970s, his colourless successor has now been fought and bombed into a corner by Savimbi.

So many Angolans who formed Neto's grassroots support are dying of hunger and guerilla turmoil that even those outside areas controlled or at the mercy of Unita raids must now be uncertain MPLA supporters at the best.

German analysts now tend to regard Savimbi not only as a redoubtable politician and military commander, but as very much his own man.

In fact, they wonder whether South Africa might not be in for a surprise if Savimbi takes over in Luanda. They think he might then unfold an unexpectedly tough brand of African nationalism, unhampered by the tinge of Marxist ideology that has always made the MPLA an unwelcome partner in rightwing American and European eyes.

A previously unpublished German Foreign Office assessment based on Luanda Embassy observations summed up:

"Unita strategy aims to weaken the Angolan Government and force it to negotiate . . . Unita actions have caused the Government to harden its position. Its dependence on Eastern bloc military aid and Cuban troops has increased, which is not in Western interests and, in the final analysis, not in South Africa's interest."

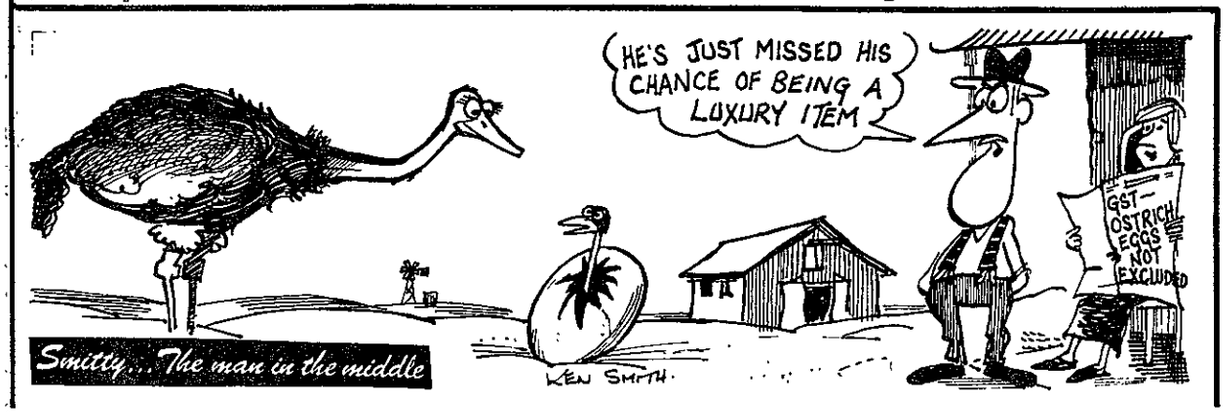
If South Africa is still giving logistical or other support to Savimbi, it should now stop, German analysts conclude. This message is strengthened by signs that Moscow is seriously considering an Angolan disengagement before the MPLA's situation worsens still further.

Evidence of this came in an interview given to the French magazine Jeune Afrique last month by Anatoli Gromyko, son of the Soviet Foreign Minister and a leading Kremlin expert on Africa.

Sources in Bonn interpret the interview to mean that Savimbi is already so strong that Moscow is willing to give up and back Cuban withdrawal to permit some kind of Unita-MPLA power-sharing deal. This would clear the way for a Namibian independence deal under UN Security Council resolution 435.

On the other hand, say the sources, Mr Gromyko seemed also to imply that excessive South African zeal in backing Savimbi would torpedo any such deal.

Savimbi would then become so strong that the MPLA would withdraw still further into its Luanda funkhole and Moscow would have to prepare to withdraw Eastern bloc personnel. — The Star's Foreign News Service.



Smitty... The man in the middle

CUBANS

Angola, the German view

ARGUS 14/6/86 (5)

Argus Foreign Service

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Power-sharing deal

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Unita claims capture of 5 US citizens

14/6/84 Star

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Unita claims to have captured 11 American, Portuguese and Colombian citizens in an attack on the strategic highway town of Quibala in Angola.

The rebels say they overran Quibala, 290 km south-east of the capital, Luanda, destroying a column of 120 vehicles and seizing quantities of weapons.

They also claim to have killed 240 soldiers including 30 Cubans. The operation on Tuesday was part of seven co-ordinated attacks against towns in four provinces.

"We lament the capture of American nationals," a statement said today. "But as long as the war continues, and our warnings to foreigners to stay out of war zones are deliberately ignored, such incidents will be inevitable."

So far there has been no independent confirmation of its claims.

Unita says two-thirds of Angola is either under its control or in operational areas.

Observers in Lisbon say that if Quibala is taken it will be a major blow to the ruling MPLA regime.

Unita gave its own casualties as 15 dead and 35 wounded.

Editor denies he is emissary for Savimbi

16/6/84

JOHANNESBURG — Any suggestion that he was an emissary of the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, was malicious rubbish, the Editor of the Johannesburg Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh, said last night.

Mr Myburgh was asked to comment on a report in The Guardian newspaper in Britian that he had been overheard in a London pub telling fellow-drinkers that he had been carrying messages for the pro-Western Angolan Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

"It is malicious rubbish to suggest that I am any kind of emissary for Dr Savinbi," Mr Myburgh said.

"I returned on Thursday from a routine visit to Washington and London where I attended to various purely business matters on behalf of my newspaper."

He had taken advantage of the opportunity to call on a number of people with knowledge of Southern African affairs for "perfectly proper journalistic purposes," he said.

"In common with many other journalists from Britain, South Africa and many other countries, I have in the past visited Dr Savimbi at his headquarters in Jamba in order to write about him in my newspaper."

In its diary column, The Guardian published this report:

"Mr Tertius Myburgh, the editor of the Johannesburg Sunday Times, appears to be enjoying a little freelance work in the world of diplomacy. As a relative novice, however, he might care to be more discreet: The occupants of a London bar earlier this week were surprised to hear him speaking of his various missions, with dangerous candour.

"Mr Myburgh was telling his fellow drinkers how he had been carrying international messages on behalf of Dr Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the rebel, South African-backed Unita forces in Angola.

"He had been to see Sir John Leahy, the senior Foreign Office diplomat in charge of Southern Africa with a billet doux from Dr Savimbi, he said, and would be entertaining Dr Savimbi at his Johannesburg home. Earlier Mr Myburgh had been in Washington on similar business." — SAPA.

souring

Angola-Portuguese relations

Own Correspondent

LISBON. — Portugal and Marxist-ruled Angola are locked in a bitter war of words which is souring bilateral relations and threatening to affect broader efforts at bringing a settlement to Namibia and peace to the region.

Diplomats in Lisbon are concerned at the chill, which a recent news report suggests could lead to economic and other sanctions by Angola against Portugal.

The pretext for the frostiness is anger in Luanda over propaganda activities by officials of the pro-Western Unita rebel group in Portugal. Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebels claim to control one-third of Angola and to be fighting in the other two-thirds.

But there are sources in Lisbon who see the hand of the Soviet Union behind the row, with Moscow fearing an erosion of its influence in the area, attempting to slow moves at resolving the region's complex and interrelated problems.

At stake are Namibian independence, the repatriation of the 25 000-strong Cuban expeditionary force, and an end to Luanda's costly nine-year war with Unita and a mutual security accord with South Africa.

Portugal has carved itself a role as a well-connected intermediary in the region, consulted regularly by Washington on Southern African developments. This position, considerably enhanced by the successful brokering of the non-aggression pact signed in March between Mozambique and SA, could be jeopardized if relations with Angola deteriorate to the point of rupture.

Luanda, aided by the pro-Moscow Portuguese Communist Party has orchestrated a major campaign of vilification against Unita and those it says are responsible for the "anti-African conspiracy" in Portugal.

Angola scored a major coup in mid-May when it blackmailed Lisbon into banning a television documentary on Unita from the screens of the state-owned network with warnings of threats to the lives of Portuguese citizens in Angola.

The banning caused an outcry and to overcome what they called censorship, the producers, Jose Barata Feyo and Miguel Sousa Tavares, published a booklet containing the film script and photo stills.

To make matters worse, Luanda is currently staging a show trial involving 124 people — 58 of them Portuguese — accused of smuggling diamonds and foreign currency, plotting the collapse of the regime and undermining the economy.

The Angolan Government insinuates that the smuggling was covertly supported by Lisbon and Washington as part of a scheme to bring down the government.

Diamonds and oil are Angola's lifeblood, helping to meet the more than 10-billion dollars (R12,5-billion) defence bill the country has faced since independence.

In commentaries published here, it has become clear that what is on trial in Luanda is the state of Angolan-Portuguese relations. Lisbon's dilemma is to reconcile its commitment to democracy with the autocratic pressures now emanating from Angola. If it doesn't find a quick answer, it risks losing its hard-won privileged position.

Paris 'no' to Cuban link, says Toivo

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — Swapo founder Mr Herman Toivo ja Toivo has been told by the French Government that it opposes the demand linking withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia only if Cubans leave Angola.

The message was given to Mr Toivo by French External Relations Minister Mr Claude Cheysson.

Mr Toivo, in an interview with the magazine Afrique-Asie, published this week, said: "I was delighted by Mr Cheysson's invitation to meet him and our talk was friendly and constructive.

"He assured me that France's position on the liberation of Namibia has not changed, reminding me that Paris did not accept the linkage and wanted immediate independence for Namibia.

Mr Tovio appreciated France's refusal to accept any invitation to attend meetings of the five-nation contact group.

Czech secures release of 20 hostages

(5)
22/6/84 Star

By Joao Santa Rita

A Czechoslovakian official is expected at Jan Smuts Airport today after being forced to travel to rebel-controlled areas in Angola to secure the release of 20 Czech hostages.

In what is seen as a major diplomatic victory for the Angolan rebel movement Unita, an International Red Cross spokesman told The Star that Czechoslovakia's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Stanislav Svoboda, had been into Unita controlled areas in Angola.

"He will arrive together with 20 Czech hostages this afternoon," the spokesman said.

This is the first time an official from a communist country is known to have visited the Unita controlled areas.

A statement released in Prague earlier this week said Mr Svoboda had left for Africa for final talks on the release of the hostages.

The hostages were among a group of 66 Czechs seized by Unita rebels in March last year.

'extremely slow'

Parliament and Politics

Parliament and Politics

Angolan minister: SA withdrawal

Cape Times 23/6/84 (5)

STOCKHOLM. — South African forces were withdrawing from Angola, but at an extremely slow pace, the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, told reporters in Stockholm yesterday.

Mr Jorge said South African forces in Southern Angola had pulled back 160km under the terms of a four-month-old disengagement agreement and were only 40km from the border with SWA/Namibia.

He estimated the strength of the remaining South African forces at one or two battallions.

South Africa launched a major military foray into Southern Angola last December, saying it was directed against guerilla bases of the South-West Africa People's Organization (Swapo).

The Angolan minister said South Africa was continually inventing excuses to justify the delay in the troop pullout, which was originally to be completed in 30 days.

"Personally, I believe they are delaying because they do not know what to do next, because they realize that the next step must be negotiations with Swapo."

South Africa has long accused Angola of providing bases for Swapo.

Mr Jorge is in Stockholm for a meeting between the foreign ministers of the six so-called frontline states neighbouring South Africa and foreign ministers from Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Iceland.

Mr Jorge denied suggestions that the agreement placed any obligations on Angola and said it had not changed Swapo's position in the former Portuguese colony.

"Ask Swapo if we have ever hindered them from doing anything in Angola," the minister said, adding that it was in any case impossible to control the long border with SWA/Namibia.

He said the Luanda government would never sign a military and economic co-operation agreement with South Africa of the kind Pretoria recently concluded with Mozambique.

Mr Jorge argued that the accords signed between Pretoria and some of its black neighbours did not represent any diplomatic success for South Africa and said the South African Prime Minister's recent West European tour had achieved nothing.

"It has not changed the situation at all," the minister said, adding that lack of progress on SWA/Namibian independence was entirely due to United States insistence on linking a South African pullout from SWA/Namibia with a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

"We will never accept any such pre-conditions. Why does the US not worry instead about pulling its own troops out of South Korea or Cuba itself?" he said, referring to the United States naval base at Guantanamo.

Asked about the chances of US recognition of the Luanda government, he said:

"Now they make such a fuss about the presence of foreign troops, but this did not stop the US establishing diplomatic relations with Djibouti at a time when there were still more than 4 000 French soldiers stationed there." — Sapa-Reuter

● A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs declined to comment on the allegations. He referred to an earlier statement by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, that the government would not react to press reports of statements by Angolan ministers.

"Mr Botha said then that the government had direct channels of communication with the Angolans and if they had anything to say to us, they could use those channels," the spokesman said.

'Swapo action delaying SA pullout'

Staff Reporters

INCREASED Swapo activity in Southern Angola is being given as the main reason for the delay in completing the South African withdrawal from Angola.

Angolan Government ministers have recently criticized the failure of the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) to move from Ongiva, 40 km north of the SWA/Namibian border.

The JMC is a joint Angolan-South African force which has monitored the withdrawal in successive stages from Cuvelai about 200 km north of the SWA/Namibian border since the beginning of March.

The JMC has now reached the most sensitive part of its task: Checking the so-called "shallow area" — the territory immediately north of the SWA/Namibian border, from where Swapo insurgents have been crossing into the operational area for 18 years.

The final move from Ongiva to Oshikango on the border would complete the first phase of the withdrawal, which in terms of an ideal time-table laid down at the Lusaka Conference of February 16, was scheduled to have been complete at the end of March.

When the JMC reaches Oshikango, a second phase will begin, involving the monitoring of the total area from which South African and Swapo forces are supposed to have withdrawn.

The JMC has, however, been at Ongiva since May 3 and Angolan ministers have accused the South African Government of deliberately delaying the final withdrawal.

"The real problem is Swapo activity in Southern Angola," one source said yesterday.

"Swapo continues to operate in the area as if nothing has happened."

In terms of the Lusaka agreement, the Angolans have a responsibility to keep Swapo out of the areas vacated by South African forces.

It is understood that Swapo actions in the region, which the JMC has to satisfy itself have stopped before each successive southward withdrawal, have increased after showing a steady decline.

There were 14 Swapo incidents while the JMC was at Cuvelai, six while it was at Mupa and three while it was at Evale. This has risen to 18 or 19 since the JMC has been at Ongiva.

The South African Government wants assurances that Angola is willing and able to keep its part of the Lusaka agreement by ensuring that Swapo forces cannot reach and cross the SWA/Namibian border. It is also still awaiting an Angolan reply to its suggestion that the JMC should be retained as a channel of communciation after the final South African withdrawal has been monitored.

Both issues are likely to cause South African Government concern and could cause further delays in what was supposed to have been a rapid withdrawal.

arrington takes ver Nato hot seat

LONDON

MARGARET SMITH profiles the new head of Nato and the tough job ahead

Carrington, Britain's Foreign Secretary former Minister of De- takes over as Secre- eneral of Nato tomor-

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He is also highly regarded for having headed the Lancaster House talks from which Zimbabwe emerged.

Lord Carrington takes over Nato at a difficult time in the 35-year history alliance.

He is seen as a cool man in a hot seat.

Relations between East and West are at their lowest ebb since the Cold War. Transatlantic relations between Western Europe and America are uneasy and suspicious, and public anxiety about nuclear weapons has undermined confidence in Nato's nuclear strategy.

Rift threatens Namibia deal

S. Times 24/6/84

LISBON

KEN POTTINGER on the growing rift between Angola and Portugal

PORTUGAL and Marxist-ruled Angola are locked in a bitter war of words which is souring their relations and threatening to hamper efforts at bringing a settlement to Namibia.

Diplomats in Lisbon are concerned at the frostiness, which a recent news report suggests could lead to economic and other sanctions by Angola against Portugal.

The pretext for the row is anger in Luanda over propaganda activities by officials of the pro-Western Unita rebel group in Portugal.

Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebels claim to control one third of Angola and to be fighting in the other two-thirds.

Erosion

But there are some here who see the hand of the Soviet Union behind the dispute with Moscow, fearing an erosion of its influence in the area.

At stake are Namibian independence, the repatriation of the 25 000-strong Cuban expeditionary force, an end to Luanda's costly nine-year war with Unita and a mutual security accord with Angola's neighbour, South Africa.

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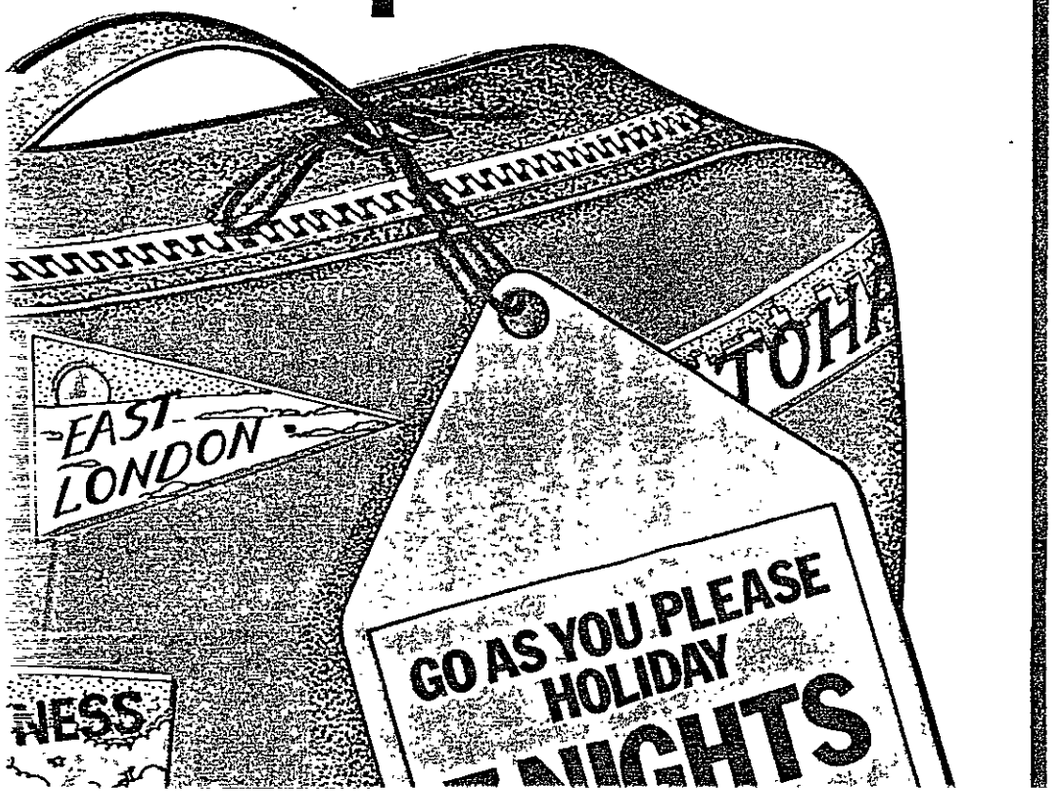

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32 page

Secret Pik, Savimbi talks 'ended pact hopes'

LISBON — South Africa decided against signing a mutual non-aggression pact with the Angolan Government after a secret meeting between the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, last month, according to reports here.

The reports, carried by the Lisbon daily, Diario de Noticias, and the Portuguese news agency, Noticias de Portugal, said Dr Savimbi also met the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, in May to discuss US peace efforts.

Both meetings, the reports said, took place in South Africa in what was termed Dr Savimbi's "first trip outside Angola in years".

Dr Savimbi argued against closer South African co-operation with Angola.

"It was after this meeting . . . that the South African Government decided to give up the idea of an agreement" with Angola to match the Nkomati Accord, the agency report said.

The Diario de Noticias report echoed the theme, adding that a certain South African ambiguity on the Cuban presence evaporated after the meeting with Dr Savimbi.

According to both reports, Dr Crocker met Mr Savimbi on May 29, but neither gave details.

However, Diario de Noticias said ambivalence on the Cuban withdrawal issue had led to mistrust of the US by Unita.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs and the US Embassy in Pretoria today both declined to comment.

From Lisbon it is reported that Angola's ruling MPLA party has accused South Africa of failing to carry out the four-month-old Lusaka agreement on a troop disengagement.

The charge was made at a four-day meeting of the central committee of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola which ended on saturday.

The MPLA expressed concern over the situation and over what it called the increased support of the US for attempts to sabotage United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 calling for an independence settlement in SWA/-Namibia.

The MPLA also denounced criminal acts by counter-revolutionary bands which it said, made desperate by heavy defeats inflicted by defence and security forces, were multiplying bomb attacks against the civilian population.

MPLA may talk soon — Savimbi

(5) Star 27/6/84

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi says he has reliable information that the radical elements in the central committee of Angola's MPLA government have agreed conditionally to the demands of moderates that there should be negotiations with his movement.

Interviewed by the SABC at his headquarters at Jamba, Dr Savimbi said the radicals had agreed that if the present stepped-up offensive against Unita fails to cripple the guerilla movement within three to six months, then negotiations could be held.

Dr Savimbi confirmed that the MPLA and Cuban forces were preparing for major offensives against Unita in various areas. But he said he was confident that, as in the past, they would fail.

He hoped the moderates in the MPLA central committee would then have the upper hand and force the government to talk to Unita.

Dr Savimbi said that since April the MPLA had been launching major offensives against Unita. But Unita was not only keeping them at bay, it was advancing in various areas.

"We think that very soon we shall be in Luanda," he said, claiming that Unita had already started urban guerilla warfare in the capital.

Referring to the Swapo infiltrations into Namibia from Angola, Dr Savimbi said that reports from his own forces in southern Angola were that Swapo was becoming increasingly active in the area, and regrouping.

This was despite the Lusaka accords between South Africa and the MPLA, and the withdrawal of South African forces towards the Namibia-Angola border.

He was "not optimistic that the situation in Kunene would quieten down".

Dr Savimbi said there were two possible reasons why the MPLA was not controlling Swapo as it had promised to do in terms of the accords: Russia was putting pressure on the MPLA; Swapo was simply ignoring MPLA instructions.

He said he was convinced that Russia was trying to wreck the agreements between South Africa and the MPLA.

He said South Africa should not be concerned over criticism. She should remain firm and "decolonise South West Africa in a responsible manner". In that way the interests of the local population would be met. — Sapa.

Row over anti-Semitic remarks simmers on

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star's Foreign News Service

WASHINGTON — While the Rev Jesse Jackson continued his headline-grabbing tour of Central America yesterday, a major storm was building around him back in the United States.

The row has become so serious that Mr Jackson, who dominated the black vote in the Democratic Party presidential contest, may be refused permission to speak at next month's party convention.

At issue is Mr Jackson's angry refusal to repudiate the viciously anti-Semitic remarks of one of his supporters, Mr Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam in the United States.

Mr Jackson has attempted to distance himself from the views of Mr Farrakhan but has refused to condemn them.

Mr Farrakhan has been a controversial figure for some time. He threatened a black Washington Post reporter with death for reporting that Mr Jackson had used the words "hymie" and "hymietown", and has spoken of war between whites and blacks.

But the controversy rose to fever pitch when Mr Farrakhan, during a radio talk, referred to Judaism as a "gutter religion" and said nations that created and supported Israel now were "criminals in the sight of God".

The remarks were strongly condemned by Mr Walter Mondale and Senator Gary Hart, but one Jewish leader has challenged Mr Mondale to "screw up enough courage" to make a public break with Mr Jackson over the issue.

Jackson-Castro talks: no progress on Angola

The Star Bureau

(5) Star 28/6/84

WASHINGTON — Hopes early yesterday that Cuban leader Dr Fidel Castro had declared a new readiness to withdraw his forces from Angola following talks with the Rev Jesse Jackson, dwindled as the day progressed.

First reports from Havana, where the two men had a lengthy meeting last night, said President Castro had stated his willingness to negotiate a withdrawal.

But details that emerged later confirmed the scepticism of the veteran American diplomat, Mr Lawrence Eagleburger, who had greeted with caution the first reports, broadcast on nationwide television.

According to US Government sources in Washington, President Castro told Mr Jackson that implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 — the UN plan for Namibian independence — would lay the basis for a withdrawal of Cuban troops.

This, the Cuban leader pointed out, was in accordance with joint Cuban-Angolan communiques of February 1982 and March 1984.

In effect, it takes the argument back to what should happen first — Namibian independence or a firm commitment on Cuban withdrawal.

When details of the discussion became known, the US State Department said it shared Mr Jackson's desire for an early settlement of the Namibian situation in terms of Resolution 435.

"We have focused our extensive diplomatic efforts in Southern Africa on achieving this objective," a spokesman said.

"But any settlement must take into account the interests of all parties.

"The reality is that a settlement in Namibia under 435 is only possible once there is agreement on Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola."

The spokesman said the US would continue its discussions with all concerned parties seeking to resolve the remaining issue.

South Africa, too, has told the Secretary General of the United Nations that the presence of the Cubans is a last obstacle.

Most attention in Washington was focused not on the Jackson-Castro talks on Angola, but on President Castro's decision to release 22 jailed Americans, many on drug charges, into Mr Jackson's custody.

Mr Jackson's right as a private citizen to deal with the Cuban leader also came under the spotlight.

CAPE TIMES 20/6/84 (5)

Factors which slow down SA troop withdrawal

Defence Reporter

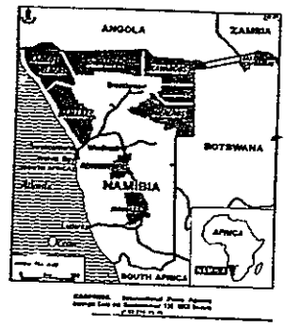
IS THE slow southward movement of the Joint Monitoring Commission due to Swapo insurgent activities south of Ongiva, as claimed by spokesmen — or is it simply part of a South African campaign of delay?

Whether or not the southward crawl can be blamed on go-slow tactics, it is a fact that JMC planners have realized from the word go that clearing and monitoring the so-called "shallow area" — the territory immediately north of the border — was going to be the most difficult phase of the whole operation.

There are two reasons for this:

● The shallow area is the actual jumping-off point for exfiltrations into SWA/Namibia, whereas in some areas further north the Swapo presence has usually consisted mainly of passing traffic — groups of insurgents travelling to and from the operational area.

● After 18 years of activity the Swapo insurgents still operate on foot because the insurgency has never developed beyond the hit-and-run stage.



For this reason the shallow area necessarily contains a great many caches and temporary bases so that the insurgents can exfiltrate and infiltrate with minimum problems.

As a result of these factors it was a fairly uncomplicated operation to monitor the northern parts of the "Area in Question" or monitoring area and ensure that non-Angolan elements had withdrawn.

The shallow area is a much tougher proposition. It has an infrastructure of carefully hidden arms and supply caches which make Swapo operatives independent of resupply for many months more, and in addition the insurgents could claim that they have not been told to move out by the Angolans.

What has probably been holding up a further southward move by the JMC is the fact that the South African component so far has refused to work on assumptions that a given area was clear.

From a military viewpoint it would be futile to simply relinquish control in a given area and thereby allow the Swapo presence to reorganize itself for further forays into SWA/Namibia.

It is no secret that the South African government does not relish the thought of withdrawing in a blaze of publicity — and then having to explain away the deaths of South African soldiers killed by insurgents operating from an area which had been declared clear.

It can also be assumed that South African intelligence officers have strong evidence of a continued Swapo presence in the shallow area.

Southern African shuttle diplomacy pays off

Pik is happy with decision on Angola

(5) Star

3/4/84

By Peter Sullivan,
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has returned from Lusaka satisfied with promises made by the Angolan Government and will brief the Cabinet today on his recent round of Southern African shuttle diplomacy.

Two main issues were on the agenda for his meeting with the Angolans in Lusaka yesterday and both have been sorted out.

The first was a long-standing request by the South Africans to turn the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) into a permanent security body which will patrol the border after a final South African withdrawal, and the second was the impasse between the two sides on the date for that withdrawal.

The Angolan delegation said yesterday it was more amenable to the idea of converting the JMC to a permanent peacekeeping force and South Africa reciprocated with a more flexible approach to the rigid preconditions originally set down for its finally withdrawing its troops.

Timetable

There has been a considerable delay on the timetable laid down for final withdrawal with the JMC being stuck at the border town of Ngiva for some weeks.

Altogether 21 violations were reported to the JMC while it was at Ngiva, activity by either South African or Swapo forces. It is clear there is still a Swapo presence in the area which is why South Africa has refused to implement the final withdrawal.

After yesterday's discussions, it appears that Angola is not able to control Swapo's activities fully and this will now be taken into account in deciding on the final troop withdrawal.

Mr Botha will now brief his Cabinet colleagues on his trips to Swaziland last week, Maputo at the weekend and Lusaka this week.

In Swaziland he discussed the customs violation case and the Swazi demands for incorporating kaNgwane and Ingwavuma. In Maputo he discussed the Nkomati Accord and problems associated with its implementation.

He was accompanied by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan; the Administrator General of Namibia, Dr Willie van Niekerk; the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard; and the head of Military Intelligence, General P W van der Westhuizen.

SA gives us cash for arms says Savimbi

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Dr Jonas Savimbi has admitted publicly that South Africa helps his rebel movement Unita — and even lends it money to buy arms.

"We co-operate in everything except guns," Dr Savimbi said.

He added: "The South Africans don't give us guns. We have our own resources inside Angola from which we raise money and, when we cannot pay, the South Africans lend us the money."

The resources — ivory, diamonds and timber — brought him only a R1,25 million last year but he says his capability amounts to between R25 million and R30 million a year.

He refused to discuss this finance or the guns.

Asked if he thought South Africa supported him simply to maintain the civil war in Angola, rather than put him in Luanda, Dr Savimbi said: "The South Africans want a government in Luanda which is stable and friendly to them."

If he were to achieve power, he said, he did not think he would be beholden to Pretoria but he would not tolerate anti-apartheid guerillas operating from Angola.

Kremlin says it can't give aid to Angola

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — The Kremlin has decided it is unable to meet Angola's demands for heavy engineering equipment, consumer goods and foodstuffs.

This was learned by French trade experts who accompanied President Francois Mitterrand on his four-day official visit to Moscow last month.

The Kremlin has told Luanda to join the "Africa, Caribbean, Pacific" (ACP) trade zone which is linked by the Lome Convention to the European Common Market.

As an ACP member, Angola would get aid which the Soviets are unable to provide.

Some observers interpret this advice in two ways: It could be further proof of growing reports in Western capitals of the Kremlin's decision to disengage from Southern Africa, or it could be a "Correze-before-the-Zambezi" syndrome.

The Correze in central France is particularly poor and backward, needing telephones, roads, schools and hospitals.

The phrase is used by politicians who oppose French aid to black Africa on the grounds that it could be better employed in depressed French areas.

Meeting could lead to peace, say Angolans

LUSAKA — The Angolan Embassy in Lusaka said yesterday the meeting between their Interior Minister, Mr Alexandre Rodrigues Kito, and the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, on Mondaywas likely to lead to peace in troubled Southern Africa.

The two Ministers held four hours of secret talks in Lusaka on the disengagement of South African troops from southern Angola, which started in February and was due to be completed five weeks ago.

The Angolan Embassy said in a statement: "In the case of implementation of the steps and agreement reached during the meeting, important steps will be undertaken for the preservation of peace in Southern Africa and the future of Namibian independence.

"The Angolan side have insisted with SA side on the need of a better commitment by Swapo in the peace process," it added.

Portuguese-speaking Western diplomats cautioned against interpreting this as a veiled criticism of Swapo.

They noted that Luanda Radio said the Angolans had "once again demanded that South Africa give Swapo greater involvement in the peace process which has begun". — Sapa-Reuter.

Pretoria's diplomatic progress with Angola could in

Savimbi winning the propaganda struggle at least



Dr Savimbi . . . invites

From Richard Dowden of The Times

JAMBA — The summons to interview Jonas Savimbi came just before 3 am.

The President, as he is known to his followers, was receiving visitors in his sparsely furnished bunker beneath a reed and thatch hut at Jamba, a base of his Unita rebel movement in the south-east Angolan bush.

The contrast with his enemy, President Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda, could not be greater. Dos Santos lives in a modest but airconditioned fashionable holiday village south of the capital.

To interview him one drives past several security checks, dug-in tanks and anti-aircraft batteries and a double perimeter fence manned by Angolan and Cuban troops.

Savimbi, always in battledress, is ebullient, fluent and persuasive, a ruthless robber-baron of the bush who has brought thousands of his fellow Ovimbundu south to create an alternative Angola in the wilderness the Portuguese used to call the end of the world.

The camp is awash with his pictures, and slogans proclaiming his leadership. It is difficult to imagine Unita without him.

Dos Santos is reserved, earnest, bad with crowds, a technocrat responsible to a political bureau and overshadowed as a personal leader by his predecessor Agostinho Neto. He dresses in dark suits and ties, a man of the city.

Savimbi regards the Western Press as an essential part of his struggle, and flies in journalists to his camp to explain his cause and boost his credibility.

Unita's propaganda must be among the best in the world, and the MPLA Government's in Luanda among the worst. It rarely issues entry permits to Western journalists and even more rarely arranges interviews with Dos Santos.

Savimbi, labelled by the MPLA as a bandit and South African puppet, wants to drive the Cubans out of Angola and form a government of national unity with Dos Santos.

SA FORCES

He is riding on the policies of the United States and South Africa, who insist on the expulsion of the Cubans, estimated by Western sources to number between 19 000 and 25 000, as a condition for the independence of neighbouring Namibia. The US State Department maintains close contact with Unita at a senior level.

Savimbi says: "If the Cubans are sent out of Angola, Namibia will be free. But as long as the MPLA fears Unita the Cubans will not leave. Therefore the independence of Namibia depends on a direct dialogue between Unita and the MPLA."

Dialogue is not an option the MPLA wants to take up.

Having negotiated the disengagement of South African forces from areas of southern Angola occupied since 1981, the MPLA hopes to be able to redeploy more of its troops to fight Unita and defeat it militarily.

Ironically, the decrease in tension between South Africa and Angola could lead to an intensification of the civil war inside Angola.

But victory in this war may be beyond the grasp of either side. The country is 2½ times the size of France with a population of fewer than 8 million. Bigger and better-equipped armies could spend years battling it out in the bush or just searching for each other.

Savimbi's troops hold territory in the south-east and co-ordinate their operation in that area with the South Africans.

In the central highlands, Ovimbundu territory, Unita operates as a classic bush guerilla force. Elsewhere it sends out brigades of up to 2 000 men to seize towns or other strategic points, hold them briefly, and take hostages.

Savimbi says his men play on the failures of the Government and try to win hearts and minds. When the Angolan army counter-attacks, they fade into the bush. Despite its MiG-21s and helicopter gunships, the Government has had little success in driving the rebels back.

The MPLA holds the important towns and, more important, the oilfields in Cabinda — an Angolan enclave within Zaire — which provide 90 percent of the country's revenue. "Cabinda is a problem" says Savimbi. "But it will not be impossible. 'be talking about this

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CAR BOMB

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Dr Savimbi . . . invites reporters.



Mr Dos Santos . . . heavily guarded

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Unita's most dramatic tactic has been the kidnapping of foreign workers. It gives both the captors and Jamba itself immunity from atttack and has forced Britain and Czechoslovakia to send senior diplomats to treat with Savimbi on his own ground.

It has also seriously questioned the future of Czechoslovaks working in Angola and the future of the diamond mining operation in the north-east.

Savimbi makes no secret of his South African connection. "When they understood that our guerillas had a strategic value they started to help us," he says. "We co-operate in everything except guns. The South Africans don't give us guns. We have our own resources inside Angola to sell, and when we cannot pay the South Africans lend us the money."

CAR BOMB

The "resources" — ivory, diamonds and timber — brought him only R1,25 million last year, but he says his "capability" amounts to between R20,5 million and R31 million a year. He will not discuss the sources of this finance further or where his guns come from.

Asked if he thought South Africa supported him to maintain the civil war in Angola rather than put him in power in Luanda, Savimbi says: "The South Africans want a government in Luanda which is stable and friendly to them."

If he were to achieve power, he says, he does not think he would be beholden to Pretoria, but he would not tolerate anti-apartheid guerillas operating from Angola.

Savimbi does not rely on persuasion and kidnapping alone to further his cause. On April 18 a car bomb exploded in the provincial capital of Huambo.

Savmibi says: "You Western countries cannot distinguish between a just and an unjust bomb. That was a just bomb — it was aimed at the Cubans."

When it comes to the differences between the MPLA and Unita's policies, Savimbi becomes vague. Not without reason. The officially Marxist MPLA employs De Beers to mine its diamonds. Gulf and Elf and other Western oil companies extract the oil.

Most of Luanda's trade is with Western Europe while internally the Government has virtually told the peasants to grow what they can, get it to market and sell it as best they can.

It is still not clear whether South Africa will withdraw from Nambia, but if it does, will it continue to support Savimbi? If not, has Savimbi amassed sufficient support and arms to win or even keep going?

If the MPLA are forced to dispense with their Cuban allies can they hold or defeat Unita?

Until these questions are answered the civil war will spread and worsen.

FM 6/7/84

(5)

ANGOLA

Botha breaks the dead

The deadlock over SA's troop withdrawal from Angola has been broken. The last SA troops are expected to leave southern Angola in the near future and the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) of SA and Angolan soldiers will remain in existence.

The breakthrough came after many weeks of virtually no movement on the Namibian issue. Negotiations now seem to be back on the track and moving fast. There may also be moves to bring Swapo into negotiations specifically aimed at stopping the 18-year-old bush war.

The problem with Angola was solved after four hours of talks in Lusaka earlier this week between Angolan Interior Minister Manuel Alexandre (Kito) Rodrigues and SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Rodrigues presented Luanda's reaction to Botha's proposals made in Lusaka on May 21. Botha told him SA had serious problems with the continued Swapo presence in southern Angola, and wanted the JMC to stay in existence and not be disbanded 30 days after SA's final withdrawal as had previously been agreed. Angola satisfied Botha on both issues.

The Angolans gave a significant undertaking: "In the case of implementation of the steps and agreement during the meeting, important steps will be undertaken for the preservation of peace in Southern Africa and the future of Namibian independence. The Angolan side has insisted, with the SA side, on the need of a better commitment by Swapo in the peace process."

Diplomats agreed yesterday that the statement was a bad translation from the original Portuguese. The last sentence should have read: "The Angolan and SA sides have insisted on the need for the closer involvement of Swapo in the peace process."

The Angolan statement is understood to mean that if certain conditions, set at the Lusaka meeting, were met, the MPLA will sort out the problem of Swapo military activity in southern Angola. SA will then withdraw all its troops into Namibia and the JMC will start patrolling the border for possible violations. Only last week dangerous tensions were building up in the area in southern Angola already cleared by the JMC and in some circles a new SA raid into Angola was predicted.

No mention

It is seen as significant that there was no mention in the Angolan statement of the usual precondition that SA should implement UN Security Council Resolution 435.

A second meeting between Swapo and its "Patriotic Alliance" on the one hand and the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) of internal Namibian parties on the other is still on the cards. The MPC has resumed its regular meetings and it is understood that at least some of the parties in the MPC are preparing new proposals based on Resolution 435.



Pik Botha ... 'satisfied' with Angola's undertakings

Pik Botha denies reported suspension of withdrawal

SA troops still in Angola — claim

July 1984

The Star Bureau

London

South Africa has suspended the promised withdrawal of its forces from Southern Angola pending clarification of the Luanda Government's political intentions if and when disengagement is completed.

Diplomats of key Western countries, who reported this development at the weekend, also disclosed that a series of bloody engagements took place recently between the armies of Cuban-backed President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Among the heavy casualties sustained by both sides in the battles in south eastern Angola, were between 50 and 100 Cubans, said to have been killed in one of their rare involvements in the internal Angolan power struggle.

South Africa's withdrawal from Southern Angola was to have been completed by March 31 under an American-sponsored disengagment agreement signed by Pretoria and Luanda in February.

But the final phase of withdrawal was suspended in early June, diplomats said, because the South Africans were waiting for Luanda's reply to their request for a statement of intent on a series of fundamental issues.

According to the diplomats, Pretoria's request went to Luanda by way of the Americans. The issues raised were said to include:

- Whether Luanda really intends to bar Swapo guerillas from using its territory as a base against South African forces in neighbouring Namibia.
- Whether Angola means to ask Cuban President Fidel Castro to withdraw his estimated 25 000 troops as a trade-off for a Namibian independence settlement negotiated broadly within the terms of UN Resolution 435.
- Whether Mr dos Santos is prepared to negotiate an internal peace agreement with Unita which would effectively give Dr Savimbi a role in government.

For Luanda these are crunch questions and Western diplomats think they have divided the Dos Santos Government which has displayed no sense of haste in answering them.

Bargaining

For Angola to accede to South Africa's demands would be to surrender its bargaining counters and ignore the advice of the Soviets and Cubans, while to reject them would be to risk the danger of another, and perhaps deeper, South African invasion.

Angola's rulers, then, face the same stark choice that confronted President Samora Machel of Mozambique who, because of the economic and security crisis gripping his regime, felt compelled to yield to Pretoria's pressures.

Mr Machel had to bar African Nationalist Congress guerillas from using Mozambican territory for incursions into South Africa and is now co-operating economically with his neighbour.

Disengagement from Angola was arranged to take place in stages. The area was divided into five parallel east-west strips. As the South Africans pulled back, so the Angolans rolled forward to assume the responsibility of disarming the Swapo bases and policing the region.

Surprise talks with Kaunda in Lusaka

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, today flew to Lusaka for talks with the Angolans and President Kaunda.

News of the meeting leaked out in Lusaka and Foreign Affairs spokesmen in Cape Town were tight-lipped about it.

All they would say was that Mr Botha was out of town.

The discussions in Lusaka take place against the background of reports that problems have arisen with South Africa's withdrawal from Southern Angola, which is being supervised by a joint monitoring commission of the two countries.

There are said to have been delays in the withdrawal which, according to one report, had at one stage a deadline of the end of March.

WORKING WELL

Interviewed in Pretoria earlier today before the news of his trip to Lusaka had become known, Mr Botha dismissed suggestions that the withdrawal had been temporarily suspended.

He was reacting to overseas reports that South Africa was awaiting assurances on certain issues before the withdrawal was resumed.

Mr Botha said today that the joint monitoring commission of South Africa and Angola was working well.

In terms of the Lusaka agreement it would move south from region to region once such areas had been cleared of Swapo. The withdrawal was continuing, he said. Problems had been experienced from time to time and no firm deadline had been set.

In terms of the agreement the commission will cease to exist within 30 days of the final withdrawal. South Africa has proposed that it should then be turned into a peace-keeping force.

budge

Angolans find Swapo hard to

C. Times 9/7/84

Defence Reporter

MR Pik Botha's fence-mending meeting with Angolan officials at Lusaka last Monday has underlined once again the positive and negative aspects of the joint disengagement process.

In a nutshell, the political spirit is willing on both sides — but the Angolans' means of actually carrying out their part of process are weak.

The biggest problem — particularly now that the disengagement process has reached the "shallow area" immediately north of the SWA/Namibian border — is one of controlling Swapo activity.

There are two main aspects to this:

● Swapo is an unwilling participant in the process.

It would seem that Angola — plagued by its struggle with Unita insurgents and hard-hit by South African operations — ordered Swapo to take part in the withdrawal, rather than try to reach a consensus with it.

This cavalier treatment stemmed from Angola's deteriorating civil and military situation. It had suffered grievous losses, particularly in equipment, in three major South African pre-emptive operations between 1980 and 1984, just when it needed all its military resources to combat Unita.

These losses were directly connected with Angola's support of Swapo in the SWA/Namibia war.

It is indicative of Angola's stance that in the context of the Lusaka agreement it was willing to accept that Unita was strictly an internal issue and not part of the disengagement process.

Pretoria did not involve Swapo in the run-up to disengagement either, neither was Swapo represented at either of the two Mulungushi conferences at Lusaka in February at which South Africa and Angola reached the withdrawal agreement.

Swapo leaders later made it clear to the Angolan Government that they felt affronted by this lack of recognition, implying that they had been hijacked by the Angolans and ignored by the South Africans, and consequently did not feel any enthusiasm for participation in the withdrawal.

However, the main Swapo leaders reportedly accepted the disengagement concept, in spite of the unfavourable implications for them.

South Africa's attitude is that Swapo is welcome to take part in the internal process as a political party — but must first lay down its arms.

The problem here is that Mr Sam Nujoma apparently does not exercise full control over his organization's military wing, particularly the elements operating into SWA/Namibia.

● The Angolans are having trouble making Swapo toe the line in the south.

Swapo's southernmost operators pose a formidable control problem for Fapla (the Angolan armed forces).

After 18 years of insurgency, Swapo are used to operating in the bush for long periods, living off the land or subsisting on minimum rations, travelling vast distances on foot and melting into the environment.

By contrast, the average Fapla members are "conventional" rather than counter-insurgency soldiers, trained and equipped mainly for a defensive role.

Inevitably the Fapla soldiers are not as fit as Swapo, seldom undertake bush patrols deeper than about 50km, and are unable to stay out for more than a few days at a time without resupply.

