ANGOLA - GENERAL

1989
First to welcome Rifleman Papenfus was his six-year-old niece, Odette, who brushed aside diplomatic protocol to rush up to her uncle when he walked across the Namibian/Angolan border yesterday afternoon.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Argus Correspondent

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

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

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

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

IN CUBA

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

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

His sister Marietha, sister-in-law Benita and six-year-old niece Odette were there to greet him.
PW AND POW... Former prisoner-of-war Rifleman Johan Papenfus is greeted by President PW Botha at Tuynhuys yesterday. Looking on is Mrs Elize Botha.

Political Correspondent

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

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

Before President and Mrs Elize Botha entered the ornate reception room shortly before 1pm, a high-spirited Mr Pik Botha attempted to break the ice by cracking jokes with a rather anxious-looking Mr Papenfus and conversing with his family. He made cracks about the prickly subject of the official use of Pretoria businessman Mr Albert Vermaas' jet and even Defence Minister General Magnus Malan's controversial visit to Mauritius entered the banter.

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

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

Mr Botha replied: "It's a pleasure — otherwise you would still be there."
Transition too fast for Swappo to handle, Crocker

IN AN EYE OF APRIL, I interviewed (which will appear in full form in a forthcoming issue of Options, the outgoing Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker, in particular, who has made several observations on the Namibia/ Angola settlement he has spent the past eight years monitoring. Perhaps most striking was his belief that the US, having taken the lead role in "creating the reality" that led to the settlement, should now let others. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in particular, shoulder greater responsibility for seeing it properly implemented. In an echo of Harold MacMillan's "Winds of Change," as well as of President George Bush's inaugural theme, he expressed that "the world's community, on almost every front in southern Africa, a new breeze, a new set of windows that are open, and I think the British, as probably the world's most experienced external power on the issue of Namibia, have the quickest to pick up on it."

He noted that the Thatcher government's lightning visit to Windhoek at the weekend "I think they're quite prepared to make it clear that they can contribute to making sure the British are right in their decisions."...he has within her grasp more of the elements of creating things than almost anybody else.

Opportunity

"If the United States and others are prepared to play that kind of leadership role, we would be - I speak for myself here but I don't think I'd be contradicted - the first to cheer, the same would appear on South African issues themselves. "The door is open for others. It doesn't mean there won't be some which take a lead, but it means there is now plenty of opportunity to go round." In the immediate term, there was a vacuum to be filled as the new administration sets its act together. "We are a large policy and a large government and it takes us a while in transition to define what we will deal with and what we won't.

"More broadly, however, Crocker appeared to acknowledge that there were serious institutional obstacles to the US driving a policy in the region. The administration cannot, for example, say we are obligated to provide for the South African forces in Angola. It is up to the US to decide the circumstances in which we will make commitments. In Angola, Congress must have the last word, and in having it, will likely create all manner of sorts of problems by placing conditions on the funding. Congress has also seriously limited both the US governmental and private sector roles in Namibia's transition by applying to the territory the same sanctions as it applies to South Africa itself. This may be "silly," as Crocker called it, but it is Congress's way to demand equal stupid concessions - if there is ever a need the Developmental Plan, for example.."

Congress must have the last word, and in having it, will likely create all manner of problems by placing conditions on the funding. Congress has also seriously limited both the US governmental and private sector roles in Namibia's transition by applying to the territory the same sanctions as it applies to South Africa itself. This may be "silly," as Crocker called it, but it is Congress's way to demand equal stupid concessions - if there is ever a need the Developmental Plan, for example..."

"Perhaps we're closer today than we ever have been to an actual process that you could call a political process. One day, and we have not yet spoken..."

Mandate

"What is the problem lying large within the MPLA where "the atmosphere is frequently one of suspicion and factions and manoeuvring, allegations of corruption, military support and everything else."..."

"But this is a particularly sensitive moment as, and we assume this is happening. President José Sócrates is seeking a mandate to negotiate with Unita. Getting the agreement of the people on board is a big operation..."

"It may be that some people feel very directly threatened in a personal sense because of either the role they've played, the jobs they held or the stability they have. They may feel vulnerable..."

Dr Chester Crocker

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

Whatever he may privately believe about the new allegations of political killing within Unita, publicly Crocker is dismissive. He evidently feels that to lend the charges weight will only encourage those in the MPLA who do not wish to negotiate while at the same time angering UN and other foreign officials..."...the best we can do is to hold up UN flags, for example..."

"Let's have a different remarkable coincidence that this is not talked about in this manner at the very moment at which it is one remaining excuse for Luanda not to talk to Unita has been removed...if one wanted to"..."...we are certain of it, that I'm not saying the MPLA invented them..."

Pretoria

On the question of Namibia itself, Crocker is convinced that neither Swappo nor any of the other parties is sufficiently prepared for "the monumental changes that are now going to occur."...""It's going to be incumbent on both parties to do its best to make up for lost time in terms of the signals that are being sent, not necessarily to the white community but to others who may be in a position to judge about the test of public opinion that's coming up...it is in the interest specifically of the National Party leadership to have it go right because it's their settlement..."

As for Swappo, "I frankly don't think that from what I have seen up till now they ever expected the things to move as fast. They have never had to face this kind of political cost - how do you organize what signals do you send, how do you re-integrate people who have been trained only for living in exile and living off the land and having to change all that..."

"What are the friends of Swappo going to do to make Swappo to be responsible and learn by the mistakes of others. other states...have a central role? Do they send a clear signal of accountability or a signal of commitment and economic common sense..."
Angolans ignored complaints from SA

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

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

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

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

In fact, one begins to wonder whether they or Mr Nujoma were really interested in resolution 433, free elections and a constituent assembly.

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

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

The most important question regards the effect the present fighting is going to have on the implementation of resolution 433. It is early days yet, but at least it now would seem to be on the cards.

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

Even if there is an immediate cease-fire and return to Angola, Owamboland would have to be thoroughly swept to make sure that it has been properly "de-contaminated", since Swapo has proved that its word cannot be trusted.

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

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

This implies that resolution 433's rules of disengagement will have to be changed so that the local forces do the dirty work, with Untag observers attached to each unit, sub-unit or sub-sub-unit. That way the inevitable delay before the pre-April 1 conditions will be as short as possible.

The only alternative is for the UN to pump in an equivalent force (say 30 000 men) over a year or so to pick up the necessary skills.

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

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

PS: Why was Unavem not monitoring events in Swapo's shallow-area bases?
Cubans and Russians spend freely

by TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

R1 000 bill

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

He went to a supermarket near the Cape Sun Hotel, where the meeting was being held, Cubans and Russians bought underwear for themselves and children's clothes — "red of course", a shop assistant quipped.

Others bought "Cape Town" T-shirts.

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

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

This was arranged by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Some of the visitors will only leave tomorrow afternoon.

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

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

A veritable United Nations literally and figuratively gathered under the same yellow and white tent to celebrate the successful outcome of the Joint Commission.

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

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

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

Bottles of best

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

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

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

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

All the wines had special labels with an orange-and-blue band at the top with a sundial and the phrase: Perceunt et Impuntuntur - Latin for "the hours which have passed have not been in vain" - printed in the middle.

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

Policeman shot dead

DURBAN. - A Westville policeman, Constable B W Guomede, has been shot dead by an unknown attacker while on duty and not in uniform. Shots fired from a car hit him in the face and chest. - Sapa.
NEW YORK — About 150,000 children in southern Africa die each year because of the effects of conflict, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, says a report published on Tuesday under the auspices of the UN Children's Fund (Unicef).

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

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

"The centre-piece of this conflict is SA's apartheid," it says, quoting statistics to show both 'coloured' and black children are between 14 and 15 times more likely than their white compatriots to die before their fifth birthdays."
NEW YORK — About 150,000 children in southern Africa die each year because of the effects of conflict, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, says a report published on Tuesday under the auspices of the UN Children's Fund (Unicef).

"By 1986, the number of Angolan and Mozambican children under the age of five whose lives were lost as a consequence of war and destabilisation totalled more people than were killed by atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

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

The centre-piece of this conflict is SA and apartheid, it says, quoting statistics to show "both 'coloured' and black children are between 14 and 15 times more likely than their white compatriots to die before their fifth birthdays." — Sapa-Reuters.
Angola hits out at Swapo chiefs

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

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

"Angola regrets that the Swapo leadership could not exercise total control over its guerrillas at the critical moment of the start of Resolution 435 by stopping anyone from crossing the border," dos Santos said.

SAPA

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

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

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

Proposal

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

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

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

He added the frontline states were sending the proposal to UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar through UN under-secretary for political affairs, Marrack Goulding, who is in Luanda trying to arrange a ceasefire in northern Namibia.

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

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

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

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

An ambush on the road between Ondangwa and Oshikoto was unsuccessful.

The number of Swapo guerrillas who have died in action in northern Namibia last night rose to 252, 73 up from Wednesday official figure of 179, a police spokesperson, Chief-Inspector, Kerie du Rand, said last night in Windhoek.

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

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

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

JMC set to meet

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

Addressing a joint meeting of Parliament, he said the Soviet Union and the United States would participate in the meeting as observers.
Disunited Nations must give thanks for Angola ‘linkage’

SIMON BARBER in Washington

The issue is no longer simply Namibian independence, but the standard phraseology in each of the latter agreements, peace in southern Africa, a peace that is to be overseen not by the UN but by the joint commission established under the Brazzaville protocols which could have killed 439 last week by succumbing to its institutional decay, but also the two observers of the joint commission did not wish it to.

While the UN has been in New York, it has seemed an almost conscious effort to force SA into some kind of unilateral action upon which talks for the crisis could then begin. Members of the commission worked each in their own way to keep things together. The US has dealt a series of strong public statements, including a detailed and unequivocal legal case designed to make any attempt to let Swappo’s intruders remain in Namibia.

The US has threatened to pull out of the US, and imposed sanctions against the government of South Africa for its policy of apartheid. The UN has threatened to take action against Namibia, and has imposed economic sanctions against the government. The Brazzaville protocols have been signed, but the US has threatened to pull out of the SADC and the OAU if they do not take action.

On April 3, Swapo’s Theo-Ben Gurirab was still fighting in and out of the secretary-general’s office demanding that the Security Council change its position. ‘We do not know why, but they are the ones most faithful to the agreement,’ he said. Fortunately, none of this matters.

The territory may still legally belong to the US, but thanks to linkage the deal through which it is to become independent belongs to other, more serious parties - SA, Angola, and Cuba, the Soviet Union and the US. And while Untag may strictly speaking derive its legitimacy from the Security Council, in fact it is the servant of these three, the facilitator of what they wish to achieve.

The UN, very deliberately, has been short-circuited and with it Swapo, which is why there was no need for a formal Security Council debate last week. The agreements on constitutional principles, the electoral system and the monitoring of the ‘impartiality’ package - even Resolution 439 itself - have been adumbrated by the New York principles. The Geneva and Brazzaville protocols and the tripartite and bilateral accords of December 22.

For most of the eight years since it was first officially mooted by Chester Crocker in mid-1981, ‘linkage’ has been a dirty word. Even after its embrasure in the accords on Cuban troop withdrawal and Namibian independence agreed in December, the members of the group, the United Nations still treat it as it treats most other facts and refutes, to acknowledge it. UN spokesman Francois Giuliani pointed out last week: ‘We have never agreed on the linkage between the UN plan and those accords.’

Too bad, because the fate of Namibia and Angola is not as tidy together. Resolution 439 would now be dead and the mass graves in Omvambo considered more crowded than they already are.

Assuming, for a moment, that the UN plan has not been implemented in the absence of ‘linkage’ (a fantastic notion in itself), and that to implement the plan would have survived Swapo’s invasion of northern Namibia in the early hours of April 1, the Swapo forces are anything else, the SAPF would in all probability be dead and Namibia would be part of Angola.

We have a pretty good idea of how the UN may respond. The way, if not in fact, to respond. How could the same group that has thumped Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar on the head with the words, ‘Martti Alkisarai, Windock and Marrack Goulding in London. De Cuéllar's suggestion was that the Swapo intruders be regarded for violating the ceasefire by being disarmed and remained in the room. In other words, it was this time to give them the principle of their adventure. This despite his procession’s firm establishment in a letter to the South African Prime Minister on March 19, 1979, that ‘no particular respect for our rights, that we expect to gain after a ceasefire a military advantage advantage which it was unable to give up to us.

As currently constituted, the UN exists to give the small and inept the illusion that they are big and competent. In some respects, this is not a bad idea. A little bit of play-acting is often therapeutic, but only so long as the actors are not too loose in the real world where real things - like lives - are at stake.

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

However, in order to get out of the room in one piece, De Cuéllar was obliged by the Council’s non-aligned majority to amend the truth a bit. The current President, Soviet representative Aleksandr Beloserkov, omitted that the members were not even shown Alkisarai’s original report, damaging document on the spot by Untaga’s Kenyan, Malaysian and Nigerian senior military representatives and Alkisarai’s chief deputy, Cedric Thomber. Now there is something rather unsavouring about an institution that cannot even tell itself the truth in private session. One is also surely entitled to wonder about the impartiality of the members who dictate this kind of behaviour so they may run unchallenged in the corridors outside the session spreading the most shocking lies.

The reality (that Swapo was entirely to blame) did not fit the truth (that it was all the fault of the ‘societés’), so I tell with the reality. That apparently being the accepted norm of conduct at UN headquarters, it is fair to surmise that the organisation should build its own commitment.

For example, the Secretary General and the Security Council have decreed that the so-called ‘impartiality package’ agreed by the Western contact group, Swapo, the Frontline states, Nigeria and SA, should be binding on the body as a whole as of April 1.

Naturally, the package as it applies to the UN system is largely being ignored. The UN Council for Namibia soldiers on - under the leadership of Zambian representative, whose duties, serve as the General Assembly’s pleasure, not the Security Council’s. A nice but irrelevant distinction.

On April 3, Swapo’s Theo-Ben Gurirab was still fighting in and out of the secretary-general’s office demanding that the Security Council change its position. ‘We do not know why, but they are the ones most faithful to the agreement,’ he said. Fortunately, none of this matters.

The territory may still legally belong to the UN, but thanks to linkage the deal through which it is to become independent belongs to other, more serious parties - SA, Angola, and Cuba, the Soviet Union and the US. And while Untag may strictly speaking derive its legitimacy from the Security Council, in fact it is the servant of these three, the facilitator of what they wish to achieve.

The UN, very deliberately, has been short-circuited and with it Swapo, which is why there was no need for a formal Security Council debate last week. The agreements on constitutional principles, the electoral system and the monitoring of the ‘impartiality’ package - even Resolution 439 itself - have been adumbrated by the New York principles. The Geneva and Brazzaville protocols and the tripartite and bilateral accords of December 22.

The issue is no longer simply Namibian independence, but the standard phraseology in each of the latter agreements, peace in southern Africa, a peace that is to be overseen not by the UN but by the joint commission established under the Brazzaville protocols which could have killed 439 last week by succumbing to its institutional decay, but also the two observers of the joint commission did not wish it to.

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

The US has dealt a series of strong public statements, including a detailed and unequivocal legal case designed to make any attempt to let Swappo’s intruders remain in Namibia.

Angolan President Edwar dos Santos preempted any effort by the OAU and his fellow Frontline states to establish a case for Swappo or meddle with the UN plan by publicly rebuking the movement to the UN for ‘exercise total control’ over its men. The Soviets applied pressure to the necessary soft part. Pretoria, secured its position by such support, reacted with commendable restraint.

The commission then met at Mount Etjo and announced that it had agreed on arrangements for the intruders to be taken to Angola, allowing just enough time for Swappo to save face by making its own announcement first. While the members have had their differences - certainly Angola and Cuba were remiss in ignoring Pretoria’s complaints that they had failed to pull Swapo north of the 16th parallel as agreed - the commission shares a common interest in making the settlement work.

Thanks to linkage, that interest is far bigger and more compelling than Swappo’s idiocy and its apostles in the UN.
UNITA downs govt plane

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

By Jon Queland

The Star's Africa News Service

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

Two UN officials, Mrs. M. Kellet and Mr. J. Rumbulay, from the office of UN special representative Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, held discussions with the SADF at Oshikango assembly point.

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

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

BORDER

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

Unita spokesman Mr. Fred Eckhardt said one of the main difficulties which bogged down discussions on the handover of the guerrillas to Angola concerned terminology in the proposed agreement.

He said no more Swafo men would leave Namibia until the plan for their repatriation was acceptable to all.

Before the two guerrillas involved in shoot-outs with SWA Police last week were airlifted to hospital, the apparently weaker of the two began crying. Then he started vomiting before stretcher-borne by helicopter, and the two men were placed on them.
The guerrillas keep their heads down but 435 looks back on track

By SHAUN JOHNSON, in Windhoek

THE arrival of four exhausted Swapo guerrillas at the Oshikango assembly point on the "cutline" separating Namibia and Angola this week does not mean that the "Mount Elia" ceasefire plan will work. But there are strong signals that the complex independence package is getting back on track more than a week after it was announced.

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

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

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

To remove roadblocks and reduce Namibia's political isolation, the United Nations has asked each of the parties to the conflict to withdraw from the "cutline" to the border between Angola and Namibia. As a result, the South African-chaired UN military commission on Angola will now visit the "cutline" to facilitate the process of disengagement.

Until the guerrillas begin to come in, South Africa is certain to express grave disapproval over Swaziland's failure to respond to the tripartite proposals agreed to by the handful of Swaziland and Pretoria at the weekend. Western diplomats in Windhoek say the possibility of further South African military action cannot be ruled out.

Tremendous confusion persists in Swaziland and the Southern African Community, where the guerrillas are keeping a low profile.

Thorneberry said the UN "understands very well the reluctance of (Swaziland) people to approach a visible, indeed menacing, South African Defence Force presence, and we are looking into it." Most of the nine functioning assembly points are located near to major SADF deployment areas, and Swaziland Information Secretary Hidipo Hambete has said from Swaziland that his government is discussing the points as "hottest spots".

African contingent leader Colonel Richard Warren was unceremoniously ordered off the SADF base adjoining Oshakati assembly point on Wednesday, after he had approached to discuss logistical questions. And later yesterday, an Unag officer was called in to investigate an alleged violation of a cease-fire agreement by South African troops.

It was reported that an SADF patrol had dug themselves in around a church and a school in Epembe. The situation is supposed to have free access to churches in order to hand themselves over.

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

Then there is the vexed problem of the handover of weapons, which Swaziland opposes on the grounds that SADF troops are seen as fully armed. The question of the SADF's presence is still being discussed in Pretoria.

Two of the guerrillas are now in the care of Namibian medical facilities at Windhoek, and the injured have been flown in from the "cutline" to a hospital in Windhoek.

However, this only happened after an altercation between Unag and the Swaziland government. Epic Miller reports that the South Africans tried to get access to the four, but all except a doctor were blocked by Unag. A heated discussion ensued, during which South African officials threatened to leave. It ended with the two injured guerrillas being flown out in an UN air ambulance, but the company of an SADF officer.

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

One lost the use of his AK-47 during the "contact" when it was struck by police fire. It is believed that the four are about the cease-fire proposals from the Namibian government, and that the UN cease-fire message of the call to arms from Swaziland and Pretoria does not mean that the "Mount Elia" ceasefire plan will work.

These statements can be taken to mean that if the independence elections are not held as planned, the SADF will not respect the ceasefire agreement.

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

 Asked what would happen if all the Swaziland forces did not return to Angola, Thorneberry said it was "too early to tell", but added there was a "lot of talking" going on, which was "a whole lot better than a lot of killing".

These statements can be taken as a sign that the establishment of the assembly point is not yet fixed - or that the Unag forces have yet to commit to the plan.
Angola involvement cost SA billions

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

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

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

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

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

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

RIGHT-WING MOVE

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

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

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

• A draft proclamation for voter registration for the election of a constituent assembly was published yesterday. — Sapa.
Russians join the big indaba in Cape Town

Political Correspondent

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

This will be the first official Soviet visit to South Africa since the two countries broke off diplomatic relations in 1958.

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

Discussion will centre on the agreement reached at the JC's extraordinary meeting last Thursday that security forces in northern Namibia should withdraw to base for 60 hours from 8pm today to allow Swapo insurgents inside Namibia safe passage back to Angola.

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

In town for deadline

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

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

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

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

The Angolan delegation of 11 will be General Francia Nduli.

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

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

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

The Angolans are due to arrive at DF Malan in their own aircraft at 8pm and the Cubans at 9.30pm.

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

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

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

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

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

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

Internal reconciliation

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

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

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

One of the leading members of this group is Mr Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa, who is trying to get the full House to debate allegations of atrocities by Unita, including allegations that Dr Savimbi personally viewed the burning to death of Unita dissidents.

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

Unita is meanwhile putting up a strong case for an increase in American monetary and other assistance. High on the Unita list is a request for more and better arms, including the second generation of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, long-range artillery pieces and anti-tank weapons.

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

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

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

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

BY WILLIAM STEENKAMP

ON PARADE
86 die in Angolan fighting

LISBON.—Eighty-six people died in fighting between government forces and Unita rebels in Angola recently, the Angolan news agency, Angop, reported yesterday.

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

According to Angop, 37 guerrillas died after government soldiers moved against rebel positions.
Angola 'destroys' Unita base

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

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

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

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

Citing Angolan army sources, the report said 19 rebels died in the attack and some 200 were captured. — Sapa-AP
Cabinda oil will be key to Angola’s post-war salvation

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

MPLA government has undertaken disastrous economic experiments in the 10 years since independence, it has taken no chances with the sector that provides 90 percent of vital foreign exchange earnings.

While it has looked to the Soviet Union as its largest foreign aid donor and Cuba as the source of 50,000 troops for its war against UNITA, it has since 1979 remained firmly attached to Western technology, investment and markets.

Cabinda Gulf, whose 200,000 barrels a day output makes it the largest of more than 10 US and European oil companies operating in Angola, was one of the first to become involved.

In its relationships with the companies, Angola, a non-OPEC member, has remained flexible and open to negotiation with its partners, whose profits are adjusted to actual market prices rather than artificially pegged or "official" selling prices.

A paradoxical consequence of this flexibility is that foreign oil companies have enjoyed consistently better relations with Marxist Angola than with capitalist Nigeria.

Angola is limited in its options for oil investment. More than 80 percent of government oil earnings are pumped directly into its war against UNITA, and much of the remaining 20 percent is used to keep stagnant sectors of its economy afloat.

As a result of this, Sonangol, the newly-formed state oil company, has experienced some difficulty in raising its share of investment funds.

Dozens were cut on its obtained ability to gain access to external credits in 1990 when the pro-UNITA Reagan administration decided not to renew its line of credit. The administration had long opposed Amoretti oil companies collaborating with the Angolan government.
ANC man kills friend, then himself

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

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

LISBON — A powerful bomb exploded in the Angolan capital of Luanda yesterday, damaging the offices of several Western oil firms and injuring a Japanese businessman, the Portuguese news agency Lusa said.

It said the explosion wrecked cars along the main coastal road and shattered windows of buildings nearby. Offices of the American oil firm Texaco were badly hit. — Reuters.
LUANDA — Hard bargaining and difficult choices face Angola and seven of its African allies and neighbours when they meet in Luanda tomorrow to seek a peace formula to end the 13-year-old Angolan civil war.

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

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

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

Western and African diplomats, while recognising the Luanda summit as an important first step towards peace in Angola, said it could be too early to expect dramatic results.

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

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

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

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

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

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

UnTAG's Maj John Ryan said 5,000 Swapo guerrillas paraded at the weekend at Chibemba, in southern Angola, where they were counted by UN officials.

Swapo said earlier "our fighters are all out."

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

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

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

Delegates hope to start a process that will reconcile the MPLA government and Unita and end the 14-year civil war. — The Star's Foreign News Service.
Cuba says 400 troops leaving Angola each day

By John Ryan, The Star's Africa News Service

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cuba faces the task of sending home an estimated 50 000 troops in 30 months, with half of them scheduled to leave within 10 months.
SA wants to post monitors inside Angola, says Pienaar

By Jon Qwelane

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

South Africa was determined to forge ahead with the implementation of Resolution 435, but several problems could arise and the impartiality of the UN Transition Assistance Group could be among the most important, he said.
'Enemy air attacks never a threat'

SAAF supreme in Angola — Malan

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

Position of strength

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa News Service

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

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

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

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

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

Own Correspondent

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

News of the US airlift is liable to cause a furious diplomatic protest from the government in Luanda. According to senior Unita officers, the airlift has been launched to coincide with South Africa's withdrawal from bases in the Caprivi Strip. This withdrawal will rob Dr Savimbi's forces of the bases and supply lines on which Unita has relied since 1976.

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

A question mark has hung over US support for Unita since Washington helped Angola, Cuba and South Africa reach a regional peace plan at the Brazzaville talks late last year. According to Dr George Valentin, Unita's minister of information, US aircraft are now making regular deliveries of war supplies to Jamba.

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

Supply dumps

The US airlift is the most direct support ever given to Dr Savimbi by the US. General Peregrine Wambo, Unita's chief of military intelligence, said the rebel army had found it increasingly difficult to support its war-effort against the MPLA since South Africa ended its support.

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

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

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

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

They said it was possible that the Starlifters — huge aircraft with a very long range — were operating from an airfield in one of the West African states bordering Angola.
Airlift of refugees snagged

BY KEVIN JACOBS

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

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

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

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

Money wrangle: Pik asks Cubans

Political Staff

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

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

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

Mr Botha said that while South Africa would welcome the UN paying the costs, there were no provisions in any of the agreements reached to delay the withdrawals because of financial considerations. Mr Botha said he would also be approaching Mr Perez de Cuellar on the matter.

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

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

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

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

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

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

“De Klerk should tell the public what role he played in that episode. It was he who persuaded Botha to rewrite that speech."

He told him the Transvaal congress (of the NP), which was to come, was more important than the Natal congress. And so the international banks closed down on us and we got Rubicon rands,” Worrall added. “Judging from his answers to the economic questions, De Klerk is more of an economic illiterate than President Botha.

“For him (De Klerk) to say that unemployment, inflation, soaring costs and general economic misery which South Africans are experiencing is the result of circumstances beyond the NP government’s control, is both insulting and insensitive,” Worrall said.

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

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

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

Agricultural exports to boost earnings

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

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

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

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

Total value is expected to exceed R8bn.

Maize Board estimates are that exports will earn R1.5bn.

The last biggest maize export surplus was in the 1981/82 season, when around five-million tons was exported, earning about R390m in foreign exchange.

Du Toit added that last season’s record wool earnings of around R790m could be exceeded.

Sheep numbers were increasing and wool prices were stable.

Sugar earnings too could reach record levels, he said.

Exports from this year’s record wheat crop of 3.5-million tons would amount to around one-million tons. Under current rand exchange value, this should realise between R380m and R400m, Du Toit said.

Swapo back in Angola

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

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

Swapo said earlier “our fighters are all out”.

Ryan spoke to officials from SA, Angola and Cuba, said Soviet and US observers, were meeting on the border to decide if all Swapo fighters had quit Namibia. — Sapa-Reuters.
Angola unveils plan to end its civil war

LUANDA — Angola yesterday announced a plan to end its civil war. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos presented the plan to Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe at a one-day summit here, saying it had two parts:

Firstly, to eliminate external interference in the Angolan conflict, such as US military aid to UNITA; and,

Secondly, to create the conditions for a lasting peace inside the country, taking into account emotional and psychological factors.

He gave no details about how it would be implemented. — Sapa-Reuter
Huge plan to rebuild Angola

LISBON — Encouraged by its regional peace accord with South Africa, the Angolan Government is hoping to implement a vast reconstruction plan costing more than $1.4 billion for three southern provinces near the Namibian border.

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

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

Backed by the UN and many Western countries, Luanda will host a donor nations’ conference in September in the hope of implementing the plan next January.

The programme calls for $272 million (about $735 million) to rehabilitate the Atlantic port of Namibe, its railway line to interior Menongue and the regional highway system. Another $240 million (about R650 million) will be sought for “betering the standard of living, increasing production and rebuilding other infrastructures.”
FAR be it from me to be unduly pessimistic, but from a military viewpoint the latest developments in Namibia seem to provide few guarantees that Resolution 435 is going to be implemented as planned, if it is implemented at all.

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

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

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

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

One is tempted to conclude that Pretoria was lying in the first place or there is some hidden agenda to which we mere mortals are not privy.

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

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

Exploiting

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

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

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

Why should it cost so much? After all, unlike the SADF, the Cubans do not have to take their heavy weapons and equipment with them because it all belongs to the Angolans, courtesy of Moscow. In other words, it is more or less a question of loading them on to aircraft or ships and sending them on their way.

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

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

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

What price a "free and fair" election then?

Willem Steenkamp is a reservist in the Citizen Force.
Cabbages

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

United Nations

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

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

Last year the team returned to Jamba to find more cases.

Turn to Page 3

Victims 'living cadavers' from Page 1

and last month they went back again.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Professor Heyndrickx in Cape Town today.

Deadly gas used by MPLA

By VIVIEN HORLER
Weekend Argus Reporter

A NEW form of cyanide-based nerve gas is being used against civilians and Unita in Southern Angola against which conventional Nato-developed antidotes are worse than useless — they make the victims sicker.

A Belgian professor of toxicology, who has studied the effects of chemical warfare in the Far and Middle East including Iran, returned from Jamba in southern Angola this week and slammed the "hypocrisy" of the West for not taking a stand against the MPLA and its use of the gas.

Professor Aubin Heyndrickx, head of the department of toxicology at the University of Ghent, said he had personally seen 30 patients over the past three years, including children of three and seven years.

UNITA's health authorities knew of 400 people affected, but Professor Heyndrickx said there were undoubtedly many more who had died, or were suffering in remote parts of the territory.
CSO to market Angolan diamonds

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

From ROBERT GENTLE

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

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

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

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

Under the terms of the agreement, Endiama expects to commence marketing a significant proportion of Angolan diamond production through De Beers’ Central Selling Organization (CSO) as early as 1992.

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

De Beers and Endiama also intend to erect a new building in Luanda which will handle the sorting of the diamonds prior to their sale to the CSO.

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

Production was seriously disrupted in 1989 at the height of Unita activity in the area when production plummeted to a mere 200,000 carats. In 1980, the figure was about 1.5m carats.

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

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

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

The paper concluded: “The fate of the industry now hangs on the government reaching a satisfactory agreement with foreign partners. If this continues to prove elusive, the industry risks complete collapse.”
De Beers in multi-million Angola deal

LONDON – A prospecting, marketing and mining agreement, worth $100m annually, had been signed with the Angolan government, De Beers said yesterday.

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

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

He said detailed discussions were already under way, as were the necessary technical studies which would lead to increased diamond production and the establishment of joint ventures with De Beers on known sources of diamond-bearing kimberlite ore.

In terms of the agreement, Endiama expects to start marketing a significant proportion of Angola’s diamond production through De Beers’ Central Selling Organisation (CSO) as early as 1999.

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

De Beers and Endiama also intend to erect a new building in Luanda which will handle the sorting of the diamonds before their sale to the CSO.

Angola produces about a million carats a year, 40% of which are of gemstone quality. At market prices of around $180 a carat, the trade is worth $180m a year.

Production was seriously disrupted in 1996 by Unita activity and plummeted to 200,000 carats. In 1989, the figure was about 1.5-million carats.

The agreement with De Beers was predicted by diamond experts years ago, if only because Angola’s traditional alluvial deposits were already drying up. Moreover, hundreds of millions of dollars of investment was needed to develop the kimberlite ore bodies.

The Financial Times said in 1998: “The long-term future of the diamond mining industry hinges on a resumption of prospecting, which has been at a virtual standstill since independence, and on investment in kimberlite mining.

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

The Angolan deal is by far the most dramatic of the major investment projects foreshadowed in De Beers’ 1998 annual report, which showed the company was sitting on a cash mountain of $3.4bn at December 31.

Chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson said at the time about $100m would be invested in the Venetia mine near Alldays in the northern Transvaal where, in a 20-year period, 3.3-million tons of ore would be treated annually, yielding more than four-million carats of medium-quality diamonds.

He also said Namibian subsidiary GDM was opening two mines: an alluvial deposit at Anachos on the northern bank of the Orange River, which would be brought into operation next year at a cost of $50m with an anticipated yield of 50,000 carats of large gems a year; and the opening of the Elizabeth Bay mine south of Luderitz in 1991 yielding 200,000 carats a year of smaller gems.
China hails student massacre as ‘victory’

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

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

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

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

Shifting power

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

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

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

It suited Westerners to think of Mr Deng as a liberal, even though he was not. He is a soldier by trade, and an authoritarian communist by conviction. In 1979 he ended a series of free-speech protests at Democracy Wall in Beijing by ordering arrests and trials culminating in 15 years’ jail for leading dissidents.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gunfire and explosions

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

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

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

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

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

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

Frenzied brutality

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

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

"You have committed an unfriendly act," he said.

"I thought that was a bit much." You fell over, didn't you? That's why you have that bruise on your arm.

"I also had boot marks and bloodstains on my shirt."

"And my right knee was swollen, my right hand was broken.

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

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

"At first, he said, there was some panic among the young soldiers, those who were ordered to open fire. An APC was set on fire by a youth who climbed on to it when it stopped. The crew were pulled out and beaten, but the students intervened and rescued them. The army had nabbled me at 3 am. By 4 am when they let me go, the gunfire could still be heard from the square.

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

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

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

"I blobbed when I got back to my hotel near midnight. I couldn't stop. Perhaps it was shock, or maybe it was because of the carnage. I was weeping for the people of Beijing. I cannot see how they are ever likely to trust their leaders again. - The Independent News Service.
Since Sunday, when the Beijing bloodshed began, cities across China have been paralysed by protest. News agencies provide only fragmentary reports, but the evidence of widespread, if unorganised, unrest is overwhelming.

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

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

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

"The feeling here has completely changed since the killing in Beijing," said a resident. "People are scared."

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

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

There were scattered demonstrations and mock funerals, and food queues built up at shops starved of supplies. "It's pretty chaotic," said one foreign resident.

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

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

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

In Wuhan, central China, the pattern held good.

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

Arriving by the lorryload, people in black armbands blocked traffic on the city's bridge, one of the vital crossings over the Yangzte river.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By Brendan Seery, The Star's Africa News Service

Windhoek — Hundreds more Angolan refugees have fled across the border into northern Namibia, bringing to 1500 the number who have run away from renewed fighting in southern Angola between Unita rebels and Angolan government troops.

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

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

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

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

Authorities in Namibia have reported the arrivals to the representatives of the UN's High Commissioner for Refugees in Windhoek, expressing the hope that the world body will declare the people as international refugees and assist in providing medical and food aid.
10,000 Cubans have left Angola

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hailed

Two groups composed of Unita and MPLA officials will meet in the Zairean capital, Kinshasa, for discussions mediated by Ivory Coast premier Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

The MPLA government's official mouthpiece, Jornal de Angola, announced the talks but did not specify when they would begin. But it hailed the meeting as the first time the two rivals had come together officially.

The Kinshasa summit will draw up a timetable of further meetings to decide on the establishment of a "contact group". Some sources are even predicting a "government of unity", including Unita, by the end of July.

The latest developments were described by diplomats in Lisbon yesterday as "more promising than at any other time in recent years". Portuguese Foreign Ministry sources, who are being kept fully briefed by Leandrinho da Silva, said: "The underlying situation has changed fundamentally: Zairean leader Mobutu, once a stickler for unity sympathetic to Jonas Savimbi's cause, is said to have been the main architect of the talks.

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

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

Unity

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

He said Unita had proposed setting up a "national unity" or transitional government charged with preparing for general elections. "This could take up to two years. During this time Dr Savimbi has agreed to take a back seat. He would then be our candidate in a free, nationwide election," said Mr Sakala.

Meanwhile, Unita has extended its unilateral ceasefire until July 31. Rebel sources here say they expect that by then details will have been worked out for the establishment of a new government.
Leaders to meet on Angola

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

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

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

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

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

UNITA spokesman in Lisbon Mr Alcides Sakala was quoted by the news weekly Tempo as saying preliminary talks could result in a transitional Angolan government as early as July and that Dr Savimbi had 'agreed to withdraw to New York for some time'.

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

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

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

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

LISBON — At least 10 African leaders will meet in Zaire this week to discuss ways to end the 14-year war in Angola. Right-wing rebels are likely to be involved, the Portuguese news agency Lusa said from Luanda at the weekend.

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

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

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

No date was given for the meeting.

Lisbon's Unita spokesman was not available for comment.

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

Last year Angola, Cuba and SA signed peace settlements providing for Namibian independence and the phased withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola. — Sapa-Reuters.
Get MPLA and Unita to talk, says MP

By Sue Leeman,
The Star Bureau

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

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

INFLUENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

The facilities offered them had been basic: they were put up in mud huts, but Mrs Roe said they had been comfortable.
11 states to talk in Zaire on Angola peace plan

KINSHASA — Eleven southern African heads of state will meet at Gbadolite in Zaire on Thursday to discuss a political settlement in Angola.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Star’s Africa
News Service

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

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

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

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

Mr van Dunem’s remarks came as a surprise as indications were that the ruling MPLA party seemed ready to accept a compromise under which Dr Savimbi would go into exile for a two year period to open the way for a government of national unity and elections.

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

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

ENVOYS

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

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

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

Last month the leaders of eight African countries met in Luanda to discuss a peace plan which was subsequently approved by the Central Committee of the ruling MPLA party.
President Educado desea que la paz en Angola sea alcanzada de manera pacífica. El programa de paz, conocido como el 'Plan de Angola', fue aprobado por la Asamblea Nacional. El presidente ha destacado la importancia de una paz duradera en el país. El plan incluye medidas para la reconciliación y la reparación, así como la participación de todos los grupos involucrados. El presidente ha expresado su esperanza de que el plan proporcione un camino hacia la paz en Angola.
Dos Santos accepts integration of Unita into Angola govt

The Star's Africa News Service

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

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

And in a further sign of the MPLA government's interest in reconciliation, President dos Santos has released 700 Unita prisoners and commuted the sentences of 10 others.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our army, 71,000 men in the field, will not accept amnesty, clemency or integration into the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Savimbi declared.

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

He said he would remain the head of his party, and there would be no more shifting of names or positions.
Peace plan
African heads
of state meet

By PASCAL FLETCHER of Reuter in Luanda

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The heads of state of Angola, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Congo, Gabon and Mozambique, who attended a peace conference in Luanda last month, are all expected in Gbadolite.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* African heads meet; page 21.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

African heads meet.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERRUPTED JOURNEY: from the liner Maxime Gorky
Norwegian rest
Savimbi ready for peace - Sese Seko

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

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

The president was speaking on the eve of a summit hosted by Mobutu in Ghadolite, Zaire, in which more than a dozen African heads of state are expected to launch a peace process for Angola.

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

But he added: “This programme can only be implemented when the elements of Unita stop their military hostilities all over the country and all their propaganda against the legitimate authorities of Angala.”

He said that while Unita continued its military activities, the government would fight the rebels.
Angola: Warring leaders to meet

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

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

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

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

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

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

In a cautious reaction to the apparently successful outcome of a one-day summit of 19 African leaders in Gbadolite, Zaire, Mr dos Santos said the results of the meeting were "not bad".

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

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

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

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

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

Impatience

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

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

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

Leaders agree to Angolan war ceasefire

Gbadolite (Zaire)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Diplomatic coup

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

The African leaders had no

Power in silhouette ... SAAF personnel and a fighter bathed in the glow of the setting sun as the Golden Eagle air defence exercise comes to an end.

By Craig Kotze, Military Correspondent

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

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

Malan says meeting did not go well

Man kills family then himself
of Zairean President Momoto Sese Seko.
The sources said a protocol stated that Mr dos Santos and Dr Savimbi had agreed to stop fighting from Saturday.
"They agreed to a cessation of all hostilities," the sources said.
The chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr Moussa Traore, made an indirect reference to the ceasefire in closing remarks at the end of the one-day summit.
He said the handshake between the two adversaries, at their first face-to-face encounter since the war began in 1975, "symbolises, as of June 24, the end of civil war in Angola".
In an indication of the apparent success of the summit, Dr Savimbi and Mr dos Santos sat near each other for a group photograph at President Sese Seko's luxury villa.
Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, acting as spokesman for the summit, said the handshake was a "great moment for Africa".

**Diplomatic Coup**

Dr Savimbi, who had been waiting outside the summit gathering while the leaders met for at least four hours, did not speak to reporters as he walked briskly into a conference room.
The African leaders had assembled for their second such meeting in two months in an attempt to find a solution to the Angolan conflict.
The meeting between Dr Savimbi and Mr dos Santos was a major diplomatic coup for Mr Sese Seko, who is due to visit Washington later this month.
"I have come in a spirit of openness," said Dr Savimbi.
His presence had been in doubt until the last minute. He and Mr dos Santos had both made statements earlier this week suggesting they did not intend to meet here.
It is not yet clear whether there is agreement on Dr Savimbi's future.
In March, Dr Savimbi offered to take a back seat in politics for two years while a transitional government was formed, leading to elections in which he would stand.
But the Angolan government insisted that he go into exile for those two years and integrate his movement into the ruling MPLA government.
Yesterday, however, the gap appeared to have been bridged.
President Kaunda said Dr Savimbi had agreed to abide by a protocol signed by heads of state at a summit in May.

*See Page 11.*
principles for dialogue between Unita and the MPLA would be considered a great step forward. The fact that the exercise has an African stamp of approval is generally seen as a good sign. The countries said to be taking part are Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Gabon, Congo, Kenya, Mali, Ivory Coast, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe, and possibly Nigeria. SA was not invited.

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

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

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

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

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

Another strong commercial incentive
Dos Santos offers an olive branch

The Star’s Africa News Service

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He said he would remain the head of his party.
Ceasefire 'a step towards peace'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr Mugabe, giving details of the agreement backed by a roomful of African presidents, said it did not specify whether Dr Savimbi would stand aside or go into exile for a period. — Sapa-Reuters
30 years on, guns at last silent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

International peace efforts aimed at securing independence for South African-ruled Namibia became bogged down.

South Africa and the United States sought a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition for Namibian independence.

The US administration revived military aid to Unita in 1986.

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

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

Reinforcements

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

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

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

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

On December 15, South Africa, Angola and Cuba signed the Brazzaville peace protocol that set April 1, 1989 as the date to start a UN independence plan for Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola by mid-1991.

Sat. Reuter.
Savimbi resists exile bid - he'll return to talks

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has resisted attempts to force him into exile during the delicate peace negotiations between his organisation and the Angolan government. He will return, to his base camp at Jamba in south-east Angola and continue the peace talks which began at the Zairean town of Gbadolite on Thursday.

The peace agreement was sealed by an historic handshake before 18 African heads of government, a step-by-step return by Angolans towards a unified government.

Dr Savimbi said the matter had not even been raised at the talks. The basis of the agreement reached by the two parties is the elimination of UNITA leadership.

Proposals

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

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

Savimbi rejects the exile bid

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

Although the ceasefire came into effect on Friday, Dr Savimbi cautioned that its monitoring would have to be carried out by the commissions. The possibility of violent clashes would still exist in the short term.

Dr Savimbi said his organisation had embarked upon negotiations in the knowledge that it was doing so from a position of strength. He denied that any pressure had been brought to bear on him by either South Africa or the United States to reach an agreement with the MPLA.
LUANDA. — The ceasefire in the Angolan war, which came into effect on Saturday, appears to be holding.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Redevelopment of the line will cost an estimated $300 million (about 980 million). — Saps-AP
Savimbi 'exile': Unita, Kaunda disagree

The Argus
Foreign Service in Lusaka

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

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

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

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

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

Ambassador

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

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

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

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

By KOERT LINDJER
The Observer, London

LUANDA — People in Luanda have reacted with disbelief to the news of a ceasefire in Angola’s 14-year-old civil war. “There was no jubilation in the capital city’s streets.”

“We have been promised peace many times before,” said an elderly woman. “It is a never-ending cycle.”

A senior Angolan mentality to react swiftly to such news.

The guns fell silent at midnight on Friday. Two days later, people were still waiting eagerly for news. In the long weekend queues at city centre shops, there were discussions and amid lively exchanges, civilians and soldiers were fighting for newspapers, offering many times official prices.

The details of the peace plan still need to be revealed to the population.

Conflicting reports

“The deputy foreign minister, Mr. Fernando de Sousa, told diplomats that the South African-backed rebel forces, UNITA, would be invited to join political and social life in the army.”

He did not mention the new elections, which UNITA has always demanded. There were conflicting reports on whether UNITA leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi would be going into exile. Mr. De Sousa insists Dr. Savimbi has agreed to go voluntarily.

Several civilians feared that UNITA leaders in the governing party would never accept a peace deal with Dr. Savimbi, despite the party’s bid for popular support. Including the results of the peace conference in Gabon, Zaire. Many expressed concern.

An official source said it was likely that special army units would be formed for UNITA peacekeepers.

The historic handshake of President Eduardo dos Santos and Dr. Savimbi has not been welcomed in the media here. But the talks have been described as an internal conflict and not as foreign aggression.

In March this year UNITA leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi said he could sense a contingent of journalists was not enthusiastic about him announcing another UNITA peace proposal to him bush headquarters in Zamba.

“Gentlemen, you must not go home saying I brought you here for nothing. I tell you that I am ready not to take part in any direct negotiations between UNITA and the MPLA, not to participate in government structures for a two-year period and to accept Eduardo dos Santos as president,” he said.

This is news, gentlemen,” he added, producing a piece of paper in his belligerent, forceful style.

It was news indeed — but, as often with historical developments, its importance was only realized four months later when his sworn enemy, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, also made some concessions by announcing he was now ready to accept the full integration of UNITA members into the government, civil service and parliament of the country.

The day after President dos Santos’ announcement, the two leaders shook hands in Gabonite, northern Zaire.

If the handshake and the agreed ceasefire are followed by steps for national reconciliation, Angolans will for the first time in 28 years be able to enjoy peace.

War of liberation

In February 1981 war broke out in Angola when a group of Angolan nationalist activists of the People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA, formed in 1956, attacked a prison. Thus began the war of liberation against Portuguese colonialism.

Unlike other Portuguese colonies where opposition to the Lisbon authorities was united, the Angolan opposition split into different organisations: the MPLA, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNL) founded in 1962 and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) founded in 1966.

So deep were the divisions inside Angola’s liberation movement that in 1974 when Portuguese armed forces overthrew the dictator’s government at home and promised to pull out of its colonies, it was difficult to find leaders to negotiate with.

The MPLA, regarded then as the group most representative of Angola’s people, was itself so badly divided by internal strife that President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia had to arrange a meeting in August 1974 to patch up the internal differences.

The 1976 Alvor agreement between Portugal and the three liberation movements quickly collapsed because of fighting between the MPLA and the FNL. After 10 years of fighting, these movements agreed to solve the dispute failed and in August that year, UNITA, which had tried to remain neutral, declared war on the MPLA movement.

In September/October 1975 the first Cuban combat troops arrived in Angola.

South African troops had meanwhile occupied the Kazanda electrical scheme in southern Angola. In October they launched a full-scale invasion in support of the UNITA/FNL alliance.

But in November 1975 the MPLA, which controlled Luanda, proclaimed the People’s Republic of Angola. It was quickly recognised by a number of foreign countries.

South Africa pulled out after the United States refused to carry on supporting the anti-MPLA coalition, which quickly disintegrated.

While the FNL movement died in exile, UNITA, with South Africa’s help, quickly rebuilt its forces and managed to wrest control of wide areas of Angola from the MPLA government.

The MPLA in 1977 proclaimed itself a Marxist-Leninist Party.

In 1979 the leader of the MPLA party and founding father of the movement, Agostinho Neto, died of cancer in a Moscow hospital and was succeeded by Moscow-trained oil engineer Mr. Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

In the early 1980s UNITA extended its operations throughout the country and kidnapped large numbers of foreigners in several areas, while South Africa mounted regular incursions into Angola.

Resumed aid

In 1985, after the collapse of the Lusaka agreement calling for a withdrawal of South African forces from Angola and the implementation of Namibia’s independence, the United States resumed its military aid to UNITA.

The turnover in the war came in 1987 when South African forces helped UNITA defeat a government offensive against rebel-held areas in southeastern Angola.

Cuban reinforcements were called in and moved to the Namibian border.

Last year the United States launched a new peace initiative which resulted in an agreement for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and independence for Namibia.

This led to a thaw in relations between South Africa and some African countries. In May this year representatives of several African states met in Luanda to discuss a possible peace package for Angola.

Details of the agreement will now be worked out by a commission which includes the presidents of Zaire, Congo and Gabon.
Too soon to toast Pax Angola

By RAMSAY MILNE, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Though the Bush administration hailed the Gbadolite ceasefire agreement between the Angolan government and Unita during the weekend as a "significant breakthrough", it warned it was only the start of what was likely to be a lengthy process.

One Bush administration spokesman described the accord between Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Dr. Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader, in these cautious terms: "It is an agreement that may begin a process of trying to negotiate a political settlement. This is the beginning of a negotiating process that could end up taking quite a while.

The agreement was "warmly welcomed by US commentators and ignored or even denied in some of the television and press coverage. The New York Times, describing the agreement as Pax Angolana, made an effort to describe the agreement and its messages, but pointed out that it was "far too soon to break the champagne bottles and declare peace in Angola."

Ruthless

Other commentators pointed out that with the current political situation, Dr. Savimbi would face pressure from all sides to "create a new political scene in Angola."

In the days that followed, Dr. Savimbi, whose political groupings had included the Popular Movement of the People, called for a "new political scene" in Angola.

UNITA and the Catholic Church also called for a new political scene in Angola, saying the agreement was "far too soon to break the champagne bottles and declare peace in Angola."

UNITA leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi told reporters in March this year: "I am ready to accept Eduardo dos Santos as president."

"Dr. Savimbi remains the leader of UNITA, and the future can be decided by the Angolan people through free elections," he said.
LUANDA — Angola, moving swiftly after the ceasefire agreement with Unita, has authorised the Belgian company Societe Generale de Belgique, which owns the Benguela railway, to inspect the line.