In addition, Fapla has been able to deploy only a few hundred troops for monitoring purposes. It cannot spare more because it is fighting a virtually nationwide campaign against Unita and must also supply men to reoccupy the territories from which the South Africans have withdrawn.

It is ironic that the Angolan Government is now being over-extended and worn down by the same process it once employed against the Portuguese.

The reoccupation of the south is extremely important for the Angolans. Not only must they present a winner's image to the local population, but they must also secure their position against possible Unita action.

As a result, Fapla is obviously finding it difficult to control the southern Swapo elements located in the "shallow area", particularly since certain elements of Swapo do not feel obliged to co-operate in the disengagement process.

Indeed, active Swapo groups are border-hopping on a large scale for the first time in years — most likely as a result of the partial vacuum caused by the disengagement in the territory just north of the "shallow area".

Another problem is the sheer size of the so-called "area in question". It is roughly 550km long by 400km deep; generally speaking it is thinly-populated and densely-bushed. Roads are poor, telephone communications nonexistent, and the local population is often hostile or apathetic.

Angolan guerilla blast kills 22, injures 50

Unita blows up major oil pipeline

5
Star
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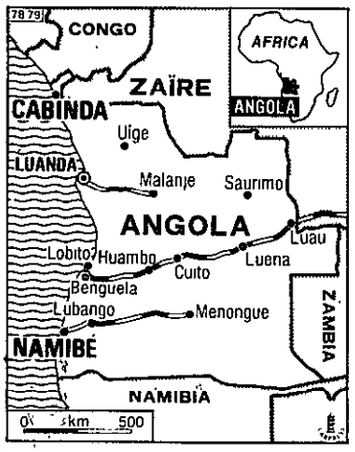

By Peter Honey, The Star Bureau

Windhoek

For the first time Unita has struck at Angola's vital oil industry in the heavily-fortified northern enclave of Cabinda.

A time bomb blew up a major oil pipeline, killing 22 people and injuring another 50, Unita said yesterday in a communique.

The government news agency, Angop, confirmed the attack, adding that a family of 10 had died in the blast.

The Cabinda oil operation has been regarded as relatively secure against Unita attacks, so much so that, in 1981, America's Gulf Oil company launched an investment programme of R150 million a year until 1986.

The Unita spokesman who issued the communique, Colonel Carlos Candanda, claimed that his organisation was now operating in every province of Angola except the south-western extremity surrounding the port of Namibe.

Observers believe that, if Unita succeeds in taking the war to Cabinda, the MPLA's already hatd-hit economy could be dealt a crippling blow.

About 80 percent of Angola's revenue comes from Cabinda's off-shore wells where Cuban soldiers help to guard the operations of American, Brazilian, French and Italian companies.

Most of the oil is exported to America in crude form but Angola refined more than 1,2 million tons in 1980.

Warning

Colonel Candanda said that the bomb attack on Friday was a warning and Unita intended to intensify the conflict in northern Angola and Cabinda through military action.

He claimed that Unita had killed 466 government soldiers since the beginning of the month in several operations and contacts.

Angop said that government troops killed 44 Unita guerillas in central and eastern Angola between June 26 and July 4.

The Unita communique, which was issued in Munich, warned the companies operating on the MPLA side to review their positions or exert their influence for the removal of Cuban troops from Angola, thus opening the way for the formation of an Angolan government of national unity.

Angola's hopes are pinned on Namibian ceasefire

Since 1961 Angola, potentially one of Africa's richest nations, has been torn by war. In this special report filed for The Star's Foreign News Service, MARTIN LUMB in Luanda describes how hopes for peace and reconstruction in that country hang on a settlement in Namibia.

LUANDA — The convoy of tanks pulling away from the harbour at Luanda attracted little attention. It has been an all-too-common sight for a people who have known nothing but war in nine hard years of somewhat fragile independence.

It was an independence thrown at Angola by the departing Portuguese almost as an afterthought as they completed a hasty departure from their former colony.

One of their legacies was war. There was civil war and there was an invasion from South Africa — and the fighting has gone on more or less ever since. So it is not surprising that the people of Luanda have become inured to its daily manifestations — like the shipments of arms and the truckloads of soldiers, Angolan and Cuban alike, which seem to speed interminably around the bumpy roads of Luanda.

But there is a difference about the current military build-up which is seen in the capital. This time, Angola is quite clearly preparing to go on the offensive.

If the elusive independence settlement in Namibia can be found and the South African threat removed from Angola's southern border, the MPLA Government says it can take the war to the Unita rebel movement in a way it has been unable to do up to now.

With the rebels starved of South African help, as they would be in any comprehensive regional settlement, MPLA forces should be able — so their theory goes — to reduce Unita to the level of a tribal insurgency based among the Ovimbundu people in the central highlands.

These are high hopes which seasoned neutral observers in Luanda say are unrealistic. But, whether the civil war is to be settled on the battlefield or at the negotiating table, the implications of this switch in emphasis seem to be gradually filtering through to people.

The question is being asked: What could a peaceful Angola achieve?

Any change in the national mood is barely perceptible but those who have seen the changing face of Angola will tell you that people are tired of war. People in power will tell you that Angola is putting its own national interest first, a new phenomenon after the bloody consequences of supporting the Namibian nationalist cause.

Angola has abundant oil supplies, diamonds, rich and plentiful agricultural land and a small population. It could be one of the most prosperous countries in Africa if it were not so preoccupied with war — and it is this tragic waste that people are starting to question.

Spending on defence, including paying for the 20 000 or so Cuban troops, takes more than half the country's foreign earnings. It is estimated that 10 000 people have been killed in clashes with South African forces in the south of the country and another 150 000 have been displaced.

"There is no doubt that the Angolan people have paid a high price in human lives and material damage for their expression of solidarity with Namibia," said Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Paulo Jorge.

"Our people have made too many sacrifices but we believe that our national interests will be served when we reach peace, when Namibia is independent. From that moment I believe we will be able to implement many projects for economic and social development and begin to exploit the enormous potential that exists in Angola.

"The Angolan people should be left in peace to develop their country and to have the social and political system that they choose. We have not lived a single day of peace since we started the armed struggle in 1961 and I don't know what kind of crime our people have committed that denies them the right to live in peace.

"But if, by diplomatic efforts, we, as the international community, can succeed in implementing United Nations Resolution 435 on Namibian independence then we will see a change," said Mr Jorge.

Angola has firmly ruled out any Nkomati-style agreement with South Africa but Mr Jorge believes an agreement whereby Unita is denied aid from South Africa can be reached without the signing of a formal non-aggression pact like the one between South Africa and Mozambique.

"Once there is a ceasefire between Swapo and South Africa, it will not be possible for South Africa to continue to help these bandits," he said.

"After a ceasefire, United Nations forces will automatically come to the region. How could South Africa then continue to transport, feed, finance and train these rebels? We are convinced that, from that moment, our armed forces will be able to clear Angola of bandits.

"We have never said that they have no popular support. But the base for their recruitment is only on one tribe, the Ovimbundu, and many people of that tribe do not support them," he said.

The squalid streets of Luanda show the deprivation the country has endured. There is no maintenance of roads or buildings. Rubbish is left to rot in the streets, often in pools of stagnant water from broken pipes that stay unrepaired.

Half-finished appartment blocks give the illusion of a thriving construction industry. But, sadly, most of them date back to colonial times and the indecent haste of the departing Portuguese builders who simply abandoned them.

Finance and technical expertise have been scarce ever since and so the building plots have stood frozen in time, like some of the factories on the outskirts of Luanda since their Portuguese owners fled taking vital pieces of machinery.

There is little public transport in the city and no taxis. The administration is in chaos.

There are no cafes or bars or restaurants and the streets are quickly deserted as darkness descends.

There can be few countries which had such a disadvantaged start in life, a point worth remembering when looking at the squalor and chaos of the capital. But the country is going through a drastic transformation and there are some encouraging signs that the young generation at the helm is getting to grips with its more pressing problems.

Unita set to fight in the streets of Luanda

23/7/84 Star

By Peter Sullivan, Political Correspondent

JAMBA — Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, has vowed to take his guerilla war "into the busy streets of Luanda before the end of the year" and warned that civilian casualties may be unavoidable.

"We have instructed our people to select military targets, but sometimes civilians get hurt," he said at a Press conference held at his headquarters in southern Angola.

The rebel leader repeatedly said the MPLA Government in Angola would have to talk to him soon, and listed recent Unita victories as proof of this.

Dr Savimbi, who is clearly feeling the pressure of South Africa's Lusaka negotiations with the Angolan Government as a threat to his rebel movement, said his top priority was the removal of Cuban forces from Angola.

If it came to a choice between continued South African support and a Cuban withdrawal, he said, he would definitely opt for the latter.

South Africa was a regional power and he did not expect it to sacrifice its own interests on his behalf. "But we hope they will not do a deal where they deal us out," he added.

One of the problems was that "our African friends receive us so warmly — but during the night. That is worse than not receiving us at all."

Dr Savimbi said he wanted to visit South Africa openly, to be seen talking to South Africans on the streets of the cities and in Soweto.

"The ANC is your enemy and they are not my friends. I have never spoken to them for reasons that originate in the politics of the sixties.

"So I say: 'Let us go into dialogue with each other, it is the only way.' "

Angola rivals may get together, says Savimbi

Political Correspondent

JAMBA — Angola's two rival groups could get together to form one government, says Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

At a weekend conference here he said he would be willing to serve in a united government under President Eduardo dos Santos.

"I don't mind serving under Dos Santos if he thinks he can handle me," Dr Savimbi said, adding that he must guarantee "we will not be killed ... or imprisoned".

Dr Savimbi, who claims his forces occupy one-third of Angola, said at his southern Angolan headquarters — which he labels the country's temporary capital — that he was convinced the MPLA would have to talk to him soon.

In talks with the MPLA he would not set any preconditions, but the Cuban removal would have to be the first item on the agenda of any meeting, he said.

Dr Savimbi said there were 15 Cuban regiments with 35 000 men in Angola, plus two African National Congress (ANC) battalions, 2 500 East Germans, 1 500 Soviets, 3 000 Swapo men and 3 500 Portugese.

He said Mr dos Santos had publically admitted Unita controlled one-sixth, which was a "tremendous" admission.

No matter how cynical you are politically . . .



Troops on the parade ground at Jamba stand easy while their national anthem is played. Posters and banners proclaiming Dr Jonas Savimbi line the ground.

Jamba is as much a neat and ordered African town as it is a military camp, but there's no money here, people simply work for the cause.

A trip to Jamba is like a brainwash

The Star's Political Correspondent PETER SULLIVAN recently interviewed Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi at his headquarters in Southern Angola. These are his impressions of Jamba military camp.

Visiting a guerilla camp in Southern Angola is no longer any big deal: many journalists, foreign dignitaries, envoys and military men have been there before.

One arrives somewhat cynical, expecting an experience of normal dimensions, possibly a news story or two from what Dr Savimbi says.

Instead the experience is extraordinary. A little like a brainwash, a whole lot like a religious conversion.

After an exhausting night, we arrived at the stadium (one of two in Jamba) to be welcomed by thousands of singing, chanting, ululating Africans waving bits of paper in the air with the kind of enthusiasm one expects to see at a soccer cup final.

And the crowd is not far away or contained within the circle of a stadium, they are right there with you, singing and shouting in your ear.

As you walk to the podium, not a temporary shelter but more a permanent grandstand, you gulp down wave upon wave of raw, neat emotion.

No matter how cynical you might be politically, it gets to you.

On the parade ground that serves as the arena of the stadium are impeccably dressed troops, three companies of them.

Next to them is a display of big guns, artillery pieces and anti-aircraft weapons.

The crowd keeps chanting, the singers keep singing, doing little choreographed dances which clearly express their welcome. Very moving for South Africans unused to welcomes in Africa.

At the side a praise-singer calls into a microphone: "Yea-ay-ay-ay!" The crowd responds with a delighted cry in Portuguese.

You are to hear the same cry over and over again.

A platoon of soldiers marches on to execute some exquisite drill movements, changing arms with AK-47 rifles, jackboot marching, slow time, ceremonial salutes to the podium.

Seven young boys, aged six to 14, walk on to the parade ground from different directions and do a piece of poetry.

Later Dr Savimbi informs you all their fathers were killed in battle. What they were saying in Portugese boils down to: "You must continue fighting, the Cubans must leave Angola, we don't want the MPLA."

The poignancy of orphans at Jamba is reinforced when you see 800 of them being given schooling on a blackboard in the bush.

Political correspondents, not hardened but certainly experienced, have tears in their eyes as Grade One children sing their freedom songs.

Most of them have parents who died fighting.

An arithmetic lesson goes: "If Unita captured 30 British, 15 Czechoslovaks, one Yugoslav and 40 Portuguese this year, how many foreigners did it get?"

A lesson in Portuguese grammar starts: "Portugal colonised Angola some time ago and they later left the country after handing it over to the MPLA."

That night Dr Savimbi hosts a dinner, fish-heads fried with South African wines, beers and cold drinks. The irony of being served by bow-tied, black-suited guerilla fighters is hard to swallow.

Sleeping quarters are immaculately-kept huts, with beds, two blankets, sheets and pillow-cases. Clearly for foreign visitors only.

Before sleeping there is a mandatory "culture session" at the second stadium, a neon-lit place with chairs all around, a stage with curtains, a band in attendance.

There is a karate demonstration, some tradional dancing, a gymnastic display by the prettiest women in camp.

Everything is spread out everywhere, and to see anything in the town of Jamba, for it is as much a neat and ordered African town as it is a military camp, one needs to take a ride on the back of a four-wheel-drive vehicle through deep sand ruts which serve as roads.

Several times the Land Rover gets stuck and has to be pushed.

There's no money in Jamba, everyone simply works for the cause.

The next morning there's a visit to a uniform factory (they turn out 700 items a day, taking an hour for a pair of pants, 90 minutes for a shirt) then a Press conference with this charismatic leader.

He is clearly worshipped by his troops and the people at Jamba. He has thousands of fighters spread all over Angola, and claims to control a third of the country.

Most songs contain the rhythm Sa-vim-bi, the papers the masses wave are pictures of him.

He knew Che Guevara, shared digs with Samora Machel, spent a year in China, has a genuine doctorate (of philosophy), once walked 1 400 km throughout Angola visiting his supporters.

He has addressed the US congress, met Mr P W Botha more than once.

He has a strange humility, a deep understanding of international politics, supports dialogue at all levels, says Africans must respect their differences instead of trying to force their philosophies on each other.

He says he will be in Luanda by December. He does not want big-power escalation ("Angola must not become another Poland"). He is convinced he will win the war because the people of Angola will support him.

For a guerilla camp in a State controlled by the enemy, Jamba is a hell of a place. Being woken politely with coffee by a guerilla fighter (if he was against us he would be called a terrorist) is one hell of an experience.

The civil war in Angola is hell itself.

'Unita was asked to shoot hostages'

(5) The Star's Foreign News Service

Star 26/7/84

MUNICH — An Angolan official has said Czechoslovak emigre organisations tried to persuade Unita to shoot their Czech hostages, according to a Czech Minister.

The 20 hostages were freed last month.

Deputy Foreign Minister Stanislav Svoboda played a major role in negotiations for their release.

He told the official Czech news agency Ceteka that during his talks in Luanda he was told by an Angolan official that Czech emigres had been trying to persuade Unita to execute the hostages.

RAND DAILY MAIL, Monday, July 30, 1984

Only '5 000 Cuban troops in Angola'

By STANLEY UYS
London Bureau

LONDON. — There are only 5 000 Cuban soldiers in Angola — not 25 000 — according to an article in Jane's Defence Weekly, issued by the same company which publishes the prestigious Jane's Fighting Ships.

The article is written by Mr Adrian J English, an academic living in Ireland who is writing a book on Cuba's military forces.

He told the BBC, who interviewed him about the article, that the figure of 25 000 or more Cuban troops in Angola was "American propaganda". He said he was not a Leftwinger, but the figures of the Cuban presence in Angola had been grossly exaggerated.

According to Mr English, more than 20 000 Cuban military personnel are deployed outside the country. Of this number 5 000 are in Angola, 6 000 in Ethiopia, 2 000 in Iraq and 3 000 in Libya. The remaining 4 000 or more are in other countries.

It is not clear from the article whether the figure of 6 000 Cubans in Ethiopia reflects the present situation or the situation before the recent withdrawal of many Cuban soldiers from that country.

Mr English says the Cuban Expeditionary Forces in Angola and Ethiopia each have the status of armies as, collectively, have the Foreign Military Assistance Forces deployed in smaller numbers in other countries, "although both appear to be organised only at regimental level".

Cuba, says Mr English, is one of the world's most completely militarised countries, "with the degree of popular involvement in defence and internal security rivalling even that of Israel".

"Of a total population of less than 10-million, an estimated 174 000 are involved on a full-time basis in defence and security functions, another 100 000 in military civic action, and over 600 000 are enrolled in paramilitary reserve organisations.

"In addition, there are an estimated 190 000 trained reservists, subject to annual refresher training and immediate mobilisation in cases of emergency.

"All male Cuban citizens between the ages of 16 and 45 are liable for military service, with the initial training period lasting three years, between the ages of 17 and 20.

"Women may enlist voluntarily and a large proportion of the administrative and logistic back-up services of the revolutionary armed forces are provided by female personnel.

"Fidel Castro, as president of the Council of Ministers, is commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces. His brother, Raul, as Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, directs the joint general staff, and is ultimately responsible for the direction on a day-to-day basis, of the revolutionary army, navy and air defence and air forces which are three co-equal entities, each of which is the responsibility of a Vice-Minister.

"Each has its own general staff, under the co-ordinating control of the joint general staff.

"Over 75% of all officers are graduates of the Six Camilo Cienfuegos Military School which gives pre-military training to children between the ages of 11 and 17.

"Preference in the allocation of military cadetships is given to members of the Young Communist Union and the majority of the members of the officer corps of the Revolutionary Armed Forces are active members of the Communist Party.

"Many commissioned and some enlisted personnel receive part of their training in the Soviet Union."

5 000 Cubans in Angola — claim

From STANLEY UYS

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Broadcasts hostile to Angola, Zimbabwe

Mystery Tvl stations air propaganda

By Stephen McQuillan
of the 24 Hours team

Propaganda branded hostile to two of South Africa's neighbouring countries is being beamed from the Transvaal by mystery radio stations.

Confirmation that the clandestine broadcasts emanated from South Africa came today from the BBC Monitoring Service, which records radio transmissions from around the world.

Two stations were broadcasting political propaganda to Angola and Zimbabwe, the BBC said. The broadcasts to Zimbabwe were heard as recently as last week.

"These stations are broadcasting from the Transvaal," said Mr John Chadwick, acting assistant editor of news and publications for the BBC Monitoring Service in Reading, England.

"We can't pinpoint the transmitters because we haven't got enough monitoring stations in that part of the world.

"We can give only the approximate locations of these stations — roughly in terms of the size of a British county."

But sources in Zimbabwe said the transmissions beamed to their country had been coming from Moriah Hill, near Messina, for about a month. Before that, the signal was coming from the Louis Trichardt area — about 90 km away.

This would suggest that the radio signals are being beamed from a mobile unit," said the source.

A third station, transmitting propaganda to Mozambique, ended its broadcasts days after the Nkomati Accord was signed, said Mr Chadwick.

"A magazine, New Africa, reported that the Mozambique signals were coming from the north-eastern Transvaal although we cannot confirm this."

In English

Radio Truth, whose transmissions could be heard in Zimbabwe, was broadcasting in

SABC fades as broadcasts reach Harare

The Star Bureau

HARARE — Broadcasts of Radio Truth into Zimbabwe have been monitored at 5 015 khz on the 60 m shortwave band — very close to the external broadcasts of the SABC.

A Zimbabwe Government source said the transmissions, monitored in Harare, took place six days a week between 6.30 am and 7 am, although the signal appeared weak.

External broadcasts of the SABC have been heard to go off the air at around 6.25 am and resume at just before 7 am — the time that Radio Truth is transmitting, said the government source.

The cultured English tones of a woman calling herself "Flame Lily" dispense the virulent anti-Mugabe commentary, often interspersed with "appropriate" music.

During a long commentary

● To Page 3, Col 7 ☞

Radio Truth shows SA aggression — Harare

The Star Bureau

HARARE — Zimbabwe Information Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira has said Harare regards the operation of Radio Truth as an indication of South Africa's aggressive attitude.

He told The Star Bureau earlier this year that Zimbabwe's objecions had been made known to the South African authorities through the trade mission in Johannesburg.

He said: "We know that a former Rhodesian security officer is running the station. But he is acting under orders from the South African authorities."

Dr Shamuyarira said there was no doubt that the station operated from the Transvaal. He said the broadcasts had little political impact and the radio represented a clumsy attempt at subversion.

The Minister said Zimbabwe had criticised the policy of apartheid on its radio service.

"But we have not directed any of our radio programmes at a particular section of the South African public in an attempt to subvert the Government.

"South Africa has an external service which is anti-Zimbabwean and anti-African generally. But it also has this special radio beamed at Zimbabwe."

He said that until the South African Government acted to stop the broadcasts, it was difficult to take seriously its claims that it wanted peace in the region.

SABC fades during broadcasts

● From Page 1.

aimed at whites, asking what they hoped to gain by remaining in a Zimbabwe that was crumbling around them, "Flame Lily" played Elton John's "Goodbye yellow brick road".

The commentaries, in English and occasionally delivered by a man, also include jokes denigrating Mr Mugabe and his government.

Government radio technicians in Harare regularly monitor the broadcasts, and transcripts of the commentaries have been shown to visiting delegates as evidence of South Africa's "destabilisation" campaign against Zimbabwe.

In March this year a Bulawayo man, Derek John Rhodes (64), was given a suspended four-month jail sentence for recording a Radio Truth programme, broadcast in the vernacular, and playing it to his black workmates.

After his arrest, Rhodes was allegedly assaulted by police officers and kept in custody for some time.

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In English

Radio Truth, whose transmissions could be heard in Zimbabwe, was broadcasting in English between 4.30 am and 5 am GMT every day on 4 902 khz, said Mr Chadwick.

The broadcasts were resumed in Shona and Ndebele — with occasional announcements in English — between 5 pm and 5.30 pm GMT each day on the same frequency, he told 24 Hours.

The BBC recorded a test transmission on March 10 1983 and the first commentary 15 days later. Broadcasts started on 6 010 khz but, at the end of the first week, they switched to 4 902 khz.

"We would describe Radio Truth's broadcasts as hostile to the government of Zimbabwe," said Mr Chadwick.

He said the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel was beamed to Angola in Portuguese and other commonly spoken Angolan languages. It supported Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerilla movement.

"We would call these transmissions hostile to the Government of Angola."

The broadcasts were on 4 950 khz at 4.30 am to 6.30 am and 5.30 pm to 7.30 pm GMT every day. Mr Chadwick said the station was first heard on January 4 1979.

The Voice of Mozambique Resistance was broadcast to Mozambique, also from the Transvaal, but transmissions were stopped a week after the signing of the Nkomati Accord, he said.

● See Page 11, World section.

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● From Page 1.

aimed at whites, asking what they hoped to gain by remaining in a Zimbabwe that was crumbling around them, "Flame Lily" played Elton John's "Goodbye yellow brick road".

The commentaries, in English and occasionally delivered by a man, also include jokes denigrating Mr Mugabe and his government.

Government radio technicians in Harare regularly monitor the broadcasts, and transcripts of the commentaries have been shown to visiting delegates evidence of South Africa's " tabilisation" campaign ag Zimbabwe.

In March this year a lawayo man, Derek Rhodes (64), was given a spended four-month jail tence for recording a R Truth programme, broad the vernacular, and playin to his black workmates.

After his arrest, Rhodes allegedly assaulted by police ficers and kept in custody some time.

WILLIE VAN NIEKERK

The Cubans must go



Namibian Administrator General Willie van Niekerk met Swapo leader Sam Nujoma at Cape Verde last week. The *FM* spoke to him about the meeting and on the state of the independence negotiations.

***FM*: What was the value of the Cape Verde talks?**

Van Niekerk: We talked to Swapo because peace and stability is the responsibility of this office, while political development is the responsibility of the political parties. Only in peace can political development really take place. We told Swapo that the unnecessary maiming and killing of innocent civilians is totally unacceptable. I told Nujoma that since 1979, 325 civilians have been killed and 550 injured in landmine explosions. In addition, 405 others have been murdered and 1 378 abducted. He did not know this. I also told him that it is mostly Namibians who are protecting their fellow Namibians against his attacks and that his propaganda that he is fighting the racists of the colonial power is factually incorrect.

Did Swapo give any explanation for continuing the war?

Swapo's stand is very clear: they are using the presence of the Cubans in Angola to carry on with terrorism. It is as simple as that. They know full well that the SA government has been saying since 1981 that Resolution 435 will be implemented only if the Cubans move out. Nujoma knew from a telex we sent him that this was going to be the guideline for our talks.

Did you offer anything in exchange for a cessation of hostilities or make any further proposals?

It certainly is not necessary to tell somebody, "I will give you something in return for stopping your acts of terror." We said that if they stop their armed struggle, we will reciprocate in a similar fashion. We are here to protect the local population — we are not in a state of war with anybody.

Did Swapo react?

Yes, they refused absolutely. They see a cessation of hostilities as an integral part of Resolution 435, which is not the case. Resolution 435 says the UN forces shall monitor the ceasefire. The ceasefire can come a month or a year beforehand.

Is the SA government and your office not being inflexible?

No, only consistent. Our stand on the Cubans is not new.

So who is going to break the deadlock?

I think the Angolans must decide if they still want such a big surrogate power, one that is foreign to Africa. That is where the decision lies.

How did you phrase your precondition for a Cuban withdrawal?

We can implement Resolution 435 when there is a firm commitment on Cuban withdrawal.

Your remarks at the press conference after your return from Cape Verde were interpreted as a military threat to Swapo and as raising the threat of a new raid into Angola.

I was only being very honest and straightforward. Swapo must decide if they want to walk a political or terrorist road. If they want to walk the terrorist road, they will have to suffer the consequences.

Do you expect an escalation of the war?

I don't think they have the ability to escalate the war. But if they want to, we are ready for them.

What is the state of the war?

More Swapo soldiers are deserting than ever before, their morale is very low and they are concentrating on soft targets. An example is the mortar attack on the hospital at Oshakati. Sick people cannot run away. That is the kind of war Swapo is fighting.

So it seems the outlook for a peaceful settlement is very bleak?

No, I think things are looking better than ever before. I think the mere fact that we talked at Cape Verde is a step in the right direction. This situation has been going on for many years; it cannot be solved overnight. Also, Swapo is finding that it cannot depend on the international view that it is the only representative of the people of Namibia. It is under strong pressure from its host countries. It does not seem as if Swapo has the ability to manoeuvre out of this problem, otherwise they would have done so. But I must state again that we find it totally unacceptable that hospitals are attacked with mortars and that we will undoubtedly take the proper steps (to prevent such actions).

What influence does the US presidential election have on the Namibian negotiations?

I do not think Namibia is going to play any role whatsoever in that election.

'SA expertise used in attack on ships'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — *The Observer* newspaper claims that South African expertise was involved in last week's attack on two ships in Luanda harbour.

Unita has claimed responsibility for the limpet mine attack on the ships.

The attacks have increased pressure on the Angolan Government to sign an Nkomati-type non-aggression pact with South Africa.

The raids and an intensification of Unita's guerilla war have badly undermined confidence in Luanda.

On Friday, Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Vanancio de Moura said Angola was "open to discussions with South Africa, the United States or any government interested in a just and lasting solution to Southern African problems".

Mr Marcus Samonda, Unita's spokesman in Washington, said: "There will be more unpleasant surprises for the MPLA very soon".

The mining of the ships has also set off a torrent of accusations against America. The official news agency in Luanda said the mines were "US-made" and that the explosions were designed to create panic.

Unita claims one of the damaged ships contained armoured cars. The Angolan Government says they were bringing in food.

The Observer says there is no sign that Pretoria has reduced its supplies of arms, fuel and vehicles to Unita.

● A spokesman for the SADF said he could not comment on such "malicious propaganda".

It was common knowledge that Unita had claimed responsibility for the attacks, he added.

ANGOLA

Changing the Cuban signals

The MPLA government in Luanda may be about to change its strategy on the withdrawal of Cuban troops. In a remarkable turnaround, the Angolan Deputy Minister of External Relations, Venancio de Moura, has declared his government's willingness to drop its precondition that UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia be implemented before the Cubans go.

De Moura's remarks, quoted by the internal Angolan radio service this week, created a stir in Pretoria, Windhoek and Washington. The SA Department of Foreign Affairs is understood to have been in contact with the Angolans in an effort to establish whether the new approach is now official policy.

In a related development, Luanda has started pressing for a second round of peace talks between Namibian Administrator-General Willie van Niekerk and the Swapo leadership. It is clear that the MPLA government, aided by Cape Verde President Aristides Pereira, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, is now applying pressure on Swapo to halt its armed struggle and switch to a political role.

Swapo's continued military activity is given as the only reason why the SA forces are still occupying the southernmost parts of Angola and why the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) is still stationed at N'Giva in Angola.

The *FM* understands that another meeting between Van Niekerk and Swapo is being organised for the very near future. Van Niekerk's office this week responded to queries by saying that he has declared himself willing to talk to any party at any time if it will serve the interests of peace.

SA is making it clear to all concerned that it is prepared to be very tough with Swapo on the military front, but tolerant of Swapo as a political party. There has been no action taken against internal Swapo leaders since the embarrassing arrest of 37 of them while PM P W Botha was meeting the Pope in Rome. In addition, Swapo Politburo member Andimba Toivo ja Toivo has been allowed to travel freely, including trips to Luanda.

At a press conference for Angolan journalists, Angolan deputy minister De Moura also stressed the need for a ceasefire between Swapo and SA. He spoke of "the beginning of discussions of conditions for a ceasefire which would amount to a step toward the beginning of implementation of UN Resolution 435."

This is a direct contradiction of the stand taken by Swapo leader Sam Nujoma when he met Van Niekerk in Cape Verde. Nujoma maintained that there could only be a cessation of hostilities after the start of implementation. There is now widespread speculation that Nujoma risks losing the support of powerful elements within Swapo if he persists with his hawkish attitude.

It is also thought that Swapo leaders like publicity and information secretary Hidipo Hamutenya and UN representative Theo-Ben Gurirab will attend any further talks with Van Niekerk. They stayed away from the first round.

De Moura also said his government is open for discussions, "... be it with SA or the United States itself, or other governments interested in a just and lasting solution for the problems of Southern Africa." He added that SA and the US should "engage themselves more seriously in the process of a peaceful solution of the problems of Southern Africa." Conciliatory language of this kind from senior MPLA leaders is regarded as something new.

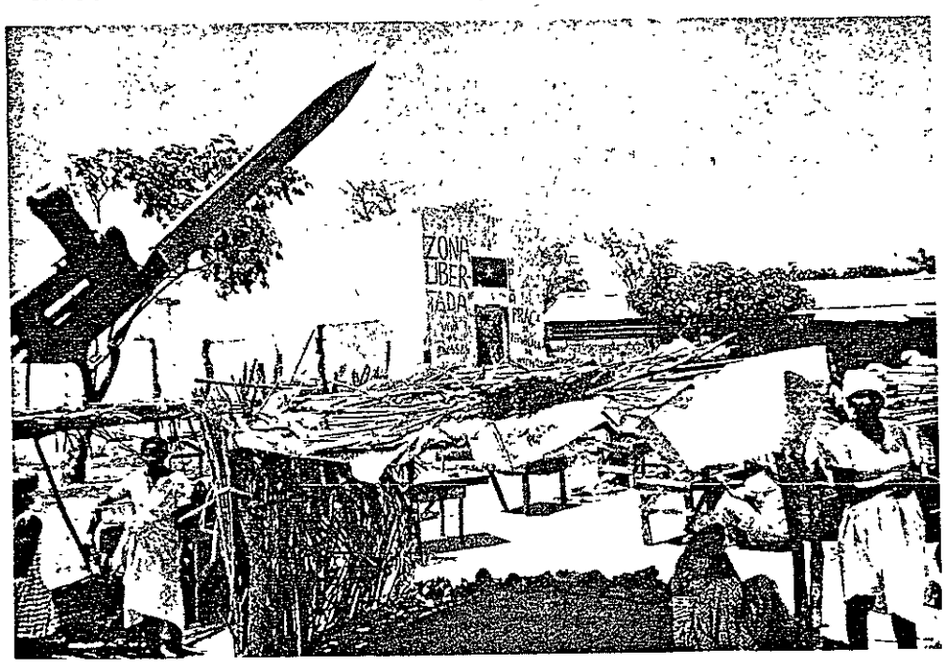
On the Cuban withdrawal, De Moura said that his government has accepted the principle of a gradual withdrawal, and has only two preconditions: complete unilateral withdrawal of SA troops from Angola, and the cessation of all SA logistical and military support to Unita.

"As far as we are concerned," he said, "the solution of these two problems would enable the governments of Angola and Cuba, within reasonable limits, to honour the compromises stated in the declarations of February 4 1982 and March 19 1984."

SA has already agreed to withdraw its troops from Angola and, although it has never admitted to supporting Unita, could be expected to stop doing so if the MPLA undertakes to stop helping Swapo. Such action could hurt Unita, especially where supplies of fuel through Namibia are concerned. In anticipation of such moves, Unita is beginning to rely more heavily on Western and African aid through Zaire.

De Moura has been very active with the Foreign Minister, Alexandre 'Kito' Rodrigues, in the peace negotiations with SA, although he is not a member of the MPLA Politburo or its central committee.

A senior Western observer approached for comment by the *FM* said the De Moura remarks were "very interesting", but cautioned that "this is a step-by-step process. No single action should be blown out of proportion. But hopefully this is an indication of the beginning of real progress."



Angolan scene ... now the peace offensive?

STRIKES

Many more this year

With four months to go, there is a strong possibility that strike levels in 1984 could be higher than in 1982, when SA experienced its worst strike year on record. This prospect undermines the theory that strike activity diminishes during recessions.

Last week, the Department of Man-

Frigate plucked SA men off Angolan coast

5 C-Times 11/3/84

Defence Reporter

AFTER almost nine years of official secrecy, the story of one of the daring exploits of Operation Savannah — the 1975-76 South African incursion into Angola — has been disclosed.

It is the tale of how Brigadier Ben Roos, South African chief advisor with the National Front for the Liberation of Angola, was plucked off a beach near Luanda in pitch darkness after the anti-Marxist collapse in the north.

The story is told in the new book "PW", by Dirk and Johanna de Villiers, which has just been published by Tafelberg. While not a war book, "PW" deals with all the events involving Mr P W Botha, including Operation Savannah.

Defeat

The incident is one of the few revelations of the secret operations carried out by the South African Navy during that time.

The escape took place in late November 1975, soon after the FNLA leader, Holden Roberto, decided to advance on, and capture, Luanda, stronghold of the rival MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

Brigadier Roos strongly advised against this, but Mr Roberto persisted, and suffered a crushing defeat which spelt the end of FNLA participation in the civil war.

It now became a matter of urgency for Brigadier Roos and his 26-man South African contingent to leave the FNLA headquarters at Ambriz and get out of Angola. The only way out was by sea, since the MPLA controlled the territory between them and the SWA/Namibian border.

Brigadier Roos contacted Americans with whom he had been co-operating, but "these 'comrades-in-arms' had vanished completely between November 24 and 28", the authors say.

He then arranged to be picked up at the port of Ambrizete by the frigate SAS President Steyn (Captain A S Davis) which had been "quietly creeping around the West Coast ... in anticipation of any task she might be given".

The pickup date was set at 11pm on November 27. The road to Ambrizete was bad, and it was not till 4am on November 28 that Brigadier Roos could signal that he was ready to be picked up.

Helicopter

In spite of the urgency of the matter — it would be sunrise by 7.10am — Captain Davis had to proceed carefully in pitch darkness down the coast.

Having avoided an underwater sandbank, he made contact at 4.40am and sent three rubber dinghies and a cutter out in a 3 metre swell.

Assisted by a helicopter all 26 men and communications and cryptographic equipment worth R500 000 were ferried to the Steyn.

By 6.50pm the operation was complete, and just before daybreak the President Steyn slipped away, and on November 30 Brigadier Roos and his men stepped ashore at Walvis Bay.

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ment leadership ranks about ways to draw newly established English-speaking support closer to the National Party.

The recent President's Council nominations in the Transvaal, for example, did not favour the English and Jewish lobbies — apparently a source of concern to the leadership.

This week the Administrator of Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, resigned, thus assuring his election on Thursday as Natal leader of the NP in the place of Mr Owen Horwood.

A possible elevation to the Cabinet is also on the cards.

In a significant move the Government announced Mr Martin would be acting administrator until the end of September.

In Natal NP ranks there appears open acceptance that Mr Martin will, in fact,

Pretoria to go Latin

A CENTRE for Latin American studies — the first in Africa — will be inaugurated at the University of South Africa in Pretoria next week.

Stronger ties between South Africa and Latin America over the past few years, and the realisation that there is much common ground between the two regions, have led to the establishment of the centre.

The official opening of the centre by the principal of Unisa, Professor Theo van Wyk, will be attended by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel.

The head of the centre will be Professor Cathy McDonald Maree and the chairman Professor Peter Haffter.

U.S. shift in attitude to Unita

A SUBTLE shift is taking place in foreign, diplomatic and commercial interests in Angola as a result of Unita's successes.

This was revealed this week by a wide range of sources.

Reagan administration officials, after three years of largely ignoring Unita, are now conceding that they consider Dr Savimbi to be "a player" in their negotiations with the Angolans, though they still prefer to keep communications with Unita as secret as possible.

Publicly, the State Department played down the recent attacks on the Gulf Oil pipeline in Cabinda and the foreign ships anchored in

By PATRICIA CHENEY
Washington

Luanda harbour.

Privately, however, officials admitted that the Luanda government was concerned that the increased violence close to the capital and Dr Savimbi's threats of further attacks on foreign operations would lead to an exodus of much-needed foreign expertise and business.

In 1983 the United States shipped $90-million worth of goods to Angola, of which more than a third was related to the oil and gas industries. It imported $911-million worth of Angolan goods, of which 90 percent was oil.

Most American and other multinationals have, at least publicly, adopted a "wait and see" attitude towards Unita.

Gulf, the American company with the biggest stake in Angola, has sought to play down Dr Savimbi's role

A spokesman for the company said Gulf did not believe that Unita was responsible for the Cabinda pipeline bombing on July 12.

Move troops

He said his company thought it more likely that Flec, the guerrilla group seeking Cabinda's independence from Angola, was the perpetrator.

The spokesman added that the Cabinda bombing was a "small, isolated" incident which had not affected Gulf's operations

Analysts in Washington speculate, however, that Dr Savimbi is deliberately targeting Gulf because of its importance and involvement with the Luanda government.

Gulf drills 170 000 barrels of Angolan oil a day — mainly in the Cabinda offshore fields.

Dr John Marcum, an Angola specialist at the University of California in Los Angeles, said it was difficult to gauge the extent of the Unita threat to Gulf and other foreign oil companies like Texaco and Elf Aquitaine, which also operate in Angola.

"One would assume the Cabinda oilfields would be quite easy to protect because it is such a small territory," he said. "It does, however, mean that the Angolans would have to pull troops from elsewhere in the country if it wanted to concentrate its forces there."

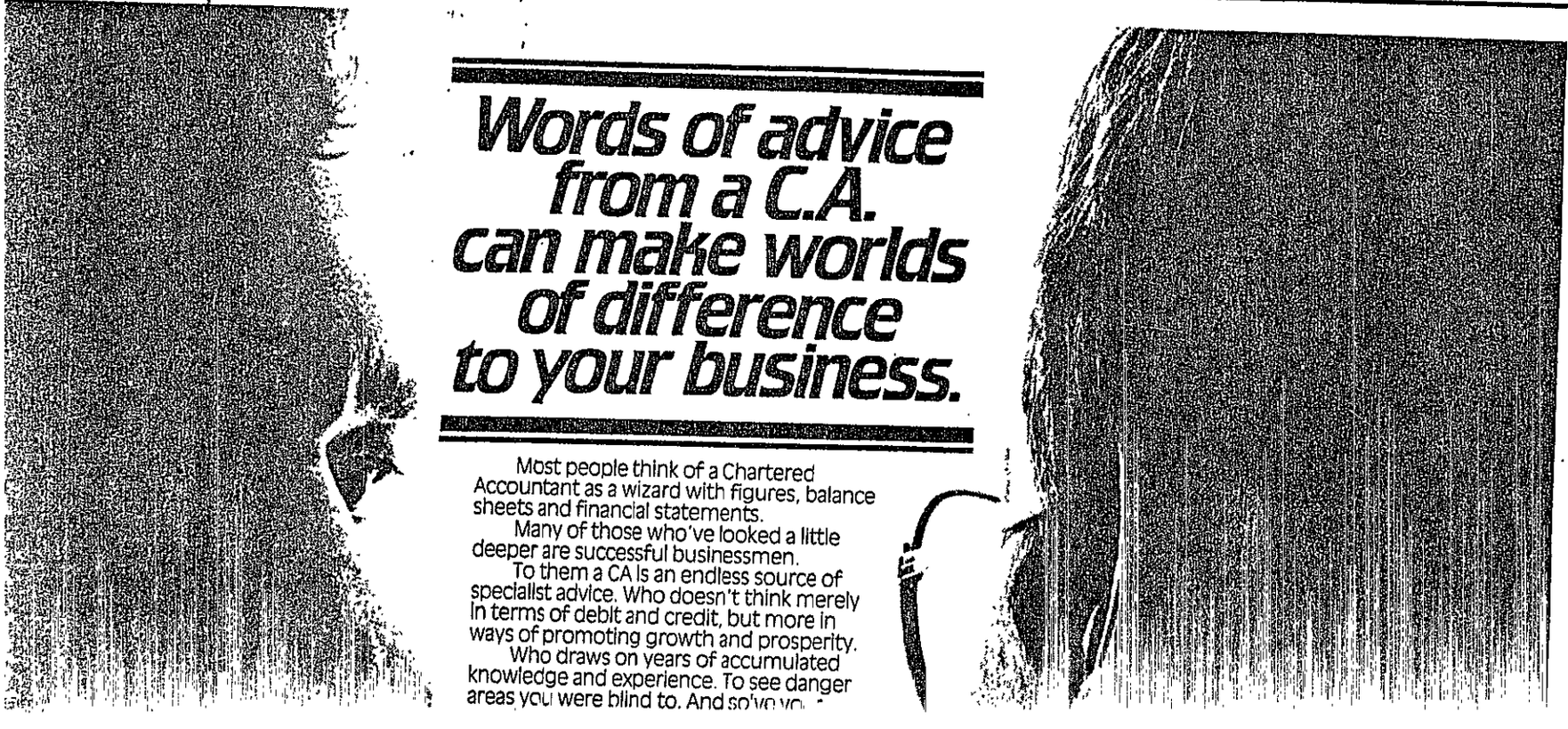
A spokesman for the Dutch-owned Curacao Trading Company, which imports a variety of goods into Angola, said that his company had scaled down its Luanda operation substantially since the beginning of this year.

"We have received reports that people living in Luanda are afraid to travel 30 kilometres out of the city," he said.

Dr Marcum and Dr Helen Kitchen, director of Africa studies at Georgetown University's Centre for Strategic and International Studies, were recently in Moscow.

They agreed that the Luanda government would have to be hard-pressed by Unita for the Russians to increase their involvement in the area to any great degree.

"While the Russians have a genuine interest in Angola and would suffer humiliation if Unita overthrew the government, the most they are likely to do to prevent that is to provide more arms," Dr Marcum said.



Troops re

□ From Page 1

pendence celebrations of November 11, 1975, Roberto asked General Constand Viljoen if he could not supply him with more effective artillery than 25-pounders.

The SADF said that it was impossible to get the guns, 5,5mm cannons with a 17km range, to the north of Angola.

Mr Botha came to the res-

NEWS ANALYSIS

How S Africa was sucked into a war

SOUTH Africa supported Portugal's wars in Africa with weapons and money.

The support continued for years until finally Mr P W Botha decided that he had had enough of their "begging".

This is one of the many unknown facts revealed in "PW", a biography by journalists Dirk and Johanna de Villiers.

The book, much of it based on taped discussions with the Prime Minister and his closest friends and colleagues, also reveals in detail for the first time the way in which South Africa was sucked into the Angolan war.

The decision to protect the Calueuque hydro-electric scheme led to desperate requests from Jonas Savimbi of Unita and Holden Roberto's FNLA for help.



FLEUR DE VILLIERS

Inexperienced

With the MPLA sweeping south, South Africa had little time to prepare Savimbi's small and inexperienced army for combat. Two weeks later Unita could field three battalions, consisting of mortar companies, machinegun companies and crew for 11 106mm cannon. It also had an officer corps of 60 men.

But Unita could not be trained in time to crew the armoured cars and permission was given "just this one time" for SADF personnel to take part.

Nineteen South Africans — all volunteers — were involved in the first bloody engagement which proved that Unita soldiers were no match for the stronger, better armed and trained MPLA forces and their Russian tanks.

South Africa would either have had to withdraw entirely or give Savimbi greater support.

The next stage was a decision by the State Security Council to send in a squadron of South African tanks with South African crew.

Then it was the turn of Task Force Zulu, which under the command of Colonel Koos van Heerden, and with only 11 white South Africans, swept up to the gates of Luanda. It was followed by another unit, Foxbat, which comprised Unita infantry and 22 Eland armoured cars with white crews.

Some 44 days after Mr Botha had put his plan for military action in Angola to the Cabinet, three phases of it had been completed. A fourth, the isolation of Luanda, remained. At one stage Pretoria examined the possibility of taking Luanda, but decided against it because of possible high South African losses.

The Cabinet had decided not to remain in Angola longer than the date set for Angolan independence, November 11.

But Dr Savimbi flew to Pretoria to beg them to stay. So, too, did the Ford Administration in America, President Kaunda of Zambia, and President Mobutu of Zaire. And then, despite all American assurances, the roof fell in. The Clark Amendment, forbidding the supply of American arms to Unita, was passed.

By this time the Foxbat and Zulu units had been joined by Alpha, Bravo, X-ray and Orange and by Task Force 101 under Major-General van Deventer whose task was to reorganise the Angolan operation and to secure the South African forces' eventual safe withdrawal.

But once again the pull-out was stopped. At America's and President Mobutu's urging, South African forces remained in Angola until the split OAU decision on recognition of the MPLA regime.

Finally, they fought their way back to the border.

Eventually, on March 27, 1976, the South African troops, totalling no more than 3 000, crossed the Kunene back into South Africa. There had been only 35 casualties.

The authors write: "In the months of South Africa's involvement, the Government's political leadership hesitated, stuck, ran and then stopped again.

"There were reasons for it: among them uncertainty and unpreparedness and the danger of a too great loss of life.

"The inescapable impression is that hesitation by the Government and uncertainty over its goals was the major cause why South Africa was dragged deeper and deeper into a war which it in any case it had not planned in advance."

Clark was link man

THE LONG dispute over who first insisted the Cubans withdraw from Angola has been settled.

This pre-condition for a Namibian settlement was initiated by America during a visit by the former Under-Secretary of State, and a close friend of President Reagan, Mr William Clark, to South Africa in 1982.

This was revealed last week in the new biography of the Prime Minister.

The visit by Mr Clark was not without its strain.

And there was another stumbling block to a Namibian settlement.

The United Nations had permitted the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, to address the Security Council.

South Africa was therefore no longer prepared to accept a UN troop presence in South West Africa as part of the settlement process.

Suddenly, late in the negotiations, the American delegation played its trump card.

Mr Clark asked: "Will it change your position if we can get rid of the Cubans?"

After a long silence, Mr Pik Botha said: "Of course. In that case we will have a new ball game."

Linkage was born.



General Van den Bergh

New light on top-level clashes over

Defence Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA's military leaders often locked horns with Lieutenant-General Hendrik van den Bergh, former security chief and Prime Minister John Vorster's confidant, when the Republic was involved in the Angolan civil war during 1975.

This has emerged from "PW", a new book about Mr P W Botha which has thrown new light on the South African government's decision to ditch its traditional non-intervention policy and send troops into Angola.

The book, by Dirk and Johanna de Villiers, is the first to provide facts instead of rumours about the clashes between the military and General Van den Bergh in the highest councils of the land as South African troops pushed further and further into the war-torn former Portuguese colony.

The clashes were fuelled not by a communications gap, say the authors — Mr Botha and his senior officers constantly briefed the cabinet — but by fundamental differences in strategy concepts.

The generals believed the incursion was necessary in order to inhibit the Swapo insurgency and thus gain time for a political settlement in SWA/Namibia.

General Van den Bergh, on the other hand, gave the military leaders "the impression that (he) did not have much time for South West and that South Africa might as well cut herself loose from the territory", the authors say.

They quote an entry the then Major-General Constand Viljoen (now a full general and Chief of the SADF, made in his notebook after a meeting in the early days of Operation Savannah, as the incursion of 1975/6 was called.

"It is clear that General Van den Bergh sees this matter as solely a political objective. He dismisses the entire Swapo threat as meaningless and something which is not a great problem. He says there are no Swapo terrorists in Angola. That differs from our view." Then he added:

"The reason why we tackled this business was because we had in mind the short-term aim of giving Swapo a *coup de grace* so that the SWA strategy could unfold."

Some of the military men regarded General Van der Bergh as "a nuisance", the authors say. "It looks as if he was Vorster's personal representative and intermediary in Angola, as it were.

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"He was a policeman, it was felt, and a policeman's training and approach differed from that of the soldier."

The authors quote an unnamed officer, now retired, as saying that "when there was a clash of opinions ... Vorster did not act as enough of an arbiter and depended too much on Van den Bergh's standpoint".

The authors comment that during the months in which South Africa was involved in Angola "the political leadership of the government hesitated, stuck fast, got going and then halted again.

"There were reasons for this ... Nevertheless, the unavoidable impression after the passage of years is that the government's hesitation and its uncertainty about aims and priorities was a major reason why South Africa was dragged further and further into a war for which it had not planned."



Mr P W Botha

Thousands of Cubans about to pull out — claim

Star (5) 17/8/84

By Stephen McQuillan and Joao Santa Rita

Thousands of Cuban troops could leave Angola soon for two other African countries under left-wing rule, it was reported today.

About 10 000 Cubans were preparing to leave for Ghana and Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta), sources close to Angolan opposition groups said.

The countries are ruled by left-wing military dictatorships, led by Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings in Ghana and Captain Thomas Sankara in Burkina Faso.

Sources said the 10 000 Cubans in Angola would be replaced by troops from Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and a token force from Mozambique.

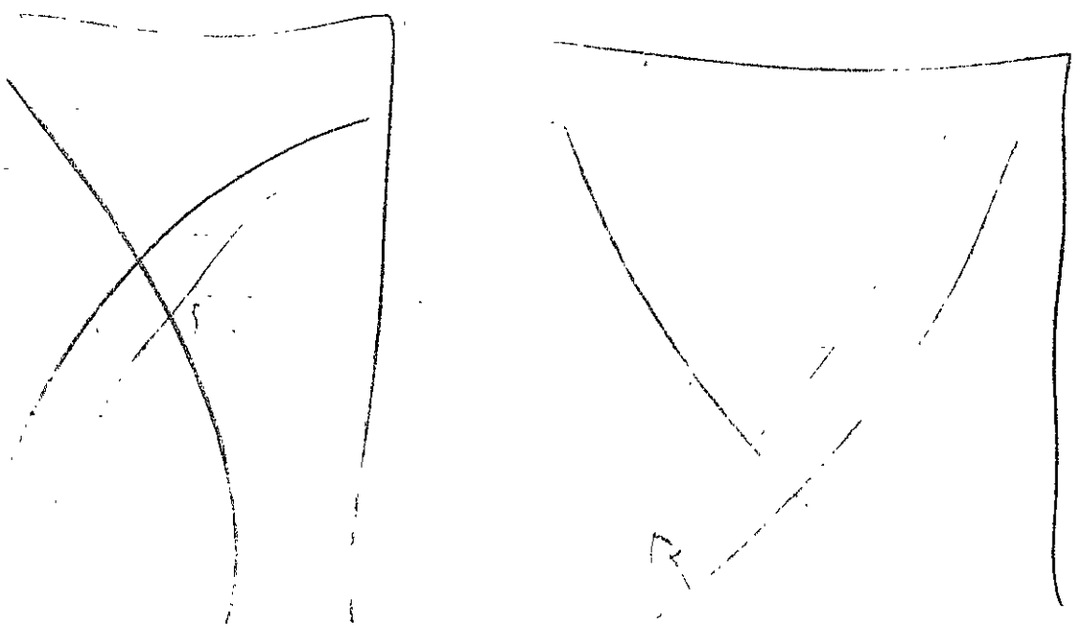
All three countries — former Portuguese colonies — sent troops to Angola to help the MPLA during the country's civil war.

The claims come as negotiations on the future of Namibia continue to be deadlocked over the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola — a prerequisite for a Namibian settlement for the United States and South Africa.

The FNLA guerilla movement — fighting in the north of Angola — claims thousands of the remaining Cuban force will become Angolan citizens.

New legislation allows any foreigner to be granted citizenship at any time — at the whim of the MPLA Government.

The law, passed earlier this year, also implies that new citizens can retain their original nationality — leaving the way open for military advisers, troops or technicians to remain under the control of Havana or Moscow.



Botswana again puts its democracy to the test

Star 20/8/84

By Jasper Mortimer, The Star's Foreign News Service

GABORONE — As Zanu-PF voted to turn Zimbabwe into a one-party state last week, six parties in neighbouring Botswana were launching their campaigns for the country's general elections on September 8.

The contrast could not have been stronger: Zimbabwe was moving towards outlawing the opposition which held 25 percent of the parliamentary seats and where recent violence cried out for it to be allowed a meaningful role.

PARADOX

Botswana, meanwhile, where the opposition held only 6 percent of the seats, was encouraging dissent through multi-party elections.

The Botswanan situation is an African paradox: one of only three African states (the others are Gambia and Mauritius) to have had no legal constraints since independence, its opposition is nevertheless minimal.

Anyone over 21 can stand in Botswana's elections, provided he files a deposit of R100 and a nomination form of 10 signatures. (In Lesotho, in what is seen as a blatant anti-opposition move, the authorities require a R1 000 deposit and 500 signatures.)

Voting is done by casting discs, each candidate having a disc of a different colour and geometric shape.

The ruling Botswana Democratic Party, which could win all 34 seats, was founded by the first president, Sir Seretse Khama, and maintains the liberal, private-enterprise policies that saw Botswana achieve the highest growth rate in Africa during the 1970s.

The established opposition parties are the mildly socialist Botswana National Front, which held two seats in the dissolved parliament, and two whose policies are close to the government's: the Botswana People's Party, which held one seat, and the Botswana Independence Party.

Two new parties are tailored for minority groups. Former Cabinet Minister Daniel Kwele has launched the Botswana Progressive Union to champion what he calls "minority rights" for the Bakalaka and Kalanga tribes (others call it blatant tribalism).

A young science graduate, Mr Monty Mooketsane, is trying to mobilise all Botswana's jobless in his Federation of the Unemployed.

FIGHTING

Athough the opposition lacks the manpower to win a majority, it does have the chance to inflict some embarrassing defeats on the ruling BDP.

In Gaborone South, for instance, vice-president Mr Peter Mmusi is fighting against the popular and charismatic former Mayor of Gaborone, Mr Welli Seboni, and against the students' champion, Botswana National Front leader Dr Kenneth Koma.

The polls also see President Quett Masire leading the BDP for the first time.

He is leaving little to chance. He has built up the BDP machine so it is by far the most organised in the field. Even before he filed his nomination on Saturday, he had been touring the country addressing rallies and answering questions.

The president has an impressively low-key style. When he motors around he has only two police escort cars, no motorbike outriders and rarely is the siren used. When he popped in at a recent BDP rally in Naledi, Gaborone, he listened for a while, and then came forward to answer questions, laughing off the insulting ones.

This is rare behaviour for a Third World president. But it can be a bad thing. Some people want their head of state to be a big shot.

In 1969 he was defeated in Kanye by the local chief, Bathoen Gaseitsiwe, who is certain to retain the seat for the BNF.

Mr Masire will not be contesting a seat as the presidency is awarded to the nominee of the party which wins the most constituencies.

The BDP has much to be proud of, but, as always, the results of development take a long time to raise general living standards.

Unemployment is an election issue. The country is in its third year of drought.

PERCENTAGE

In the rural areas, says the editor of the *Botswana Guardian*, the poverty is obscene.

Yet Botswana remains a success story, with stability and civil liberties of a high order. What percentage of the electorate turns out on September 8, and the way they vote where the choice is between policies rather than personalities or tribe, will say much about how the people's demands on government are developing.

Girls and booze galore in Angolan jail

The dogs of war did not have to lead dogs' lives

5 star 20/8/89

LONDON — Cigarettes and whisky and wild, wild women were on call daily for British mercenaries held in an Angolan jail.

Far from "living in hell", the dogs of war — they included Cape Town-born Carl Fortuin — were enjoying far more luxuries than most of the locals.

Two of the seven men, Kevin Marchant (34) and Mick Wiseman (35), have broken their silence to explain the biggest mystery surrounding the mercenaries.

The Daily Express News Service

That mystery is why they returned home earlier this year looking lively and well after eight years away — first in the African bush and then in a sleazy prison.

The reason was that the mercenaries, after a few hard months in Sao Paolo Prison, learnt to beat the system.

● First they made money by stealing food from the jail kitchen.

● Then they were sent to the prison hospital where they used their freedom to smuggle in goods that made them a fortune.

Marchant and Wiseman, who followed the infamous "Colonel Callan" into action in Angola, were jailed with their team after Callan was executed with three other men in 1976.

It was a show-trial which attracted worldwide attention. Sentences ranged from 16 to 30 years.

Now the pair are planning to write a book about their time in Angola — in collaboration with armed-robber-turned-author John McVicar.

They say: "We ate well, slept well, and loved well. In the end we wanted for nothing. We could have fresh salmon for lunch, steak for dinner.

"We had bottles of whisky coming in by the score, and flogged them off for 300 pounds (R615).

TELEVISION SET

"We smuggled in cigarettes as well and sold them for 200 pounds (R410) a carton.

"With the money we bought cassettes, radios and clothes. We had control of the only television set.

"And when we were at the military hospital we had control of the women, too. They liked us because we had shown them respect from the start and things soon started happening.

"We used to have a right game in the linen room.

"We would have been shot for the things we did in prison.

"The guards just couldn't understand how we dared risk it. But when you have faced death as many times as we have you don't care. We lived for the day, and that helped us to survive."

This good life contrasted with the mercenaries' first months in prison in 1976 when they were kept in solitary confinement and fed on a diet of rice and brown beans with bits of fish thrown in.

The turning point came in May 1977 when counter-revolutionaries seized the prison. The mercenaries were lined up to be shot.

"It was only confusion and typical African incompetence which saved us," says Marchant, a former soldier who served for four years in the Royal Horse Artillery.

OPERATIONS

Like Wiseman, he is now back in Britain.

"Some wanted to shoot us right away, but a prison officer intervened and the woman in charge of the revolutionaries said they would kill us that night.

"By then, government forces had stormed the prison."

The gateway to the good life was the military hospital, 4,8 km across Luanda from the prison.

Marchant went in for a piles operation, then another, then for operations on an arm and a leg.

Wiseman, who served in the Parachute Regiment, takes up the story:

"I managed to persuade the prison doctor that I needed physiotherapy for an arm injury. So I made regular trips to the hospital.

"I used to take a couple of bags with me full of clothes.

When I returned, they would be stuffed with bottles of whisky, cartons of cigarettes, cassettes ... anything people wanted.

"The guards knew what was going on, but we bought them off. On a good day we would give them 5 000 kwanzas each — (R200) — which was more than they earned in a month."

The hospital also provided Marchant and Wiseman with girls.

Marchant says: "What really got the girls was the respect we showed. They had never been spoken to politely by a white man — or a black man for that matter.

STARVING

"They started offering it to us. From then on it was a regular thing, and some other nurses got in the act.

"We would give them tins of sardines, oil, condensed milk — not for sex, but because they were starving."

When release finally came on February 27, the girls were left behind in the hospital.

More astonishing was the booty left behind — dustbin liners filled with clothing, radios, cassettes, cigarettes and whisky.

bloody route out

jail.

The men had grabbed two AK-47s in the confusion which followed an explosion at the prison armoury last year.

"When we made our run, we were going to hit anybody in the way," Marchant said.

Once outside, they planned to race across waste ground to a car park where their Portuguese friend would have laid on a vehicle.

"We were going straight to the American Embassy," Wiseman said. "We didn't trust the British. We feared they might send us back."

Men set to take

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mercenaries Kevin Marchant and Mick Wiseman were planning a daring and, almost certainly bloody, escape when they were suddenly released from their Angolan jail earlier this year.

They were determined to go over the wall.

Their hopes of freedom had been dashed many times — an amnesty which had not included them and a swop deal which involved only American mercenaries.

So they teamed up with a wealthy Portuguese prisoner who they got to know during their black market deals in the Luanda

MPLA launches major attempt to crush FNLA

By Stephen McQuillan and Joao Santa Rita

29 HOURS News Team

Major military operations were launched by the Cuban-backed MPLA government in an effort to crush resistance from the FNLA guerilla movement, said reports reaching Johannesburg.

In recent weeks at least 5 000 Angolan government troops, supported by helicopters, jet fighters, heavy artillery, Cuban units and Eastern Bloc advisers, were involved in a classic pincer manoeuvre from Luanda and Uige in an effort to trap the poorly-armed FNLA, which claims to be active in several of Angola's northern provinces.

A source close to the FNLA said the operation — concentrated on the Dembos region — "caused serious problems" for the movement, but was not successful.

RETALIATED

"The operation was launched in April," the source said. "During May and June the FNLA retaliated with several big operations witnessed by foreign journalists. They successfully re-consolidated the area.

"During the last week of July the FNLA's armed wing, ELNA (Angola National Liberation Army), attacked a government convoy on the road linking Ambrizete and Ambriz.

"They killed 41 troops, including seven Cubans, destroyed 10 trucks and injured an unknown number."

The FNLA claims it lost two guerillas in the attack, which was observed by foreign journalists.

Before the MPLA's push north, the Luanda government dropped thousands of propaganda leaflets over FNLA-held territory in a bid to persuade the guerillas to surrender.

They said: "For you, misled by the bandit Holden Roberto, the moment has arrived to chose between a life without future in the bush and a safe life of work without exploitation.

"Here, in our country — the People's Republic of Angola — the people are counting on you to help build a better life for you and your family in a free and independent Angola."

The leaflets appealed for FNLA supporters to leave the bush and present themselves to the authorities "without fear of being maltreated".

As the war continues in Angola, FNLA leader Mr Holden Roberto is trying to win support from the Cuban exile community in the American city of Miami.

(5) O. Dispatch 28/8/84

Savimbi backed by Arabs

NEW YORK — Unita must "reach Luanda" by the end of the year to ensure a role for itself in regional political settlements, its leader, Jonas Savimbi, told visiting American journalists.

He said he received as much as $60 to $70 million a year "from many Arab friends," including Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Morocco.

He said the Shah of Iran had given him so much money that it was still being used to buy arms.

After accompanying Unita forces for six weeks, writer Robert Rosenthal reported that they now appeared capable of waging war throughout Angola.

"The changing nature of the war, including the wide-ranging commando operations and siege tactics, appears to be possible because of widening support for Unita from civilians and the resulting extension of Unita's own areas of safe operations," he wrote in the Philadephia Enquirer.

According to diplomatic sources in Zaire, quoted by the paper, South Africa had refused to discuss an Angolan request that it cut off its support for Unita.

"Savimbi said he did not think his South African allies would abandon him," the paper reported. — DDC.

Unita claims military victory

LISBON — Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerrillas, moving closer to the Angolan capital of Luanda, said yesterday they had killed or captured almost 150 soldiers, including 28 Cubans, in a recent seven-day period.

In a communique Unita said it had carried out 10 successful operations in eight of the country's 17 provinces between August 22 and 29 for a loss of seven dead, 19 wounded and one missing.

Unita claimed it had attacked the town of Caxito, 50 km northeast of Luanda, killing 37 soldiers and destroying six military vehicles.

Unita said it had engaged Cuban troops in the provinces of south-eastern Moxico and central Bie in the operations. — The Star's Foreign News Service.

Talks on Angolan border patrols

BY BRIAN POTTINGER
Political Correspondent

THE future of the Angolan-South African Joint Monitoring Commission is in the balance.

This issue is understood to have topped Dr Chester Crocker's agenda during the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa's high-level shuttle this week.

But there is still no indication that an agreement has been reached which would allow South African troops to continue their greatly delayed withdrawal to the Namibian-Angolan border.

Pretoria would like to convert the JMC into a permanent monitoring body on the border but there are concerns about the Angolan Government's ability to control Swapo activity in the area.

The talks in Pretoria on Friday between Dr Crocker and Foreign Minister Pik Botha have been widely described as lastditch efforts to move the settlement process before the US presidential elections in November.

Toned down

But Department of Foreign Affairs sources cautioned against optimism and said the talks were simply part of a process.

In downbeat statements after their four-hour talks on Friday, both Dr Crocker and Mr Botha referred only to the path being open for peaceful settlement.

Dr Crocker's sweep through the region — he had talks with Angolan officials on the Cape Verde Isles earlier this week — was prompted by the persisting snags in South Africa's military disengagement from south Angola.

Differences in interpretation of the Lusaka Agreement, which spells out the disengagement procedures, have dogged implementation of South African withdrawal from the northernmost point of Cuvulai.

At the centre of the dispute is what will happen once South African forces reach the border area. If there are not adequate South African-Angolan policing measures to prevent Swapo cross-border activities, the SADF will be tempted to resort again to cross-border strikes, imperilling the whole peace process.

Complication

Another complicating factor in the Angolan equation is the sudden escalation of Unita military activity in the central Angolan provinces. Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has promised to be in Luanda by December — but MPLA-Cuban forces are reportedly massing for a major counter-thrust.

Unita strategists believe that if they can hold off the attacks they can persuade the moderate faction in the MPLA Government to bring President Dos Santos to the negotiating table — with the expulsion of the Cuban forces top priority.

Meanwhile the slow pace of the settlement process in SWA has reverberated in the United Nations. Swapo has sent a note to the Secretary-General in which it rejects South Africa's offers for a ceasefire outside UN Resolution 435 — and called for greater UN pressure.

But indications are that the face-to-face talks between Swapo and SWA Administrator-General Willie van Niekerk, begun in Lusaka two months ago and held intermittently since then, will continue.

Unita captives fly out to Rome

(5) Star 10/9/84

The 14 Portuguese nationals who were released by Unita in southern Angola yesterday left Jan Smuts Airport late last night on a TAP flight for Rome, a spokesman for the Catholic Church said today.

They, 10 nuns and a priest arrived in Johannesburg yesterday afternoon from Angola.

The Mother Superior of the Holy Family Catholic Convent, where the group was cared for yesterday, said they were in fine spirits. None had been ill-treated.

THREE REMAINED

From Rome they would fly on to Portugal.

She could not elaborate because further information was confidential.

One of the released captives, Mr Antonio Correira, told Sapa that three Bulgarians, two teachers and a woman doctor, remained behind at the Unita headquarters at Jamba.

He said another Bulgarian who was abducted at Sumbe disappeared on the way out of town. — Sapa.

Dos Santos offends Mitterrand and launches bitter attack on SA

Angolan leader's Paris visit generates little goodwill

PARIS — The East-West freeze is also hitting Franco-Angolan relations and the two-day visit to France by President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, which ended yesterday, was generally considered by diplomatic circles as a major disappointment for all concerned.

At one time it looked as though President dos Santos was doing his best to slight President Francois Mitterrand of France. Their one-hour meeting at the Elysee Palace was icy and no joint communique was issued afterwards as is usual after such summits. Hopes that the French President might visit Luanda did not materialise.

The meeting lasted until 5 pm and President dos Santos was scheduled to attend a banquet at the Foreign Ministry as the guest of External Relations Minister Mr Claude Cheysson. But the Angolan leader excused himself on the grounds of ill health.

OFFENDED

This did not prevent him from rising at 8 am the next day to fly by helicopter to the tomb of General Charles de Gaulle at Colombey-les -Deux-Eglises, 400 km north of Paris.

It is understood that President Mitterrand felt offended at this gesture which some of his Ministers interpreted as the Angolan President's wish to remain in good standing with the Gaullists should they return to power in 1986.

President dos Santos showed a Press conference a rigid and unbending attitude over Cubans in Angola — no change. He praised France for its refusal to accept the Pretoria-Washington theory on "linkage" but his praise for his host country ended there.

The President said that South Africa had not kept its promise to withdraw its troops from Angolan territory and called for increased economic and diplomatic pressure on Pretoria.

Mr dos Santos said that, despite an accord signed in Lusaka last February between the two governments, South African forces were still in Angola's southern province of Cunene.

Mr dos Santos accused South Africa of increasing its military support to the rebel movement Unita which has recently stepped up its attacks and con trols the south-eastern part of Angola.

NO ACCORD

Mr dos Santos was asked whether Angola would follow the example of Mozambique, which signed a peace treaty with South Africa earlier this year.

"Unlike Mozambique, Angola has no common border with South Africa. Its southern border is with Namibia. Therefore, Angola is not interested in signing a good neighbour agreement with South Africa," he said. — Tha Star's Foreign News Service, Sapa-Reuter.



Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos . . . seemed to go o way to snub his French hosts during his official visit to P

Resist temptation, urges the Pope

MONTREAL — The Pope has urged Canadian teenagers to keep away from drink, drugs and pre-marital sex.

He told a youth rally attended by 65 000 people: "Have the courage to resist the dealers in deception who make capital of your hunger for happiness and who make you pay dearly for a moment of 'artifical paradise' — a whiff of smoke, a bout



Compton 66 gets a bounce

The Star Bure

LONDON — Denis C cricketing legend and again at 66, has prou duced his latest trium world.

Step up action against SA — Angolan leader

E Post (5)

12/9/84

PARIS — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said last night that South Africa had not kept its promise to withdraw its troops from Angolan territory and called for increased economic and diplomatic pressure against Pretoria.

Mr Dos Santos told a news conference at the end of a two-day official visit to France that despite an accord signed in Lusaka last February between the two Governments, South African forces were still in Angola's southern province of Cunene.

"South African forces are still in the south, about 40 kilometres from the Namibian border. The Lusaka compromise has not been respected," Mr Dos Santos said.

Under the agreement, South Africa agreed to withdraw its troops from Angola while Luanda pledged to prevent Swapo forces from moving into areas vacated by the South African forces.

South Africa says its disengagement from Angola is not yet complete because Swapo forces are still active in the area.

Mr Dos Santos accused South Africa of increasing its military support to the rebel movement, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), which has recently stepped up its attacks and controls the south-eastern part of Angola.

"There is no doubt that Unita has carried out attacks in areas where it was not operating before," he said.

Mr Dos Santos was asked whether Angola would follow the example of Mozambique, which signed a peace treaty with South Africa earlier this year.

"Unlike Mozambique, Angola has no common border with South Africa," he said. "Its southern border is with Namibia. Therefore, Angola is not interested in signing a good neighbours' agreement with South Africa.

"We think the political, economic and diplomatic isolation of South Africa should be maintained and increased, so that this country changes from within."

Earlier yesterday, Angolan Air Force Commander Henrique Carreira told the Portuguese news agency, Anop, that Pretoria was trying to stall talks on independence for SWA/Namibia in the hope that the Angolan Government might collapse.

"It is gambling on destabilisation of the situation in Angola with the hope of bringing about substitution of the present regime by one which accepts its peace proposals for Southern Africa," he said.

Col Carreira added that Unita rebels were supplied daily with hundreds of tons of war material sent in by air or rail.

Asked why his air force did not attack Unita's bases at Jamba and in other parts of south-eastern Kuandoi-Kubango province, he said South African fighters provided air cover for the bases.

He said the military situation had shown a clear improvement since last August with the creation of a National Defence Council and regional security councils.

Asked to comment on Col Carreira's claims, a spokesman for the South African Department of Foreign Affairs said: "The Minister (Mr Pik Botha) does not comment on emotional outbursts of this nature."

A South African Defence Force spokesman said various allegations concerning the military situation in southern Angola were not even worth a "no comment". — Sapa-Reuter

Argus 13/9/84

N Korean troops pour into Angola

(5)

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Hundreds — maybe thousands — of North Korean troops are pouring into Angola in an attempt to halt the steady advance on Luanda by Unita guerrillas.

Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement admits it has come off second best in early clashes with the new contingent of communist troops.

The disclosures have come from Angolan diplomats and sources in four capital cities — Luanda, Washington, Lisbon and Pretoria.

SOVIET SUPPORT

The move, orchestrated with the support of the Soviet Union, is seen as the most significant Angolan development since the Cubans moved in during 1975.

Top-level Angolan officials in the Ministry of Security admitted as early as last November that 600 North Koreans had arrived in Luanda, according to informed sources in Lisbon and considered the best capital from which to monitor the Angolan situation.

They said North Koreans were playing a more active role in fighting as Cuban troops concentrated on the defence of strategic installations and towns.

AGREEMENT

South Korean diplomatic sources said an agreement between North Korea and Angola was signed in Moscow last September.

Said a Washington source: "The North Koreans are superseding the Cubans in their battle against Unita. Their apparent success appears to be supported by the larger numbers of Unita casualties being claimed by Angolan state radio."

Six "oriental-looking" troops had been killed by Unita forces, according to Lisbon sources. "They were originally thought to be Vietnamese, but when one of the bodies was closely examined the physical stature was not characteristic of the Vietnamese. It was concluded the bodies were those of North Koreans."

Confusion grows over Korean role in Angola

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Angolan Government officials in Europe have admitted that communist North Koreans are active in their strife-torn country.

But there is confusion over what role the Koreans are playing, with conflicting explanations coming from senior officials accompanying President Jose Eduardo dos Santos on his tour of the Continent.

Shortly before the presidential party flew from Rome to Madrid last night, one official confirmed reports that North Korean military experts had been dispatched to Angola.

He said: "It is well known that we are getting active support from several communist-run countries, such as Cuba, East Germany and Bulgaria. They have sent us military experts to back our struggle against the South Africans."

He added: "Now the secret is out. Our North Korean comrades are backing us too."

But when the Angolans arrived in the Spanish capital, an aide gave a completely different version.

Although admitting the presence of the North Koreans, he denied that they were being used for military purposes: "They are helping us to grow rice."

The latter explanation appeared to be borne out by inquiries in the United States, which watches Angola closely.

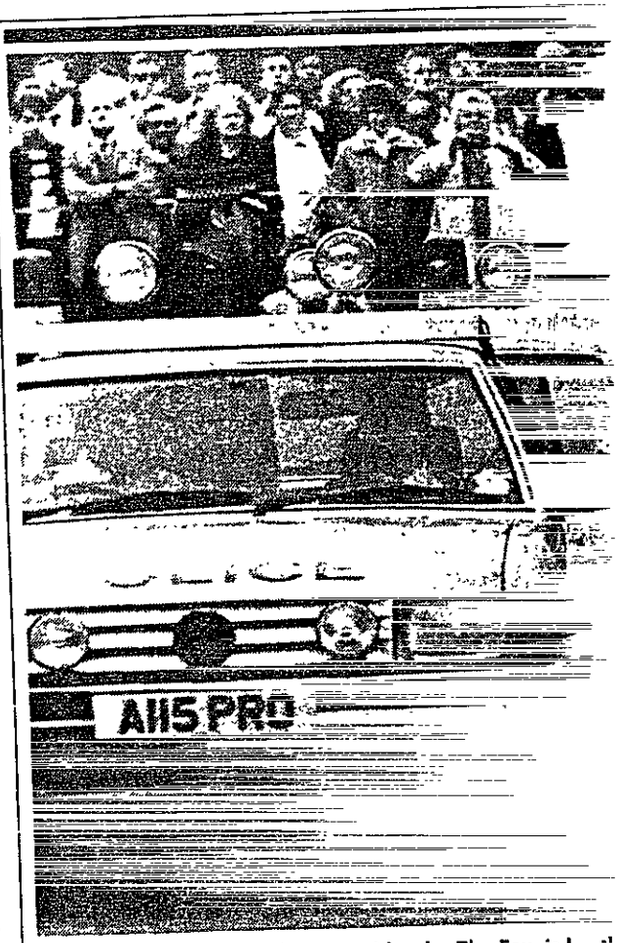
The Pentagon laughed off speculation that North Korean troops were being used to quell the rebel Unita forces of Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The Star's Political Staff reports that Dr Savimbi said in Cape Town today he had no evidence that Koreans were fighting against his troops.

He and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, had talks which lasted about an hour before they attended the inauguration of Mr P W Botha as State President

Dr Savimbi, dressed in a dark-blue military-type suit, and Mr Botha spoke at a brief news conference.

Dr Savimbi dismissed the reports as rumours. "We don't have any evidence of Koreans fighting against us. There are rumours," he said.



A blanket-covered man, said to be The Fox, is h...

Jeers for remande

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Police held back crowds of jeering ... teenagers when a farmworker arrested by police hun... known as The Fox appeared in court accused of three ...

The slightly built man, aged 33 and about 1,6m tall and gaunt features, emerged from a police van yest... head covered by a grey blanket.

The several hundred people who greeted him had than an hour for his arrival at the court in Dunstable, and forced police to call in reinforcements.

He tripped as he approached the entrance, and, continued jeering, the officers helped him into the ...

Inside the court, amid massive security, he stood sweatshirt as the charges against him were read out.

He was accused of raping a woman in Linslade, B...

UK police block 2 000-strong convoy of

LONDON — Police today prevented convoys of 2 000 militant miners from picketing a mine as peace talks in the six-month-old coalfield strike were scheduled to resume.

Police said the convoys of miners from Yorkshire, a militant stronghold, were turned back from driving into Nottinghamshire, the heartland of non-striking moderates, to picket Bevercotes mine.

Pickets halted at the county border were reported to be in more than 500 buses, vans and cars. A spokesman, who declined to be identified, said about 85 men sneaked through to stone strikebreakers and police cars.

No arrests were reported. The Home Office reported yesterday that up to September 4 a total of 6 427 miners had been arrested, mostly for picket-line violence, since the strike was launched on March 12

Police, who on Wednesday accused strikers of "a sustained campaign of out-and-out lawlessness", believe Bevercotes was targeted by the miners because because the moderate miners' leader Chris Butcher works there.

There is still little sign of an early settlement in the violence-plagued dispute, or in a related dockers' walkout ... half of Britain's ... says Associated P...

● *The Star's* ... reports that the K... dered a Russian ... sation to raise ... Britain's striking

The move was ... week when a R... radio broadcast ... by a BBC m... station at R...

SAVINGS on EARRINGS from

Faithful husbands, but Dalla preferred

Koreans: Report is 'fantasy'

C-Times 14/9/84

Own Correspondent

LISBON. — A report in South Africa that North Korean troops were pouring into Angola was "pure fantasy", Colonel Henrique Carreira, commander of the Angolan Air Force, said here yesterday.

The reports claimed the Koreans were being brought in to oppose a Unita rebel advance on Luanda.

The Angolan Embassy in Lisbon could not be contacted for comment, but Colonel Carreira's denial was being widely accepted as honest.

● President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola arrived in Madrid on Thursday to start an official visit to Europe.

Savimbi in surprise City visit



Mr Botha at D F
today.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN A dramatic midnight arrival by exective jet, Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Unita movement, flew into Cape Town early today to join the scores of VIPs invited to the inauguration of Mr P W Botha as South Africa's first State President.

Dr Savimbi, who was invited as a special guest of the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, with the agreement of Mr P W Botha, arrived at D F Malan Airport just after 12.

Dr Savimbi, accompanied by two officials, was met on the tarmac by Mr Pik Botha and two government officials.

He said at a press conference in the VIP lounge that he had no reservations about coming to South Africa and was coming to the Republic as a "friend" to attend the inauguration of the State President, "whom I have known for nine years".

He said that it was his first official visit to South Africa, although he acknowledged that he had met the former Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, on a previous visit.

Answering questions on reports that hundreds of North Koreans were pouring into Angola in an attempt to halt Unita's steady advance on Luanda, Dr Savimbi said that his organization's armed struggle in Angola was gaining the upper hand. He denied that there was any evidence that the arrival of the North Koreans would mean that Unita was facing an uphill battle.

His visit, he said, would not detrimentally affect diplomatic relations with Western or other African countries and would help Unita's relations with the rest of Africa.

He said that if he came to power in Angola, he would not use pressure on South Africa but would urge talks with the country.

Mr Pik Botha left a dinner he was hosting for the vice-premier of the Republic of China, Dr Teng-Hui Lee, to rush to the airport to meet his guest.

Mr Botha indicated last night that it was South Africa's right to invite Dr Savimbi as a private guest and a fellow African to attend the inaugural celebrations today.

On March 30 this year MPs, government officials and newspaper editors were invited to Dr Savimbi's bush "capital" of Jamba in south-eastern Angola where a mass rally, international press conference and military parade were held.

This is not his first visit to South Africa — in February 1975 a report to the United States Senate sub-committee on Africa disclosed that he had visited Pretoria twice in a bid to get increased South African assistance in Angola.

Savimbi's SA visit analysed

Staff Reporter

THE presence of the Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi at yesterday's presidential inauguration indicates that Pretoria is confident the rebel movement will eventually have a hand in ruling Angola, according to academics specializing in African affairs.

The head of the Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University, Professor Peter Vale, described the invitation as a "hostile act" against the ruling MPLA.

"It is a very interesting signal to the world that South Africa, despite its overtures to the Angolan Government, is not abandoning Unita," he said.

'Hawks'

The invitation was a clear enunciation of South Africa's policy of systematic support for dissident movements in Africa.

Asked how Dr Savimbi's visit might affect South African peace negotiations with Angola, Professor Vale said the Angolan Government would probably stall the talks while it readjusted its focus.

He also felt South Africa's relationship with Dr Savimbi would embarrass the Mozambicans, who were comrades-at-arms with the MPLA.

"I consider this a victory for the hawks against the doves in the South African cabinet," he said.

"I am sure the military put pressure on the government to realign itself with Unita. The SADF has built up a personal and very friendly relationship with the Angolan dissidents and they obviously don't want the peace talks to jeopardize this."

The director of the Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg, Mr Michael Spicer, said the Savimbi invitation was a very public demonstration of the South African Government's close identification with the cause of Unita.

"It is an obvious show of confidence for South Africa to flaunt diplomatic rules by inviting a rebel leader of, to say the least, uncertain international status.

"It indicates that Pretoria believes that in the medium term, Savimbi will become a representative in the central government of Angola, either as outright leader or as part of a coalition."

He agreed with Professor Vale that Dr Savimbi's visit could lead to an hiatus in the South African-Angolan peace talks, but felt negotiations were unlikely to break down in the face of the considerable pressure from the United States and the frontline states for a settlement.

The head of the department of international relations at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor Dirk Kunert, said the South African Government was making a clear statement that the international community should not overvalue the MPLA.

"By inviting Savimbi to a State function, the government is conferring status and credibility on him and elevating him to the position of a power to be reckoned with."

Professor Kunert disagreed with other commentators on the effect of the visit on settlement negotiations.

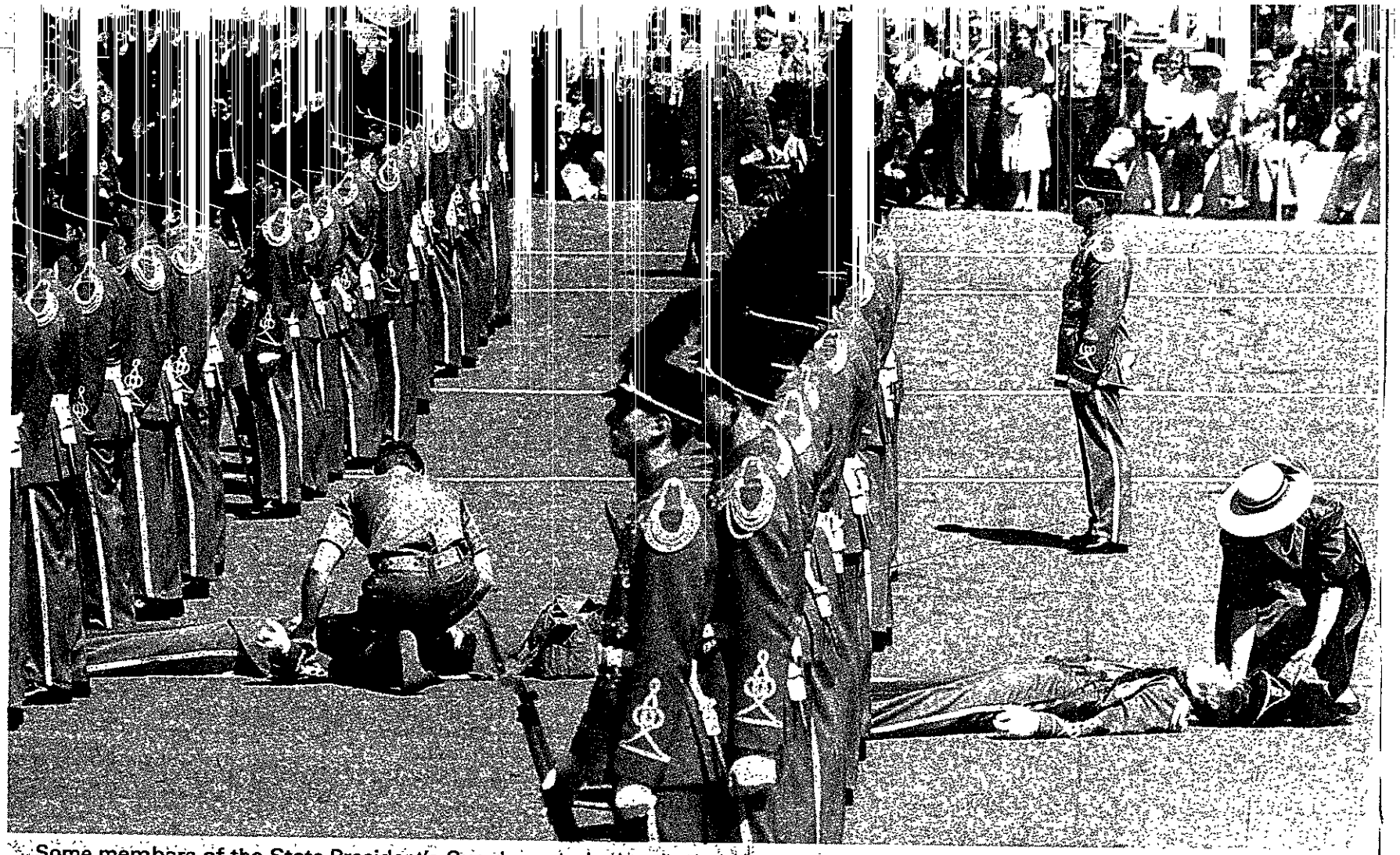
"I think it may create a sense of urgency. The MPLA realizes full well that Unita, with the help of South Africa, could come to power by force of arms, as it did itself.

"The Angolan Government is not a democratically-elected one and it is quite clear that South Africa does not regard the outcome of the civil war in 1975/76 as the final resolution of the Angolan situation."

● **JOHN BATTERSBY** reports from London that there was dismay and concern in Western diplomatic circles yesterday at Dr Savimbi's visit.

Western diplomats involved in negotiations over the future of SWA/Namibia expressed dismay that the South African Government had chosen to formalize its close — but up to now clandestine — relationship with Dr Savimbi.

The British Foreign Office declined to comment on the rebel leader's presence.



Some members of the State President's Guard succumbed to the heat at the Grand Parade yesterday during the proceedings surrounding the inauguration of the executive State President, Mr P W Botha. Here two of the guards are tended by a Defence Force medical orderly and the mayoress of Pretoria, Mrs Drienie Malan.

Picture: Alvin Andrews



. . . and a success story

from Fred Bridgland of The Star's Foreign News Service

Angola: Savimbi's economic plan is a model for all Third World countries

There are constant diplomatic rumours that Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel movement in Angola will lose its South African backing. These are very often based on thin information, but even if South African support were withdrawn, Unita would remain a sturdy animal.

Leaving fire power aside, Unita has a remarkable civil organisation in the areas under its control. Dr Savimbi's economic development programme might be regarded as a model for Third World countries — but for the fact that his movement receives considerable support from South Africa. This reality precludes many academics and journalists who should know better from having a long, hard and objective look at what is going on in Dr Savimbi's territory.

Dr Savimbi's development policy is based on the belief that his people will have to rely almost entirely on their own resources and that the peasantry must be the strong base of the economy. The peasant is not interested in foreign ideologies, whether communist or capitalist-oriented: they are too complicated for him.

"The peasant is interested, first, to have his fields cultivated, to have food for himself, his wife and children," says Dr Savimbi. "Second, he wants education for his children. As long as you don't solve these problems of the peasant, you don't solve anything else at all. That's central to my philosophy."

In Unita's territory — about one-third of the total area of Angola — a system of collective farms and extension services to the villages has been developed. Young Unita volunteers who have had agricultural training (many Africans were trained in Portuguese times at the agricultural institute in Sa Da Bandeira) find themselves drafted not into the infantry, but into the agricultural corps. There are also schools in the bush in Unita's south-eastern stronghold which train agricultural officers. As the army pushes northwards, the agricultural officers follow to establish new collectives and provide services to the peasant-



Dr Savimbi . . . must be ready to assume responsibility.

pectedly, collapsed. And, indeed, people are fleeing into Unita areas from the once richly productive Central Plateau — now a zone of incessant conflict between Unita and the government. Agriculture here, in the most densely populated part of Angola, has become so badly disrupted that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and various Western governments believed a major famine was in the making unless massive emergency aid was delivered soon. The ICRC believed that between 200 000 and 600 000 people on the Central Plateau could starve.