The railway, which once carried Zambian and Zairean mineral exports through central Angola to the Atlantic port of Lobito, has been closed to international traffic for more than a decade because of the Angolan civil war.

The Angolan news agency Angop, yesterday quoted a Transport Ministry source in Luanda as saying that agreement on a peace plan between the government and Unita, reached at Ghadolite in Zaire on Thursday, had improved the conditions in which the railway could be repaired.

Technical experts from the British firm Tanks Consolidated Investments, which operates the railway for Societe Generale, were expected to arrive in Angola shortly to carry out the study, Angop said.

International donors, in January pledged about $250 million for an initial phase of rebuilding work on the railway.

They recommended then that

an end to Angola's 14-year-old civil war was the only way to guarantee the rebuilding and eventual reopening of the line.

After the agreement on a ceasefire, the future of Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi is still unclear.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has said Dr Savimbi has voluntarily agreed to go into exile outside Angola for a period to be agreed between him and the Luanda government.

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

The Unita leader himself has yet to speak about his prospects after the Ghadolite summit. Even his whereabouts are a mystery at the moment.

See Page 15.
Savimbi hails truce with Angola

LONDON — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was quoted yesterday as saying he was happy with the ceasefire agreement worked out between Unita and the Angolan government last week.

The Unita radio station said yesterday that negotiations with the government would continue in Zaire this week.

Last week, Dr Savimbi met Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos at a summit meeting of African heads of state arranged by President Mobutu Sese Seko.

They agreed on a ceasefire and the setting up of a commission to integrate Unita and the MPLA government.

The key issue of Dr Savimbi's future has not been agreed. The Luanda government has said he has agreed to go into exile, but Dr Savimbi has denied this and said he has only offered to step down from a leading role in politics during a transitional period.

— The Independent News Service
Dos Santos: the ‘invisible’ power behind the MPLA

If there is anything that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola should learn from the Unita rebel group it is public relations.

Indeed, so poor is Mr dos Santos’ public image outside Angola when one talks about Angola only one name comes to mind — Dr Jonas Savimbi, Unita’s leader.

Mr dos Santos, in his dark suits and ties, is the antithesis of the flamboyant Savimbi who in his guerilla fighter uniform can easily move a crowd with his ebullience and flair and often appears on international TV screens to state his case.

Yet Mr dos Santos, reserved and earnest, has in the past 10 years been slowly changing the political outlook of the ruling MPLA Party, trying to diversify its foreign relations and open up the ravaged country to the West.

It was he who, in 1987, openly admitted that the war against Unita was not the only reason for Angola’s chaotic economic situation. The planned socialist economy, he said, had led to “disorganisation, poor entrepreneurial management, rampant indiscipline and corruption”.

That same year Angola applied to join the International Monetary Fund, seen by many socialists as the symbol of international imperialism.

Economic pragmatism

Mr dos Santos was also Angola’s first head of state to visit Western countries.

But, despite this economic pragmatism, there has always been a noticeable reluctance by President dos Santos in accepting proposals to negotiate an end to the war with Unita and in this respect Mr dos Santos has himself had to make a few changes.

“The MPLA has never at any time had any relations with Unita and does not even think of having talks with Unita,” he said in 1983.

Only last week it was reported that he had refused to go to Zaire when he learnt that Jonas Savimbi would be there for peace talks and only the pressure of the Portuguese-speaking African countries had made him go to Gbadolite for the historic handshake with the rebel leader.

It seems that although he had convinced the hierarchy of his ruling MPLA party to negotiate with Unita he was still refusing to do so with the charismatic Dr Savimbi. Indications are that Mr dos Santos did not want to shake the fragile unity of the MPLA which he has ruled by alliance with different factions and where some top members are known still to favour a military solution for the conflict.

Mr dos Santos can indeed be best described as a “party man”, changing his country’s and party’s policies by consensus rather than by his own actions and will.

When Jose Eduardo dos Santos became President of Angola in 1979 he was dubbed by some “Moscow’s top man in Africa”. But since taking power he has been almost unnoticedly changing his country’s policies. JOAO SANTA RITA of The Star’s Africa News Service reports.

Born on August 20 1942, Jose Eduardo dos Santos was the son of a stonemason and a domestic servant and joined the MPLA guerilla movement in 1961 after attending high school in Luanda. He left the country after the Portuguese police started taking an interest in his political activities.

He became the vice president of the MPLA’s youth league in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa) and in that same year was appointed the movement’s first representative in Brazzaville.

In 1963 the MPLA leadership sent him to Moscow to study and six years later he graduated as a petroleum engineer from the Institute of Oil and Gas at Baku. While in the Soviet Union he married a Russian woman but they parted after Angola’s independence.

After graduating he took a course in military communications and returned to play a role in the war against Portuguese domination, seeing action in the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda.

In 1974 shortly after the April military coup in Portugal opened the way for Angola’s independence he was elected to the MPLA’s Central Committee and Political Bureau.

Foreign Minister

He was Angola’s first Foreign Minister for a short period in 1975. Later he also held the portfolio of first deputy Prime Minister and a year before becoming president he was appointed Minister of Economic Planning.

In 1977 Mr dos Santos sided with the late President Agostinho Neto in putting down a revolt by radical Interior Minister Mr Nito Alves and this is regarded by Angolans as having been a major step in Mr dos Santos’ rise in the MPLA’s party hierarchy.

In September 1979 Mr Neto died in Moscow after an operation and on September 21, Mr dos Santos was, surprisingly to many observers, elected as the new party’s leader and country’s president.

His election was said to have been a compromise between a radical pro-Moscow faction led by Mr Lucio Lara, the chief ideologist in the MPLA who has since been demoted, and a group led by more pragmatic and nationalist elements within the party.

Since then Mr dos Santos has had to strike a careful balance within the party’s hierarchy and it remains to be seen if he can carry the MPLA along a road to peace with Unita which would open the way for Angola’s economic recovery.
Talks on Angolan rebels’ re-integration

LISBON.—An Angolan delegation was reportedly headed for Zaire yesterday for talks on the re-integration of Unita rebels into Angolan society.

The delegation is headed by Angolan armed forces chief General Antonio dos Santos, a report from the Portuguese news agency Lusa said.

The delegation is expected to meet with Zairian officials under terms agreed at peace talks mediated by Zaire’s President Mobuto Sese Seko last Thursday at Ghadolite.

The Ghadolite agreement calls for the rebels to be integrated into Angolan society and the creation of a national reconciliation commission.
Handshake spells peace for Angola

LUSAKA. — The historic handshake between the leader of the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (Unita), Dr Jonas Savimbi, and the Angolan president Eduardo Jose Dos Santos, at last week’s summit meeting in Zaire, has opened up the prospect of peace for the war-ravaged west African territory.

For the past 14 years, the warring parties have been at each other’s throats in a civil war which has cost thousands of lives and millions of rand.

The Angolan people have known no peace ever since the Portuguese colonisers deserted the country.

After the summit, Zambian leader Kenneth Kaunda, chairperson of the six-nation Frontline States, held a press conference to declare that peace was in sight for Angola.

“Savimbi and Dos Santos portrayed a spirit of reconciliation at the summit,” explained the smiling Kaunda. “Hostilities will soon come to an end in Angola.”

The summit lasted six hours and was attended by 18 African heads of state.

Zambians have welcomed the ceasefire with excitement. Zambia shares a common border with Angola.

Western diplomats have indicated their delight at the Angolan people’s ability to bring about the settlement themselves without intervention from the West.

“We are greatly encouraged by the news from Zaire that the warring parties have met and that the ceasefire has been agreed upon,” said a telex dispatch from the British Foreign Office and released by the British High Commissioner in Lusaka.

“We have not received full details of the agreement, but it seems clear that this is a substantial step forward for Angola and Africa . . . we firmly welcome all concerned,” said the message.

An American diplomat based in Lusaka, Mr Thomas Dowling, declared: “The United States is extremely pleased with what has come about between Dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi.”

Political observers in Lusaka said praise should also go to the Zairean president, Mobutu Sese Seko, for the role he played in helping to reconcile the two warring parties.

Marshal Mobutu has in the past been strongly criticised by black Africa for providing bases to Savimbi’s Unita. The country also acted as a staging ground for arms bound for Iamba, Savimbi’s military headquarters in south-east Angola.

The civil war between the ruling Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MLPA) and Unita began in 1975, soon after the Portuguese abandoned the country.

The MLPA sought the help of Russia, who responded by sending military hardware, advisors and Cuban troops numbering more than 50,000.

On the other hand, Unita called in South Africa and Savimbi was branded a “traitor” for this alliance.

Quietly, the United States began providing funds, arms and training facilities to Savimbi.

A full-scale conventional war blew up. This ultimately involved freedom fighters of the South West African People’s Organisation (Swapo).

The South African involvement escalated with troops entering Angola, not only to face MLPA forces but also to rout Swapo and harass ANC training bases.

Peace in Angola will open up fertile virgin land. It will also enable the Benguela railway to be re-established, which will allow Zambia and Zaire to resume exploitation of their copper and other minerals through the Atlantic port in Lobito.

Zaire will no longer have to export its copper through East London in South Africa. The same applies to Zambia and Malawi.
Unita accused of breaking truce

LUANDA. — The Angolan government accused Unita guerrillas yesterday of violating a week-old ceasefire by sabotaging Luanda's power supply and ambushing a civilian convoy.

National radio quoted a government source as saying that the actions indicated either that Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi could not control his guerrillas or that factions within Unita were opposed to a peace plan agreed with the left-wing government.

Diplomats here said that the low-key tone of the radio report suggested that the government was treating the incidents cautiously and would try not to let them disrupt the peace process.

The radio said that the power cut which hit large parts of Luanda on Thursday was caused by sabotage on the power line from the hydroelectric dam at Cambambe. The sabotage took place near Calomboloa in Bengo province.

Referring to what it called "other violations" of the ceasefire, which went into effect at midnight last Friday, the radio mentioned an ambush on a convoy of three civilian vehicles travelling to Kamakupa in central Bie province last Tuesday.

It said that "armed elements of Unita" carried out the attack in which 10 civilians were injured.

The official Angolan news agency Angop reported the ambush on Thursday without directly blaming Unita. — Sapa-Reuter
WHEN communism seemed to be on the march in southern Africa, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire let his country become a channel for American supplies to Unita, the guerrilla movement that has fought Angola's Marxist government since the country's independence in 1975.

Now that communism is on the retreat, Mr Mobutu has turned peacemaker.

On June 22, in the presence of 18 other African presidents gathered in his native village of Gbadolite, this old survivor got Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos to shake hands with Unita's leader, Mr Jonas Savimbi. This week, Mr Mobutu was in Washington, collecting his applause.

The handshake came with a ceasefire, supposed to take effect on June 24. The sounds of war will not stop at once; both sides' armed men are under loose control, and the landscape is strewn with mines that will go on killing people until they are fixed and made harmless. But the Angolan-Namibian peace deal that the Americans helped to organise last year points to a cautious optimism.

South African troops, who had been fighting alongside Unita, have pulled out of Angola. The Cubans promise to withdraw their 50,000-strong expeditionary force from that country by July 1991. It is the time for the "national reconciliation" the Americans say should follow.

Until recently Mr dos Santos described Mr Savimbi as a bandit, and allowed only secret contacts between his government and Unita. The Zairian summit has made the contacts official. A commission of delegates from the government and the rebels, under Mr Mobutu's chairmanship, has begun trying to work out what "reconciliation" means. Another summit may take place in Zimbabwe. But first two old enemies have to find some common ground.

After attending the Gbadolite meeting, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda said that reconciliation would require Mr Savimbi to go into temporary exile. Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano said that Unita people would be given jobs in the Angolan government's civil service and army. Both ideas have the support of Mr dos Santos, since they seem to add up to Mr Savimbi and his men getting the shorter end of the stick.

The Savimbi people want a different kind of peace, one in which they are not absorbed by the institutions of the ruling party. They say they are determined to guard their independence, and to keep Mr Savimbi at their head. They are prepared to take part in a government of national unity, but only if one of its main tasks is to prepare the country for its first democratic election.

Who will back down? Some sceptics, who reckon Mr Savimbi is less wedded to democratic principles than he tells his western paymasters, think he might forget the election idea if he were offered a suitable government job. But the government side dreads the thought of, say, vice-President Savimbi. He has an anti-colonialist pedigree as long as that of Mr dos Santos and he has assembled a guerrilla army of about 20,000 men.

If Mr Savimbi's future could be settled, the ideological difference between the two sides might not be insuperable. A stiff-necked contingent in the ruling party resists the admission of any Unita people, not least because the newcomers might expose the corruption of some ministers. But another cause of antipathy may be fading. The government hints that it no longer believes in a centrally planned economy. It has joined the International Monetary Fund, though not much has yet come of its promises to make more room for private businessmen and farmers. But peace would probably bring a lot of western investment into this resource-rich country, and that would further erode the dos Santos side's Marxism.

Other things can help. The Russians, who have long armed Angola's soldiers, are now preaching flexibility to Mr dos Santos, just as they are to other fading Marxists in Ethiopia and Mozambique. America's State Department, which wants an Angola settlement, may be telling Mr Savimbi that he cannot count on its support for ever. Angola's neighbours are pressing for peace: Zaire and Zambia, especially, want to gain from the reopening of the Benguela railway, which joins their copperbelt to the Angolan coast. Squeezed from all sides, the negotiators on the reconciliation commission may indeed find themselves reaching a deal.
Angola needs major economic reforms

LUANDA—An end to Angola's 14-year-old civil war will lift a crippling burden from the economy of a country which is potentially one of the richest in Africa. But while peace will allow Angola to freely tap its rich reserves of oil, diamonds and fertile land, western diplomats and businessmen say urgent and effective economic reforms are also needed to guarantee development.

Angola's left-wing government and the rebel movement Unita agreed a ceasefire and tentative peace plan on June 2, boosting hopes of finally securing the prosperity that has eluded its nine-million people since independence from Portugal in 1975.

The war has, since 1973, halted agricultural production, paralysed transport and severely curtailed diamond mining. Defence spending swallowed over 40% of the annual budget.

Only the oil sector, protected by government and Cubans troops, remained largely unaffected, and oil has been the lifeblood of the economy, accounting for 95% of all foreign exchange earnings.

Angola's left-wing MPLA government in 1988 launched an economic recovery plan marking a departure from the rigid central planning and state control that had characterised its socialist economic policies since independence.

The plan, known as SEF, will reduce state control and overhaul loss-making state firms, open up the economy to private enterprise and ease curbs on prices, wages and the exchange rate, replacing them with a more market-oriented economic system.

Angola is also urgently seeking to reschedule with western creditors part of its foreign debt, which now totals $6bn, including servicing payments. To be able to do this, it has applied to join the IMF, whose council of directors approved the request in June.

A confidential World Bank report on the economy in 1988 recommends a large devaluation of the kwanza, a lifting of price controls and effective measures to cut the budget deficit.

Government hopes that peace and improvements in foreign investment laws and procedures will attract foreign companies who already play a leading role in the thriving oil industry.

Rebuilding

With the end of fighting, the country's extensive road and rail transport system will benefit immediately.

A programme has already been launched to start rebuilding the war-hit Benguela Railway that bisects Angola's farming heartland and can carry Zambian and Zairean mineral exports.

Agriculture will benefit. Before independence and the outbreak of war, Angola was a net food exporter and a major coffee producer.

Diamond mining, also badly hit by the war, has nevertheless improved since 1986, producing over one-million carats in 1988. This is expected to rise dramatically. — Ruter.
Victory wrangle resurfaces

Cuba won Angolan war, claims Castro

Political Staff

Controversy has again arisen over who won the Angolan war following claims by Cuba's President Fidel Castro that his tactics outwitted the South Africans.

South Africa, on the other hand, stands by its claim that its military victory in support of Unita resulted in peace negotiations, according to a Defence Ministry spokesman.

Two interpretations

President Castro made his claims in a detailed account of the closing stages of the war in southern Angola.

Dr D A S Herbst, communications chief for Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, said at the weekend there appeared to be two interpretations of President Castro's claims in published versions of his account — one in which he admits defeat and one in which he claims victory.

However, it had been widely acknowledged that had it not been for the military defeat suffered by the Cuban and Angolan forces, there would not have been peace in the region.

Dr Herbst said it had been repeatedly stated that the South African forces, which never numbered more than 3,000, had achieved "fantastic victories" in Angola.

This had occurred in the battles which began towards the end of 1987, initially at Lomka River, north of Mavinga, where there had been a concentration of Cuban/Angolan forces.

Because of that situation, South Africa had entered in support of Unita and drove the Cuban/Angolan forces out and northwards in the direction of Cuito Cuanavale.

In those battles, which continued till early 1988, only 31 South African were killed, compared with 7,000 to 10,000 members of the Cuban/Angolan forces.

Ninety-four Soviet tanks were destroyed in addition to radar systems and missile launchers. According to estimates, the Cuban/Angolan losses amounted to something like R3 billion.

Bravado

Dr Herbst said Castro was known as a person "who speaks with bravado".

But there could be no doubt that Cuba had been given a "bloody nose" in the final stages of the war. South Africa's military successes opened the way for the diplomats to move in, and then the peace process began, he said.

See Page 9.
Angola peace before year out — Cohen

By ALAN DUNN
Political Staff

FINAL settlement in Angola would come before the year was out, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, said last night.

Continuing his note of optimism about developments in the southern African region, he said national reconciliation and the peace process in war-torn Angola was "coming along quite nicely".

Mr Cohen was speaking on the doorstep of the Union Buildings after talks lasting more than an hour with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha. He is due today to see the Mr F W de Klerk, United Democratic Front leaders and the African National Congress leader, Mr Govan Mbeki, as well.

"I expect final settlement in Angola certainly before the end of this year," Mr Cohen said. The peace process in that region was on track, and efforts to bring peace to Mozambique were on the right track as well.

Useful

Mr Cohen, President Bush's top African policy maker, said recently Mr Botha had suggested the US should become involved in the Mozambique peace project "and we are now exploring how to do that".

He said the Bush Administration was prepared to enter the Mozambican initiative "more deeply" than the Reagan Administration had been, and would "possibly talk to the Renamo (rebels) group if President Chissano considers this useful to his efforts to bring peace to the country".

Mr Botha said he had found the discussions with Mr Cohen very useful. They followed talks he had had with Mr Cohen in Rome, and with US Secretary of State James Baker.

Mr Botha said they had talked briefly of the importance of events taking place in southern Africa, Mozambique, the implementation of the United Nations peace plan for Namibia, and US-South African relations.

Responding to a question on what he had meant previously by progress in the country depending on black people, Mr Cohen said there was a symbiotic relationship between black and white South Africans. There had to be a negotiated settlement.

---

Funeral Mass for Archbishop Naidoo

By KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

THE funeral Mass for Archbishop Stephen Naidoo will be held in the Good Hope Centre next week following requiem Masses in all parishes in the archdiocese.

Bishop Lawrence Henry, auxiliary bishop of the Cape Town diocese, was yesterday elected diocesan administrator to take charge until the appointment of a new archbishop, who will be appointed by the Vatican after a consultation process which usually takes about a year.

The Rev Clifford Stokes, chancellor of the diocese, said Bishop Henry was elected by the college of consultors convoked in terms of the provisions of church law.

Two requiem Masses were to be held in London today for Archbishop Naidoo.

Archbishop Naidoo, 51, died in his sleep on Saturday at his brother's home in London where he was recovering from ananga attack.

His body will be brought back to Cape Town where it will lie in state in St Mary's Cathedral from Tuesday next week.

The lying-in-state will begin with a requiem Mass at 10am and a vigil will be held throughout the day and night until 10pm on Wednesday when the cathedral will be closed.

The funeral Mass in the Good Hope Centre will be held at 2pm on Wednesday and a private burial will follow at the cathedral.
Cohen predicts US policy change

Settlement in Angola before ‘end of year’

Political Correspondent

There will be a final settlement in Angola before the end of the year, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen said last night.

Speaking as he left the Union Buildings in Pretoria after more than an hour of talks with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Plk Botha, Mr Cohen was optimistic about developments in the southern African region.

He said national reconciliation and the peace process in war-torn Angola was “coming along quite nicely”.

Today, Mr Cohen sees National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, United Democratic Front leaders and banned African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki.

“I expect final settlement in Angola certainly before the end of this year,” said Mr Cohen, adding that the peace process in the region was on track, as were efforts to bring peace to Mozambique.

His remark about Mozam- bique points to a strong desire in the West to see settlement there, as Mr de Klerk learnt during his recent overseas trip.

It also appears to indicate an eagerness in the South African Foreign Ministry to launch peace efforts in Mozambique.

Mr Cohen, President George Bush’s top Africa policymaker, said recently that progress in South Africa depended on “black people, Mr Cohen said there was a symbiotic relationship between black and white South Africans. There had to be a negotiated settlement.

“We can do nothing unilaterally in this country anymore,” he said, noting that this was his personal analysis, not that of the Bush administration.

Asked whether his policy would be any different to the Reagan administration’s much criticised policy of constructive engagement, he said: “You can expect it to change.”

Exploring:

“We are now exploring how to do that.”

The Bush administration was prepared to become involved in the Mozambique initiative more deeply than the Reagan administration, and “possibly talk to Renamo if President Chisiano (of Mozambique) considers it useful to his efforts for peace”.

Mr Botha said he had found the discussions with Mr Cohen very useful. They had talked briefly of the importance of events taking place in southern Africa and Mozambique, implementation of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia, and US-South African relations.

Mr Cohen met members of the Democratic Party for lunch yesterday and met Minister of Law and Order Mr Adrian Vlok.

Replying to a question on what he had meant when he said recently that progress in South Africa depended on “black people, Mr Cohen said there was a symbiotic relationship between black and white South Africans. There had to be a negotiated settlement.

“Nothing can be done unilaterally in this country anymore,” he said, noting that this was his personal analysis, not that of the Bush administration.

Asked whether his policy would be any different to the Reagan administration’s much criticised policy of constructive engagement, he said: “You can expect it to change.”
Dos Santos picks up peace talks

LUANDA — Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos left for the Congo yesterday to huddle with two other African presidents in an attempt to salvage talks he broke off with Angolan rebels after they reportedly violated a week-long ceasefire meant to end the 14-year civil war.

Angolan sources said the meeting would take place in the town of Pointe Noire with Congo president Denis Sassou N’Gesso and Gabon president Omar Bongo, both of whom have taken a leading role as mediators in inter-African conflicts.

Dos Santos returned home on Saturday after breaking off talks in Kinshasa, Zaire, with Unita rebels.

The Angolan government claimed Unita had violated the ceasefire, signed on June 22 in Gbadolite, Zaire, and sealed with a handshake between Dos Santos and Unita chief Jonas Savimbi.

Yesterday Angolan news agency Angop said five people died last Thursday when Unita rebels attacked a convoy of vehicles belonging to a local coffee co-operative near the town of Cambambe, 180km southeast of Luanda.

Angolan authorities said 10 people were injured in another attack on a civilian convoy and blamed Unita for sabotaging power lines leading from the Cambambe dam to Luanda.

Denial

In an editorial yesterday Angop called the ceasefire the "indispensable condition" for seeking peace.

Unita issued a statement in Lisbon on Saturday denying breaking the ceasefire and affirming "total engagement in the process of peace and national reconciliation begun on Gbadolite".

The diplomatic shuttling over the weekend between Luanda, Luaka and Kinshasa and Dos Santos’s departure yesterday indicated Angola’s interest in getting talks back on the track, diplomats said. — Sapa-AP.
Confidence on Angola peace

ABIDJAN — US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen said yesterday he was confident the Angolan civil war could be ended, and that he believed the time was almost ripe for talks on the conflict in Mozambique.

"Reconciliation in Angola has taken a first step forward, but there is much to be done. Talks will be tough and difficult, but we are confident that they will lead to a durable peace," he told an airport news conference in the Ivory Coast capital Abidjan. Cohen, who has been in SA, is due to attend a session of the joint monitoring commission supervising the Angolan and Namibian peace process in Luanda on July 7 and 8 before visiting other countries in the region. — Sapa-Reuters.
Define ceasefire controls – Savimbi

ABIDJAN (Ivory Coast) — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday called for ways to verify compliance with a two-week-old ceasefire agreement that both sides in Angola’s civil war accuse the other of violating.

"I think we have so far had 47 violations on the part of the MPLA. We have to study the mechanisms of the ceasefire and define controls," Dr Savimbi told a news conference in Abidjan.

The MPLA said on Wednesday it had noted at least 30 violations of the ceasefire by Unita.

Dr Savimbi said the Angolan government had continued bombarding Unita positions.

AMMUNITION
Reconnaissance flights over Unita-controlled territory and operations to resupply government forces with food and ammunition were also continuing, he added.

On Wednesday Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem, briefing foreign diplomats in Luanda, accused Unita of trying to distort the terms of the peace plan.

Mr Van-Dunem said that since the ceasefire went into effect Unita had systematically destroyed a number of power lines and electricity pylons.

The Minister added that Dr Savimbi was trying to "play tricks" with details of the peace plan.
Torture outcry crocodile tears — Swapo

SWAPO has reacted to the international outcry over allegations that it tortured and killed dissidents in Angola by describing the claims as part of a South African campaign to weaken the movement.

More than 100 former detainees who returned to Namibia under United Nations protection last week said they were subjected to horrific torture in Angolan camps — held in underground pits and forced to confess they were South African agents.

Both the United States and South African governments have expressed "grave concern" over the allegations.

Speaking from Windhoek yesterday, Swapo information secretary Hidipo Hamutenya said the claims of maltreatment of prisoners were "part of a longstanding campaign to weaken Swapo", planned and implemented by South Africa.

"South Africa trained 50 000 Namibians to fight against Swapo and independence," he said. "Only a cynic of the highest order would not accept that they also trained a fifth column of spies.

"In a war situation these agents who infiltrated the ranks of Swapo had to be isolated and neutralised — why now the crocodile tears for them?"

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha says as many as 2 000 detainees are still being held by Swapo.

He is to raise the matter at a meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission in Luanda today, and the US State Department has requested a report from the Angolan and other Southern African governments.

According to Swapo, the number of detainees was 201. This is the figure the UN High Commissioner for Refugees is working with.

Hamutenya said all had been released and "I want to assure you that we didn't kill any of the detainees, nor did Swapo ever authorise any torture. If it happened at all, it would have been an excess outside the rules and regulations of Swapo."

Regarding allegations that people were still in detention, Hamutenya said: "Botha is flogging a dead horse. The issue is closed. Some have opted to return to Namibia, others haven't — we are not holding anybody.

"South Africa's administration general in Namibia, Louis Botha, has refused to release Namibian political prisoners until he is satisfied that all Swapo's detainees are free."

The "inevitability" of the detention camps was merely one of the "painful and tragic consequences, of a long, very bloody war imposed on Namibia by South Africa," Hamutenya said. "That was the first crime."

He believed the issue was now being used in an attempt to divide Namibians further. "But the strategy will fail. These people (the detainees) must have their say, and then the Namibian people will decide."

"But I think South Africa is likely to use estimates of the level of kills against the war. Thousands and thousands of Namibians perished, many of them as a direct result of brutality. You couldn't very well ask people to go and fight and die for them and then say you would not deal with those who were betraying them."

"It was not possible to release the detainees until the ceasefire was signed."
Odd as it sounds, we are Angola’s last, best hope

KEN OWEN

In the Church of Our Lady of Nazareth, built in 1605, the exquisite blue tiles that cover the main walls have begun to come loose, and have been replaced — with tiles in the wrong order, so that an angel’s head now rests just off her left shoulder, with a caravelle under sail where her head should be. The women who kneel before a red-robed statue of Christ, hands raised in supplication, moan and mutter in desperate prayer. Some of them, losing patience with the silent Christ, pound the altar with their fists. The church offers its own consolation outside, there is none. A European ambassador complains that the banks will not issue, nor honour, cheques. To pay the grocery bill, the embassy sends a letter to the bank manager, asking him to transfer funds to the seller; the bank acknowledges the instruction by letter, and the merchant delivers his merchandise against the bank’s letter.

The message from every quarter is the same: the Namibian peace has changed perceptions of South Africa in a fundamental way. South Africa is seen as incapable of negotiation, difficult to engage, but trustworthy when it pledged its word. The appalling prospect of endless war against the region’s super-power — I quote an American — has lifted a bit. Neither Africa nor diplomacy is unfamiliar to me, but I have never encountered anything like the wastefulness, the longing to be friends, that I found in Lusaka.

The anti-colonial revolution has gone appallingly wrong. From Luanda to Dar es Salaam, from Maputo to Brazzaville, African states are being wrung and torn by forces poorly understood, and beyond their control. The revolution that freed them from the colonial powers has made them slaves to chaos.

The only stability they see lies to the south, the only strength great enough to meet their needs. They are desperate for a new start, and we shall be very foolish indeed if we don’t at least try to help them to do so.
Savimbi problem: delays Angolan talks
LUANDA — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has undertaken to release a member of South Africa’s 202 Battalion being held in prison in Luanda.

The undertaking was given at the conclusion of the fourth meeting of the Joint commission of South Africa, Angola and Cuba in Luanda.

The announcement of the imminent release of Rifleman Petrus of the Kayango battalion, whose surname is not known, follows a visit to him in prison by the International Red Cross. — Sapa.
Angolan peace process will go on, says Cohen

By Brendan Scery

The Star’s Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, says he does not believe that the reported violations of the Angolan ceasefire will derail the peace process.

Speaking at Windhoek airport after a brief visit to Namibia, Mr Cohen yesterday said it was to be expected that a ceasefire after 14 years of war could not be implemented within 24 hours.

He said he believed the Angolan nation was “so exhausted by war” that negotiations would soon be resumed.

Mr Cohen said when negotiations resumed between the MPLA and Unita, they would be difficult and long, “but I believe it will end with a unified Angola which will have achieved national reconciliation”.

During his stay in Windhoek, Mr Cohen held talks with SA Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar and UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Mr Cohen said he believed implementation of the Resolution 435 independence plan for Namibia had now “gone beyond the irreversible stage”.

He added he was concerned about reports of the fear engendered by the police presence in northern Namibia, and of the repatriation of the remainder of the people who had been released from detention by Swapo.

He added that, during the two days he spent in South Africa last week, he had been encouraged by what he saw as a “considerable amount of new thinking going on inside South Africa”. From black and white leaders he had heard the word “negotiation” used extensively.

“I believe that after the September 6 elections, there is some hope for a move towards a negotiated settlement.”

He refused to comment, however, on whether President George Bush might set certain preconditions for a meeting with National Party leader Mr F.W. de Klerk, and he likewise would not be drawn on future US policy in the region, save to say that it was under review and that Mr. Bush would be the person to enunciate it.
Talks with rebels resume

LUSAKA — Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van-Dunen said peace talks between the government and the rebel movement Unita will resume this month, Angolan national radio reported yesterday.

The government suspended talks with Unita more than a week ago after accusing the rebels of breaking a ceasefire agreed at a summit of African leaders in Zaire on June 22.

Visit

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said on Saturday the talks would be resumed once the ceasefire was restored.

Angolan radio did not say when or where the talks would restart.

Speaking to reporters in Luanda on Sunday, Van-Dunen also criticised what he called the incoherence of US policy towards Angola.

He said Washington, while maintaining it supported a plan by the Angolan government to end the country's 14-year-old civil war, continued to support Unita.

Van-Dunen was speaking after a visit to Luanda by US Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs Herman Cohen.

Washington has never recognised the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) government which declared independence from Portugal in 1975.

LISBON — Angola's UNITA rebels killed 13 people in the latest violation of a ceasefire agreed last month, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported yesterday.

The agency said the rebels killed 11 civilians last Friday in an attack on a supply convoy near Chinguar in the central province of Bie.

The previous day two people were killed in an ambush outside Caculama in the northern province of Malanje, Angop said, citing official sources in Luanda.

Angola's Marxist government and the UNITA rebels have swapped charges of violations since the ceasefire went into effect on June 24. — Sapa-Reuters.
EC mission for southern Africa

PARIS — European Community foreign ministers agreed yesterday to send a mission to Angola and Mozambique to demonstrate support for peace moves in southern Africa.

French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, after chairing a meeting of the 12 ministers, told a news conference some had also wanted an EC delegation to visit SA.

But he said it would be better to wait until after the elections and the expected transfer of power from President P W Botha to NP leader F W de Klerk.

The delegation would involve officials of the EC’s present, past and next chairmen — France, Spain and Ireland.

Dumas said the mission will allow us to appreciate how the Community can support the efforts of certain governments to achieve national reconciliation and re-launch their economies.

Ministers expressed concern about events in Israel, where Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir’s Likud party has toughened conditions for elections in the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

EC leaders recently argued against such conditions fearing they would choke off the Middle East peace process.

Dumas said ministers agreed to study providing more aid for Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories.

Diplomats said they agreed to ask China to allow international observers at trials following the recent protests.

— Sapa Reuter.
UNITA repeats demands in Lisbon

LISBON — The Angolan rebel movement UNITA reiterated its demands for free elections, a new constitution and a new order in Marxist-ruled Angola at a Press conference held in Lisbon yesterday.

UNITA representative in the Portuguese capital, Alcides Sakhalia, said that while UNITA strongly supported the Ghadolite accord—signed in Zaire on June 22—the process of peace was only now beginning.

UNITA and the ruling MPLA government would be putting forward their proposals in a series of discussions starting in Kinshasa shortly.

He declined to put a timetable on the process but some sources admit it could take as long as two years to pacify the country and reach agreement on power sharing, demilitarisation, elections and a new constitution.

Sakhalia said the former colonial power, Portugal, had missed the boat and now had no role to play in furthering the peace process. He attacked the Lisbon government’s uncritical support for the Marxist regime in Angola, saying a more even-handed approach was needed from a country which had handed over Angola at independence to three liberation movements, among them UNITA.

He squashed “once and for all” continuing speculation that UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi had agreed to go into exile during the peace process. He said the rebel leader had merely agreed not to participate in any future transition government in Angola.

In a communiqué read during the conference, UNITA demanded that Lisbon formally recognised the UNITA delegation in Portugal, set up in 1975, and established “institutional relations” with the guerrilla movement. This should include the despatch of a government official to UNITA’s Jamba headquarters to meet Jonas Savimbi.
Angola used deadly gas in war

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The US Defence Department is investigating claims that the Angolan government used Soviet-made chemical bombs against Unita as recently as April this year.

Professor Aubin Heyndrickx, head of the Department of Toxicology at the University of Ghent in Belgium, is currently in Washington to brief Defence Department experts and other influential Americans on his findings of the use of a deadly new gas, calcium cyanide, in the Angolan war.

ATROCITY

He said in an interview on Wednesday that it was alarming that much of the Western world had closed its eyes to the atrocity of chemical warfare in Angola. Much of this had to do with the fact that Western countries were keen to improve relations with the Soviet Union or because they were anxious to see reconciliation between the MPLA and Unita.

The fact remained, though, that the Soviet Union had apparently been testing a devastating new type of chemical bomb in the jungles of Angola — a weapon for which the Western countries were completely unprepared.

Professor Heyndrickx said between 400 and 600 Angolan civilians were suffering from irreversible damage to their sensory organs as a result of the chemical weapons.

His tests had shown the gas used in the bomb was a simple and cheaply-manufactured compound of calcium and cyanide Ca(CN)2. It was released over a target area in a mixture of gas and dust. The closer victims were to the point of detonation, the more seriously they were affected.

He said his findings had been supported by academics in other European capitals, but there were also people who had tried to insist that the victims he had tested were suffering from tropical diseases or viruses.

Professor Heyndrickx said Unita had located the whereabouts of an unexploded chemical bomb, and there were sites in Angola where the calcium cyanide dust could still be found.

PEACE TALKS

He challenged any authority to verify his findings by visiting the area, taking samples and testing the victims.

Sapa-AP reports from Luanda that direct peace talks between the Angolan government and Unita rebels were to resume in the Zairean capital of Kinshasa on Sunday, sources close to the government said yesterday.

Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Duren said talks would probably start before the end of July, but a Unita spokesman told journalists in Portugal on Wednesday that a rebel delegation had left for Kinshasa in the hope of meeting government officials for talks.
Defence Correspondent SADF Chief General Jan
nie Geldenhuys yesterday expressed concern about whether the ceasefire declared in Angola between Unita and the MPLA would be honoured.

Addressing a Pretoria Press Club lunch, he said he was "very worried" about the situation because a ceasefire usually followed talks, whereas in this case the ceasefire had preceded the negotiations.

Turning to Namibia, he said many Unita troops there tried to be impartial, but there had also been many cases of bias— even some against Swapo. The question of intimidation by Swapo was, in fact, a more serious matter.

Cuban withdrawal from Angola was going according to schedule, according to all indications. There were even cases of Cuban forces leaving ahead of schedule, so "they appear to be serious about sticking to the agreement."
Angolan talks face ceasefire problem

KINSHASA. - Peace talks aimed at ending the 14-year civil war in Angola resumed yesterday morning, with negotiators faced with finding a way to stabilise a ceasefire.

Foreign minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Denem led the Angolan delegation which had originally pulled out of the talks two weeks ago, claiming guerrilla leader Dr Jonas Savimbi's forces were violating the ceasefire.

Dr Savimbi, the leader of Unita, arrived in the Zaire capital yesterday morning for a meeting with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, government sources here said. Dr Savimbi has excluded himself from direct participation in the meetings.

Dr Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos agreed to a ceasefire and peace negotiations on June 22. Under the agreement, the ceasefire was to begin on June 24.

The Angolan national news agency, Angop, said its delegation left on Saturday for Kinshasa, carrying a special message for Mr Mobutu. The agency also said Angola's council of ministers held a special session on Friday to discuss the government's plan for the negotiations. - Sapa-AP
Objections to IMF membership "purely political"

LISBON — Angola yesterday urged Western countries to ignore US objections to its application to join the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Briefing foreign diplomats, Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem dismissed US opposition as "purely political" and pledged his country would meet IMF obligations.

Bankers say Angola needs IMF and World Bank membership to help reschedule about $4bn of foreign debt and carry out economic reforms.

Van-Dunem referred to peace moves under way to end 14 years of civil war and said IMF aid could help Angola rebuild social and economic infrastructure destroyed in the war.

The minister, whose remarks were carried by the Angolan news agency Angop monitored in Lisbon, said IMF officials were due to vote on the matter on July 18. He called on the diplomats to use their influence.

At the same time Unita leader Jonas Savimbi called for ways to verify compliance with the two-week-old ceasefire agreement that both sides accuse the other of violating.

Savimbi told a news conference in the Ivory Coast economic capital of Abidjan that there had been 47 MPLA violations of the ceasefire.

The MPLA said earlier it had noted at least 30 violations by Unita.

Savimbi denied his men had violated the ceasefire, but he said it was not clear from the Gbadolite agreement what constituted a violation.

"Is air reconnaissance a violation of the ceasefire or not? Resupplying garrisons: is it a violation or not?"

Savimbi said the peace process had a long way to go, but he was still optimistic and for Unita "there is no question of going back".

On Wednesday Van-Dunem accused Unita of trying to distort the terms of the peace plan.

Privately, Angolan officials say Savimbi has accepted an idea for him to temporarily keep out of Angolan politics and even leave the country.

But Savimbi said he did not intend to disappear quietly.

"If I'm not dead and haven't been killed they cannot ask me nicely to go elsewhere," he added.

"I am going to stay at the head of my movement until we can organise elections. The idea of exile shows a certain weakness on the part of the other side." — Sapa-Reuters.
DP delegates go to Angola and Maputo

A DP delegation will meet Angolan government members in Luanda today and is expected to meet Mozambique government representatives in Maputo before returning to SA tomorrow.

Delegation leader and DP co-leader Wynand Malan confirmed from Luanda yesterday that the delegation would meet the Angolan government today. He could not confirm if Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos would be present, but sources said he was expected to be.

Malan would not confirm if the party would proceed to Maputo for talks with President Joaquim Chissano and members of his government, but DP sources said the delegation was expected there.

The delegation met the ANC and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda at the weekend. Malan described the talks with Kaunda as "excellent".

Kaunda indicated a willingness to meet NP leader P W de Klerk. He told Malan he would "size up" De Klerk and if he got a positive response he would even be prepared to meet De Klerk again in Pretoria.

Malan said it was agreed stability in the southern African region could be achieved only by understanding and communication.

The delegation discussed the DP’s vision and explained its aim to promote interaction among all political organisations.

"Whatever happens in the general election and whatever government emerges, contact with that government will have to be continued and promoted," Malan said.

The two parties agreed that unless the southern African states "got their houses in order", Western investment could go to Eastern bloc countries in the light of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev’s initiatives and glasnost policy.

This could jeopardise economic development and much-needed capital investment in the southern African region, Malan said.

It was agreed heads of the Frontline states could play a major role in stabilising the southern African region and needed to promote the concept of talking, with a view to negotiation, he said.

It was also agreed talks should be held without preconditions being met so that preconditions, regarded as obstacles to negotiations, could be resolved by talking.

Kaunda felt very strongly there was potential for a volcanic eruption in SA because of the NP government’s apartheid policy, Malan said.

The DP conveyed the message there was fluidity in SA politics and a window of opportunity was opening for real political progress provided all political parties could communicate.

It is believed the DP delegation hoped to convey the same message to the Angolan and Mozambique governments.

Malan said the ANC, with whom they spoke for seven hours, was becoming more flexible and aware of the need for new initiatives, but he would not elaborate on this.
Moz-SA talks to include peace

JOHANNESBURG. — President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique says that although an agenda has not yet been drawn up for his meeting tomorrow with the leader of the National Party, Mr FW de Klerk, he is sure the peace initiatives in Southern Africa, including the independence of Namibia, will be one of the matters discussed.

Meanwhile, reports from Harare say that Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe yesterday welcomed the latest meetings between President PW Botha, Mr De Klerk and black leaders, but warned that there would have to be one man one vote before apartheid was abolished in his eyes.

Commenting on the meeting between President Botha and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Mugabe said he had agreed with fellow non-aligned movement leaders "that the mere release of Mandela would not be a solution if apartheid continues".

He also said yesterday that his government would "take action" if it was satisfied that South Africa was funding the Zimbabwe Unity Movement led by Mr Edgar Tekere, the news agency Ziana reports. — Sapa

New start for Angolan talks

KINSHASA. — Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko met delegations from both sides in Angola's civil war on Sunday, clearing the way for direct talks to resume tomorrow, an Angolan spokesman said.

Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro Van Dunem, in announcing the resumption of talks, suspended when his government accused Dr Jonas Savimbi's guerrillas of violating a ceasefire, said it was hoped the meetings would be fruitful.

The talks are aimed at ending the 14-year civil war. The most pressing task will be to stabilise a ceasefire that was to have begun June 24. — Sapa-AP
Drug trade was not reason for Ochoa's
career.

OCHOA SANCHEZ ... genius Cuban commander in Angola executed last week.

RAUL CASTRO ... complained Ochoa was popular with his troops.

FIDEL CASTRO ... had not decided who to credit with victory at Cuito Cuanavale.

Angolans were unable and unwilling to pay their bills. As a professional loyal to fellow Cubans — if not their government — Ochoa was forced to rely on extraordinary means to keep the show going. He turned, like countless Cuban officers before him, to the Castros, the black market.

To finance construction of two airstrips, one outside Luanda, the other near Namibia, he had his officers sell sugar, the one commodity of which the Cubans had plenty, for dollars which then, according to witness Colonel Antonio Rodriguez Estupinan, were exchanged for kwanzas at a rate of 2.500 kwanzas to the dollar, nearly a thousand times the official rate.

Anxious as they were for real money, Angolan entrepreneurs obviously found this a little rich for their blood and were soon offering uncut diamonds for the sugar. At first, the Cubans hit, even acquiring an electronic device to test whether the stones were genuine. It was not a happy enterprise. One officer testified that there were problems with the machine because of the frequent power cuts in Luanda. Ochoa then ran into a more serious fact of life called the central selling organisation. No reputable dealer or jeweller would touch the merchandise, meaning that it was relatively valueless.

Accepted

And so it was with most of the general's endeavours to raise cash. An attempt to sell meat to a French middleman in the Congo (where Cuban officers seemed to come and go as they pleased), failed because the meat, imported from Cuba, was of inferior quality. Televisions were also shipped over but no one would buy them because they were incompatible with Angola's broadcast system. In a number of other deals, the Angolans just seemed cattle businessmen.

But then, the Cubans were not above raping off the Angolans either. Ochoa admitted that he had accepted money from President Eduardo dos Santos ($5 m (about R15 m) according to the moralistic prosecutor) to purchase five C-130 transport aircraft (the MPLA was and is desperately short of airlift) and "one or two batteries of long-range Howitzers, the G 8 hind". The purchase order was never filled, even though US intelligence sources
real death

think South African suppliers would be more than eager to sell the equipment through a third country.

Popular

Where did all this money go? According to subordinates called to the witness stand, Ochoa insisted nothing be taken out of Angola, as per standing orders. Even those staging the show found themselves hard put to establish that the general had enriched himself. A piddling $40,000 (R12,000) seems to have found its way to a bank account in Panama but that may well have been part of the government's own sanctioned operation.

2.6.2 EMF

Employment of workers in agriculture slumps in 1978-1988. Ochoa also said, or rather was allowed to say, that he had used proceeds to purchase radio equipment for the Cuban military back home. All in all, he seemed more interested in obtaining air conditioners, improving barracks and otherwise looking after the welfare of his own men.

This is the real clue to Ochoa's demise. As Raul Castro complained, he was popular. That, as the government has long been aware of this, is a dangerous thing for a general to be when he has a large number of disillusioned veterans at his back — veterans, in Ochoa's case, who had not only been pressed into fighting a meaningless war in a distant and none too hospitable land, but who also had very little to return home to except the welcome of some smarmy apparatchiks on the Havana docks and an empty promise of employment.

Anxiety

Whether Ochoa had designs against Castro, and there is reason to believe he did, Ochoa posed a serious threat to the regime. Because of his military exploits in Ethiopia during the 70s, elsewhere, he was one of the few men Fidel had allowed the State-run Press to treat as a star. People recognised and cheered him on the streets. Worse, he had strong ties to Moscow and was an admirer of Mikhail Gorbachev, whose economic and political reforms he wished Cuba to emulate. Finally, he was a member of a rising generation that knows it will inherit but sees itself blocked by the layer of entrenched bureaucracy that ties between it and Castro.

Proof of the regime's anxiety about the man is that they did not simply make him disappear in an airplane accident or some such tragic accident. A piece of theatre had to be staged that he might be made to seem the devil incarnate — a man who grabbed for money by the slightest means while his soldiers laid down their lives at Cuito Cuanavale. Then, as an example and to prevent him becoming a rallying point, he had to be shot.

To make sure he played the game, his children were brought to see him in jail on Father's Day.

Figure 2.6.1: OUTPUT: FOOD SECTOR 1978-1988
Angola: (5)
Unita and govt meet
LUANDA. — Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem says talks slated for today between his government and Unita rebels could develop a "solid and durable" peace in a country wracked by 14 years of civil war, a state newspaper said yesterday.

Mr Van Dunem, spoke after a meeting with Zairean President Mr Mobutu Sese Soko, the mediator in talks due to resume in Zaire to discuss mechanisms for monitoring a June 24 ceasefire.

Mr Mobutu met both Mr van Dunem and Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi on Sunday for talks anticipating the resumption of official negotiations.

Rebel spokesmen deny government reports that today's talks will include discussion of Unita members' integration into Angolan society. — Sapa-AP
Angola optimistic about talks

LUANDA — Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro van Durnem said talks designated for today between his government and Unita rebels could develop a "solid and durable" peace in a country wracked by 14-years of civil war, a state newspaper reported yesterday.

Van Durnem spoke after meeting Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, mediator in the talks due to resume in Kinshasa, Zaire, and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, to discuss mechanisms for monitoring a June 24 ceasefire.

An Angolan government delegation abandoned the first round of negotiations on July 1, claiming rebels had violated a truce agreed between Savimbi and President José Eduardo dos Santos in Gbadolite on June 22.

Both sides have reported ceasefire violations. But there has been confusion over just what was agreed to in Gbadolite.

The Angolan government claims Savimbi pledged to leave the country temporarily while Unita members were integrated into existing structures in Angola under an approved government peace plan.

But Unita spokesmen have rejected this and called for a transitional government consisting of members of both sides. — Sapa-AP.
Angola revokes medal.

LUANDA. — Angola’s national assembly has voted to revoke a decision granting the country’s Medal of Merit to Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez, the Cuban general executed on July 13 after conviction for narcotics smuggling, official sources said yesterday.

Ochoa was for many years the commander of Cuban forces backing Angola’s Marxist-orientated government.

The assembly had decided to grant him the award for “services to the fatherland.”

Sources in Luanda also said the Angolan government was to appeal for compensation from Havana, claiming Ochoa had been paid for military equipment that was never delivered. — Sapa-AP
Oil from Angola, hints DP

THE Angolan government had indicated that it was prepared to look at supplying South Africa with oil and resuming air links, Democratic Party MP for Green Point Mr Tian van der Merwe said yesterday.

He said it was obvious that a non-apartheid government or a DP government would have immediate results in opening doors in Southern Africa.
Tekere men held by CIO in Zimbabwe

MICHAEL HARTNACK
HARARE — Two members of Edgar Tekere's opposition party, the Zimbabwe Unity Movement, have been detained by the Central Intelligence Organisation in the south-eastern town of Chipinge.

ZUM spokesman Davison Gomo said Chipinge party chairman Mike Musamiripamwe and an ordinary member, Ralph Kurehwa, were picked up by CIO officers on Tuesday and were being held at an undisclosed place.

Gomo said the two were detained the previous day and cross-questioned about ZUM activities in the Chipinge area.

MPLA 'cannot dictate'

LISBON — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has said his rebel movement does not have to make concessions in talks with the Marxist government aimed at ending the country's 14-year-old civil war.