Early this year Dr Savimbi agreed not to obstruct ICRC convoys carrying food to stricken villages. But the Angolan Government refused to give the ICRC permission to leave the main cities, believing, not without reason, that the food would sustain populations whose main loyalties are to Unita.

In an attempt to obtain a change of policy, a senior ICRC official flew from Geneva to Havana in July to plead directly with Cuban President Fidel Castro to bring pressure to bear on the ruling MPLA. Other aid agencies, for example, Christian Aid, have found it impossible to obtain permission to move freely on the Central Plateau to assess the extent of the emergency. The Havana mission was successful and this month the ICRC will begin an emergency feeding programme for the 200 000 people considered most in need.

In the areas it controls, Unita also has intensive programmes in education, medicine and technical services. In each case the services range from the simple and practical to the sophisticated. There are primary schools and a developing system of secondary education. Even Latin is taught at the 1 000-pupil Institute Polivalente, where the headmaster is Mr Eduardo Oseeias Chingufo, formerly director of Angola's distinguished Dondi Institute, near Huambo. He came into the bush with Dr Savimbi in 1976. In his school he has 57 teachers, including 13 who are concentrating on teacher training. More than 20 pupils who have graduated from the Institute Polivalente have gone on to universities in Switzerland,



The collectives concentrate on the production of staples such as maize and cassava, but there is also an important emphasis on tobacco — smoke-cured in grass huts — for the fighters. Onions, beans, carrots, tomatoes and cabbages are also produced and, through the agricultural officers and the Unita women's movement, LIMA (the League of Angolan Women), these vegetables are being introduced into the fields of villages where the traditional diet has been bland and limited.

Peasants are obliged to give one day's labour each week on the collective farms. In return the collectives' tractors or oxen are lent for ploughing private plots. Many of the people taken from towns captured by Unita are resettled on the collectives, where they are also given their own private plots.

One of the many myths about Angola is that agriculture cannot be sustained in the south-east, which the Portuguese described as "the land at the end of the world".

True, the sandy watersheds are uncultivable. But the valleys of the rivers which flow down to the Okavango swamps in Botswana and into the upper Zambezi have rich black soils which the Portuguese never bothered to exploit because there was so much rich agricultural land which was nearer the ports of Luanda and Lobito on the Atlantic coast. It is these soils which Unita is now exploiting, using fertilisers made from ash, tree leaves, grass and animal dung collected in deep compost pits.

Nor are these agricultural projects confined to the south-east. Large collectives and village extension schemes are established well to the north of the Benguela Railway, especially in the Sautar region, 160 km northeast of Luena (formerly known as Luso), where there are 20 agricultural centres in the Luando River Valley alone. The Director of Agriculture for this Northern Front is Mr Julio Santos Lobito, a 25-year-old who graduated from high school under the Portuguese but who received all his agricultural training under the Unita system.

Dr Savimbi's primary objective is to make his people self-reliant and self-sufficient. Though he has moved a long way towards this objective, large supplies of maize still pour across from South Africa to be stored in Unita's underground warehouses spread across Angola. The South Africans also supply large stocks of low-grade French corned beef for Unita's fighting men. While much of Africa is suffering from drought and food shortages, journalists have noted the absence of food problems in Unita territory. A *Le Monde* correspondent, Philipe Houdart, recently wrote: "One can detect very little malnutrition and children with distended stomachs are rare. Only newly arrived refugees show food deficiencies ..."

But where the fighting is intense, food production has, not unexpectedly, suffered. Unita's bases are frequently bombed by Angolan MiG fighters and Soviet helicopter gunships, and the Angolan army has launched a number of ground offensives against Unita territory. Unita's response has been to disperse its bases and to build underground shelters.

Dr Savimbi has also had to divert resources into defence. Unita has a small air force of its own, and has shot down a number of MiGs and helicopters. Unita has also developed a sophisticated anti-aircraft defence system, using Soviet-made SAM-7 missiles captured from the Angolan army.

Dr Savimbi's military strategy is to avoid pitched battles and to concentrate on guerrilla warfare. Unita has a conventional army of 30,000 men, but it is the 60,000 militia who are the backbone of the resistance. Unita's military training is rigorous, and the fighters are highly disciplined. Unita has also developed a sophisticated intelligence system, which has penetrated the Angolan army and government.

Dr Savimbi has also had to divert resources into education. Unita has established a network of schools, from primary to university level, and has sent students abroad for training in Zambia, France and Portugal.

This year, newly qualified doctors, whom Dr Savimbi sent abroad for training back in 1976 and 1977, have begun returning to Unita territory to reinforce what Dr Rony Brauman, president of the Paris-based Médicins Sans Frontières, describes as the most impressive village public health programme in black Africa. In every base and village in Unita territory there is a system of deep-pit latrines which are more effective in preventing disease than any amount of medicine.

Dr Savimbi initially trained as a medical doctor in Portugal before switching to international law and politics at Lausanne University. He has made a health programme one of his priorities. Hygiene is taught in nursing colleges and ordinary schools and by LIMA in the villages. Unita's territory is divided into health regions, with bush hospitals and clinics staffed by male nurses, who trained under the Portuguese and missionaries, and who are capable of doing straightforward surgery, including amputations. They have been helped over the last two years by doctors of Médicins Sans Frontières, who have been treating wounded Unita soldiers.

There is also heavy emphasis on technical training. A fleet of more than 300 trucks runs some 950 km into Angola along the Savimbi Trail. Drivers and mechanics are trained at Dr Savimbi's giant logistics base at Luengue, in southeast Angola, about 150 km north of the Namibian frontier. Each truck has attached to it a chief mechanic and an assistant mechanic; the driver also has mechanical training.

It is their responsibility to lavish all their care and attention on their truck and keep it running. Gun mechanics and electricians are trained in other Unita schools.

There is electricity in many Unita bases. There is a bush factory producing clothes for the army, and a secretarial school training secretaries for the burgeoning Unita administration.

Dr Savimbi believes that if he comes to power he must be ready to assume responsibility. The system to sustain a successful state must be built now. He likes to tell his people they can do anything if they are willing to learn — "many whites believe in the inferiority of blacks. You must work and prove you can perform any task."

The formula works. He has established a system that provides services to people from internal resources. This is at the heart of his political success, more important in the long term than any help he obtains from outside.

VIDEO WORKSHOP

This is a workshop of audio visual productions, many of which were made specifically for this inquiry. Most of the material has been presented in an unfinished form

SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

a vexed question at

Roberto seeks aid as he rejoins the Angola fight

By Victor Ndovi

After some years in the political doldrums, Holden Roberto, the head of one of Angola's insurgent groups, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), is reviving his military campaign against the Angolan Government. He claims FNLA forces have relaunched their fight in northern Angola.

But Roberto says FNLA forces are ill-equipped and would welcome help from any source. Recently, he was in Miami, Florida, ostensibly to describe to Cuban exiles there the resentment Angolans have for Cuban civilian and military personnel in Angola. But it is understood the real reason for his trip was to seek financial and other material help from the Cuban exiles.

Much of the assistance FNLA has sought and obtained from the US has been channelled through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The American help began in 1961 and has continued throughout successive US administrations.

In all, the CIA is believed to have granted the FNLA an estimated $15,3 million for political action support, propaganda activities, travel for its leaders, miscellaneous expenses, weapons and equipment, and communications gear. Some of the help was routed through Zaire.

With the Angola-Zairean accord of 1978, Roberto was harassed from Zaire and he became ensconced in Ivory Coast. Later, he was also bundled out of Ivory Coast and ended up in Europe.

In recent weeks, Roberto has claimed regrouping an estimated 7 000-10 000 FNLA insurgents, who are now prosecuting his "war of liberation" in northern Angola, presumably from bases in neighbouring Zaire.

Evidence suggests the five-year defence accord, signed by Israel and Zaire in 1982, is aimed at Angola. Zaire's former Prime Minister, Nguza Karl-I-Bond, now based in Brussels from where he raised political decibels against Zaire's President Mobuto Sese Seko, has claimed such designs against Angola.

A significant aspect of the accord involves Israeli retraining of the Kamanyola Brigade, based in Shaba province along the Zairean/Angolan frontier. Israel is also reorganising the Zairean secret service, which might be used to gather intelligence information for FNLA.

The chief beneficiary of the Israeli-Zairean military co-operation is claimed to be Roberto's FNLA. But Roberto has denied receiving help from Zaire and Israel. He has also denied allegations that South Africa is involved with his group.

Neither is FNLA involved in a joint military effort with the other known Angolan dissident group, Unita, led by Jonas Savimbi. — *The Observer.*

100 Years Ago

From The Eastern Star

There is likely to be some demand soon for white ostrich feathers, for it is stated that the followers of the Republican candidate at the forthcoming Presidential election in the United States have resolved to wear white ostrich feathers as the badge of their party.

★ ★ ★

It is stated that Miss Colenso, daughter of the late Bishop of Natal, is about to publish the first of two volumes entitled "The Ruin of Zululand", which is a terrible indictment of the policy of Sir Henry Bulwer.

Invitation to Savimbi was mark of SA friendship

THE surprise invitation of Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to the State President's inauguration on Friday was part of a deliberate South African initiative to upgrade relations between Pretoria and the rebel leader.

It is understood the invitation was extended to Dr Savimbi as an expression of support for his efforts to force the Luanda government into dealing with him.

By BRIAN POTTINGER
Political Correspondent

It was also felt necessary to reassure Dr Savimbi of South Africa's moral support for the Unita forces despite the ongoing peace initiatives in Angola and Mozambique.

The burly and articulate guerrilla leader arrived late Thursday night. Under close military escort he attended the inauguration of State President P W Botha in Cape Town on Friday.

The sudden appearance of Dr Savimbi at the inauguration — where he received more applause than any other guest — has set off alarm bells in Western capitals, who apparently consider the move to be provocative, given the delicate nature of US-Angolan negotiations.

For Dr Savimbi the invitation was a major diplomatic coup.

He has visited South Africa before clandestinely. Earlier this year he told journalists at his Jamba headquarters it was sometimes better not to have friends at all than have to meet them furtively "at night".

Also earlier this year two high-ranking South African emissaries visited Dr Savimbi to assure him of South Africa's continuing moral and material support for Unita's struggle in Angola.

The assurances — and the visit on Friday — are being explained in Foreign Affairs quarters as necessary to allay Unita fears that South Africa might waver in its support and its insistance on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola as part of the settlement in SWA/Namibia.

Foreign Affairs circles believe the appearance of Dr Savimbi at the inauguration of the President will also jolt Luanda into an appreciation of South Africa's concern for Unita and its future.

The need to assure Dr Savimbi of South Africa's good intentions arises from the strange contradiction that has emerged in the Western peace initiative.

Angola and South Africa are reportedly within reach of establishing a permanent security monitoring commission on the SWA/Namibian-Angolan border that would enable South Africa to complete its enormously delayed withdrawal of forces from southern Angola.

Such an agreement is essential to halt Swapo incursions into SWA/Namibia. Once this is achieved, Pretoria hopes Swapo might be lured into a cessation of hostilities and, eventually, a "ceasefire" in the territory leading to a formal Swapo participation in an internal government.

KEEPING AN EYE ON THE WORLD BEYOND OUR BORDERS



Jonas Savimbi . . . in for heavy fighting

Massive thrust against Unita is expected

A MASSIVE anti-guerrilla military offensive by the Marxist regime in Angola is expected to be launched at the beginning of October in a last-ditch effort to defeat Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

The Sunday Times has learnt from reliable sources in Lisbon that the Angolan Government regards this as its final chance to wipe out the rebels or face untenable pressures to negotiate peace with them.

The sources say a likely scenario of events in Angola in the next few months includes the following:

- A major military effort to wipe out Unita, both on its recently opened northern and central fronts and at its base at Jamba, deep in the Cuando-Cubango province near the Namibian border.

Demands

- Acceptance that if this bid fails, the Marxist regime will be forced to the negotiating table with Unita and to bow to demands for general elections and a government of national reconciliation.
- A deal to overcome the impasse surrounding the 35 000 Cuban troops in the country which could involve turning them into civilian aid workers, and advisers, and even conceding them Angolan nationality.

By KEN POTTINGER
Lisbon

Reports published in Lisbon this week suggest that President Eduardo dos Santos is torn between two factions in the ruling MPLA Party — the hardline pro-Soviets who refuse to deal with the rebels, and the moderate pragmatists who for many months have been urging an accommodation with Unita.

Close presidential collaborators indicate that he is prepared to try a final military offensive to smash Unita and, if this fails, accept the inevitability of talking to Jonas Savimbi.

One of the major problems in any such negotiations will be the question of the Cubans. Unita has made a holy crusade of their repatriation and it is not clear whether the guerrillas could be persuaded to accept a deal involving the presence of Cubans under a different guise.

Diplomatic sources believe the suggested Cuban solution is a novel one which might well win South African, American and Angolan acceptance. Under such circumstances, sufficient pressure might be exerted on Unita to agree to the deal which represents a face-saving way out of a near-intractable stumbling block to peace in the area.

Disappear

Last week Colonel Henrique Carreira, commander of the Angolan Air Force, alleged that Unita's survival was totally dependent upon South African logistical support.

"Once this umbilical cord is cut the rebels will disappear within two years," he predicted.

The colonel said that a major two-year organisation of the Angolan defence forces had placed its military on its best-ever footing to deal with Unita and suggested that a major offensive was in preparation against them.

The Angolans had earlier hinted that as soon as South Africa completed its withdrawal under the Lusaka Agreement from southern Angola, they would be in a position to divert the bulk of their forces to the rebel problem.

Western observers believe that Pretoria has deliberately slowed down its troop pullback — using the pretext of continuing Swapo guerrilla infiltration — to give Unita time to make advances in the north of the country and around the capital, Luanda.

But Col Carreira, who admitted the guerrilla advances, asserted that Unita had overstretched its supply lines and was leaving its rear bases dangerously underprotected.

No military solution to the Angolan war

(5) E-Post 19/9/84

By JOHN ROGERS in London

THE Unita rebel movement has stepped up guerilla action against the forces of Angola's Marxist Government this year, winning unprecedented publicity in the West and focusing fresh attention on a nine-year-old war.

But a solution to the Angolan conflict hinges not so much on military advances by either side as on slow-moving international efforts to end South Africa's rule over neighbouring SWA/Namibia, Western diplomats say.

Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, acknowledges that there must be a negotiated solution to the war that has dogged Angola since independence from Portugal in 1975.

Hence Unita's close interest in the outcome of tortuous secret negotiations, in which the United States is a key broker, aimed at securing SWA/Namibian independence.

Among many complex links between Angola's war and SWA/Namibia, the chief is US and South African insistence on withdrawal of 25 000 Cuban troops supporting the Luanda Government as a condition for SWA/-Namibian independence.

Washington appears to be looking for a package deal covering both territories.

Western diplomats say Unita, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, is backed by South Africa, while Angola is aided by Soviet and East German advisers as well as the Cubans.

Fighting in Angola has intensifed in both scale and area this year, and Unita troops have made advances. But the diplomats say the war may not be winable.

"It has all the makings of an indefinite stalemate," an African expert in London says, citing Angola's huge size as ideal for protracted guerilla operations. "The stalemate can only be broken diplomatically. It cannot be broken militarily."

Dr Savimbi agrees. "No one can achieve victory — there must.therefore be negotiation," he told the Paris newspaper le Monde.

Western experts in Lisbon, a key point for monitoring Angolan information, believe Dr Savimbi is aiming to pile pressure for a negotiated settlement on the Government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Western sources estimate Unita's strength at 25 000 to 30 000, against MPLA forces of 45 000 regular troops and 55 000 local militiamen, backed by the Cubans.

But the rebel soldiers' morale is high and they are well trained, according to visitors to Dr Savimbi's headquarters at the makeshift township of Jamba in south-eastern Angola, a region controlled by Unita.

Apart from the south-east, the rebel group's writ also runs in big slices of territory elsewhere, although the big towns are in Government hands, Western diplomats say.

Dr Savimbi says his military aim this year is to take his guerilla campaign into Luanda, having already staged operations in and around Huambo, the west-central second city.

Rival casualty claims are often greeted by scepticism abroad. But the scale of fighting is heavy.

Luanda said recently it had killed 2 828 guerillas in the first half of 1984, about 500 a month, for instance. Unita said five weeks ago it had won a big victory in the Cazombo area of eastern Angola after four months' fighting in which 1 600 Government troops and 214 Cubans died.

Unita men attacked East German and Angolan cargo ships with mines in Luanda harbour itself in late July

Dr Savimbi scored a big propaganda coup this year, winning wide Press coverage for Unita, by kidnapping dozens of foreign technicians in the north-eastern diamond mining area of Kafunfo

South African analysts say Unita's advances this year have led mostly to greater ease of operation in urban areas, especially around Luanda, rather than to territorial gains.

"Unita can probably operate in about nine-tenths of Angola," says Prof Mike Hough of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of South Africa

The analysts see Dr Savimbi's declared aim of taking the war into the streets of Luanda as rhetoric. His aim, they say, is largely political — to take part in a government of national unity as a prelude to elections.

The Government, denouncing Unita as traitors and lackeys of South Africa, has refused to talk to Dr Savimbi But the Unita leader said this month he had held contacts with individuals in the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola

A package deal for SWA/Namibia and Angola is not yet in sight But pressure for a Namibian settlement has made itself felt.

Disengagement is not yet complete because, South Africa says, Swapo guerillas are still active in the area But Western diplomats believe it could eventually permit Angola to dispense with its Cuban bolster.

Pretoria might then cut its backing for Unita — something it does not acknowledge — as part of reduced foreign involvement in the Angolan war, they say.

But Angola's animosities run deep. "Even if you get a Namibian accord, the fighting could continue until both sides see that even under the new circumstances, military victory is not really possible," one diplomat said - Sapa-Reuter

Estimated 3 000 Cuban casualties in Angolan campaign

(5) E. Post 21/9/84

WASHINGTON — An estimated 3 000 Cubans are believed to have been killed or wounded in the nine-year Cuban military presence in Angola, and the casualty rate has been increasing, American officials say.

The number of Cuban casualties has been largely ignored since the Cuban troop commitment began in 1975.

The Cubans, initially sent to protect Angola against a South African invasion, have become increasingly involved in Angola's civil war.

As part of an agreement with Angola reached early this year, most South African forces have been withdrawn and only a small contingent remains in Angola near the border with SWA/Namibia.

Unita, the pro-Western guerilla movement headed by Dr Jonas Savimbi, has been steadily gaining ground against the Cuban-backed Government in Luanda. American officials say Unita appears to concentrate on Cubans in their attacks.

The actual number of Cuban casualties is a well-kept secret in Havana.

The presence of the 25 000 to 30 000 Cuban troops in Angola is a sore point in US-Cuban relations.

The Reagan Administration has cited the Cuban presence there as an example of the country's role as a Soviet "surrogate".

However, some Africa specialists believe Cuba established its own links with the Angolan leadership many years ago.

"In the struggle against Unita, the Angolans are not in as good a position as they were a year ago," a senior American official said.

"Next year, they'll be in a worse position unless an agreement is reached."

Final agreement is partly delayed by uncertainty over what Swapo will do once South Africa withdraws from Angola.

Without an agreement under which Angola continues to restrain Swapo, "the war is going to heat up again. Swapo will pour across and South Africa will go back in and get them," the senior official said.

The official said the Administration was hopeful that South Africa would agree to a ceasefire in SWA/Namibia and set a date for implementing a UN-sponsored plan for the territory's independence.

Cubans: Angola drops demand

21/9/84 (5) D. Dispatch

From
SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Portending a possible breakthrough in negotiations for Namibian independence, a senior MPLA official announced here yesterday that Angola was dropping its demand for implementation on UN Resolution 435 as a precondition for the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

The MPLA information director, Mr Paulino Pinto Joao, who is here to attend an African-American Institute conference on press coverage of Southern Africa, laid out three conditions under which Luanda would begin talks with Cuba on pulling out its estimated 25 000 troops:

- Completion of the SA-Angolan disengagement process and the removal of all South African forces from Angolan territory.
- No more South African support for Unita.
- Direct negotiations between Swapo and Pretoria.

"After that we will begin discussions with Cuba on a withdrawal of Cuban troops from our country".

Mr Joao also made clear in an interview with the Washington Times that the MPLA had no intention of negotiating with Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi. "We cannot negotiate with a man who has committed treason," he said.

He added: "We are working to unite Angolans into one nation."

The official hinted strongly that Luanda was increasingly frustrated with Swapo and its use of Angolan soil to launch attacks into Namibia. It was "not the people of Angola" who were fighting for Namibian independence, he stressed.

Diplomatic sources with strong connections in Luanda say that the MPLA is privately putting considerable pressure on Swapo to negotiate with Pretoria.

Dr Chester Crocker, recently returned from talks in Lusaka with the Angolan Minister of the Interior, Kito Rodrigues, said in an interview published on Wednesday, that Angola was taking an increasingly flexible stand.

'Flying' colonel's amazi

This is the story of Colonel Koos van Heerden of Vereeniging, who became known as the Rommel of Angola during the 1975 war. Translated and adapted from "Beroemde Suid-Afrikaanse Krygsmanne", edited by Leopold Scholtz, published by Rubicon Press, Cape Town.

On October 9 1975 a C-130 Hercules transport took off from Waterkloof Air Base outside Pretoria with only one passenger. Its destination: Rundu, command post of 1 Military Operational Area, Namibia.

Its lone passenger, Colonel Jacobus Stehanus van Heerden (38), was a short, broad man with greying hair and beard; an infantry soldier and commander of 73 Motorised Brigade.

His departure was the start of an extraordinary military adventure that will remain a saga of endurance, courage and inspired leadership in the annals of South African war history.

Colonel van Heerden's colleagues knew him as a good soldier, not scared of using his own initiative. Within a few weeks of taking off from Waterkloof he gained a new nickname — Rommel — first, because he had always admired the World War 2 German general, but also because he was to lead an amazing drive across 3 000 km of Angola, from the border of Namibia to almost the gates of Luanda, in just over a month.

When he reached Rundu he met Brigadier Ben Roos and Commandant Willie Kotze to establish a headquarters from which to direct South African involvement in the growing civil war in Angola.

"Operation Savannah", as the Angolan invasion of 1975-76 was called, was not a big war. At its height no more than 2 000 troops were involved.

None the less it was an important campaign, the first time in 30 years that the SA Defence Force was involved in a semi-conventional war.

The situation in Angola in 1975 was compounded by the presence of three insurgent groups — the National Liberation Front (FNLA) of Holden Roberto in the north; the National Union (Unita) of Dr Jonas Savimbi in the south, and the Marxist-leaning Popular Liberation Front (MPLA) of Dr Agostinho Neto in central Angola — each held sway in their own small areas.

Each of these groups mistrusted the others and it was finally decided that they would all take part in general elections in late 1975 with independence to follow immediately.

It soon became clear that the MPLA had the edge over the others because it was favoured by the new Portuguese Government and bolstered by help in the form of Cuban personnel.

South Africa, along with the United States and a number of African countries, became worried about the course events were taking and in the second half of 1975 South Africa decided to take a hand in the conflict by supplying weaponry to Unita and the FNLA.

The aim of these clandestine operations was to put the anti-Marxist forces in the best position to win the general election scheduled for November 11 1975.

And this was where Koos van Heerden came in.

When he landed at Rundu he was briefed to head up a motley force of soldiers who could not consist of South African recruits or servicemen because it had been decided that South Africa's direct involvement was to be kept to a minimum.

Taskforce Zulu, as it was called, was made up of one battalion of Caprivian and Angolan Bushmen and another of FNLA recruits with between four days' and one month's training behind them.

Colonel van Heerden's orders were to head into Angola and drive hard for Novo Redondo on the coast, south of Luanda, before the cut-off date of November 11.

His biggest weapons were 81 mm mortars with a maximum range of 5 km.

His only air support was to be the ferrying in of supplies and the evacuation of wounded.

They had to use civilian vehicles, mostly Portuguese vegetable trucks, and whatever they could pick up.

On October 14 Colonel van Heerden and his group left Rundu in northern Namibia and headed for Cuangar, just inside Angola, were they camped before heading for Caiundo to the north from where they would launch their first attack: on Pereira d'Eca to the south-east.

On October 19 Taskforce Zulu attacked the town from the north-east and took the MPLA forces by surprise.

From there, Zulu moved on to Rocades, which was already in South African hands after an attack by another group based in northern Namibia.

On October 23 Taskforce Zulu attacked Joao de Almeida, an important headquarters and communications centre for MPLA, and it fell just before dark after fierce fighting.

The next big town in Zulu's drive north was Sa da Bandeira. But before heading for this target Colonel van Heerden acted to clean up pockets of MPLA resistance in the villages around Joao de Almeida.

With useful information gleaned from enemy documents about the MPLA strength in the town, Colonel van Heerden attacked Sa da Bandeira on October 24.

First to fall to his troops was the airfield to the north-east of the town.

Next, the Bushmen troops under Commandant Delville Lindford prepared to attack what they believed were MPLA replacements on a hill overlooking the town.

In fact, they met no resistance at all.

Colonel van Heerden headed for the next two targets — two former Portuguese Army camps on the outskirts of Sa da Bandeira.

Both fell to Taskforce Zulu, which also captured huge piles of arms and ammunition in the camps.

On October 27 Colonel van Heerden headed for Mocamedes, a harbour and provincial capital.

He was in a hurry to take this town because he wanted to get troops back to guard Sa da Bandeira in case of an MPLA counter-attack.

As a result he divided up his forces, some heading for villages north of Sa da Bandeira to eliminate any MPLA pockets there; another section heading for a research station at Caraculo from where they would head for Mocamedes via Humpata and the Leba Pass.

A third group headed for Mocamedes along the road via Villa Arriaga.

Once he had completed a few administrative duties in Sa da Bandeira, Colonel van Heerden headed out at his usual blistering pace.

But this time he was too fast.

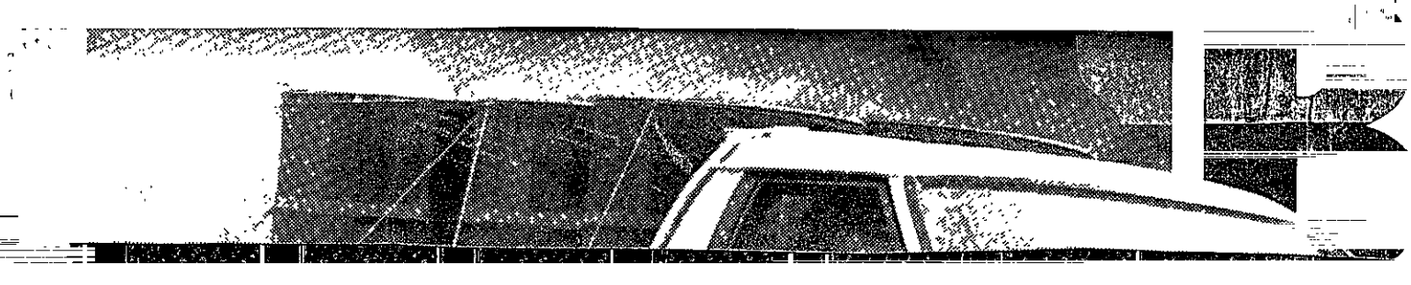
Halfway down the Leba Pass he found the lorries with some Bushmen and FNLA troops, but no sign of armoured cars.

He decided they had to have moved ahead of the lorries at a faster pace, so he swept on in his jeep.

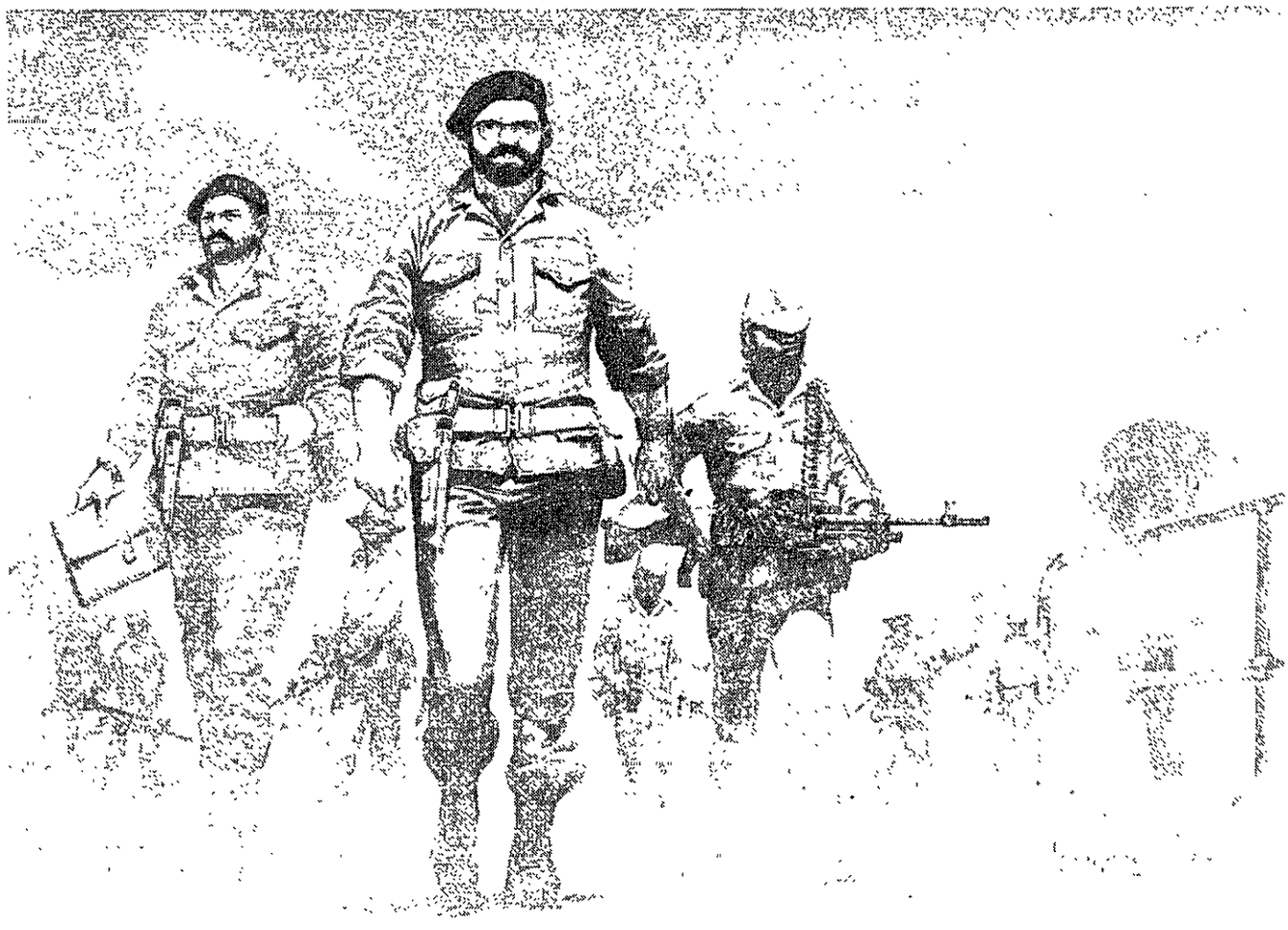
Soon he was 90 km ahead of the squad and arrived at Caraculo only to find no armoured column.

Then, suddenly, he saw Portuguese and black soldiers and realised he had run straight into a hornets' nest on his own.

He did a quick U-turn and went racing back to find that the armoured cars had turned



ng Angolan adventure



off the road much further back to investigate reported sightings of MPLA forces.

Outside Mocamedes they met the first MPLA resistance and after fierce fighting they overran the enemy positions and captured an 82 mm cannon.

Night was approaching so Colonel van Heerden decided to wait until dawn to make the final assault on the town.

While they were resting a car flying a white flag approached and, as Colonel van Heerden recalled: "I gained a propaganda victory second to none."

The occupants of the car were two Portuguese officers.

Neither wanted to get involved in the fighting and explained that they were looking after the possessions of refugees which were lined up around the harbour.

In conversation, one of the officers let it drop that a Portuguese frigate was anchored in the harbour. Colonel van Heerden immediately recognised the serious threat this posed to Zulu, which did not have the weapons to counter a bombardment from the sea.

Deciding to bluff his way through, Colonel van Heerden fixed the two officers with a stern gaze and an ultimatum: unless that frigate was out of the harbour by first light he would blow it out of the water.

When Taskforce Zulu entered Mocamedes it found virtually no resistance and the frigate gone. It was in the early fighting for Mocamedes that Zulu first came into contact with Cuban forces.

The next target for Taskforce Zulu was Benguela, the second biggest harbour in Angola outside Luanda, and Colonel van Heerden moved swiftly through the countryside with little resistance until he reached Caporolo, near the port.

There he ran into a well-established MPLA position where the influence of the Cubans was evident.

Although these foreigners generally avoided direct contact with the South Africans, their professional mark became evident in the preparation and defence of MPLA positions.

In his swift move through Angola Colonel van Heerden often departed from orthodox tactics.

Basically, Zulu's tactic was to fire on any suspicious-looking positions as it drove through the country to see if it drew any enemy response.

A small force would move at speed ahead of the bulk of the taskforce and anything suspicious was fired on.

If fire was returned then the fighting began, said Colonel van Heerden.

Moving in this way, rather than carefully probing the route ahead, was a dangerous tactic to follow, but by doing this he managed to move an amazing 90 km a day.

It was in the fight for Mocamedes that Colonel van Heerden showed his courage. Covered by armoured car fire, he led his men across the bridge into Caporolo, which was taken without the enemy firing a single shot. But this was the calm before the storm.

The next town to fall was Catengue, but it was the toughest contest to date and in Colonel van Heerden's mind it was Taskforce Zulu's most important victory.

"Catengue is where the war was won," he said afterwards of Zulu's role in Operation Savannah, "but nobody knows it."

On November 4, one week before intended independence, Zulu attacked Benguela and found the Cuban and MPLA forces dug into positions in the built-up areas, something the colonel had feared would happen.

Once again his men started by attacking the airfield, but this time all did not go their way.

Once they had taken over the installation they came under accurate mortar and 122 mm missile fire which pinned them down.

Their own mortars were helpless against the enemy because of the limited range of these weapons.

For 26 hours the Zulu men were pinned down until a breakthrough came when some of the MPLA men were flushed out of a nearby area and the mortar platoon managed to get close enough to the missile site to put it out of action.

With Benguela under his belt, Colonel van Heerden moved on to Lobito and took it without trouble because the Cubans and MPLA moved out before the task force arrived.

Here, Taskforce Zulu waited for four days as fighting in the rest of Angola worsened and independence day dawned.

The original idea was that South Africa would withdraw on November 11 and hand over to Unita and the FNLA.

But things did not go according to plan.

Dr Savimbi appealed to the South African Government to keep its troops in Angola and this was agreed. Taskforce Zulu was then ordered to help in the sealing off of Luanda and headed north for the port of Novo Redondo and then to the small centres along the Queve River — Porto Amboim, Gabela and Quibala.

On November 12, outside Novo Redondo and on River Quicombo, Zulu clashed with Cuban mortar troops and a battalion of MPLA infantry.

There were heavy casualties to both men and equipment during this battle — "our greatest setback," said the colonel.

Heavy artillery pieces, unloaded that day at Benguela, were rushed through to help and this tipped the scales in favour if Zulu — but only after heavy casualties.

On November 14 Colonel van Heerden entered Novo Redondo and met only slight resistance.

From there Zulu headed north for Gabela to be brought up short.

Colonel van Heerden then received orders to proceed to Cela where his Zulu force was broken up and a new "Taskforce Zulu" assembled.

But the colossal achievement of that colourful force remains a thrilling saga — 3 159 km of hostile territory covered in just 35 days.

'Insulted' Unita warns on capture of Spaniards

(5)

29/9/87 Star

LISBON — Unita guerillas fighting to overthrow the Angolan Government say Spain has insulted them — and warn that any Spaniards captured in Angola in future will not be released.

In a communique issued here, Unita said it was shocked by statements made by the Spanish Government that the movement was reactionary.

The statements are said to have been made during a visit to Madrid by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos earlier this month.

Unita, which has been fighting the Angolan Government with increasing success since independence from Portugal in 1975, also accused Spain of working alongside the Soviet union in "plundering Angola's maritime wealth".

The communique added that the Spanish Government's support of the invasion and domination of Angola by Cubans, was "neo-colonialist and racist.

"From this date all Spanish citizens captured by Unita will not be freed." — Reuter.

September 24 1984 Star 3

Unita claims 403 killed in raids in 7 provinces

LISBON — Angolan rebels said today they had killed 354 government soldiers, 46 Cubans and three Russians in operations in seven provinces between September 17 and 21.

A communique issued in Lisbon by Unita, which has been waging a guerilla war against the government since Angolan independence from Portugal in 1975, gave rebel losses as 21 dead, 61 wounded and nine missing.

Successes claimed by Unita included a commando attack on a Security Ministry building in Luena in the eastern province of Moxico, with the death of three Soviet citizens, 14 Cubans and 26 Angolans. A bomb in another government building killed many more Angolans and Cubans, Unita added.

The communique also said a rebel brigade attack near Cuito Canavai in south-eastern Kuando-Kubango province killed 98 Angolan soldiers, while seven

In another communique, dated September 20, Unita commander Dr Jonas Savimbi announced that the rebels had started a news agency called KUP on August 25. He said it would issue news bulletins to Central and Southern Africa daily in Portuguese and English. — Reuter.

Unita winning wide publicity in West

The Unita rebel movement has stepped up guerrilla action against the forces of Angola's Marxist government this year, winning unprecedented publicity in the West and focusing fresh attention on a nine-year-old war.

Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, acknowledges that there must be a negotiated solution to the war that has dogged Angola since independence from Portugal in 1975.

Hence Unita's close interest in the outcome of the tortuous secret negotiations aimed at securing SWA-Namibian independence.

Western diplomats say Unita, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, is backed by South Africa, while Angola is aided by Soviet and East German advisers as well as the Cubans.

Fighting in Angola has intensified in both scale and area this year, and Unita troops have made advances. But the diplomats say the war may not be winnable.

"It has all the makings of an indefinite stalemate," an African expert in London says, citing Angola's huge size as ideal for protracted guerrilla operations. "The stalemate can only be broken diplomatically. It cannot be broken militarily".

Dr Savimbi agrees: "No one can achieve victory — there must therefore be negotiation," he told the Paris newspaper Le Monde.

Western experts in Lisbon, a key point for monitoring Angolan information, believe Dr Savimbi is aiming to pile pressure for a negotiated settlement on the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Western sources estimate Unita's strength at 25 000 to 30 000, against government forces of 45 000 regular troops and 55 000 local militiamen, backed by the Cubans.

But the rebel soldiers' morale is high and they are well trained, according to visitors to Dr Savimbi's headquarters at the makeshift township of Jamba in south-eastern Angola, a region controlled by Unita.

Apart from the south-east, the rebel group's writ also runs in big slices of territory elsewhere, although the big towns are in government hands, Western diplomats say.

Dr Savimbi says his military aim this year is to take his guerrilla campaign into Luanda, having already staged operations in and around Huambo, the west-central second city.

Rival casualty claims are often greeted with scepticism abroad. But the scale of fighting is heavy.

Luanda said recently it had killed 2 828 guerrillas in the first half of 1984, about 500 a month, for instance. Unita said five weeks ago it had won a big victory in the Cazombo area of eastern Angola after four months' fighting in which 1 600 government troops and 214 Cubans died.



JONAS SAVIMBI ... no one can achieve victory.

Unita men attacked East German and Angolan cargo ships with mines in Luanda harbour itself in late July.

Dr Savimbi scored a big propaganda coup this year, winning wide press coverage for Unita, by kidnapping dozens of foreign technicians in the north-eastern diamond mining area of Kafunfo.

South African analysts say Unita's advances this year have led mostly to greater ease of operation in urban areas, especially around Luanda, rather than to territorial gains.

"Unita can probably operate in about nine-tenths of Angola," says Mr Mike Hough of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of South Africa.

The analysts see Dr Savimbi's declared aim of taking the war into the streets of Luanda as rhetoric. His aim, they say, is largely political — to take part in a government of national unity as a prelude to elections.

The government, denouncing Unita as traitors and lackeys of South Africa, has refused to talk to Dr Savimbi But the Unita leader said this month he had had contacts with individuals in the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

A package deal for SWA-Namibia and Angola is not yet in sight. But pressure for a Namibian settlement has made itself felt.

Disengagement is not yet complete because, South Africa says, Swapo guerrillas are still active in the area. But Western diplomats believe it could eventually permit Angola to dispense with its Cuban bolster. They say Pretoria might then cut its backing for Unita — something it does not acknowledge — as part of reduced foreign involvement in the Angolan war.

But Angola's animosities run deep.

"Even if you get a Namibian accord, the fighting could continue until both sides see that even in the new circumstances, military victory is not really possible," one diplomat said in London — SAPA-RNS.

If that represents communism, I want no part of it, says a man who wants to be free

Reunion ends 107-day escape saga from Angola

Star 20/9/84

LISBON — Stumbling on crutches through a crowd of onlookers at the dock, the tiny, grey-haired woman threw her arms around the sea-weathered man. They wept.

It was the first time she had hugged her four-year-old grandchild, also named Joaquina.

Mr Mario Ramos Ferreira (52) had planned the surprise homecoming with his Angolan wife, Laureana, and daughter with the greatest care and in utmost secrecy.

The decision to abandon his adopted African home for the first time in 34 years and to brave the ocean for 107 days with his family and a three-man crew in a fragile trawler did not come easily.

"I stayed on through independence and 10 years of civil war as my friends left one by one," said Mr Ferreira aboard his 18 m, 62-ton trawler, the Atalaia.

"I didn't want to leave. But it just became impossible to stay and still be a free man."

The storm-battered blue and white Atalaia (Sentinel) sputtered into Lisbon's River Tagus estuary on Tuesday, ending a marathon 13 000 km saga.

Own Correspondent

It anchored forlornly a short distance from the huge, riverside monument which commemorates Portugal's 16th century navigators who charted the coastlines of the world.

While the Portuguese media splashed their pictures on front pages, Mr Ferreira busied himself with the bureaucratic intricacies of obtaining political asylum for his 54-year-old wife and two Angolan crewmen, Mr Manuel Pereira (21) and Mr Jose Picolino (19).

The Atalaia's skipper, 25-year-old Mr Jorge Manuel Tinoca da Silva, is a Portuguese citizen like Mr Fereira, the owner of the vessel.

DESPERATE

Down-to-earth and not given to fanfare, Mr Ferreira, a native of Santarem and a motor mechanic by trade, made little of his desperate escape from Marxist-ruled Angola.

"I knew of others who did the same at independence in 1975 and I trusted my ship and crew," he said.

But this gaunt, sunburned man's modesty did not hide the fact that the small boat was equipped only with a simple compass and a radio.

"We sailed on June 10 and our greatest fear was during our first three days out," he said.

"Soviet and Cuban patrol boats guard the coast. But, after that, we really felt we had made it."

Although the voyage to freedom lasted 107 days, Mr Ferreira said the Atalaia was actually at sea for only 48 days.

He said people were marvellous during port calls, one of them for four days along the Moroccan Sahara to avoid a tempest which sank a 28-man Spanish ship with the loss of 26 crew.

Mr Ferreira said that, during 30 days in Liberia and 25 days in the Canary Islands, people who heard their story provided food, clothing and diesel fuel without asking to see any documents.

Other port calls were made in Gabon and Mauritania.

"But we could never have made it without the help of Portuguese fishing vessels off the North African coast," he said.

"They provided us with vital information and directions by radio.

"One towed us from the northern Moroccan coast to the Algarve, the southern Portuguese coast," he said.

Mr Ferreira said he prepared the escape for three months.

He syphoned off rationed fuel from his fishing boat, hoarded scarce food and transferred savings from a Portuguese account to a Madrid bank for withdrawal later in the Spanish Canary Islands.

The decision to leave Angola clandestinely, he said, was taken after he refused a government order to turn over his catch to a State co-operative.

"They began calling me a reactionary, a counter-revolutionary," he said, "and I knew it wouldn't be long before they confiscated my boat and imprisoned ..."

He added that Lobito, Angola's second biggest port, had become an unliveable trash heap, with Unita's guerilla forces getting closer every day.

"The city is in such bad shape that you can hardly find bread," he said.

"I'm not a political man but, if Angola represents Communism, I want no part of it.

"I'm too old to learn how to live differently."

On June 10, a public holiday, Mr Ferreira bribed two port officials with two bottles of brandy and sailed.

"When I told my crew what I was up to, they laughed and joined in immediately," he said.

On to his boat he had smuggled 11 000 litres of fuel, one sack of sugar, two of flour and four of mealies.

"We didn't eat well but we always had plenty along with the fish we caught," he said.

"When the sea was calm, we'd cook up enough food for two or three days.

"After a port call, a little margarine would make delicious fried fish or mealie cakes."

But Mr Ferreira, who left behind everything he owned except his trawler, wants to put it all behind him.

"We came by boat because it is our livelihood," he said.

"We're going to use it to create a new life for all of us."



Journey's end . . . Mr Mario Ramos Ferreira stands with his family and crew aboard the trawler in which they fled to Lisbon from Angola

'Conditions' for Cuban pull-out

NEW YORK. — Cuba has spelt out preconditions for the withdrawal of its troops from Angola, and blamed United States support for South Africa for what it termed "the climate of tension and aggression" in the region.

Cuban conditions were detailed in an address to the United Nations General Assembly by the country's Foreign Minister, Mr Isidoro Malmierca Peoli.

Recalling a statement made by President Fidel Castro in which he said Cuba was ready to "cooperate" in the search for a political solution of SWA/Namibia's independence, Mr Malmierca said his country regarded three issues as essential:

● The application of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

● The cessation of all outside assistance to the armed organizations



President Castro

fighting "the recognized government of Angola".

● The cessation of all acts of aggression against Angola — including the withdrawal of South African troops "that even today remain on that territory".

The Cuban Foreign Minister then said: "The strict application of Resolution 435, which implies the withdrawal of South African troops and the exercise by the Namibian people of its full sovereignty over all of its territory, the ceasing of foreign assistance to the counter-revolutionary organizations operating in Angola, and the establishment of effective international guarantees for the respect of its sovereignty, territorial integrity and security, will make the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola possible."

He added that "in their attempts to delay, boycott and impede the independence of Namibia, the imperialists and their ally, the racist Pretoria regime, recur to lies, diversionism, coercion, pressure and blackmail. Whom do they expect to deceive?"

Meanhwile the foreign ministers of the West African nations of Liberia, Senegal and Niger have condemned apartheid policies and South Africa's refusal to grant independence to SWA/Namibia.

The Foreign Minister of Liberia, Mr Ernest Eastman, said in his address to the General Assembly: "How can a nation which professes Christianity preside with seeming delight over the systematic separation of races through legislative enactments and the physical uprootment and displacement of the African majority?" — UPI and Sapa-AP

SMUGGLING Argus 5/10/84 (5)

Angola's massive diamond racket

With South African and British help the Marxist regime has cracked a debilitating smuggling ring reports RICHARD DOWDEN of The Times, London

IN an enourmous show trial of diamond smugglers the Angolan government claims to have broken up a vast network of diamond thieves and currency smugglers. As much as a third of diamond production may have been lost every year, costing the country millions in crucial foreign exchange.

But the organisation which stopped the theft of diamonds was a small British company which has since been sacked by the Angolans.

The aim of the trial was to deter. It was given prominent coverage in the state-controlled media, which accused the defendents of being "steeped in bourgeois vices and pleasures". Five of those convicted are awaiting death sentences demanded by the prosecutor and hundreds of others are awaiting trial on similar charges.

It has been a bizarre affair. The accused have names like "Zeca Siberia" and "Big Job" and are supposed to have exchanged diamonds for cars, stereos and bags of dollars. To emphasise the link between economic sabotage and an international conspiracy to destablise Angola, one of the defendents is accused of spying for the United States (he used to be the embassy cook before the revolution).

The culprit in the court's eyes have been the middlemen. Some of them are Portuguese or Angolan airline pilots who carried the diamonds — on which the country depends — out of the country. Others were petty officials or small businessmen. Two members of the ruling party's central committee have been suspended pending investigations arising from the trial.

The Marxist government of Angola had been forced to turn to De Beers, the worldwide diamond monopoly, despite its role as a pillar of arch enemy South Africa. But De Beers could provide the mining skills and, through its subsidiary the Diamond Trading Company in London, a reliable market for the diamonds.

De Beer's monopoly of the diamond world means that it knew almost to the carat how much Angola was losing.

Its managers on the ground in Angola could predict how many carats they should be getting from each cubic yard of gravel they sifted. The Diamond Trading Company, which has agents buying stones on the open market in Antwerp was able to judge what was being smuggled.

De Beers therefore recommended the Luanda government employ a British firm, Defence Systems International Limited, to try to staunch the flow of stones and train a local anti-smuggling force.

DSIL, set up by former Special Air Services men and headed by Lord Monckton of Brechley, employs former servicemen — many of them ex-SAS — to carry out offbeat security jobs. From the moment they arrived in Angola in 1982 they attracted suspicion and speculation. One report said they were flying helicopter gunships to protect the mines.

In fact they simply applied common sense to the protection of the mines and stood about in vulnerable areas looking like London policemen. Diamond theft fell dramtically and several hundred people in the mining area were arrested.

But the diamong smuggling links were long indeed, stretching right to Jonas Savimbi and his Unita movement. When DSIL tightened up security at the mines Savimbi'ss revenue dropped, and revenge was certainly one reason which led him to attack the diamond mines in February this year.

Although DSIL succeeded in its allotted task and provided the Angolan government with the ammunition for their trial, derogatory rumours persisted and proved fatal. Its contract, only 18 months old, was not renewed.

It is said that the Cubans and East Germans in Angola did not like the idea of British service personnel, even former ones, working so closely with them. By March the company which had done most to stamp out diamond theft in Angola had left the country.

COLUMNISTS

NEWS ANALYSIS S. Times 7/10/84

After Nkomati, a new step to peace

THE Pretoria agreement is the latest — albeit unforeseen — step in a South African Government programme of "peace by commission" for Southern Africa.

This is the third commission to be set up since the beginning of the year aimed at regulating security relations between and within the countries of the region.

By BRIAN POTTINGER
Political Correspondent

One of the commissions is making heavy weather, a second has survived storms and the third — thrashed out in Pretoria over the last three weeks — has had a shaky start.

A sketch of the various peace commissions at work:-

● The first and most dramatic was the joint monitoring commission agreed to between South Africa, Angola and the United States at Lusaka on Febuary 16.

The JMC — comprising joint South African and Angolan forces — was established to monitor the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola and to ensure SWAPO guerrillas did not take advantage of the rolled-up *cordon sanitaire* that South Africa has maintained in southern Angola since 1980.

Originally the withdrawal was to have been completed by March, but South African concern about increased Swapo activity has halted the withdrawal of the JMC about 45km north of the Namibian-Angolan border.

Substantial strides have apparently been made in negotiating a permanent security commission on the border once the withdrawal is completed.

● A second major leg of the programme was clinched early this year when Mozambique and South Africa established a joint security commission.

This was later embodied in the historic Nkomati Accord which has weathered ups-and-downs in relations between Pretoria and Maputo.

This commission operates mainly with security officials from both countries.

● The third commission — a direct consequence of Nkomati — was negotiated this week between the Renamo rebels, Frelimo government and South Africa, the latter acting as "honest brokers".

A commission will be established to work towards implementation of a ceasefire in the war-ravaged country so that the crucial economic reconstruction in Mozambique can begin.

Civil war

When Nkomati was signed it was not envisaged there would be such difficulty in winding down the Renamo forces and such an internal commission aimed at ending the civil war — with South African support — was not on the cards.

But the chances of establishing that ceasefire still appear slim given the deep antagonism between the Frelimo government and the Renamo forces, who were supported by South Africa until Nkomati.

In its efforts to "normalise" relations between South Africa and other neighbouring states, Pretoria has sought to reach various levels of agreements. It has a good-neighbourliness agreement with Swaziland that was signed some two years ago but kept under wraps for a while.

Even in its always prickly relations with Zimbabwe there are arrangements for discussions on security issues at departmental level.

Perhaps the only major failure in South Africa's hopes of establishing binding and structured peace commissions has been in its relations with the tiny mountain kingdom of Lesotho.

Although itself afflicted by internal guerrilla activity — allegedly assisted by South Africa — the Jonathan government has refused to sign a non-aggression pact on the Nkomati lines.

Even when threatened with a shelving of the massive Lesotho highlands water scheme, Maseru refused to sign a non-aggression pact.

They claimed they had no aggressive intentions towards South Africa.

Angola accuses SA of violating accords in support of Unita

(5) Star 13/10/84

LISBON — Angola has accused South Africa of increasing support for the anti-government rebel movement, Unita, in contravention of a mutual accord to reduce hostilities.

The official Angolan news agency, Angop, said in an editorial yesterday that South Africa had not ceased aggression against Angola but only changed its strategy by halting direct attacks, while boosting support for Unita.

The charge came as work continued to restore power to the Angolan capital of Luanda — which was blacked out by a rebel sabotage attack on Tuesday — and after Unita claimed it killed 116 government troops and 20 Cubans in a series of attacks from October 1 to 8.

Angop said a clear demonstration of South African support for the rebels was the presence of Unita chieftain Jonas Savimbi at the swearing in of Mr P W Botha as South African President last month.

Angop said the alleged boost in South African support for the rebels was in contravention of accords signed in Lusaka last February, in which the agency said the Pretoria Government undertook to cease direct actions against Angola and cut off support for Unita.

Seven months after the signing of the Lusaka Accord, Angop said relations between the two countries were at an impasse.

But, it added on a positive note, there now existed a climate of negotiations which there had not been three years ago. — Associated Press.

Luanda digs in as Unita attacks vital points

WASHINGTON — Unita forces have extended a campaign of economic sabotage and intimidation into the region around the Angolan capital, shutting off electrity for Luanda's 1 000 000 inhabitants, the Washington Post reports.

In a dispatch from Luanda, the Post's foreign editor, Jim Hoagland, said the destruction on Monday night of an unspecified number of transmission towers and high tension lines near the town of Dondo, about 160 kmsouth-east of the capital, was the second successful attack on a vital economic target in recent days by Unita.

The guerillas had planted bombs in the main rail yard in the port of Benguela two weeks ago, damaging or destroying a dozen locomotives, he noted.

"The recent attacks mark a new level of economic warfare in the eight-year-old effort by the Unita guerillas, who have received support from South Africa and sympathy from political leaders in the Reagan Administration, to dislodge the Soviet-backed Angolan government," Mr Hoagland wrote in his front-page report.

He quoted government officials as saying they expected electricity would indicate.

to be restored by the end of this week.

"But the complete blackout of the city for more than 48 hours appeared to have had a demoralising effect on many citizens, causing tensions to rise," he wrote.

"Residents were digging in for the possibility of a lengthier disruption than the government estimates

"Long lines quickly formed at (petrol) stations as word of the attack spread on Tuesday morning. Food, already scarce in the war-torn capital, is being stockpiled urgently.

Also in Washington, a leader of Unita this week promised the offensive would move to the streets of Luanda within six months.

14/10/84

Angola will work for Cuban pull-out

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has pledged to join the Reagan Administration in working for the withdrawal of the estimated 25 000 Cuban troops from his country.

But, he added at the weekend, a Cuban withdrawal depended on South Africa honouring its commitments to get its forces out of southern Angola and grant independence to Namibia.

South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said today that South Africa was under no obligation to withdraw its troops while Swapo remained in the area.

He said President Dos Santos must be uninformed on the discussions between the South African and Angolan components of the Joint Monitoring Commission which knew perfectly well why South Africa had not yet withdrawn.

SINCERE

In an interview with the *Washington Post* the Angolan leader insisted that Angola was showing a sincere desire to achieve peace in secret proposals it had recently given to American envoys who are expected back in Luanda soon for further talks.

He added that Angola was prepared to live in an atmosphere of tolerance with South Africa after Namibian independence.

But the problems of the South African occupation of Angola and of independence for Namibia must first be solved.

"The United States should exert its influence on South Africa to resolve this in a way that will facilitate the discussion of the other problems of the region."

Dos Santos proposes step-by-step withdrawal

RDM 15/10/84 (5)

Angola offers deal on Cubans

By SIMON BARBER
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON. — Angola is prepared to send Cuban forces home in phases coinciding with a step-by-step South African withdrawal from South West Africa.

"We accept the principle of Cuban withdrawal," Angolan President and MPLA leader Mr Eduardo dos Santos told the Washington Post in an interview published yesterday.

In so doing, he hinted that he was ready drop his demand for prior implementation of UN resolution 435 before a Cuban withdrawal, though South Africa's departure from SWA remained a key prequisite.

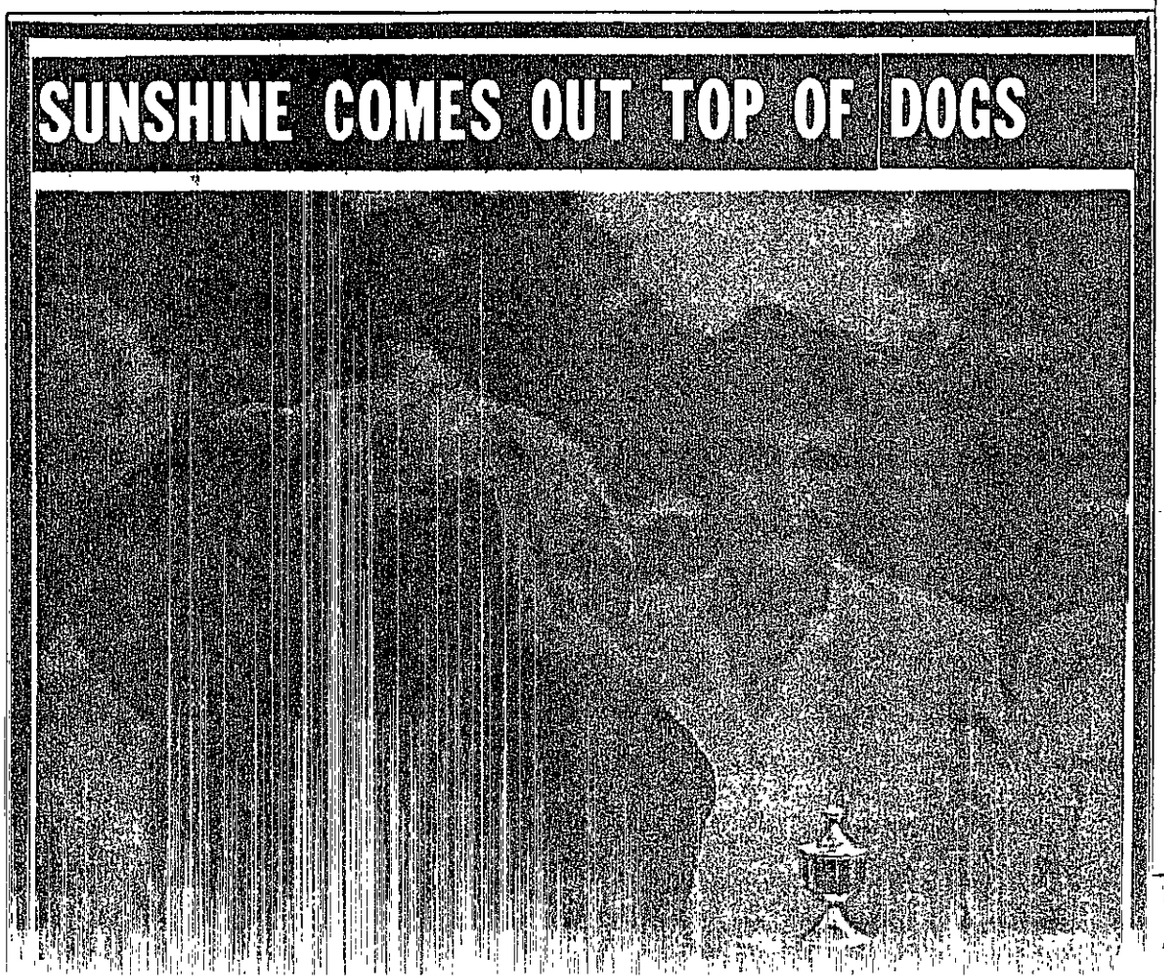
The US and South African insistence on linking 435 and Cuban withdrawal was "one of the main problems now", he said.

Angola's bottom line was that South African forces must leave Angolan soil and that SWA must cease "to be a base of attack against Angola".

He blamed South Africa for the current deadlock in the seven-month-old SA-Angolan disengagement process.

In a gesture of goodwill towards the Republic, however, Mr Dos Santos also said that his country was "prepared to live in an atmosphere of tolerance" with South Africa after SWA independence, and would regard apartheid as an internal matter.

He was not prepared to shift on the question of reconciliation with Unita's Dr Jonas



South African withdrawal from South West Africa.

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He was not prepared to shift on the question of reconciliation with Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi who had "betrayed Angola and betrayed Africa".

Unita followers would be granted amnesty, he said, but Savimbi and the movement's top leadership would face certain death if they returned to Luanda.

Significantly, Fapla chief of staff Colonel Antonio Franca Ndalu told the Post that Cuban forces were not being deployed against Unita, but were holding a static defence line along the Namibe-Lubango railway.

The extraordinary interviews were granted to the Washington Post's Mr Jim Hoagland in an apparent bid to counter Unita's successful public relations efforts in the US.

Mr Dos Santos did not reveal his latest proposals to the US, which Dr Chester Crocker and his advisers have considered cause for optimism.

He did, however, offer qualified praise for Dr Crocker's peace efforts and made a plea for immediate US diplomatic recognition of Luanda.

Meanwhile, in Washington, Unita's roving Foreign Minister, Mr Jeremias Chitunda, said rebel forces were now poised to "fight in the streets of Luanda" within three months.

He claimed that arms caches had been established, and Unita fighters infiltrated into the capital and its environs in readiness for a final push which could come before the end of the year.

He also said Dr Savimbi was offering the MPLA an interim government package that would lead to free and fair elections.

● Luanda last week was without water and electricity for several days following a Unita sabotage attack on Tuesday which knocked out high tension lines supplying the city from the Cambambe hydro-electric dam some 200km south of the capital, reports UPI.

It was the second major attack directed against Luanda in 10 weeks. On July 27, the rebels claimed responsibility for explosions aboard two East German and Angolan freighters in Luanda harbour.

The agency said that the lack of electricity "Is causing problems to the population due to the lack of other means of refrigerating foodstuffs."

Unita has threatened to take the nine-year-old war "Into the streets" of the capital unless the Marxist government of President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos accepted negotiations.

Mr Dos Santos, who took over as Angolan President from the late Mr Agostinho Neto in 1979, has fought a losing battle against droughts, starvation, South African attacks and anti-government guerrillas.



Sunshine, the Great Dane bitch owned
mor Junior Dog of the Year show in
expression of mournful modesty.

MPLA accepts Cuban pullout

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos has told the Washington Post that he is committed to sending Cuban forces home in parallel phases with a South African withdrawal from SWA/Namibia.

In so doing, he hinted that he was ready to drop his demand for prior implementation of UN resolution 435 before a Cuban withdrawal, though South Africa's departure from SWA/Namibia remained a key prequisite.

"We accept the principle of Cuban withdrawal," the Post yesterday quoted the MPLA leader as saying.

The United States and South African insistence on linking resolution 435 and Cuban withdrawal was "one of the main problems now", he said.

Angola's bottom line was that South African forces must leave Angolan soil and that SWA/Namibia must cease "to be a base of attack against Angola".

He blamed South Africa for the current deadlock in the seven-month-old SA/Angolan disengagement process.

In a gesture of goodwill towards the Republic, however, Mr Dos Santos also said his country was "prepared to live in an atmosphere of tolerance" with South Africa after SWA/Namibian independence, and would regard apartheid as an internal matter.

He would not shift on the question of reconciliation with Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi, who had "betrayed Angola and Africa".

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He also said Dr Savimbi was offering the MPLA an interim government package that would lead to free and fair elections.

★ Cape Times, Tuesday, (

MPLA moots joint patrols with SADF

6/10/84

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Angola might be willing to set up joint border patrols with South Africa once the SADF had withdrawn back into SWA/Namibia, the Washington Post reported yesterday.

The report, the latest in a series of dispatches from the MPLA side of the conflict by Post correspondent Jim Hoagland, quoted Fapla Chief-of-Staff Colonel Antonio Franca Ndalu as ruling out continuation of the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) once the disengagement was final.

Colonel Ndalu said, however, that Angola was prepared to offer proposals "that would build up confidence in the first month or two after withdrawal is complete".

"There would be no need for the joint commission to continue in (its present) form, but there might be something different worked out to patrol the frontier."

The Fapla officer also insisted that Swapo had not sought to violate the disengagement pact by mounting operations from areas handed back to the MPLA by the SADF.

"We convinced Swapo when the agreement was made not to infiltrate from the territory, and that has worked out.

"If there is any infiltration, it is coming from the area south of the (disengagement) line, which is under the control of the South Africans."

Colonel Ndalu blamed the stalemate in the disengagement on Pretoria. The South Africans, he said, "should complete their withdrawal and let us accept our responsibility for our territory".

Bombed out

The Post account, which was datelined Ngiva, the JMC's current headquarters, painted a dismal picture of the bombed-out town. Angolan officials were quoted as saying it was systematically destroyed by the SADF as it withdrew.

"It is vandalism of a strategic kind, since they know it will harm our economy having to reconstruct everything."

US official in Luanda

WASHINGTON. — A United States official was in Luanda to discuss conditions for a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola as part of a SWA/Namibian independence agreement, the US State Department said yesterday.

Spokesman Mr John Hughes said Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Mr Frank Wisner was involved in talks "which concern the conditions under which a Cuban troop withdrawal could take place". — Sapa-Reuter

C. Times (5)
17/8/84

Angola: New deal?

Political Staff

SOUTH Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs had no comment yesterday on what appears to be a breakthrough on the issue of Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, until "fully informed by the United States".

American officials are in Luanda negotiating with the Angolan Government and President Dos Santos has been quoted on international news services as saying he is willing to work towards an agreement on a gradual withdrawal of Cuban troops commensurate with a South African withdrawal from SWA/Namibia.

South Africa has indicated recently that it would be prepared to implement UN Resolution 435 on the strength of an Angolan committment to see that Cuban troops are eventually withdrawn from its territory.

Guardian report on Angola accuses SA

Star 17/10/84

LONDON — South African forces are still 80 km inside southern Angola and retreating troops have destroyed Ngiva, capital of Cunene province, according to a report published in London today.

Victoria Brittain, a *Guardian* newspaper correspondent who has toured the south with Angolan officers, reports that optimism for a swift end to the war is dwindling.

In a report headlined "Angola in ruins as peace hopes dwindle", she says there have been 60 registered violations of the Lusaka agreement since February.

She says Ngiva has been completely destroyed. "The provincial headquarters, the governor's house, the national bank, the cinema, offices, streets of houses, the water and electricity supplies were dynamited by the retreating South Africans." — Sapa.

'Lusaka agreement violated 76 times'

18/10/84 (5) E Post

WINDHOEK — There had been 76 violations of the Lusaka Agreement between South Africa and Angola since the formation of the Joint Monitoring Commission between the two countries on February 16.

This was announced here yesterday by the officer commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major General George Meiring.

"Only three of the violations can be laid at South Africa's door," he said in reply to a question at a media conference.

Gen Meiring said the 76 violations had been acknowledged by both sides of the SA/Angolan JMC.

The JMC, which meets daily, investigated thoroughly all allegations of violations of the Lusaka Agreement, he added, but declined to elaborate.

According to a report published in the Guardian yesterday South African troops have destroyed Ngiva, the Cunene province headquarters where the JMC meets.

Victoria Brittain, a Guardian newspaper correspondent who has toured the south with Angolan officers, reports that optimism for a swift end to the war is wearing thin.

In a report headlined "Angola in ruins as peace hopes dwindle", she says there have been 60 registered violations of the Lusaka agreement since February.

An Angolan Army officer is quoted as saying: "There is a violation of our air space almost every day. For the past three months these over-flights have become very intense — an attempt at intimidation and provocation."

Each of the registered violations has been investigated by the JMC.

She says Ngiva has been completely destroyed. "The provincial headquarters, the governor's house, the national bank, the cinema, offices, streets of houses, the water and electricity supplies were dynamited by the retreating South Africans."

The JMC meets in a small building outside Ngiva, but increasingly the meetings "ring with accusations" of violations.

Brittain estimates the number of Cubans in Angola at 10 000 — 9 000 less than a figure put forward last week by the Institute of Strategic Studies.

"Western diplomatic sources have for months forecast the departure of the Cubans, but in Angola itself it does not seem a likely prospect," she says.

In Windhoek Gen Meiring said an armed Swapo mobile headquarters which had evaded security forces in Kavango for two years, had been destroyed.

It was "the nerve centre" that had planned and controlled all Swapo insurgency activities in Kavango. The seven-man group was tracked down on Friday.

The leader of the group, known only as Akushinda, was captured and the others killed.

Akushinda was allegedly responsible for many "brutal atrocities" against civilians since the start of 1983.

Gen Meiring cited the killings of five Kavango civilians from March to June by Swapo terrorists, including two school teachers, Mr Tauro Kanguibe and Mr Petrus Kanyeke.

Because of severe losses dealt to Swapo, it had become clear to the security forces in the past two months that "Akushinda's time was running out", he said. — Sapa

76 violations of Lusaka pact

WINDHOEK. — There had been 76 violations of the Lusaka Agreement between South Africa and Angola since the formation of the Joint Monitoring Commission between the two countries on February 16, the officer commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General George Meiring, said in Windhoek yesterday.

The JMC, which meets daily, investigated thoroughly all allegations of violations of the Lusaka Agreement, he added, but declined to elaborate.

It was reported earlier from London that hopes were diminishing in Angola for an early end to the war while the JMC remained stuck at Ngiva, about 50km from the frontier between Angola and SWA/Namibia.

An Angolan Army officer is quoted as saying: "There is a violation of our air space almost every day. For the past three months these over-flights have become very intense.

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Angola, SA in war of nerves

The truce line splits devastated provinces

NGIVA (Southern Angola) — Three kilometres apart, in heavily guarded camps hidden among thorn trees and culverts of red earth, Africa's bitterest enemies sit out a war of nerves.

The Angolan-South African truce line runs through the country's devastated southern provinces.

Every day in the dusty bush beyond the rubble of this ruined town, a dozen South African and Angolan officers of a joint military commission meet.

Increasingly the meetings ring with accusations.

"There is a violation of our airspace almost every day," said the Angolan officer in charge.

"For the past three months these over-flights have become intense ... an attempt at intimidation and provocation.

"The South Africans create Swapo phantoms everywhere.

★ ★ ★

"They can't control Swapo inside Namibia. They try to hide that by blaming us."

Sixty violations of the Lusaka Agreement which brought these old enemies together in February have been registered.

"Unfortunately at the start there were some Swapo violations," the officer said.

Each time the teams went out to investigate, always in separate helicopters or Jeeps.

The white South African officers are 80 km inside Angola.

Behind them another war rages, with Swapo guerillas fighting for independence in Africa's last colony, Namibia, said to be occupied by 100 000 South African troops.

The joint military commission meets in a little round wooden headquarters building.

Studied politeness and formal exchanges of small gifts are the closest the officers come in their relationships.

At the desolate airstrip the pink faces peering out of the South African armoured cars watch expressionlessly as an Angolan group disembarks from a military plane.

★ ★ ★

The Angolan officers say they still count on a minimum of good faith from the South African side, but optimism for a swift end to the complex war is wearing thin.

During the past 10 years there have been three South African invasions of Angola.

And two black guerilla movements, Unita and FNLA, have grown, covertly backed by South Africa, the United States, Portugal, Morocco and Zaire.

Angola has suffered great destruction.

Ten years ago the South African army first marched on Angola's capital, Luanda, in an attempt to prevent the taking of power by the late Agostinho Neto's MPLA, a 15-year-old Marxist independence movement.

An airlift of Cuban troops half way across the world blocked the South African advance and changed the course of Southern African history.

Ever since, the US and South Africa have tried with force, diplomacy and hard cash to get the Cubans out of Angola.

In an ambitious attempt to get a Cuban troop withdrawal before the US elections, Dr Chester Crocker,

Under-Secretary for Africa, has put together a jigsaw of diplomatic initiatives across Africa all year.

Although the Frelimo Government in Portugal's other colony, Mozambique, capitulated to South Africa recently, here on the other side of the continent the South Africans have met severe difficulties.

★ ★ ★

Angola has proved more resilient than Mozambique, partly because it has no common border with South Africa.

It has none of the major economic links which made Mozambique so vulnerable to the deadly combination of military, economic and psychological pressure which lay behind the Nkomati Accord.

As well, Angola is Africa's second-ranking oil producer.

Perhaps most crucially, the MPLA Government has the military backing of about 10 000 Cuban troops garrisoned near the country's key towns.

Although the troops are rarely seen, Cuban doctors, school teachers and technicians play important roles in many towns.

In February, as part of Dr Crocker's plan, the two parties with most at stake, Angola and South Africa, met in Lusaka.

Their unwritten agreement is known here as the Lusaka compromise.

It provided for a South African troop withdrawal from Angola to be followed by Pretoria finally ceding independence to occupied Namibia under UN resolution 435 of 1978, and accepting the reality of a Swapo government in Windhoek.

During a planned one-month retreat of the South Africans, the Angolan Government undertook not to let Cuban troops or Swapo guerillas into the formerly occupied zone.

A joint military commission was to monitor the withdrawal.

★ ★ ★

In March, with the Angolan side elated, the South African army began to retreat from Cuvelai through the vast provinces of Cunene and Kuando Kubango which had been occupied since 1981.

But the retreat was painfully slow for two months and then stopped here on May 2.

South African troops still occupy 80 km south of the town.

Ngiva, the capital of the occupied province of Cunene, has been completely destroyed.

The provincial headquarters, the governor's house, the national bank, the cinema, offices, streets of houses, the water and electricity supplies were dynamited by the retreating South Africans.

Bombing raids during the second invasion, in 1981, damaged the town centre.

But then Ngiva became the headquarters of the occupying South African army until the order was given to withdraw and destroy.

But this army was South African only in its white officer corps.

The soldiers in two South African battalions which faced Luanda's army in the organised retreat are Angolan veterans of the pro-Western Unita and FNLA armies. — The Guardian News Service.

S Express 21/10/84 (5)

Half of Swapo is fighting Savimbi

Fighters cleared by Joint Monitoring Commission are still infiltrating from north

By JEAN LE MAY: Political Correspondent

HALF Swapo's guerrilla forces in Angola are deployed against Mr Jonas Savimbi's Unita, according to information given to the Sunday Express.

This means that while the Swapo guerrillas are being cleared from southern Angola by the joint Angolan/South African monitoring commission, they are still infiltrating from the north into the area controlled by the JMC.

And this is happening with the knowledge, if not the blessing, of the Angolan government.

In effect, the MPLA government of Angola, which this week accused South Africa of stalling in the settlement of the Namibian issue, is itself slowing down the settlement through its ambivalence towards Swapo.

According to the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, there were only 23 violations of the Lusaka agreement between March 1 and May 2, while the JMC moved southwards from Cuvelai to Ongiva.

But since the JMC arrived at Ongiva on May 2 there have been 53 violations, of which South Africa was responsible for only three.

This is evidence of fresh guerrilla movement into an area already cleared by the JMC.

Under the Lusaka agreement South Africa undertook to withdraw its troops from southern Angola and the Angolans

Violations

in turn agreed to clear the area of all foreign troops, including Cubans and Swapo guerrillas.

The Cubans are now said to be deployed well to the north, along the Namibe railway line. Moreover, President Eduardo dos Santos this week said in Luanda in an interview with the Washington Post that he was prepared to accept the principle of Cuban withdrawal.

"But this cannot happen," he said, "while South African forces still occupy Angola, and Namibia is used as a base of attack against Angola."

But he then back-tracked by adding that he agreed to Cuban withdrawal "in terms of UN Resolution 435".

The South Africans see this as a setback, since they are known to hold the view that a firm undertaking to send the Cubans home, and not necessarily their physical removal from Angola, would be grounds enough for South Africa to start implementing the resolution.

Earlier this year an arrangement, brokered again by the Americans, was made that there would be a programme to scale down South African troops in Namibia to 12 000, then 8 000, then 1 500, where the number would be held, monitored by the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag).

But by the time the troops were down to 1 500 the Cubans would have to be totally withdrawn.

President dos Santos's latest statement, according to thinking in the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, appears to indicate that hardliners in the Angolan government led by Foreign Minister Paolo Jorge have forced the President to back off the earlier agreement with the Americans.

This could have been one of the subjects discussed between President dos Santos and Mr Frank Wisner, US Deputy Secretary of State for African Affairs, when Mr Wisner visited Luanda this week.

The MPLA government is known to be desperate for recognition by the United States, and with the offer to withdraw the Cubans could become a reality.

The sudden flurry of American diplomatic activity in Southern Africa in the past month could be a signal that President Ronald Reagan is seeking a dramatic move for disclosure in his final television confrontation with the Democratic presidential candidate, Mr Walter Mondale, tonight.

But there are other problems for the Americans to face, and the biggest of these are Unita and the future of Swapo. There are many countries in Africa where Unita is regarded as legitimate: Mr Savimbi himself claims legitimacy in terms of the Treaty of Alvor by which Portugal agreed in 1975 to withdraw from Angola, leaving a joint government in Luanda consisting of MPLA, FNLA and Unita representatives.

A condition of the Portuguese withdrawal was that full and free elections would be held, but this did not happen. MPLA precipitated a civil war and Unita withdrew to Huambo, to set up a provisional capital.

Invaders

In 1975, the Cubans arrived at the MPLA's invitation, ostensibly to fight against "foreign invaders" (South Africa) but also to help crush Unita.

This, then, is the stalemate. President dos Santos said this week that while grassroots Unita supporters would be assured an amnesty, Mr Savimbi and other leaders would "face certain death" if they returned to Luanda.

But the South Africans — and probably the Americans, although they do not admit it — are anxious for some rapprochement between MPLA and Unita, believing that there will be no peace in Angola and consequently in Namibia until there is peace in Angola.

A spokesman for the US State Department carefully sidestepped the issue this week: asked to react to Unita's contention that by employing Cubans the MPLA government was reverting to a form of colonialism, he said: "The factions in Angola must settle this between themselves. This is an internal Angolan affair."

Unita oil sabotage plan

LONDON — Military commanders of Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita forces in Angola say they have contingency plans to sabotage the country's vital Cabinda off-shore oil operations.

Two small attacks in the heavily fortified Cabinda area had already been carried out to prove Unita's ability to strike at this commercial target, Brigadier "Bock" Sapalalo, one of Dr Savimbi's leading officers, said.

The attacks on Cabinda — the American Gulf Oil Corporation produces 70 per cent of Angola's foreign revenue from these fields and there are also European interests — brought a sharp rebuke from Washington.

But Brig Sapalalo said: "We are not an irresponsible force. We are fighting a guerilla war to free Angola from Russian and Cuban domination. If we have to attack Cabinda to bring the Marxist MPLA regime to its knees we will do it."

At a meeting in his personal headquarters deep in the Angolan bush, Dr Savimbi unveiled Unita's plans to bring the war to the streets of the capital, Luanda, by December.

He also confirmed for the first time that Unita lost over 1 000 men in battles at the western edge of their "liberated areas" in July.

"We have a small army and the losses were considerable," he said. "But we believe that those battles near the border with Zaire have broken the will of the enemy to beat us," he said.

"Soon we shall be in Luanda itself. In fact, we have Luanda in a half-circle grip with its back to the sea."

Dr Savimbi and Brig Sapalalo said that future tactics would concentrate on guerilla warfare. There were not enough resources in Unita to continue to fight set-piece battles.

— DDC

5

US cautious on hopes of Cuban troop 'breakthrough'

Fired Angolan Minister Jorge was hardliner

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Diplomats and analysts in Washington have emphasised that the dismissal of Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Paolo Jorge at the weekend did not necessarily signal a breakthrough in United States and South African efforts to get Cuban troops out of Angola.

Earlier reports had speculated that the sacking of Mr Jorge by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos signified a more flexible attitude by the Luanda government towards US and South African demands.

But Washington sources say that, at best, Mr Jorge's dismissal could be helpful to the US diplomatic effort in Southern Africa in that it removes a senior MPLA official considered a hardliner with a record of fierce anti-South Africa rhetoric.

"Paolo Jorge has never been a supporter of what the Americans are trying to achieve in Angola and Namibia," one source said.

"The fact is that he never really played an important role in the negotiations to achieve a settlement along the lines of Resolution 435. They have always been under the direction of President dos Santos.

"And the situation remains basically unchanged: the Angolans are waiting for South Africa's move to take their troops out of Angola and to start implementing the Namibian settlement plan, and they also want to feel more secure about the Unita threat before they can agree to a Cuban departure."

At the US State Department, there is guarded optimism about the Angolan situation.

Mr Frank Wisner, deputy to US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker, has returned to Washington from Luanda, and a State Department spokesman described his talks there with Angolan officials as "constructive".

The spokesman said the Angolans had made several proposals which were being reviewed in Washington.

The Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, also struck an optimistic note when he addressed the Los Angeles World Affairs Council at the weekend.

"A long-festering conflict now shows a glimmering of hope, thanks in considerable part to our diplomatic efforts," he said.

He referred to Namibia as "Africa's last colony", and said the conflict over its future was an "ugly colonial war".

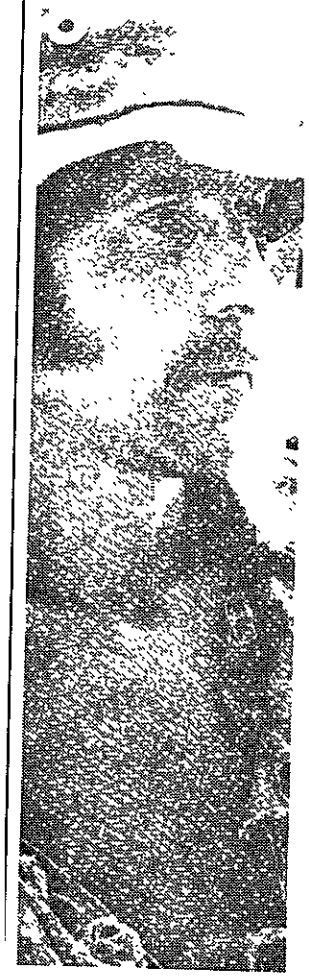
An independence settlement in the territory would remove Cuban troops from Angola and was the key to peace in Southern Africa, he added.

"Such an achievement will end an ugly colonial war, reduce opportunities for Soviet penetration, and enhance African and international security."

Of the situation in South Africa, Mr Shultz said: "Justice and stability require that apartheid — which, as President Reagan said, is repugnant to us and our values — must be replaced by an equitable political and economic system that truly represents all the people."

(5) Star 29/10/84

The troops who fight with two bullets each



Villela . . .field commander.

By Gavin Engelbrecht

The FNLA, determined to stay a factor in the Angolan civil war, roams the bush dressed in rags. They go into battle armed with only two bullets each and no transport or logistical support.

But they remain a thorn in the side of the ruling MPLA, says British freelance photo-journalist Mr David Mills who has just spent 53 days with the beleaguered force in the northern Angola bush.

Mr Mills told of how he marched more than 1 600 km through three provinces, escorted by a band of 25 men led by FNLA's field commander, Inspector General Alberto Villela.

The group came within 125 km of the capital, Luanda, after being involved in only three minor skirmishes with Fapla forces.

Mr Mills, on assignment for the magazine *Soldier of Fortune*, was the fourth journalist to visit the forces in nine years.

He found a hard core of FNLA supporters continuing their internecine war despite having no international support.

The FNLA, once a major force in the battle against Portuguese colonialism has, since the outbreak of the civil war in 1975, dwindled to insignificance.

Its military capacity has been rendered ineffective by a critical supply shortage, said Mr Mills.

"But given the correct equipment and support they could become a force to be reckoned with and could do a lot of damage," he added.

"The men are highly motivated and disciplined.

"They know their terrain and can live on next to nothing.

"But they have no coherent military strategy and their bands are left to their own devices.

"Since the beginning of the civil war the guerillas have withdrawn to the sparsely populated and bushy and mountainous terrain of northern Angola, a guerilla haven.

"Their operations have been limited to the rural areas where they wander around ambushing the occasional Fapla patrols or are involved in minor hit-and-run skirmishes.

"They just do not have the resources to launch any major attack on larger or more vulnerable targets."

Mr Mills found the FNLA had boosted its numbers and claims to successes in what he believed was a bid to be at the table should Unita's leader Jonas Savimbi ever force the MPLA to negotiate.

"They claimed to have 7 500 armed men in the field with the same number kept in reserve through a lack of weapons and claim further to take in 500 new recruits annually," said Mr Mills.

"I do not believe they have more than 1 500 men, most of them hard-core supporters.

"I found no evidence of training either."

Mr Mills added that the FNLA claimed to control five provinces.

"They are active only here and there and their presence is solely by default," he said.

"I don't think the MPLA government deems it necessary to waste lives to root them out.

"They are too busy with the war effort against Unita in the south of the country."

FNLA troops claim Fapla has been using Swapo and ANC units to help in the war effort against the guerillas.

No Cuban troops have been seen in the area for a couple of months.

Mr Mills spoke to an ANC captive, trained in Mozambique, who told of friction between the ANC, Swapo and Fapla over supplies.

But although the FNLA's future is bleak Mr Mills does not discount it as a fighting force.

"Their leader, Mr Holden Roberto, should return to the bush to lead his men and to regain the credibility of the movement," said Mr Mills.

"Mr Roberto told me in Paris that he could do more for his men outside the country.

"I disagree with him.

"The FNLA has lost out on the propaganda war.

"It has become a forgotten army fighting a forgotten war."

Pinned down by bullets and rockets



Soldier ... in rags.

Sitting in his plush Sandton hotel, Mr David Mills was relishing the use of electricity, taps and other trappings of civilisation, writes **Gavin Engelbrecht.**

The opulence was a long way from the poverty and hunger he found marching through the Angolan bush with FNLA guerillas.

For this war journalist it was just another break from another battlefield.

In his cosy room he recalled that only a few weeks ago he came close to being killed when his escorts fled for cover from a Fapla ambush.

"The group I was with left me pinned down in a stream bed with bullets whizzing over my head," said Mr Mills from his hotel easy chair.

"When I heard an explosion and saw a cloud of black smoke 200 m from me I thought they were ranging for mortar fire.

"But when another explosion burst 50 m above me I realised they were firing RPG-5 rockets at me.

"I had no time to think of fear.

"My only concern was keeping alive."

After an agonising 40 minutes and five rockets, two FNLA men ran back with guns blazing, giving Mr Mills just enough covering fire to get out.

"I discovered when we were reunited with the band that the whole group had pooled together the last of their ammunition to fill four magazines so the two men could come to my rescue," he said.

The incident starkly illustrated to Mr Mills the critical ammunition shortage which dogs the FNLA forces.

"These men are still fighting despite getting no international support," he said.

"The only weapons they have are antiquated ones used before the civil war or Russian weapons captured in ambushes.

"They have 88 mm mortars but no ammunition for them.

"The troops are cutting down old American ammunition with knives to fit the smaller calibre Belgian FAL."

Mr Mills, who has covered conflicts in Lebanon, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Northern Ireland, said he had never seen an army with such tenacity.

"They have nothing to live for or to look forward to, and yet I found no despondency among the people," he added.

"Many of these men have been in the bush for more than 20 years, fighting Portuguese colonialism first and now against foreign intervention in their country."

The FNLA military effort is led in the field by a young Portuguese officer, General Inspector Alberto Villela, who himself once fought against the FNLA.

"He lives, sleeps and eats as his men do and they have a strong affection for him," said Mr Mills.

"The FNLA have no motorised transport whatsoever.

"We marched from sunrise to sunset through whipping elephant grass and thick woods, averaging 40 km a day, some days up to 80 km.

"In the evenings we slept on the ground under the stars using split palm leaves, if there were any, as mattresses."

Mr Mills added that the troops did not enter any towns but visited only the villages.

He found the conditions in these settlements pitiful with sleeping sickness, malaria and beri-beri rife.

On the march the men relied on hunting, eating elephant or buffalo meat and also wild honey or fish.

When there is no food available the men go without, said Mr Mills.

He will be spending a stint in the operational area with the well-equipped and sophisticated South African Defence Force.

Minister sacked; Angola 'softening'

(S) C. Times 25/10/84

From TONY WEAVER

WINDHOEK. — An American expert on Angola has said that the sacking of the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorges, could be an indication of a "softening" in that country's attitude towards South Africa and the United States.

Professor John Marcum, who is vice-chancellor and professor of political studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz, is the author of the definitive two-volume study "The Angolan Revolution".

He recently made his third visit to Angola since that country became independent.

Mr Jorges was sacked by President Eduardo dos Santos on Sunday for "operational reasons". He was regarded as being a hardliner who was pro- Soviet and against any accommodation with South Africa, the US and Unita.

"Given the intensity of diplomatic negotiations between the US and Angola, one can only surmise the sacking may have had to do with Paulo Jorges's reported hostility to accommodation of Western and South African pressures," Prof Marcum said.

"There is much speculation at present that Luanda is in the process of making a major decision about the Cuban presence in that country, and on other issues, and if he opposed that decision, he would have to go."

However, the sacking of Mr Jorges probably had "little to do with Unita".

"My feeling is that as regards Unita, the MPLA government is united. Unita was guilty of horrendous massacres of MPLA troops and officials in 1975, and the hatred of them is too deep for a settlement.