Savimbi said the only solution to the Angolan conflict was for Unita to share power with the MPLA.

"The MPLA cannot dictate conditions, because Unita is stronger and does not belong to the MPLA," Savimbi said in an interview from his headquarters in Jamba, televised in Portugal on Tuesday night.

Meanwhile, the official Zairean News Agency AZAP reported yesterday Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko would set up a group to monitor the Angolan ceasefire.

AZAP, quoting reliable sources, said an observation commission would be set up without delay to spell out how the ceasefire should be enforced and ensure strict compliance. — Sapa-Reuters.
SA politics 'block Angolan relations'

ANGOLAN Justice Minister Fernando van Dunem saw the unacceptability of SA's political system as a block to improved relations with SA, DP co-leader Wynand Malan said yesterday.

In a statement issued after his return from Lusaka, Luanda and Maputo, Malan said his DP delegation spent two hours with Van Dunem and his justice and foreign affairs officials.

Malan said issues raised by the delegation included reconciliation with UNITA, the implementation of resolution 435 and economic co-operation and development in the region. 8/Dec/91

The DP delegation argued that constructive links, independent of government, could be established with Angola.

Van Dunem said his government was committed to reconstructing the framework of the country's constitution. Angola foresaw a political solution to its war with UNITA, and did not want to solve it by military means.
Pilots who 'spied for SA' face firing squad

LISBON. — An Angolan tribunal has sentenced two air force pilots to death for spying for South Africa.

Humberto Campos Abrantes and Jose Jorge Setas Ferreira face the firing squad for passing military secrets to Pretoria, the Portuguese news agency, Lusa, said yesterday.

Campos was said to have passed on classified information including the strength of the air force and the arms it possessed.

FOR PERSONAL GAIN

Setas was charged with planning to divert a Soviet-made MI-25 helicopter to South Africa, where he would have been paid R2,5-million and given protection.

Mr Justice Augusto Costa Cerneiro told the court the two had sacrificed the country's interests for personal gain. — Sapa-Reuters.
Death sentences for two spy pilots

LISBON — An Angolan tribunal yesterday sentenced two Air Force pilots to death for spying for South Africa, the Portuguese news agency, Lusa, said.

Captain Humberto Campos Abrantes and Jose Jorge Setas Ferreira face the firing squad for passing military secrets to Pretoria from 1984 and 1985 respectively, it said.

Campos was said to have passed on classified information including the strength of the Air Force and arms it possessed.

Setas was charged with planning to divert a Soviet-made M-25 helicopter to South Africa, where he would have been paid one million dollars.

Judge Augusto Costa Cernheiro said they had sacrificed the country's interests for personal gain. "The security of our armed forces, people and state were put aside for the interests of imperialism." — Sapa-Reuters.
Two ‘SA spies’ to die

LISBON. — An Angolan tribunal yesterday sentenced two Air Force pilots to death for spying for South Africa, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

Humberto Campos Abrantes and Jose Jorge Setas Ferreira face the firing squad for passing military secrets to Pretoria in 1984 and 1985 respectively, it said. 1

Ferreira was charged with planning to divert a Soviet-made Mi-25 helicopter to South Africa, where he would have been paid $1 million (R2.7m) and given protection.

Judge Augusto Costa Cerneiro said the two had sacrificed the country’s interests for personal gain.

"The security of our armed forces, people and state were put aside for the interests of imperialism, particularly of South Africa and Unita."
Zairean plan accepted

LISBON. — Angola has accepted a Zairean plan to monitor the ceasefire between government troops and Unita rebels, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

"The Angolan government fully agrees with the proposals made by Zairean President Mobutu Seko concerning the ceasefire," Angolan armed forces chief General Antonio Franca said.

General Franca said he understood that the rebels agreed with some parts of the Zairean plan but wanted time to think over other aspects.

President Mobutu, chief mediator in the Angola peace talks, is to set up a group to monitor the ceasefire. — Sapa-Reuter
Angolans accept the monitoring of ceasefire

LISBON — Angola has accepted a Zairese plan to monitor the ceasefire between government troops and Unita rebels, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

"The Angolan government fully agrees with the proposals made by (Zairese) President Mobutu Sese Seko concerning the ceasefire," Angolan armed forces chief General Antonio Franca said, according to a dispatch monitored in Lisbon.

General Franca said he understood that the rebels agreed with some parts of the Zairese plan but wanted time to think over other aspects.

Mr Mobutu, chief mediator in the Angola peace talks, is to set up a group to monitor the ceasefire, which each side claims has been violated by the other since coming into force on June 24.

The talks are due to resume in Zaire next Monday, according to General Franca, who heads the Angolan delegation.

"Unita" rebels have fought the Marxist government since the former Portuguese colony won independence 14 years ago.

But a tentative peace agreement was worked out last month at a summit of African leaders in Zaire. — Sapa-Reuter.
Unita, MPLA blame one another for plane crash

LISBON. — The official Angolan news agency has said Angola’s Unita rebels shot down an aircraft, killing 42 people, but the guerrilla group denied it was responsible and accused the government of trying to derail peace negotiations.

Angop news agency quoted Angolan military sources as saying the Antonov-26 was hit by a ground-to-air missile on Sunday while on a domestic flight over an area of eastern Angola partly controlled by Unita.

But Mr Norberto Castro, a Unita official in Lisbon, rejected the report. “There was no Unita attack,” Mr Castro said on Portuguese television. “Unita had nothing to do with it.”

He said he had been in touch with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi who assured him the group was not involved.

Mr Castro blamed members of the ruling MPLA party who he said were trying to abort moves to end the 14-year-old civil war.

The aircraft, on a flight from Luena to Cazombo, attempted an emergency landing in a rural area about 100km from Cazombo but burst into flames.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that although the United States could not confirm that an Angolan aircraft was shot down or that Unita was responsible, any violation of the ceasefire was of great concern to the United States. — Sapa-Reuters.
Unita blast plane from the sky

LISBON. — Angola's Unita rebels shot down a plane on an internal flight on Sunday, killing 42 people, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported yesterday from Luanda.

Lusa, quoting Angolan military sources, said the Antonov-26 was hit by a rebel missile and crashed as it tried to make a forced landing.

The plane was on a flight from Luena to Cazombo, according to the agency, which did not say whether it was carrying civilians or military personnel.

Lusa said six people survived the crash at Chana about 40km from Cazombo in the eastern province of Moçambique. The missile hit one of the plane's engines, the sources said.

A shaky ceasefire to end the 14-year war has held since a summit of African leaders in Zaire on June 22. Peace talks in Zaire, stalled amid mutual charges of ceasefire violations, were due to resume next Monday.

"This is not just a case of violating the ceasefire," a military source told the agency. "In the past 72 hours Unita has clearly stepped up its war effort again."

"Angola cannot allow Unita to act with impunity," the source was quoted as saying when asked if the plane attack could wreck the peace process. — Sapa-Reuters
42 killed when Unita downs military plane

LUANDA — Unita rebels shot down a Soviet-built Angolan military plane on a domestic flight, killing 42 of the 48 people on board, the state news agency Angop reported yesterday.

The plane, a twin-propeller Antonov 26, was carrying a delegation of regional officials from Luena to Cazombo in eastern Moçâmedes province on Sunday, when it was hit in the left engine by a missile, a military official in Luanda said.

According to the official, the plane was forced to make a crash landing in the bush about 40km west of Cazombo.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa reported a woman and a 15-year-old child were among six survivors, but Cazombo’s municipal commissioner died in the crash.

Unita’s spokesman in Lisbon could not be reached for immediate comment.

“This is more than a ceasefire violation,” Lusa quoted an unnamed military source as saying yesterday, adding that reports of Unita attacks on government troop positions had increased over the weekend.

Attacked

“Angola cannot tolerate Unita continuing to act with impunity,” Lusa quoted the source as saying, adding that the flight of violations could force the government to postpone talks with the rebels due to resume in Zaire next Monday.

On Sunday, the rebels attacked and occupied the towns of Quimbélé and Culumbo, near the Zairean border, the Luanda official said.

And the rebels ambushed vehicles in Lunda South province on Monday, killing 16 people, and fired mortars over Kuito, the provincial capital of Bie, killing two or three people, he added.

Quimbélé has been mentioned recently as a possible northern Angolan base for Unita rebels, in addition to its current southern Jamba stronghold.

The government delegation was apparently on its way to Cazombo to explain to provincial populations the terms of an agreement reached with Unita in Gbadolite, Zaire, last month, the official said.

Government forces and Unita rebels have accused each other of violating the Gbadolite ceasefire, which only lasted a week. — Sapa-AFP.
Fidel Castro’s story: How I ended the war in Angola

By SIMON BARBER
WASHINGTON — The fashionable view says Pretoria agreed to withdraw its Angolan and Namibian troops from Angola on July 9 when it met to confirm the death sentence on Division General Arnaud Ochoa Sanchez, chief of the Cuban Military Mission in Angola from November 1987 to January this year.

Instead, it becomes clear that in mid-1987 Castro had concluded that the MPLA was a military and economic basket case, whipped in the field and four years behind in the trifling S200m a year Cuba was claiming to be charging for its services. South Africa and Unita had won. For Castro, the only acceptable course was to stage a display of military prowess and go home.

Castro was so determined that nothing should embroil his army longer than absolutely necessary that he virtually abandoned all other duties to finish the war from Havana. To ensure the MPLA would not prevaricate behind his back, he ordered a Cuban seat at the negotiating table. When talks ended, he gathered his forces and embarked on a single-handed effort to win the war.

Cuban Leader Recalls Single-Handed Effort

The immediate purpose of the July 9 speech was to denigrate Ochoa’s role in the last year of the war by portraying him as lazy, incompetent, insur- borated and venal. To make this credible, Castro felt it necessary to describe the defence of Cuito Cuanavale and Cuba’s subsequent flanking offensive towards the Namibian border in detail. He even quoted from cables he sent Ochoa and his field commander, General Leopoldo Cintra Frías.

This is the picture Castro painted...

When Ochoa reached Luanda in November 1987 the Angolan army and its Soviet advisors were in headlong retreat after their routed at Ma-vungo. As Castro put it, “the situation grew ex- traordinarily worse because of the increasing South African onslaught and the danger that the concentration of Angolan troops at Cuito Cuanavale would be annihilated”.

On November 15 Cuba began landing the first of 15,000 reinforcements, including “our best pilots”. “Everybody was asking us to do something,” Castro explained, indicating the thinly veiled contempt for his allies, “and we had no choice because we were in no way responsible for the errors that had led to that situation.”

Castro, as a result, issued an order to end the offensive and allow a military and political catastrophe.

Meanwhile, there was panic and mutual re- crimmination at the Angolan-Cuban-Soviet oper- ational centre in Lubango: “Many problems had to be solved.” Ochoa, to judge from remarks last month by Cuban Defence Minister Raúl Castro, believed he had been appalled by what he found, reportedly remarking: “I have been sent to a lost war that I will be blamed for the defeat.”

In mid-December word reached Havana that the joint command had agreed, allegedly with Ochoa’s blessing but in his absence, to a retreat from Cuito Cuanavale to the next town up the road to Huambo — north to the Benguela line and west to the new situation that had arisen in central Angola caused by Unita actions supported by South African advisors.

Though Castro’s account is somewhat muddled here, it appears Unita was close to taking Cuito Cuanavale, the eastern end of the Benguela line and mounting operations flately rejected this, signalling on January 12 that “as long as South Africa’s intervention is totally clarified, there must be no thought of moving” forces north.

The following day the SADF and Unita attacked the three Angolan brigades holding a defen- sive line to the east of Cuito Cuanavale and sepa- rated from the town by the Cuito River. The Cu- bans, who at that point “did not have a single man in Cuito”, promptly ordered a “tactical group with a tank battle, ar- tillery and heavy weapons” to the front from Menongue.

Castro had made up his mind that the Angolans would make a stand at Cuito. By his own account, he told the MPLA Cuba was taking charge. There followed a “battle” of wills as Castro, with the help of his generals, sorted him with almost daily orders to pull back and shorten the defensive line — compris- ing the 59th, 25th and 21st Angolan Brigades strung out over 18 km, about 15 km east of the Cuito River — so that it could be covered by artil- lery to the west.

The Angolans were hopelessly slow in comply- ing. Ochoa was briefly recalled to Havana and told in no uncertain terms to “overcome any resistance from our An- golan allies to readiness to fight the front lines”. To pre- vail, “days and days went by”. The front had been possible had they been managed to cut off the Angolans they had run into on the way to Cuito. The Angolans were no longer a factor in the war. On the contrary, the Cubans had secured their flank.

It was time for Castro’s grand stroke — the ges- ture that would save Cuban honour unhammered by Angolan incompetence and with Castro had been adament Cuito should not fall. On March 28, under generals Cintra Frías and Miguel Lorencín Leon, a reinforced Cuban main force was ordered to the Namibian border. “The most important of all strategic operations had begun.”

By early June the Cubans, having met almost no resistance, had built a fortified airstrip at Ru- hama and were at work on a second at Xunguogo. The “battle” was at least as south by Chupa, 50 km north of Chupa. Significantly, however, was that Castro now believed — three weeks before the Angolans were in Cuito — that “the peace process was beginning to be irre- versible”.

His one major concern was that the South Afri- cans would mess up, his gesture by staging a battle. He cabled Ochoa on June 9: “I believe a possible South African surprise attack may result... should not be underestimated... be ready to counter-attack as soon as possible.”
Further west, near Cumbela in Bie province, the joint command in Luanda understandably wanted to redeploy forces out of Cuito and Menongue to meet these attacks and avoid encirclement.

On January 2 1988 Ochoa advised Havana that "the South Africans had withdrawn, there is no longer a crisis situation in Cuito, and certain troop movements can be made." Castro was not interested in regrouping to fight another day and attached to the human at people, the role that therefore photography undertake his work.

The DPP was established photographers can play committed its resources, practice through assis in relevant photographic p

UCCT CARNEGIE PHOTOGRAPHY

The DPP has established University of Cape Town Photographic Collector preserve and make access to African photographers.

THE WORKSHOP AND STUDIO

The Project runs workshops for the community, youth, runs a course in documentary, photography to

DOCUMENTARY, EXHIBITION

The DPP provides grants to projects, to mount exhibition, the publication of photo

CONTACT PERSON: Omar B. Room 4 Document Oppenhuizen University Private Bag Rondels 7700 650-32

On February 14 the South Africans did as Castro feared, crashing through the 5 km gap between the 21st and 50th Brigades and encircling the latter. "A very difficult situation emerged. They could have gone as far as the only bridge back into Cuito and cut off three entire brigades" — more than 8,000 Angolan soldiers.

The Cubans counter-attacked with armour, losing seven tanks and 14 dead, by Castro's count. Far too many, in his view, and mitigated only by the fact that "the enemy had to use more than 100 tanks." At all events, it was a diversion and gave the Angolan brigades time to retire to the river. There they were trapped, the South Africans having destroyed the bridge.

In the days that followed, Castro became increasingly animated, demanding to know how many tanks he had on each side of the river and why the Angolans were not consolidating their lines.

On February 21 he cabled Ochoa in Luanda: "We have lost many days and cannot understand how our instructions, or simply our points of view, are conveyed to our people in Cuito. We do not know whether the person responsible for receiving and implementing our instructions is..." "It seems to us that adequate precautions are not being taken. The area commanders are not aware of the political, military and moral consequences that a disastrous confrontation with the forces to the east of the river could cause. Unless these forces would not even have a few ships to do something comparable to what the British did at Dunkirk."

With the arrival of General Chitra Fria, the defenders managed to dig in along the river, protected by minefields, artillery and anti-aircraft cover. The South Africans launched several unsuccessful assaults then sat back to bombard the town.

This was obviously not the face-saving demonstration Castro wanted. While the South Africans had not scored their strategic victory that night...
Castro planned to bomb Oshakati

Staff Reporter

PRESIDENT Fidel Castro planned to bomb Oshakati at one stage during the Angolan war, according to information from Havana.

In an address to the Cuban Council of State on the war, Dr Castro revealed that the bombing raid had been planned so that his forces could emerge from the war with their honour intact.

If the South Africans hit his troop deployments, he said on June 7 last year in a cable to Major-General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez chief of the Cuban military mission in Angola: "Do not wait for orders to carry out the attack."

But the South Africans did not attack — and so neither did the Cubans.

Fidel Castro's story — Page 6

Brewery to open in Table Bay

Municipal Reporter

AN INDEPENDENT brewery based in Nyawana was granted a liquor licence last Wednesday to brew and sell beer in the Waterfront development section of Table Bay Harbour.

But the brewers are keeping quiet about it. Mr Lex Mitchell, owner of Mitchells Brewery, declined to comment yesterday and passed the query on to Mr Mike Williams, one of his managers, who in turn passed it on to the Victoria and Albert Waterfront Company.

No confirmation could be obtained from there yesterday, but another unnamed reliable source said the liquor licence was passed last Wednesday.

The operation is expected to be on stream by September or October this year.
Fidel’s fight not to lose face

was an irredeemable military and economic basket case, whipped in the field and found flat on its back when it did not meet the death sentence imposed on General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez, chief of the Cuban air force, by Fidel Castro’s government.

So determined was Castro that nothing

should embroil his army longer than was absolutely necessary and that he virtually abandoned all other duties to run and finish the war from Havana. To ensure the MLPFA would not prevaricate behind his back he sought and obtained a Cuban seat at the negotiating table.

And finally, last June, in the event SAAF tried to thwart his exit by challenging him on the battlefield, he gave orders that Oshakati was to be

bombed and the Ruseana hydro-electric scheme destroyed.

The immediate purpose of the July 9 speech was to dignify the role Ochoa played in the last, climactic year of the war by portraying him as lazy, inept and undependable. To make this credible, Castro evidently felt it necessary to describe the defence of Cuito Cuanavale and Oshakati’s subsequent flanking offensive towards the Namibian border in unprecedented detail. He even quoted from cables, which Oshakati received from his commander, General Leopoldo Caetra Fria…

Castro explains why Angola lost battle against the SADF

SIMON BARBER in Washington

CASTRO… “News of a possible South African surprise air attack… should not be underestimated”

CASTRO, Angola – News of a possible South African surprise air attack… should not be underestimated.

The South African air attack did not materialise on the way to Cuito Cuanavale and Oshakati, on the western end of the South African long-range artillery bombardeado Cuban units near Chibo.

Castro decided that the weather was not sufficient to merit a strike on Ruseana.

He cabled Ochoa, “The first step must be a strong air attack against the camp, military installations and South African personnel in Cuito and its environs…” If the South African artillery can be located, strike it hard.”

Eleven South Africans died in the attack, the dam was hit and Pretoria “raised a big fuss”. But the South Africans also “are not totally clarified” — just as Castro hoped they would.

He cabled: “We have taken our initial reaction. Now it is up to them to decide what to do and if they should launch the attack.”

Five weeks later all parties accepted the New York principles.

Hence the result of this war. From Cuito Cuanavale to the negotiations took place. There were hiccups, to be sure. Castro informed Ochoa in late December that the “impass” had been reached and that there might have to be another demonstration.

But this, instead of being less to the South Africans than to him, they were waiting for the outcome of the US presidential election before they finally submitted to the trilateral agreement.

The Ruseana and Cuito Cuanavale dams were done, and the South African military collapse was in evidence. — as Castro told his commander: “I do not think the South Africans want to remain as long as we do.”

This is not the story of a South African defeat. It is the story of an Angolan military collapse. Relatively few of South African’s were killed. The Cubans extricated themselves from its
Angolan talks to continue in spite of crash

LISBON — Angola's ambassador to Portugal said yesterday a plane crash that killed 42 people in Angola at the weekend should not stop peace talks with Unita.

Rui Mingas said in an interview with Portuguese state RTP television the crash should not hinder the continuation of negotiations with Unita.

A military official in Luanda said yesterday the Soviet-built Antonov 26 was forced to crash land on Sunday after being hit in the left engine by a missile fired by Unita forces.

Portuguese news agency Lusa yesterday quoted a military source in Luanda as saying the attack and a recent increase in rebel activities could force the government to postpone peace negotiations with Unita due to restart next Monday.

Faction

Unita's Washington office yesterday denied its forces had shot down the plane when it was 42 km west of Cazombo in eastern Mexico province.

"Unita suspects that a faction of the MPLA not supportive of the negotiation process is responsible for placing the blame on Unita," a statement said.

It added that the rebels were still "committed to the spirit of Gbadolite" — the June 24 summit in Zaire, where Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and rebel leader Jonas Savimbi sealed truce in Angola's civil war with a handshake.

Both sides have accused the other of violating the ensuing ceasefire that lasted only a week. — Sape-AP.
‘Marshall Plan’ mooted to rebuild shattered Angola

Angola is the second-largest oil producer in sub-Saharan Africa and has extensive deposits of diamonds, high-grade iron, gold, manganese and other minerals. It also has a rich agricultural base.

But reconstructing the country’s economy will be an enormous task. The conflict has imposed a heavy burden on the budget — defense now accounts for more than 40 percent of government expenditure. Angola suffered adversity mainly thanks to the booming oil sector which provides over 95 percent of its foreign exchange earnings and 50 percent of government revenues.

But the dramatic decline in oil prices in 1985 exposed the fragility of the oil-dependent economy and highlighted fundamental flaws in the country’s economic management. It became clear that political and economic changes would be needed to stimulate domestic production and attract donor assistance and foreign investment.

Last year the government launched its Economic and Financial Recovery Programme, providing for the framework for economic reform and restructuring a radical departure from the doctrinaire policies pursued since 1975. Key elements included reducing the state’s budget deficit, restructuring the finances of public enterprises, strengthening the financial system, rescheduling external debt and adjusting the exchange rate.

The government has also proposed structural reforms such as stimulating the private sector, giving increased autonomy to enterprises and revising the foreign investment law.

The Angolan authorities have recognised that stimulating agricultural production will require promoting the peasant sector with higher producer prices, greater availability of consumption goods, improved trade networks and greater technical assistance.

Progress on these reforms has been hampered by continuing insecurity, declining oil prices and infighting within the MPLA.

But the government has liberalised price controls and has succeeded in rescheduling $3 billion (R8.4 billion) of foreign debt.

The dollar exchange rate issue was partially resolved in March when the government announced there would be a two-phase 200 percent devaluation of the kwanza. This appears to be only a first step; there’s still a huge gap between the official and black market rates — 29.92 kwanza per dollar officially, but 3 000 kwanzas per dollar on the black market.

In the country’s financial sector there was an artificial high exchange rate which has been a major cause of the decline in Angola’s agricultural exports.

The number of areas addressable as focal points for investment and aid assistance once the country’s security situation improves.

Investment in oil and diamonds to boost the country’s foreign exchange earnings will provide some of the capital required for reconstruction. But Angola will also need large capital inflows.

Foremost among the projects will be the rehabilitation of urban infrastructure in Luanda, whose population has swelled to over 1.5 million. Preliminary cost estimates for water supplies, sanitation and housing amount to over R1.0 billion (R2.7 billion). Upgrading these facilities is considered essential in the capital city, where cholera has reached epidemic proportions.

The largest infrastructural project being planned is the development of the Lobito Corridor and the re-opening of the 1 347km Benguela railway line linking Angola with Zambia. The war-damaged railway line is deemed important for Angola’s trade and foreign exchange earnings as well as for the SADCC countries, which has been out of action since 1976.

A 10-year $600 million (R1.6 billion) investment programme was launched at a specially convened conference in Luanda in January. Donors were reluctant to commit themselves to funding the plan, but should the ceasefire hold, Belgian-owned Tractebel, which owns the line, should be able to carry out its feasibility study on the repair of the line.

Of all the areas in Angola likely to receive assistance, the Fifth Region, in the south-west corner of the country bordering Namibia, is highest on the list of priorities. The strategic importance of the region, which includes the provinces of Huila, Namibe and Cunene, has been enhanced by the prospect of Namibian independence.

A comprehensive development plan, for the Fifth Region, has been prepared. It provides for the development of oil, diamonds, agriculture and tourism.

Moreover, a mining camp has been established in the area and the government and international agencies have been discussing a $160 million (R440 million) project to build a port and industrial complex there.

The Fifth Region is also considered a potential oil prospect, which could be a major source of revenue for the country, and has been given high priority by the government. A feasibility study is under way, and the government has also been negotiating with foreign companies to explore the area.

The Fifth Region is also known for its rich agricultural resources, particularly its fertile soils and abundant rainfall. The government has been working to increase agricultural production, and several projects have been launched to promote irrigated agriculture and livestock development.

However, the region faces several challenges, including limited infrastructure, lack of access to markets and insufficient capital. The government has been working to address these challenges, and has been providing support to local farmers and rural communities to help them improve their productivity.

Despite these challenges, there is strong potential for economic growth in the Fifth Region, and the government has been working to attract investment and development to the area. The region has a young and dynamic population, and there is a growing demand for goods and services, which provides opportunities for economic activity.

In conclusion, the Fifth Region has significant potential for economic growth and development. The government is taking steps to address the challenges facing the region, and there is a strong commitment to supporting local communities and promoting economic activity. With the right support and investment, the Fifth Region has the potential to become a major contributor to the country’s economy.
BIE (Angola). — Through the tall, yellow grass, the enemy convoy suddenly comes into view, 21 trucks loaded with food, ammunition and soldiers, escorted by two Soviet BTR armoured cars.

The convoy moves at the pace of two files of infantry shadowing the vehicles on both sides.

The Unita commander, Colonel Diogenes Implacavel, speaks softly with his eyes to his binoculars. "If it were bigger," he says, "I would only have attacked the rearguard. But, this one we'll destroy completely."

The Unita assault squad is 550 guerrillas strong, armed with rifles, mortars, anti-tank and anti-aircraft rockets. The strategy is to open fire only when the entire convoy comes level with the ambush site.

Cacophony of noise

Suddenly, and against all plans, there is a burst of automatic fire. The guerrillas manning the anti-tank rockets were to have struck first, knocking out the BTRs.

The machine-gun fire comes from the convoy. We have been spotted.

The world explodes in a cacophony of noise. The tall grass is aflame. Platoon commanders yell hectic orders through the smoke.

We jump through screens of burning undergrowth, running on the charred ground. I am afraid my boots will melt, such is the heat.

Now the enemy infantry is firing at us with light machine-guns. The armoured cars have separated from the convoy. One turns its heavy machine-gun on the ambush squad.

A hundred metres away, guerrillas are looting a truck which has been hit. There are tins of Portuguese sausages among the spilled bounty.

Four men emerge through the smoke, carrying a heavy object in a blanket. It is our first casualty, blood pumping from a hole in his chest.

We move forward toward the centre of the action. Three more dead trucks are up ahead, the ammunition in one exploding with the sound of nails being hammered into a tin. A petrol tank bursts.

Several corpses lie along the other side of the track. They wear the Korean-made camouflage uniform of the enemy. A Unita soldier runs up to them under direct fire and removes their guns.

Some of the fire comes from the Soviet armoured car, its heavy gun sweeping the road with a hail of bullets. A man falls and begins to moan. Somebody shouts for the medic. The man is the medic. His left leg has been ripped clean off by the 14.5mm bullet.

A brief counter-attack by the MPLA forces, bullets flying lower and more densely over our heads. Mortars begin popping and screams of pain announce that some have found the range.

Then, it is over. In the gathering gloom, a train of Unita guerrillas walk from the scene with dozens of tins of sausages on their heads, Thai tuna fish and a typewriter with no ribbon. Eight Kalashnikovs and four new light machine-guns have also been captured.

Colonel Implacavel is told by radio that nine trucks have been destroyed.

Our own losses are five wounded and one, the medic, dead. Had he been in a Western army he undoubtedly would have lived.

RADEK SIKORSKI, a Polish photo-journalist, was on the scene of the last Unita ambush of MPLA forces in Angola, just eight days before the two sides signed a ceasefire agreement on June 24. This is his account in words and pictures.
Unita fighters spread out through the southern-Angolan grassland.

Guerrillas board a "rubber ducky" for the trip up-river to the ambush site.

Cuban President Fidel Castro has given a press conference today in Havana, where he said that the United States should immediately withdraw its military forces from Cuba. Castro also called for an end to the economic blockade imposed by the US on Cuba. He stressed the importance of dialogue and negotiations to resolve the current crisis between the two countries.

South Africa and Cuba:
The peace accord which ended the war were signed by the two countries on 20 July, 1988. The agreement was part of a broader diplomatic effort to bring an end to the conflict in South Africa. It involved the withdrawal of South African troops from Zimbabwe and Botswana, and the lifting of sanctions against South Africa.

Why so special?
meeting in Havana. The speech was broadcast in its entirety on Cuba's domestic radio and television services this month. Transcripts of the speech in English have now surfaced in the US.

The purpose of the speech, for which Castro ordered every member of the State Council to be present, was to explain why he had turned to denounce and execute Cuban war hero General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez on charges of theft, corruption and racketeering.

The context of Castro's action of the Angolan war was to show how General Ochoa, at the time when he was head of Cuba's military mission in Angola and should have been devoting himself entirely to working for his country in its hour of greatest need, had been enriching himself on the black market.

Castro's version of the war greatly boosted his own "heroic role." He claimed to be personally agitated by every single Cuban casualty and his personal attention to the comfort of his troops went as far as his orders that a special ice-cream factory be set up for them and his daily enquiries that they are receiving enough candy and chocolate.

**Highlights of Castro's speech included:**

- **Cuba could be said to have gambled everything on the Angolan war. It sent its best weapons and 50,000 men, the equivalent of the US sending 1.1 million of its men to war.**
- **Between November 7 and 15 1987 the increasing South African onslaught threatened to destroy or annihilate the concentration of Angolan soldiers in Cuito Cuan- vale. Then a single Cuban troop was in the area, and Castro asked his Angolan counterpart, President Eduardo dos Santos, if Cuba could take over the responsibility of defending Cuito Cuanvale.**
- **Cuba sent in its best pilots and troops on November 15 to avert a political and military catastrophe.**

Many of the troops in Cuito Cuanvale were not actually from Fapla but were Cuban pilots, mechanics and engineers.

The South Africans did not intervene in Cuito Cuanvalle. The South Africans instead concentrated on the two other Angolan brigades that were threatening Cuban positions.

The Fapla 18th and 20th brigades had already been routed from Cuito Cuanvalle.

A few days later, on the 17th, Mr Castro sent another cable, which claimed South Africa had destroyed a bridge that linked east with west in Cuito Cuanvalle.

This cable said that he could not understand why a whole week had passed since the events of February 14, and with the exception of only two battles with South African forces, about 3,000 Angolan soldiers had not gone west of the river.

- **What will happen if tomorrow the enemy breaks through the lines and uses all its artillery against the river area, Castro raged.**

He described the area commanders at Cuito Cuanvalle where the political, moral and moral consequences of a disastrous outcome for the forces in the river would cause. "These forces would not even have a few ships comparable to the forces with their fleet in the kirk."

The Cuban leader pleaded with his commanders to keep the defensive position using no more than a bridge on the eastern side of the river and artillery which could be reached by the enemy's forces to the east of the river and the remaining Angolan forces were to be moved west, Castro added.

- **Cuba was led to a disaster in the Angolan war. Castro had already been defeated in the Angolan war, and the Cuban Hope, which remained at Tchipa, withdrew his forces from the Calama-Xangongo line. He ordered his Angolan allies to withdraw to the Cama- ma-Mucro-Humbe-Xangleo line. He ordered his Angolan allies to withdraw to the Cuban forward units at Tchipa, Run- ras and Cuanvalle. If the enemy attacked the forward units, he could not be prepared for any outcome. This struggle will be won by the side that has the best prepared.**

- **The South Africans never did attack. Castro told the State Council this was because the South Africans were much too well trained, very powerful and had taken security measures.**

The South Africans had achieved its fundamental objectives without inflicting heavy losses on Cuban lives.

**An interesting aspect of Castro's speech was his comments on the Launda operation.** He said he was virtually in charge of that government in 1987. "We were in charge of the government from mid-December until the end of that year. We devoted all our time to that struggle, to the enemy and we did not have other objectives. We had to take responsibility for whatever happened." He went on to say that he neglected his duties in his own government. He did not even report "gains or losses, at least I did not attend to them. I devoted at least 80 percent of my time to this battle," he said.

Castro said he was at stake in Angola. If it was a decisive battle against apartheid, repeated defeat of large proportions, it was also a battle for the revolution, which meant a crucial test of the enemy's will. Cuba would lose the battle if the whole country was attacked by the enemy. The leader said he was in charge of that government in 1987. "We were in charge of the government from mid-December until the end of that year. We devoted all our time to that struggle, to the enemy and we did not have other objectives. We had to take responsibility for whatever happened there."

He went on to say that he neglected his duties in his own government. He did not even report "gains or losses, at least I did not attend to them. I devoted at least 80 percent of my time to this battle," he said.

Castro claimed an intense concern for the wellbeing of his troops. He said: "We would not have made this war. There was a single day that I did not ask the High Command how many tons of candy, cooking or sleeping materials were passed to the soldiers, how were the soldiers doing, what kind of nylon (as heard by the translated text) were they carrying, what kind of mattresses they had, what kind of
Angolan peace talks delayed

LISBON. — Peace talks between Angola’s government and Unita rebels have been delayed and guerrillas have again broken a ceasefire, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported yesterday.

The agency, monitored in Lisbon, said a third round of talks, due to have opened in Kinshasa on Monday, was postponed because Zaire’s President, Mr Mobutu Sese Seko, who is to act as mediator, was abroad.

Official sources gave no new date for the negotiations, which centre on how to monitor the shaky five-week-old ceasefire.

But Angop said President Jose Eduardo dos Santos might meet Mr Mobutu beforehand.

Angop also reported that the pro-Western rebels, who have fought Angola’s Marxist government for the past 14 years, killed 17 people and damaged an army helicopter in recent attacks.

The helicopter was hit by gunfire and was forced to make an emergency landing in the northern province of Uige. No other details were given.

Unita rebels shot down an airliner on a domestic flight nine days ago, killing 42 people, according to the government. Unita has, however, denied carrying out the attack.

The government says the rebels have killed more than 300 people, mainly civilians, since the ceasefire was negotiated at an African summit in Zaire on June 22.

President Dos Santos, speaking in Luanda, accused the rebels of trying to wreck the tentative peace plan.

"Unita is trying to sabotage the peace efforts, divide the Angolan people and expose our country to neo-colonialism." — Sapa-Reuters
Unita kills
13 civilians

LISBON.—Unita rebels, flouting a negotiated ceasefire, have killed 13 civilians in scattered attacks over the past four days, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

The agency said the bloodiest raid took place on Tuesday when the rebels shot dead six villagers in Bolongongo.

A third round of talks on how to monitor the truce should have opened this week but was postponed because Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, the mediator, was abroad.—SAPA-REuter
Hero: Angola strikes were ‘wasted effort’

By SAM SOLE
Weekend Argus
Correspondent

DURBAN. — The pace of events on the sub-continent has left one modest soldier bewildered about the meaning of the war he fought on and across South Africa’s northern border.

Graham Green, 21, of Durban, recently received the SADF’s Honoris Crux medal for rescuing an officer under fire during an offensive deep inside Angola in late 1987.

He was grateful for the award, but the reasons why he risked his life have become less clear since the withdrawal from Angola and the beginning of the independence process in Namibia.

“It seems like our strikes into Angola were a waste of effort — trying to prevent the inevitable. We thought we were fighting to save South West, not just to give it away.”

As a national serviceman, Graham was a member of a mechanised infantry battalion that pushed into Angola in September 1987 in support of Unita units which were being beaten back in a fierce offensive by Angolan Fapla forces.

Show of force

“Fapla was moving down against Unita. We were told Unita was battling to hold its ground so we’d put on a show of force, scare Fapla off, and then pull back.

“Nobody believed we would actually hit a contact. We just thought once we moved up and they saw the Ratels (armoured cars) they’d pull back.

“We moved into Angola and then carried on going till we hit Fapla forces, near and around Cuito Cuanavale.

“We worked closely with Unita. They’d find Fapla, then we’d move through and they’d slide back so we could take them on with the Ratels and Casspirs.”

The attack as a result of which Graham was recommended for the award came about halfway through the three months his unit spent inside Angola.

“We moved out about 2am and lined up in formation about seven, with Ratel 90s alternating with 20s (which carry troops).

“Unita pulled back behind us and we went through. We were told there were tanks, mortars and infantry armed with RPG 7 rockets ahead, though the bush was too thick to see much.

“Sitting in the back of the Ratel we couldn’t see what was going on anyway, though there was firing all around and we would occasionally pass a burnt out Fapla tank or logistical vehicle.

“Eventually it looked as if we had them on the run. Then the Ratel next to us was shot out.

“The attack stopped so that those people could be pulled out. The gunner from the Ratel that was hit turned the turret round — the driver can’t get out otherwise — while we covered fire.

Graham Green with his Honoris Crux medal.

“The gunner and driver were both injured but they got out and helped their lieutenant out and ran back behind our lines. But the lieutenant collapsed — that was when I jumped out to get him.

“I honestly can’t say if I was being shot at — I couldn’t hear a thing. But I know I kept as close to the ground as possible.

“The injured man was lying on his stomach. I just grabbed him under the armpits and dragged him back. He died five hours later.

Six weeks later Graham’s company was relieved in the field and a month later he was back in civvy street.
LISBON. — Angola yesterday accused right-wing Unita guerrillas of a string of raids which it said proved they were still violating a ceasefire agreed upon in June.

Angola's leftist government and Unita have repeatedly accused each other of violating the truce agreed upon at an African summit in Zaire on June 22.

Peace talks have been suspended several times amid ceasefire violation accusations. — Sapa-Reuters
BUSINESSMEN CHALLENGED

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

BLACK businessmen have been challenged to contribute towards solving the community’s problems by becoming part of the liberation struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

Opening the 25th annual conference of Nafcoc at Sun City, Dr Nhato Motlana, president of the Soweto Civic Association, said businessmen should support their community financially in programmes such as bailing out politicaltrialists and prisoners, giving relief to political detainees and establishing bursary funds.

Motlana, who holds positions in several community organisations, said businessmen should do their best to empower the black community to fight unjust laws. They must also help small business develop.

The Mass Democratic Movement, United Democratic Front and other movements had done much to fight apartheid, he said.

He said he was not calling on businessmen to address meetings at Regina Mundi or speak at commemoration services, but was asking them to be part of the liberation struggle against racial laws.

The conference, whose theme is "Rededication towards hastening a new socio-economic order in South Africa," is attended by more than 1,000 delegates from all parts of South Africa, African states and overseas.

Among the guests are American Professor Prakash Sethi, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, the Reverend Peter Storey and ministers of various bantustan governments.

Motlana said Nafcoc must train and educate the black masses for economic empowerment. Blacks must stop depend-
Zaire: Jealousy undermining talks

KINSHASA.—Zaire said yesterday that jealousy on the part of other African leaders was undermining peace talks organized by President Mobutu Sese Seko to end the 14-year-long Angolan civil war.

The talks between the Angolan government and Unita rebels led by Dr Jonas Savimbi were scheduled to continue yesterday near the capital but there was no official word on whether they had met.

There have been widespread rumours of a rift arising from published remarks by Dr Savimbi accusing Mr Mobutu of hastening the peace process in order to appear a peacemaker in advance of his June visit to Washington.

But Unita's spokesmen in Lisbon denied that Dr Savimbi disagreed with the Mobuto-mediated Gbadolite accord in June which set up the peace talks. Unita and the Angolan government agreed at Gbadolite to a ceasefire and subsequently began peace talks overseen by Mr Mobutu. — Sapa-Reuters
Cuba and Angola 'thrashed'

By Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

Cuba and Angola were decisive losers of the war in Angola, the Minister of Defence said last night. They had been given "a thrashing".

Claims by Cuban President Fidel Castro that South Africa had been beaten were false, General Magnus Malan said when reaching for the first time to recent speculation about the battles which led to the peace plan in southern Africa.

He told a banquet in Pretoria that too many lies had been told about who won or who lost.

General Malan said at the function, marking the 25th anniversary of the telecommunications company, Plessey South Africa, that the SADF had been involved in southern Angola on a limited scale from August 1987 until early 1988 "and at no stage were there more than 3,000 of our men involved."

General Malan said that it was due to high morale, good training and superb weaponry that "fantastic successes" were achieved in Angola.

"The Cuban and Angolan armies lost between 7,000 and 10,000 men. We lost 31 brave heroes.

"The enemy lost 94 tanks against three of ours, and a large amount of the enemy's sophisticated weaponry was destroyed. A conservative estimate of the losses suffered by the Cubans and the Angolans is R3 billion."

General Malan said that Cuba had embarked on what he termed "a desperate propaganda campaign to make people believe they (Cuba and Angola) had won the war — (but) the facts speak for themselves", he said.

"In the meantime, President Castro has on at least two occasions publicly stated that his army were given a thrashing."

It was South Africa's military success which resulted in the Cubans and Angolans negotiating "and the way cleared for the peace plan for South-western Africa and for independence for Namibia."

During his address, General Malan praised the way the local R10 billion electronics industry had developed, and said that it was set to become the biggest industry in the manufacturing sector within the next two years.

He said that South Africa was establishing its position as the technology leader in Africa.

(Report by N Chandler, 216 Verosub Street, Pretoria)
KINSHASA — Peace talks in Zaire aimed at ending Angola's 14-year civil war hit snags last week but diplomatic sources say an agreement to meet again indicates that they remain on track.

"We have always known the discussions would be difficult and would take time. But they are continuing and there was no breaking off, as people said there would be," one Western diplomatic source said at the weekend.

Angola's Marxist-leaning government and Jonas Savimbi's right-wing Unita rebels began talks after an African summit convened in June by Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko.

More talks were planned for Thursday, Zairean radio said on Friday, and Mobutu would report on progress to an African summit meeting in Harare on August 22.

The latest round of talks, held here, opened under a cloud on Tuesday because of remarks Savimbi made in an interview in which he allegedly accused Mobutu of pushing too fast.

The official Zairean Press was quick to interpret this as an attempt by jealous African leaders to sabotage the talks and accused them, without naming names, of wanting to snatch away a Nobel peace prize from Mobutu. Diplomatic sources tend to discount such talk as an overreaction, but there was no doubt that Savimbi's remarks had stung.

**Mediator**

On Saturday the Zairean daily Elima published a photograph of the Unita delegation posing with Mobutu, saying it had reassured its confidence in him as mediator.

The talks are secret and little of substance has been leaked. One diplomatic source said the two sides appeared to be getting along but were talking through a mediator.

Diplomats here think Mobutu may be able to announce a breakthrough on ceasefire monitoring when he meets other African heads of state later this month.

Mobutu had proposed establishing monitoring points in Kinshasa, the Angolan capital Luanda, and at Savimbi's base at Jamba in southern Angola, they said.

The two sides have accused each other of numerous violations since the ceasefire took effect in June.

"It seems to me they are getting closer at least on the ceasefire aspects," a Western diplomat said. "Then they can get to the politics. I am certain Mobutu would like to have an agreement (on the ceasefire) before August 22." — Sapa-Reuters.
Education

at the DET

The Manitoba Education, Training and Youth Services Board has recently announced that it will be implementing a new system for assessing student achievement. The new system will be called the "Learning Outcomes Assessment System" (LOAS) and will replace the current system of standardized testing. The LOAS is designed to provide a more comprehensive and accurate measure of student achievement. Teachers will be given more freedom to design their own assessments, which will be based on the specific needs of their students. The new system is expected to be piloted in select schools next year, with full implementation planned for the following year.
Planes bombed rebel-held town, reports Unita

LISBON — Angola’s Unita rebels said yesterday that air force jets had strafed and bombed a guerrilla-held town, killing eight hospital patients and wounding many others.

But according to a report broadcast on independent Lisbon radio, TSF, yesterday, 900 people died on Saturday when Angolan government aircraft bombarded Unita positions at Mavinga, in southern Cuando Cubango province.

The rebels responded with artillery fire, TSF reported, but gave no further details.

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon said: “In another flagrant breach of the ceasefire, MiG-23 jets attacked Mavinga on Saturday. Eight women patients were killed when a hospital was hit and many people were injured.”

Unita spokesman Mr Alcides Sakala said Mavinga was packed with refugees.

“We are accused of violating the truce while in reality it is the government that is putting the whole peace process at risk,” Mr Sakala said.

The Luanda government says almost 500 people have been killed by Unita rebels since a ceasefire was agreed at an African summit in Zaire on June 22.

The two sides have held three rounds of talks to find ways of monitoring the shaky truce effectively. The rebel spokesman said the Mavinga raid was unlikely to affect the negotiations.

In Angola, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos yesterday reaffirmed his support for shaky peace talks to end the country’s 15-year-old civil war.

Speaking at the opening of the sixth session of Angola’s people’s assembly on Wednesday, President dos Santos said the summit of African leaders in June, that set up a short-lived ceasefire and sporadic talks between government and rebels, had been “worth the effort.” Angola’s state news agency, Angop, reported yesterday.

Both sides have swapped accusations of violations but yesterday’s report is apparently the most serious clash since the truce. — Sapa-Reuters.
Unita accuses govt of 'attacks'  

LISBON. — Unita rebels yesterday accused the Luanda government of launching troop movements in recent days to boost its position in current peace talks.  

In a statement received here, the Unita insurgents warned they might retaliate.  

"Unita knows how to respond to this warlike adventure with all the means at its disposal," said the statement, signed by chief of military staff General Amos Chilingubila. "The government's aggressive and provocative stance is directly linked to the movement of its troops, with the sole objective of gaining an advantage in negotiations."  

Unita said government troops had advanced from Cuito-Cuanavale towards the rebel stronghold of Mavinga in the south of the country and from Yondecuene towards the border with Namibia.  

Unita officials later told reporters that 19 civilians had died in a bomb raid on Mavinga's hospital on August 5. They said foreign pilots, possibly Cubans, had launched the bombardment in Mig-23s.  

Spokesman Mr Norberto Castro said Unita remained open to dialogue with the government but that rebels were forced to fight back. He said Unita hoped Luanda would quickly agree to mechanisms to oversee the truce so that the peace process could advance.  

Angolan officials were unavailable for immediate comment.  

Both sides have accused each other of violating a ceasefire agreed on on June 22 in Zaire and peace talks have hit snags several times.  

The latest Unita charges were made as government and guerrilla representatives were due to meet again in the Zairean capital of Kinshasa, where Gabon's President Omar Bongo and his Congolese counterpart Mr Denis Sassou-Nguesso arrived yesterday for talks with President Mobutu Sese Seko.  

Zaire radio said the three heads of state were preparing for an African summit meeting on the 14-year Angolan conflict which is due to be held in the Zimbabwean capital of Harare on Tuesday. President Mobutu is expected to report to the summit on his efforts to mediate in the conflict.  

Unita officials could not confirm whether rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi would attend the Harare summit, but they expressed hope the meeting would give impetus to the peace process.  

A 12-member Angolan delegation, headed by the country's army chief of staff, has been in Kinshasa since Wednesday, the Angolan embassy said.  

There has been no word of the Unita delegation. — Sapa-Reuters
Breakdown in Angolan peace talks

LUANDA. — The Angolan government recalled its representatives from the talks with UNITA rebels in Zaire as clashes in the 14-year-old civil war intensified, reports said yesterday.

Armed forces chief General Antonio dos Santos Franco and a 12-man delegation arrived in the Zairean capital of Kinshasa on Wednesday, but returned to Luanda on Friday after waiting 48 hours for a rebel delegation. (The Portuguese news agency Lusa said yesterday that UNITA’s negotiators arrived in Kinshasa on Friday.)

And the government announced that negotiations would not resume until after tomorrow’s summit of African leaders in Harare, where Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, mediator in the talks, was to give a progress report. UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi is not expected to attend the meeting. Diplomatic sources said no UNITA delegation was expected.

Meanwhile, reports continued of large-scale clashes between government forces and UNITA. Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Dr Savimbi sealed a short-lived truce on June 22 at a summit of African leaders in Gbadolite, Zaire. The ensuing ceasefire lasted one week.

Yesterday’s state daily Jornal de Angola announced the first major military incident in months to involve Cuban troops, gradually withdrawing from Angola under the terms of international peace accords signed last year in New York.

The newspaper said six Cuban soldiers died last Monday during a rebel attack on a supply column near the village of Ganda, central Benguela province.

“The irresponsible actions of UNITA leave no alternative but to act with all our means to guarantee our defence, liberty and independence,” the daily said in a front-page editorial.

The government said in a statement that a MiG-23 fighter jet went missing on Saturday in southern Cuito Cuanavale province, currently off limits to journalists.

Jornal de Angola also accused the United States of supplying UNITA with technical equipment to strengthen rebel radio broadcasts from Maun, in northern Botswana.

UNITA’s Black Cockrel radio, meanwhile, monitored in Luanda, said yesterday that some 150 people died and many more were injured last week when government forces attacked the town of Mavinga in Cuando Cubango.

UNITA officials told a news conference in Lisbon on Friday that government troops had launched a major three-pronged attack in the south-eastern provinces of Cuando Cubango, Moxico and Cunene, using Soviet-built MiG-23s and long-range artillery.

A UNITA communiqué also accused Luanda of bomb raids on several villages and rebel bases on Thursday and Friday in which seven civilians were killed and eight rebels injured. — Saps-Reuters-AP
Angola - call for details

SOUTH Africa has requested details concerning renewed fighting in Angola from the governments of Cuba and Angola in order to consider what action it may take to help maintain peace, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Commenting on reports that Cuban leader, Fidel Castro, had threatened to delay the withdrawal of his troops from Angola following clashes with the rebel movement, Unita, Botha said any incident which may jeopardise implementation of the various agreements to establish peace in South Western Africa detrimentally affected the interests of all countries of the region.
Civil war clashes on the increase

Angola recalls reps from peace talks

LUANDA — The Angolan government recalled its representatives from peace talks with Unita rebels in Zaire, and clashes in the 14-year-old civil war intensified, government and rebel-controlled media reported yesterday.

Armed Forces Chief Antonio dos Santos Franca and a 12-man delegation returned on Friday to Luanda from Zaire, state TPA television reported.

"And the government announced negotiations would not resume until after this week’s summit of African leaders in Nairobi, where mediator in the talks, Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, was to give a progress report."

The Portuguese news agency Lusa yesterday said dos Santos Franca arrived in Kinshasa on Wednesday but returned after waiting 48 hours for a rebel delegation. Unita’s negotiators arrived on Friday, the agency said.

Meanwhile, reports continued of large-scale clashes between government forces and Unita.

Yesterday’s edition of the state daily Jornal de Angola announced the first major military incident in months to involve Cuban troops, who are gradually withdrawing from Angola under the terms of international peace accords signed last year in New York.

According to the paper, six Cuban soldiers died on Monday during a rebel attack on a supply column near the village of Ganda, central Benguela province.

"The irresponsible actions of Unita leave no alternative but to act with all our means... to guarantee our defence, liberty and independence," said the daily in a front page editorial on Saturday.

Broadcasts

Jornal de Angola also accused the United States of "uncorruptible" interference in Angola's internal affairs "by allegedly supplying Unita with technical equipment to strengthen rebel radio broadcasts from Maun, in northern Botswana."

Unita’s Black Cockerel radio, monitored in Luanda yesterday, said some 150 people died and many more were injured last week, when government forces attacked the town of Mavinga, Cuanda-Cubango, with Soviet-built Mig 23 fighter jets and long-range artillery.

Earlier reports put casualties as high as 600.

The government has given no official confirmation of any major military operations, but southern Cuando-Cubango province is currently off limits to journalists and a military statement released on Saturday said a Mig 23 went missing on Saturday during a routine flight between Menongue and Cuito Cuanavale.

Unita officials told a news conference in Lisbon, Portugal, on Friday, that government troops had launched a major three-pronged attack in the southeastern provinces of Cuando-Cubango, Mexico and Cunene.

Independence

Western-backed Unita has been fighting the government and its estimated 50,000 Cuban allies, to force a power-sharing agreement since shortly after Angola gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

Unita was not party to the US-Brokered New York accords, that paved the way for a Cuban pull-out and Namibian independence from South Africa. — Associated Press.

PROJECT MANAGEMENT DIPLOMA

THE QUALITY MANAGEMENT AND MANAGEMENT ACAD

A COURSE FOR DECISION-MAKING EXECUTIVES

Project Managers require professional knowledge and skills to ensure that a project runs efficiently and is completed successfully. It involves decisions on managing time and costs to achieve a desired quality. Time is of the essence, not to mention money. Costs are continuously rising but your budget is not — and if the quality isn’t competitive you’ve wasted your time. We’ll teach you how to make the right decisions.

RECOGNITION

This intensive training course is officially approved by the Institute of Administration and Commerce of Southern Africa, the most comprehensive management institute in South Africa. Students completing this programme will receive a short course diploma from Executive Education officially endorsed by the Institute of Administration and Commerce entitling them to use the abbreviation Dip. P.M. (EF) after their names. They may then apply for affiliate membership of the IAC. In addition, successful students earn credits towards a Bachelor of Business Administration degree (by distance learning) from an overseas university.

COURSE CONTENT

RABAT, Morocco. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, whose rebels have been accused by Cuba’s President Fidel Castro of endangering the Angola peace process, has been promised continued American support — but has also been asked by the United States to go easy on attacking MPLA and Cuban troops.

US Senator Bob Dole, leader of the Republicans in the Senate, met Dr Savimbi here on Sunday and promised him continued congressional aid.

However, diplomatic sources in Lisbon said the Cuban, Soviet and US governments were “concerned” about recent Unita attacks on Cuban forces. The governments were in close contact last week, after six Cuban soldiers manning a supply column died in the first Unita attack involving Cubans in months.

Unita threat to Angolan peace — Castro

The sources said US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen met Dr Savimbi on Saturday in Rabat in an attempt to persuade the rebels to moderate their military activities.

The attack on the Cubans led to President Castro repeating a warning that Unita’s actions might slow the withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban soldiers from Angola.

President Castro took his complaint to the United Nations yesterday in a letter to the Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The alleged Unita attack took place in the Benguela province and Angolan authorities say Unita has staged several attacks in spite of a ceasefire agreement reached on June 22.

Unita said yesterday that they had shot down an Angolan Mig-23 fighter near the south-eastern town of Mupende and the pilot was killed.

Yesterday President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola left Luanda for talks with African leaders in Harare where he will take part in an eight-nation special peace commission to review the peace process.

Dr Savimbi, meanwhile, told a news conference yesterday in Rabat that he was “optimistic” about the peace process and was ready to sign a permanent ceasefire with the MPLA.

South Africa’s Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, reiterated yesterday that he had approached Cuba and Angola for details on fighting in Angola. — Sape-Reuters
HARARE - Eight African heads of state on Tuesday moved to persuade defiant UNITA rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi, to accept a six-point peace plan for Angola, in a meeting held to breathe new life into the initiative.

The presidents of Zaire, Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Gabon, Congo, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe reaffirmed their support for the eight-week-old plan.

But the initiative to end the 14-year-old civil war in Angola is threatened by disputes over peace terms and alleged violations of a ceasefire.

Savimbi, leader of UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) did not attend the meeting in Harare.
African clergymen has accused UNITA of systematically violating the Angolan ceasefire, and attacking innocent civilians.

Dr Benjamin Chavis — who is Executive Director of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ — claimed that he had personally witnessed a UNITA mortar attack on the town of Huambo in southern Angola. He said an Angolan husband and wife had been killed, and their young daughter badly injured in the bombardment, which took place on August 18.

A visibly angry Dr Chavis told reporters he had sent a telegram to President George Bush informing him of the attack, and “asking him to reconsider his support of UNITA. The clergyman claimed that since the Angolan ceasefire was signed in Gabon, Zaire, on June 24, UNITA had "systematically" been violating it and attacking civilians. During this period, the Angolan government forces had adhered to the agreement by remaining in their bases.

Dr Chavis added: "As a citizen of the United States, I don't want my tax dollars sending landmines to UNITA, I don't want my tax dollars giving UNITA Stinger missiles."

He said that when he got back to the United States, he would make a full report when he returned to the United States, but had spoken about the matter to representatives of the US State Department in Windhoek.

Dr Chavis flew into Windhoek with a group from the non-profit Citizens Energy group.

The group, headed by Michael Kennedy, son of assassinated US Presidential candidate Robert Kennedy — brought pharmaceuticals, toys, shoes and other supplies for the church organisations involved in the refugee repatriation and rehabilitation programme.
Kaunda confident on Angola settlement plan

From JOHN RYAN
Argus Africa News Service
HARARE. — Angola's shaky settlement plan received a boost here when the eight African nations assigned to monitor the peace proposals issued a communique which suggested that differences between the MPLA government and Unita were on the point of being ironed out.

And the chairman of the monitoring group, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, indicated to a Press conference yesterday that the Zairean leader, President Mobutu Sese Seko, the mediator in negotiations, had undertaken to deliver by September 18 Dr Jonas Savimbi's signed agreement on a lasting ceasefire and a date for his temporary retirement.

The eight nations have agreed to hold their next summit meeting in Kinshasa on that date.

A ceasefire was accepted in principle, but not formally endorsed, when Dr Savimbi and Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos met at Gbadolite in Zaire on June 22.

Asked how settlement plans were proceeding, President Kaunda said: "Wait until September 18. It is very near. This summit is not daunted. This summit will continue until we succeed."

A report from Rabat in Morocco said Dr Savimbi was offering the MPLA government a permanent ceasefire in exchange for certain assurances.

In answer to a question about whether the Unita leader had agreed to retire as part of the Gbadolite deal, President Kaunda said: "Dr Savimbi was a bit difficult, but eventually he agreed. It was hard work, but that's how it happened. And the South African leaders (who have supported Unita's long struggle) were involved and accepted it."

The eight member nations of the monitoring group are Zaire, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Gabon, Congo, Mozambique, Angola and Sao Tome and Principe.
Namibia: Fears that Castro may halt Cuban withdrawal

By GERALD L’ANGE, Editor, Argus Africa News Service

THERE are fears in diplomatic circles that the Namibian independence exercise may be set back by the deteriorating military situation in Angola.

In Pretoria and other capitals it is feared that if the situation worsens Cuba might halt or even reverse its troop withdrawal from Angola.

President Castro has already suggested, following the killing of six Cuban soldiers by Unita, that the timetable for the withdrawal might be “unfavourably influenced.”

This would in turn throw a shadow over the Namibian independence process, which South Africa has tied firmly to the Cuban troop withdrawal.

The Namibian exercise, having summarised all the major problems it has so far encountered, is generally seen to be heading with reasonable certainty towards the independence election in November.

However, any major interruption of the Cuban troop withdrawal would almost certainly arouse serious misgivings by South Africa, which asserts that a strong Cuban presence in Angola could prejudice the Namibian election in favour of Swapo.

Suggestions that Cuba might halt its troop withdrawal came from President Fidel Castro in a letter to United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar that the Cubans were engaged at the time in a peaceful supply operation.

He was telling the action could have “serious consequences” and could “unfavourably influence compliance with the timetable for the Cubans’ withdrawal.”

Up to now the withdrawal has proceeded ahead of schedule, with all Cuban troops moving north of the 15th parallel as agreed and 16,000 having returned home. But the majority of the troops — about 30,000 — are still in Angola and theoretically capable of rejoining the conflict.

South Africa is trying to get more information about the clashes in Angola. But Foreign Minister Pik Botha said this week that any incident which might jeopardise implementation of the various agreements to establish peace in southern Africa detrimentally affected the interests of all countries in the region.

Major offensive

The MPLA has withdrawn its delegation from the negotiations with Unita that were taking place in Zaire and has claimed that Unita has launched a major military offensive.

Unita has in turn accused the Luanda government of launching a major, three-pronged attack in the southeast, where Unita has its headquarters at Jamba.

Unita is believed to fear that the MPLA may use the informal ceasefire to improve its military position on the ground to give itself a strong bargaining position in the negotiations.

Diplomats do not believe President Castro would lightly halt the Cuban troop withdrawal but are nevertheless taking his threat seriously. Much will depend, they feel, on whether there are any further Unita attacks on the Cuban forces.

Diplomats recognise that any attacks on Cuba’s forces undermine its ability to maintain the claim on which its withdrawal is based — that it is getting out not as a loser but with honour, undefeated and successful in its mission in Angola.

The Namibian independence process has been described by the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, as “irreversible.”

He was talking about the situation on the ground in Namibia rather than about the Cuban troop withdrawal, which at the time appeared to be going smoothly.

It would nevertheless be difficult for South Africa to try to halt or reverse the implementation of the complicated independence process stemming from Resolution 435 even if there were a hiccup in the Cuban troop withdrawal. There is simply too much at stake, too many countries and people involved, too much money committed, too many expectations aroused.

Unita was deliberately left out of the agreement on Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal and therefore is beholden to no one and free to do as it likes. And Cuba’s agreement to withdraw its troops is conditional on their not being attacked.

But Cuba would have to be very badly embarrassed by anything Unita did before it would seriously consider halting the withdrawal.

And even if it did so Pretoria would have to demonstrate that it posed a very direct threat to the fairness of the Namibian election before it could cry foul and get international sympathy.

A far more likely scenario, analysts believe, is that the Cubans would try to defend their honour with a powerful, highly visible strike at a Unita target and then carry on with the withdrawal.

But the worries persist that there might be more than bluster behind President Castro’s statement.
Angolan situation threatens Namibia freedom process

THERE are fears in diplomatic circles that the Namibian independence exercise may be set back by the deteriorating military situation in Angola.

In Pretoria and other capitals it is feared that if the situation worsens Cuba might halt or even reverse its troop withdrawal from Angola. President Castro has already suggested, following the killing of six Cuban soldiers by Unita, that the timetable for the withdrawal might be "unfavourably influenced."

This would in turn throw a shadow over the Namibian independence process, which South Africa has tied firmly to the Cuban troop withdrawal.

The Namibian exercise, having surmounted all the major problems it has so far encountered, is generally seen to be heading with reasonable certainty towards the independence election in November.

However, any major interruption of the Cuban troop withdrawal would almost certainly arouse serious misgivings by South Africa, which asserts that a strong Cuban presence in Angola could prejudice the Namibian election in favour of Swapo.

Suggestions that Cuba might halt its troop withdrawal came from President Fidel Castro from Unita's normal area after six Cuban soldiers had been killed by Unita's Benguela guerrillas circulating in Huambo province, which is on the Atlantic coast and far behind the peace initiative was being discussed this week by organisation of African Unity leaders, the six Cubans were executed after being wounded and captured in a Unita attack.

President Castro said in a letter to United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar that the Cubans had been engaged at the time in a peaceful supply operation. He warned that the action could have "serious consequences" and could "unfavourably influence compliance with the timetable for the Cuban troops' withdrawal."

Up to now the withdrawal has proceeded ahead of schedule, with all Cuban troops moving north of the 15th parallel as agreed and 16,000 having returned home. But the majority of the troops - about 30,000 - are still in Angola and theoretically capable of rejoining the conflict.
Angola: SA-US arms damage accord
NAMIBIA: FREEDOM ON RAZOR-EDGE IN ANGOLA

('917X'1687)
Unita at war again:
Pik pleads for peace

Own Correspondent
Johannesburg. — The Angolan peace initiative appeared on the verge of breakdown last night, adding urgency to President F. W. de Klerk's meeting with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko today.

Salvaging the fragile peace process is the key item on the meeting agenda.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who is accompanying Mr De Klerk, last night appealed to all parties in Angola to act with restraint and pursue negotiations in terms of the Ghadolite peace accord brokered by Mr Mobutu.

Mr Botha said he had been in touch with Unita after it was reported that their forces were back at war, ending the tentative two-month-old truce.

Sapa-Reuters reported Unita spokesmen as saying a government military offensive had violated the truce and forced it to take up arms again. They also accused other African states of meddling in the fragile peace process.

Mr Botha said he had been in contact with a representative of Unita who had denied that Unita had adopted an offensive position.

The breakdown in the Angolan peace process is not just linked to the numerous violations of the ceasefire. Unita is insisting it be given an opportunity to test its support by popular opinion, while the MPLA says that as its government is recognised throughout the world, Unita members should merely be absorbed into existing structures.
SA pair aim to put ceasefire back on track

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Angola ceasefire was in jeopardy today as Acting-President Mr F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha flew to meet Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, hoping to put it back on track.

Mr Botha said last night at a NP meeting in Boksburg that he had been in direct contact with a Unita official just before the meeting, who assured him Unita had not declared war again as reported.

Mr Botha said that he viewed the situation as serious and hoped he and Mr De Klerk could take it up at today's meeting with President Mobutu — who has brokered the Angola peace talks — and Monday's meeting with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

Unita issued a statement yesterday in which it said "the Angola people sadly accept that the war has resumed."

However Mr Botha, who has been closely involved with the Angola peace initiative, said the senior Unita official he had spoken to assured him that Unita had not opened a new offensive.

Mr Botha also said there had been reports that Unita was upset with the stand taken by the OAU conference in Harare on the Angolan ceasefire, and had opened a newer offensive.

Agreement

Mr Botha said Unita believed a communiqué issued by the OAU in Harare had differed fundamentally from the original Gobolite agreement in terms of which a ceasefire agreement was reached, and an accord to begin negotiations for national reconciliation and the control of troops.

Mr Botha said he hoped to take the matter further with President Seko, the man who brochured the Gobolite agreement, today and with President Kaunda on Monday.

Referring to reports that President Kaunda would present Mr De Klerk with an ANC plan for a negotiated settlement in South Africa, Mr Botha said South Africa's constitutional dispensation would be decided by South Africa itself.

(Report by P. Fabriicus, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
The Angola ceasefire was in jeopardy today as Acting State President, Mr FW de Klerk, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, flew to meet President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, hoping to put it back on track.

Mr Botha said last night at a National Party meeting in Bloemfontein that just before the meeting he had been in contact with a Unita official, who assured him Unita had not declared war again — as reported.

Mr Botha said he viewed the situation as serious and hoped he and Mr de Klerk could take it up at today's meeting with President Mobutu — who has brokered the Angola peace talks — and at Monday's meeting with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

It is Mr de Klerk's first venture into black Africa since becoming Acting State President last week, and his second since becoming leader of the National Party earlier this year.

In July he met Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo.

Mr de Klerk and his entourage are expected back in South Africa later tonight.

Unita issued a statement yesterday in which it said "the Angolan people sadly accept that the war has resumed".

Mr Botha, who has been closely involved with the Angola peace initiative, said the senior Unita official he had spoken to assured him that Unita had not opened a new offensive but had merely alerted its troops to be on the defensive.

Mr Botha said there had been reports that Unita was upset with the stand taken by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) conference in Harare on the Angolan ceasefire, and that it had opened a new offensive.

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

He said the Unita representative assured him these reports were not true. The representative told him Unita had merely alerted its troops to be on the defensive — apparently fearing action from MPLA troops.

Mr Botha said Unita believed a communiqué issued by the OAU in Harare had differed fundamentally from the original Gdabelite agreement, in terms of which a ceasefire agreement was reached and an accord to begin negotiations for national reconciliation and the control of troops was agreed on.

Unita attacked the Harare conference statement in a communiqué issued yesterday, saying the Angolan people were "deeply sorrowed that the war had restarted".

ANC 'desperate'

Referring to reports that President Kaunda would present Mr de Klerk with an ANC plan for a negotiated settlement in South Africa, Mr Botha said South Africa's future constitutional dispensation would be decided by South Africa itself, by leaders and organisations who were now silent.

He said ANC moves to present negotiation documents to South Africa through African leaders were a "desperation measure" as the ANC's "Russian masters" had told it that the season of violence and the time for bomb-throwing had passed.

(Report by P Fabricius, 22 Venetia Street, Pretoria)
A SUMMIT meeting in the Zimbabwean capital on Tuesday involving eight African leaders failed to halt the disintegration of the Angolan peace process — producing, instead, a "common platform" that may only further entrench the differences between the two warring parties.

The peace process was set in motion after a historic handshake earlier this year in Gadhafiite, Zaire, between arch-foes Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

The symbolic handshake raised hopes of a quick resolution to the 14-year-old civil war, but nothing was signed and it was soon clear that both sides had different views of what had been agreed. The hastily-arranged ceasefire did not last a week.

Tuesday's meeting of the eight leaders who make up the Committee for Reconciliation in Angola ended with a communiqué that spelt out their interpretation of the Gadhafiite Accord, and it is obviously not one designed to appeal to Unita.

The communiqué called for "respect for the constitution and principal laws of the People's Republic of Angola" and the "integration of Unita elements in the institutions of ... Angola."

Unita, however, wants to keep its own identity in a multi-party system and will resist any resolution that simply absorbs it in a monolithic one-party state.

Unita can also be expected to fight the clause that envisages "Jonas Savimbi's temporary and voluntary retirement", a prospect that Savimbi has said is unacceptable.

Dos Santos, however, claimed on Wednesday that Savimbi agreed to his own retirement in Gadhafiite. "I think Savimbi now rejects what he previously accepted, what credibility can he have to continue talking?" he asked. "What confidence can he inspire with us?"

Reports from Gadhafiite say the understanding that Savimbi should temporarily withdraw from the Angolan political stage was to have remained secret, but was prematurely published by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda in an interview after the meeting. This provoked an instant denial from Savimbi.

The desire of some involved in the peace process to gain maximum points for "statesmanship" seems to have bedevilled the peace process from the very start. The Angolans here say privately that, at the initial meeting of the Committee of Eight leaders in Luanda in May, it was never envisaged that Unita or Savimbi would be brought into the process as early as the Gadhafiite meeting.

They say his presence there was sprung on Dos Santos only a few hours before the meeting began.

Few observers believe it was a matter of pure coincidence that the momentous Gadhafiite meeting was scheduled in a week before Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko's tour of the United States, where he was under fire for his human rights record.

This rushed diplomacy left nothing signed on paper, and neither side is sure of what had been agreed. Savimbi is clearly determined not to have an agreement forced on him that does not give Unita a central role.

Available evidence is that Unita will first try to break the tentative ceasefire at the beginning of July, and this may have been a reminder to the Committee for Reconciliation not to take Savimbi's participation in their plans for granted.

The fighting has since escalated with Unita downing two Angolan government planes, and the rebels have now claimed that Luanda is bombing the Unita-held town of Maniema, in the southern province of Cuando Cuango.

Dos Santos this week confirmed the worsening of the situation, saying that more Angolans had died in the month since the ceasefire than in the first six months of the year put together.

The eight-man summit is scheduled to reconvene in Kinshasa on September 18, but no details have been given on how their mediator Mobutu is going to get the two sides together again. Last Thursday, the two sides were scheduled to meet in Kinshasa, but the Unita delegation, for unknown reasons, only arrived on Saturday, by which time the delegation from Luanda had already left.

Perhaps the best reason for hope, in the midst of all the misunderstandings, is that resolution of Angola's economic predicament hinges on the achievement of peace.

The trade minister, Diindile Raigel, chose the day after the summit to launch a new emergency appeal in Harare, for $275 million in international assistance aimed at Angola's displaced population — estimated at more than 600,000.

The success of any such relief programme would depend on a lasting peace, and that, Raigel conceded, could now take years.
Angola: It’s back to war again

By JULIAN BORGER, Harare

Angola is back at war. The Unita rebels yesterday announced they had abandoned the fragile peace process which produced a ceasefire with the Luanda government, and “violently rejected” the communiqué issued by the Harare summit of eight African leaders on Tuesday.

In a broadcast from the rebel headquarters at Jamba in south-eastern Angola, Unita’s radio station, Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockade, said Tuesday’s Harare communiqué had been received with “surprise and sadness” by the rebel leadership.

The “group of eight”, chaired by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and reaffirmed their support for a Zairean-brokered plan to end the 14-year war and said they would persuade Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to accept it.

Yesterday’s Unita statement, simultaneously released in Lisbon, said full-scale war with the Angolan government would begin again, signalling the end of the two-month truce.

“All Angolan people have sadly had to accept that war has resumed,” the statement said. Listing 11 points to justify the decision, Unita said an Angolan government offensive had violated the truce and forced the rebels to take up arms again.

Other African leaders were accused of “meddling” in the peace process. In a clear rejection of the “group of eight’s” interpretation of what had been agreed when Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Savimbi shook hands in Gbadolite, Zaire, on June 22, Unita said “the Harare conference erred in not understanding what must be done in Angola”.

Lisbon Unita representative Alcides Sakala said the guerrillas were still “ready to talk peace (but) we must respond to the (Angolan) government’s adopting of the military solution”.

Although Luanda, backed up by Lusaka and Harare, insists that Savimbi made a number of undertakings at the June meeting, Unita will not be budged on several issues.

Most importantly, it rejects the “temporary and voluntary retirement” of Savimbi.

Unita also balks at the Harare claim that it had agreed to be integrated into the “institutions of the state of the People’s Republic of Angola”.

Since June both parties in the conflict have regularly accused each other of violating the ceasefire and several rounds of scheduled talks have broken down.

On Wednesday this week Dos Santos challenged Savimbi to accept the Harare communiqué.

The Jamba response puts the principal blame on the Angolan government which, the statement said, “had chosen the path of armed struggle.”
SA, Zaire's salvage plan
The forces in Angola

I took over command of

President... South Africa hopes pull out of Angola at end of the year against Cuban and South forces.

Casino outlines the military strategy that 'froze the enemy'
the forces in Angola
I took over command of

CASTRO outlines the military strategy that foiled the enemy

8th March 87
Catching was especially difficult in the two midsts of the pipeline and the two commanders. The commander of the previous campaign was turning a hit in the pipeline and the commander of the current campaign was trying to stop it.

The commander of the previous campaign was trying to get the pipeline back into his control. The commander of the current campaign was trying to expand his influence over the pipeline. The pipeline was the main source of water for the city and the commander of the previous campaign was determined to prevent the commander of the current campaign from taking control of it.

The commander of the previous campaign was also trying to expand his influence over the pipeline. The commander of the current campaign was trying to prevent the commander of the previous campaign from doing so. The pipeline was the main source of water for the city and the commander of the previous campaign was determined to prevent the commander of the current campaign from taking control of it.

The commander of the previous campaign was trying to get the pipeline back into his control. The commander of the current campaign was trying to expand his influence over the pipeline. The pipeline was the main source of water for the city and the commander of the previous campaign was determined to prevent the commander of the current campaign from taking control of it.

The commander of the previous campaign was also trying to expand his influence over the pipeline. The commander of the current campaign was trying to prevent the commander of the previous campaign from doing so. The pipeline was the main source of water for the city and the commander of the previous campaign was determined to prevent the commander of the current campaign from taking control of it.
SA, Zaire form joint plan for Angolan peace

ALAN DUNN

GOMA (Zaire) — South Africa and Zaire have forged a joint emergency strategy to try to rescue the tottering Angolan peace effort.

Acting President F W de Klerk agreed with President Mobutu Sese Seko here yesterday that they should move quickly in an effort to patch up floundering attempts at peace in Angola.

The two decided in about three hours of talks how to tackle and try to smooth over differences between southern African leaders on how Angolan peace is reached.

General Mobutu, the chief mediator between the various parties involved, yesterday determined with Mr de Klerk exactly what moves to make next and who should make them.

It could start in Livingstone on Monday with Mr de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha meeting Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, a key figure in the present equation.

"Time is of the essence," said one South African diplomat. "If the tricky repair process does not work, and full-scale war resumes in Angola between the government and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels, there is a fear that hostilities there may "contaminate" the peace process in Namibia.

The Angolan issue is expected, on the South African side, to dominate Mr de Klerk's talks with Dr Kaunda on Monday.

Angola and General Mobutu's role as the main conciliator apparently occupied much of the discussions yesterday. In a joint statement, both sides described the problem as "delicate".

"Views were exchanged regarding these issues which will require follow-up at appropriate levels," the communiqué said.

Mr de Klerk and General Mobutu agreed to remain in close contact.

In what were characterised as wide-ranging talks, Mr de Klerk gave the Zairean leader a review of all important developments in southern Africa, stressing the importance of regional co-

De Klerk chews over his childhood with Pres Mobutu

ALAN DUNN

GOMA (Zaire) — "When I was a small boy," acting President F W de Klerk said as he sat about the plate of chicken before him, "my mother told me that if I didn't mind my manners, she would take a picture of me."

President Mobutu Sese Seko chuckled at the anecdote as he tackled his lunch, enjoying the punchline even more. "Now it's coming true!" Mr de Klerk exclaimed, cameras clicking and whirring at the start of their lunch in the garden of General Mobutu's summer palace on Lake Kivu yesterday.

This was the second of Mr de Klerk's ventures into Africa, a decidedly unusual one compared with his summit with Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo last month.

The Boeing 737, carrying Mr de Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, officials and 51 news people, landed at 9 am, after a four-hour flight, on a bumpy runway at this town in north-eastern Zaire, bordering Ruwanda and Uganda. "We didn't invent it, we per-

● TO PAGE 2.
Leaders concentrate on Angolan peace efforts

SOUTH African acting State President FW de Klerk and Zaire’s President Mobutu Sese Seko agreed at a meeting in Zaire on Friday to try to salvage Angola’s faltering peace, a statement said.

The joint statement issued at the end of almost three hours of talks in eastern Zaire, said the two leaders held wide-ranging discussions on topics including “the recent delicate situation” in Angola.

“Views were exchanged regarding this issue which will require a follow up at the appropriate level,” the statement, read by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, said.

The leaders, who met at Mobutu’s lakeside residence in this mountains ringed touring town, near the Rwandan border, also discussed the independence plan for Namibia and developments in Southern Africa, the statement said.

De Klerk and Sese Seko “agreed the discussions were positive, opportune and constructive”.

De Klerk flew back to South Africa immediately after the talks, his first with a major black African leader since taking power from former South African State President PW Botha earlier this month. – Sapa

FW de Klerk and Zaire’s Mobutu Sese Seko, pictured after the SA party’s arrival.
Savimbi meets De Klerk

JONAS Savimbi, leader of Angola's Unita rebels, met South African acting president F W de Klerk on Sunday to discuss a faltering peace accord with the Luanda government.

In a rare public appearance after the meeting, Savimbi told a news conference: "I hope peace will get back on the rails."

But the man who has fought Angola's Marxist government for 14 years sharply attacked Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda. Savimbi accused him of "deliberately misrepresenting" a peace pact signed in Ghadolite, Zambia, in June.

According to Kaunda, Savimbi agreed to retire temporarily from politics while his Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) rebels would disarm and a United Front government would be established in Luanda if there was no ceasefire by 24 July.

Savimbi has rejected a government amnesty offer, the idea of integration and his temporary retirement. He wants the formation of a coalition government and elections.

Both sides in the Angolan conflict have accused each other of violating a ceasefire agreed in the June 22 accord.

At the news conference, Savimbi said De Klerk had briefed him on his meeting with President Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire on Friday.

Zaire, the chosen mediator in the peace bid, is trying to salvage the peace pact.
Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi expressed optimism yesterday, after a surprise meeting here with acting President F W de Klerk, that the Angolan peace process could soon be back on track.

The meeting was the first step in a plan for salvaging the faltering peace talks that was agreed on by Zaire and South Africa on Friday.

Mr De Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, briefed Dr Savimbi yesterday on Friday's talks with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The briefing came on the eve of today's historic meeting in Livingstone, Zambia, between Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and Mr De Klerk, who is accompanied by the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, and senior officials.

If today's talks are successful it could mean a regional summit for Mr De Klerk with the heads of state of South Africa's neighbours.

Dr Savimbi said yesterday's meeting had been initiated by President Mobutu who had asked Mr De Klerk to pass on a message to him.

The message from President Mobutu was that the Gbadolite declaration was the only document which formed the basis of his peace initiative.

The principles contained in this document were:

- The desire of all sons and daughters of Angola to put an end to the war and to proclaim national reconciliation to the world.
- The cessation of all hostilities by proclamation of a ceasefire which came into force on June 24.
- The establishment of a commission charged with finalising the means of implementing this plan, with the mediation of President Mobutu.

However, President Kaunda is backing an interpretation of the Gbadolite accord favoured by the MPLA government which suggests that the original agreement was critical of US intervention in Angola, accepted the retention of the present Angolan constitution and accepted that Dr Savimbi be sent into exile.

After President Kaunda issued a statement backing this interpretation of the Gbadolite accord in Harare last Wednesday, Dr Savimbi accused President Kaunda of deliberately misrepresenting the accord and angry Unita officials said they were back at war.

However, Unita has since backed off from this position after being given an assurance by President Mobutu that the Harare statement has no official status.

Dr Savimbi said it was important to work for a new ceasefire in Angola, to define the mechanisms by which the ceasefire would be implemented and to start discussing political accommodation between Unita and the MPLA.

Why Savimbi sent his troops back to war

SEE PAGE 3

At today's meeting in Zambia, Mr De Klerk faces the challenge of persuading President Kaunda that the position he has adopted is not facilitating the peace process.

Interviewed on BBC radio news yesterday, President Kaunda insisted that his primary objective at today's meeting will be to find out about Mr De Klerk and what he stands for.

He said the questions uppermost in his mind will be: "Is he a man of principle? Does he respect human beings as we do? Is he the man to bring about changes in South Africa?"

President Kaunda denied that he was acting as a "broker" for the ANC and said he would not press Pretoria on obtaining talks with the ANC today.

"I'm going as leader of Zambia because I know that if we don't succeed in bringing about peaceful change we will not have more than two years before we have an explosion."

Sapa-Reuters reports that President Kaunda arrived in Livingstone yesterday, accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Luke Mwanshika.

They spent the night at the Intercontinental Hotel where today's talks are to take place.

Mr De Klerk's aircraft is expected to arrive at Livingstone at 5am and the talks are due to start about an hour later.
bi orders troops to war

June 22

ky at the se board by Unita ordered guerilla resdient for tk.

ag the and pe.

is a re.

This links e south-

east with the central and northern areas where Unita forces must operate in order to apply real military pressure — the only option open to Dr Savimbi in the event of complete political deadlock.

The MPLA would have to cut that supply line to have any hope of containing Unita, whose military planners have long assumed that any serious MPLA offensive would, as in the past, begin with — or would soon include — an attack on Mavinga.

The main MPLA thrust has been supplemented by probes along Unita's south-west defences near the border with Namibia.

The approach to Mavinga from the position held by the MPLA is a daisy-chain of flood plains impassable during the rainy season, but at present a rock-hard motorway for armour, which the MPLA has in abundance, a legacy of Cuban and Russian backing.

Unita has only a couple of captured armoured vehicles, which it trials out to show to foreign visitors in Zuma, its self-styled capital, but considerable numbers of new Land Rovers equipped with anti-tank weapons.

The tree line bordering the plains is bristling with such defences and the plains themselves are heavily mined.

It seems the MPLA broke out of the salient they occupy at Cuito Cuanavale, where last year South African and Cuban artillery shelled it out for months on end, and advanced about 23km before being held.

The significant feature of the action on this front is that not even Unita is claiming that Cuban ground forces have taken any part in it.

Under the terms of UN resolution 435, Cuban forces have been restricted to north of the 15th parallel — which virtually runs through Cuito Cuanavale — since the beginning of this month.

Uppermost in Dr Savimbi's mind is the political snub contained in the refusal to let him attend the OAU summit on Angola.

He was infuriated by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the OAU chairman, who said that Dr Savimbi had agreed to go into temporary exile.

There can be little doubt that Dr Savimbi's order to resume fighting is his way of saying that he is no longer willing to be excluded from the Angolan debate, which continues today — again without him — in a first meeting between Mr de Klerk and Dr Kaunda. — Sunday Telegraph
FW flies to meet Kaunda in Livingstone

ANC and Angola will dominate talks

Political Staff
Acting State President Mr FW de Klerk flew into Zambia this morning to meet and "get to know" one of South Africa's oldest and most resolute critics, President Kenneth Kaunda, in talks likely to be dominated by the shaky peace in Angola and by our internal problems.

The South African delegation will raise the question of mounting tension in Angola over the mechanics of reconciling Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement with President Eduardo dos Santos's MPLA government.

This follows Mr de Klerk's talks on Friday with President Mobutu Sese Soko in Zaire, and with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in Pretoria yesterday.

South Africa's diplomats, who are playing a mediating role, are regarding the challenge as urgent and absolutely vital to peace in the region.

Renewed civil conflict in Angola would have a serious impact on the Namibian independence process.

On trial
President Kaunda has given notice he wants to discuss South Africa's internal problems and will question Mr de Klerk on the National Party's promises.

"The regime is on trial," he said recently.

He wants to know how Mr de Klerk intends ending apartheid and finding his own path to national reconciliation.

Lurking in the background — not least because of former president Mr PW Botha's vittuperative resignation address — is the ANC and the notion that today's meeting is the first step to negotiations. The OAU-backed ANC settlement plan, approved last week, is expected to be on the table for discussion.

Dr Kaunda has said he wants to get to know Mr de Klerk the meeting was at his suggestion — and will almost certainly want to convince him of the need to talk to the ANC. He has said he will brief the ANC and the Frontline leaders on his talks with Mr de Klerk.

The meeting is due to last only a few hours. Mr de Klerk has an election engagement in Natal tonight.

Angry response
"But it has become increasingly clear that what at first was destined to be merely a symbolic engagement is now being regarded as a business meeting to assess soberly the dispute that has arisen over the drive for reconciliation in Angola, and to find ways to secure and reinvigorate that initiative."

President Kaunda's interpretation of the Gbadolite Agreement of June 22 which, he said, provided for the exile of Dr Savimbi and the integration of Unita into the MPLA, has led to an "angry response" from the Unita leaders. He swiped harshly at Dr Kaunda for having made "misleading and destructive" statements.

*Respect by M Motshe, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town*
FW's success

LIVINGSTONE. — Acting President Mr F W de Klerk scored a significant success in his 2½-hour talks yesterday with Zambia's president Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

The two men held their first meeting in a hotel in this Zambian town, which lies within earshot of the thundering torrents of the Victoria Falls.

The faltering peace process in Angola headed the agenda and at the end of the day Dr Kaunda had agreed that the Gbadolite Declaration — and not any statements issued since — should remain the key document for peace between Angola's MPLA government and the Unita movement.

The Unita rebel group threatened to resume full hostilities against the MPLA government after Dr Kaunda last week claimed that the agreement reached at Gbadolite, Zaire, in June required Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to retire.

A top source close to the talks said afterwards Dr Kaunda and Mr de Klerk said: "We got on very well — there was complete rapport between them".

Mr de Klerk said the talks had been a "good opportunity to get to know a senior Southern Africa leader. Later he told journalists that he found Dr Kaunda "a most pleasant person, an earnest Christian".

Earlier fears of Dr Kaunda presenting Mr de Klerk with an African National Congress ultimatum for negotiation — which caused a traumatic cabinet showdown and the resignation of former President Mr P W Botha — were unfounded.

The ANC was not mentioned specifically at all and some journalists saw this as a victory for Mr de Klerk.

"I had the opportunity to give a positive vision of the future in which South Africa is going to break out of the cycle of conflict," Mr de Klerk told reporters.

Dr Kaunda said he would have to confer with other African heads of state before responding specifically to several points raised in the talks.

Asked about Mr de Klerk's proposals, Dr Kaunda was strikingly conciliatory: "There are certain basic principles which he says he intends to implement. About those, I see no disagreement at all."

Mr de Klerk said of Dr Kaunda: "I got the impression he listened very carefully. His reactions were a positive one, but also a walk-and-see one."

Mr de Klerk said an African summit was one of Dr Kaunda's visions — "one which we share" — but he said this would have to be on the basis of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

When asked by a journalist if he supported Mr de Klerk's desire to find a negotiated and peaceful settlement in South Africa, Dr Kaunda replied simply: "Well said."

Before the talks started about 10am, Dr Kaunda took Mr de Klerk on a walk to view the Victoria Falls.

Simon Barber reports from Washington that Mr de Klerk has been given "six months" to start serious negotiations on ending apartheid, administration officials were quoted as saying in yesterday's Washington Times.

After that, "It becomes more difficult to suggest he needs more time to move in that direction", an official said, suggesting that the administration would not fight new sanctions initiatives from congress.

— Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuters
FW confident
Angolan peace
plan on track

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

THE Acting President, Mr FW de Klerk, is confident his talks
with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda have helped get
the Angolan peace initiative back on track and have
strengthened South Africa's in-
fluence in frontline Africa.

Mr de Klerk believes South
Africa's case is now better un-
derstood in Zambia and that
the "get to know you" encoun-
ter has helped extend Pre-
toria's lines of communication
in the region.

And Dr Kaunda, it seems,
was impressed enough by Mr
De Klerk's explanation of his
vision for a new dispensation in
South Africa during the two-
hour talks in Livingstone yest-
eryear to withhold judgment on
his promises. He will wait and
see.

CONVINCED

The Zambian president also
seems to have been convinced
by his South African visitors to
publicly acknowledge Zaïrean
President Mobutu Sese Seko's
mediatorship of the Angolan
peace process within the terms
of the "Ghadolite Agreement" and, in effect, not to interfere
with President Mobutu's work.

The summit appears to have
brought more unity on the wor-
some question of the Ghado-
lite Agreement, though doubt
remains on whether everyone is
in accord on its interpretation.

The South Africans, however,
were confident after the talks
that the agreement was no
longer in jeopardy.

Mr de Klerk, Foreign Minis-
ter Mr Pik Botha and senior
diplomats flew into Zambia
eyesterday for the meeting.

Earlier speculation that the
meeting could prove a diplo-
amatic trap that would embroil
the South African leader di-
rectly in an ANC-related de-
bate proved groundless, partly
because the Angolan crisis
shouldered such a possibility
off the agenda, and also, it is
apparent; because both Dr
Kaunda and Mr de Klerk were
determined to stick to the origi-

PRESS CONFERENCE: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia talks to the Press after
talks with Mr F W de Klerk (centre) and Mr Pik Botha (left) in Livingstone.
Intense effort to refloat Angola peace initiative

By ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

A MEETING between Zaire’s President Mobutu Sese Seko and the Angolan rebel leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, is on the cards as part of the intense diplomatic activity in southern Africa to get Angolan peace efforts firmly back on track.

Both South Africa and the United States apparently feel that such a meeting soon, possibly in Zaire, would be a “useful exercise” to patch up differences between the two men, sources said yesterday.

(Michael Morris of the Political Staff reported this week that the Acting President, Mr F W de Klerk, is confident that his talks with President Kaunda have helped get the Angolan peace initiative back on track.)

It is understood that the United States is keen that the two men make their peace after Dr Savimbi made scathing remarks recently about Mr Mobutu, the chief mediator for Angolan peace.

Sources said the US would be well placed to arrange such a meeting because it had considerable leverage with both men: the US supplies Dr Savimbi and his Unita bush fighters with arms via Zaire, and Mr Mobutu has strong ties to America.

South Africa has already started a series of report-back briefings following acting President F W de Klerk’s diplomatic shuttle in the last five days to Zaire and Zambia.

- Envoyes are updating Mozambique’s President Joaquim Chissano, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast and Mr Mobutu on Mr de Klerk’s talks on Monday with Zambia’s President Kenneth Kaunda.

While the Monday meeting at Livingston seemed to ease the crisis surrounding the tenuous Angolan peace effort, sources said all principals involved would first have to be informed of developments before it could be described as fully “back on track”.

Dr Kaunda is due to brief his Organisation of African Unity colleagues and seek their approval, possibly within the next four days — he is scheduled to attend a meeting of non-aligned countries in Belgrade at the weekend, where he should see some of the countries he said he wanted to consult.

He is then expected to signal South Africa’s case is now better understood in Zambia and that the “get to know you” encounter has helped extend Pretoria’s lines of communication in the region.

Mr De Klerk believes South Africa’s case is now better understood in Zambia and that the “get to know you” encounter has helped extend Pretoria’s lines of communication in the region.

And Dr Kaunda, it seems, was impressed enough by Mr De Klerk’s explanation of his vision for a new dispensation in South Africa during the two-hour talks in Livingston this week to withhold judgment on his promises. He will wait and see.

The Zambian president also seems to have been convinced by his South African visitors to publicly acknowledge President Sese Seko’s mediatorship of the Angolan peace process within the terms of the Gbadolite Agreement and, in effect, not to interfere with President Mobutu’s work.
Cuba 'keeping to agreements'  

BELGRADE — Cuba assured the non-aligned summit yesterday that it remained committed to the agreements on Angola and Namibia, and was following its troop withdrawal timetable "in strict detail."  

The Cuban commitment was made by the first vice-president, Mr Raul Castro, brother of Cuban leader Dr Fidel Castro.  

Dr Castro announced at the last moment that he would not be going to the Belgrade summit. His brother said economic and political tasks and international duties were the reason. — Special Correspondent.
Angola confirms meeting

LUSAKA. — Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem has confirmed that he and his South African counterpart, Mr Pik Botha, have held talks in the Mozambican capital Maputo, Angolan national radio said yesterday.

The radio, monitored by Reuters in Lusaka, said the two met for three hours on Monday.

It was the first official Angolan confirmation of the meeting, the first high-level contact between South Africa and Angola since the launch on June 22 by African leaders of a peace initiative aimed at ending Angola's 14-year-old civil war.

Western diplomats in the region said it was likely the two ministers had discussed the faltering Angolan peace process.

Fighting between the Angolan government and opposing UNITA forces has intensified in the past two months despite the ceasefire. — Sapa-Reuters
Savimbi says govt doesn't want peace

LISBON — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi yesterday accused the Angolan government of trying to seize a rebel stronghold.

Citing this as proof Luanda was not serious about peace, he said the offensive against Mavinga, in southern Angola, involved more than 3,000 men and 25 tanks. The government has denied the offensive. Savimbi claimed the army suffered heavy losses and withdrew towards Cuito Cuanavale.

"The attempt to take Mavinga is flagrant proof that the government is not prepared to negotiate an honest and frank end to the armed conflict in our country."

The government claims its troops have only taken up arms for counter-attacks.

Fighting in the 14-year-old civil war has flared in recent weeks despite a ceasefire agreed on June 22 at a summit of African leaders in Ghadafi, Zaire.

Both sides, which blame each other for the collapse of the truce, differ on what was agreed and have suspended talks.

Savimbi insisted yesterday he was still open to discussing an end to fighting. — Sapa-Reuters.
A fortunate foray

If former President P W Botha had had his way, no meeting at Livingstone would have taken place between his designated successor, F W de Klerk, and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda two weeks ago. This would have robbed Pretoria of the key role — unforeseen at the time — it is currently playing in clearing up confusion over the Gbadolite Declaration.

Less well known than the Nkomati Accord and Resolution 435, Gbadolite (as diplomats call the declaration) is, nonetheless, as important. To say that 435's implementation in Namibia and the maintenance of Nkomati between SA and Mozambique hinge on Gbadolite, is no exaggeration.

The declaration was named after the much-hailed June 22 meeting between more than 20 African heads of State or their representatives at Gbadolite in Zaire to discuss an agreement to end the 14-year-old Angolan civil war. The appearance of Unita's Jonas Savimbi at Gbadolite and the subsequent acceptance (according to Savimbi) of three principles — a ceasefire, national reconciliation and the establishment of a joint commission to implement the plan — promised to lead southern Africa into a period of peace.

That was until two months later when, after a conference of the eight southern African heads of State in Harare, Kaunda announced that Savimbi had accepted voluntary exile (Leaders September 1). This interpretation of the declaration and the looming breakdown of the peace process, dominated De Klerk's Lake Kivu meeting with Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, the mediator in the Angolan conflict. Savimbi's hurried visit to Pretoria underlined the gravity of the situation which had developed.

In the light of this, the De Klerk-Kaunda meeting seemed to have justified the palace rebellion at Tuyuhuys. De Klerk, aided by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Director-General Neil van Heerden, unexpectedly found himself in a position to brief the Zambian president on Mobutu's and Savimbi's interpretations of Gbadolite.

Gbadolite, as a peace accord, has serious loopholes. Much Van Heerden admitted after Livingstone. In a recent discussion, the SA Institute of International Affairs' John Barratt and Stellenbosch Africa Studies head Willie Breytenbach concurred.

Both pointed to the short time it took to reach an agreement of such importance. It differed vastly from the painstaking manner in which the Namibian peace process had developed, Barratt said.

Future relations between SA and the MPLA government of Jose Eduardo dos Santos depend greatly on a possible agreement, in which Savimbi and Unita will feature. Despite overtures from Angola to lure SA into a bilateral agreement, SA has made it clear that its diplomatic and physical support for Unita — limited as it may seem — remains a political reality. Nonetheless, a good working relationship was struck between Angola and SA during the Namibian peace negotiations.

Though Gbadolite was a vague concept, Radio Nacional de Angola broadcast the text of the declaration in Portuguese on June 23.

It made no reference to a proposal that Savimbi would go into voluntary exile. Though he gave no explanation as to what prompted him to state that Savimbi would go into exile, Kaunda promised his SA guest that he would get back to them on this issue.

Savimbi remains in a difficult position. As mediator, Mobutu sees his honour attached to a settlement. At the same time, he holds the keys to Unita's supplies but he has no similar hold on the MPLA. Understandably, the MPLA wants a ceasefire and is not keen to enter political negotiations, fearing a loss of support from the masses in Luanda.

For SA, the danger of the Namibian peace process stalling remains a dangerous prospect in the continuing Angolan conflict. An about-turn by Cuban forces would almost certainly see the end of Namibia's hopes for independence.

Under the new regime in Pretoria, Savimbi is still highly regarded and there would be no move to sacrifice him — unless SA interests were at stake. Savimbi himself may make it easy on SA by accepting an ambassadorial post in a future Angolan government of national unity.

At the moment, much depends on Kaunda's role as honest broker. With Mobutu and Mozambique's Joaquin Chissano, he remains a powerful African statesman and De Klerk may yet count his blessings for the early meetings he had with them.
Cuba threatens to re

Angolan war erupts again

LONDON — Angola’s civil war has started again but it is unlikely to threaten the regional peace process which is bringing Namibia to independence and resisting Cuban troops from Angola.

Following the deaths of six of its soldiers in a rebel attack, Cuba has threatened to reconsider the withdrawal of its 50,000 troops from Angola but diplomats say that the commitment of the superpowers, South Africa and Angola to the Brazzaville Accords will not allow the regional agreement to come unstuck.

But the Angolan civil war is as intractable as ever.

**Upstaging tactics**

The government and Unita rebels have recently performed a complicated diplomatic ballet trying to upstage each other and shift responsibility for the collapse of the ceasefire to their opponents.

In a coup de theatre on June 22, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire brought together President dos Santos of Angola and Dr. Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader who has fought the government for 14 years. Their handshake was witnessed by 18 African leaders and it seemed the war had broken out. The Gambia Declaration was issued, committing the parties to a ceasefire and national reconciliation.

But now it appears that President Mobutu told President dos Santos that the Unita leader had agreed to go into temporary exile and to allow his Unita movement to be absorbed into existing State structures. As this version was made public, Dr. Savimbi angrily announced he agreed to nothing except the ceasefire.

The ceasefire broke down almost straightaway and hostilities have escalated. Last week there were reports, denied by the government, that it had launched an offensive on Mavinga and was pressing southwards. Meanwhile, delegations from the MPLA government and Unita have come, waited and gone from Kinshasa, the Zairian capital, denouncing each other for lack of interest in talks or peace.

When the leaders of the Frontline states endorsed the MPLA’s version, Dr. Savimbi angrily abrogated the ceasefire. Since then Zaire, South Africa, the US, and several African countries have been struggling to get negotiations back on the rails.

South Africa, Unita’s former supplier, the United States, Unita’s current banker, and Zaire, through which US supplies reach Unita, have not welcomed Dr. Savimbi’s decision to return to a shooting war and have begun to distance themselves from him.