"Possibly if Unita got rid of Savimbi, then a settlement might be possible, but Savimbi is hated by Luanda."

Prof Marcum said it would be a "tough decision" for the MPLA to ask the Cubans to leave, as "they have to ask themselves whether or not the Cubans could leave under present circumstances.

"At present, Unita is unable to hold towns they have captured because of the MPLA's superior air power, although they obviously do pose a major threat to Luanda."

Govt assault repelled — Unita

LISBON — Unita said yesterday it had repelled a major government offensive aimed at its southern strongholds, inflicting 344 government casualties and shooting down eight military aircraft.

In a statement issued here, it said that the two-month government offensive, backed by Cuban troops and Soviet advisers, succeeded in penetrating 50 km behind guerilla lines before it was beaten back.

It said the Marxist government launched the offensive on August 25 with the aim of seizing Unita's headquarters at Jamba in southern Angola by November 11 — the ninth anniversary of Angola's independence from Portugal.

Twelve brigades of Angolan troops, one Cuban brigade and two companies of Soviet advisers were involved in the anti-guerilla operation supported by 34 fighter aircraft, 25 tanks and 120 armoured cars.

The two-pronged offensive was launched simultaneously against rebel fronts in the south-eastern provinces of Kuando-Kubango and Moxico.

Unita said its guerillas killed 306 government troops and 38 Cubans, wounded 707 and captured 47 Angolan soldiers during the operation. It claimed it shot down five MI-8 helicopters and three MiG-21 aircraft.

Unita casualties were 69 killed, 378 wounded and five missing, the statement said. — SAPA-AP.

Namibia: Botha, Crocker in talks

29/10/84

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, flew to Cape Verde yesterday for talks with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, which could result in concrete moves towards SWA/Namibian independence by the end of the year.

The talks are being held on Cape Verde — whose government has been a key intermediary — to leave open the possibility that Angolan officials will participate later in the week.

Cuban troops

It is understood that Dr Crocker will present Mr Botha with Angolan President Eduardo Dos Santos's commitment to send the Cubans home, and will be waiting to hear a similarly firm commitment from South Africa on the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435, as promised by President P W Botha earlier this year.

If all goes according to plan, both Angola and South Africa will have agreed in principle to a regional, Resolution 435-based settlement that will involve a mutual and balanced withdrawal of Cuban and South African forces from Angola and SWA/Namibia.

US officials have emphasized that the details — timetables, monitoring arrangements and the like — have yet to be worked out.

Negotiations on these aspects will begin once Pretoria has matched Luanda's offer with the necessary political decisions — hopefully by the end of the week.

"We are not at a point of reaching a full negotiated settlement," one US official emphasized at the weekend.

Meanwhile, in a development some analysts see as related, a special US envoy, General Vernon Walters, has been touring moderate West African nations, including Mali and Niger.

US officials have confirmed that there will probably have to be changes in the composition in the Untag force envisaged under Resolution 435, and the countries General Walters visited have been mentioned in this connection.

Cape Times Political Correspondent **Anthony Johnson** reports that a Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman last night said he was not prepared to comment on the trip "at this stage".

However, developments by today might warrant comment from the department, the spokesman added. It is understood that Mr Botha has not yet left for Cape Verde, but will do so early this week.

'Concrete offer'

● On October 23, the State Department announced that US negotiators had returned from Luanda with "a concrete Angolan offer" on a Cuban troop withdrawal.

A State Department spokesman said at the time that the US was "reviewing the Angolan proposals in expectation of further talks in the future".

The announcement followed negotiatons conducted by Mr Frank Wisner, Dr Crocker's deputy on Southern African issues, and at the time there were hints that President Dos Santos had told Washington he was prepared to offer a "commitment" on a Cuban withdrawal schedule that would "coincide with South Africa's departure from Namibia".

The Star Wednesda

Probe into mercenaries in Angola sought

LISBON — The Portuguese Government and leaders of the armed forces are demanding an official inquiry into the activities of Portuguese mercenaries in Angola.

Newspapers say the mercenaries were recruited by former Admiral Antonio Rosa Coutinho, known in the Portuguese revolution as the "Red Admiral".

The joint request for the inquiry was made to the Portuguese Attorney-General yesterday, official sources said.

In April last year the Portuguese news agency Noticias de Portugal reported that about 50 former Portuguese army officers were training Swapo guerillas in the Luanda area.

Mr Rosa Coutinho has an import-export business in Luanda. Newspaper reports claim it is used as a recruiting agency. — Sapa-Reuter.

Unita wants more sophisticated weapons to match the Russian arms of the MPLA

The fire-power headaches of Jonas Savimbi

By Fred Bridgland,
The Star's Foreign
News Service

The weaponry used by Unita is almost entirely of Soviet origin. Perhaps half of it was captured from the MPLA and the rest imported from such sources as Middle East arms dealers and even Soviet bloc countries such as Bulgaria, which tries to sell secretly through third parties.

The basic Unita weapon is the Soviet AK-47 rifle, the classic guerilla weapon, of which these Angolan insurgents speak highly.

The AK-47 is easy to service and is highly reliable.

Unita also has many standard North Atlantic Treaty Organisation FN rifles, which are more accurate and have a longer range.

But they have a tendency to jam in bush conditions and are more difficult for an ordinary soldier to maintain.

Other standard Unita weapons of Soviet origin are light and heavy machine guns, 60mm and 81mm mortars, RPG-7 anti-tank rockets, B-10 75mm recoilless cannons, ZGU-1 14,5mm anti-aircraft guns, and Sam-7 anti-aircraft missiles.

There is an abundance of these



Dr Jonas Savimbi

weapons in Unita territory and ammunition is plentiful.

The weapons are carried to the Benguela railway on lorries and then into the northern part of the country on the backs of soldiers and even the heads of villagers.

There are also many Chinese 12,7mm anti-aircraft guns.

These weapons have served Unita well, but now the movement's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, is pleading for something more sophisticated from his allies to match the constantly upgraded equipment which the MPLA receives from the Soviet Union.

T-62 tanks, MiG-23 fighter-bombers and MI-24 helicopter gunships are the newest additions to the MPLA armoury this year.

Dr Savimbi argues that he needs anti-tank missiles of the quality of the European Milan or American Tow to match the growing sophistication of the MPLA's armour.

He also says his Sam-7s are frequently being outwitted by technological modifications to MPLA warplanes.

Only one in three Unita Sam-7s fired is now hitting the target.

Dr Savimbi covets something resembling the American Redeye missile.

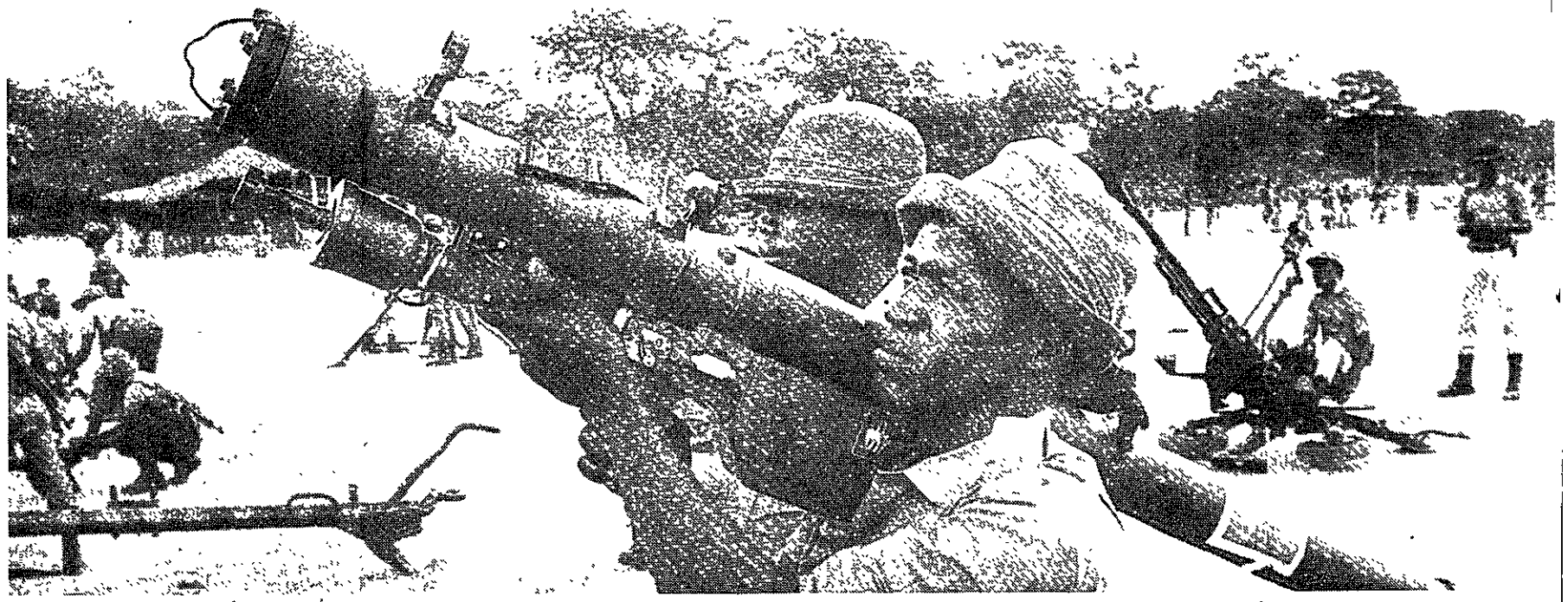
He also needs heavy artillery to besiege the larger towns.

Unfortunately his many clandestine allies are willing to give him only Soviet weaponry, available in great quantities on international arms markets, and not their own in case their clandestine support ceases to be clandestine.

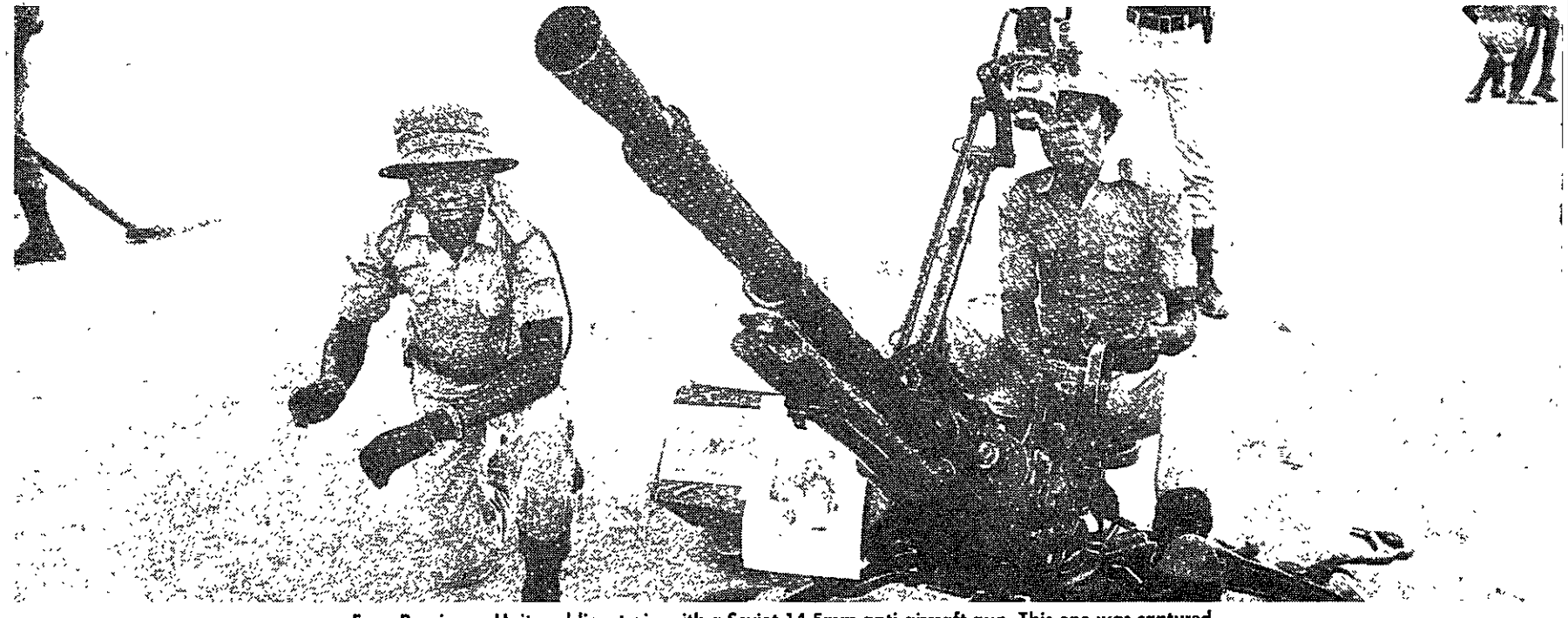
It is a big problem for Unita and it has undoubtedly slowed the movement's rate of advance.

Unita has also developed a network of weapons workshops in the bush where guns and cannon are repaired and serviced.

The movement has many lathes on which spare parts are tooled, including bases for mortar tubes and the tubes themselves.



From Russia . . . Unita soldiers train with a Soviet-origin Sam-7 missile launcher. It's said to hit only one target in three.



From Russia . . . Unita soldiers train with a Soviet 14,5mm anti-aircraft gun. This one was captured.

ANGOLA

New peace initiative

The Savimbi factor complicated this week's crucial meeting between SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha and US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker in Cape Verde. Nonetheless, the meeting generated considerable optimism that a breakthrough in the impasse on the way to Namibian independence is at hand.

The seniority of the delegation accompanying Botha indicated the importance of the talks from Pretoria's viewpoint. With Botha were Defence Minister Magnus Malan, Namibian Administrator General Willie van Niekerk, Washington ambassador Brand Fourie and several senior officers and officials. The talks were scheduled for Wednesday and Thursday.

Crocker is said to be armed with "concrete proposals" for a Cuban withdrawal secured by his deputy, Frank Wisner, in Luanda last week. A State Department spokesman called the secret proposals "constructive" and added that "a door is now open for a settlement."

While Wisner was in Luanda, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos sacked his hardline Marxist Foreign Minister, Paulo Jorge, and at the same time adopted a conciliatory line in an interview with the *Washington Post*. Dos Santos and the "moderate nationalist" faction in the MPLA are now seen to be in the ascendancy — although two prominent Moscow hardliners, MPLA secretary general Lucio Lara and Defence Minister Iko Carreira have retained their positions.

A senior Pretoria source tells the *FM* that there are "some new cards on the table, and it certainly looks tantalising."

The Cape Verde talks are all the more important because of next week's US presidential elections. Progress in a foreign affairs issue like a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola could be important for President Reagan.

Troop withdrawal

Luanda's major precondition remains a complete withdrawal of SA troops from southern Angola. The SA component of the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) has been based at N'Giva, some 40 km north of the border, for several months now because of claimed Swapo infiltration.

As a compromise, it is understood Luanda is proposing that the two components of the JMC should each move to a village on opposite sides of the border, Oshikango in Namibia and Santa Clara in Angola. From their separate bases, they would undertake joint border patrols to monitor Swapo movements.

Another Luanda condition, the *FM* is told, is a firm SA undertaking to cease all aid to Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement. Success at Cape Verde could well hinge on Pretoria's willingness to acknowledge that the MPLA will not part with Cuban protection while Unita remains militarily powerful. In his *Washington Post* interview, Dos Santos dismissed the notion of a negotiated settlement with Savimbi. He had decided, he said, on a military solution.



Crocker ... 'door is open for a settlement'

However, at a Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) seminar two weeks ago, a senior SA military intelligence officer, Major General H Roux, said there were "indications that discussions (between the MPLA and Unita) have already taken place elsewhere" (*Current affairs* October 26).

Western and African analysts doubt whether the MPLA has the capability to defeat Unita — even if the latter is denied SA support. A Unita spokesman, Carlos Kandanda, claims that Unita has enough logistical material to wage war at the present level for almost a decade. Says he: "Sure, we will have minor difficulties. What we will miss most is fuel for our vehicles and machinery. But our dependence on SA is grossly overrated."

Significantly, Unita is already looking at other supply bases. In the past few months, coinciding with its increased presence in the northern areas, Unita has begun to rely heavily on Zaire, and it is known that cargo planes from Kinshasa land in Unita-held territory almost every week.

The Angolan government is expected to insist on further talks between SA and Swapo and may ask Pretoria for some form of commitment to implement UN Security Council Resolution 435. Luanda has, however, dropped its rigid precondition of implementation of the settlement plan before any Cuban withdrawal.

Formal US recognition of the MPLA government and a promise of substantial aid will fill the vacuum left by a Cuban withdrawal.

Foreign Minister Botha is expected to return to Pretoria at the end of the week to report to State President P W Botha, and possibly the State Security Council, before furnishing replies to Luanda and going public on the outcome.

UNITED STATES

A Reagan Congress?

The last question remaining to be answered on November 6 is whether Ronald Reagan's re-election will pull in enough Republican Congressional candidates to give the party control over both chambers.

Unlike parliamentary systems where the Prime Minister also sits in the house, an American president's election does not automatically translate to a legislative mandate. Since Dwight Eisenhower's second term in the Fifties the Democratic Party has controlled both houses with an independent fervour that caused trouble even for Democratic presidents such as John Kennedy and Jimmy Carter. Republicans like Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford had little chance of getting some key legislation enacted.

Until a few weeks ago it was commonly judged that Ronald Reagan did not have sufficiently long "coat-tails" to attract votes for faithful Republican Congressional candidates. The common wisdom was that the ratio of 268 Democrats to 167 Republicans in the US house might be narrowed by no more than 10 seats. Indeed there were fears that the Republicans might shed part of their 55 to 45 majority in the Senate.

SA considers new proposals from Angola

Star 21/11/84

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

High-level talks between South Africa and the US on Angola and Namibia have been suspended so that the Government can consider new Angolan proposals to break the impasse in the region.

The latest discussions between delegations led respectively by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the US Assistant Secretary of State in charge of African affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, were held at Cape Verde on Wednesday and yesterday.

CONSENSUS

They follow similar recent talks between the US and Angola during which the Angolan government asked the US to relay to South Africa fresh proposals, including the withdrawal of 25 000 Cuban troops from its territory.

In a statement released in Pretoria early today, the Department of Foreign Affairs said the Government believed progress had been made in that there was consensus on many important principles.

"The South African Government welcomes the Angolan government proposals on the withdrawal of Cuban forces," said the statement.

It added that the two delegations also discussed the provisions of the Lusaka Agreement for the withdrawal of South African and Swapo forces from southern Angola.

South Africa has suggested that the next meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission be held before November 15.

A statement released by the US last night said the meeting of the two delegations was another step in the continued effort of the US to strengthen security in southern Angolan.

The US team transmitted proposals for a settlement aimed at securing implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435, including specific Angolan ideas on the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

"The South African delegation undertook to study the idea carefully and provide a considered response soon.

"We consider the recent developments positive and take the view that the door to overall regional settlement has been opened," the US statement said.

CONCLUSION

It added that disengagement was also discussed, and all sides agreed that the procedure should be concluded as swiftly as possible.

It is understood that the US and Southern African negotiators have agreed to meet again next Tuesday.

Mr Botha and his team, which includes the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Administrator-General of Namibia, Dr W A van Niekerk, are believed to be heading for unofficial visits to Israel and several European countries.

(5) 2/11/84

'Specific ideas' on Cuban withdrawal

2/11/84 (5) C. Times

CIDADE DA PRAIA, Cape Verde. — The United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, said yesterday that he had informed South Africa of Angolan proposals for peace in Southern Africa, including "specific ideas" for a Cuban pull-out from Angola.

Dr Crocker was speaking to journalists on the Cape Verde island of Sal following talks with a South African delegation headed by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha. He said that "at the request of the Angolan Government we transmitted (to South Africa) proposals for a regional peace settlement and the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibian independence".

The US envoy added that the Angolan proposals "included some specific ideas on a withdrawal of Cuban troops from its territory".

Dr Crocker's meeting with the South African delegation followed negotiations between his deputy, Mr Frank Wisner, and Angolan officials in Luanda, last week.

Disagreement over the estimated 25 000 Cuban troops stationed in Angola has been the principle stalling-point in efforts to bring SWA/Namibia to independence under the guidance of the United Nations.

Both South Africa and US administration of President Ronald Reagan want to make a Cuban pull-out from Angola a precondition for SWA/Namibian independence. Angola has rejected this position.

However, Angola's President Jose Eduard dos Santos indicated recently that he was ready to show "flexibility" on the Cuban question once a settlement had been secured.

Dr Crocker also said that all the parties concerned had agreed that a complete South African disengagement from southern Angola should be concluded as rapidly as possible.

Dr Crocker said the South African delegation had committed itself to a detailed study of the Angolan proposals, saying it would present a concrete reply in the near future.

The US envoy said the United States and South Africa had agreed to meet again in the immediate future at an undisclosed location. Sources close to the talks here said the date had been set for November 6. — Sapa-AP

Cubans: Answer from SA soon?

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The Reagan administration expected Pretoria to reply by mid-November to Angola's offer on a Cuban troop withdrawal, a senior United States State Department official said yesterday.

Briefing reporters on this week's talks between the US Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, on Cape Verde, the official said Dr Crocker had delivered proposals, at the request of Luanda, to send the Cubans home in the context of the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435.

The official warned that while "fundamental political decisions" were being reached in Luanda and Pretoria, there were still "tough negotiations ahead".

Nevertheless, he predicted that Angolan and South African delegations would be meeting in the next few days to discuss completion of the Lusaka disengagement agreement.

Significantly, he noted that South Africa could now complete its withdrawal from Angola without a prior ceasefire with Swapo in SWA/Namibia.

This is a strong indication that Pretoria has formally dropped the idea of Swapo demilitarizing and returning to SWA/Namibia in a purely political capacity before, or even instead of, the implementation of the UN plan.

The official said the US believed the South African precondition for final acceptance of 435 — an Angolan "commitment" on Cuban withdrawal — has now been met, at least in principle.

● Our correspondent reports from Standerton, that the State President, Mr P W Botha, said last night that recent discussions between South Africa and the Angolan Government promised to have a positive outcome for South Africa.

Addressing a National Party meeting attended by about 750 people, Mr Botha said definite progress had been made.

The Angolan Government now realized that the Cubans would have to withdraw to ensure a lasting peace.

US refuses to argue with Swapo on Cubans

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The US State Department has declined to get involved in a public squabble with Swapo over the origin of the Namibian linkage issue.

The withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is tied to implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence under Security Council Resolution 435.

Swapo spokesmen say the Americans introduced the linkage concept, one of the chief stumbling blocks in Southern Africa.

But yesterday diplomats, who have been involved in America's peace initiative in Southern Africa, skirted around the question here.

They said privately the presence of Cuban troops in the region was simply a factor that had to be taken into account.

The South Africans had told the UN that it prevented them from implementing Resolution 435.

The Americans made no bones about the fact that they wanted the Cubans to get out.

And even the Angolans were looking for a way of getting rid of the Cuban troops, sources said.

One diplomat said those were the facts that mattered and not arguments about who said what first.

US originated vexing policy of Cuban linkage — Swapo

Star 31/10/84

By Andrew Walker,
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Top Swapo officials claimed at the United Nations yesterday that America and not South Africa had instigated the Cuban linkage issue which is being blamed for delaying Namibian independence.

The linkage of a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola to the implementation of Resolution 435, the UN blueprint for Namibian independence, was the greatest stumbling block in the Namibia issue, said the Swapo leaders.

Swapo secretary-general Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo and Mr Theo Ben Gurirab, head of the organisation's observer mission to the United Nations, told a Press conference that the linkage policy was designed by the Americans and supported by South Africa. This was an attempt by President Ronald Reagan's Administration to save the South Africans.

Mr Gurirab said: "When we negotiate eyeball to eyeball with Dr Chester Crocker (America's Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs), Americans do not deny that they claim parentage for linkage."

He claimed linkage had first been made an operational question in April 1981 by former American Deputy Secretary of State for African Affairs, Judge William Clark.

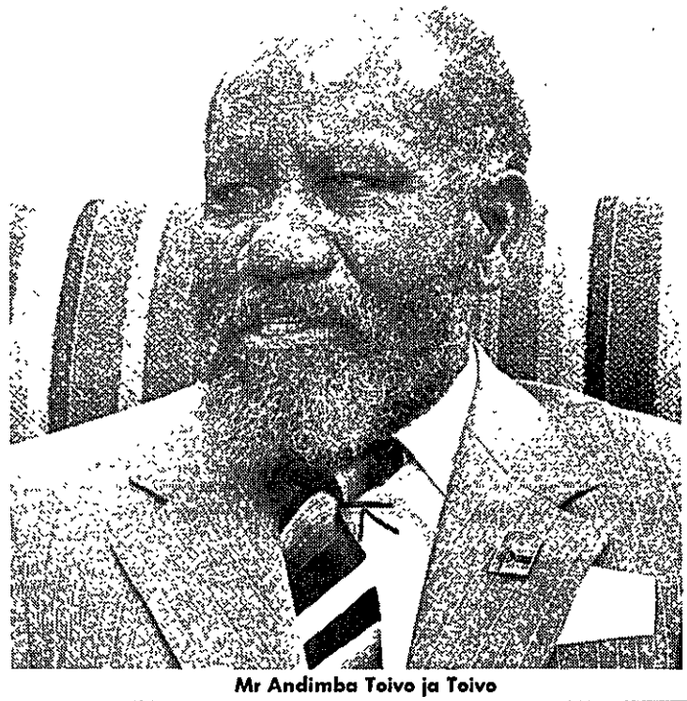
American officials have in the past denied initiating the linkage policy.

Mr Toivo told reporters: "All I can say is that the Reagan Administration wanted to save the racist South African regime.

"That is why it came up with the linkage of Cuban troops as a precondition for the decolonisation of Namibia."

He said Swapo was appalled by the stance taken by the Reagan Administration.

"As far as we and all the member states of the United Nations are concerned, the Cuban troops issue is an issue between two sovereign states, that is Cuba and Angola," he added.



Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo

NO DEVELOPMENTS

Mr Toivo said there had been no developments in attempts to decolonise Namibia.

Asked about South Africa's new constitution and its signing of security pacts with states including Angola and Mozambique, he said these did not represent any progress in Southern Africa.

"Whatever South Africa is doing today she is doing with encouragement from the Reagan Administration," he went on.

"Also, the recent tour of Mr Botha (a reference to State President Mr P W Botha's visit to European nations) has encouraged South Africa to go on with its bantustan system and with oppression of the majority of South Africans."

Report on Cubans 'misleads'

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The New York Times has published what it says are details of Angola's Cuban troop withdrawal offer in what some analysts believe is an attempt by elements inside the Reagan administration to blindside Dr Chester Crocker's newly promising regional diplomacy.

According to the Times, the Angolan proposal put to the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, by Dr Crocker on Cape Verde last week calls for substantial numbers of Cuban troops to remain in Angola after the implementation of UN Resolution 435.

Reduced

The story, by the Times' highly respected diplomatic correspondent, Mr Bernard Gwertzman, is sourced to "Reagan administration officials", and not the State Department.

These officials, Mr Gwertzman wrote, said that "Angola has offered to cut the number of Cuban troops from 30 000 to 10 000 and to redeploy those remaining far from its southern borders if South Africa will grant independence to South West Africa".

"Once the South Africans agreed to the carrying out of Resolution 435, the number of Cuban soldiers would be reduced ... to 10 000 over two years".

In a briefing last Friday on the Cape Verde talks, Dr Crocker stressed that details of the Angolan proposal could not be made public. He would only say it "included some specific ideas on the withdrawal of Cuban troops".

He also repeatedly emphasised that while the negotiations had reached "the beginning of what could become an end-game", there was "arduous work ahead".

A senior State Department official yesterday called the New York Times account "misleading and incomplete" and said it did not reflect Luanda's real position.

He said he had no idea where the story originated.

Observers noted that whatever the validity of the account, it was potentially deeply compromising.

On the South African side, it appeared calculated to strengthen the hand of those, particularly in the military, opposed to the UN plan.

Unless it can be convincingly denied, it puts considerable political pressure on Mr Botha to produce a hardline response.

Distorted

In the US, sources said it seemed certain to raise conservative congressional opposition to one of the key elements of the emerging settlement, US diplomatic recognition for Luanda.

This is not the first time that sharply pointed and carefully distorted leaks have threatened Dr Crocker's efforts.

Earlier this year, American conservatives with known ties to the South African military establishment created a major stir over reports that Dr Crocker was offering Luanda recognition before total Cuban withdrawal.

RDM 6/11/84 (8)

Suffer little children . . .

Few countries are more in need of humanitarian assistance than Angola, yet the necessary aid has not been forthcoming. Nine years after independence, the country is in a critical situation due to continued military conflict and drought . . . and, as always, mothers and children are the groups most affected. Based on material provided by PHILIPPE HEFFINCK, a UNICEF programme officer in Luanda

MARIA EDUARDO was with her family working in the fields, when her mother, father, and five small brothers and sisters were attacked and killed.

"I hid in the tall grass," recalls 10-year-old Maria, who now lives in an Angolan government orphanage. "When the attackers left, I came here. There was nothing for me to stay for."

She does not want to go back: "I have no one to stay with and no more family."

Since gaining independence in 1974, Angola has been beset by intense political and military hostilities between indigenous opposition groups and South African military forces.

The drought, which began in 1980-82 in the central and southern provinces, continues to exacerbate an already urgent situation.

Despite the severity of Angola's problems, it has not attracted the attention of the mass media, or assistance on the massive scale it needs.

At present, there are an estimated one million displaced or affected persons in the central and southern provinces.

Some 40% to 50% are estimated to be mothers and children; an increasing number are abandoned or orphaned like Maria.

Many of these families have not been able to carry or keep even a minimum of possessions. A succession of seasons without a chance to build up the agricultural basis of their livelihood has stunted productivity.

As always, the most vulnerable — the children — are suffering particularly.

Undernourished and poorly clothed, they are more prone to disease. The poor social, economic and environmental conditions reflect in high infant mortality rates.

Medicaments and health services are in short supply, as are most other vital services in the rural areas.

These problems compound the already-serious consequences of underdevelopment.

With a population of about 7,8-million, nearly half of whom are under 15 and more than one quarter under five, Angola has an infant mortality rate of 160 per 1 000 live births and a life expectancy of 41 years.

One-third of Angola's children die before their fifth birthday and in parts of the Planalto in central Angola, almost as many children die before five as survive.

Approximately 85% of the population live in rural areas short of sufficient wear suitable for human and household use. Many suffer from scabies and other skin diseases.

Few in the rural areas have access to health services. Only one quarter of the population has access to clean water, and only a similar proportion are literate.

For many mothers and children malnutrition is a complicating factor. The nutritional status of children is alarming in urban areas and chronically poor in rural areas, especially those directly affected by military conflict and drought.

Even in unaffected areas, one third of the children seen at health centres are below standard weight for age; in Luanda 15% of the children show evidence of chronic malnutrition.

There is a basic shortage of food, and even when available, distribution is difficult.

Constant acts of sabotage of the Benguela railway line continue to disrupt the transportation of goods from the port of Lobito to the central provinces, while road transport has decreased drastically due to lack of trucks, shortage of spare parts and the general state of insecurity.

Heavy rains during February and March had a disastrous effect on road conditions, housing, sanitation facilities and crops. Heavy floods washed away seedlings and young plants.

Massive population movements have also drastically reduced agricultural production, including livestock-raising and fishing.

UNICEF, the United Nations children's fund, one of the few agencies working in Angola with an emergency assistance programme, was asked to support the Angolan government's own emergency programme.

In August 1983, the executive director of UNICEF launched an appeal for assistance of R8,5-million to help 220 000 displaced or affected Angolan children and mothers.

The funds were to provide such basic needs as drugs, soap, clothes and blankets, construction materials for shelters, domestic utensils and transport.

So far only R36-million has been donated, including bilateral assistance of R1,15-million from Sweden.

UNICEF is also maintaining its regular programme of assistance. Continuing a collaboration begun in 1977, for example, the agency has helped distribute some 9 000 tons of high protein food donated by the United States.

Mothers and children queue up daily at food distribution centres. For many it is their only regular source of food.

The needs are increasing. The second South African incursion in December 1983-January 1984 added another 127 000 displaced persons to the already long list.

The situtation can be improved with additional international assistance. The Angolan government has the structures as well as the will and interest to assist displaced or affected persons.

For the most part, however, the international community seems to have adopted a "wait and see" policy toward assistance for Angola. Unfortunately, affected children and mothers cannot wait. For many of them, assistance is a matter of life or death.

Huambo is among the most affected provinces. It has a population of 1,1-million. Malnutrition is acute, orphanages overcrowded and basic needs are lacking everywhere.

Thousands of displaced persons wander the streets. In one day in a Huambo hospital, 72 children were admitted, most of them affected by malnutrition, malaria, diarrhoeal diseases and anaemia.

Of these, 32 children were in a critical condition and four died. An average of 55 children die every month in this hospital alone.

Lucas and Clementine, two displaced children aged 15 and nine, are staying in the same orphanage as Maria Eduardo.

Both children were injured when their village was attacked. They managed to get to the central hospital at Chitembo and were evacuated by helicopter to Huambo.

They have no news of their families. Clementine feels the pain of the bullet still in her left leg. When asked about her plans, she responds: "I want to go back home." — Gemini.



Pragmatists gain upper hand in MPLA

E. Post 7/11/84

By PATRICK REYNA in Lisbon

THE dismissal of the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, apparently signalled the West that the Marxist MPLA Government in Luanda is prepared to put pragmatism before ideology to secure independence for SWA/Namibia, end debilitating guerilla attacks and gain US diplomatic recognition.

Diplomatic sources and Africa observers in Lisbon say Mr Jorge's ouster also marks the political coming of age of the 42-year-old President, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Mr Dos Santos will fill the Foreign Ministry post until Mr Jorge's successor has been named.

The Soviet-educated engineer was picked as leader by the ruling Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola in 1979 after the death of Mr Agostinho Neto, the first President of the former Portuguese colony and a founder of the movement.

Shortly after Mr Jorge's dismissal on October 22, Angolan officials told US representatives visiting Luanda that they were willing to send home some 25 000 Cuban troops as part of a regional agreement to end South African rule over SWA/Namibia.

It was not the first time Mr Dos Santos had implied that Angola would consider withdrawing the Cubans, but observers said the offer was the most straightforward to date.

Mr Jorge had consistently refused to consider a Cuban pullout without a corresponding withdrawal of South African troops from SWA/Namibia as well as the adoption of a UN-sponsored independence plan.

In a statement following the meeting from October 31 to November 2 in the Cape Verde islands between Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, South Africa welcomed the offer to send the Cubans home.

The South African Government said it would soon "present its views on this important matter".

Signs of a rift between Mr Dos Santos and Mr Jorge had multiplied in the past two years, running parallel to the increasing contacts between Angola and South Africa.

The Foreign Minister stayed away from the meetings, at which were discussed the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola, an end to South African aid to the pro-Western Unita guerilla movement fighting Angola's MPLA government, and eventual independence for Namibia.

Mr Jorge, one of the more ideological founders of the MPLA, is considered to be the main figure in forging ties with the Soviet Union and Cuba which enabled the party to come out ahead in a confusing war against the Portuguese that ended with Angolan independence in 1975.



President JOSE DOS SANTOS

Since then, two tendencies have emerged in the struggle for power within the party and the Government.

The "Pragmatists" sought closer ties with the West, and the United States in particular, as economic stagnation continued to spread.

The "Historicos" held out against such a move, and though Mr Jorge's eclipse could signify their general decline, their influence is still strong among party cadres.

Though Gulf Oil Corporation has been carrying on business unhindered in Angola since 1975, the US Government has chosen not to grant diplomatic recognition to Angola as long as Cuban troops remain in the country.

Mr Dos Santos and the so-called "Young Pragmatists" around him reportedly clashed with Mr Jorge and the "Historicos" over the issue of relations with the United States.

In late September top Angolan diplomats were recalled to Luanda for a two-day combination of soul-searching and pep talk by the President during which he called for "invigorating" Angola's foreign policy.

Observers believe this was a not-so-veiled reference to establishing ties with Washington.

● Mr Botha said on Thursday in Cape Verde that South Africa hoped to reach agreement with Angola by November 15 on a final troop withdrawal. — Sapa-AP

ence, using a small residual force to guard Luanda and the oil-rich Cabinda enclave — before phasing them out altogether.

SA's latest position seems to be to insist on "parallelism." This would mean insisting that the Cubans must leave Angola at the same rate that the SA troops leave Namibia under the settlement plan contained in Resolution 435. By the time SA troops in Namibia are down to 1 500 men, Pretoria wants all Cubans out of Angola. It is understood that the Angolan proposals are not incompatible with this position.

Unita's role

In a statement released to the *FM* on behalf of the central committee of Unita, Savimbi states (translated from the original Portuguese):

"Regarding the ambiguous attitudes of the power involved in the negotiations for the independence of Namibia in exchange for the Cuban departure from Angola, the committee wants to reaffirm the following:

☐ It is impossible to be flexible on the issue of the Luanda regime sending the Cubans home unless there had been direct negotiations with Unita aimed at ending the civil war in Angola;

☐ No solution for the Namibian independence will be possible without Unita's participation in the global resolution of the present conflict in southern Africa; and

☐ The dismissal of Paulo Jorge (the former Angolan Foreign Minister) has no meaning to the conflict which has Unita on the one side and the MPLA, kept in power by 40 000 Cuban troops, on the other."

In another development on the Namibia front (which does not seem to bode as well for the independence process), the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) of internal parties stated that Swapo has until the end of this year to start negotiations with the MPC. After that the MPC will unilaterally negotiate with SA on independence for Namibia.

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Official optimism

Angola's proposals for a Cuban and SA withdrawal from Angola have met with enthusiasm in Pretoria. They are likely to be the first step towards negotiations that could lead to a phased Cuban withdrawal next year and possibly also to implementation of UN Resolution 435 for Namibian independence.

The major breakthrough is Luanda's perceived acceptance of "linkage" between a Cuban withdrawal from Angola and Namibian independence.

One source told the *FM*: "There is broad consensus on the main principles involved. At least SA and Angola are now talking about the same thing."

The sudden progress in the Angolan-Namibian negotiations will soon be discussed at another meeting "at ministerial level" between SA, the US and Angola, probably at Cape Verde.

But Pretoria's old ally, Unita's Jonas Savimbi, seems set to try to hurl a spanner in the works. Unita is holding an extraordinary congress at Jamba in southern Angola, and this week its central committee launched a veiled attack on the US's "ambiguous attitude" on the Cubans — warning again that there can be no solution in Namibia or Angola without Unita participation.

A plane-load of SA journalists and foreign correspondents was due to fly to Jamba this week for what promised to be an important press briefing. It has been pointed out that the journalists will have to overfly the operational area — so their trip necessarily required Pretoria's approval, if not co-operation.

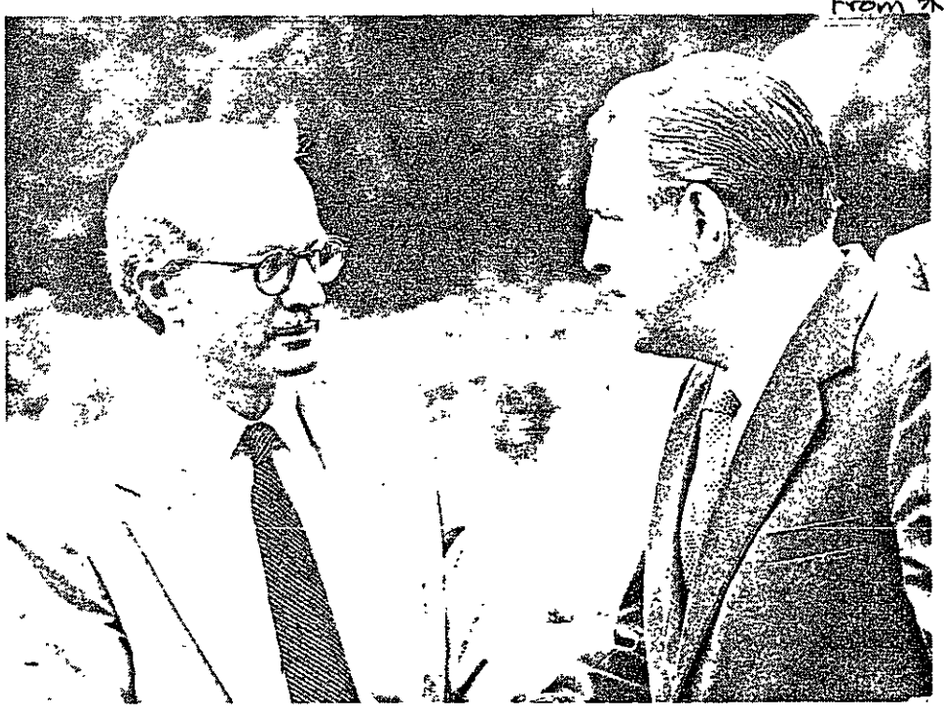
The US's diplomatic advance in Angola has renewed its determination to save the Mozambique peace talks from collapse. A senior State Department diplomat unexpectedly travelled to Pretoria and Maputo this week for negotiations with the two governments. The major problem is the rebel Renamo movement's bitter outburst against Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who was referred to as an ally of the Marxist regime in Maputo.

Botha himself is due to meet West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Bonn on Saturday. Genscher is expected to put pressure on SA to accept the Luanda proposals US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker relayed to him at their Cape Verde meeting. Botha will return to SA this weekend to brief the Cabinet and the State Security Council.

Next week a high-level meeting of the Joint (SA-Angola) Monitoring Commission (JMC) will be held in southern Angola "to discuss the completion of the disengagement process."

Shortly after that SA will give Crocker its formal reply (and its own proposals) on facets of the Angolan plan with which it disagrees. This meeting will be followed up by a high-level tripartite meeting with Angola — probably at ministerial level.

Luanda's plan remains a well-kept secret, but is rumoured to include proposals for marked reduction of the Cuban pres-



Botha and Crocker ... now making progress

Call for urgent talks on withdrawal from A

SA planning pullout

STAR 10/11/84 (5)

—by—

John D'Oliveira,
The Star's Foreign
News Service

Munich

The South African Government has called for a high-level meeting in the next week to complete plans for the withdrawal of all its forces still in southern Angola.

The Government will also shortly present its reaction to the specific proposals the Angolan Government has made on the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

These points were made in an important statement here yesterday by South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha.

It was the Government's first substantial public response to the Angolans' Cuban troop policy change, and underlined South Africa's essentially positive reaction to developments which the US hopes might yet pave the way for a Namibian settlement within two years.

But Mr Botha stressed: "I have no illusions as to the difficulties which will have to be overcome in future negotiations."

Participating in a seminar organised by the right-wing Hanss Seidel Institute, Mr Botha said South Africa had so far withdrawn her troops to within 40 km of the Namibian border.

Last week he had discussions in Cape Verde with a US delegation headed by Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

Disengagement

The Americans brought with them certain proposals from the Angolan Government, including some specific Angolan ideas on the withdrawal of Cuban troops, he said.

Yesterday Mr Botha said his Government welcomed the Angolan acceptance in principle of Cuban troop withdrawal.

"Another important subject of our discussions at Cape Verde was the disengagement provisions of the Lusaka Agreement," he added.

"The South African Government has now suggested a high-level meeting be held before November 15 with a view to completing the process of disengagement in southern Angola."

After the Angolan change of heart on the Cuban issue, the Americans basically required two things from the South African Government before launching the intensive diplomatic effort they knew would be needed to thrash out the agreements for a Namibian settlement.

The first was renewed impetus for the military disengagement, the second a fresh South African commitment to Namibian independence within the framework of United Nations Resolution 435.

The proposed high-level meeting will provide the disengagement spurt, and the Americans are confident the Government will follow this with a restated commitment on 435.

Savimbi warns the West

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has warned all players in the Namibian settlement stakes that they deal him out at their own risk.

By BRIAN POTTINGER: JAMBA, Angola

And he flatly rejected any partition of Angola — a proposal that Unita believes is gaining currency in the latest round of United States/South African/Angolan negotiations.

Refusal to bring Unita into direct participation in the Namibian settlement talks would lead to a dramatic escalation of the Angolan civil war, the leader of the 40 000-strong Unita army intimated yesterday.

Dr Savimbi told 46 South African and foreign Pressmen at his headquarters in southern Angola that by December he would have 7 000 additional troops to throw against Luanda.

The Jamba Press conference came at the conclusion of an extraordinary congress of Unita — the first in its 18-year history.

At the root of the problem is Unita's growing fear that it will be frozen out of an Namibian/Angolan settlement and left diplomatically and militarily isolated in their grinding guerrilla war which they believe they are winning.

Fortress

The uncompromising Unita stand will be carefully weighed by Pretoria — traditional allies of Unita — in the negotiations on an Angolan proposal to withdraw Cuban troops north of certain parallels.

The proposal has immediately led to speculation that the MPLA Government is intending to fortress itself in the Angolan economic heartland and Unita believes this is the first step to a formal partition.

Key points made by Dr Savimbi yesterday:

- Unita would take every military advantage possible in the event of a Cuban withdrawal if it was not consulted about the terms of withdrawal.
- He refused to accept a partition of Angola into an MPLA-held north and a Unita-controlled south.
- He rejected any idea of extending Angolan citizenship to Cuban non-combatants.
- Claimed that new logistical routes had been established to supply his army in the event of implementation of Resolution 435 in Namibia and a consequent cutting-off of existing supply lines.
- Withdrew his offer to enter reconciliation discussions with the MPLA Government until they gave positive proof of their intention to create a

□ To Page 2

Don't leave me out, warns Jonas

□ From Page 1

Government of National Unity.

Dr Savimbi slammed the Lusaka Agreement whereby South African forces are being withdrawn from Angola as a "dilly-dallying manoeuvre".

The bellicose Unita stand comes at a time of great flux for the organisation.

Guerrilla operations have taken them to the gates of Luanda and inside, but on the diplomatic front Unita believes that the latest round of negotiations could rob them of the gain made in nine years of war.

The ebb of Unita fortunes is reflected in their leader.

A brisk and at times brusque Dr Savimbi yesterday contrasted with the relaxed and expansive leader who met the Press in July.

The fact that Unita claims it has already established alternative supply lines, suggests that it believes an agreement prejudicial to itself is imminent.

Ties

In a speech to 7 000 Angolans at the Jamba Stadium and at a later Press conference Dr Savimbi showed failing patience with the US.

Although welcoming President Reagan's re-election, he demanded the State Department's attitude towards Angola and Namibia should be unequivocally clarified and the "sooner the better".

Dr Savimbi reaffirmed his close ties with South Africa — claiming that relations with Pretoria were good, describing State President PW Botha as "my friend".

Significantly, he acknowledged that Mr Botha had his own country's interests to consider and that he did not expect him to sacrifice those interests for Unita.

Dr Savimbi said Unita would have to be a party to all negotiations affecting the future of Namibia and the corresponding withdrawal of the Cubans.

"We insist that all the parties involved should recognise Unita as a central factor with sufficient means to influence the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola."

Dr Savimbi declined to respond directly to the Cape Verde talks as he had not been informed officially.

But it is understood the South African Government has unofficially informed him of the Angolan proposals.

"I don't want to rock the boat, I want to be part of the boat," Dr Savimbi said.

He rejected US signals that Unita should not press Luanda too hard because this might delay a Cuban withdrawal.

He claimed it was military pressure which had forced the Angolan Goverment to negotiate seriously about Cuban withdrawal.

"You're a nice guy when you are losing but a bad guy when you are strong," he observed.

No smiles from freed Bulgarians

Political Staff

JAMBA. — Three Bulgarians taken prisoner by Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita forces eight months ago registered no emotion when they were brought before 3 000 Angolans on Friday and told they were to be freed.

The announcement by Dr Savimbi at an elaborate military parade was one of the highlights of Unita's latest propaganda exercise held at his sprawling reed-hut capital and military headquarters.

Another was the announcement that a priest and three nuns — brought back to Jamba after Unita troops overran the central Angolan MPLA Government-held towns of Ganda and Vila Nova do Seles in August — had volunteered to remain in Jamba and minister to the local population.

They are Sister Maria Engelbert Eibl, a German national who had ministered at Ganda for the Missionary Congregation, Father Jose da Silva Mendes of the Portuguese Missionary Society, Sister Maria del Carmen Lopez Mateo from Saragoza, Spain, and Sister Maria Lourdes Coelho, from Cuembra, Portugal, who both ministered with the Missionary Congregation of the Love of God.

Addressing about 1 000 regular troops and about 2 000 civilians, Dr Savimbi called the three Bulgarians, Mr Manuel Milanov Constantinov, Miss Lazarina Saprinova Gimitrova and Mrs Catarina Constantinova Stoianova, to the dais.

"From this moment on they are free people again. They can go back home," he said.

The announcement was greeted with prolonged cheering. The Bulgarians themselves, who in broken English later said they had not been forewarned of the announcement, remained impassive.

In stark contrast the four missionaries told journalists at a press conference that they had voluntarily signed a declaration stating their wish to remain in Unita's liberated south-eastern zone and continue their missionary work.

After the parade, at an informal biltong-and-beer reception, the Bulgarians and the four missionaries mingled freely with journalists and senior Unita officers.

Asked why they had decided to stay in Jamba, Father Mendes said: "If we returned to Ganda and Nova do Seles now the authorities, I think, would send us home. He added that they had "had time to ponder on the war in Angola and the religious needs of the people on the Unita side".

'MPLA forces 're-educated'

Political Correspondent

JAMBA. — Unita has had a 100 percent success rate in "re-educating" prisoners from Angolan government forces, according to Unita's chief of military intelligence, Colonel Perigrino Chindondo.

Colonel Chindondo said Unita had already taken 800 prisoners in its war with the ruling MPLA's Fapla forces and more than 200 had already been "successfully integrated" with the Unita forces — some as officers.

Asked what was done with captured soldiers not wanting to join Unita, he replied: "There is not a single case of Fapla soldiers not wanting to be re-educated."



Jonas Savimbi in Jamba, Angola, on Friday.

Unita 'no' to ANC

Political Correspondent

JAMBA. — Unita would deny training bases to the African National Congress in Angola if it became part of a government of national unity, according to Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Dr Savimbi said in an interview on Friday that if his movement became part of a negotiated settlement in the territory, Unita would be unwilling to continue the sanctuary offered the ANC by the ruling MPLA government.

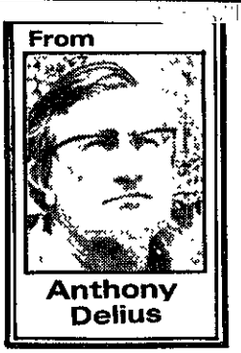
He said that since the Angolan people had already been at war for 24 years, "it would not be unreasonable in the interests of peace to look after our own affairs" once a settlement had been reached.

"We don't want to support anybody — we want to support ourselves."

Earlier, the chief of Unita's military intelligence staff, Colonel Perigrino Chindondo, said during a briefing that the ANC had two battalions of 400 to 500 men each based near Malange, 400km west of Luanda.

He said Unita forces had had contact with ANC guerillas protecting a bridge along the Benguela railway line in January but none of them had been captured.

Is now the time for new games on the border?



From Anthony Delius

LONDON. — Now that the American elections are over do we start a new game on South Africa's north-western border?

It seemed the main players were hard at it: Chester Crocker, Frank Wisner, Pik Botha and Jose Eduardo dos Santos were suddenly excited about a new deal at a late hour when our attention was least attracted to the game.

President Dos Santos appeared to have made a desperate new bid, a last-minute move. The Angolan president had done nothing less than throw in his long-serving Foreign Minister. Mr Paulo Texeira Jorge is one of the most senior members of the ruling MPLA and was appointed to the foreign affairs portfolio by the late President Agostinho Neto in 1976, not long before that leader died.

Described as a hardliner, Mr Jorge was regularly rumoured to be particularly determined not to be talked into doing any sort of deal over the Cubans.

President Dos Santos has frequently been said to be on the verge of accepting a deal which would involve a swap — South African soldiers leave SWA/Namibia in return for Cuban troops leaving for Cuba.

Slow march

President Dos Santos even gave an interview to the Washington Post in which he spoke of Angolan "flexibility".

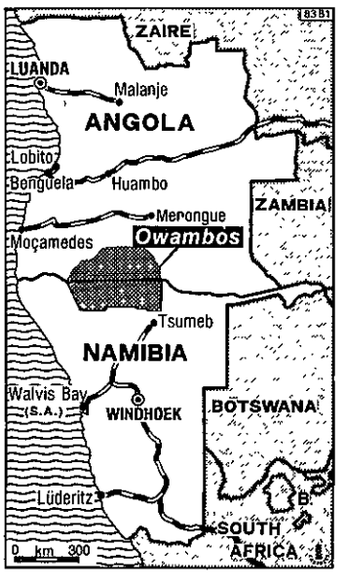
Earlier this year the South Africans and Angolans had a rather mysterious meeting in Lusaka which everybody believed would end in a display of "flexibility" by both sides.

It would come about this way:

South Africans would begin a slow march to the SWA/Namibian-Angola border while the Angolan troops would proceed at a similar pace towards the Kunene.

The whole exercise would presumably be over when the SADF and Fapla reached the border simultaneously.

The exercise started out at an incredibly tedious speed but broke down when the South Africans slowed to a stop at Ngiva, 33 km north of the Kunene.



South African observers complained they could see Swapo infiltrators lurking in the bush near Fapla, while Fapla scouts reported they could see Unita filling in spaces behind the South Africans.

Neither side, it seemed, could trust the other side to play fair in the "flexibility" game. Both Mr Wisner and Dr Crocker could never assure themselves that President Dos Santos had explained the rules exactly to Mr Paulo Jorge, or had even dared to do so.

Then it appeared that this slow motion exercise in "flexibility" was far too much for Angolan nerves and economy.

Nervous advisers

When Mr Wisner went across to Luanda to find out what was bothering President Dos Santos, he discovered that Angola's foreign affairs people were continually having holes talked in their heads by nervous advisers.

Besides, all this international dilly-dallying was wrecking whatever finances Angola had for patching up the territory.

Whatever they had believed themselves able to do at the beginning, the South Africans felt they would need more time to prepare the people of SWA/Namibia to frustrate UN Resolution 435.

Although the SWA administration had had several years to make themselves better liked among the local ethnic groups than Swapo might be able to do, it seemed they were not succeeding in making themselves popular fast enough.

In any case neither the South Africans nor the Angolans felt really sure that they would be able to prepare a friendly welcome for the others who would prefer them as neighbours in due course.

Furthermore, the Angolans in charge in Luanda felt they would be happier in making final arrangements about borders and the independcence of Namibia more directly with the Americans.

Assurance

Besides, the Angolans were fairly sure they would be able to get more money from the Americans in special aid than they would from the South Africans. The Reagan dollar, they heard, was better to have than failing gold. Added to which, the presence of Unita in Angola meant far more to South African security than it did to America's.

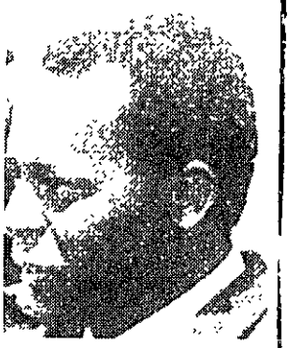
Nevertheless Mr Wisner, after a great deal of intense argument, was able to go back to Washington with a reasonably fair assurance that he had the word of the parties concerned that the Cubans and the South Africans might be expected to go home, however cautiously.

As a sign of Luanda's good word, Mr Jorge was pushed out of control of the movement of Cubans and the South Africans agreed to continue their departure if there was a joint effort to keep Swapo out until Namibia was prepared to receive them.

So the position rests, while the Americans decide what degree of urgency to give it for the next four years.



Dr Chester Crocker



President Dos Santos



Mr Pik Botha

Unita will attack if Cubans go

12/11/84 C. Times 5

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Corresponent

JAMBA, Angola. — The looming prospect of being locked out of negotiations on a SWA/Namibian settlement and the withdrawal of Cubans from Angola is making Unita leader Jonas Savimbi edgy.

He is also openly worried by signs that the partition of Angola has crept on to the agenda in the latest round of trilateral negotiations between the MPLA government, the United States and South Africa — as this would threaten his dream of eventually ruling this vast country.

But the concerns that are gnawing away at the wily bush fighter are tempered by a brazen confidence that his well-supplied 40 000-man military machine will torpedo any attempts by negotiating parties to downgrade his status as a key actor in the power play in Angola.

Won't fret

But just in case the United States or South Africa was harbouring such motives, the resourceful leader staged yet another public relations extravaganza for dozens of Western journalists aimed at thrusting him back into the international spotlight.

And even if his latest publicity exercise did not re-establish him as a key figure in the ongoing SWA/Namibia-Angola negotiations, he served clear notice that he would not sit back and fret.

First, he warned that Unita's burgeoning army would take every possible military advantage of a Cuban troop withdrawal and would mount an intensified military campaign with freshly trained troops on several fronts in northern Angola, including the capital, Luanda.

'Fictitious'

Second, he claimed Unita had already set up alternative logistical routes to supply his army in the event of the implementation of Resolution 435 in SWA/Namibia and the consequent severing of his traditional, largely South African, supply lines.

At a colourful and impressive military parade at Jamba Stadium on Friday, General Savimbi told about 2 000 crack troops, thousands of civilians and party officials that Unita refused to be "traded in for a fictitious withdrawal of Cubans from Angola".

He claimed that in the past three weeks the MPLA had brought in 2 500 black Cubans — who cannot be distinguished from black Angolans — to supplement the 35 000 already in the country.

Bad faith

"This shows that they are not negotiating with the Americans in good faith because even as they are talking they are finding ways to get by what they are agreeing to."

The feisty general argued that it was Unita's growing military strength that had forced the MPLA to the negotiating table and since only the Cubans stood between Unita and victory, the MPLA would not dare send them home.

Although making a number of conciliatory noises about South Africa and emphasizing his long-standing friendship with President P W Botha, he conceded: "In politics you have permanent interests, but no permanent friends or enemies."

US snub

He had been in contact with Pretoria about the recent Cape Verde talks, "but I have not been given any assurances that South Africa will not drop me", he said in an interview.

General Savimbi showed less patience with the Americans. They have been ignoring him since May and he found it necessary to demand that the State Department's position on Angola and SWA/Namibia should be "unequivocally clarified, and the sooner the better".

But South Africa could well become the major focus of the Unita leader's anxiety this week following the announcement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, at the weekend that SADF troops could be out of southern Angola "within days" of the November 15 meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission.

Savimbi — militarily strong but diplomatically weak — tells West to include him in deal

With peace on horizon, Unita flexes its muscles

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

JAMBA (Angola) — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi flexed his military muscles before 46 South African and foreign correspondents at the weekend.

But in doing so he revealed that in the shifting tides of Southern African power politics his diplomatic position was weak and probably deteriorating.

The concern that South Africa, Angola and America might be making progress in recent talks on the withdrawal of Cubans from Southern Africa and the rapid implementation of United Nations Resolution 435, which in turn would endanger the rebels' main supply lines, prompted his National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) to hold a week-long extraordinary congress last week.

The 400 delegates, from 14 of the country's 16 provinces, met at Unita's secret headquarters at Jamba to discuss recent internal and international developments, and to plot a strategy for 1985.

The foreign correspondents were flown in to review an impressive display of more than 1 000 smart and well-equipped troops marching past 10 000 enthusiastic supporters.

There was also a parade of Unita's medical team, schoolteachers, printers and technicians, and a procession of battered weapons, including tanks, captured from government forces.

Later, at a special briefing for the correspondents on the war situation, Unita chief of intelligence Colonel Peregrino Chindondo said the rebel army of 20 000 semi-regular troops and even more guerillas had "liberated" one third of Angola, turned another third into a no-go zone for the MPLA Government and was now making frequent raids into the remainder of the country, including Luanda, the capital.

Fala (the Unita army) had recently successfully repulsed two major attempts involving 38 000 Fapla (government forces) and Cuban troops to penetrate the liberated zone and rout Unita, he claimed.

Conversely, a recent incursion by Unita guerillas had knocked out Luanda's power and water for six days, scaring the MPLA Government into organising for their families to be evacuated, Colonel Chindondo said.

Unita claimed that in the period July 22 to last Thursday it had killed or captured more than 4 000 Fapla troops, in addition to killing 497 Cubans and 19 Soviets.

In one 33-day period the rebels claimed to have shot down 18 government combat aircraft, including two MiG-23 interceptors.

Furthermore, Unita would be throwing in another 7 000 trained troops ready to close in strongly on Luanda by December 20.

But as Unita signalled to the rest of the world that it was winning control of the nine-year Angolan civil war, it also let slip, perhaps intentionally, that it was not faring as well on the diplomatic front in the Western capitals of the world.

"How is it that when we were weak we were the nice guys?" Dr Savimbi mused at his Press conference on Friday.

"Now that we are a serious threat, suddenly we are the bad guys."

His concern that Unita might be dispensable in the latest round of negotiations between South Africa and America and the MPLA and America showed when he warned that there could be no deal on Cuban withdrawal and Namibian independence without his movement being brought into the talks.

There was also no way that Unita would accept a new plan being mooted in certain quarters (but not by South Africa, he said) to divide Angola, giving the south to the rebels and the north to the MPLA.

Dr Savimbi was critical of America's role in Southern Africa, saying that, although he did not want to antagonise the Americans, he wanted a strong and unambiguous position on the Cubans in Angola.

He revealed that the last contacts between the American State Department and Unita took place five months ago.

He predicted that the MPLA would go the whole hog for a diplomatic option rather than a military solution to its internal problems in 1985.

This would include:

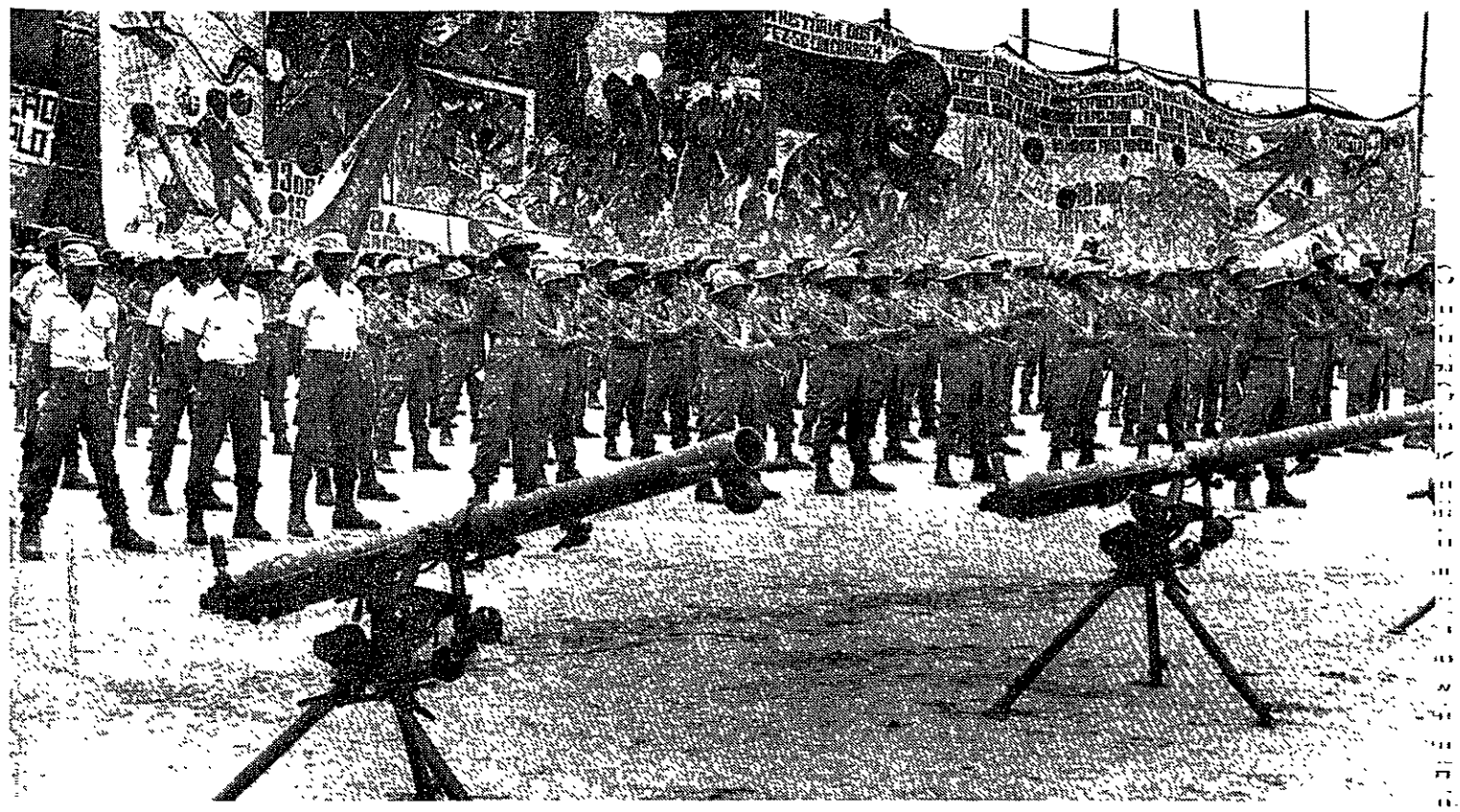
- Making overtures to America with the aim of luring its government into recognising the Luanda regime.
- Approaching the West to secure goods which had not been forthcoming from the Soviet bloc.
- Engaging falsely in manoeuvres to give the impression that the departure of the Cubans was acceptable, while proposing the timetable of the departure in such a manner as to facilitate implementation of 435 to the benefit of Swapo and to gain access to Unita's logistical routes.

Dr Savimbi emphasised his special relationship with South Africa.

He did not believe that South Africa would consider it in its interests to destroy Unita and support the MPLA, he said.



Dr Savimbi . . . what's wrong with being good guys?



At ease . . . banners behind them, arms in front of them, Unita troops stand on parade.



Eyes right . . . Unita troops march past a reviewing stand.

● Pictures by Juda Ngwenya.

Luxury at headquarters in the bush

JAMBA (Angola) — Unita's military prowess is complemented by the efficiency of Chingunji, permanent secretary of the executive committee of Unita, were impressive ic society with a multi-party and elected representative political system.

population of 6,5 million.

Its strategic relevance may be questionable except that,

'ANC helping

later, at a special briefing for

In one 35-day period the rebels

Luxury at headquarters in the bush

JAMBA (Angola) — Unita's military prowess is complemented by the efficiency of Jamba, its provisional capital, which is just a short flight into Angola from the Caprivi Strip, writes **David Braun**.

This sprawling bush settlement apparently accommodates 12 000 people, mainly rebel fighters and their families.

Journalists flown last week to the Biongue airfield, a two-hour drive (in dry conditions) from Jamba, had to complete immigration and customs formalities at tables under trees at the airstrip before being transferred on open trucks to the base camp.

VIP facilities at Jamba were reminiscent of a luxury private game reserve.

Sleeping quarters contained real beds, crisp bed linen, clean towels and hot water brought in for baths.

High-ranking officers, such as 29-year-old Brigadier Tito Chingunji, permanent secretary of the executive committee of Unita, were impressive both for their ability to converse fluently in up to four major Western languages and their wide knowledge and well-developed philosophy.

There was no difficulty in envisaging these people making up the leadership cadre in a modern state.

OBJECTIVES

A document published by Unita under the heading "The Angola Road to National Recovery" defined the movement's principles and objectives for the massive and detailed reconstruction of the country.

It covered education, health, labour, agriculture, industry, communications, housing, energy, justice, tourism and international relations of the State under a Unita administration.

Unita stands for a democratic society with a multi-party and elected representative political system.

The economy would be free and open but based firmly on private ownership and enterprise.

Unita's Angola would be non-aligned but would work for regional co-operation.

Conversations with several Unita officers and the movement's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, made it clear that the rebels still wanted to form a Government of national unity which would include the MPLA.

The sentiment of "One Angola, One People" runs consistently through the leadership ranks of Unita.

Unita's liberated territory, one third of Angola's 1,2 billion hectare surface area, comprises mainly the country's two most south-western provinces, Moxico and Cuanda-Cubango.

This area, by Unita's reckoning, contains little more than six percent of Angola's total population of 6,5 million.

Its strategic relevance may be questionable except that, clearly, Unita has been able to use it as a sanctuary and to support guerilla operations in the adjoining six provinces which contain more than half the Angolan population.

Unita incursions have devastated the Angolan economy to such an extent that, in the nine years since the country's independence, food production has plunged by about 98 percent and the basic infrastructure has collapsed.

EMBATTLED

Increasingly daring attacks by Unita into even the capital, Luanda, are driving the embattled MPLA administration into small pockets and fortresses around urban settlements and major national assets.

The rebels claim that they have won the war.

It is, in the words of Dr Savimbi, now up to the MPLA to come to the negotiating table.

'ANC helping defend railway'

JAMBA (Angola) — Two African National Congress units are being deployed by the MPLA Government in Angola to help defend the Benguela railway line against attacks by Unita rebels, said Unita intelligence chief Colonel Peregrino Chindondo at the weekend.

He was briefing South African and foreign correspondents at Unita headquarters at Jamba in southern Angola, **writes David Braun**.

Colonel Chindondo said each ANC unit comprised between 400 and 500 men. They had been integrated with Angolan Government forces (Fapla) and deployed along the railway line.

Between 3 000 and 5 000 Swapo troops were being deployed against Unita in central Angola north of the Benguela railway line.

Swapo's main rear base in Angola was now just south of Luanda.

He added that although Swapo was used against Unita it presented no threat to the Angolan rebels.

Colonel Chindondo said that in addition to the Cubans in Angola there were 1 500 Soviet advisers, 2 500 East Germans and 3 500 Portuguese mercenaries.

Whites are shifting right, says anthropologist

The last year has seen a groundswell shift to the right in white politics, argues Witwatersrand University anthropologist Dr David Webster.

The shift, he says, has New Republic Party members leaning and sometimes defecting to the Nationalists and sections of the Progressive Federal Party moving into positions which were comfortably occupied by the NRP.

This was the view he put this weekend at the first annual general meeting of the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC).

JODAC is one of several organisations which have sprung up to accommodate white South Africans to the left of parliamentary parties.

Dr Webster said the PFP had sold its dignity and legiti-

By Jo-Anne Collinge

macy by participating in the tricameral Parliament after campaigning against it.

He warned that changes under the new constitution were far more than just a layer of powder on apartheid's ugly face.

Faced in recent years with the erosion of NP support in the Free State and Transvaal, the then Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, had tried to form a new power bloc encompassing white English-speakers and members of coloured and Indian groups, he said.

"It's a different kind of apartheid," said Dr Webster. "Let's not fool ourselves."

Against this, he asked, what was the purpose of a white left organisation which could not hope to mobilise mass support?

At the most obvious level it provided an identity and sense of unity for individuals in the white community committed to the struggle for majority rule, said Dr Webster.

JODAC was an attempt to draw together many levels of the white left, pool knowledge and skills and guard members against isolation and State attacks.

The white left was often accused of being out of touch with reality, he said. "We are out of touch with white South Africa but we are in touch with what is going on for the majority of South Africans."

More broadly, organisations such as JODAC found meaning in alliances with like-minded groups, he said. Affiliation to the United Democratic Front had been an obvious move.

Although the committee was overwhelmingly white, it could be seen as an organic part of the UDF, argued Dr Webster.

"The fact is, we are working in a non-racial and progressive way," he said.

Among JODAC's more significant organisational links was with the End Conscription Campaign, he said.

This campaign came at a time when people were beginning to realise they might end up policing their township neighbours.

Dr Webster said that like other groups, white democrats had paid a price through State detentions and bannings, and being the victims of politically motivated vandalism.

"But the price we are paying is one we willingly pay."

Afrikaner Volkswag draws a family laager

After the drubbing the Afrikaner Volkswag received from the media following its founding earlier this year, it was hardly surprising at the weekend that the movement made an earnest attempt to shed its neo-Nazi image at its first formal congress.

Security seemed almost non-existent in and around the Hartbees Youth Centre, and many delegates took their families to the resort in the Magaliesberg habitually used also for Broe-

By Andrew Beattie

derbond meetings.

The armed and jackbooted guards of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging who added a strong undertone of neo-Nazism to the founding meeting, were conspicuously absent.

And about 350 delegates, mostly sporting shorts and velskoene, mingled informally around campfires by night enjoying the traditional braaivleis under the summer sky.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche did not attend, nor were any Conservative Party leaders there.

Herstigte Nationale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais was, but kept a low profile, leaving Volkswag founder and chairman Professor Carel Boshoff and his wife Anna (who is Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's daughter and one of the spiritual leaders of the far right) to steal the limelight.

Rhetoric used by speakers at the congress leant heavily on the theme of an intrepid Afrikaner battling against all odds in a totally hostile world.

The preservation of Voortrekker culture in the face of the neo-Marxist media onslaught was deemed all-important and the retention of a strong family unit bound to its exclusive cultural heritage was seen as the best way of keeping "die witman" in power.

Professor Boshoff held his partisan audience spellbound during his emotive inaugural address on Friday night.

He was heartily cheered as he declared that, for the Afrikaner, culture and politics have always been the same thing.

Hence the Volkswag, ostensibly a cultural organisation, had every right to step into the realm of politics by criticising the Government and accusing it of playing into the hands of its enemies.

STRUGGLE

It was decided that the movement would be applying to the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings for membership.

The Volkswag, hand-in-hand with the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs and the Voortrekkers (of which Professor Boshoff is leader) would continue the cultural struggle of the Afrikaner, despite the odds.

Troops 'could be out in days'

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — South African troops could be out of southern Angola "within days" of this week's meeting of the Angolan/South African Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) at Ngiva, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said in Munich at the weekend.

"Unless there are large-scale Swapo incursions in the Ngiva region (40km north of the SWA/Namibian border), disengagement could be completed even within days of the JMC meeting on November 15," Mr Botha said at a press conference.

Mr Botha was speaking on his return from a meeting with his West German counterpart, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, in Frankfurt amid cautious optimism that progress has been made towards an independence settlement in SWA/Namibia.

But Mr Botha made it clear that he saw "difficult negotiations" ahead over the detail of the Angolan proposal for a Cuban withdrawal prior to independence.

Mr Botha said the MPLA's agreement in principle was "a very important step forward".

The South African Government was still finalizing its detailed response to the Angolan proposals which it would convey to the United States Government which would in turn convey it to Angola.

This could be followed by another tri-partite meeting between South Africa, Angola and the US.

Mr Botha conceded that there was a widening gulf between Pretoria and the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) whose leaders were insisting on a Lancaster House-type conference before independence and had totally rejected United Nations Resolution 435.

However, while continuing to be guided by the wishes of the SWA/Namibians, South Africa could not allow its interests to be endangered.

Asked whether South Africa was prepared to play a mediating role between Unita and the MPLA government, Mr Botha said that South Africa did not want to get involved in Angola's civil war.

"But if we are asked to mediate between Unita and the MPLA we would render what assistance we could."

Savimbi speaks on SA role

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE majority of aid keeping the rebel Unita movement alive continues to be funnelled through South Africa, according to Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader.

Dr Savimbi conceded during an interview at his Jamba headquarters on Friday that South Africa "definitely transports a multitude of goods from a wide variety of sources to Unita".

But he emphasized that should this South African lifeline be severed in the event of the implementation of UN Resolution 435 in SWA/Namibia, this would not spell the end for Unita.

"We have to accept for a fact that the implementation of 435 will create problems for Unita, but it will not cripple us.

"For those who are wondering how we will do if the traditional logistical lines through Namibia are closed off, I can assure them we will do very well."

Dr Savimbi said Unita had already arranged alternative routes to supply his army should South Africa decide to withdraw its material and logistical support.

He refused to say which alternative routes Unita had been promised but chose to emphasize that the movement had many benefactors.

"Don't think that we receive support only from South Africa — there are also many African countries and almost all petroleum-producing countries in the Gulf."

He said that support from Arab states had at times been "tremendous", with South Africa merely channelling the aid through to Unita.

Dr Savimbi also claimed that "many old friends" in Africa and Europe were coming back with support for Unita.

He said that it was a fact that in Africa "many progressive countries talk too much but the moderates do more".

"I don't mind if I receive during the day or the night — as long as I get support."



Dr Jonas Savimbi

In spite of the possibility that Unita might be frozen out of a negotiated settlement for the region, Dr Savimbi took pains to emphasize his close friendship with government leaders in South Africa, adding that he did not think South Africa would "destroy Unita".

Just how close the Unita leader perceived his movement to be to South Africa emerged when he opened the press conference for the international media on Friday.

He extended a welcome to "the South African and the foreign press".

There was certainly a great deal of evidence to drive home the South African connection at Unita's bush headquarters.

At this war-created island of prosperity, visiting journalists could sample some of South Africa's finest wines before retiring to their SADF issue beds in huts protected against tropical storms by plastic manufactured by a South African company.

The Unita troops all sported SA Army boots and even the major who welcomed journalists landing at the remote Biongue airstip in southern Angola had a Johannesburg morning newspaper tucked under his arm.

The pragmatic Unita leader admitted South Africa's policy towards Unita could well change soon, but he clearly allows himself the strong hope that the taps will not be turned off.

US to hear SA reaction to Angolan plan

STAR 15/11/84

A top United States delegation arrived in Pretoria today to hear the South African Government's response to Angolan Government proposals for a Cuban withdrawal to facilitate a Namibian settlement.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, confirmed last night that he and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, would be meeting the United States delegation led by the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, in Pretoria later today and tomorrow.

The talks will be a sequel to those between Dr Crocker and Mr Botha in the Cape Verde Islands two weeks ago, when the Americans conveyed proposals from Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos on the withdrawal of about 20 000 Cubans from his territory.

The South African Government — with United States backing — has since 1982 insisted on at least a phased withdrawal of Cubans from Angola before it is prepared to implement United Nations Resolution 435's independence plan for Namibia.

Political observers were cautiously optimistic over the new Cape Verde talks, considering the many series of past peace talks that had broken down, but pointed out that Angola's acceptance in principle of Cuban withdrawal was significant.

The specific Angolan proposals were reported to be a withdrawal of 20 000 troops while 10 000 remained to protect Luanda and the oil-rich northern province of Cabinda against guerilla units of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces.

"South Africa's response to the Angolan proposals will be conveyed and explained to the United States delegation," Mr Botha said.

According to reports from Windhoek yesterday, the proposals are reliably understood to be unacceptable to the South African Government.

It is, however, openly anxious to bring about a settlement of the Namibia issue and bargaining with the Angolans, using the Americans as a go-between, could develop.

At the weekend Dr Savimbi warned South Africa and the United States from his rebel headquarters, Jamba in south eastern Angola, that leaving him out of regional peace talks was a "grave risk".

In a related development the Joint Monitoring Commission established by South Africa and Angola in terms of the Lusaka Agreement earlier this year is due to resume talks on a South African troop pullout from southern Angola at N'Giva — about 50 km north of the border — early next week. — Sapa.

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

A long and winding road

SA troops in southern Angola were packing their bags this week to complete the final withdrawal to Namibian soil after next week's high level meeting of the SA-Angolan Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC). But it is merely the first step on what diplomats predict will be a long and winding road to a Cuban withdrawal from Angola and a SA withdrawal from Namibia.

SA's withdrawal from Angola will mean the successful conclusion of the Lusaka Agreement of February 17. It will also mean the end of an SA occupation of Angola that has lasted some eight years and has claimed the lives of many young South Africans, Namibians and Angolans.

Sources in Pretoria say SA is "anxious" to move out and the Angolans seem equally anxious to make it happen. The process of phased withdrawal has been delayed for months because of continued Swapo military activity in southern Angola. According to military sources, activity has virtually ceased.

The two components of the JMC will temporarily be based in the neighbouring border villages of Oshikango and Santa Clara.

According to the Lusaka Agreement, the JMC will have to disband 30 days after reaching the Namibia frontier. But SA is going to propose at next week's meeting at N'Giva that a more permanent body, the SA-Angola Joint Peacekeeping Commission, be formed to monitor border violations. The Angolans have already indicated that they are willing to take part in "joint border patrols" with SA.

Next week's "practical co-operation agreement" will also include an agreement on the Ruacana-Calueque water and hydro-electrical scheme on the Namibia-Angola border. Co-operation ceased when SA invaded Angola in 1975.

SA's reply

The JMC meeting will be followed by a meeting between SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha and US Under Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker, when Botha will formally give SA's reply to the Angolan government's recent proposals for a Cuban withdrawal. That will be followed by a high level meeting between SA, Angola and the US. It could all happen in the next two or three weeks, the *FM* was told.

After the tripartite meeting, the *FM* understands, the role of the US will diminish when SA and Angola start the long and rocky road to agreement on a Cuban withdrawal and Namibian independence with a series of ministerial meetings. Further peace talks between the Namibian administrator general and the Swapo leadership are also on the cards.

Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos's statement this week on his government's proposals at an independence celebration in Uige, northern Angola, is said to be much more harsh than the actual proposals given to Crocker and was obviously meant for internal Angolan consumption.



Angola's Dos Santos ... tough preconditions

It is clear there is still a vast distance between SA's position and the Angolan proposals on the timing of a Cuban withdrawal. SA's compromise seems to be that the Cubans must leave Angola at the same rate that the SA troops leave Namibia under the settlement plan contained in Resolution 435. All Cubans must be out by the time the SA troops are down to 1 500. Dos Santos said this week the Cubans will only leave Angola when the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag) are in place and SA troops down to 1 500.

But a far more serious threat to a settlement in Angola and Namibia is the strength, popularity and threatening attitude of the rebel movement Unita. Unita president Jonas Savimbi's threat this week to attack Luanda on December 20 if he is not drawn into the negotiations is taken seriously after his dramatic successes in the last few months.

SA and the US agree that Unita has become such a powerful factor, militarily as well as politically, that it must be part of a solution. But Luanda is adamant they will not talk to the "bandits." One pre-condition for a Cuban withdrawal is that SA must stop all aid to Unita. It seems the thinking in Luanda is still that Unita can be beaten if it has no SA support. Most observers agree this is wishful thinking.

Jonas Savimbi, Angolan war chief who cannot be dealt out

By ROB NUTTALL, who attended last week's meeting with Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, at his Jamba headquarters.

Jamba, South-east Angola — in this bushy corner of Angola they call him Presidente Savimbi.

When the big, bearded and genial soldier, with a flashy, silver-plated six-gun strapped to his hip, arrives for a public appearance he is preceded and followed by a convoy of fast-moving four-wheel-drive vehicles

The first vehicles lurch to a stop in clouds of dust, personal guards brandishing AK47 machine carbines leap down and then surround Dr Jonas Savimbi as he steps from his field command car.

For two hours he appears before the thronging masses, the citizens of his reedhut capital and headquarters at Jamba and during the next five hours presides at a series of press conferences for foreign journalists.

Then, long after dark, the Savimbi entourage jump back into their vehicles and roar off into the night.

Like a will-o'-the-wisp Savimbi is gone, swallowed up in the African dust and the Angolan night. Not even the journalists who, since fairly recently, have often ventured into Unita-held territory, know exactly where.

That is how it was last week when foreign correspondents were flown into Jamba to meet the Unita leader. All we saw was the magnificence of the lush Angolan bush and in Jamba itself the immediate guesthouse enclave, the picturesque bungalows marked numerically Casino 1, Casino 2 . . . For that alone the jet-setters of the world wishing "to experience Africa" would probably pay 1 000 dollars a day.

But Jamba is no holiday playground. Everything about it reveals its true nature. It is the headquarters of an army fighting a deadly civil war.

Sunk into the ground at half-metre intervals around the perimeter of the guesthouse enclave are wooden poles, about 70cm high. They might be mistaken for partly completed fences, but could equally well serve as vehicle barricades should a ground attack be launched on Jamba by the MPLA government forces.



Dr Jonas Savimbi addressing a press conference at Jamba in the south-eastern Angolan bush — despite the flashiness of his silver-plated six-gun, he is a war veteran, a war chief.

Occasionally a journalist would wander beyond the perimeter fence. He would not get far before one of the slim-hipped Unita sentries, carrying either a machine carbine or a handgun strapped to his hip, good-naturedly waved him back.

Last week's trip to Savimbi's Angola lasted two nights and one full day. It was clearly an information operation. Some have called it a public relations extravaganza. Many quietly labelled it a Unita propaganda exercise — which is more accurate.

Foreign journalists were shown what Unita wanted them to see, very little else. When a Unita truck overturned on swamp-like flats on the way to Jamba — at about 30 kilometres-an-hour, clear testimony to the atrocious condition of the bush tracks the rebels call roads — the convoy commander made unsuccessful efforts to forbid cameramen to take pictures.

The military operations briefing by Unita's chief of military intelligence, Colonel Perigrino Chindodo, gave the Unita version of the Angolan civil war. Among other statistics it reported 64 Unita soldiers missing in recent operations.

The MPLA government's official news agency, Angop, claimed from Luanda that 56 Unita rebels surrendered to government Fapla forces on November 2 and November 3. Unita's statistics ran up to November 8.

Clearly either the rebels or the Angolan government were indulging in pure propaganda — or both were exaggerating success and failure rates in the war.

Unita claims to have repulsed two major Fapla offensives this year, the latest launched by government troops since September. It admits to casualties of 231 dead, 507 wounded and the 64 men missing. It claims more than 3 000 Fapla casualties.

This in itself indicates that major clashes have taken place in central Angola. And the unmolested ease with which Unita moves through southern, central and eastern Angola indicates that indeed Unita does control large tracts of the country.

The rebels claim control of a third of Angola. Missionaries captured in towns fairly close to Luanda, and presented to the press last week, testified to having marched under cover of darkness for 19 days before reaching the liberated zone. From there it was a five-day truck trip through the bush to Jamba.

This, too, seems to support circumstantially Unita's territorial claims. Further support lies in the high morale of Unita troops at Jamba. The men are largely well-educated. Many speak their tribal language, English and Portuguese. Others can add French and Spanish.

They appear relaxed, yet vigilance is the watchword of troops based in Jamba. You simply cannot slip through the net of guards even though you are an honoured and welcome guest of Dr Savimbi.

They are friendly and happy to chat about the war, their crops, their military hardware. But ask them exactly where Jamba lies, geographically, and you get smiles and a hundred answers.

On parade the troops look what they are — professional soldiers. Not a foot is misplaced. Discipline is rigid. Off parade, in the every-day situation, a sentry approaching an officer will flex his shoulders, stiffen his arms and slap his boots into the dirt in military respect before casually addressing his superior.

But there are telltale signs that the war is wearing thin for the men of Unita. Every now and then you see a soldier whose combat boots are tied through only the top two rows of laceholes with ordinary shoelaces.

Otherwise their uniforms are immaculate. Certainly those of the officers vary, from uniformly dark combat green to denim blues with green combat shirt.

The regular troops in their light khaki combat uniforms look as neat on dusty parade as you might expect to find them in barracks.

But the average Unita vehicle is pocked with the scars of battle service.

Dr Savimbi, while insisting that he will fight to the end in his effort to unite Angola, clearly wants to negotiate.

"We fought the Portuguese for 15 years. We have fought the MPLA for nine years. After 24 years Angolans are tired of war," he says.

He insists he can now demand access to the negotiating table from a position of unprecedented strength. Unita has repulsed Cuban-supported government attacks on Unita strongholds.

Unita has sent raiding commandos into the heart of Luanda, the capital, to sink ships in the harbour and bust powerlines.

But there is a major stumbling block — the Cubans. They are a thorn in Unita's side for two major reasons.

First, their presence immediately internationalises the civil war.

Second, they provide the MPLA with an almost impenetrable curtain of defence in key MPLA strongholds.

Dr. Savimbi wants the Cubans out of Angola. Only they, he believes, stand between Unita and Luanda — and a government of national unity which will precede an Angolan government fully elected by all the people of Angola.

Cuban withdrawal is central to attempts to gain independence for Namibia and, therefore, crucial to peace in Angola itself. If, without consulting Unita, the Cubans are sent home, Unita, at the very least would make massive military advances towards the economic heartland — and control — of the country.

This seems implicit in the latest negotiating demand of Angola's President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos. One leg of his four-point plan is the cessation of all forms of support for Unita.

The inference is that a Cuban withdrawal would weaken the MPLA to the advantage of Unita — unless the negotiating parties agreed to cut Savimbi's lines of supply.

Dr Savimbi's latest and greatest fear is that the negotiating parties are now contemplating splitting Angola between Unita and the MPLA as a compromise. Should this happen he foresees disaster for Angola, hence his threat to intensify the war unless he is accepted as a negotiating partner and unless partition proposals are completely scrapped.

Yet somehow Dr. Savimbi does not seem confident that the West is particularly interested in enlisting Unita's support in reaching a settlement in Namibia.

Despite all the flashiness of his six-gun and the hundreds of metres-long cloth murals surrounding the Jamba parade ground which depict Dr. Savimbi overseeing Unita victories on the battlefield and in Angolan society, he is a war veteran, a war chief.

Right now he is finalising the establishment of alternative supply lines should South Africa cut those already feeding Unita with supplies and equipment.

And he is moving another 7 000 troops towards Luanda, ready to launch them against the MPLA and the Cubans should he be dealt out of Angola's biggest card game — the Namibian-Angolan settlement.

Date for SA withdrawal is to be set

STAR 20/11/84

By Andrew Beattie, Pretoria Bureau

The Foreign Ministers of South Africa and Angola will meet as soon as possible to set a final date for a South African troop pull-out from southern Angola.

This has emerged from negotiations between top South African and Angolan military authorities held yesterday according to a statement released by the Department of Foreign Affairs this morning.