Unita was a useful lever for the US but now the Angolan government has gone along with the US plan for the region, it is no longer needed. US sources say that Washington will not end its military support for Unita, estimated at up to $46 million this year, but is strongly encouraging Dr. Savimbi to return to the negotiating table.

Dr. Savimbi has responded by calling a special congress of Unita later this month to which all Angolans and foreign observers are invited. It will provide a platform for him but it will also enable him to judge how many friends he still has. — The Independent, London.
New bid to restore peace in Angola

KINSHASA. — A last-minute attempt to revive the stalled peace process in Angola will be sponsored next week in Kinshasa by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Eight African heads of state and UNITA leader Mr Jonas Savimbi are scheduled to meet on September 18 in the Zaire capital to discuss restoring the ceasefire, and taking steps to end the bitter 14-year Angolan civil war.

In June, President Mobutu brokered a peace agreement in his home town of Gbadolite, endorsed by 17 African leaders, and ratified by an historic handshake between Mr Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos.

"Fighting never totally came to an end in Angola, especially in the South and South-Eastern parts of the country, near the Zambian and Namibian frontiers, but its intensity has been quite low, when compared to previous combat levels," said a Western diplomat in Kinshasa.

UNITA declared last month that it was no longer respecting the ceasefire, and that it was out of the question that Mr Savimbi go into voluntary exile.

Nevertheless, the Western diplomat added that "Cuban troops continue to be withdrawn from Angola according to schedule". As in Afghanistan, the armed forces of the pro-Soviet government in Angola are being reinforced by increased arms shipments and training.

President Mobutu has spearheaded the African drive to find a key solution for Angola.

Much of the $50 million (R140m) a year American aid for UNITA transits through Zaire, so by threatening to choke it off, President Mobutu is likely to have a convincing argument to force Mr Savimbi to come to the peace table ready to negotiate seriously.

Western diplomats also point out that UNITA's position is weakening as the coming independence of Namibia will deprive the rebel movement of direct access to South African support.

UNITA rebels said yesterday they had killed 50 government troops in renewed fighting. — Daily Telegraph
Joint Commission meets

WASHINGTON — A South African delegation travels to Havana, Cuba this week for the latest meeting of the Joint Commission which monitors the Angola-Namibia accords.

They will meet with their counterparts from the Angolan and Cuban governments, and representatives from the Soviet Union and the United States.

The South African delegation, led by Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden, includes Chief of the Defence Force General Jannie Geldenhuys and head of the National Intelligence Service Dr Nel Barnard. — The Star Bureau.
SA aid to Unita may harm peace claim

LISBON — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos claimed SA was continuing aid to Unita rebels and warned that the regional peace process in southern Africa could reach “a dangerous impasse”, the state news agency Angop reported yesterday.

In a dispatch from Luanda, monitored in Lisbon, Angop quoted dos Santos as saying Unita still received South African aid “that used to be open, but has become clandestine”.

It said dos Santos also said a clause in a regional peace accord signed last December in New York would allow Angola and Cuba to suspend repatriation of some 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola if SA was found to be violating the agreement.

Dos Santos also criticised the US for continuing to provide some $15m to $18m to aid a year to Unita and for planning the transfer to Unita of the former southern stronghold of Jamba, Angop reported.

Dos Santos’s remarks were made at the end of a 24-hour official visit to Hungary last Thursday and were published yesterday by Angop.

Angola was also trying to resolve the problem of Unita with neighbouring Zaire, Angop reported dos Santos as saying.

Unita has been fighting to force the Marxist government in Luanda to share power since shortly after Angola gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

A truce sealed by dos Santos and rebel leader Jonas Savimbi on June 22 in Ghadolite, Zaire, collapsed one week later.

Clashes

Direct talks between government and rebels broke down and Savimbi formally renounced the truce on August 24, after eight African leaders lent support to dos Santos at a summit in Harare, Zimbabwe.

In recent weeks, armed clashes have been reported between government troops and Unita.

Meanwhile, the leaders of eight African countries will meet later this month to boost the flagging peace process in Angola, the official Zairean press agency reported yesterday.

Quoting Foreign Minister Ngou Karl I.Bond, the agency said the meeting would be held next week in Kinshasa.

Present at the meeting are to be the heads of state of Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia will preside over the talks, the agency said. — Sapa-AP
Unita says govt used poison gas

By Ken Vernon
The Star's Africa News Service
CUNZUMBIA RIVER (Angola) — The Angolan rebel movement Unita has accused the Angolan government of using poison gas against Unita troops in an offensive against rebel strongholds in south-east Angola.

Unita's chief of military intelligence, General Wambu "Kasiku" Chindo, said 50 Unita soldiers had to be hospitalised because of the effects of the gas.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said at a press conference at his Jamba headquarters last night that the process to negotiate an end to the 14-year civil war would not be abandoned.

Soviets accuse rebels of attacks

The Star's Africa News Service
The Soviet Union has accused the Angolan rebel group Unita of undermining the peace process in Angola.

In a strongly worded statement released yesterday in the Angolan capital, Luanda, the Soviet Union said that, faced with continued attacks from Unita, the Angolan government was being "compelled to take measures to ensure national security and national interests".

Analysts see the release of the statement as a clear indication that the Soviet Union will continue supporting the MPLA government in Luanda.

The statement said South Africa still supported Unita.

But he said peace talks brokered by Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko had stalled and said Unita would not attend a negotiating session planned for September 18.

Dr Savimbi said the MPLA government must have been planning the offensive against his territory at the same time as he and President Eduardo dos Santos were shaking hands at Gbadolite in Zaire last June.

The first journalists to visit Unitaheld territory since the historic handshake were shown a scene of utter devastation at the site of the three-day long "battle of Cunzumbia River".

Unita's battlefield commander, General Ben Ben, said a 3000-man government force supported by 80 tanks which had broken out of the government stronghold of Cuito Cuanavale on August 18, was trapped against the banks of the Cunzumbia River 10 days later and "destroyed" in a savage two-day artillery barrage.

Unita said a government offensive in the south-west of the country was also halted.

Unita said a total of 275 government troops died in the two offensives. In addition 49 tanks and armoured vehicles and 56 other vehicles were destroyed and a MiG 23 was shot down. Unita losses were given as 49 dead and 91 wounded.

The MPLA government has accused Unita of initiating "the fighting.

@See Page 13.
Air force pilots ‘in training’ in USSR

Angola may get new support planes

By Joao Santa Rita,
The Star’s Africa News Service

The Angolan air force could soon be strengthened by several of the Soviet SU-25 close-support planes which were used with some success in Afghanistan.

The Angolan government newspaper, Jornal de Angola, said last week that several Angolan pilots were being trained at an undisclosed place in the Soviet Union on the SU-25.

The authoritative “Jane’s All the World’s Aircraft” says the SU-25 attained full operational capability in 1984. Nato codenamed it “Frogfoot”.

Operational

The plane was deployed in Afghanistan “to support the Russian ground forces fighting in mountain terrain”.

“The emphasis during operational use in Afghanistan is said to have been on techniques for co-ordinating low-level close support by fixed-wing aircraft and Mi-24 helicopter gunships,” the publication says.

SU-25 aircraft are known to be operational in Czechoslovakia and Iraq.

Jornal de Angola said the plane was used “to attack ground targets at low altitude”.

“Heavily armoured, with a strong capacity for difficult manoeuvres, the SU-25 is particularly resistant to anti-aircraft fire. Thus, in Afghanistan the SU-25s even managed to escape from the ‘Stinger’ (anti-aircraft missiles),” it said.

The newspaper said the plane could carry eight 500 kg bombs, 256.57 mm and higher calibre rockets as well as guided missiles. It could also be fitted with anti-tank bombs.

“Jane’s All the World’s Aircraft” says the plane is also fitted with one twin-barrel 23 mm gun.

The Angolan air force is known to have several MiG-19, 21 and 23 as well as Su-22.

“Jane’s” says the SU-25 has a top level speed of 880 km/hr and a combat radius of 556 km.

In its feature article, the Angolan newspaper said more than 300 Angolan pilots and “technicians” had been trained so far at an air force school in the Soviet Union in MiG and SU planes since 1976.

The newspaper said it had been able to visit the base because of the Soviet Union’s new “Glasnost” policies.

It did not name the base but said it had a museum where the wrecks of an American Phantom fighter plane and a French “Mirage”, shot down in the Middle East by “former pupils”, were on show.

Jornal de Angola said that at the base, the Angolan and other pilots from the Third World spent more than half of their tuition time in “practical” lessons.

They also studied philosophy, political economy, high mathematics, military history, aircraft construction and aerodynamics.
Angola peace ends in savage battle

Angolans ‘talking peace, plot war’

Argus Africa News Service
JAMBA (Angola). — UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has not ruled out a negotiated peace settlement for Angola, but at the same time he has accused the Angolan government of plotting a war while talking peace.

Speaking at a press conference at his Jamba headquarters late last night, a visibly upset Dr Savimbi said the UNITA government must have been planning the present offensive against the Angolan government at the same time as he and President Eduardo dos Santos were shaking hands at the Ghadidite palace of Zairean President Mobutu.

THREE MONTHS

"It takes at least three months to plan such a double offensive," he said, pointing out that the Ghadidite meeting had taken place just two months before the offenses began.

He said the peace talks mediated by President Mobutu had stalled, and that UNITA would not attend a negotiating session planned for September 18.

"UNITA will have an extraordinary congress from September 23 to 29, where the party's stance on peace talks will be discussed and a policy decided. The present talks are not working because they were not prepared properly, and we need a different process," he said.

In spite of the setbacks, he said he had no regrets about the historic handshake with President dos Santos.

"If we had shaken hands 14 years ago perhaps this war could have been avoided," he said.

By KEN VERNON
Argus Africa News Service
CUNZUMBA RIVER (Angola). — The Angolan rebel movement, Unita, has accused the Angolan government of using poison-gas against Unita troops in an offensive against rebel strongholds in south-east Angola that has broken a fragile ceasefire.

According to Unita's chief of military intelligence, General Wamba "Kasito" Chindoendo, six Unita soldiers had been admitted to hospital because of poison-gas attacks, although no one was killed.

Despite the government offensive, Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said at a press conference at his Jamba headquarters yesterday that the process to negotiate a peaceful solution to the country's 14-year civil war would not be abandoned.

"We cannot say that a ceasefire has been broken because we never formally agreed to a ceasefire," he said.

DEVASTATION

He admitted peace negotiations brokered by Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko had stalled. "We need to find a different process because this one is not working," he said.

The first group of journalists to enter Unita-held territory since the historic peace handshake between Dr Savimbi and Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos at Ghadidite in Zaire last June were shown a scene of utter devastation at the site of the three-day "Battle of Cunzumbia River.

According to Unita's battles front commander, General Ben Ben, a 3,000-man government force supported by 60 tanks which had broken out of the government stronghold of Cuito Cuanavale on August 15 was trapped against the banks of the Cunzumbia River 10 days later and "destroyed" in a savage artillery barrage.

"We luried them into our trap and surrounded them on three sides against the river," said General Ben.

"While they were expecting a mass infantry attack, we sent in special penetration teams on his and run attacks, and then when we had pinpointed their positions exactly, we hit them with heavy mortars."

He said the remainder of the troops fled back towards Cuito Cuanavale, but were not pursued by Unita troops whose orders were to maintain their positions along the Cunzumbia river.

"Stalin organ"

At one major logistical base within the government perimeter a Soviet-made "Stalin organ" loaded with munitions exploded in a massive fireball after a direct hit from a mortar shell.

More than 40 government soldiers perished as six vehicles were destroyed in the huge explosion.

Three weeks later the area was still littered with shattered remnants of AK-47s, live 120mm artillery shells and bits of bloodied uniforms.

Trees were splintered up to 100 metres from the centre of the blast.

According to Unita, another government offensive in the south-west of the country was also halted, and about 273 government troops died in the two offensives.

In addition 40 tanks and armoured vehicles were destroyed, 56 other vehicles were also destroyed while a Mig-21 was shot down, apparently by United States supplied "stinger" missiles.

Union in JOHANNESBURG

The National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) has reached a historic pay and working conditions agreement with six motor industry manufacturers affecting about 30,000 workers, a union spokesman said.

Numsa spokesman Mr Les Kettle said the agreement would eliminate differences in the benefit packages among the different manufacturers, and has laid the basis for
Namibia peace talks delayed

The Argui
Foreign Service
HAVANA. The latest
round of talks between
South Africa, Cuba and
Angola on progress in
implementing the Namibian peace accords has
been delayed for 24
hours.

Cuban officials said
yesterday there was no
special reason for the
delay, other than to give
the various delegations
more time to settle in.

Delegations from the
three countries as well
as the US and the Soviet
Union are gathering in
the Cuban capital for a
scheduled meeting of
the joint commission set
up to monitor the peace
agreements, which ended
South African and
Cuban involvement in
the Angolan civil war
and which launched the
independence process
for Namibia.

Members of the 17-
member South African
delegation started arriv-
ing in Havana on Mon-
day. Secretary general
for Foreign Affairs Mr.
Neil van Heerden, the
delegation leader, was
scheduled to fly in from
Madrid late last night.
Poison gas attack
Angola accused of
66 needed treatment – Unita

By Ken Vernon
Spectrum

Unita spurns the ceasefire

Argus Africa News Service
Special Correspondent in Kunzumbwa Base

GOVERNMENT troops and Unitas, who had fought a series of battles recently in southeast Angola, and the rebels say they will not attend next week's summit aimed at ending the crumbling peace initiative.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, speaking at his bush headquarters in Zaire, accused the Angolan government of planning and launching offensives after the two sides agreed to a ceasefire in June.

The truce collapsed quickly and there has been heavy fighting near the southeastern city of Cuito Cuanavale with more battles expected. Savimbi said:

"The present peace talks are not working because they were not prepared properly and we need a different process," Savimbi told newsmen.

Savimbi did not criticise Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, who arranged the ceasefire and will host an eighth-nation African summit beginning on Monday to keep the peace efforts alive in the 14-year-old civil war.

Mobutu has supported Unitas politically and allowed the United States to send ammunition to the rebels through Zaire.

The Angolan government will be at the talks, but Savimbi said Unitas will not attend. The rebels plan a special congress September 30 to discuss their position on the negotiations, he said.

Savimbi seeks a temporary power-sharing accord with Angola's Marxist government that will eventually lead to free elections in which he would stand as a candidate.

He rejected the ceasefire August 21 because of the increasing hostilities, but said he still believed peace talks could succeed.

The Angolan government accused Unitas of repeated ceasefire violations following Savimbi's call for the truce.

Savimbi said that Unitas forces are under orders not to launch offensives, but would fight to defend territory they now occupy.

Unita said it repulsed a major attack August 27-29 near the Kunzumbwa River, about 73 km southeast of Cuito Cuanavala, where the government usually launches offensives against Unitas strongholds in the southeast.

Journalists who visited the battle site saw remnants of Soviet-built tanks, armored vehicles and downed Mil Mi-24 helicopter gunships, all destroyed by the rebels.

General Arlindo Ben, Unitas' deputy chief of staff, said 1,000 government soldiers were engaged in the fighting. He said 277 of his men were killed and 669 wounded, while 1,700 government fighters were killed and 76 hurt.

Unita said government soldiers used poison gas on the rebels, a charge the guerrillas have made several times in recent years. Dozens of Unitas fighters at a hospital in Mavinga said they were suffering from nausea, chest and stomach pains allegedly caused by poison gas.

Unita said it had no evidence that Cuban troops were involved in the fighting.

The Angolan government has been withdrawing its 50,000 soldiers from Angola under a treaty signed last December by Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

South Africa says it has been angered by the treaty. Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos claimed recently that South Africa was helping his Unitas enemies.

Unita has accused the Angolan government of using poison gas against troops in an offensive against rebel strongholds.

According to Unitas' chief of military intelligence, General Wambura Kwambura, 65 unitas soldiers had to be admitted to hospitals because of poison-gas attacks, although no-one was killed.

Despite the government's offensive, the Unitas leader said that the process to negotiate a peaceful solution to the country's civil war would not be abandoned.

"We cannot say that a ceasefire has been broken because we never formally agreed to a ceasefire," he said.

He admitted peace negotiations brokered by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko had stalled.

"We need to find a different process because this one is not working," he said.

The first group of journalists to enter unitas-held territory included an armistice handshake between Dr Savimbi and Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos in Cuito Cuanavala on August 21.

According to Unitas' battlefront commander, General Ben Ben, a 3,000-man government force supported by 60 tanks which had broken out of the government stronghold of Cuito Cuanavala on August 18, was trapped against the banks of the Kunzumbwa River.

Government troops fled back toward Cuito Cuanavala but were not pursued by the rebels who had broken out of the government stronghold.

"While they were expecting a mass infantry attack, we left in special penetration teams on hit and run attacks, and when we had pinpointed their positions exactly, we hit them with heavy mortars," he said.

He said the remainder of the troops had fled back toward Cuito Cuanavala but were not pursued by Unitas troops whose orders were to maintain their positions along the Kunzumbwa river.

The battle, which broke out last month near a muddy river called the Kunzumbwa, was one that international diplomacy was supposed to prevent.

In June, Angolan leader Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi, his counterpart in Unitas (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), shook hands in Gbadolite, Zaire, apparently sealing an accord that held out hope for peace.

But a ceasefire failed to hold. Both sides accused the other of multiple violations and the accord was in jeopardy.

Last weekend Unitas erupted in protest by truck drivers and railroad car crews to pressure the government to meet the demands for the country to be divided into two parts: one for the Portuguese colonists in the north and the other for the Angolans in the south.

According to General A. Lino Pena, a Unitas commander who favours the partition of Angola into two states, a 3,000-strong government force advanced on the city of Cuito Cuanavala, just west of the rebel enclave.

Mangled weaponry in the killing field

From JONATHAN SHARP
in Kunzumbwa Base

Mangled weaponry, shell-shattered trees and the chilling debris of modern combat litter the latest killing field in the Angolan civil war.

"I send you the kiss of victory," wrote a soldier to his wife in a letter that was never sent because its smoky remnants were found in a shellhole.

But this battle, fought in a desolate corner of the African bush, was not one that the soldier's leaders in the faraway Angolan capital of Luanda will relish.

The wreckage of more than 20 government military vehicles, including two Soviet-made T59 tanks, lie shattered, victim of the pro-Western rebels' and government guerrillas' war.

Shells and bullets, live or spent, still litter the charred earth although the Unitas victors have buried their own and their enemy's dead.
A single shell turns tide for Unita

By KEN VERNÓN
Argus Africa News Service

ONE lucky mortar shell, fired literally in the dark, turned the battle of the Cunumbia River in Unita's favour.

The shell landed in the middle of a government logistical area serving the 3,000-strong government force, which was braced for a Unita infantry attack. It scored a direct hit on a Soviet-made Stalin-organ loaded with munitions.

The resultant massive blast tore the heart out of the MPLA attack, killing more than 40 soldiers and destroying six vehicles.

"That one shell was crucial," said the Unita battle commander, General Ben Ben. "It turned the battle our way and must have demoralised the enemy."

According to Unita commanders, the battle began after the MPLA force broke out of the government stronghold of Cuito Cuanavale, where it had been confined by Unita forces and shattered the morale of the MPLA soldiers since a combined South African and Unita force defeated a previous offensive at the end of 1987.

The aim of the attack appears to have been to test Unita defences in the area after the withdrawal of South African forces under the Tripartite agreement reached with Cuba and Angola last year.

Tank tracks radiating away from the blast scene tore through MPLA trenches and over uprooted trees, mute testimony to the terror the massive blast must have caused in the middle of the night.

Three weeks later the site of the explosion reminded journalists of pictures of the stark scenes in the aftermath of the Hiroshima atom bomb blast. Trees in the immediate vicinity of the Stalin-organ had been splintered at their base, while those up to 150 metres away were bent and charred — shredded of all leaves and branches.

Bits of bloody tattered uniforms hung from the skeletal remains of the machines of war, torn boots lay mixed with scorched letters and live howitzer shells.

"The enemy were taken completely by surprise by our bombardment, they didn't believe we could mount such an artillery attack with the help of the South Africans," said General Ben Ben. "With the enemy expecting a mass infantry attack from the east, we instead infiltrated the rear of the enemy positions with special penetration teams, small groups of three of four men trained to destroy vehicles with grenades and to pin-point exact locations of enemy concentrations."
Cuban pilots sent back to Angola

JOHANNESBURG. — Cuban air force pilots have been sent back to Angola following the deterioration of the military situation there, according to reports published in Lisbon.

The respected weekly Expresso said that 47 Cuban jet fighter-and helicopter-pilots, who had been withdrawn from Angola, were returned at the end of last month to help the Angolan military face the sudden increase in fighting.

Analysts point out, however, that the return of the Cuban pilots does not mean that the withdrawal agreement signed with South Africa is being violated.

As long as the number of Cuban soldiers in Angola does not go above the agreed number, Cuba is free to send back to Angola any soldiers it wants.
Mozambique, Angola fighting worries Pik

Political Staff and The Star's Africa News Service

The various sides in both Angola and Mozambique had stepped up hostilities in an attempt to win advantage at the negotiating table, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said today.

Mr Botha said he viewed the increased fighting in both countries "with concern", but felt peace talks could still go ahead.

The Lisbon weekly, Expresso, said at the weekend that 47 Cuban jet fighter and helicopter pilots who had been withdrawn from Angola were returned at the end of last month to help the Angolan military face the sudden increase in fighting around the country.

Cuba is free to send back to Angola any soldiers it wants as long as the number of Cuban soldiers presently in Angola does not go above the number in the withdrawal agreement signed with South Africa, analysts pointed out yesterday.

By the end of next month, Cuba will have to have withdrawn 50 percent of its 50 000 troops from Angola.

At the same time, the remaining troops must be stationed north of the 13th parallel.

Delegations from South Africa, Angola, Cuba, the United States and the Soviet Union are gathering in Havana for a scheduled meeting of the joint commission set up to monitor the Angolan peace agreements.
Battles threaten Angolan peace talks

JAMBA — Government troops and Unita rebels have waged fierce battles recently in south-east Angola, and the rebels say they will not attend next week's summit aimed at salvaging a crumbling peace initiative.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, at Jamba on Monday, accused the Angolan government of launching offensives after the two sides agreed to the June 22 ceasefire.

Savimbi said there had been heavy fighting near the south-eastern city of Cuito Cuanavale and more battles were expected.

"The present (peace) talks are not working because they were not prepared properly and we need a different process," Savimbi told journalists.

"Our President Mobutu Sese Seko arranged the ceasefire and will host an eight-nation African summit beginning on Monday to keep the peace efforts alive in the 14-year-old civil war.

Peace talks

The Angolan government will be at the talks, but Savimbi said Unita would not attend. The rebels plan a special congress for September 23-29 to discuss their position on the negotiations, he said.

However, he said he still believed peace talks could succeed.

The Angolan government accused Unita of repeated ceasefire violations before Savimbi called off the truce.

Savimbi said that Unita forces are under orders not to launch offensives, but would fight to defend territory they now occupy.

Unita said it repulsed a major attack on August 27 near the Kwanza River, about 70km south-east of Cuito Cuanavale.

Journalists who visited the battle site saw remains of Soviet-built tanks, armoured vehicles and a MiG-23.

Unita's deputy chief of staff General Armando Beno said 3,000 government soldiers engaged in the fighting. He said 273 government troops were killed and 568 wounded, while 49 Unita fighters were killed and 77 wounded.

Unita said government soldiers used poison gas on the rebels and dozens of Unita fighters at a hospital in Mavungo said they were suffering from nausea, chest and stomach pains allegedly caused by poison gas.

Unita said it had no evidence Cuban troops were involved in the fighting.

Killed

In Lisbon yesterday, Sapa-Reuters reported that Unita rebels were at open war again after the breakdown of the two-month-long truce.

Unita said they killed 22 government soldiers in scattered clashes last Friday in areas ranging from the northern province of Malanje to Cunene in the south.

The rebels said the biggest battle took place in Cunene where 15 soldiers were killed.

They also said 11 soldiers died in an ambush in the central province of Cuanza Sul. The other government casualties resulted from smaller actions. Three rebels were killed, Unita said.

Meanwhile Anadolu reports that Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, on a one-day visit to Hungary, condemned the invasion of the US — "as the main promoter of destabilization in Angola" — to transfer the support base of Unita from the south to the north of the country.

He stressed that SA's support for Unita — "although less than before" — continued and recalled that under the terms of the New York accords, if SA violated what had been agreed upon, Angola and Cuba could suspend the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

Mugabe's plane was detained in Belgrade

MICHAEL HARTNACK
NAPARE — Yugoslav officials detained an Air Zimbabwe Boeing 727 at Belgrade Airport on
HAVANA. — National Intelligence Service chief Mr Neil Barnard had talks with his Angolan and Cuban counterparts yesterday to compare assessments of the continued presence of Swapo combatants below the 16th parallel in southern Angola.

They were to present a report to the joint committee which never convened last year because of a power cut after a severe electrical storm.

The cut came just as the delegates were entering the hall. They waited in total darkness for about 30 minutes before the meeting was cancelled.

"We have reason to feel dissatisfied — people have tended to deal with this in an off-hand manner," Foreign Affairs administrator-general Mr Neil van Heerden said beforehand.

There were "rumours in Ovamboland" that Swapo might use military force if it faced badly at the polls, and there were "people in our system who keep reminding us that (Swapo's April 1 incursion) could happen again," Mr Van Heerden said.

Apart from allaying such fears, resolving this issue would make it easier to decide the fate of Koevoet members still in Swapo, he said.
Unita to boycott peace summit

JAMBA. — Unita is refusing to attend next week's summit aimed at salvaging a crumbling Angolan peace initiative.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, speaking on Monday at his bush headquarters in Jamba, accused the Angolan government of planning and launching offensives after the two sides agreed to a ceasefire on June 22.

The truce collapsed quickly and there has been heavy fighting near Cuito Cuanavale with more battles expected, Dr Savimbi said.

"The present (peace) talks are not working because they were not prepared properly and we need a different process," Dr Savimbi told journalists.

Dr Savimbi did not criticise Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, who arranged the ceasefire and will host an eight-nation African summit beginning on Monday to keep the peace efforts alive in the 14-year-old civil war.

President Mobutu has supported Unita politically and allowed the United States to send assistance to the rebels through Zaire.

The Angolan government will be at the talks, but Dr Savimbi said Unita would not attend. The rebels plan a special congress on September 23-29 to discuss their position on the negotiations, he said.

Dr Savimbi said that Unita forces were under orders not to launch offensives, but would fight to defend territory they now occupied.

Unita said it repulsed a major attack from August 27 to 29 near the Kuzumbia River, about 70 km southeast of Cuito Cuanavale, where the government usually launches offensives against Unita strongholds in the south-east.

Journalists who visited the battle site at the weekend saw remains of Soviet-built tanks, armoured vehicles and a downed MiG-23 fighter plane, all destroyed by the rebels.

Unita said government soldiers used poisoned gas on the rebels. — Sapa-Reuter
Unita hospital cares for victims of Angola war

Argus African News Service
MAVINGA (Angola) - For nineteen-year-old Jose Antonio the battle of Cuanza river came to a end with a fierce burning sensation in his chest and throat, and blood pouring from his nose as he lost consciousness.

What confused him most as he fell to the ground was that he had not felt himself being shot.

But there was a happier ending than might be expected to this frightening scenario, for Jose woke up in the arms of his comrades -- the victims of a poison gas attack, according to Unita.

The incident took place during last month's government offensive into Unita held territory by 3,000 MPLA troops who, according to Unita, used poison gas in their attacks on Unita strong points.

Interviewed later at Unita's John Tucker military hospital in Mavinga, Jose, who doesn't look a day over 13, said his last memory was seeing "the enemy" riding past him with funny looking masks covering their faces.

Two "bombs" exploded nearby, he recalled, one very close to him, and he began feeling disoriented almost immediately before the burning sensation forced him to the ground.

Unita has alleged for more than two years that the MPLA government uses poison gas weapons in its attacks on the road movements, but an incontrovertible proof exists to support the allegations.

According to the deputy director of military health of Unita, Colonel J Domingos, Unita can treat over 1,000 bed cases daily in its semi-permanent field hospitals.

All the hospitals treat civilians as well as military patients, and last year a total of almost 12,000 cases were recorded, he said.

Unita hospital cares for victims of Angola war

SURGEONS AT WORK: An operation proceeds on a young soldier shot in the leg during the Cuanza River battle. The soldier had to wait three days before reaching the operating theatre.
The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — South Africa had no reason to believe Cuba would renege on the agreed schedule for the withdrawal of its troops from Angola, the Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said here.

He said in an interview last night that South Africa had warned Cuba and Angola at a meeting of the Joint Commission between the three countries in Havana last week that there would be very serious consequences if agreements between them were to be tampered with.

Mr Van Heerden was asked to react to comments made in Havana on Friday by the Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Ricardo Alarcón, to the effect that Cuba would change its schedule of troop withdrawal from Cuba if Unita continued with its attacks on the MPLA.

Mr Van Heerden said last night he had made it very plain during last week's talks that the whole process was interconnected and if one part of it was interrupted the entire process would be endangered.

He was referring to the formal agreements between the three countries which provide for the withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops from Angola.

Mr Van Heerden said his delegation expressed the view that all parties must ensure the process was not threatened.

"Nothing happened at the meeting which could cause them (the Cubans) to say that (the schedule of Cuban troop withdrawal would be changed)," he said.

He said when the matter of Unita's attacks was raised, and particularly the attack on the column which caused six Cuban soldiers to be killed, he had pointed out that the three countries should not start fiddling with any part of the process because it was all interconnected and it could all come to a grinding halt.
Saving Gbadolite

Another round of top-level discussions between SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Angolan counterpart, Loy van Dunem, is due to take place at Ruacana on the Angolan-Namibian border within the next few days.

Angolan sources tell the FM that the meeting — one of a series of recent discussions between Botha and Van Dunem — will be a follow-up to their efforts to solve the problems which have been threatening the Namibian peace process.

Botha and Van Dunem recently met in Maputo to discuss the problems which have arisen from different interpretations of the Gbadolite Declaration between the MPLA government of Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the Unita rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi (Current Affairs September 8). A breakdown in the peace negotiations between Savimbi and Luanda could have serious repercussions on the implementation of UN Resolution 435.

This week's meeting will take place after the expected return to Windhoek of Swapo leader Sam Nujoma, who was due in the Namibian capital as the FM went to press.

Both Botha and Van Dunem will do the groundwork for the meeting due on September 18 in Kinshasa between heads of the Frontline states to discuss Gbadolite. Other regional questions — among them the economic interdependence of the southern African countries — will also be discussed at Ruacana.

The Kinshasa meeting is seen by diplomatic observers as crucial to resolving the problems of the war-torn region. However, lasting peace can only be achieved after further meetings.

Harare key

An interesting relationship has developed over the last few months between SA and some of its radical neighbours. Observers say SA has moved much closer to countries like Mozambique and Angola, but point out that the key to longer-term solutions still lies with Zimbabwe. The SA-Mozambique-Angola relationship could be a future catalyst in dealings between Pretoria and Robert Mugabe.

A recent setback in SA/Zimbabwe affairs was the missile attack across the border at Beit Bridge.

Some observers see the attack as an act of sympathy with the demonstrations of the mass democratic movement. If so, it does not necessarily mean that the attack was launched with Mugabe's knowledge or even the approval of the MDM. As the FM went to press, officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs were awaiting a detailed report on the Beit Bridge incident from SA's trade representative in Harare.

Southern African diplomats were all surprised at the attack, especially against the background of Mugabe's positive stand on Savimbi's future after the Gbadolite Declaration.

Gbadolite has also been threatened by the efforts of French-speaking African states to discredit the role of Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, whom the Frontline states chose as mediator in the Angolan conflict. Leaders like Ivory Coast's Felix Houphouet-Boigny apparently distrust Mobutu.

There is also a growing feeling in diplomatic circles that the administration of US President George Bush has continued its blind support of Savimbi even though SA's role has diminished. This was underlined by Savimbi himself at a recent press conference in Pretoria: in reply to a question, he was quick to point out that Unita receives assistance from SA no longer.

SA diplomats say that while they are sympathetic to Savimbi (and his anti-Marxist stand), Pretoria has accepted that there are limits to its support for him — especially given the realities of the search for peace in Angola and the region.

FINANCIAL MAIL SEPTEMBER 18 1989
Pik's Angola meeting is on today

By SUNDAY TIMES FOREIGN DESK

that Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarco has warned that renewed fighting between Unita and the MPLA could force Cuba to slow the withdrawal of its troops from Angola.

But in Bloemfontein yesterday, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said South Africa would continue its friendship and contact with Unita's president, Jonas Savimbi.

Contact was being maintained because it was important that a settlement be reached between Angola's warring factions.

Gen Malan said: "South African and Unita forces fought together in battles and won fantastically — we make no secret of our contact and friendship.

"We know we have a positive role to play in this regard, and our role is being recognised.

"Attack"

"The exportation of revolutionary activities from neighbouring states to SA is unacceptable and rejectable. "South Africa reserves the right, like any self-respecting country, to counter such activities, even if circumstances require us to cross our borders to take action against terrorists who hide in other countries."

Mr Alarco insists Cuba has every right to change the schedule because South Africa is continuing to provide Unita with "supplies and resources" in violation of the Tripartite Accords.

The South African delegation, led by Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, emerged from the commission's final session this week looking visibly drained by what he described as a "gang attack" on South Africa by Angola, Cuba, and the Soviet observer delegation.

The South Africans find particularly galling the Cuban insistence on branding as "gospel reports by a US lawyers' group, the Council for Namibian Independence, which has charged that the proposed election process is "falsely flawed."

MAGNUS MALAN
HAVANA talks

By David Braun

HAVANA — The joint commission of South Africa, Angola and Cuba meeting in Havana made heavy weather on the first day of talks yesterday.

The talks started at 10 am but only the fourth of seven items had been reached by 6 pm. There were indications of several tough exchanges.

A report from Cape Town says Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has flown to an unnamed African country for urgent talks with his Angolan opposite number, Mr Pedro van Dusen.
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Three South African journalists in Havana to cover the meeting of the Joint Commission between South Africa, Angola and Cuba last week were banned from attending a press conference addressed by the Cuban delegation for the local and international media.

The three South African journalists were David Braun of the Argus Group, Simon Barber of the Morning Group and Fritz Joubert of Nasionale Pers.

A spokesman for the Cuban Department of Foreign Affairs, announcing the press conference after the talks ended in Havana on Friday, told the South Africans they would not be allowed to attend. No reasons were given.

At a reception for the media later that evening, another spokesman for the Cuban Department of Foreign Affairs said the reason for the ban on the South African journalists was because the South African delegation had already given an exclusive briefing to the South African media, and no other media had been invited.

Furthermore, he said, the South African delegation had not made itself available to the media in general for a press conference.

South African delegation leader, Mr Neil van Heerden, said in Washington last night he would be taking up the matter with his Cuban counterpart.

He said the Cuban media had been given every courtesy and co-operation when they were in South Africa for a meeting of the Joint Commission.

He added that he had not been asked by the Cuban authorities to hold a press conference.

The Cuban and non-South African media had also not approached him for any interviews or press conference, he said.
SA confident despite threat

'Cuba won't stall troop withdrawal'

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South Africa had no reason to believe Cuba would renge on the agreed schedule for the withdrawal of its troops from Angola, the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Nell van Heerden, said in an interview last night.

South Africa had warned Cuba and Angola at a meeting of the Joint Commission between the three countries in Havana last week that there would be very serious consequences if the joint agreements were tampered with.

Mr van Heerden was asked to react to comments made in Havana on Friday by the Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Ricardo Alarcon, to the effect that Cuba would change its schedule of troop withdrawal from Cuba if Unita continued with its attacks on the MPLA.

Mr Alarcon, speaking to a group of foreign and Cuban journalists after the South African delegation had left Havana, said South Africa and the US were continuing to support Unita "with resources and in other ways".

Mr van Heerden said last night he had made it very plain during last week's talks the whole process was interconnected and if one part of it was interrupted the entire process would be endangered.

Mr van Heerden said South Africa had sent a telex to Cuba at the time of the Unita attack urging restraint. He added that he could expect the Cuban government to make threats about changing its schedule of troop withdrawal but he had no reason to believe it intended doing anything about it.
Pressure on Savimbi to attend peace talks

HARARE. — African leaders meet again today to revive hopes of peace in Angola, but the man who holds the key to an agreement has said he probably won't turn up.

Dr Jonas Savimbi of Unita has told reporters at his rebel headquarters in south-east Angola that his movement is likely to stay away from the one-day summit in the Zairean capital of Kinshasa.

But diplomats say the bearded guerilla leader is under heavy pressure to attend from his main backers, the United States and South Africa, and may have to swallow his pride and come.

A ceasefire sealed with a handshake between Dr Savimbi and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola on June 23 has collapsed, leading to the heaviest fighting in southern Angola since last year.

The fragile accord ending 14 years of fighting was the work of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, who achieved a surprise diplomatic coup by organising the reconciliation of the two Angolan leaders at his jungle palace at Gbadolite in front of nearly two dozen African heads of state.

Unita is due to hold a congress starting on September 25 to decide on peace terms.
JC may meet before Namibia poll

WASHINGTON — An extraordinary meeting of the Joint Commission between South Africa, Angola and Cuba, may be held in South Africa before Namibia's independence elections.

At last week's meeting of the commission in Havana, which featured an acrimonious exchange between South Africa and the others on a number of issues, Cuba; Angola and the Soviet Union (which attended as an observer) proposed that a special meeting be held before the November 1 election to ensure outstanding problems had been sorted out. It had previously been agreed the commission should sit every two months.

A spokesman for the Cuban department of foreign affairs said on Friday the meeting would almost certainly be advanced to before the poll.

South African delegation leader, Mr Neil van Heerden, last night confirmed a proposal had been made to advance the meeting to some time between October 15 and 20.

The request would have to be considered by the South African Government, said Mr van Heerden.
Question mark over Savimbi at Zaire summit

The Argus, Monday September 18 1989 3

The Argus Foreign Service
HARARE. — African leaders met again today to revive hopes of peace in Angola, but the man who holds the key to an agreement has said he probably will not turn up.

Dr Jonas Savimbi of Unita said at his rebel headquarters in south-east Angola that his movement was likely to boycott the summit in Kinshasa, Zaire.

Diplomats say he is under heavy pressure from the United States and South Africa to attend the meeting and may come after all.

Meanwhile, Sapa-Reuters reports from Washington that the United States said yesterday it remained supportive of the Unita forces in Angola and urged African leaders meeting in Zaire today to push for reconciliation that would lead to free elections.

RECONCILIATION

The State Department said in a statement it did not accept the conditions of "exile, amnesty or integration", for Unita and Dr Savimbi as Angolan leader Mr Eduardo dos Santos had interpreted a ceasefire pact made with Dr Savimbi last June.

Dr Savimbi and Mr Dos Santos began arguing over the terms of the ceasefire almost immediately after they shook hands on June 22. The ceasefire has collapsed and some of the heaviest fighting in southern Angolan in over a year has been reported.

The State Department said: "The United States strongly supports Unita and its goals of national reconciliation followed by free and fair elections."

"The United States does not accept the concepts of 'exile, amnesty or integration'. We urge all parties attending the Kinshasa summit to support the achievement of genuine national reconciliation on the basis of a peacefully negotiated settlement between the contending Angolan sides," it said.

Dr Savimbi told reporters at his rebel headquarters he was likely to stay away from the one-day summit today in Kinshasa.

However, Angola's position has been made stronger by support from the seven other countries — Zaire, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Congo, Gabon and Sao Tome and Prince.

The State Department issued its statement after 13 senators urged Secretary of State Mr James Baker last Friday to become "personally involved" in ensuring that all parties remained committed to the June ceasefire agreement.

SAVINDBI DISAGREES

Mr Dos Santos and leaders of seven neighbouring countries have said they interpreted the June ceasefire pact to mean that Dr Savimbi would temporarily retire from politics and Unita would be integrated into the ruling MPLA.

Dr Savimbi has disagreed with this interpretation, but said he would negotiate a ceasefire and reconciliation that would mean a government of national unity followed by elections.

The senators accused Mr Dos Santos of misinterpreting the ceasefire agreement and said support for Dr Savimbi's goals was United States' policy.
Peace talks start without Savimbi

KINSHASA — Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Unita rebels in Angola, stayed away from a peace summit in Zaire intended to revive the collapsed ceasefire in his country's 15-year civil war. The commander of the right-wing guerrillas sent a letter saying that he was too busy preparing for a Unita congress next week, a source close to President Mobutu of Zaire said.

But another government source said Dr Savimbi saw no reason to attend the summit seeking to reconcile differences with President dos Santos, the Marxist leader of Angola.

Eight central and southern African heads of state convened their summit without Dr Savimbi on board Mr Mobutu's yacht on the Zaire River at N'Sele, about 45km from Kinshasa.
Savimbi not present to sign draft peace plan

KINSHASA — Eight African leaders including Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe yesterday drew up a draft declaration of a peace plan agreement which they hope to be signed by Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to end the 14-year-old Angolan civil strife.

Dr Savimbi, who was expected to sign the Gbadolite Agreement on Angola at the meeting, did not attend a day-long summit held at Nzele, 60 km from the Zairian capital, the fourth to focus on the implementation of the Angolan peace programme.

The presidents of Angola, Zaire, Gabon, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and Congo, said in a communiqué that a draft declaration would be presented to Dr Savimbi.

It was not made public but diplomatic sources said it was largely a reaffirmation of the Gbadolite Agreement, Zions, the national news agency reports.

The eight leaders said in the communiqué that they were committed to the June 22 Gbadolite Agreement at which Dr Savimbi accepted a ceasefire, the reintegration of his rebel forces into Angolan institutions, and to reside in exile "while the peace process is in progress or until such a time that his presence is required in Angola".

Dr Savimbi has denied that he ever accepted going into voluntary exile. His Unita movement renounced the June 24 ceasefire and resumed fighting last month following a Harare summit at which the eight leaders reaffirmed their commitment to the Gbadolite Agreement at which Dr Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos shook hands.
Zimbabwe's freight crisis gets worse

HARARE - Zimbabwe's transport crisis is worsening, with more than 150,000 tons of goods, including exports and imports, waiting to be moved by the railways. The Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries said yesterday.

Brian Stock, chairman of the CZI's transport committee, estimated that 21,212 tons would be needed in foreign exchange to get the national transport system back on its feet, the national news agency reported.

The money would have to be spent on locomotives for the railways and a host of vehicles, such as articulated trucks, trucks for the rural areas and trucks for mining, industry and agriculture. Stock said goods were being held up at vital centres, such as Beit Bridge and Rutenga in the lowveld, the Babuka container terminal at Gwembo, and at Machipanda, the Mozambique border settlement near Mutare.

A shortage of locomotives to move Zimbabwe's rolling stock has created an artificial shortage of railway wagons, which are scattered all over the country, waiting to be moved. This has led to acute shortages of coal because of the inability of the railways to transport it from Wankie Colliery in the north-west of the country to industrialists and tobacco farmers, for whom it is vital in their curing processes. - Sapa.

Unita to discuss peace

PRETORIA - The faltering Angolan peace talks, based on the Gbadolite Agreement of June 22, are expected to be one of the main topics for discussion at Unita's congress at Jamba next week.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, indicated to visiting newsmen at Jamba earlier this month that he would not attend yesterday's summit of African leaders near Kinshasa, where a draft peace plan was drawn up, because Unita's policy first needed to be determined at the "open" congress which starts next Monday.

Subsequent to the publication of the Gbadolite accord, different interpretations of the agreement have been propounded by African leaders, calling for the re-integration of Savimbi's "bandits" into Angolan institutions and for him to retire in exile "until his presence is required in Angola".

It was reported that at yesterday's summit, a draft declaration of a peace plan agreement had been drawn up which was to be submitted to Savimbi.

Savimbi has denied that he ever agreed to go into exile.

"Someone has to straighten out all the documents so we can work with only one," he said at Jamba.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said it was clear there were conflicting versions about what had been agreed on at Gbadolite.

"The SA government would like to see that a ceasefire be instituted as soon as possible and it supports attempts to accomplish this," he said.

SA also supported the idea of "national reconciliation through negotiations. President Mobutu Sese Seko's attempts at this deserved support, Botha said. - Sapa.

African leaders blame US

KINSHASA - Encouragement by the US lies behind Unita's sabotage of the Angolan peace process.

That at least is what is believed by the eight African heads of state who met near Kinshasa on Monday to discuss the Angolan peace plan.

Tactically, the eight presidents have refused to name the US publicly as the obstacle to peace, but in private they blame it for Savimbi's contradictory arrogance.

Both the US and SA this week expressed support for Savimbi's point of view on the peace process, rejecting the US' call for a ceasefire as stated in the Gbadolite Agreement.

Savimbi is believed to have received assurances from Washington that the Angolan government can be forced to make further concessions.

The US is continuing to pump military aid to Unita, and this year such aid is budgeted at $90m. - ANO.
Peace talks — but Angola war goes on

Argus Africa News Service
JOHANNESBURG. — As African heads of state met in Kinshasa to discuss peace in Angola, the Luanda government continued to report heavy fighting in the central and southern parts of the country.

The Africa News Organisation, ANO, reported from Luanda that 62 Unita guerrillas had been killed in three days of fighting in the central provinces of Benguela, Lunda Sul and Moxico.

Quoting sources in the Angolan army general staff, ANO said the Angolan army had lost three men, while two others had been injured and one was reported missing.

Bases destroyed
Two Unita bases had been destroyed on September 16 in the central province of Huambo.
ANO quoted an army spokesman as saying Angolan government troops had killed 183 Unita soldiers this month, and captured nine others in seven days of fighting “in the Cuito Cuanavale region”.

Large quantities of weapons, radio equipment and documents had been captured.

Meanwhile, African heads of state in Kinshasa have agreed that President Mobutu Sese Sekou will continue to mediate in the Angolana conflict and will now submit a “draft declaration” to Angolan rebel leader, Mr Jonas Savimbi.

Refused
Reporting from Kinshasa, the Mozambique news agency, AIM, said Mr Savimbi had been invited to attend the summit meeting at which the presidents of Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe discussed peace proposals for Angola.

He had refused to attend because of preparations for a Unita congress to be held next week.

The agency said the six heads of state had agreed on a draft declaration but gave no other details. They agreed their next meeting would be held in Gabon but gave no date.

The meeting follows the near collapse of the peace talks, following different interpretations of what happened at Gbadolite in Zaire in June when Mr Savimbi and the Angolan president, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, first met.

The Angolan government states that it was agreed at Gbadolite that Mr Savimbi would go into exile and the Unita rebel group would be integrated into existing Angolan structures.

UNITA disputes this interpretation and continues to demand a coalition government before elections.

Death stings
FORT LAUDERDALE. — Allen Jones, 34, suspected of staging his own death in 1982 to collect R1 400 000 insurance, has been arrested after receiving an envelope by certified mail. The envelope was an FBI play. — Sapa-AFP.

10 to die for murders
KINSHASA. — Ten soldiers have been sentenced to death for a series of murders in the Zairean capital in the past few months. — Sapa-Reuter.
Savimbi not at Angola peace talks

KINSHASA. — Eight African leaders, including Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, drew up a draft declaration of a peace plan agreement which they hope to be signed by Unita’s leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, to end the 14-year-old Angolan civil strife.

Dr Savimbi, who had been expected to sign the Gbadolite agreement on Angola at yesterday’s meeting, did not attend a day-long summit held at Nsela, 90km from the Zairean capital, the fourth to focus on the implementation of the Angolan peace programme.

The presidents of Angola, Zaire, Gabon, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and Congo said in a communiqué that a draft declaration would be presented to Dr Savimbi.

The draft declaration was not made public but diplomatic sources said it was largely a reaffirmation of the Gbadolite agreement. Ziana, reports.

The Angolan peace talks are expected to be one of the main topics for discussion at Unita’s congress at Jamba next week.

Dr Savimbi indicated to visiting newsmen at Jamba earlier this month that he would not attend yesterday’s summit of African leaders because Unita’s policy first needed to be determined at the “open” congress which starts next Monday. — Sapa
Angola's false dawn has leaders back at the table

LONDON — The handshakes last June between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the country's rebel Unita movement, should have marked the end of a 14-year civil war. It proved a false dawn. The ceasefire agreement, signed at President Mobutu Sese Seko's home village of Gbadolite in northern Zaire, never held. The protagonists are back on the battlefield, and the African leaders who met in Kinshasa this week will be hard pressed to get them back to the negotiating table.

Which party broke the fragile agreement is not clear. But at the heart of the breakdown is a disagreement over a key provision: Did Dr Savimbi agree to go into exile, as Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and some other African leaders claim? Or did he merely accept that while he would not be part of a two-year transitional coalition government, he intended to lead Unita in the multi-party elections the rebels demand?

Meanwhile the war resumes, but with a crucial difference. Both sides are in the process of losing their main allies: Some 50,000 Cuban troops are undertaking a phased withdrawal from Angola in return for Namibia's independence. Those troops who have yet to leave, are showing no sign of entering the fray. At the same time, Namibia's UN-monitored transition to independence has meant that Pretoria's backing for Unita — including vital air support — from bases in northern Namibia is ending.

The military balance is thus delicately poised. But what may be critical to the outcome of the renewed conflict is a battle to control a strategic supply route known as the 'Savimbi Trail,' the corridor which links the Unita stronghold of Jamba in the south-east with the contested central and northern areas, where the government is vulnerable to military pressure.

The main objective for Angola's MPLA Government is to cut this trail. Hence recent reports that 3,000 government troops, supported by 25 tanks, have tried to move out of the Cuito Cuanavale area and take the town of Mavinga.

Almost bisecting the country is the Benguela Railway, cleared through traffic since Angolan independence in 1975, but a powerful factor in the MPLA and Unita attempts to court the support of Zambia and Zaire.

For both these countries, the line represents the shortest and cheapest route to the sea for copper exports, their main foreign exchange earner.

Unita has also encroached on the diamond areas in Lunda Norte province. Last month, the last of the functioning diamond mines, at Cuito, was forced to close.

The next Unita target is logically Angola's oil industry, responsible for 99 percent of export earnings.

The past 14 years have shown that as a guerrilla force Unita would be difficult, if not impossible, to eradicate, although not strong enough to win the country. Some of its 74,000 fighters now form a regular army, possibly even capable of laying siege to the Angolan capital, Luanda.

But this development poses its own problems, however. The brigades rely on, for example, motorised transport and fuel. In the past, they have obtained diesel from South African sources.

But Unita has no petrol, so vehicles captured from the MPLA, which are invariably petrol-driven, are useless.

Dr Savimbi claims to have stocks of diesel 'for quite some time.'

The US, which has taken over from South Africa as Unita's main backer, is willing to fly in what it can from the Kamina oil base in Zaire. Unita has several bush air strips capable of handling aircraft such as South African, but they are deep in Unita territory and therefore a long way from where their cargoes would be needed.

The capabilities of US aid are also complicated. Washington encouraged Dr Savimbi to attend this week's meeting, but there is a limit to the pressure the US can bring to bear, for the Unita leader enjoys substantial support in Congress.

President Kaunda and President Mobutu have also to be cautious, as Dr Savimbi has cards to play. Zambia's economic problems could be eased if the Benguela railway were functioning. This will happen only if there is an MPLA accommodation with Unita.

Anti-Mobutu sentiment

Dr Savimbi has different tactics for President Mobutu, who faced two attempts — in 1977 and 1978 — by Angola-based exiles to take over Zaire's southern copper province of Shaba. The Unita presence along the Angola-Zaire border could readily be allied with the strong anti-Mobutu sentiment in Shaba.

A key piece in this complex geopolitical jigsaw is the US-supplied ground-to-air Stinger missile. There is some doubt about its availability and after disagreement between the Pentagon and the State Department over the wisdom of supplying it, a consignment eventually left the US. Some missiles may have got no further than South Africa.

Unless the Stingers have materialised in the past few weeks, however, Unita troops are exposed. If the MPLA were to repeat its so far unsuccessful assault on Mavinga, with increased air support, it may prove one of the war's most important battles.

History in the Star

100 Years Ago
The Bishop of Pretoria is exceedingly fond of reprimanding his congregation for not contributing more to the Church. He has now told them they cannot complain about dusty seats until they pay for more dusters.

50 Years Ago
More than 2,000 German aliens have now registered at Marshall Square under the Aliens Act. From today, alien Italians, Greeks and Dunes are asked to register.

25 Years Ago
Addington's centre-forward, Vernon Wentzel, was questioned about his "magic" boots that enabled him to score six goals against Arcadia on Saturday. Wentzel had his boots treated by a Zulu witchdoctor in Durban last week.
Angola: Will wealth come with peace?

The sudden agreement between the rebel Unita movement and the Angolan government took nearly everybody by surprise. But doubts persist, reports DEREK INGRAM, as to what Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, right, has agreed:

Jonas Savimbi: Has kept the country in turmoil for two or three years, it springs from the coming together of Soviet and US policies.

Between them the superpowers are pulling for peace in the region. In Angola, Unita has long been backed by the US, while the Soviet Union has supported the MPLA government.

Nambiu, possible peace between the Mozambique government and the Renamo (MNR) rebel movement are two other factors that may influence the peace process.

The riches of Angola

If oil comes Angola could become one of Africa's richest lands

CABINDA
Gross Domestic Product (GDP)
Natural gas reserves
Coffee
Rubber
Copper
Diamonds
Lubango
Key industry: oil
Hوبا
Iron ore
Zaire
Cuito
Cuanavale

1975
The restoration of peace in Angola is crucial. The country lives in economic ruin, yet it is potentially rich in the rich in the rich.

When the Portuguese gave up the colony they had controlled for more than 400 years and their administrative system failed, from Lusaka it had already suffered more than a decade of political turmoil.

As soon as the MPLA took over, the South Africans invaded the north and the Cuban army poured in at the MPLA's invitation.

Unita, with South African and American support, has been the latter's ally against the MPLA. Attempts to unravel the tangle have gone nowhere. But the war was not ended.

Today chances of peace look reasonable.

Added to the outside pressures is war weariness, in a nation of 15 million people.

Angola is an economic wreck. The main driving industry is oil, which supplies most of its exports and is a major market for oil.

In 1978 the state company Sonangol became the sole owner of the country's oil deposits and the main supplier of oil.

But its reclamation with foreign companies, particularly American, has always been close to the surface. Angola remains unstable, and the country's economy is divided.

Washington has never recognized the MPLA government, American officials maintain work in Lusaka, sources in Washington.

Since 1982 Angola has had more than double its oil output, while other sectors of the economy have suffered.

Potential

It was once the world's fourth largest coffee producer. Now its production runs at about five percent of what it did in 1975. Diamonds have fallen from two million carats to less than 300,000.

The biggest potential of all lies in the land, which is still very undeveloped.

Central to the recovery of Angola will be the rehabilitation of the Benguela railway that cuts across Angola's west to Zaire, and once again to carry much of the output from Zambia's copperbelt, as well as from Zaire's Katanga province.

The fighting stopped the railway 15 years ago. Bridges were destroyed, track was damaged and most of the engine destroyed. Massive investment will be required to restore the Benguela and get the whole country's economy moving.

Even if the handshake in Ghadolinia proves the first step to the prosperity of Angola, it will take at least another decade of war and a half to achieve prosperity.

— GEMINI NEWS
Letting go of Jonas

Many felt a surge of hope when long-time adversaries Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi and Angola’s José Eduardo dos Santos shook hands warmly in the jungle. Peace seemed to be breaking out: the Cubans and SADF were withdrawing from Angola, Namibia was inching towards independence under the shaky yet durable Resolution 435 — and suddenly there was a real prospect of national reconciliation in Angola.

It seemed too good to be true ... and it was. Not two months later Savimbi was taking issue with Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko’s interpretation of the Gbadolite Declaration and calling for a new peace broker. The Angolans were insisting Unita should be incorporated into the unified government on their terms. The fragile ceasefire had collapsed and fierce fighting again broke out in southern Angola.

A great deal turns on a favourable outcome for the Angolan peace talks. As Director-General of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden says, there is a process involved: one step towards peace is contingent on another.

It would be risky to usher in independence for Namibia if across the border in Angola the situation degenerated into chaos. That would merely invite the Cubans back — and where would that leave SA? Defence Minister Magnus Malan is unlikely to leave his staunch ally Savimbi in the lurch (he has said as much).

Such a scenario could provide Pretoria’s securocrats with the ideal pretext to move back into Namibia and permanently stall the independence process — all in the name of national security.

That would be a disaster. It could undo all the benefits of President F W de Klerk’s forays into Africa.

Is it likely? Once independence has come to Namibia SA’s border would have shifted from the Kunene to the Orange River. That’s where it belongs.

“National interest” notwithstanding, it might well be better to leave Savimbi sulking at Jamba, and face the expected hysteria from white conservatives, than risk reversing the entire peace process by forceful military intervention in foreign lands.

Such intervention failed before. It would be worse next time.
US Assistant Secretary of State Hermann Cohen held a secret meeting with Savimbi last Thursday. The purpose was to convince him to attend the important Angolan peace talks in the Zaire capital.

Savimbi's absence from the meeting — where leaders of the eight Frontline states met to try to clear up the diplomatic uncertainty which followed the Gbadolite Declaration — threatens to bring the peace initiative to a complete breakdown. There have been reports that Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, the mediator, is backing down on his original interpretation of Gbadolite and now finds himself in the company of those African leaders who want Savimbi to go into voluntary exile.

SA and American sources, although still optimistic that Mobutu will be able to deliver, say an about turn by Mobutu would seriously jeopardise the peace process.

If that is the case, though, Mobutu may find himself at the receiving end of Savimbi's wrath, warns Stellenbosch African Studies expert Willie Breytenbach: "Savimbi still controls the Benguela-Lobito railway line which runs for about 1,000 km into Angola. Any move by Mobutu to back down on his original interpretation of Gbadolite may boomerang on him. Mobutu needs the railway line which connects the copper mines in Shaba with the Atlantic Ocean."

A total breakdown would have serious implications for SA and the Namibian independence process, declares Breytenbach. This may compel the Cubans to halt their exodus from Angola — "But Savimbi would also make a mistake to think that his interests necessarily synchronise with those of SA," Breytenbach adds. "I don't think it would be in our interests to enter the war on his behalf."

The SA Institute of International Affairs' André du Pisani agrees: "Seen from our perspective, we have made certain breakthroughs in our relationship with the Frontline states and economically we have regional interest in peace. It may be necessary for us to tighten the screws on Savimbi."

The position of the US is remarkably different from that of SA, says Du Pisani. "The US still see their interests in Angola in terms of the Cold War with the Soviets. We don't suffer from that syndrome, it is not part of our regional policy. But Savimbi still enjoys a lot of support in the US Congress. However, I think at this stage it is critical that the US also curtail their support for Savimbi."

Meanwhile, Botha and his Angolan counterpart, Loy van Dunem, are rescheduling their proposed meeting, which the FM reported was due to have taken place last Friday at Runacana (Current Affairs September 15).
162 die in Angolan clashes

LISBON — Angolan forces killed 141 Unita rebels in a week of fighting up to Tuesday and lost 21 of their own men, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

Angop reported clashes in the provinces of Bie, Benguela, Kuanza Sul, Uige and Huambo.

The 14-year-old war flared again last month after the collapse of a ceasefire agreed on in June. — Sapa-Reuter.
EVIDENCE of the Bush administration's inaptitude on southern Africa continues to accumulate, the latest example having to do with Angola and the question of national reconciliation.

In some regards, this is perhaps not that big a deal. The tripartite accords are not going to fall apart if Unita and the MPLA do not come to terms. The Cubans are heading home and Namibia will become independent in terms of UN Security Council Resolution 435, come what may. There may be much screaming and shouting in the process but, whatever the reasons, South Africa and Cuba have fundamentally made up their minds — and nothing else, not even Angola (and certainly not Swapo), counts that much.

That said, an end to the civil war in Angola remains an important objective, not just for Angolans but for the outside powers involved. Unfortunately, it is not an objective the US is doing much to promote.

The lessons that should have been derived from the mediation of the Tripartite Accords have suddenly been lost.

The Bush administration is making an ass of itself by refusing to recognize that, if it is to play a useful role in bringing Unita and the MPLA together, it must be on the other side of the table to both. The reason for this failure is political cowardice.

Just as Secretary of State James Baker seems determined to bow to the left in his dealings with South Africa, so he would rather scrape to the right on Angola.

In both instances, such obedience not only for extraneous domestic political expediency, it runs entirely counter to the facts on the ground.

In the case of Angola, those facts are that both sides are on a treadmill to nowhere — both, in fact, have lost. The MPLA is being stripped of its Cubans, Unita is without its South Africans.

Neither the US nor the Soviet Union has any pressing security interest in the region. There is an opportunity, therefore, to turn the present equilibrium to advantage in helping to forge a settlement.

Instead, the Bush administration has yielded to the Unita lobby by making the following famous statement: "The US strongly supports Unita and its goals of national reconciliation followed by free and fair elections. The US does not accept the concepts of exile, amnesty or integration."

This is tantamount to Washington having publicly stated, at the height of its mediation on Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal, that it would only accept a Cuban withdrawal schedule lasting, say, 29 months.

A mediator is perfectly permitted to have some idea of what the details of a final settlement might look like but he is in a perfect position to make those details public preconditions for the settlement being reached at all.

In this instance, it is thoroughly rash for the US to say that a deal between Unita and the MPLA cannot involve integration and must entail "free and fair" elections.

On any realistic assessment — this is Africa, after all — national reconciliation, when it occurs, will violate both precepts.

It will be about who gets what job in a government of unity (be integration) and not about who gets elected to what post. Spills will be divided, not votes cast.

To demand elections is to side with Unita's rhetoric against practical experience and, thereby, to give Jonas Savimbi every reason to continue prevaricating.

Worse, it is to do this at the very moment when the US should be using all the leverage at its disposal — including continued economic assistance — to get him back to the table in his own interests and before he manages to blow the whole game by driving away the leadership whose sympathies he needs before all others — Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The US surely has some interest in helping end the war in such a manner that Unita is fully and equitably incorporated in the ultimate settlement.

Neither that interest, nor Dr Savimbi's, is well served by Mr Baker trying to appease Unita's lobbyists or mindless fans on Capitol Hill pretending it is a policy.
Unita claims battle success

LISBON — Angolan rebel group Unita claimed yesterday they killed 55 government soldiers and destroyed three tanks in clashes during the past 10 days.

A Unita communiqué issued in Lisbon said the biggest battle took place nine days ago in the northern province of Uige. "Forty soldiers were killed when government forces tried to enter areas under our control," Unita said.

Fifteen soldiers were killed and three T-55 tanks were destroyed four days later in the province of Moxico.

In addition, four guerillas were also reportedly killed in the clashes.

Last Thursday, the Luanda authorities said their forces killed 141 Unita guerillas for the loss of 21 soldiers in a week of scattered fighting.

— Sapa-Reuters.
Angola prepares for more civil war

Own Correspondent

LONDON.—The Angolan government and Unita rebels appear to be preparing for an intensification of the 14-year civil war, according to reports here yesterday.

A Unita congress starting at their bush headquarters today appears certain to endorse leader Dr Jonas Savimbi’s rejection last week of Luanda’s peace proposals and to vote to fight on.

The Sunday Correspondent, in a report from Luanda, said hawks in the Luanda regime seem to be gaining influence and were preparing the country for an intensification of the war although even the MPLA hardliners are reported to be concerned that 31,000 Cuban troops have already left the country and the withdrawal of the remaining 39,000 is going ahead.

At the same time, the US Congress has reaffirmed its support for Unita—although US arms supplies are reported to be drastically down.

The Sunday Correspondent said that, following the failure of the ceasefire agreement reached in Zaire in June—a deal lasting only one week, reports in Luanda say, there has been a sharp increase in Unita attacks all over the country, with government forces claiming to have killed 140 rebels in the second week of September.
US stands firm on support for Unita

The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. – American support for Unita remains firm, a spokesman for the State Department has said.

Mr Richard Boucher said yesterday that the United States government would be having consultations with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and Zaire's President Mobuto Sese Seko, who is heading an African initiative to get Unita and the MPLA government to the table.

Both leaders will be in Washington this week.

Responding to questions about Unita's unwillingness to take part in talks with the MPLA, Mr Boucher said he would not put it in terms of exercising "leverage" on Unita (although the United States gives about $100 million a year to the movement).

The United States believes the process of national reconciliation, as supported by Unita, should proceed from a formal ceasefire agreement and direct contact between the parties.

Meanwhile, Unita's opponents on Capitol Hill have been using Dr Savimbi's reluctance to take part in the Zaire peace initiative to great effect.

*Congressional hearings have been scheduled to re-examine the United States position on the movement and its involvement in the Angolan situation.
World Bank expected to lend Angola $100m

THE World Bank is expected to lend Angola about $100m in interest-free loans. The country became the newest member of the bank and the IMF this month.

According to a report in the specialist publication World Bank Watch, bank officials are saying privately that Angola could get that amount in soft loans from the International Development Association, the bank's arm for lending to the poorest countries.

Moves are afoot for Namibia to join the bank and fund after independence and SA is supporting the country's membership.

Angolan membership of the IMF and bank came in the face of opposition from the US, and is the direct result of the agreement in December on a phased withdrawal of Cuban troops.

The country's quota size in the IMF, which determines its voting and share of fund assistance, is higher than SA's. SA's quota is 916 special drawing rights (SDR: the fund's currency determined by a basket of hard currencies) while Angola's is 145 billion SDR's. SA's quota gives it a 1% say in what happens.

Although official Angolan projects have not yet been approved by the bank, upgrading of cities might be top of the list of priorities, while other projects could include health, education and repair of power transmission lines. The bank will send a delegation to the region in the next few weeks to decide on projects.

The WBW report quoted Angolan Finance Minister Augusto Teixeira de Matos as saying his first priority would be to work with the bank and the IMF to restore Angola's basic economic structure.

"Once an accord on bank targets is reached with the IMF, Luanda will probably start a structural adjustment programme at the bank that should lead to major currency devaluations, reorganisation of the financial sector, and market-oriented production incentives."

The bank fully realises that Angola's civil war with Unita may not be over, in spite of moves to end the war. If so, the bank's work will be limited to areas controlled by its client government, as it is in Sudan, Ethiopia and other African countries. The report quoted a Unita spokesman as saying the bank was "wasting its money" as Angola would use it in the war effort.

However, Unita is being disregarded and the bank's private investment unit, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) is eager to get involved. The Angolans plan to approach the IFC about western investment in new fisheries, mining, oil and agricultural projects and are aggressively courting private investors.
Angola needs $274m in aid

LUANDA — The Angolan Foreign Minister, Pedro de Castro van Dunem, opened an emergency conference here at the weekend aimed at raising $274m for rehabilitating the country following 14-years of war, the Angolan news agency Angop reported yesterday.

During the conference, attended by various representatives from international financial institutions, non-governmental organisations and the diplomatic corps accredited to Angola, a document was distributed which set out the emergency requirements for the year 1989/90.

The report described the situation in Angola as a result of natural calamities, consequences of the war and the general situation of displaced people both inside and outside Angola.

The conference aimed at "sensitising" the international donor community for a response to the emergency situation caused mainly by the civil war to help the Angolan government in its objectives for economic and social development.

**Toll**

The emergency conference followed a conference of foreign donors held in Geneva in 1988 and sponsored by United Nations working groups and Angolan officials.

The civil war, led by the Unita rebel group, had exacted a terrible toll — 100 000 lives, 20 000 amputees, 400 000 refugees, and nearly three million people displaced from their homes or otherwise severely affected by the civil war. In addition, 150 infants were dying every day of the year.

Angop also reported that the Angolan/Zambian Joint Defence and Security Commission ended its meeting in Luanda at the weekend.

This was the 10th meeting between military delegations from the two countries. High on the agenda was the security situation along the common border.

The Zambian delegation was led by Zambian Defence Secretary Alex Shapi. — ANO.
Four die in attack on rural clinic

LUSAKA - Axe-wielding Mozambican rebels stormed a rural state clinic in Zambia, killing four patients and wounding six others, Zambian officials said yesterday.

The killers, allegedly Renamo guerrillas, fled back to their country after the Sunday night attack, the authorities said.

The gang first looted pharmaceuticals from the clinic near Nyimba village in the Petauke district of south-east Zambia, 10kms from Mozambique.

The rebels then allegedly stole food from nearby Lombwe and Chibenza government primary schools after assaulting teachers there.

A full report on the attack was being awaited from police in the area and Zambian troops have reinforced bases along the border in the wake of the incursion.

Zambian soldiers have often mounted cross-border raids after attacks by Mozambican rebels against villages, farms and stores.

Scores of guerrillas have been reported slain in these operations. — Sapa-AP.

US tries for new Angolan peace talks

WASHINGTON — The US has invited Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko for talks on the faltering negotiations between the Soviet-backed Angolan government and the US-backed rebels, officials are saying.

Mobutu, who will be attending the UN General Assembly in New York, has been asked to come to Washington at the same time as UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi is expected in the city, officials said this week.

If arrangements cannot be worked out for Mobutu to come here, the consultations with him will be held in New York, said one official who spoke on condition of anonymity.

The US State Department is anxious to get Savimbi and Mobutu together in an attempt to prevent the peace talks from derailing completely.

Savimbi failed to turn up at the negotiations table in Kinshasa a week ago. — Sapa-Reuters.
Luanda crime clampdown

LUANDA - More than 50 major criminals and profiteers have been arrested and large consignments of fine arms confiscated during police raids in the Angolan capital over the past few weeks.

Luanda police said several armed groups had terrorised the city disguised as servicemen. Houses had been burgled, cars stolen and people robbed and killed in the city and its suburbs.

The Journal de Angola reported that up to 200 raids had been carried out weekly in Luanda. — ANO.
JAMBA — Unita's leadership in Angola put forward a five-point plan for peace at a congress in Jamba yesterday.

These points were: direct talks with the MPLA; an effective ceasefire which would have to be accompanied by the release of all political prisoners; a transitional government of national unity to which Unita would reserve the right to nominate its own members; the rewriting of the Angolan constitution; and free and fair elections.

The ceasefire would be supervised by a force to be drawn from a number of African countries which would be invited to Angola three months after the ceasefire agreement.

Nine months after the ceasefire monitoring force's arrival the transitional government would be formed to be followed by general elections supervised by organisations such as the OAU and the UN.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi vowed at the congress he would never leave the political scene in Angola and would never allow Unita to be amalgamated with other parties. — Sapa.
Crime round-up
by Luanda police

LUANDA — Police have arrested more than 50 criminals and black marketeers in a series of raids in the crime-ridden Angolan capital in the last few weeks.

They have also confiscated large quantities of firearms, according to the Aso news agency.

The raids, as many as 200 a week, followed a wave of violence and theft by several armed groups disguised as soldiers. — The Star’s Africa News Service.
UNITA proposes 5-point Angola Peace Plan

JAMBA — Leaders of the UNITA movement in Angola have put forward a five-point plan for peace, and free and fair elections. The ceasefire will be supervised by a force to be drawn from a number of African countries which will be invited in three months after the ceasefire agreement.

These include direct talks with the MPLA, and effective ceasefire which will have to be accompanied by the release of all political prisoners, a transitional government of national unity to which UNITA reserves the right to nominate its own members, the rewriting of the constitution to allow UNITA to be amalgamated. — Sapa.

Dr Jonas Savimbi vowed he would never leave the political scene in Angola and would never allow UNITA to be amalgamated. — Sapa.

US activist accused as MPLA front man

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A leading US anti-apartheid activist has been accused of acting as the public relations agent for Angola’s MPLA government, which should oblige him to register as a foreign agent.

Mr Randall Robinson, director of TransAfrica, had such charges levelled against him by supporters of UNITA in Washington this week when it was announced he intended leading a group of American news reporters to Angola as part of his campaign to get Washington to normalise ties with Luanda.

The political activist is as vigorously opposed to UNITA and its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, whom he describes as treacherous.

He is actively engaged in efforts to get Congress to cut US support to UNITA while at the same time persuading the US Government to recognise the MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola.

Dr Savimbi is in Washington this week to hold talks with senior legislators on Capitol Hill as well as officials of the Bush Administration.
US bid to get Angola peace back on track

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

Washington

Leading figures in the Angolan struggle are preparing to head for Washington as the United States launches a major diplomatic effort to get peace talks moving again.

Both Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos, are expected here next month to meet senior government officials and congressional leaders.

The mediator in the stalled African initiative to bring the two leaders to the negotiating table, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, is also expected in Washington next week.

All three leaders are also likely to meet President Bush.

Dr Savimbi, under enormous fire in Washington for pulling out of President Mobutu's talks, tried to regain the initiative this week by announcing a new Unita peace plan he intends presenting to the Bush administration and Congress.

The five-point plan calls for direct negotiations between Unita and the MPLA, a ceasefire and releasing of all political prisoners, the formation of a government of national unity and transition, revision of the constitution and free and democratic elections.

Democratic congressmen are trying to force a review of US policy towards Angola which would cut the estimated $40 million (about R18 million) the administration gives to Unita each year, and which would entail formal recognition of the MPLA.
Rebels won't reconcile themselves to integration

A rose by any other name may smell as sweet, but reconciliation by another name — integration — stinks as far as southern African rebel movements are concerned.

International attempts to end the fratricidal wars in the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique have ground to a halt on the difference between two words — reconciliation and integration.

Just weeks ago light seemed to have emerged at the end of what has been a 15-year tunnel of war, death and destruction for both of these two countries.

At a June African heads of state meeting at Gabdolite, Zaire, the leader of the Angolan rebel Unitas movement, Dr Jonas Savimbi, in a dramatic gesture of peace, shook hands with the leader of the rival MPLA government, President Eduardo dos Santos.

Shortly afterwards, in Kenya, the leader of Mozambique's Renamo rebel movement, Mr Afonso Dhlakama, met with church leaders acting as de facto representatives of the Frelimo government of President Chissano to discuss peace.

These developments — together with the 1988 agreement between South Africa, Cuba and Angola that ended the international conflict in southern Angola and the implementation of the Namibian independence plan that ended the South Africa/ Swapo feud — made it seem peace for the whole war-torn region was a real possibility.

Run aground

But both initiatives have run aground on the same rock. While UNITA and Renamo want reconciliation with their countrymen, the respective governments of Angola and Mozambique instead insist upon integration.

According to the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, reconciliation is defined as "action of bringing to an agreement, concord, or harmony" whereas integration is defined as "the making up of a whole by adding together or combining the separate parts or elements; a making whole or entire".

There is the rub. While both UNITA and Renamo claim to seek harmony and peace with their respective governments, neither see themselves as joining together to form a whole.

In other words living together is OK, but marriage is out.

The question is not just one of semantics, but of survival.

As some (unlucky) marriage partners have found out, it is possible to lose ones separate identity and viewpoint in marriage, and the rebels fear that that is exactly what will happen if they integrate/marry with the opponents they have fought since the departure of the Portuguese colonialists in the wake of the 1974 Portuguese revolution.

Both UNITA and Renamo see themselves primarily as political parties who have been forced to take up arms to fight for views contrary to those of Marxist-leaning governments — virtually installed by similarly inclined departing Portuguese, without the benefit of 'free and fair elections'.

The MPLA government in Luanda and the Frelimo government in Maputo are both rigid one-party states where dissent and disagreement are not tolerated.

While both are slowly moving away from the strict Marxist economic policies they imposed after coming to power, neither have shown any inclination to allow opposition political views to be advocated.

In Angola the MPLA government has seemingly accepted the idea of reconciliation, but at the same time has insisted this means the integration of UNITA into "existing institutions" on a negotiated basis, demanding in addition "respect" for the existing constitution.

"How can we agree to respect the existing constitution?" said Dr Savimbi at a recent press conference. "It is a Marxist constitution. To abide by that constitution means there can be no change — then what have we been fighting for?"

Offering amnesty

Similarly, in Mozambique the Frelimo government's version of reconciliation had meant offering an amnesty to Renamo rebels that would allow them to be "re-integrated" into national life — leaving out any explicit participation in government except possibly on an individual basis.

For both UNITA and Renamo, reconciliation means the end of opposition on the battlefield but its continuation in the political field, leading to "free and fair" elections, which both expect to win.

Onciliation means the end of opposition on the battlefield but its continuation in the political field, leading to "free and fair" elections, which both expect to win.

Thus "reconciliation" and "integration" have been interpreted as meaning either "winning" or "losing" — depending on what side one supports.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Agreement between South Africa, Cuba and Angola ended the international conflict in southern Angola and the implementation of the Namibian independence plan ended the South Africa/Swapo feud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>UNITA and Renamo leaders met with church leaders representing the Frelimo government of President Chissano to discuss peace.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

[Image of article]

---

**History in The Star**

100 Years Ago

Press criticism will not convince the Volksraad of the folly, as well as the injustice to the country, in so lavishly increasing allowances and salaries to themselves.

50 Years Ago

Professor Sigmund Freud, aged 83, has died at his London home. Being a Jew, the famous psycho-analyst fled from Austria to England last year.

25 Years Ago

Britain's Hovercraft conquered a 70 mph gale as 200 customers from all over the world cheered. Experts at first refused to risk the craft under those conditions.
Angolan peace trips over Savimbi’s broken promises

ANGOLA’S state-run media carried no reports of Unita’s congress this week, but Radio Staupm (Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockatoo) has enough listeners for news of Jonas Savimbi’s five-point peace proposals to spread quickly around the capital Luanda.

Most people willing to talk were confident that peace would come one way or another over the next year, but no one would hazard a guess on how the two sides’ mutually incompatible positions could now be reconciled.

Everyone, however, was agreed that peace in Angola hinges on the personalisation of the position.

Pages of print and hours of state-sponsored airtime are dedicated to denouncing the rebel leader.

While the ceasefire agreed in Gbadolite lasted a few days in June, Savimbi was known simply as the Unita leader.

Now he is once more among other things: brigand, liar and traitor to the Angolan people.

By JULIAN BORGER

His alleged misdeeds are rarely off the front page, and open letters are printed daily from “reader’s name withheld”, accusing Savimbi of atrocities including active collaboration with the Portuguese colonialists in their fight against the MPLA before independence.

In short Savimbi’s name appears in the media more often than anyone else except, perhaps, President Eduardo dos Santos.

The possibility that such a media campaign might have elevated Savimbi to a figure of mythic proportions among Angolans does not seem to have occurred to the ruling MPLA propagandists.

The TV, radio and press remain the fiefdom of the party’s chief ideologue, Roberto de Almeida, who is also the leading MPLA hardliner.

Since the breakdown of the ceasefire, he and other hawks in the political bureau — notably trade union chief, Pasaol Luvualu and Maria Mambo Cafe, who has responsibility for mass organisations — are generally believed to have increased their influence.

Undoubtedly, Dos Santos and his allies have lost face as a result of his surprise decision to shake his arch opponent’s hand at Gbadolite.

The ceasefire accorded there lasted barely a week. Aid officials and Western diplomats in Luanda are unanimous in blaming Unita for its collapse.

Unita attacks have been stepped up since June in every province and in September there was a particular upsurge in rebel activity in the northern provinces of Uige and Malanje on the Zairian border.

Though Angola has not officially accused its northern neighbour of complicity, the likelihood that the attacks were launched inside Zaire can only undermine President Mobutu Sese Seko’s credibility as the principal mediator in the conflict.

The main obstacle to peace remains, however, not the question of role of go-betweens in the process, but the future of Savimbi’s political career.

The eight heads of state have now held two summits recently — in Harare in mid-August and in Kinshasa on September 18 — whose principal objective was to remind Savimbi of promises he allegedly made in Gbadolite, namely, to retire and integrate his party into existing government and party structures.

Savimbi for his part has denied and rejected both these points, saying: “If I am part of the problem, I should be part of the solution.”

But the heads of state have failed so far to develop a new formula, preferring to hark back to Gbadolite. As one senior United Nations representative in Angola put it: “It’s like a woman continually remonstrating with a compulsively unfaithful husband: ‘but you promised, you promised.’”

She’s right of course, but it doesn’t solve her problem. — AIA.
Savimbi refuses to say how MPs' plane crashed

JAMBA (Angola) — Rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday refused to disclose details of how a plane carrying three Portuguese MPs, including the son of Portuguese President Mario Soares, crashed shortly after taking off from an airstrip near here.

He told a press conference that his movement had already compiled a report on how the crash had occurred.

However, he could not disclose details because he did not want to pre-empt investigations of other experts. His movement was ready to admit anybody wanting to investigate. — The Star's Africa News Service.
Savimbi flies to US to present 12-point peace plan

By Joao Santa Rita,
The Star's Africa News Service

JAMBA — Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi flies to the United States today with a 12-point peace resolution approved at a five-day extraordinary congress of his Unita movement which ended here yesterday.

While trying to avoid direct criticism of the role played by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire in the peace negotiations, it became clear at a press conference that Dr Savimbi would like the US, with help from the Soviet Union, to play a more direct role in the negotiations.

Among the points approved by the congress were:

- A ceasefire to be signed by the warring factions as soon as negotiations resume.
- Participation of African states, and possibly of Portugal, in the monitoring of the ceasefire.
- Acceptance that national reconciliation means the formation of a government of national unity between the MPLA and Unita.
Savimbi refuses to reveal crash facts

Argus Africa News Service

JAMBA. — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has refused to disclose details of a report on the air crash in which five people, including three Portuguese MPs, were injured.

A Swazi-registered aircraft crashed on Tuesday soon after take-off at Jamba, Unita's headquarters in southern Angola.

The injured are the son of Portuguese President Mario Soares, Mr Joao Soares; fellow-Portuguese MPs Mr Nogueira da Brito and Mr R da Silva; a German, Mr Geppert Rainer, and the pilot, Mr Joaquim Augusto.

Dr Savimbi said yesterday that experts from his movement had compiled a report on the crash.

However, he could not disclose details because he did not want to pre-empt the findings of other experts that might investigate the crash. His movement was ready to admit anybody wanting to investigate.

A Unita officer said that soon after taking off the plane turned while still at a low altitude and clipped a tree with a wing before crashing.

The plane caught fire and its occupants were taken out of the wreckage by the local population.

The injured were admitted to the H F Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria after Unita arranged a commercial charter flight to take them to Pretoria.

The condition of Dr Soares remained critical but stable, the hospital superintendent, Dr E van Rooy, said yesterday. No operations had been performed on him.

The condition of the other four injured was improving, Dr Van Rooy said.

Dr Soares's wife Olympia and his mother, Mrs Maria Soares, visited him in the intensive-care unit.

They were met on their arrival yesterday morning at Jan Smuts Airport by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, his wife Helena and the wife of the President, Mrs Mariske de Klerk, who handed them bouquets of flowers.

Dr Soares, who is about 40, has head and lung injuries and fractures.

Family members of the two other MPs also arrived yesterday.

Dr Savimbi flies to the United States today with a 12-point peace resolution approved at a five-day extraordinary Unita congress.

While trying to avoid direct criticisms of the role played by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire in Angolan peace negotiations, Dr Savimbi would like the United States, with help from the Soviet Union, to play a more direct role in the negotiations.

"The United States have not been active. We have been dismayed by their lack of information on how things work. Sometimes the information they do have is not accurate," he said.
A Luanda newsman beards Savimbi

JAMBA — William Tonnet is a 30-year-old journalist who this week made history by becoming the first Luanda-based Angolan reporter to go to the Unita headquarters at Jamba.

And, as he found out, arriving at Jamba's airport with an MPLA-issued passport can only mean one thing — trouble.

The Unita officials at the airport were so taken aback by the cover of his passport, with "Republica Popular de Angola" printed on it, that they first wanted to confiscate it. A Unita official said rebel leader Jonas Savimbi had even been told that "a Fapla (the government's army) man" had arrived at the airport.

Then they decided Tonnet himself needed to be questioned.

"They questioned me for two hours but there was no physical violence," he said although he admitted that the questioning was sometimes not friendly.

Parts of his questioning had then been broadcast over Unita radio station "The Voice of the Black Cockrel!"

A top Unita official said his questioning had been necessary for security reasons.

"The enemy has tried very hard to infiltrate our congress and we could not take risks. It is not every day that someone arrives here brandishing an MPLA-issued passport," he said.

Later rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi himself talked to Tonnet to explain the suspicions of his security officers and to guarantee him free movement during the congress. While Mr Tonnet was moving freely around Jamba on Thursday, there was still some evident suspicion of him by some Unita members.

And now, he has still to go back to Luanda and wait to see how the MPLA government will react to his journalistic enterprise and to his "interview" on Unita's radio station.

A Unita officer was telling him on Thursday afternoon: "You go back to Luanda and they will throw you in jail."

Mr Tonnet himself was taking his adventure philosophically, stating he had no intention of hiding from anyone and will go back to Luanda.

"I told officials in Luanda I was coming to Jamba. I wanted to see for myself," he said.

Could anything happen to him in Luanda once he went back?

He shrugged his shoulders and told me: "Let's hurry up. I have to interview Jonas Savimbi."
ANGOLA - GENERAL

1989

SEPT. - DEC.

- 5 -
  5 +
  5 +
  5 +
  5 +
  5 +
  5 +
Fighting in Angola still raging, says government

As African heads of state met in Kinshasa to discuss peace in Angola, the Luanda government continued to report heavy fighting in the central and southern areas of the country.

The Africa news organisation, ANO, reported from Luanda that 62 UNITA guerrillas had been killed in three days of fighting in the central provinces of Benguela, Lunda Sul and Mexico.

ANO said the Angolan army had lost three men, and two others had been injured and one was reported missing. Two UNITA bases had been destroyed on September 16 in the central province of Huambo.

ANO quoted an army spokesman as saying that this month Angolan government troops had killed 183 UNITA soldiers and captured nine others in seven days of fighting in the Cuito Cuanavale region.

Large quantities of weapons, radio equipment and documents had been captured.
Luanda enters the World Bank fold

Angola wants economic links with South Africa

By David Braun
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Angola has called for regional economic co-operation and links between all countries "from Pretoria to north of Angola".

The Angolan Minister of Finance, Mr Augusto Teixeira de Matos, told a press conference in Washington yesterday it was in the interests of the West to see Angola's economy recover from the country's civil war and become strong. A strong Angola was essential for the equilibrium between southern and central Africa, he said.

152nd member

Mr de Matos was addressing the conference shortly after signing agreements at the World Bank headquarters which enabled his country to become the bank's 152nd member country.

Angola, which has become a member of the bank in spite of strong US opposition, hopes to use World Bank expertise to re-float its war-shattered economy. Mr de Matos made no attempt to disguise the desperate position of his country at the press conference. He said the war with Unita had destroyed Angola's infrastructure, particularly its transport systems and energy network.

Angola owed a total of R17.3 billion to foreign lenders. About 40 percent of this was owed to the Soviet Union, which had recently agreed that Angola could reschedule its repayments over a period of 15 years.

Mr de Matos said Angola was also negotiating to join the International Monetary Fund. He said membership of these institutions would provide badly needed expertise and money.

He said his government had high expectations that American businessmen would invest heavily in Angola. These investments would be absolutely guaranteed and his government was busy restructuring the Angolan economy and its administration to allow for a more free-market system.

The Minister said economic recovery was entirely dependent on national reconciliation between Unita and the MPLA, and he said his government was determined to do everything possible to bring that about.

Instability

He said: "It is necessary to create links, co-operation and joint projects with other countries that are members of the World Bank. We are also convinced all countries in our region, from Pretoria to north of Angola, are interested in strengthening their economies and establishing links and co-operation... If Angola is a weak country it will lead to problems of instability in the region."
Mobutu to continue to mediate in conflict

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — "African heads of state meeting in Kinshasa have agreed that President Mobutu Sese Seko will continue to mediate in the Angolan conflict and will now submit a "draft declaration" to the Angolan rebel leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi."

Reporting from Kinshasa, the Mozambique news agency, AIM, said Dr Savimbi had been invited to attend the summit meeting at which the presidents of Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe discussed peace proposals for Angola.

He had, however, refused to attend because of preparations for a Unity congress to be held next week.

The agency said the heads of state had agreed on "a draft declaration." They also agreed their next meeting would be held in Gabon but gave no date.

The meeting followed the near collapse of the peace talks following different interpretations of what happened at Gbadolite in Zaire in June when Dr Savimbi and the Angolan presidents, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, met for the first time.
SA, devasted lives and the economies of its neighbours, says UN

NAIROBI — SA’s “export of violence” and its “deliberate destruction of economies and lives with neighbouring states” has had a devastating impact on the economic development and human well-being of the Frontline states in southern Africa, says a report published by the UN Economic Commission for Africa.

Pretoria’s military aggression and its economic destabilization cost the region $10bn in 1988, or 40% of the achieved regional gross domestic product. Since 1980, 1.5-million lives have been lost, more than half by children, from war-induced starvation, the destruction of health services and civilian/military casualties.

Over the period 1980-1988, the cumulative regional cost of SA’s “total strategy” was $60bn. According to the study, most of these costs have been incurred as a result of the destruction of transport routes, direct war damage, higher energy costs, destruction of export commodities, reduced productivity through rural terrorism, trade boycotts and embargoes by SA and extra costs on defence and transport.

Mozambique and Angola are singled out by the report as having borne the brunt of SA regional destabilisation.

Mozambique has been a key target, says the report, because its transportation network is vital to the region’s attempts to reduce dependence on SA.

Pretoria’s policy of “commando attacks, sabotage of economic instalations and mass terrorism”, mostly carried out by the SA-trained and financed Renamo rebel group, have caused nearly 1-million war-related deaths, driven 4.5-million people from their homes and cost the country $15bn between 1980 and 1988.

In Angola, Pretoria’s support for the Unita rebels and their economic sabotage of key transport routes, such as the Benguela railway, contributed to an economic loss of $27bn-$30bn between 1980 and 1988.

The report calls for tougher economic sanctions and embargoes against SA and says the external funding needs of the region to ameliorate the burden of SA aggression are $3.5bn a year. — Financial Times.
SADF taking no chances with Swapo in Angola

BY GERALD L'ANGE
Editor of The Star's Africa News Service

A sinister shadow will be cast over the Namibian independence exercise if there is truth in claims that a strong Swapo force is hiding in southern Angola. Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha appears unworried but the South African military command is taking no chances.

A new element has been added to the military situation in southern Angola. In the past a series of reports have claimed that there is a Swapo force of around 1,000 troops in the border region of southern Angola which could launch a major attack on Namibia. The reports have claimed that the force is being supported by the Cuban government.

The presence of any members of Swapo's armed forces, Plan, in southern Angola would be in contravention of the understandings and agreements on the Namibian independence process. If the fighters are operating near the border in substantial numbers it is difficult to see how their purpose could be anything other than nefarious. In relation to the Namibian democracy processes agreed on for bringing independence to Namibia. And if this is so, it would threaten the independence process itself.

The South African government has been aware of the presence of Swapo elements in Angola for some time. The South African military command is prepared.

They did not appear at first to pose a significant threat, but the authorities were ready for any attack and the South African military command was on high alert. The troops of the South African Defence Force were prepared to move quickly if necessary. The Swapo forces were not expected to pose a major threat.

Mr Botha said he had been told by the United Nations Special Representative in Angola, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, that there were fewer than 500 Swapo men remaining in Angola - not enough to pose a military threat.

Mr Botha said while he did not necessarily accept Mr Ahtisaari's information, he considered that the UN representative was correct.

If "something goes wrong" South Africa reserved the right to take steps, as in the past, to prevent intimidation of voters.

South African military commanders are understood to be confident that even with only 1,000 troops left in Namibia on the terms of Security Council Resolution 435 they could repulse any Swapo incursion. Other forces, including 25 Battalion, now based in the northern Cape, could probably be brought speedily into the area as needed.

During the Swapo incursion in April, the South African authorities' first line of defence was the SAF, especially the former members of the former government, the Koevoet. Although nominally disbanded, Koevoet, whose members were all regular policemen, had been merged with the rest of the police force and could quickly be redeployed.

The failure of the April incursion, Swapo and its external supporters mounted a campaign for the police force to be purged of Koevoet members and deprived of its command on the grounds that both were being employed in anti-Swappi intimidation.

Admiral-General Dr Louis Pienaar, who has been leading the process, has rejected the charge that Koevoet was a "weapon of terror". Instead, the Koevoet was a branch of the police force, which had been incorporated into the new National Defence Force.

Dr Pienaar is worried about the situation of Swapo forces north of the border, it is not showing it. It appears to be concentrating on diplomatic means to get international pressure on Swapo to withdraw its forces.

Dr Neil Barnard, chief of the National Intelligence Service, is reported to have had talks with the Angolan and Cuban counterparts on the issue.

Mr Neil van Heerden, Director General of Foreign Affairs and leader of the South African delegation, was quoted as saying there were "rumours in Gwambo land" that Swapo might use military force if the election fails. He recently told the African News Service that the intervention force would move quickly into Namibia to consolidate the government's mandate and assume the duties of a national defence force.

Another was that after a victory in the election, Swapo might use the intervention force to keep itself in power without bothering with the constituent assembly required by the UN independence plan.

Comply

South Africa's efforts to get Swapo to comply with the Namibian independence arrangements have been channelled mainly through the Joint Military Monitoring Commission which was set up to monitor the agreements.

Mr van Heerden said in Havana that "people have tended to deal with this in an collusive manner."

Dr Pienaar has obtained the approval of the Cubans and Angolans for the inclusion of the United Nations monitoring force, United and the South African Police, in the JMMC's monitoring efforts. He has been preparing himself for a role which could extend the monitoring forces' mandate to monitor the elections and the political process.

Efforts to establish from his office whether this new monitoring system has started operating have been unsuccessful.

The South Africans may be more worried about another Swapo incursion after the elections than before it. In that case Pretoria might decide to intervene militarily and that could open up a frightening political 'can of worms'.

END

THE United States is very well-positioned to use its influence to bring both sides to the negotiating table and end the civil war in Angola.

However, there is a real danger that major political divisions in Washington could dilute the power of the United States to influence events in that troubled country.

If the US blows its unique opportunity to play the decisive role in resolving the Angolan conflict, it could also greatly reduce its chances of acting as the catalyst to bring the various South African factions to the negotiation table.

For this reason, southern African experts in Washington are urging both Republicans and Democrats, White House and Congress, to do their utmost to avoid any further politicisation of the issue of Angola in Washington.

Unless the US can come up with a bipartisan approach to Angola, the whole situation in southern Africa could unravel, Congressmen Paul Henry, an expert on Angola, told the House of Representatives Africa Subcommittee this week.

He was giving evidence at hearings on US policy on Angola.

Mr Henry, a Republican from Michigan, saw enormous danger for the region if Unita and the MPLA government could not get together to bring about national reconciliation in Angola.

The inability to bring about a ceasefire between the two sides was the one major sticky wicket in the entire process which had been started by the signing of the Brazzaville Protocol between South Africa, Cuba and Angola, he said.

Mr Henry said: "What will happen, for example, if the Angolan government, in protest, refuses to continue the staged Cuban troop withdrawal?"

"Does South Africa, then, begin to resupply Unita? Do the repatriated Swapo fighters take up arms against South Africa from a newly independent Namibia?"

"What happens to the diplomatic shift which is clearly taking place within the government of Angola, and its softened and opening posture to the West?"

Escalating tensions could further affect the region adversely, he said, by halting developments between South Africa and its neighbours and within South Africa itself.

A unique set of favourable circumstances in the region could be forever squandered.

In these circumstances, the Congressman argued, the US would be more helpful if Congress was cautious and did not needlessly politicise the issue.

Democratic congressmen and the Bush Administration agree there should be bipartisanship on the issue, but so far they have not been able to find sufficient common ground.

The matter has not been helped by the involvement of expensive and sophisticated lobbying firms engaged by both Unita and the MPLA to build their support bases in Washington.

Also in the fray are various political pressure groups - TransAfrica and the Congressional Black Caucus behind the MPLA and the Conservative Caucus and International Freedom Foundation rooting for Unita.

African countries are also divided on the issue, with states such as Cote d’Ivoire, Nigeria and Morocco wanting to see Unita saved in a genuine national reconciliation in Angola, while some such as Zambia, would prefer to see the MPLA remain completely in power.

Democrats and Republicans are agreed there should be national reconciliation in Angola, but they differ on how this should be done.

The Democrats tend to favour the MPLA line, wanting the US to halt all further financial and other support for Unita while formally recognising the MPLA government.

They detest Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi as a charlatan at best and as a pro-South African brutal dictator in the same mould as Idi Amin at worst. They believe the MPLA is nowhere near as bad as it is made out to be, saying the movement has greatly moderated in recent years.

The Republicans want to maintain support for Unita, if not increase it, at least until genuine national reconciliation has been brought about in Angola.

They point out the Soviet Union continues to assist the MPLA government financially and militarily on a vast scale.

They are opposed to giving formal recognition to the MPLA government because it is a Marxist dictatorship which seized power and which has never had a free and fair election.

They admire Dr Savimbi as a brave freedom fighter for democracy and self-recognition of his people.

To boost their position, the Republicans, and that includes the Bush Administration, agreed with their Unita allies that Dr Savimbi should be invited to Washington to discuss strategy and to consolidate congressional and public support.

The Democratic leadership in both the House of Representatives and the Senate countered this by inviting the President of Angola, Mr Eduardo dos Santos, to spend a working week in Washington and meet as wide a range of Senators and House members as possible.

President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, who has spearheaded a so-far-unsuccessful African initiative to get the Unita and the MPLA to agree to a ceasefire and sit down at the negotiation table, will also be in Washington this week.
Jamboree in Jamba

From DAVID WILLERS
LONDON — From Angola news of a French force has reached London, where the ludicrous happenings attendant upon Zaire's President Mobuto's "peace-making" efforts which resulted in the famous handshake between President Dos Santos of Angola and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi at Chadolite are provoking wry smiles in the diplomatic watering holes of St James's.

So mijled is the Unita leader by the turn of events that it is possible he will, following last week's jamboree in Jamba, declare a government-in-exile, if not a secessionist state along the lines of Biafra.

It is a quintessentially African tale, beginning with the desire of a dictator — in this case President Mobuto Sese Seko of Zaire — to clean his slate and reputation with the Americans.

The settlement in Namibia provided President Mobuto with his opportunity. The dictator, therefore, earlier this year, in order to bring Mr. Savimbi and Mr. Dos Santos together, telephoned sundry African heads of state and informed them he had reason to believe the two Angolan belligerents might do a deal and would they please present themselves at Chadolite to witness the fruits of his persuasiveness.

Then he telephoned Mr. Savimbi and told him Mr. Dos Santos was willing to talk on terms favourable to old Jonas.

A quick call followed to Mr. Dos Santos and an ditto message (but in reverse).

As the talks progressed, President Mobuto shuttled back and forth conveying — and distorting — the different points of view.

Finally Mr. Dos Santos was left with the impression that Dr. Savimbi was willing to go into exile for two years while Unita members, and soldiers, were absorbed into the MPLA party structure, and leave the final talks up to his senior Unita colleagues.

Shuffle, shuffle went President Mobuto to the other smoke-filled room and ten minutes later Dr. Savimbi was left with the clear impression that Mr. Dos Santos had agreed to the formation of a joint transitional government of Unita and MPLA pending free, internationally supervised, elections. There was no mention of his going into "exile".

Having successfully told different things to different people, President Mobuto then declared a quick photocall and before Dr. Savimbi could really digest what was going on, he allowed himself to be frog-marched to place his salivary palm unenthusiastically in that of an equally ill-at-ease Mr. Dos Santos.

Act Two was where the cat was let out of the bag. So consumed were President Mobuto's co-conspirators by their eagerness to get things going that they overshot the mark. Especially President Kenneth Kaunda, who started running with the ball before President Mobuto and President Bongo of Gabon could stop him.

Mr. Dos Santos and President Kaunda were anxious to "rush" Dr. Savimbi into agreeing that he agreed to go into exile.