It was decided that a ministerial meeting between South Africa and Angola should be held as soon as possible to set a final date for the move of the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) headquarters to the Namibian/Angolan border, the statement said.

In addition, "an agreement which would ensure peace and stability along the border after the completion of the JMC's functions", was set as a goal.

Cubans ready for pact on pullout

(5)
C. Times
21/11/84

HAVANA. — Highly-placed government sources have said Havana is ready to sign a four-party agreement for withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The pact between Angola, South Africa, Cuba and Swapo would be based on proposals already made by Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos.

The official Cuban Communist Party newspaper Granma has given prominence to Mr Dos Santos's proposals. It emphasized that Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola would begin when South African troops in SWA/Namibia had been scaled down to 1 500.

The newspaper also indicated that the four-party agreement would not include the withdrawal of Cuban troops from all of Angola.

Granma has stressed that the Dos Santos proposals demand the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola, the cessation of aid to the "counter-revolutionary" guerillas of Unita, the dismantling of Unita bases in SWA/Namibia and the application of UN Resolution 435 calling for a South African pullout from SWA/Namibia and recognition of SWA/Namibian independence.

UN force

Both the Dos Santos and UN plans call for a UN military force in SWA/Namibia to ensure implementation of the four-party agreement.

By the fourth month, and with South African troops in SWA/Namibia cut to no more than 1 500, the Cubans would begin repatriating their forces from the area below the 13th parallel.

Granma said the Cuban pullout would start between four and eight months after the arrival of UN forces in SWA/Namibia.

It said: "The proposal defines precisely the successive time-frame in which Cuban military forces will be withdrawn between parallels 13 and 16... From that, it can be inferred that Cuban forces situated north of parallel 13, principally in Cabinda and Luanda, are not included in this schedule for gradual withdrawal."

Granma pointed out parallel 13 was 500km from the Angolan-SWA/Namibian border and 1 700km from the SWA/Namibian-South African border.

● A meeting between South African and Angolan ministerial delegations has been proposed by officials from both countries to decide on the final withdrawal of South African troops to the border of SWA/Namibia and Angola.

'Stability'

In an announcement from Pretoria yesterday, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) at a meeting in N'giva yesterday decided that the top-level meeting should take place "as soon as possible".

Both sides were represented by top military officials, the South African Chief of the Army, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and Angola's Deputy Chief of Staff for Fapla, Lieutenant-Colonel Ngongo Monteiro.

According to the Foreign Affairs statement, the one-day talks at the JMC's present headquarters, about 50km north of the SWA/Namibian-Angolan border, also centred on what would happen after the JMC had moved back to the borderline and had completed its functions.

Particular mention was made of the giant Ruacana/Calueque scheme on the two countries' common border, and the JMC said technical experts from SWA/Namibia and Angola should meet as soon as possible to discuss matters affecting the hydro-electric scheme. — Sapa-Reuter

STAR 22/11/84 3 Frank

R20 000 donated for bursary fund

Horticultural training programme gets boost

By Maud Motanyane

The education programme of the South African Nurserymen's Association (Sana) received a substantial financial boost this week when one of its members donated R20 000 for the estalishment of a bursary fund.

Mr Tom Arnold, a nurserymen for more than 40 years, made the presentation at the 37th Sana convention held at a hotel in Sandton.

Mr Arnold presented the cheque after he and five other veteran nurserymen had been granted honorary membership of the association in recognition of their services to horticulture.

More than 200 horticulturists attended the three-day convention, the main themes of which were education, labour, mechanisation and the water crisis.

Speaking on the future of Sana, its chairman Mr Keith Kirsten said the association would have to play a greater role in the area of horticultural training and education.

"There is a shortage of both qualified and semi-qualified staff, black and white, and we will allow this situation to continue at our peril," Mr Kirsten said.

The development of a market among blacks was one of the exciting spheres ahead of the horticulture industry, he said.

Now that blacks were allowed to buy their own homes the market was growing rapidly.

"This is a market we should cherish, not by trying to grab it, but by encouraging the black entrepeneur," Mr Kirsten said.

He said the recent drought had not necessarily been a bad thing.

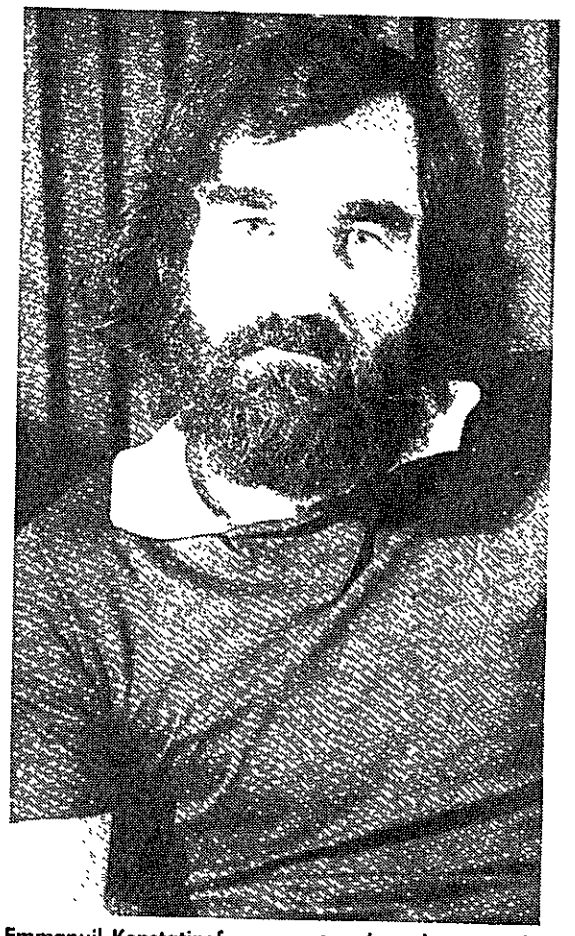
"We have come out leaner but much stronger."

The nurserymen had turned the drought disaster into a lesson in how to reduce stocks and improve marketing.





Some of the Portuguese adults and children released yesterday.



Emmanuil Konstatinof was captured at the coastal town of Sumbe.



Lazarina Dimitrova, one of three Bulgarian citizens released yesterday.

STAR 22/11/84

Unita hostages released

By Joao Santa Rita

A group of Portuguese citizens released yesterday by the Angolan rebel movement Unita will fly back to Portugal tomorrow, a spokesman for the Portuguese Consulate said.

The 11 Portuguese, including five children and four women, were released with three Bulgarians.

The release of the Bulgarian citizens, Emmanuil Konstatinof, his wife Lazarina Dimitrova and Dr Catarina Sotoianova, had been announced last week by Unita's president, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The Portuguese however said their release had come as a surprise.

"We only arrived at Jamba (Unita's main base) four days ago," said Mr Leopoldo Rodrigues Gomes.

He was captured in Quibala on June 18 after Unita forces over-ran the town.

"For 95 days we just walked. Don't ask me where we were. I never knew," said Mr Gomes.

He said there had been fierce fighting in the town and the town's airport had been burnt down."I don't know how many people were killed although I saw two policemen who had been shot by Unita," he said.

All hostages said they had been well treated and appeared to be in good health.

Mr Konstatinof said he and his wife had no intention of returning to Angola.

They were captured in the coastal town of Sumbe where they were teaching maths and physics at the local industrial institute.

Dr Sotoianova was a paediatrician in the same town. They all flew to Zurich last night from where they are expected to fly home to Bulgaria today.

However Mr Antonio Goncalves, who was captured in Quibala, said he had no option but to return to Angola.

"I have lived in that country for 34 years. I have nothing in Portugal. My family is in Luanda so I must go back," he said.

The hostages arrived at Jan Smuts airport shortly before 3 pm yesterday aboard a chartered Red Cross plane.

International Red Cross spokesman Mr Phillip Comtesse said he did not know if Unita was holding any other hostages.

"We only play a technical part in this kind of operation. Dr Savimbi informs us he is going to release hostages and we send a plane. This time we were only expecting 11 and we got 14 which is nice. But officially I don't know if there are any other hostages," he said.

ANGOLA (5)

Ministers to meet

FM 23/11/84

SA and Angola have agreed to meet soon at ministerial level to finalise the withdrawal of the last SA troops from Angola and decide on a more permanent peace-keeping body to "ensure peace and stability" once the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) has withdrawn to the Angola/Namibia border

Meanwhile, US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker continued his tour of southern Africa to brief heads of state on the latest Angolan/Namibian developments. Crocker embarked on his odyssey after receiving SA's reply to Angola's proposals for a Cuban withdrawal. It is expected that he will formally relay the reply to the Angolans in the next fortnight.

At a JMC meeting at N'Giva in Angola this week, SA Army chief Jannie Geldenhuys and Angolan Chief of Staff Ngongo Monteiro agreed to advise their governments that a ministerial meeting was necessary to take the final decisions on the



Army's Geldenhuys ... calling for a ministerial meeting

(5) FM 23/11/84

JMC and that technical experts of the two countries should meet to discuss the future of the Ruacana-Calueque hydro-electrical scheme.

The Angolans were asked to propose a date and place for the meeting, but the *FM* understands it will take place very soon and will probably be held at Cape Verde. However, the Angolans may decide to await SA's reply to their Cuban withdrawal proposals before setting up the meeting. A tripartite SA/US/Angolan meeting is then expected to be held to negotiate the Cuban withdrawal.

Pik confirms SA proposals for Cuban pull-out

STAR 26/11/84 (5)

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has confirmed as correct the details of South African counter-proposals on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, which were published in a number of Sunday newspapers yesterday.

He said in Pretoria he had no choice but to make the confirmation in the light of the wide publicity the Angolan Government had given its own proposals.

It was, however, a pity that the Angolans had gone out of their way to publicise the proposals made to South Africa through the US at the Cape Verde Islands earlier this month.

"These actions place in question the Luanda Government's ability to conduct serious negotiations," Mr Botha said.

The South African Government had strictly adhered to its undertaking not to make the proposals known.

According to the reports, the South African counter-proposals include:

- Angola must agree to controlling Swapo activity in the border area and to the establishment of a peace-keeping commission.
- Cuban forces must all be out of Angola 12 weeks after the beginning of implementation of UN Resolution 435.
- Angola must provide details of Cuban force deployment in Angola.
- A joint verification committee must be set up with full freedom to operate in Angola and Namibia.

With US backing South Africa has, since 1982, insisted on a withdrawal of the estimated 30 000 Cubans in Angola before it is prepared to implement the UN Independence Plan for Namibia.

PRINCIPLES

The broad principles of the Angolan proposals conveyed to South Africa at the Cape Verde Islands are:

- Withdrawal of remaining SADF members from Southern Angola.
- A formal declaration by South Africa of intention to implement Resolution 435.
- A cease-fire between Swapo and South Africa in Namibia.
- A formal declaration by the Angolan Government of its intention to repatriate Cuban combat forces in its territory.
- Participation by the UN in these processes.

Details proposed by the Angolans involve a phased Cuban retirement and eventual repatriation to correspond with a South African pull-out.

The specific phases proposed by the Angolans are:

- At the beginning of implementation the Cubans will be pulled back north of Parallel 16.
- At the end of two years, all the Cubans will be north of Parallel 13.
- After 36 months, 5 000 will remain around Luanda and will be linked to 10 000 others in the north. — Sapa.

Paris tipped as talks venue

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — The French capital is one of three favoured venues for the planned final talks on a Namibian settlement, according to Western diplomatic sources here.

Other possible sites are Geneva or Zurich, or a moderate black African state such as Ivory Coast.

It is understood that top-level talks between South Africa and Angola were held here at the end of September and that one of the topics discussed was a possible venue for final talks expected to start early next year.

French diplomatic sources have revealed that Mr Kito Rodrigues, the Interior Minister, headed the Angolan mission at the September talks.

The name of the South African negotiator has been withheld but South African embassy sources have confirmed the presence in Paris at that time of Mr Johann van Dalsen, the Director General of Foreign Affairs and former ambassador in Paris.

The sources also confirmed that Mr van Dalsen met Mr Jean Ausseil, director general for African affairs in the French Foreign Ministry.

French diplomatic sources see as significant a development in Cuba in which for the past three months the Government has been mobilising old men, women and children to dig air-raid trenches and bunkers to oppose "an American invasion".

The French believe this to be the cover story which will enable President Fidel Castro to pull his troops out of Angola to defend the motherland.

Angola says rapid Cuban withdrawal is 'suicidal'

CAPE Times 28/11/86

From STANLEY UYS

LONDON. — South Africa and Angola have "a long haul ahead" in their negotiations over a Cuban withdrawal, Western diplomats have said in London.

This is their interpretation of the weekend flare-up between South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and Angola over the Angolan disclosure — in a full-page advertisement in the London Times on Saturday — of its supposedly confidential negotiating position.

Western diplomatic sources are not unduly alarmed by Mr Botha's outburst over the disclosure, which they view as being part of his flamboyant style, but they concede that the two negotiating positions, as revealed in the weekend exchange, show that a wide gulf still has to be bridged.

Mr Botha's position is that the Cuban force in Angola should be reduced to 8 000 within nine weeks, and be withdrawn from the country entirely within 12 weeks.

Angola's position is that it would be "suicidal" to accede to South Africa's demands.

It is insisting on the withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola and the withdrawal of the entire South African air force from SWA/Namibia and all South African troops except 1 500 infantrymen.

Only then will Angola withdraw 5 000 Cuban troops from southern Angola, followed by the remaining Cuban troops in the south over a maximum period of three years.

The Angolan advertisement makes the interesting admission that there are 20 000 Cuban troops in southern Angola alone.

The remaining Cuban troops — mainly in Luanda and Cabinda — will be withdrawn "when the time comes". The advertisement does not reveal how many Cuban troops are in Luanda and Cabinda, but other sources suggest there may be 10 000, giving a total of 30 000 in Angola.

Western diplomats agree that on the face of it the negotiating positions of the two countries appear to be far apart but they claim that at least they are negotiating "in the same context".

Other observers take a more sceptical view of the prospects of agreement being reached over a Cuban withdrawal. They accuse Western diplomats of "persistently false optimism" over the Angolan-Namibia situation.

The first Angolan ambassador to Britain is due to present his credentials to the Queen today. He is Elisio Avila de Jesus Figueiredo, who has been Angola's ambassador to the UN since 1976. He is expected to remain resident in New York. Britain and Angola established diplomatic relations in 1977.

A British Foreign Office spokesman said the accreditation of an Angolan ambassador in London "indicated an increasing closeness between the two countries".

The United States still refuses to enter into diplomatic relations with Angola. It wants to see the Cubans return home before it is prepared to consider a diplomatic exchange.

Castro wants a Cuban rearguard to stay in Angola

By
COLIN McSEVENY

HAVANA. — President Fidel Castro's government has convinced its Angolan allies that a Cuban military rearguard must remain in Angola years after any agreement with South Africa over the independence of Namibia, according to Cuban and diplomatic sources.

An official Angolan declaration, made public last week, said a staged withdrawal of 20 000 Cuban troops over three years would begin only after the United Nations had assumed interim control of the territory from South Africa.

But the declaration, sent as a letter from President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola to the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, made clear all the estimated 30 000 Cuban troops in Angola would not leave even after neighbouring SWA/Namibia achieved independence.

"Angola cannot make concessions which amount to suicide for its national integrity and socio-political development," said President Dos Santos in explaining why some Cubans had to stay on.

The Marxist government in Luanda had originally been leaning towards accepting South African and United States demands for a complete Cuban withdrawal until swayed by increased pressure from Havana, the sources said

Bitter experience

Cuban government sources said President Castro is convinced that an early withdrawal of troops from Angola would lead to the downfall of the government and its replacement by a pro-Western regime.

Such a blow to President Castro's "internationalist" policies would be unacceptable here, particularly after almost 10 years of Cuban effort and loss of life and with the bitter experience of Grenada still fresh in mind, the sources said.

The Caribbean island was invaded a year ago by United States-led troops after a bloody political upheaval unforeseen by the Cuban mission there.

Crack Cuban troops have supported the Angolan authorities against South African incursions and attacks by rightist rebels since the country gained independence from Portugal in 1975. Their presence has infuriated the United States and South Africa, which refuses to leave SWA/Namibia until they withdraw.

The government sources here estimated that at least 1 000 Cuban soldiers and civilian workers had been killed in Angola, although no official figures are available.

Under the latest Angolan proposals, troops not covered by the agreement would remain in the north, well away from the southern SWA/Namibian border, until Cuba and Angola "exercising their sovereign rights, decide on a withdrawal". No time limit was mentioned.

Cuban opposition to a full withdrawal was spelt out by President Castro when President Dos Santos visited Havana last March after Angola and South Africa had signed a ceasefire agreement which appeared to open the doors to an eventual settlement of the long-running Namibian problem, the sources said

For its part, Angola rejects the so-called "linkage" of a Cuban pull-out to Namibian independence and has repeatedly called for Pretoria first to leave SWA/Namibia and end its support for the Unita insurgents led by Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Diplomatic efforts to find a solution have intensified in recent months with numerous meetings of representatives of Angola, South Africa and the United States

Threat is removed

But Cuba has not been invited to take part in the talks, an apparent snub which has annoyed the Castro government, according to Havana-based Western diplomats.

Its influence over the Angolan government is considerable, however, as implied in comments made last week by Cuban Vice-Foreign Minister, Mr Jorge Bolanos. "What Angola is doing is these negotiations is perfectly co-ordinated with Cuba," Mr Bolanos said.

Cuba seems determined to ensure it does not "lose" Angola in anything resembling a repeat of Grenada.

Their understanding of Angola leads the Cubans to believe that the government is too weak and under too much pressure from Dr Savimbi's rebels to survive even after the South African threat is removed, the sources said.

President Dos Santos admitted that Angola's security forces would initially be unable to fill the gap left by the Cubans and that a rearguard would have to remain around the capital and in the vital oil-producing enclave of Cabinda "to protect against any aggression from the north"

A withdrawal, partial or otherwise, would be popular with many Cubans, judging from personal contacts in a country where public opinion is channelled only through official outlets.

But Mr Bolanos insisted that Cuba was not tired of its commitment. "It is not like Vietnam. We are not there to fight against the people of Angola or impose a regime," he said. — Sapa-Reuter



President Fidel Castro



Mr Pik Botha

SA spells out demands for a Cuban withdrawal

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — South Africa has countered the settlement offer of President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola by spelling out stringent demands for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

But it has told the United Nations that "broad agreement on the general political principles" had been reached.

Point-by-point counter proposals presented to the Secretary-General of the UN, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, detail an exhaustive verification procedure to accompany a speedy and total withdrawal of Cuban forces.

While Angola proposed a staggered withdrawal over three years, South Africa is insisting that it be complete within the first 12 weeks of the seven-month independence process of the UN settlement plan.

South Africa also wants Angola to turn over a full list of all Cubans stationed in Angola, plus a list of all communist-bloc advisers in the country, including their location and function.

The Cubans must not be replaced by any other foreign forces and the number of advisers must be held at the level that existed in 1978, when the UN settlement plan was first spelt out.

To ensure all this, Pretoria wants a "joint verification commission" with freedom of movement throughout Angola.

On one point regarded as crucial by Luanda, the South African proposals are silent — nowhere do they address the Angolan demand that Pretoria "commit itself from the very start to cease all support Unita".

President Dos Santos had further insisted that the UN verify the dismantling of Unita bases, which he maintained were inside SWA/Namibia.

The Dos Santos proposals, already made public, and the nine-point South African counter-proposals were issued simultaneously by the UN and were swiftly followed by a private meeting between the Secretary-General and South African Ambassador, Mr Kurt von Schirnding.

Mr Von Schirnding said he wanted to sound out the UN chief's feelings on issues in general.

He echoed the concern expressed by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and called Angola's decision to go public at this stage "surprising and difficult to understand".

In a note accompanying the counter-proposals, Mr Botha questioned Mr Dos Santos's good faith and charged that his public stance "deviates in important aspects" from the proposals conveyed to South Africa in Cape Verde on October 31.

But there was no suggestion of breaking off the negotiations. Instead, the South African proposals urge that the Joint Monitoring Commission meet as soon as possible to complete the South African disengagement from Angola and to set up a joint peacekeeping commission.

EDUARDO DOS SANTOS

Speaking for Angola

Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos is more than usually in the news in the current diplomatic fracas over negotiations on Cuban-SA troop withdrawals. But what kind of man is he?

Diplomats abroad get angry at the tags pinned on the president "He is not pro-Soviet, he is not changing to become pro-Western. he is pro-Angola ... a patriot. That's what people don't seem to understand," fumed one over interpretations of Dos Santos's dealings with the US and SA.

This was certainly the Angolan leader's theme when he went public in a £11 000 full-page advertisement in *The Times*, London, with a plea to the United Nations (UN) last week. Much as it annoyed SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the core of the Dos Santos appeal was survival: "Angola cannot make concessions which would be suicidal to its national integrity ..."

Now only 42, Dos Santos has been involved in Angolan nationalist politics since he was a teenager. The son of a stonemason, he joined the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in the late Fifties. When Portugal clamped down on the nationalists in 1961, Dos Santos was among a group who fled to the Belgian Congo, and then onto Brazzaville.

Two years later he went to Russia, graduating as a petroleum engineer at the Baku Petroleum and Gas Institute in 1969. With the blessing of the Soviet authorities, he became a leading political organiser among the Third World students and followed his degree with a one-year course in military telecommunications

Despite his time in the Soviet Union, his student activities and the interest shown in him by KGB talent-spotters, there is evidence that Dos Santos returned to Angola little impressed by the Soviet model of political and economic development — and a long way from being the Kremlin's man in Luanda. He's described as highly pragmatic and is said to favour a mixed economy with a definite role for the private sector.

Back in Africa, he ran the MPLA's communications on the northern front of the independence war before moving up the party hierarchy and switching into diplomacy. A close ally of President Agostinho Neto, Dos Santos became Minister of External Affairs on independence in 1975, leading Angola into the Organisation of African Unity and, after a struggle, the UN.

Other jobs included education and economic planning plus the deputy premiership. Dos Santos married a Russian woman but, unable to adapt to life in Angola, she left him to return to Moscow in 1978.



Dos Santos ... a plea for survival

Neto's death

Within 24 hours of the death of Agostinho Neto in September 1979, Dos Santos was elected president and commander-in-chief of the armed forces (Fapla)

His rise to power drew dire predictions that Angola would be completely "Sovietised" But Dos Santos, a quietly-spoken, 18-hour a day worker who likes to play soccer for relaxation, confounded most of his critics He has had to steer a careful path through the ideological and tribal minefield which makes up the MPLA — consolidating his power base in the process.

Impatient with the slowness in resolving Angola's security, economic and social problems (90% of the 10m people are illiterate). Dos Santos showed his strength by dismissing Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge, who consistently opposed any concessions on the presence of Cuban troops.

But no-one who knows Dos Santos sees

(5) FM 30/11/84

this move to break the deadlock as a surrender. While preaching national reconciliation for the rank-and-file supporters of Unita or the FNLA, he is unforgiving of its leaders. He recently said he did not believe Unita commander Jonas Savimbi "would have the courage to present himself to our population here in Luanda."

Nor is his flexibility anything new. While resentful that the US ties diplomatic recognition to Cuban withdrawal, Dos Santos points out that at a commercial level there is important economic co-operation between the two countries. Angolan and US companies are linked in the oil industry; Luanda buys Boeing aircraft; and "we sell oil, coffee and other goods to the US," he said.

"In a climate of peace ... co-operation could be developed provided it was fair and based on mutual advantage. We are not a closed country. We are a non-aligned country," he told a recent interviewer.

As for long-term relations with SA, Dos Santos always points out that there are 1 200 km separating the Angola-Namibia border from the Orange River.

"We believe we could live in a climate of tolerance as soon as Namibia is independent. We do not like apartheid. The majority of the South African people must participate in political power ... the only way out we can see is recognition of the ANC and talks with it ... to solve the conflict. Of course this is a South African problem."



James ... developing low-density hig

RICHARD JAMES

On the map

At 32, Richard James is the youngest chairman and chief executive of any quoted company on the JSE. But last week's listing of Burad Securities was not his first. He's also non-executive chairman of Burad Holdings International, a British company which has trebled in size and more than doubled its share price since its UK listing last year.

The youthful Briton, often described as the man who put Parktown on the map, has been responsible for the development of 10 buildings in the area. "In value terms, we're probably the most active office developer in the northern suburbs," he says.

"We've certainly done more schemes in Parktown than anyone else and soon we'll be the largest developer in Sandton. In the last four years, we've completed 12 projects in SA worth R150m and have projects worth R400m scheduled for the next four years."

James started his British company (when he was 24) with one other founder member. "In 1983, we took over a company quoted on the UK over-the-counter market which had a small property investment portfolio and no management," James explains. "Then we changed its name — a similar strategy to our reverse takeover of Aliana in SA.

"Aliana was a cash shell with no operational businesses or their concomitant headaches. From a logistical viewpoint, it was easy to reverse our operation into it and apply its only asset, cash, for our expansion."

Though Burad's presence has already been felt in the US through its UK parent, James will be opening a SA subsidiary in Los Angeles straight after Christmas. Shortly afterwards he'll be hitting the US "in a small way with one or two office developments; then one or two mixed-use parks." But that's not all he'll be spending Christmas investigating Australia's investment potential.

Rural roots

James likes the great outdoors and reckons that his rural Hertfordshire roots have been a strong influence on Burad's preference for low-density highly landscaped schemes. He decided to invest in SA after numerous Christmas holidays sunning himself on the Cape beaches at the invitation of Antony Labia, a close friend with whom he worked in London and who is today a Burad director.

It didn't take long before the unmarried James was completely seduced by "all the ingredients of a pleasant lifestyle — the people, the sport and the weather. In economic cycle terms, there were also obvious opportunities in SA: the gold price was running strongly and looked as if it was going to fuel a buoyant period — and there wasn't much local competition. There was also an obvious property vacuum, particularly in

We won't drop Savimbi, says Reagan

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi will not be abandoned by the United States, President Ronald Reagan insisted in an interview with the conservative Washington Times published yesterday.

Asked whether the SWA/Namibia settlement currently being brokered by Dr Chester Crocker, the assistant Secretary of State for Africa, meant betraying Unita, the President replied, "No-one wants to do that".

"Certainly (Dr Savimbi) has to figure in the whole negotiations. No, we're not going to turn on him, we're not going to turn on him."

These remarks appeared to conflict with the State Department's position that the Angolan civil war is an internal matter that must be dealt with separately from the SWA/Namibian independence/Cuban withdrawal talks.

Mr Reagan appeared to realize this and quickly corrected himself, adding "but somehow there has to be a negotiation that involves the situation domestically in Angola."

He also seemed to suggest that Pretoria might be raising a new precondition for implementation of UN Resolution 435 — a guarantee that the territory will not move into the Soviet orbit after independence.

"South Africa is willing for Namibia to become independent, but not while on the northern border sits Angola with the Cubans, and the possibility remains of Namibia becoming another satellite of the communist bloc."

The President had praise for Dr Crocker's negotiating efforts: "He's made quite a bit of progress. For the first time Angola has made a declaration that they are prepared to bring about the (Cuban) withdrawal."

He also stated that his administration was prepared to grant Luanda diplomatic recognition as part of an overall package on Cuban withdrawal: "I think that would be part of the whole negotiations that are going on."

Throughout the interview, the President appeared to be caught between his own instincts and the detailed policy briefings he has received from the State Department.

US conservatives, goaded into renewed action by Dr Savimbi and his Washington representative, Mr Jeremias Chitunda, are increasingly critical of Dr Crocker who, they charge, is trying to cast off a potentially key ally in the region for the sake of a SWA/Namibia settlement that will, in their view, inevitably result in a Marxist takeover of the territory.

US resumes top-level talks in Angola

(5) Star 4/12/84

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A top United States official is in Angola trying to close the negotiating gap between South Africa and Angola on the Namibian settlement process.

This was disclosed by Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, when he briefed correspondents at the White House yesterday after a meeting with President Reagan.

Dr Crocker said his deputy, Mr Frank Wisner, was in Angola for the next round of Namibian settlement negotiations.

He indicated that these were aimed at closing the gap between Pretoria and Luanda on the timing and sequence of the withdrawal of the South African and Cuban troops.

Dr Crocker appeared to suggest that the United States would reject any move by South Africa to make a Namibian settlement conditional on Unita being accommodated in a settlement of the Angolan civil war.

There has been speculation recently that South Africa might make such an attempt.

Dr Crocker did not refer directly to this speculation.

But he appeared to be making an indirect reference to it when he ruled out Unita being accommodated in an overall settlement as some sort of precondition.

In answer to a question Dr Crocker said South Africa's relationship with Unita had been discussed under the latest proposals put forward by Angola.

The Angolans obviously had concerns about their security and sovereignty, he added, and the United States believed they could and would be addressed in the context of implementing the overall settlement plan for Namibia, not as some form of precondition.

(5) CAPE TIMES 13/12/84

Angola an 'advance Soviet base'

Defence Reporter

THE large Cuban presence in Angola — said to number 30 575 men — is "obviously (there) to develop an advance base for Soviet domination of Southern Africa", according to the latest edition of the authoritative Jane's Defence Weekly.

JDW says nearly 54 000 Cuban servicemen are stationed in 18 African countries, their main aim being to promote Russian domination of the continent. "The main motive behind Cuba's involvement in Angola is (Dr Fidel) Castro's commitment to the international communist cause", it adds. "Cuba is furthermore committed to implementation of Soviet strategy, especially in the Third World."

The main Cuban aims in Angola, JDW says, are as follows:

● Securing the position of the Marxist-oriented MPLA government, and in so doing maintaining Soviet interests;

● Securing a safe base and training area for the African National Congress and Swapo in their war against South Africa and SWA/Namibia;

● Securing work for otherwise unemployed Cubans, and thereby providing an income for Cuba.

Moscow paid for Cuban foreign deployment, JDW added, while the Cubans benefited from Russian subsidies. At the same time Cuba's forces were equipped with sophisticated weapons, and it earned foreign capital through its exports to the countries where its forces are deployed.

JDW breaks down Cuban force deployments in Angola into 16 motorized infantry regiments, one anti-aircraft brigade, one medium artillery regiment, about 500 air force personnel, about 1 000 military advisers and instructors, and about 400 men involved in medical and logistic services.

Its figures were provided by the South West Africa Territory Force, although "exact geographical locations have been omitted for operational reasons, and an additional comment made by the Force is that with their military professionalism there is no need to exaggerate any aspects of the Cuban 'threat' ".

JDW adds the Cuban forces tried to avoid direct combat involvement during operations involving Unita rebels or South Africans, and are "withdrawn from combat zones when South African or Unita attacks are expected". The Cubans were becoming "increasingly unpopular" with Angolan troops, who were "compelled to do the real fighting and to suffer serious casualties".

This declining relationship had negatively affected the operational value of the Cuban forces and by this year Cuban and Angolan troops had become rigidly segregated in certain units.

According to JDW other African countries with large Cuban contingents are Ethiopia (8 000 men); Congo-Brazzaville (3 000); Libya (2 000); Mozambique (700 troops and 1 400 civilians); Guinea (750 military advisers/instructors); and Sierra Leone (400 advisers/ instructors).

JMC proposes withdrawal be finalised

PRETORIA — A meeting between South African and Angolan ministerial delegations has been proposed to decide on the final withdrawal of South African troops to the border of SWA/Namibia and Angola.

In an announcement from Pretoria today, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said the Joint Monitoring Commission at a meeting in N'giva yesterday decided that the top-level meeting should take place "as soon as possible".

The ministerial talks should also "reach an agreement which would ensure peace and stability along the SWA/Namibian-Angolan border after the completion of the JMC's functions", the JMC decided.

The meeting yesterday was the first in several months after what appeared to be a breakdown in negotiations on a South African Defence Force withdrawal from Angolan territory.

The gradual withdrawal of South African troops was stopped at N'Giva a few months ago when South African claimed Swapo activity in the area was not being prevented by Angolan forces, in contravention of January's Lusaka Agreement.

In the wake of renewed talks between the Angolan and South African governments, using the United States as a go-between, on the withdrawal of 30 000 Cuban troops from Angola, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, announced recently the JMC would be meeting again before November 15.

This, however had to be postponed to yesterday due to logistic and practical problems on the Angolan side.

Towards the end of last year, the SADF mounted a massive operation, codenamed "Askari" to penetrate southern Angola up to Cuvelai to wreck an imminent Swapo offensive with some 800 guerillas into SWA/Namibia.

At yesterday's meeting both sides were represented by top military officials, South African Chief of the Army, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and Angola's deputy Chief of Staff for FAPLA, Lieutenant-Colonel Ngongo Monteiro.

According to the Foreign Affairs statement, the one-day talks at the JMC's present headquarters, about 50 kilometres north of the SWA/Namibian-Angolan border, also centred on what would happen after the JMC had moved back to the borderline and had completed its functions.

Particular mention was made of the Ruacana/Calueque scheme on the two countries' common border. The JMC said technical experts from SWA/Namibia and Angola should meet as soon as possible to discuss matters affecting the giant hydro-electric scheme

Meanwhile, Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, yesterday condemned the United States Administration and accused it of creating false hopes that there was some progress in the search for SWA/Namibian independence.

At a Press conference at the United Nations Institute for Namibia, flanked by the Swapo acting vice-president, Mr Hendrick Witbooi, he also attacked the US and South Africa over the linkage issue.

Mr Nujoma also condemned a decision to make all Namibians between the ages of 17 and 55 eligible for military conscription, saying this was "yet another flagrant violation and arrogant defiance of the wishes and aspirations of the majority of our people".

He claimed this was in preparation for a unilateral declaration of independence to prevent the implementation of UN Resolution 435 and to sow the seeds of civil war.

Unita would cease to exist once Swapo took over because it would no longer be allowed to operate from Namibia, he said.

Mr Nujoma also met the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, and claimed afterwards that he had not been told the substance of newest proposals made by Angola and South Africa.

In Zambia, Dr Crocker met President Kenneth Kaunda. Afterwards he flew to Zimbabwe for talks with the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe.

No statement was issued afterwards but it is understood Mr Mugabe stressed his total rejection of the US support for the "linkage" of a Cuban withdrawal from Angola to a South African military pullback from SWA/Namibia.

Dr Crocker flew out of Harare this morning for Maputo, maintaining silence on the latest developments toward a settlement of the SWA/Namibia issue.

Sources said Dr Crocker's reluctance to comment stemmed from not having spoken to the Angolans about their reported compromise and not having seen the complete text of South Africa's response.

He returns to Washington tomorrow. — Sapa

Angolan 'non-events' block peace efforts

Cape Times 27/12/84 (5)

Defence Reporter

MILITARY events — or rather non-events — in Angola remain the main stumbling-block to ending the SWA/Namibian war after 18 years of sporadic fighting.

It is clearer now than ever before that a political settlement has no chance of being born till the military situation in the two countries has been sorted out — and at year's end there is little sign of this happening soon.

Far from being a simple issue, as so many people believe, the wider war on both sides of the border is an almost insoluble tangle of conflicting strategic and tactical interests.

About all that the South Africans and Angolans agree on is that the region needs peace. What they do not agree on is the texture and nature of this peace.

South Africa, for example, is willing to co-exist with Swapo, but only if the movement is willing to lay down its arms and take part in the internal political process.

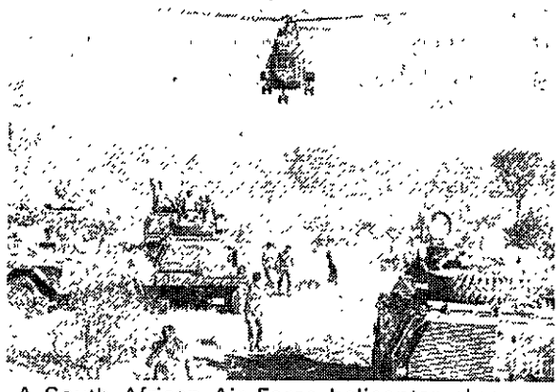
Swapo is not willing to do this, although the combined effects of the Joint Monitoring Commission and unrelenting security force pressure has reduced it to almost total military impotence at the present time.

Angola, on the other hand, appears unwilling to exert full leverage on Swapo to stop its southward activities.

Although Swapo can largely be neutralized in SWA/Namibia by dint of unceasing security force activity, the only way in which the movement can be permanently defused is by inducing Angola's MPLA government to cut off all the support it has provided to the insurgents since 1976.

This is unlikely to happen, however. Sources in Windhoek point out the MPLA cannot neutralize Swapo because the movement is critically important to it.

The Angolan Government's first priority is survival in the face of the determined onslaught by Unita, and it leans heavily on the Cubans and Swapo.



A South African Air Force helicopter plunges groundwards to pick up wounded soldiers during a raid deep into Angola — Operation Sceptic in 1980. Picture: Willem Steenkamp

The Cubans' main military contribution consists of safeguarding base areas and providing training and support services — most of the Angolans' combat flying, for example, is carried out by Cubans.

Swapo, on the other hand, is intimately involved in the actual fighting. Of about 8 500 trained Swapo fighters, military sources say, no less than 48 percent are permanently and exclusively committed to the anti-Unita effort.

Another 40 percent or so are permanently engaged in guarding the Angolan infrastructure, while a mere 11 to 13 percent are concerned with SWA/Namibia.

As a result, the Angolans dare not deactivate or demoralize the Swapo war machine for the sake of stopping infiltration into SWA/Namibia; one does not kill the proverbial goose in order to stop it laying one particular golden egg while the others are still needed.

Military sources have no doubt that given the choice, the Angolans would prefer a Swapo victory in SWA/Namibia — not so much for ideological reasons as for an urgent desire to safeguard their flanks from Unita.

It follows therefore that till the MPLA and Unita reach an accommodation, there seems to be little chance of an end to the Swapo armed insurrection.

The problem is the method by which such an accommodation can be reached. The sources say there is little chance of open negotiations, because this would imply official recognition of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

From a propaganda viewpoint this would be disastrous, as a result of Dr Savimbi's widespread and apparently ever-expanding popular support — in recent months his agents have carried out several sabotage actions in Luanda itself which left the capital without power and water for days at a time.

The MPLA has traditionally played down Unita actions, often attributing its successes to South African raiders, even when this was manifestly untrue.

The sources believe the MPLA's ruling echelons are split into three groups — those willing to negotiate with Unita, those who are not, and a middle group led by President Eduardo dos Santos which is trying to maintain unity.

It is possible, the sources say, that if the Angolan security situation deteriorates significantly the pro-negotiation group would attempt a "breakaway accommodation" with the Unita leader.

The sources add, however, that no vast change appears likely before the end of the rainy season around March or April of 1985, when the Angolans usually launch an anti-Unita drive. A recent sweep just before the rainy season in late 1984 achieved nothing.

Prof sees little hope for end to Angola war

MPLA-Unita accord is not likely — expert

STAR 27/12/84 (5)

By Gerald L'Ange,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The possibility of an accord between Angola's MPLA government and the Unita rebels — seen by some analysts as the key to a settlement in Namibia — is discounted by an American expert.

Professor John Marcum sees no end to the Angolan civil war even if the Cuban troop issue is resolved and Namibia gets independence.

Professor Marcum, who is making an intensive examination of Southern African, recently visited Angola, the Soviet Union, Namibia, South Africa and Zambia.

His views on the Angolan situation — and Soviet attitudes to it — are given in a paper published by the African Studies Programme of the Georgetown University Centre for Strategic and International Studies.

His gloomy view of the prospects for peace in the region counter the optimism of Dr Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, on the progress towards a Namibia settlement.

A former academic vice-chancellor of the University of California, the professor has written books on Angola and South Africa.

In the paper, Professor Marcum says the most effective fighting against Unita guerillas in central Angola has been conducted recently by Swapo forces operating on behalf of the Luanda government.

He analyses Soviet attitudes and suggests that if the Soviet Union is faced with a sudden decline of its influence in Angola it may feel forced to respond with "a massive infusion of weapons and surrogate troops".

RETALIATE

Professor Marcum reports the Luanda government has warned Zaire it will retaliate, possibly by promoting a third Katangese invasion of Shaba province, if Zaire becomes a major arms channel and logistical support base for Unita.

He says the MPLA is firmly opposed to any accord with South Africa similar to Pretoria's Nkomati agreement with Mozambique, and refuses to stop its support for the ANC.

And he notes that "Free Mandela" T-shirts are common in Luanda, where there are rumours of an ANC military camp "somewhere in the interior".

The professor says that by insisting on tying a Namibian settlement to the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435, Luanda hopes to ensure Swapo will win an independence election in Namibia.

But Unita might survive an agreement between Luanda and Pretoria that sharply reduced South Africa's assistance to the rebels, he said.

Among factors contributing to Unita's survival, the professor included Saudi and other Middle Eastern oil money, and Zambian and Zairean willingness to ignore Unita crossing their borders.

"Soviet observers, among others, view the role of Zaire as increasingly significant," he says.

The professor says Luanda appears to believe that a limited agreement entailing the mutual withdrawal of Cuban and South African forces and an end to South African assistance to Unita will enable it within a few years to "push back and marginalise Unita insurgency".

Luanda believes if this agreement were coupled with US diplomatic recognition and economic aid, it would be able to deliver the goods and services needed to win over Unita's civilian and military followers.

Cuba doesn't want to 'lose' Angola

E. Post 29/12/84

Disclosures last week about the Angolan Government proposals for a Cuban troop withdrawal have angered the South African Government, which says a negotiated agreement will now be more difficult to achieve. The two sides have agreed in principle to a Cuban pull-out, but the timescales proposed are vastly different. In a report from Havana COLIN MCSEVENY says the Castro Government persuaded Angola that a Cuban military rearguard must remain in Angola for years to protect it against the Unita rebels.

FIDEL Castro's Government has convinced its Angolan allies that a Cuban military rearguard must remain in Angola years after any agreement with South Africa over the independence of Namibia, according to Cuban and diplomatic sources.

An official Angolan declaration, made public last week, said a staged withdrawal of 20 000 Cuban troops over three years could begin only after the United Nations had assumed interim control of the territory from South Africa.

But the declaration, sent as a letter from President Eduardo dos Santos to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, made clear all the estimated 30 000 Cuban troops in Angola would not leave even after neighbouring Namibia achieved independence.

In terms of the Angolan proposals, the remaining 10 000 Cubans would be kept in the north of the country until the Angolan Government was "satisfied that its stability and security is no longer threatened".

"Angola cannot make concessions which amount to suicide for its national integrity and socio-political development," said Dos Santos in explaining why some Cubans had to stay on.

The Marxist Government in Luanda had originally been leaning towards accepting South African and United States demands for a complete Cuban withdrawal until swayed by increased pressure from Havana, the sources said.

They say Castro is convinced an early withdrawal of troops from Angola would lead to the downfall of the government and its replacement by a pro-Western regime such as Unita.

Such a blow to Castro's "internationalist" policies would be unacceptable here, particularly after almost 10 years of Cuban effort and loss of life and with the bitter experience of Grenada still fresh in mind, the sources said. The Caribbean island was invaded a year ago by US-led troops after a bloody political upheaval unforeseen by the Cuban mission there.

Crack Cuban troops have supported the Angolan authorities against South African incursions and attacks by the Unita rebels since the country gained independence from Portugal in 1975. Their presence has infuriated the United States and South Africa, which refuses to leave Namibia or implement UN-backed independence for the territory until a withdrawal is underway.

The Government sources here estimated that at least 1 000 Cuban soldiers and civilian workers had been killed in Angola, although no official figures are available.

Under the latest Angolan proposals, troops not covered by the agreement would remain in the north, well away from the Namibian border, until Cuba and Angola "exercising their sovereign rights, decide on a withdrawal". No time limit was mentioned.

Cuban opposition to a full withdrawal was spelt out by President Castro when Dos Santos visited Havana last March after Angola and South Africa had signed a ceasefire agreement which appeared to open the doors to an eventual settlement of the long-running Namibian problem, the sources said.

Diplomatic efforts to find a solution intensified in recent months with numerous meetings of representatives of Angola, South Africa and the US.

But Cuba has not been invited to take part in the talks, an apparent snub which has annoyed the Castro Government.

Its influence over the Angolan Government is considerable, however, as implied in comments made last week by Cuban Vice-Foreign Minister Jorge Bolanos. "What Angola is doing in these negotiations is perfectly co-ordinated with Cuba," Bolanos said.

Cuba seems determined to ensure it does not "lose" Angola in anything resembling a repeat of Grenada.

Their understanding of Angola leads the Cubans to believe that the Luanda Government is too weak and under too much pressure from Savimbi's rebels to survive even after the South African threat is removed, the sources said

Dos Santos admitted that Angola's security forces would initially be unable to fill the gap left by the Cubans and that a rearguard would have to remain around the capital and in the vital oil-producing enclave of Cabinda "to protect against any aggression from the north".

A withdrawal, partial or otherwise, would be popular with many Cubans, judging from personal contacts in a country where public opinion is channelled only through official outlets.

But Bolanos insisted that Cuba was not tired of its commitment. "It is not like Vietnam. We are not there to fight against the people of Angola or impose a regime," he said. — Sapa-Reuter