Dr. Savimbi would have none of it. It became clear that he had rumbled the damselly plot. Jonas is in a right old sulk and did not attend last week's Kinshasa talks, where it was hoped the whole sorry misunderstanding could be sorted out.

About the only person he feels he can trust at the moment is his straight-as-an-arrow old friend General Magnus Molan, who has declared that he, for one, will never leave his former comrades-in-arms in the lurch. President Mobuto has in any event hopelessly compromised himself in Dr. Savimbi's eyes as an honest mediator.

And so the curtain opens on Act Three, and the consequences of President Mobuto's tangled web. Dr. Savimbi has few options left. Sympathy for him in many Western circles has largely evaporated as a result of the Fred Bridgland exposé of atrocities within Unita ranks.

The United States still supports him but now that Angola has ceased to be a cold-war theatre, and Uncle Sam has a free hand to charge around the region as the world's last surviving "super power", there is every chance that President Bush will lose patience with Dr. Savimbi if he stalls in a manner that jeopardises the process of reconstruction.

Besides, the MPLA is moving away from Marxism-Leninism. Impatient, it is trending all over the world.

Because he lacks supplies and particularly petrol, Dr. Savimbi's position grows weaker with every passing day.

In desperation, therefore, and short of a major push on Luanda while he still has the means (so goes the view from London), Dr. Savimbi might yet be forced to declare a secessionist government.
Public should know of Angola buildup

WHENEVER I think about the alleged buildup of insurgents in the Angolan "shallow area" I am reminded of what might be called the Shilongo incident.

Shilongo was an insurgent who was captured in 1989, when (as is at present the case) most of southern Angola was supposed to be free of Swa po presence. Under questioning he revealed in great detail a Swa po buildup in the vicinity of Pev Pev and elsewhere. This information was duly taken to a government-level South African-Angolan meeting ... and was never heard of again.

Question: Is the government doing anything about the reported buildup, given what happened on April 17? And if so, why has the public not been informed? This is no time for secrecy, given the fragility of the situation north of the Orange.
Angolan rulers want multiparty gov't system

LUANDA — Angola's ruling MPLA party endorsed proposals during its congress last week to revise its constitution in two phases to introduce a multiparty system. Jose Lutizio e Costa, secretary of the Council of Ministers, said on television on Saturday that the 700-member congress of the ruling MPLA approved the plan, already voted through by the central committee. The first phase will end in March 1991, and the second a year later.

The rebel Unita movement, which has fought the Luanda government since independence from Portugal in 1975, said last week it would sign a ceasefire if the congress approved multiparty rule.

Mr. Lutizio said the first phase of reform would introduce laws on the formation of political parties, associations, the right to a free press, and a law on the MPLA's army. The draft, agreed by congress delegates before its approval, would be submitted to the organizations and citizens. Mr. Lutizio also referred to an economy based on free-market laws, the protection of private property and foreign investments, the state of law and a democracy based on popular sovereignty, and respect for human rights, he added.

Mr. Lutizio said freedom of expression, association, religion and assembly would be enshrined in the new constitution. Angolans would have the right to strike and to claim social security. The congress meeting for the first time in five years agreed that a second congress would take a final decision on the MPLA's future ideological line. This extraordinary session will probably meet before June next year.

The state news agency Angop said last week's congress had approved a draft resolution that the statutes of the MPLA were to be revised before the extraordinary congress. — Sapa-Reuters.
Luanda threatens halt to Cuban withdrawal

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Cuba is well ahead of schedule on its troop withdrawal from Angola, despite threats by the government in Luanda this week that the process will be stopped if the United States continues to support the Unita rebels.

So far, nearly 22,000 of the 50,000 troops based in Angola at the height of the war have returned to Havana under an accord signed by Cuba, South Africa and Angola on December 22 last year.

More than 3,000 Cubans were repatriated last month, bringing the total since January to 21,982.

Under the December accord, Cuba has agreed to pull all of its troops out of Angola by mid-1991 and half that number — 25,000 — by April 1 next year.

Mr. Chester Crocker, former US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs who mediated the accords, denied on Monday that his country had promised as part of the overall deal to stop aid to Unita or to give diplomatic recognition to Angola.

MERELY A MEDIATOR

He said the United States was never a negotiating party over the implementation of UN Resolution 435, but merely a mediator.

A source in the Cuban Embassy here said yesterday Cuba's military command was happy to proceed ahead of the agreed schedule for withdrawal.

But he indicated that the army leaders had set a limit of having at least 23,000 Cubans left in Angola after the April 1 deadline.

The source said this was the number of Cubans deployed in the country before the critical Cuito-Cuanavale offensive which ended last year and led both sides in the conflict to the negotiating table.

"We shipped and airlifted in 27,000 troops after that campaign started," the source said. "We would be able to do so again, if there was any breakdown in Resolution 435 and a return to hostilities."

By statements and media briefings at the time, South Africa's military intelligence appeared to believe there were more than 35,000 Cubans in Angola before the Cuito-Cuanavale crisis.
"Rockman' trial: Victim may testify

By DON HOLIDAY
and MICHAEL DOMAN
Staff Reporters

A key witness — believed to be the victim of an alleged police
attack — is expected to be called today in the "Rockman' trial in the
Wynberg Regional Court.

The trial of riot policemen Major Charles Brustelle and Lieu-
tenant David Johan Rooy, who have pleaded not guilty to a charge of
assault, adjourned early yesterday after-
noon.

The charge arose from allega-
tions by Legendary Gregory Rockman that the two police of-
ficers acted brutally during a poli-
to-dispersing demonstration in Mitchells Plain Town Centre
on September 5.

Afternoon session

Prosector Mr T J Prins told the
court that after consideration
at lunchtime, he had decided
to recall the witness for a
further session today.

However, he would call addi-
tional witnesses today the
court, as was expected.

Mr Rockman, 21, the third
prosecution witness called yest-
ertday and the fifth overall,
testified that he was a fruit and
vegetable vendor (smoke) at
the town centre.

On September 5 he had been
at a stall in the bus termin-
us from about 7am.

He said he had heard "that
the children were gang-wild"
that day and that they threw
a rock at his stall.

"While I was running my
business, Lieutenant Rockman
arrived in a vehicle but he did
not seem to know what time
that day had been.

A short while later four or
five more policemen arrived.

Mr White said he had been
wearing a shirt and an unmis-
sewing and had heard screams and saw po-
licemen running towards the
direction carrying guns (sa-
 flourish).

He did not hear any warning
given.

Later, a group of people ran
in his direction chased by se-
veral policemen.

As the people ran past him,
policemen ran up and hit him
_ instantly on the left arm.

He eventually had to run
away and leave his stand
unattended.

Under cross-examination, Mr
White said he had heard hero-
ning coming from the square.

He said that about 30 min-
utes after the policemen had
arrived, he ran towards the
square, where he and another
police officer were shot at about 10
people in the

As the people ran past, the
policemen ran up and hit him
repeatedly on the left arm. An
other beat a woman

He had been arrested and
questioned by three 
policemen.

Mr Rockman asked him.
Magistrate Mr S McCarthy
asked him.

Mr Rockman said he

Mr White pointed to the
court orderly, a policeofficer,

Mr Rockman was wearing a blue shirt and a

The magistrate asked.

"What did they seem to be
dressed like that woman?"

Mr White replied. Referring to a
police woman wearing a blue
cap and jacket.

The hearing today is ex-
pected to start late as Mr
McCarthy has another case to
deal with.

Waiting game for cameramen

Staff Reporters

THE Argument about the
days all day long — an
to be "swallowed" at the
read...-

No, it's not the police of
the one time radio serial Squad
Call, but a real
to mix and match the
local and international

The scene is — Wynberg Magis-
ter's Court.

The concept — ironically
to get a full-screen picture,
of police officers who are
in court on a charge of
assault.

Side and back views were all
got on Tuesday, but
the picture they were "swallowed" in the
court yesterday as the court
resumes and the two accused took a film

Mr Rockman, 21, the third
prosecution witness called yest-
tertday and the fifth overall,
testified that he was a fruit and
vegetable vendor (smoke) at
the town centre.

On September 5 he had been
at a stall in the bus termin-
us from about 7am.

He said he had heard "that
the children were gang-wild"
that day and that they threw
a rock at his stall.

"While I was running my
business, Lieutenant Rockman
arrived in a vehicle but he did
not seem to know what time
that day had been.

A short while later four or
five more policemen arrived.

Mr White said he had been
wearing a shirt and an unmis-
sewing and had heard screams and saw po-
licemen running towards the
direction carrying guns (sa-
 flourish).

He did not hear any warning
given.

Later, a group of people ran
in his direction chased by se-
veral policemen.

As the people ran past him,
policemen ran up and hit him
_ instantly on the left arm.

He eventually had to run
away and leave his stand
unattended.

Under cross-examination, Mr
White said he had heard hero-
ning coming from the square.

He said that about 30 min-
utes after the policemen had
arrived, he ran towards the
square, where he and another
police officer were shot at about 10
people in the

As the people ran past, the
policemen ran up and hit him
repeatedly on the left arm. An
other beat a woman

He had been arrested and
questioned by three 
policemen.

Mr Rockman asked him.
Magistrate Mr S McCarthy
asked him.

Mr Rockman said he

Mr White pointed to the
court orderly, a policeofficer,

Mr Rockman was wearing a blue shirt and a

The magistrate asked.

"What did they seem to be
dressed like that woman?"

Mr White replied. Referring to a
police woman wearing a blue
cap and jacket.

The hearing today is ex-
pected to start late as Mr
McCarthy has another case to
deal with.

Waiting game for cameramen

Staff Reporters

THE Argument about the
days all day long — an
to be "swallowed" at the
read...-

No, it's not the police of
the one time radio serial Squad
Call, but a real

to mix and match the
local and international

The scene is — Wynberg Magis-
ter's Court.

The concept — ironically
to get a full-screen picture,
of police officers who are
in court on a charge of
assault.

Side and back views were all
got on Tuesday, but
the picture they were "swallowed" in the
court yesterday as the court
resumes and the two accused took a film

350 objects hand in petition at Castle

By JOHN YIELD
Staff Reporter

A NATIONAL delegation of the
Concerned Objects of the
Supers Group handed a petition
calling for an end to conscrip-
tion to the SADF after a march
through the city by about 500
to the Castle.

Yesterday's lunchtime
march held with the permis-
sion of Cape Town's Chief Magis-
tate followed an inter-faith
service attended by several
leaders of Cape Town's
Cathedral clergy.

Leading the march under a
day banner proclaiming
"Support Objectors" Stop the
Call Up" were eight national
leaders, including prominent
and conscientious activist
Dr Jiyi Son, of the recent
of 177 publicly announced ob-
jectives.

Earlier, Mr. Turing
concluded that the "second-shot"
was in conference and was not available.

The petition had been taped to the
duty officer.

"The mayor wouldn't see us.
We are a bit disappointed
because we had an appointment,"
Mr Turing told journalists.

The other leaders were es-
crated as a group into the Cape
Town where they handed
their petition to the

At the service, the Dean of
Cape Town, the Very Rev Colin
Jones, said that "the great act of
conscience" of the 177 objec-
tors.

The way to peace in South
Africa isough that we must stop
waging war against South Afri-
cans. You have done that... it is
just a kind of action which holds
hope for South Africa," he
said.

The Argus Foreign Service
reports from Melbourne that two
South African men, who have
to Australia, because
they did not want to
serve in the South African
mili-
itary, have been arrested in Australia.

The two, Soni Ranilo and
Andrew Beckwell, positio-
ated to a United Nations resolution
col-
sponsoring by Australia which
called on member countries to
give political asylum to consci-
entious objects such as them-
selves.
SADF tells of its Angola invasion

CAPE TOWN — The SA Defence Force has released for the first time its account of what took place during the invasion of Angola in 1975 and 1976.

A decision had been taken to support Unita and it was decided a Unita force would have to be made against encroaching MPLA forces. 

Nineteen South African soldiers were called on to sign a declaration that they were serving voluntarily. 

“Nothing can come to pass that they undertook to serve outside (South Africa's) borders in the guise of mercenaries, therefore without identity or under false identity,” says Professor F J du Toit Spies, author of a publication issued by the SADF.

PORTUGUESE COUP

After the 1974 coup in Portugal and that country's abandonment of its African colonies, South African authorities were persuaded that Unita, under Dr Jonas Savimbi, should be supported by this country.

By early 1975, Dr Savimbi had received arms, ammunition and money from South Africa.

A committee headed by General Hendrik van den Bergh was later charged with assembling a list of additional weapons. The price was R20 million and the recommendation was that the weapons should all be bought abroad because of the clandestine nature of the operation.

General van den Bergh went to Paris and soon thereafter let it be known the weapons would be sent to Angola by ship.

On September 17, 1975, members of the SADF were sent from Namibia to Silva Porto to repair Unita armoured cars.

At about this time, it was decided that the first Unita force would have to be made against encroaching MPLA forces on the Lobito route.

This first battle group left Silva Porto for war on October 3, 1975. On October 5, the column encountered the enemy.

The Unita infantry ran away, and the South Africans had to fight their way out on their own.

Later, 22 South African armoured cars crossed into Angola and joined up with Unita at Silva Porto. It was the beginning of an escalation process which, by early December 1975, would lead to 33 units of the South African army being involved.

The decision to withdraw was taken at the Oubos holiday home of Prime Minister Dr John Vorster on December 30, 1975 when it became clear the Americans were not going to support the allied front with as much enthusiasm as had been hoped.
Dos Santos takes tough stance

LUANDA — In a tough speech yesterday, Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos demanded the end of US aid to Angola's Unita rebels and warned he would make no further concessions to the US in the search for normalised relations between the two countries.

Speaking to reporters at his Putungo de Belas residence outside Luanda, Dos Santos said in spite of promising initial moves towards peace, "war continues in Angola and Mozambique and it is caused by foreign interference".

"Angola continues to demand respect of the Gadhafi Accord and the US should be persuaded to support it and the mediating role of President Mobutu Sese Seko without reservations," said Dos Santos.

He indicated Angola would make no more concessions in its quest for US recognition.

Dos Santos, a pragmatic, consensus leader, has been dumping the Marxist rhetoric and economic policies of the ruling MPLA in the hope of securing IMF membership and formal ties with Washington.

Angola joined the IMF in July, but the US still does not recognise Dos Santos's government.

Western diplomats here say Dos Santos is disappointed by US officials who dangled the carrot of recognition to forge regional peace accords signed in December by Angola, Cuba and SA, and then to get the Luanda government to sit at the negotiating table with Unita.

US officials say diplomatic ties will be withheld until Luanda agrees to free elections.

Dos Santos sealed a short-lived truce with Jonas Savimbi on June 22 at an African summit at Ghadafi, Zaire.

The accord and ensuing direct peace talks broke down after military clashes continued and Savimbi denied he accepted temporary exile and the integration of his forces into government institutions as part of the deal.

Savimbi is currently in Washington canvassing for increased US aid to Unita, that totals approximately $40m annually. — Sapa-AP.
Unita implicated in smuggling racket

Soares plane ‘carried consignment of ivory’

By Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

The aircraft which crashed at Unita’s Angolan headquarters last week, severely injuring the son of Portuguese President Mario Soares, was carrying a cargo of illegal ivory, sources told The Star yesterday.

They said it was also the first time that Dr Jonas Savimbi’s Unita organisation had been implicated in an international ivory racket under investigation in many countries, and particularly in southern Africa.

There have been a number of allegations made in the past about alleged Unita involvement but these have never been proved.

The crash injured five men — Dr Joao Soares; two Portuguese members of parliament, Mr Rui Gomes da Silva and Mr Nogueira de Brito; German journalist Mr Geppert Rainer; and the pilot, identified as Mr Joaquim da Silva Augusto.

Private probes

Mr Rupert Lorimer, environmental spokesman for the Democratic Party, told The Star he “knew for a fact” that the aircraft’s cargo had been ivory.

He declined to comment further, beyond saying it would be difficult to hold an inquiry into the crash in southern Angola.

A number of foreign government investigators and teams representing international conservation agencies are doing their own checks on the circumstances of the crash.

An investigation is being undertaken by the South West Africa Police and the SAP to ascertain whether or not the pilot is, in fact, a “Mr Dagnosta” who was the owner of a heavy refrigerated fruit and vegetable truck which was raided at Okahandja on September 17. Some 980 tusk, valued at more than R3 million, were found in the vehicle.
LUANDA. — In a tough speech yesterday, Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos demanded the end of US aid to Angola’s Unita rebels and warned he would make no further concessions to the United States in the search for normalized relations between the two countries.

Mr. Dos Santos said that despite promising initial moves toward peace, “war continues in Angola and Mozambique and it is caused by foreign interference.”

“Angola continues to demand respect of the Ovadolite accord and the United States... should be persuaded to support it and the mediating role of President Mobutu Seke Seke without reservations,” said Mr. Dos Santos.

Sapa-AP

LIKE some medieval saga, a Thirty-Year War raged in Angola last week, a country that ought to be one of the jewels of the African continent. Three months after President João Eduardo dos Santos and rebel leader Jonas Savimbi came together for a celebrated handshake in Mobutu Shaba's gaudy palace at Gbadolite in northern Zaire, they are at each other's throats again.

Fighting is raging everywhere. It has stopped suddenly. Savimbi claims to have killed 10,000 government troops and lost 300 of his own. His fighters are scattered, but they always win the peasant villagers who are doing most of the dying.

I have spent the past week travelling through some of the central and southern provinces of Angola talking to militiaries stranded in the hospitals, where weary doctors perform the highest rate of amputations in the world, and watching braces being brought among the overcrowded orthopedics where equally weary mortals are making up amputees to give them some semblance of mobility.

It was a week in which Savimbi finally repudiated his October handshake and made a counterattack on his own which Dos Santos said was a return of the war. The 21 January the Angolan war, which began as a war of independence against the Portuguese, will enter its thirteenth year.

When the war started last December in a remarkable coalition of opportunities that led to the signing of a set of accords at the United Nations, it seemed as though peace was about to be declared at last on the whole of southern Africa.

Suddenly, each for their own quite different reasons, all the external partners in this orgy of death wanted out — the Russians, the Cubans and the South Africans, leaving the Americans to claim success for one of their most prominent foreign policies ever applied anywhere, which was a definite victory for Namibia. The removal of Namibia should not be independ- dent until 50,000 Cuban soldiers were seen marching back.

So that impossible quarter set down to start to gear the peace process and the Namibian independence process got underway. Now the South Africans have withdrawn their troops, the Cubans are bearing down on the end of the line they are building to save their allies, and Namibia's Swapo government is planning its way home to vote for a government of their own next month.

EIGHTY percent of Angola's population were born after the war began. After 30 years, life is grinding down to a nauseous quiet. In all the world, only the United States is as rich in guns as Angola is in men. In all the world, only the United States is as rich in guns as Angola is in men.

Angola has become ordinary life in southern Angola.

It is a war without battle lines or frontiers: just two sides who stalk each other and in endless bush and sustain themselves by shooting up peasant villages and looting them.

errors, especially the Americans, who back Savimbi, but Western diplomats based here are unanimous that any thought of launching a multi-party democracy with five elections in this deeply divided society is utterly unrealistic, Peace, stability and a minimum level of national unity are necessary first.

War has become ordinary life in southern Angola.

A handinecimento victim will be fitted with an artificial limb at a Red Cross centre in the central Angolan city of Huambo.

In any event, as Dos Santos said in a recent press conference in Luanda last week, the proposal was not new. Savimbi has made it many times before and he must have known it was un- possible.

What it amounted to in fact was a rejection of the Organization of African American Unity's peace-making efforts and a return to full-scale war.

But there has to be more to such a breakdown than just bickering between Huambo, District Robinson, the Black American Unity on African and Caribbean affairs who arrived here last Monday for talks with the Angolan government, smallest dirty work in Washington, Washington.

"We have the leverage to bring Savimbi to the table and make him sit there until an agreement is reached," Robinson says. "But the administration does not do that, it means it does not really want reconciliation.

The reason, Robinson suggests, is that Angola's policy has become "hostage to the right". He points out that a group of far-rightists in Congress, headed by Senator Jesse D. DeConcini of Arizona, have made Savimbi's pet cause the doubly important that he is a freedom fighter trying to liberate Angola from Marxism-Leninist oppression.

He points out, too, that Lee Atwater, who managed Bush's presidential campaign is now chairman of the Republican Party, was a partner in the as de Black, Mafato and Shon, who are Savimbi's Washington lobbyists. This gives Savimbi a line into the White House and makes the administration amenable to his cause.

"I think they encouraged Savimbi to back out of the Glasnost deal because they hope that when the Cubans go their man can fight on and win," Robinson says.

The black lobby hopes to change that. His organization, TransAfrica, played a major role in mobilising American opinion in support of sanctions against South Africa in 1987, and now, with plans to do the same on Angola.

He invited Dos Santos to the United States last month, where he met 36 congressmen lined up to meet him, and the Angolan President accepted. He will be the first president of any country not recognized by the United States to visit Washington, and Robinson said he would try to pressure Bush into meeting him.

"I'm going to build a public fire on this issue," the black lobbyist promised. "I'm going to make sure the right-wing influence is counter-balanced.

Meanwhile, life here grinds down. The war weariness is endemic. Eighty percent of Angola's population was born after the war began and they have known nothing but blood and sweat and tears all their lives. It is a war without battle lines or frontiers: just two sides who stalk each other in the endless bush and sustain themselves by shooting up peasant villages and looting them of food and clothing.

Government forces control the cities, but the countryside is a shifting killing ground of ambushes and land mines that has brought agriculture to a standstill and devastated the peasant population, millions of whom have flocked into the cities to live among the crumbling buildings and in sprawling shantytowns, where they scratch a living in an economy close to ruin.

The air is heavy with exhaustion and apathy. Life has become an un- winnable struggle against hopelessness. It has also become cheap. On my first evening here there was a burst of AK-47 gunfire outside the hotel and a man fell dead in the road. Two soldiers dragged his body away and threw it on the back of a truck. I do not know why they killed him. No one bothered to find out.
Savimbi agrees to return to peace talks

WASHINGTON — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi said yesterday he was prepared to return to ceasefire talks under the mediation of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko. Savimbi responded "absolutely" when asked if he would go back to the negotiating table with Mobutu and Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos.

He also said he "accepted" Mobutu's mediation: Earlier this week Savimbi implicitly accused Mobutu of negotiating in bad faith by concluding secret deals with the Angolan government that changed the terms of a ceasefire hammered out at Ghadolite, Zaire, in June.

The US has been annoyed by Savimbi's refusal to attend a recent round of talks designed to work out differences over the Ghadolite understanding.

While Savimbi has rejected assertions by some African leaders that he agreed to go into exile and integrate his forces with the government.

The US backs Savimbi's interpretation of the Ghadolite accord, but is unhappy with his recent tactics.

US officials said Bush, who praised Mobutu's mediation efforts in a White House meeting with the Zairean leader on Wednesday, told Savimbi in a 35-minute meeting yesterday to get back to the bargaining table. — Sapa-Reuters.
Angola-Unita ceasefire 'ready to be signed'

BOSTON. — Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko said yesterday that a ceasefire accord between Angola and rebel Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was ready to be signed, and that he would arrange a meeting with the warring parties when he returned to his country.

"The ceasefire text is ready," Mr Mobutu told a news conference. "It only has to be signed."

"When I return to my country I will start a discussion between the two parties," he said.

Mr Mobutu had said on Thursday after a meeting with President George Bush that he believed he could produce an agreement this month.

Also on Thursday Dr Savimbi, bowing to US pressure, announced his acceptance of President Mobutu as a broker in new ceasefire talks.

A truce was agreed last June 22 between Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos and Dr Savimbi, but it collapsed in just two months. Unita has fought Angola's Marxist government since 1975, when the former Portuguese colony won its independence.

Mr Mobutu was scheduled to meet Angola's External Affairs Minister, Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem, and its ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Manuel Pedro Pacavira, yesterday.

A spokesman for Mr Mobutu said a meeting with Dr Savimbi in the US was possible, but had not yet been arranged.

Dr Savimbi had irked Washington — now believed to be his sole source of financial support since South Africa withdrew its military backing last year — by refusing to attend a recent round of ceasefire talks.

But after meeting President Bush on Thursday, he said he would return to the bargaining table. — Sapa-Reuters
The Star's Africa News Service
LUSAKA — The African National Congress claims that Mrs Sue Dobson, the 27-year-old ex-journalist who went missing from her post in the Administrator-General's Office in Windhoek late in September, was a member of the organisation and had carried out assignments for the ANC over several years.

In a statement issued here yesterday, the organisation said both Mrs Dobson and her husband Peter worked for the ANC.

The ANC claims Mrs Dobson was able to provide invaluable information because she had access to confidential briefings by senior SADF members during her period with the Bureau of Information. (The bureau yesterday repeated its claim that she did not have access to sensitive information.)

The ANC says its intelligence sources learned later that the Dobsons were about to be arrested and tipped them off. This led to their hasty departure from Namibia during the weekend of September 23-24.

The statement claims Mrs Dobson was able to gain the confidence of Major Derek Brune, describing him as the SA Security Branch officer serving with the SWA Police in Oshakati. He is the half-brother of South African spy Olivia Forsyth.

At the time of the Dobsons' disappearance, there was speculation in the press that Mrs Dobson had been working as an agent for Major Brune and had an emotional crisis because she was unable to cope with some of her assignments.

The Dobsons are now believed to be in London, staying with ANC activists Jeremy and Joan Brickhill.

Craig Kotze reports that a top-level South African security source said the ANC had turned well-known and public information to their advantage in an attempt to have people believe Mrs Dobson and her husband were ANC spies, when it was known Mrs Dobson had had a nervous breakdown when the attempt was made to recruit her.
Market socialism on a rubbish dump

The 14-year-old Angolan civil war has brought about the collapse of the oil-rich Angolan economy. The government is increasingly looking to free-market policies to revive the economy, but the huge difference between the official and parallel market prices makes shopping a nightmare, report KARE MARÉS.

LUANDA — A small crowd rocks with laughter as a uniformed soldier, his eyes nearly closed in a drunken Saturday afternoon stupor, walls body to body in a snake-like dance with a plump young woman in a tight blue dress. Stalls are a blur as the bar becomes mired with the dust of perhaps 15,000 people streaming along the wooden stalls to shop for meat, vegetables, the latest fashions — even, it is said, used cars.

There is plenty of ice-cold beer, soft drinks and grilled chicken sandwiches. There would be nothing particularly remarkable about this scene in most African countries, where open-air markets are an age-old tradition.

But in Luanda, the capital, a new era has taken shape from a steamy Brazilian TV soap opera that delighted viewers throughout Portugal's former African colonies, set on a rubbish dump in the north-east of Luanda.

And in Angola, which gained independence from Portugal in 1975, the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has tried to make its mark. Free markets are illegal — virtually unknown.

Bohemia epidemic

Many visitors to Luanda leave with the image of a dead city, where large glass windows in state-run shops reveal mainly empty shelves and a scavenging rat through the streets — there's a cholera epidemic now — who has had to hire a private firm employing improvised Filipino truck drivers to clean up a dressing-room of rubbish. (They have not yet succeeded.)

The 14-year-old civil war between the government and Jonas Savimbi's rebel forces, which brought about the collapse of the oil-rich Angolan economy, has turned Luanda, once called the Rio de Janeiro of Africa, into one of the continent's dirtiest capitals, leaving visitors with the image of a dead city.

In 14-park square ... the Angolan capital, Luanda — once called the Rio de Janeiro of Africa — has, with the collapse of the former oil-rich economy, become one of the continent's dirtiest capitals, leaving visitors with the image of a dead city.

Former glory ... the Angolan capital, Luanda — once called the Rio de Janeiro of Africa — has, with the collapse of the former oil-rich economy, become one of the continent's dirtiest capitals, leaving visitors with the image of a dead city.

But salaries are largely irrelevant in Angola because there is so much money and so few people to buy. Most families rely on income earned outside their jobs.

For many, the scramble for enough cash to afford the free-market prices inevitably leads back to the state shops and speculatively to beer.

The government ration card system allows the urban family to buy a case of imported beer for about 400 kwanzas (about US$15). It can be sold immediately on the open market for 2,000 kwanzas (US$70), the equivalent of a month's salary for a middle-level civil servant.

To stem the flow of MPLA party workers, state employees and professionals to the private sector and foreign aid groups, the government introduced a system of cards, labeled A, B or C, which provide holders with privileged access to imported goods.

The special cards are expected to be phased out as the long-awaited economic reforms begin.
Angolan air crash has ivory links claim

LUANDA — The plane carrying Joao Soares, son of Portuguese President Mario Soares, which crashed shortly after take-off from Unita headquarters on September 26, was carrying ivory, the Africa News Organisation (ANO) said yesterday.

ANO said the ivory consignment on board the plane was confirmed by Portuguese ambassador to the Congo Jose Manuel Duarte, who said an unknown amount of ivory was offered to Soares by Unita.

However, Portuguese MPs who were in the plane when it crashed, denied Angolan accusations that there was ivory on board.

The Angolan News Agency Angop said yesterday there was no doubt that Unita was the mastermind behind the slaughtering of elephants in Angola to finance its war.

About 100,000 elephants had been killed by Unita in the past 14 years for this purpose, the agency said, citing US government statistics.

Denied

"This information, disclosed recently in a meeting of the US government, justifies the preoccupation of various international organisations which accused Unita of contributing to exterminating elephants."

"Leaders of this group continue to ignore this condemnation as recently proved when they were caught 'tight lipped' with the plane crash at their sanctuary because of excess ivory cargo," Angop said.

Another Portuguese national, had recently been involved in the smuggling of 980 tusks, alleged Angop. The haul was discovered in Namibia on September 16.

"It could be affirmed that this is 'a mafia of devils'" stated Angop.

"The indiscriminate killing of Angolan elephants is an intricate arrangement in which an enemy of the Angolan people will always be found for his own development and well being," said Angop.

"For the Angolan people, said Angop, 'friends of the devil are devils too'."
A street scene in Domonion Lunda.

Economy

The official currency is the kwacha. Copper and cobalt are the main exports, and there are significant deposits of copper, cobalt, and uranium, as well as gold and silver. The country is known for its fisheries. The climate is tropical, with wet and dry seasons. The country is also a major producer of tobacco and cotton.

Demand

The economy is heavily dependent on the export of copper and cobalt. However, the country has been facing economic challenges due to the fluctuation in the global prices of these minerals. Recent investments in the development of the copper and cobalt sectors have led to an increase in production. The government is also focused on diversifying the economy and developing new sectors such as tourism and agriculture.

Market

The market is dominated by small-scale agriculture and livestock farming. The main crops are maize, tobacco, and cotton. The government is promoting agricultural development through programs such as the Maize Alliance and the Tobacco Development Program. The country is also a major producer of tobacco and cotton.

Run

The government is implementing policies to attract foreign investment and encourage private sector development. However, the country faces challenges in terms of infrastructure development and access to finance.

Perestroika in Angola

The process of economic recovery is ongoing. The government is working towards improving the business environment and attracting foreign investment. The country is also focusing on diversifying its economy and developing new sectors such as tourism and agriculture. The government is implementing policies to attract foreign investment and encourage private sector development. However, the country faces challenges in terms of infrastructure development and access to finance.
Mobutu, Savimbi to meet

PARIS. — Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko will meet Angolan Unita rebel leader Mr Jonas Savimbi in France next week in an effort to re-start stalled talks on ending civil war in Angola, a Unita spokesman said yesterday.

"Savimbi will arrive from London on Sunday and will meet Mobutu in France. It is the first step in the process of resuming the negotiations," spokesman Mr Paulo Gato said.

Diplomatic sources said the talks were due to take place in one of Mr Mobutu's retreats in southern France.

Neither Mr Gato nor American diplomats would say if Washington's top Africa diplomat Mr Herman Cohen, who will be in France at the same time, would be involved.

Mr Savimbi and Mr Mobutu met Mr Cohen separately in Washington last week while there to see US President George Bush and diplomats said they expected the three to follow up with joint talks in France.

After his meeting with Mr Bush, Mr Savimbi said he was willing to return to Mr Mobutu's mediation efforts to end 14 years of fighting.

Before the Washington talks, Mr Savimbi implicitly accused Mr Mobutu of tricking him by concluding deals with Angola which changed the terms of a ceasefire hammered out at an African summit in Gbadolite, Zaire, in June. — Sapa-Reuters
Ceasefire by month’s end — Savimbi

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — An Angolan ceasefire agreement could be signed by the end of this month, Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said here last night.

Addressing a packed press conference soon after his historic meeting with Mr John Major, British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Dr Savimbi said: “Unita is prepared to start serious and fruitful negotiations with the MPLA.”

The first step in the attempts to end the deadlocked peace initiative would be a meeting “somewhere in Europe during the next few days” with President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire — the mediator in the settlement attempts — to discuss the Angolan government’s reaction to a new ceasefire proposals put forward by Unita.

It is reliably understood that the meeting will take place this weekend at Mr Mobutu’s chateau in the south of France and will also be attended by American Assistant Secretary for State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen.

It is thought an MPLA representative might also be present.

“After seeing President Mobutu in a few days’ time we may first of all sign a ceasefire and resume negotiations with the MPLA,” he said. “If our proposals are accepted by the MPLA — and we have indications that they will — I think the ceasefire may be signed before the end of this month.”

The new set of proposals — which have been endorsed by the American government and Mr Mobutu — contains two amendments to the Gbadolite agreement:

● Any agreed ceasefire should be monitored by independent African countries, in addition to troops from the MPLA, Unita and Zaire.

● That prisoners being held by both sides should be freed under Red Cross supervision the day after a ceasefire is signed whereby direct talks between Unita and the MPLA will begin.

According to a precise timetable for peace outlined by Dr Savimbi, the African observers would enter Angola to monitor the ceasefire exactly three months after an agreement is signed.

Nine months thereafter — “in order to create the conditions to stabilise the country and to make the ceasefire hold” — a government of national unity should be formed.

Six months later elections would be organised for a constituent assembly, which would compile a new constitution for the country. Elections for a general assembly would then be held.
Pik in French talks on Angola peace bid

FOREIGN MINISTER Pik Botha is on his way to France to join important talks aimed at ending the Angolan peace deadlock.

Mr Botha is expected to attend a meeting tomorrow at the chateau of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Soko on the French Riviera.

President Mobutu is acting as mediator in the dispute between the MPLA government and Unita.

Also present will be Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and American assistant secretary of state for Africa Mr Herman Cohen.

Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem held talks with President Mobuto on Friday.

He has since left for Monaco — apparently expecting a call to join the French talks.

The high-level meeting has raised hopes that the 18-year Angolan civil war may at last be coming to a close.

Dr Savimbi himself held out the prospect of a ceasefire by the end of the month after a meeting on Friday with British Foreign Secretary John Major.

The expectations are that a face-to-face meeting between the Angolan government and Unita may take place early next month — possibly in Libreville, Gabon.

A spokesman for Mr Botha confirmed yesterday that he was on his way to Europe for the negotiations.

Although SA no longer supplies Unita, Pretoria's moral support and tactical back-up are vital elements in Dr Savimbi's strategy.

Although SA has made no secret of its continued moral support for Unita, it enjoys good standing among the parties — including the MPLA — because of its role in ending the foreign interference of its own and Cuban troops in the war.

The MPLA has said previous peace negotiations broke down because Dr Savimbi refused to keep an agreement to stand down and leave the country pending elections.

Unita has said there was no such understanding.

Speaking after his 30-minute meeting with Mr Major, Dr Savimbi proposed African observers should monitor the ceasefire.

He called for a government of national unity which would include both Unita and the MPLA, before multi-party elections were held.

He insisted his retirement was not a point of debate.

"Why should I leave the country? Every party has the right to have its own leader. We do not tell the MPLA who should be its leader."

"After seeing President Mobutu we may sign a ceasefire and resume negotiations. If our proposals are accepted by the MPLA — and we have indications that they will — I think the ceasefire will be signed before the end of the month," he said.

Historic

In terms of the proposals, prisoners held on both sides will be freed under Red Cross supervision the day after a ceasefire agreement is signed.

Three months afterwards, African observers would be stationed inside Angola, with the creation of a government of national unity following in six months.

The historic meeting between Mr Major and Dr Savimbi was the first between a British minister and a Unita representative.

US officials said Mr Cohen would pick up on the talks he started at separate meetings with President Mobutu and Dr Savimbi in Washington when the rebel leader met President George Bush on October 9.

The United States does not recognise the Angolan government and says its position will not change until there is national reconciliation.
Savimbi meets Mobutu to bolster peace accord

NICE — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi travelled to the French Riviera villa of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko on Saturday for a meeting designed to bolster a faltering accord between the rebels and the Angolan government.

The meeting yesterday was to include US Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs Herman Cohen and possibly a representative from the Soviet-backed Angolan government.

SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha was also on his way to France on Saturday to be "available to help" in talks between Mobutu and Savimbi, a statement from his office said.

Mobutu, who met US President George Bush in Washington in early October, has served as the major conduit of an estimated $40m in US arms and other supplies each year to Unita.

He also played a key role in mediating a brief truce between Savimbi and Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos reached in Gbadolite, Zaire, in June.

Divergent interpretations of the accord have emerged.

Dos Santos's position is that Savimbi agreed to temporary exile and to integrating his forces into the Angolan armed forces.

Savimbi, however, contends that the accord was to lead to free elections in which Unita might share power.

Savimbi refused to go to the last session of negotiations in Zaire, in spite of urgings from Cohen.

The Angolan government has asked for US recognition, arguing that it has fulfilled Washington's main demand by agreeing to the withdrawal of 30,000 Cuban troops by 1991.

US officials say diplomatic recognition will be withheld until the government agrees to hold free elections.

The US is concerned that if talks do not resume soon, Cuba may disrupt the pull-out of its troops.

London's Sunday Telegraph reports that British Foreign Secretary John Major is to launch a British peace initiative in Africa to end the Angolan war after a meeting on Friday with Savimbi.

The two met for 40 minutes during the Conservative Party conference, marking the first official recognition of Unita by the British government since 1975.

Whitehall sources say the Foreign Office is to pressure Luanda to accept face-to-face peace talks with Savimbi without preconditions. — Sapa-AP.
Mobutu hosts fresh talks with Savimbi

NICE. — Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko hosted a meeting yesterday at his villa on the French Riviera aimed at persuading Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to resume negotiations for a lasting peace in Angola.

Also present was Mr Herman Cohen, the United States Deputy Secretary of State for African Affairs.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha is attending the talks, being held at President Mobutu's luxurious estate overlooking the bay at Monaco. During a stopover in Paris Mr Botha said he had come to Europe "to be available, in the background, in case President Mobutu or any Angolan party asks for a South African contribution" to the effort to mediate a solution to the Angolan conflict.

A Zairean spokesman described the talks as "very delicate", referring to the crucial issue of what peace formula Dr Savimbi would accept as a condition for agreeing to a ceasefire. Dr Savimbi denies he agreed to go into exile and merge his guerrilla force into the Angolan army as announced after the June summit in Ghadafi, Zaire.

If President Mobutu is able to put together an agreement at the current talks African leaders will meet in Libreville, Gabon, this month for the formal signing of a ceasefire accord, the Zairean spokesman said. — Sapa-Reuters

UK peace initiative in Angola

LONDON. — The British Foreign Secretary, Mr John Major, is to launch a British peace initiative to end the civil war in Angola following a meeting at the weekend with Dr Jonas Savimbi of Unita.

"The 40-minute meeting was the first official recognition of Unita by the British government since factional fighting broke out in Angola on independence from Portugal in 1975 and represents a significant change in government policy towards Dr Savimbi's movement."

The high-profile meeting was held during the Tory Party conference and is in stark contrast to the lukewarm reception Dr Savimbi received from President Bush during a visit to Washington last week. — Daily Telegraph
Pik played ‘helpful’ role in Angolan talks

LONDON. — South Africa Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has played a helpful role in two days of secret talks in France that could revive the peace initiative in Angola.

Senior political sources say the talks, which ended yesterday at the French Riviera villa of President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, resulted in Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi declaring he was to return to the negotiating table.

Dr Savimbi reached an agreement in principle to negotiate with the Angolan president, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, at the summit meeting in Gbadolite, Zaire, last June but later retracted and refused to attend a further summit in Kinshasa last month.

The talks held yesterday and on Sunday at Roquebrune-Cap-Martin were hosted by President Mobutu in his role as Angolan mediator but officials say Mr Pik Botha played an important and helpful role.

Also present to emphasise America’s desire for peace in Angola was United States Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen.

Both the South African and United States governments had been bringing pressure to bear on Mr Savimbi to reopen talks.

Mr Cohen, who flew to Paris last night, said he was optimistic.

President Mobutu is said to be trying to organise a new conference to be attended by other African heads of state and by the leaders of both sides in the Angolan conflict.

The only press permitted inside "Del-Mare", President Mobutu's luxurious villa, was a television crew from Zaire.

Mr Botha reportedly said he supported Mr Mobutu's efforts as mediator in the “difficult task” of finding a peaceful solution in Angola.

He also said that in South Africa itself, “blacks and whites must sit down at a negotiating table” and that his country “needed to draft a new constitution”.

Mr Botha left Roquebrune-Cap-Martin without speaking to the rest of the press camped outside the villa but in a discreet statement issued through the South Africa embassy in Paris he said: “I brought the greetings of my State President to President Mobutu. I saw President Mobutu primarily within the framework of negotiations on Angola.

“It is of great encouragement to South Africa that all parties agreed on the role of Frelimo Mobutu as mediator. We trust that all parties will exercise restraint.”

A spokesman at the South African embassy, commenting on reports that South Africa wanted President Mobutu to revive collapsed negotiations by starting again from scratch, said that while South Africa had an obvious interest in peace in Angola, it was not laying down any conditions for talks between Unita rebels and the Angolan MPLA governement.

Mr Botha was understood to be returning to South Africa last night from Paris to be in time for the remaining deliberations of the Joint Commission between his government, Angola and Cuba on the Namibian peace programme.

Although technically a side-issue, the latest developments in efforts to revive the Angolan peace talks are expected to be on the agenda. — Own Correspondent and Sapa,
SA, Cuba, Angola agree to keep an eye on Swapo

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG.—The joint commission between South Africa, Cuba and Angola, which met here to discuss obstacles to the peace plan for Southern Africa, agreed on a mechanism to monitor the movement of Swapo forces across the Namibian/Angolan border.

This was disclosed yesterday by the chairman of the commission, Mr Neil van Heerden, after the all-day talks which will resume today.

Mr Van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, said the mechanism would enable them to monitor the situation on the spot.

Further details would be released at a Press conference after today’s session.

The extraordinary meeting between the three countries and two observer countries, Russia and the United States, is the second to be held in South Africa.

Also present were the Namibian Administrator-General, Mr Louis Plenaar, and the United Nations special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

The leader of the Cuban delegation, Mr Carlos Aldana, said there had been a “candid and frank exchange of views” at the meeting, expected to be the last before the UN-monitored elections in Namibia next month. However, certain aspects concerning the “unfulfilment of Resolution 435” still had to be thrashed out.

CUBANS HERE

Asked whether he was satisfied with the progress made, since the adoption of the peace plan, Mr Aldana said: “Two years ago we were still firing canons at each other. Today the Cubans are in Johannesburg.”

“The process is irreversible. However, we should not dramatise or idealise the situation.”

Mr Van Heerden said he was satisfied with the tone and contents of the discussions.

The leader of the Angolan delegation, Vice-Minister of Defence, Mr Venanciode Moura, expressed the wish that the pending elections would be free and fair.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Paris that France and Portugal have agreed to join the wide-ranging Angolan peace talks which on Monday focused on the Fik Botha-President Mobutu talks on the French Riviera.

Over the weekend, President Mitterrand was briefed on the South African standpoint by visiting Portuguese President Mario Soares who came there directly from Pretoria where he met President De Klerk.
Angola ceasefire on cards again

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

A ceasefire to stop the Angolan war could be signed within weeks, diplomats believe.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi cut short his European tour yesterday amid expectations that he would declare a ceasefire and begin talks with the Luanda government.

Unita sources said Dr Savimbi was returning to his headquarters in the Angolan bush to prepare his guerrillas for a possible ceasefire.

This follows a series of meetings in the south of France over the weekend.

These included separate meetings between Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, the Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem and Dr Savimbi.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha also met Dr Savimbi and President Mobutu in Europe to lend his weight to the ceasefire moves.

An important development was that Dr Savimbi and President Mobutu have patched up their quarrel over the June 22 Ghadolite ceasefire agreement, which collapsed amid accusations by Dr Savimbi.

During the weekend talks at President Mobutu's luxury holiday villa at Roquebrune in the south of France near Monaco, it seems that President Mobutu assured Dr Savimbi that Unita's supply route through Zaire was not in jeopardy.

Mr Botha returned to South Africa yesterday saying he was encouraged by the French talks.

Asked if the Angolan government was still insisting that Dr Savimbi should go into exile during negotiations, Mr Botha said that both sides had "political issues".

He said he believed if they insisted on putting forward political statements, it would be difficult to achieve a ceasefire.

Mr Botha said he had gone to France "mainly to listen and give the South African Government's point of view".

He said South Africa was not exerting pressure on anyone.

"At the most we are pointing out the alternatives."
Savimbi goes home amid ceasefire hopes

PARIS - Unita leader Jonas Savimbi cut short a European tour yesterday amid expectations that he will declare a ceasefire and begin peace talks with the Luanda government.

Unita sources said Savimbi was returning to his headquarters to prepare his guerrillas for a possible ceasefire with Angola's government.

Diplomatic sources said optimism in the Unita camp could only suggest that Savimbi had received some form of assurances of direct talks with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Assurances could have emerged in talks at the weekend between Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van-Dunem and Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, who is mediating in the Angola war.

Van-Dunem met Mobutu in secret at the president's villa in Roquebrune, near Monte Carlo, a day before Savimbi met Mobutu there.

"The talks were very positive for Savimbi," said a spokesman for France-Angola, one of the private groups that invited the Unita leader to France.

The spokesman said developments were so important that Savimbi needed to "prepare his forces for the next phase of peace negotiations". — Sapa-Reuters
Savimbi won't step down

JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Unita movement, says there is no question of his stepping down from the political scene in Angola, whatever the conditions set by the government or anyone else.

Dr Savimbi, who was speaking to several journalists before his departure from Paris yesterday morning, said he would not even go into temporary exile, it was reported.

He said he had been fighting for more than 20 years and his movement's diplomatic and military position was good.

Dr Savimbi said the signing of a ceasefire was now possible in coming weeks. — Sapa
Angola buries hero pilot of civil war.

LUANDA — Angolan military leaders yesterday attended the funeral of their top-rated fighter-pilot in the civil war against Unita, Lieutenant-Colonel Filipe Neto, who reportedly committed suicide last week.

Col Neto became an Angolan government hero in 1981 after fighting between the Angolan airforce and South African planes backing National Union for the Total Independence of Angola rebels.

MURDER

Government reports said Col Neto was the first Angolan pilot to shoot down a South African Mirage jet in a dogfight over southern Angola.

Later, however, Col Neto was convicted of the murder of a security guard in Luanda and given five years' jail.

The state newspaper Jornal de Angola reported Col Neto was on parole when he jumped to his death Friday from a five-story window in downtown Luanda's Sagrada Familia square. — Sapa-AP.
WARSHIPS FOR ANGOLA - REPORT

LONDON. - Angola is to buy up to 11 warships from the Spanish shipyard, Bazan, according to Jane's Defence Weekly.

The magazine reports that the deal follows months of negotiations between the two countries after Spanish Defence Minister Narcis Serra's visit to Angola on October 4.

Sources at Bazan indicate the deal could include a mix of "Cormoran" class fast patrol boats, PVZ type GRP high speed boats and landing craft. The "Cormoran" class vehicles would be equipped with 76mm guns, while the high speed boats may be armed with a 20mm cannon.
Angola buys more ships for its navy

LONDON. — Angola is to buy up to 11 warships from Spain, boosting its obsolete and badly run-down navy by nearly 50% and marking a further stage in its movement away from the Eastern bloc countries while turning to the West for assistance.

The latest edition of Jane's Defence Weekly in London reports that the deal to buy the warships, mostly fast coastal patrol vessels, from the Spanish shipyard Bazan is to go ahead after months of negotiations between the two countries.

According to authoritative statistics in the London-based International Institute of Strategic Studies' "Military Balance 1988/89", such a deal would substantially boost Angola's naval firepower, as it has only 24 "patrol and coastal combatant" vessels at this stage.

All the current vessels were supplied by the Soviet Union, and the decision to buy the warships from a Western country indicates a forced change in Angola's armament policy brought about partly by its crippling $1.5 billion (R8.96bn) debt to Russia, mostly for armaments.

Another factor in the switchover is the gradual withdrawal of Cuban and Soviet technicians, trained to maintain some of the high-tech weapon systems, however obsolete, and the inability of Angolan personnel to take over.

Spanish press reports indicated that the deal was for three fast patrol boats, six high-speed boats and two landing craft.

Equipment for the Cormoran-class vessels would, according to a Bazan source, include a 76mm gun, and the high-speed boats might be armed with a 20mm weapon. — Sapa
Angola may get multiparty govt

LISBON — Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem said yesterday that his country could have a multiparty system in the future and urged the United States to rethink its attitude towards the Luanda government.

Wrapping up a two-day official visit to Portugal, Mr van Dunem told reporters at a news conference that peace and prosperity in Angola would point the way for an adequate, future political system.

"It's still premature to say whether Angola is going to have one or two or three parties — that depends on economic and social development," he said.

"But it's enough to look at what's happening in Eastern Europe to have an idea that in the near future conditions could be created to have more than one party in Angola," he added.

DEEPER DEMOCRACY

Stressing the need for the southwest African country to expand economically before considering political change, Mr van Dunem said: "We are open to deeper democracy, but we can't put the cart before the horse."

"We think the United States should work towards a more realistic evaluation of the situation in our country," he said.

"Working together with African countries, we think the US will be able to understand the problem better," he said.

Dangling the 'carrot' of diplomatic relations with Luanda, Washington has pushed for direct talks between the government and Unita.

The United States still provides the rebels with an estimated $40 million (about R38 million) of aid a year. — Associated Press.
No secret agenda at talks

– Savimbi

By David Brann, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Unita leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi has defended his bargaining position at talks between his movement and the MPLA government of Angola in an article in The New York Times.

The article, published on Monday, appeared under the headline, "We have no secret agenda.

Dr. Savimbi said Unita believed the talks with the MPLA at Ghadellite, Zaire, last June were successful.

"We hope that two of the three main provisions — a ceasefire and direct dialogue between Unita and the Soviet-backed Angolan government on the political future of Angola — will soon be implemented. And we expect that national reconciliation, the third objective, will follow," he said.

The rebel leader said much confusion and misinformation surrounded what he agreed to in Ghadellite. There were those who said a secret agenda called for his exile and for the integration of Unita into the government's one-party Marxist structure. But, this was silly, he said.

"Why should Unita, which has never been stronger militarily and politically, surrender to the Luanda government in negotiations what the government could never obtain on the battlefield? Unita has not fought 29 years... only to throw up its hands in surrender.

Unita, Dr. Savimbi said, had not wavered in its struggle since 1975, when three Angolan liberation movements signed the Alvor Accord, which called for the establishment of a government of national unity. The transitional government was to be followed by free national elections.

The Angolan people were robbed of their chance for democracy when the MPLA, with Soviet weaponry and Cuban troops, occupied the capital and declared a People's Republic of Angola.

Elections were never held, and had not been held to this day.

Dr. Savimbi said Ghadellite had returned Angola to the issue of the 1975 Alvor Accord: how to unite parties of differing ideologies into a framework that would provide for a democratic and prosperous future.
Angolans take key Unita base

LISBON. — Angolan government forces have captured an important Unita rebel base in central Bie province, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported yesterday.

In a dispatch from Luanda, Lusa quoted a military source as saying the base at Xicungo in the southeast corner of the highland province fell without a fight, when rebels abandoned it.

The government troops captured a hoard of arms left in the base, including grenades, mortar shells and two anti-tank missiles, Lusa said.

The agency also quoted Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem as saying that an African summit on Angola's civil war will only go ahead if Unita rebels pledge to sign a ceasefire at the meeting.

Van-Dunem told a news conference in Luanda that, providing a ceasefire accord was signed, his government would then hold face-to-face talks with the rebels on "national reconciliation".

Reports of an imminent summit in the Gabonese capital Libreville, aimed at finding a peaceful settlement to Angola's 14-year-old civil war, have circulated throughout Africa in recent weeks though no date has been set. — Sapa-Reuter.
Bitter words as Unita and MPLA seek US support

WASHINGTON — Leaders of Unita and the MPLA exchanged bitter words and accusations in Washington this week as the two movements jockeyed to win American political and public support.

President George Bush met President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, mediator of the African Initiative to bring the two sides together.

A White House spokesman said that after the 30-minute meeting between the two presidents, Mr Bush had told Mr Mobutu the US stood firmly behind Unita.

He asked Mr Mobutu to settle any differences he might have with Unita so that he could get on with the job of promoting national reconciliation in Angola.

The question of Zaire cutting supply lines to Unita did not seem to have been a major issue in the White House talks.

There is intense speculation in Washington that the Central Intelligence Agency has organised alternative supply routes for Unita, including drops from aircraft flying in from the coast.

Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro van Dunem told a press conference in Washington that President Mobutu had cut Unita's supply lines through Zaire before he started mediating the peace talks between the two sides. He had done this in order to be neutral, he said.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi told a separate press conference in Washington he was unconcerned about reports that his supply lines through Zaire had been cut.

"Everything promised to me in the financial year 1988/89 has been received," he said.

Earlier, Mr van Dunem said he would not be prepared to accept the invitation from the Unita leader to meet in the US capital this week. Any meetings between the MPLA and Unita in Washington would further confuse the situation, he said.

A few blocks away, Dr Savimbi told journalists he was ready to meet the Foreign Minister immediately in order to get talks between the MPLA and Unita back on track.
Angola claims capture of top Unita base

LISBON — Angolan government forces have captured an important Unita base in Central Bie Province, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported on Friday.

In a dispatch from Luanda, Lusa quoted a military source as saying the base at Kuekungo in the southeast corner of the highland province fell without a fight, when rebels abandoned it.

The government troops captured a hoard of arms left in the base, including grenades, mortar shells and two anti-tank missiles, Lusa said.

There was no independent confirmation of the military source's claims and Lusa did not say why the base was strategically important or why the rebels abandoned it.

An African summit on Angola's civil war will only go ahead if the country's Unita rebels pledge to sign a ceasefire at the meeting, Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem was quoted as saying on Friday.

Lusa said Van-Dunem told a news conference in Luanda that, providing a ceasefire accord was signed, his government would then hold face-to-face talks with the rebels on "national reconciliation".

Sapa-Reuters
Pilot's shot plane escape

Mark, 21, crash-lands after bullets set aircraft on fire

By HAMISH McINDOE

A SOUTH AFRICAN civilian pilot has told how he cheated death when his low-flying aircraft — blaring political slogans from loudspeakers — was shot down near the Angolan border during the last days of Namibia's election campaign.

Nobody has claimed responsibility for ending the propaganda flight by the anti-Apartheid Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. The drama began in the early hours of election day when the 90000-volt electrical spark was sent out by the aircraft, which was carrying 70000 volts.

Mr Colin, also known as the "Black Eagle," crashed in a field near the village of Vange in the Rundu district.

"I was flying at 2000 feet above ground level when I saw a black smoke rising from the ground," he said. "I tried to avoid it but it was too late. The Reweboch crew landed and took me to the hospital."
Journalist held in Angola

WINDHOEK, Nambia — A missing Namibian journalist is held in Angola, his newspaper said Saturday.

The editor of the Republikein, Mr. Des Erasmus, said here that confirmation of staffer Mr. Martin Erasmus's detention in Angola was received from a colleague in northern Namibia on Saturday.

Mr. Erasmus said a colleague had spoken to Angolan soldiers at the Oshikango border post where Mr. Erasmus was last seen on Monday, and he was told the journalist had been taken deeper into Angola.

"Our information is that he was taken into Angola, and was allegedly assaulted."

Earlier reports said Mr. Erasmus was last seen speaking to Angolan soldiers just inside Angola on Monday. — Zapa
Angolan forces kill 76 rebels

LISBON — Angolan forces killed 76 Unita rebels for the loss of six soldiers in the first week of November, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported yesterday.

Angop also said 29 civilians died in the clashes scattered across the provinces of Bie, Huambo, Lunda-Sul, Benguela and Cuando Cubango.

The agency, monitored in Lisbon, gave no other details.

The Marxist government and the pro-Western guerrillas have both said they wanted to revive a ceasefire which collapsed in June after only two months.

International efforts to clear the final obstacles to fresh peace talks were continuing in various African capitals, diplomats said. — Sapa-Reuters.
Three months after the peace, 1,200 men attack

When Unita attacked the town of Samba Caju, they did not aim directly at the town's targets or even try to hold the town. They destroyed the only clinic, the power plant, the farming equipment and they captured civilians to use as free labour.

By JOHN MATTISON

The confusion of the withdrawal from Samba Caju.

About 15 civilians died in Samba Caju during the five-hour raid. The attack came at 5:30am while people were asleep.

"We heard the shooting and people started running," said Esperanza Antonio Canzinho. "I had two children, one on my back and one in my arms. I managed to get to the river, but then I slipped. The boy in my arms hit his head on a rock and died.

When Esperanza got to the other side of the river, she turned and saw her neighbours fleeing the rebel soldiers. Her father was running towards her, and towards the protective cover of the bush.

"He was running. I saw him coming. When he ran, he met the Unita people. One shot him and he fell on the ground. After he fell, Unita soldiers came with machetes and they started hacking him with machetes.

Esperanza was not the only one to see her family decimated that morning. A mother and her blind son were shot as she tried to lead him to safety.

Samba Caju is home to 69,000 people. Most of its 50,000 are children. It is the largest of the town's villages, and is held by the government. There is a small garrison but the rebels did not attack.

One of the residents is a medical clinic, a small one-storey building on stilts, with four separate rooms for patients. One of them is Adewu Gaga, the clinic's nurse.

Continuing Unita attacks are evidence the ceasefire has failed to bring peace to Angola.

Anti-personnel landmines have been laid on small dirt tracks in the farming districts. People of all ages and both sexes told stories of walking to the next farm or village on an errand, and losing a leg to an anti-personnel landmine.

Major José d'Souza is the commandant of the Unita military forces, Fapla, for the province of Cuanza Norte, which includes Samba Caju. He said that when Unita attacked the town, civilians came between government troops and Unita, restricting Fapla's fire. But government forces were heavily outnumbered.

By the time it was over, nine government soldiers had died, and two Unita rebels. The rest dismantled the road into the bush. It was a typical Unita ambush. Large numbers, with the element of surprise, in a brief attack against a town that is lightly defended.

Unita's treatment of civilians in attacks like these has not helped to win support outside its southern powerbase. But Unita is able to launch these kinds of attacks in most of the country's provinces, using military groups that sustain themselves in the forests and by looting.

Although Unita at first agreed to the ceasefire, since then it has stepped up its campaign against government-held towns.

The guerrilla leaders reject the ceasefire principle of integrating Unita into the government. During the attack on Samba Caju, they left behind some graffiti on a wall: "Abatuo integastro" which means "Down with integration." The raid on Samba Caju was intended as an attack on the ceasefire itself.

D'Souza says that the province over which he has control, Unita uses the ceasefire as a reason to attack government-held towns.

And they were hungry, so we transported food to the municipality of Cacau. And at that time they had carried out a massacre, they killed everyone and stole the food that we, the Angola government, had there to give them because they were hungry. Therefore we have to be each time more vigilant.

The government says 1,200 people have died since the ceasefire. The fact that Unita can hit a town so close to Luanda shows its forces are still operating with relative freedom. Government officials admitted that towns even closer to Luanda had been attacked in September.

Western diplomats in Luanda were surprised to hear saying that Unita barely adhered to the ceasefire at all, and that Fapla did abide by it, except in a few cases where acceptable explanations were volunteered by the Fapla high command.

Meanwhile, soon after the attack, came crop planting season. All Samba Caju's agricultural farming equipment was destroyed that morning in September. The government will be able to provide replacement equipment, eventually. But the new equipment will not arrive in time for the present planting season.

So that way the town is preparing the soil by hand, in the hope that they can produce enough food to sustain them until their ploughs and tractors are replaced.
Dusting off Angola's old railway

HUAMBO (Angola) — In a move that reflects growing confidence in Angola's economic future, Belgian engineers are preparing to reopen the war-torn Benguela railroad, once the main artery into Central Africa's rich mineral reserves.

If the $972 million (R1,5 billion) renovation is completed as planned in the late 1990's it will help the region's black-rulled countries reduce their economic dependence on South Africa. Opening the line would also ease the economic plight of Angola, because it would allow the port city of Lobito to become a primary terminal for regional trade.

Rewards

The first stage of the renovation effort, tentatively scheduled to begin this month, involves surveying the entire 1,550 km of rail track, as well as buildings, locomotives, railroad cars, bridges and telecommunications equipment. Because the railroad has been sabotaged by Angolan rebels, the engineers will have to travel under heavy guard.

"This whole thing could backfire if they come under attack," an African diplomat in Luanda said, "but while there are risks in this project, there are also potentially huge rewards."

The survey, to be conducted by Tractebel, a subsidiary of Société Générale de Belgique, the Belgian conglomerate, is the first extensive review of the line in more than a decade. Ninety percent of the railroad is owned by Société Générale through a London-based subsidiary, Tanks Consolidated Investments, and 10 percent by the Angolan government.

The project is especially important to Zaire, a leading producer of copper and cobalt, which once sent half of its trade on the Benguela railroad, and to Zambia, another leading mineral producer.

Risky though the project is, the railroad has a symbolic importance at least as great as its economic or political potential to countries who feel threatened by South Africa.

Completed after a quarter-century of labour in 1929, the Benguela runs from Lobito on the Atlantic coast, climbs 1,830 m to the fertile highlands, crosses the savannas of eastern Angola and cuts through Shaba Province in southern Zaire.
War veteran links SADF to Unita ivory slaughter

A FORMER top South African bush war veteran this week claimed Unita was involved in a massive ivory smuggling racket to finance its war efforts in Angola.

And Colonel Jan Breytenbach, brother of exiled poet Breyten, said the finger should be pointed at the SADF for collaborating with Dr. Savimbi in stabilising Angola’s elaphant and rhino population which now number a mere few hundred.

The ivory and rhino bones were transported through Namibia to South Africa from where it found its way to the Far East, he alleged.

A Defence Force spokesman said this week a board of inquiry, chaired by retired Brigadier Ben de Wet, had cleared the SADF of any involvement in the killing of game in 1977.

However, the inquiry found that small quantities of ivory, captured by Unita from Angolans in northern Angola, were transported by the SADF on behalf of Unita.

Bitter

Describing the Defence Force’s probe as “pathetic”, Colonel Breytenbach told the Sunday Times that the inquiry had “missed the boat” of conserving game.

He said the probe hadn’t considered what basically happened.

“I operated extensively in the Okamonde area before I became a member of the Defence Force and only later did I move to the area of Unita’s activities. As a result I encountered large quantities of ivory and rhino bones.”

Colonel Breytenbach said he had complained to Dr. Savimbi about the damage caused by Unita and the Defence Force.

Hunting

“The threat is a real one,” he added.

By Matthew Curtin

“Art to aid the rhinos”

By Matthew Curtin

Rhino bones were used to make amulets by Unita soldiers and for sale to foreign tourists.

Greedy

The recent series of poaching and large-scale thefts of illegal ivory from South Africa and Namibia has been a source of concern.

Rhino bones were later distributed to foreign tourists and sold to foreign traders.

The illegal ivory trade is estimated to generate billions of dollars annually.

Col Breytenbach said he had complained to Dr. Savimbi about the damage caused by Unita and the Defence Force.

He added that Unita was not equipped to move these vast shipments out of the country.

“The million-dollar question is, even if we are told the operators maintain the pipeline,” he asked.

“Are we sure this is true? Some officials and foreigners were involved in a massive poaching operation.”

Units letters could not be reached for comment this week.

Nellie Butten with Armando Bardenoff and painting: Picture: STEVE GREENE
Exile demand stalls Angolan ceasefire

Own Correspondent

LISBON. — Efforts by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire to re-suscitate the Angolan ceasefire accord floundered at the weekend over renewed demands by the Luanda government that Unita rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi accepts temporary political exile.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa reporting from Luanda that Mr Mobutu's three-hour meeting over the weekend with his Angolan counterpart President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, failed to advance the process which has been stalled since July.

Lusa, quoting a diplomat involved in the talks, said they had been a "fiasco" with an angry Mr Mobutu returning to Kinshasa virtually empty-handed.

The Zairean president has been leading a multi-African effort to get the two warring Angolan factions round a negotiating table to end a civil war which has lasted since independence from Portugal in 1975.

A terse communiqué issued at the end of the meeting spoke only of an "exchange of views" and it was clear no progress had been made on key demands by both sides to end the fighting. These include Luanda's insistence that Mr Savimbi accepts temporary exile during the transition period to peace and a new order in the country.

The rebels for their part refuse to consider exile or Luanda's proposals for the two armies to be amalgamated and are demanding an immediate exchange of some 2,500 prisoners of war.

Earlier reports from Luanda had indicated that preliminary soundings on ceasefire proposals seemed certain to be accepted by both sides. Mr Mobutu's trip was being hailed as a breakthrough process, begun on July 22 with a deliberately vague ceasefire agreement.

"It is thought here that Mr Dos Santos has been forced to take account of the increasing discontent among government hardliners opposing any deal with Unita."
UN officials inspect Swapo bases in Angola

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — As the last SADF convoy of 38 vehicles rolled out of Namibia, top UN officials flew to Angola to inspect Swapo bases which must also be vacated in terms of the UN Resolution 435 peace plan.

UN spokesman Fred Eckhard told reporters that the deputy UN force commander, Brigadier Daniel Opande of Kenya, and the UN representative in Angola, ambassador Mr B A Clark, flew to Angola this morning to carry out the inspections. UN information is that there are about 300 Swapo military personnel still in Angola, and that they have handed in their weapons and uniforms in preparation for their repatriation to Namibia.

Mr Eckhard said the Swapo fighters would not be allowed to return to Namibia with weapons, but added that he did not know what would be done with Swapo's arms which are still in Angola.

SATISFIED

The UN's 300 military observers have been closely monitoring the South African withdrawal and were satisfied it had been carried out in accordance with the settlement plan, said Mr Eckhard. He said the last convoy of 38 SADF vehicles was on its way out of Namibia and would have left the country by late yesterday or early today.

Mr Eckhard also disclosed that UN military observers had been permitted free access to South African military installations in Walvis Bay. This was because the SADF withdrawal included a rotation of troops from Walvis Bay, through Namibia, back to bases in South Africa.

Namibians could be in for some pre-Christmas belt-tightening when Administrator-General Louis Pienaar presents what will be his last budget in the territory.

The secretary for economic affairs in Windhoek, Dr Johan Jones, said Mr Pienaar would present an additional budget either at the end of this month or in the first week of December.

SHORTFALL

When Mr Pienaar presented the main annual budget earlier this year, he said there would be a shortfall of about R213-million on a total expenditure of R290-million. This was after financing of a deficit.

According to Dr Jones, Mr Pienaar will probably deal with the matter of financing the R213-million shortfall in the additional budget.

The 10 political parties which fought the recent UN-monitored Namibian elections have all been sent final, written warnings by the Windhoek municipality to remove their campaign posters, which festoon hundreds of telephone and electricity poles.

In addition to thousands of election posters all over Windhoek, there are probably tons of littered handbills.
Swapo bases in Angola to close

WINDHOEK. — Swapo military bases in Angola were expected to be closed by the weekend and plans are under way for the repatriation of about 300 Swapo soldiers, United Nations spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said yesterday.

He told a media briefing that Unita deputy force commander Brigadier Daniel Opare and UN representative in Angola Mr B.A. Clark were presently visiting Swapo bases.

In terms of the UN settlement plan for Namibian independence, the closing of Swapo bases had to coincide with the withdrawal of the remaining 1,500 South African Defence Force troops from the territory.

"It is anticipated that these bases will be closed this weekend," Mr Eckhard said, adding plans were being made to repatriate the remaining Swapo soldiers. — Sapa
Savimbi:
Angola's rights same as Namibia

LISBON. — The holding of free elections in Namibia shows Africans are ready for democracy, the leader of Angola's Unita rebels said in an interview published on Saturday.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said in the weekly O Liberal that the Namibian elections earlier this month were "an indication of the maturity of the peoples of Africa to carry out a democratic system".

"The rights of the Namibian people, not only in electing their leaders, but also in choosing their system, are the same rights of the Angolan people," he said in the O Liberal.

According to O Liberal's report from the rebels' south-eastern Angola bush headquarters of Jamba, Dr Savimbi blamed the government for the deadlock. He said the continued presence of Cuban troops allowed the MPLA to resist peace moves.

Meanwhile, Angola's Roman Catholic bishops appealed yesterday for free elections to end the country's 14-year civil war.

Issued by the Catholic Bishops Conference, the message called for an immediate ceasefire to stop the fighting that has "transformed the country into a sea of suffering". — Sapa-AP
Angola frees Namibian PoW at last

HAZYVIEW. — Namibia's independence process has taken another step forward with the closure of guerrilla bases in Angola and the announcement of a prisoner release long demanded by South Africa.

Angola announced yesterday it had released a black Namibian soldier, easing a dispute that had clouded a year-old agreement designed to bring peace to Southern Africa.

Angola made its announcement at a meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission linking Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

The dispute about rifleman Simeon Peter had threatened to overshadow the otherwise sunny atmosphere at the meeting, held in Hazyview, adjoining the Kruger Park.

The commission's role is to review progress of the agreement signed in New York last December under which Namibia gained independence from South Africa and Cuba withdrew 50,000 troops from Angola.

South African sources said the Cuban withdrawal was ahead of schedule.

Delegates ended the Hazyview talks with a statement saying the JMC would hold its next meeting in Luanda in February.

Meanwhile, UN officials in Namibia reported that Swapo closed its last remaining military bases in Angola on Friday.

UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said about 360 Swapo guerillas had been demobilised and would be returning to Namibia as civilians. — Sapa-Reuters
Family welcomes last PoW from Angola

TWO years, two months and five days after being captured by Angolan army Fapla soldiers in southern Angola, Petrus, of the SWA Territory Force's 101 Battalion, has arrived back in Namibia.

The SWATF's last prisoner of war, Rfn Simeon Petrus, returned home to Namibia yesterday afternoon after being handed over to the Red Cross and a representative of Namibia's Administrator-General Louis Pienaar at Jan Smuts Airport.

Petrus was handed over to administrator-general office director Koos Bauermester, and the head of the Red Cross in Namibia, Nicholas de Rougemont, who flew back to Windhoek with him.

Petrus was handed over at Jan Smuts Airport because the chartered aircraft in which he flew from Angola was to pick up Angolan and the JMC delegates who held talks with their SA counterparts in Hazyview on Monday.

A spokesman for Pienaar said Petrus was flown back to Windhoek in Pienaar's private aircraft and from there would return to his home in Owamboland.

Taken

"I feel great," said Petrus at Windhoek's Eros airport during an emotional welcome by his sister, Heleni Amuthem and father Petrus Israel, 73, of the Ondangwa district in Owamboland.

Petrus, 24, was taken prisoner by the Angolan soldiers in the Cunene province on September 24, 1987. He was then taken to the Fapla soldiers' base, where he stayed overnight, before going on to Lubango and afterwards to Luanda.

Jailed in a Luanda prison, he was transferred to a second prison in the city on December 28 last year.

On January 31 this year, he appeared in a Luanda court and was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

His sister told reporters: "I am so very happy. We are going to have a party to celebrate his return."

As a member of the now demobilised SWA Territory Force, Petrus will undergo the same procedures, and receive his full pay for the period he was in Angola, at Oshakati in the next day or two, official spokesman Gerhard Roux said.

Soldiers would be paid until the end of the financial year on March 31 next year, or until independence, when the new government would most probably take over that commitment, Roux added. Sapa
Angolans free SWATF

Petrus said nothing about his treatment in Angola, but told reporters he had been captured by Angola's Fapla military in southern Kunene province on September 24, 1987. Over three days he was moved to Kuito and then flown to Luanda where he was held in prison.

On January 31 this year he was sentenced by an Angolan court to 10 years in jail but was released into the care of officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Luanda three days ago.

Mr Roux said Mr Petrus was flown to Johannesburg in an Angolan military plane sent to fetch Angolans and Cuban delegates in the Joint Commission meeting held in the Kruger Park this week.

Mr Petrus's sister, Mrs Hlakisho, came south from Ovambo with their father in a Red Cross vehicle to meet the brother she last saw only days before he was captured. The freed soldier flew to Windhoek with ICRC representatives Mr Nicholas de Rougemont and Mr Kobus Bauermeester, chief executive in Mr Pienaar's office.

"We are very happy to have him back," said Mrs Amathunu. "My father has slaughtered an ox for a big feast. The group left Windhoek for Oshikakibika, near Uibanda, immediately after the news conference.

Small compensation for the long captivity is the back-pay waiting for Mr Petrus.

"He has to be demobilised, as all other members of the SWA Territory Force have been," Mr Roux said. "He will receive full pay for the two years, and also his salary up to the end of March next year, the end of the financial year.

FAMILY REUNION ... SWATF soldier Mr Simeon Petrus, 24, holds his father, Mr Petrus Israel, 73, in a silent embrace at Windhoek's Eros Airport yesterday after his release from Angola after more than two years imprisonment.
CIA plane crashes on U.N. military mission to Angola.
A HIGH-POWERED SA delegation headed by President F W de Klerk left for the Ivory Coast early this morning for a day of intensive discussions with President Félix Houphouët-Boigny.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, his deputy Leon Wessels and Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden accompanied de Klerk. The main item on the agenda was expected to be the civil war in Angola.

The Angolan peace talks have become bogged down since the collapse of the ceasefire agreed in June at Gbadolite. There have also been disagreements about what was agreed at Gbadolite.

After Unita expressed dissatisfaction about the mediation role being played by Zaire's Mobutu Sese Soko, there was speculation that Houphouët-Boigny could play a more prominent role in the talks.

But Portuguese President Mario Soares, who met Houphouët-Boigny this week, said the latter, a close ally of Unita's Jonas Savimbi, would remain in the background.

Savimbi also met the Ivory Coast leader last week. He later met officials from the SA Foreign Affairs Department.

The South Africans would be careful not to be seen as detracting from the role being played by Mobutu, but would be aware that some European countries, with extensive interests in Angola, were beginning to doubt the Zairean leader's ability to be a successful mediator.

De Klerk was also accompanied by a delegation from the National Parks Board for an announcement about SA aid to the Ivory Coast in this regard can be expected.

Houphouët-Boigny was expected to question the South Africans on the progress being made in removing obstacles to negotiations and the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela would almost certainly be raised.

De Klerk has said he will make one more unexpected announcement in December and it is possible he will disclose this to Houphouët-Boigny.
De Klerk flies to see Boigny

BY PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk leaves for the Ivory Coast this morning for talks with President Félix Houphouët-Boigny which will essentially attempt to resolve the civil war in Angola.

It will be Mr De Klerk's first overseas visit as head of state, although he did travel to Zaire and Zambia as leader of the National Party. It was the Zambian journey which prompted the final showdown with his predecessor, Mr P W Botha.

President Houphouët-Boigny, who is now 84, was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for his commitment to the peaceful resolution of Africa's problems, but was unsuccessful.

It is now being suggested that he wants to be the key figure in resolving the Angola problem and so line up another attempt at the prize.

To become the peacemaker in Angola, President Houphouët-Boigny will be trying to replace another South African “ally”, Zaire’s President Mobutu Sese-Seko, the current broker in the region whose attempts have not met with any success so far.

If the Ivory Coast president does succeed in replacing his Zairian counterpart he will have to overcome the same key problem, Unita’s Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The ruling MPLA government of President Eduardo dos Santos wants Dr Savimbi to go into exile at least temporarily as a pre-condition to negotiations. And, as the number of Cuban troops north of the 12th parallel dwindles over the next 30 months, MPLA anxiety is likely to grow.

Dr Savimbi is refusing to leave Angola and it is here that the South African head of state could play a key role.

The Ivory Coast president has already met Dr Savimbi in the Ivory Coast and today he meets another key player in the region. Mr De Klerk, who will be accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, will also brief his counterpart on developments in South Africa, such as the possible release date for Mr Nelson Mandela.
WASHINGTON — A CIA L-100 cargo plane, ferrying military equipment to Jonas Savimbi's US-backed Unita rebels, has crashed in Angola.

All four Americans aboard died, with several guerrillas who were passengers. 

Seen as an accident, rather than a shooting-down by the Angolan military, the wreck is embarrassing for the Bush administration.

US officials have only just complained to Moscow of Soviet bloc arms being found in a crashed plane delivering weapons to Marxist rebels in El Salvador.

President Bush plans to raise the shipments with President Gorbachev at this weekend's Malta summit. He feels that the Soviet leader has reneged on pledges to stop Cuba and Nicaragua from arming the insurgents.

The US flight reportedly marked the resumption of a covert CIA operation from Kamina air base in Zaire. — Daily Telegraph.
Downed aircraft belonged to CIA

WASHINGTON. — A plane that crashed in southern Angola, killing at least four Americans aboard, belonged to the CIA and was loaded with military supplies for US-backed insurgents, the Washington Post reported yesterday.

The State Department confirmed that the crash occurred on Monday in a remote area of south-east Angola, bordering Zaire, but gave few additional details. The CIA refused any comment on the report.

"The cause of the crash is unknown," State Department spokeswoman Ms Anita Stockman said. Zaire has long been known as a supply route through which US weapons have been shipped to Unita rebels.

"We have been in contact with Unita, which is attempting to clarify the circumstances of the crash," Ms Stockman said, adding that the State Department had no further information on the Americans. One of the victims was identified by relatives as Mr James Spessard, 31, a US Army employee from Maryland. — Sapa-Reuters
SA envoys on peace mission to Dos Santos

Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — Two top South African officials, believed to be from the Department of Foreign Affairs, have been on a secret visit to the Angolan capital for talks with President dos Santos.

Their visit is believed to be connected with South Africa’s part in formulating a new ceasefire plan for Angola. Agreement on the new plan is understood to be close.

The ceasefire initiative featured prominently in the talks between President F W de Klerk of South Africa and President Felix Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast in Yamoussoukro last week.

The ceasefire would be agreed between between President dos Santos’ MPLA government and the Unita rebels, led by Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Dr Savimbi said at the weekend he was ready to sign a fresh ceasefire agreement to end the 14-year-old civil war in Angola.

The previous ceasefire, reached with the help of African leaders at a summit Gbadolite in Zaire in June, broke down over a dispute over the terms of the agreement.

"I am ready to sign a ceasefire now, tomorrow, any time, any place," Dr Savimbi said in Kinshasa at the weekend after a meeting with President Mobutu.

The Zairean leader is reported to have outlined a new peace plan to Dr Savimbi during their 10 hours of talks. Zairean sources said all that remained to be done was to fix a time and a place for the signing of the ceasefire.

Case of wine

Dr Savimbi was due to meet with President Houphouet Boigny today.

The visit to Luanda by the two South African officials is thought to be connected with discussing the Angolan government’s agreement to the terms of the ceasefire and the signing arrangements.

The two officials, who refused to give their names, arrived in Luanda in an executive jet — in the cargo hold of which was a case of Nederburg wine, a gift for the Angolan president.

South African diplomatic sources are “optimistic” that formal diplomatic relations will be established with the Ivory Coast but cannot put even a tentative date to it, writes Peter Fabricius, of The Argus Political Staff.

They were reacting today to President De Klerk’s state visit to the Ivory Coast on Friday and Saturday when he received red carpet treatment.

Mr De Klerk said after meeting him that he hoped to establish diplomatic relations with the Ivory Coast. Such relations were “not a dream”. They could become a reality but he did not want to bind the government of President Houphouet-Boigny.

Police hunt dangerous robbery gang

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Police
Blast: MPLA accused

Angolan rebels accused the MPLA government yesterday of carrying out a weekend bomb attack in Luanda and again insisted, they were ready to end 14 years of civil war.

A communiqué signed by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi blamed the government for the Friday night blast in the Angolan capital, which injured 10 people. — Sapa-Reuter.
Cuba says 2,016 of its men died in Angola

The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA — Cuba announced yesterday that its death toll in the Angolan war was 2,016, a figure much lower than generally believed in the West.

The announcement came as the first Cuban bodies buried in Angola during the 14-year war were in the process of being repatriated.

About 1,000 more Cuban troops left Angola by ship from Luanda at the weekend for Cuba. This brings the number of Cubans who have left Angola so far to well over half the 50,000 Cuban soldiers who were here at the height of the war last year.
Science fiction Luanda

LUANDA — The capital city is the humid, drepressive reflection of the Angolan economy. A slum city where almost every single shop is closed down and all the buildings are dirty and derelict.

Or course one can look at it on the lighter side, as did one Western diplomat: "This is like science fiction, a best-seller science fiction," he said when questioned about the economy.

And indeed trying to follow the official Angolan economy is fiction, because it simply does not work.

Salaries, for example, have ceased to have any meaning at all. It is better to have a bottle of beer than an average salary of 11,000 kwanzas.

The case of beer can fetch you about 50,000 kwanzas in what the Angolans politely describe as "the parallel market.

At these markets, which proliferate in the outskirts of the Angolan capital, beers from Portugal, Holland, Ireland, Denmark and Belgium are readily available at an average of 1,000 kwanzas per bottle or can.

Imported water

At the official rate of 30 kwanzas to the US dollar that would be $3.33 but that rate exists only in the offices of the Angolan government or in the few hotels that function and where everything, including the water to drink, is imported and paid for in dollars.

In the real world of the Luanda population, the rate of the dollar is about 100 times more than the official one, selling at about $3,000 kwanzas to the dollar.

The imported beer is therefore very cheap, only about 33 US cents.

So, if salaried are meaningless and the currency worthless how do Angolans live in Luanda?

To use the local jargon you have to have a "science" and "parallel market" to dominate.

Angola is in deep economic trouble and, despite the assumption of its own economic recovery programme, pressure is building up for the IMF and the government to implement reforms faster.

JOAO SANTA RITA of our African News Service, who was recently in Angola, reports.

the scheme generally starts at your work place.

All workers are given a ration card which entitles them to buy at the official government prices a very limited list of goods, such as rice, cooking oil, toothpaste, soap and four litres of wine.

Whatever the case, the scheme then starts with the worker knowing what he needs to buy himself and bartering the rest with friends and other people who also have a "science".

"In Angola there is no such thing as Marxism-Socialism. Here we have schematic-socialism," quipped a local resident.

Government officials have access to shops where they can buy goods such as whisky and beer at the ridiculously low official price.

A bottle of whisky was selling at 759 kwanzas, a good "scheme" since you can sell that in the parallel market at between 50 and 100 times more.

At the entrance to the shop a few women, taking me for an official, were not interested in the whisky. "Como, please, come inside, get some beer," one of them asked.

Explaining a long time foreign resident: "Here we have a beer economy. If you take beer to the parallel market you know you can charge it for anything you want because beer, as a sought after commodity, can always be traded off for something else at an agreed value, "

Local residents of course make use of the few services that the State provides at ridiculously low "parallel" prices, such as petrol, which is plentiful, and air transportation.

Petrol sells at 25 kwanzas a litre, about 85 US cents at the official rate. In the real "parallel" economy, however, the government all that, that enables you to fill a 50 litre tank for less than a dollar.

A pirate taxi driver told me he made 80,000 kwanzas in a normal day of work where each trip costs 500 kwanzas.

His earnings are nearly eight times more in a day than an official monthly salary and more than the monthly official salary of the president!

He could travel to the southern town of Lobango and back by plane every day for the price of 11,000 kwanzas and still have a comfortable salary at the "parallel" rate and a millionaire's one at the official rate.

Chaotic situation

The Angolan government is now moving to put an end to this chaotic situation and has joined the IMF and the World Bank.

It is now closing down the government-owned shops and companies and handing back the stores to private owners in a move which the official newspaper said will "dynamise that economic sector".

But diplomats complained that, apart from the provinces, the reforms are being implemented too slowly.

The feeling in Luanda is that much more needs to be done much faster, or the Angolan fiction could become a nightmare.

Ironically, away from the high-class residence of the centre of Luanda, the parallel markets are most vividly mechanised.

They sell in the mud, unhygienic and primitive.

But the prices are lower, lower, lower.

The "chaotic" situation in Luanda has become almost a huge slum.

Q Picture by John Ryan

BEAUTIFUL FROM AFAR: Luanda, although retaining some of its beauty, has become almost a huge slum.
Way to Africa is through

SA links already explored

South Africa’s diplomatic offensive in Africa could soon gain impetus in Angola. JOAO SANTA RITA of the Star’s Africa News Service has spent a week travelling in Angola and found that contacts have already taken place.

LUANDA — On the day that 1 000 Cuban troops were driven noisily through Luanda’s streets on their way to the port to be taken home by ship, the South Africans arrived. The two officials from Pretoria arrived as South Africans usually do in Africa — secretly, quietly, visibly upset at being “discovered” by journalists — and with cases of Nederberg wine in the cargo hold of their executive jet.

But, as one Angolan pointed out, this time they had at least arrived in Angola at the invitation of the Luanda government. Indeed, the country’s roving ambassador, Mr Miguel Neto, gave them a warm handshake before leading them to the waiting Mercedes-Benz limousines.

No details have been given about the visit, which occurred on December 2, but it is clear now that both sides are willing to expand those contacts for political and economic reasons and that independent Namibia could become the bridge through which South Africa will finally gain economic access to Angola.

It is clear that the Angolan authorities are hoping that Namibia’s independence will not result in the upheavals that other African countries have known and that South African knowledge and business will continue to operate there.

In a way it was very good that Swapo did not gain a two-thirds majority, compromises will have to be reached and everybody now wants compromise," a senior member of the ruling MPLA-Party’s Central Committee told me.

In the southern town of Lubango, once a main Cuban air force base, two Namibian construction firms have already applied to work there.

Mr Lopo do Nascimento, Provincial Commissioner for Huila province, in which Lubango is situated, said there were also Namibian-based companies interested in opening supermarkets in Lubango and becoming involved in import and export businesses with Angola.

Asked if the authorities would object to the fact that many Namibia-based firms are South African, Mr do Nascimento replied: “For me they are Namibian companies.”

He added: “I think that the independence of Namibia will become very important for us and will lead to an intensification of contacts. The new order in southern Africa will be based upon this kind of relationship.”

Technicians from the Namibian water and electricity corporation, Swavee, have been in central Angola to inspect the Gove dam, which was being built before independence in 1975.

But it is not only via Namibia that South African companies could find in Angola a ready market for its products.

In the two or three hotels that still function in Luanda literally everything — mineral water, cold drinks, beer, butter, jams, canned fruit, wine — is imported from Europe.

Suspicions still high

The hotels — in which only US dollars are accepted — are managed by either Portuguese or French firms.

“South Africa could become Portugal’s biggest competitor in Angola,” said the MPLA Central Committee member, who did not wish to be named.

“We are aware that everything we now get from Europe is readily available much nearer and much cheaper. We are also aware that language barriers could easily be overcome because of the large Portuguese community in South Africa.”

But political barriers and suspicions of South African intentions are still high. Although almost all officials and civilians contacted were eager to hear about President F W de Klerk’s reforms and had high expectations of his government, they also did not tire of pointing out that in the past South Africa had made promises which it had not kept. The violations of the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique were often referred to.

Mr Roberto de Almeida, MPLA Party secretary for ideology, who is considered to be the number two man in the Angolan hierarchy, said Angola recognised that South Africa was an economic power in the region.

“In this region South Africa could become a partner in the economy, in the social services — in fact in everything. We thus see cooperation as much as possible long as South Africa expresses the same will and introduces the necessary changes that will lead to a healthy relationship with the states of the region,” Mr de Almeida said.

He said South Africa should change its bilateral policies and cease all support for “disruptive” groups in neighbouring countries. His government had been particularly encouraged by a recent statement by South African Defence Minister General Magnus Malan that South Africa had no intention of intervening militarily in any neighbouring country.
Unita is blamed for poverty and hunger

JOAO SANTA RITA of the Argus Africa News Service recently visited Angola and saw the horrors of the war.

CHIBIA (Southern Angola) — Jose Jumbo was so angry he did not notice the screaming of the two-year-old child he had picked up by the leg like a rag doll.

"It's all lies what they told you in Jamba," he shouted as the child screamed, head down, her small body twisting in terror from the strong grip of the old man.

"The Unita men picked up small boys like this and smashed their heads against the trees. They said we had been teaching them not to support Unita." He put the child on the floor and she ran for safety still crying. There was a scary silence under the thatched "djang" (a hut used for meetings) where the refugees had assembled to meet the "two South Africans who had been with Unita at Jamba".

Then Jose Jumbo shouted again, almost in desperation: "It's all lies what they tell you in Jamba." The assembled refugees murmured "hum, hum" in approval, some of them adding "lies, lies", clicking their tongues and shaking their heads in disapproval.

Area of support

Then the old man told his story. The Unita guerrillas had arrived in the early hours of the morning some two years ago in his village in northern Huila province near the border of Huambo province, the traditional area of support for Unita.

They had our vegetables — tomatoes, onions, cabbage. We had our cattle. They came and said Unita was not winning because of people like us who they said supported the MPLA.

They said we were teaching the boys to do the same. They killed them, smashing their heads against the trees. They grabbed a pregnant woman and cut her open.

The words came out in anger, with vivid descriptions of the atrocities. The rest of the refugees murmured "hum, hum" once in a while, some of them adding details to the story of murder. Then Jose Jumbo described how they found his son who had once been a soldier in the government army, FAPLA.

"They brought him before me. They said he was a traitor and I was responsible. They chopped off his forearms, then the rest of the arms; then they cut his body... in front of me." Jose Jumbo stopped talking. He was visibly incensed that I had told them that Unita claimed to be fighting for their liberation. There were tears, though. He just locked straight at me as he described in words and abrupt gestures his son's horrifying death.

Another refugee, Bernardo Benjamin, then recalled that Unita had kidnapped young women, taken their cattle away, burnt their crops. The villagers walked south ("a very long way — many days walk") with the children on their backs until finally they were picked up by government troops and later relocated to the small village about 30 kilometres from Chibia, a small village south of Lubango.

There they have built a school, a church (they are Adventists), and a health clinic that has a poster stating which medicines are essential to fight malaria, diarrhoea and fever.

Now, a drought in the area where the 140 families are has destroyed the crops they planted in their new village and the villagers have begun slaughtering the few head of cattle the government allocated them.

"It's not the drought's fault. Where we come from there is no drought. It is Unita's fault that we are hungry and poor," Jose Jumbo said.

The villagers murmured more "hums" of approval and some shouted "yes, it is true". They did not know how peace could be achieved — "we just want peace so we can go back to our land," one villager said.

But, if there was peace what about Unita and its guerrillas? Jose Jumbo stood up again to speak, his hands touching his legs, almost in humble attention.

"We will forgive them. We will not remember the things they have done. Tell your friends we are hungry now. If there is peace we must forget about the past..." The villagers clapped.
Jose Jumbo tells the story of his village... "Children like this had their heads smashed against trees." • Pictures by John Ryan.
LUANDA. — Unita rebels claimed yesterday that Marxist government forces had launched a major attack against Unita positions in south-eastern Angola.

Unita's Black Cockerel radio, monitored in Luanda, said government forces had begun a "suicide attack", pushing toward Unita's stronghold in Jamba, but gave no details of casualties in the fighting.

The government attack was aimed at the towns of Ongiva, Calundo and Tonga, on the borders of Cunene and Cuando-Cuango provinces, south of Cuito-Cuanavale, where the two armies fought a major battle last year, the radio said.

Meanwhile, the state-controlled daily Jornal de Angola claimed rebels killed an unspecified number of civilians in the drought-hit village of Tchimulo, in Huila province.

President José Eduardo dos Santos last week called for postponement of a summit of eight African leaders originally planned to discuss the Angolan peace process yesterday in Luanda. — Sapa-AP
Angola backs off from ceasefire

ANGOLA's President Eduardo dos Santos — under pressure from hardliners in his government — is backing off from ceasefire proposals negotiated by Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko in Nice recently, say diplomatic sources.

In the meantime, fierce fighting between the ruling MPLA and Unita rebels has erupted in south-eastern Angola during the past week. Sapa reports that 69 rebels and 14 government troops have been killed in the fighting.

Last week dos Santos called for an indefinite postponement of a summit of eight African leaders to discuss the Angolan war because the eight were too busy to attend.

SA officials said the planned summit followed international pressure, mainly from the US and Zaire. A ceasefire agreement between Savimbi and Dos Santos at Gbadolite on June 22 collapsed earlier.

After this, Mobutu held a series of meetings with Unita, MPLA and SA Foreign Affairs officials in Nice. The meetings were aimed at overcoming obstacles that had arisen since the ceasefire collapsed.

SA officials said after the meetings that a new ceasefire had been agreed and awaited signing. Savimbi, after meeting Mobutu in Kinshasa in early December, said he was ready to sign.

But SA diplomatic sources said Dos Santos had since come under pressure from hardliners in his government not to sign the ceasefire.

Angolan government sources estimate about 4,000 people have been killed in the conflict in the past six months.

Savimbi has said he regrets the government's new offensive.

"The next five days will see a fresh outbreak of war across the country, and on the Cuito Cuanavale front there will be battles of the greatest possible intensity," he said.
Fierce Fighting Erupts in Angola

69 Ulula Rebels Reported Killed in Fresh Hostilities

December 29, 1989

[Additional text not legible in the image provided]
ANGOLA - GENERAL

JANUARY - JUNE

1990
89 Angolans die in week of fighting

LISBON. — Angola said yesterday that 89 soldiers and civilians were killed over the past week in fresh fighting in the 14-year civil war.

The official news agency Angop said 45 Unita rebels, 17 government soldiers and 27 civilians died in actions from December 27 to January 2. Dozens of people were wounded, 15 rebels turned themselves over to Angolan authorities and one was captured.

Fighting has escalated recently despite renewed diplomatic activity to resolve the conflict.

A ceasefire agreed six months ago quickly collapsed amid mutual accusations of violations and disagreements over conditions. — Sapa-Reuters
Couple abducted to Angola

WINDHOEK.—A West German and his South African girlfriend were kidnaped and taken at gunpoint across the border into Angola while canoeing on Christmas Eve, police and witnesses said yesterday.

Mr. Axel Puhl, 43, a West German citizen who has lived in the South African-controlled territory of Namibia for 15 years, disappeared into Unita-controlled territory, friends said.

He and his girlfriend, Ms Anelise Gevers, were reported missing by workers at a mission hospital near the Kavango River when they did not return to their parked vehicles after setting off for a canoeing trip.

Police said witnesses reported seeing unidentified men firing at the canoes and forcing the two to the Angolan side of the river, where they were taken away at gunpoint.

Mr. Puhl works for Philips Telecommunications, an international company. The West German observer mission in Namibia said it had been notified of the reported abduction and was checking on it.

• Unita yesterday rejected the latest peace proposals from the Marxist government but pledged to seek a negotiated settlement to the 14-year-old civil war. — Sapa-AP
Dos Santos rules out poll with Unita

LISBON — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos ruled out all weekend any electoral contest with the rebel group Unita.

In an interview with Portuguese television four days before an African summit on Angola, Dos Santos defended a one-party system for his country.

Under his government's new peace proposals, only the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) would be allowed to contest elections as a party. Non-members could stand as individuals only, he said.

Asked if Unita could compete in the elections, he said: "As a political force we exclude this."

Unita, which has waged a 14-year war against the MPLA and its Cuban allies, says it wants a Western-style democracy with a multi-party system.

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon said the organisation would not accept Dos Santos's terms, as expressed in the interview broadcast from Luanda.

"It's a great disappointment for us. We had hoped he would use this opportunity to advance the peace process."

"He is against democracy, he doesn't want elections, he doesn't want an understanding with Unita. This means that he is prepared to continue the war," he said.

Dos Santos said a one-party state was the most suitable at this stage in Angola's development, though it might move gradually towards other forms.

Shot down

"We start from specific African realities, Angola is an African country," he said, adding that all neighbouring countries either had or were moving towards one-party systems.

The summit has been preceded by an increase in fighting which both sides say has taken more than 100 lives since Christmas.

Unita said earlier it had shot down a Hercules C-130 transport plane near the southern town of Menenge, killing most of those on board.

The government, in a statement reported by the Portuguese news agency Lusa, said the plane was hit, but managed an emergency landing. Only nine people were injured.

The leaders of eight African countries — Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe meet in the former Portuguese colony on Wednesday.

It is their fourth attempt to advance the Angolan peace process. A ceasefire agreed to six months ago quickly broke down.

Portugal's Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva is to visit the United States, Unita's principal backer, next week for talks with President George Bush.

Washington has been pressing for an end to the conflict with the phased departure of Cuba's 50,000 troops, half of whom have already left.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is due to pay his first visit for 12 years to Portugal later this month. Dos Santos said, however, he did not expect it to hurt his government's relations with Lisbon as the visit was a private one.
Dos Santos rules out party contest

LISBON. — Angola's Marxist President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has ruled out any electoral contest with the Unita rebel group.

In an interview with Portuguese television four days before an African summit on Angola, Mr Dos Santos defended a one-party system for his country.

Under his government's new peace proposals, only the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) would be allowed to contest elections as a party. Non-members could stand as individuals only, he said.

Asked if Unita could compete in the elections, he said: "As a political force? — we exclude this."

Unita, which has waged a 14-year bush war against the MPLA and its Cuban allies, says it wants a Western-style democracy with a multiparty system.

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon ruled out any possibility of his organization accepting Mr Dos Santos's terms, as expressed in the interview.

"It's a great disappointment for us," he said. "We had hoped he would use this opportunity to advance the peace process."

"He is against democracy, he doesn't want elections, he doesn't want an understanding with Unita. This means he is prepared to continue the war."

Mr Dos Santos said a one-party state was the most suitable at this stage in Angola's development though it could move gradually towards other forms.

The summit has been preceded by an upsurge of fighting which both sides say has taken more than 100 lives since Christmas. — Sapa-Reuters
Bank tightens up on student loans

JOHANNESBURG — First National Bank — one of the biggest lenders of student loans — is applying stricter criteria to granting loans this year.

A precipitating factor has been the high increases in university fees (between 10% and 18%) which meant that First National found it more difficult to help students with all of their loan requirements.

The other major lender, Volkskas, has not changed its lending policy, a spokesman said yesterday.

“Our book was growing too quickly,” said the sales manager of First National’s youth market, Mr. Kobus Bastiaanse. Last year 10 000 loans (about 2500) were first-time loans of an average amount of between R3 000 and R5 000 were granted.

According to Mr. Bastiaanse the bank had to restrain the growth in its student book in view of the fact that the bank was subsidising student loans. “The bank needs to get its student loan book into context with the rest of its lending portfolio.”

Mr. Bastiaanse said the reason for entering the student market in the first place was to secure the future business of the successful student.

Winders arrested

Mr. Robert Magistrate’s Court, said he had received a call from a local organisation Caritas, said he had been informed that a group of people had entered the forest carrying black bags.

“We reported this to the law enforcement officers who caught the people in the act of stripping bark off the trees,” Mr. Gray said.

He said it was suspected that the bark was used for medicinal purposes in the townships.

Environmentalists said that if convicted the people could face fines of up to R2 500 or two- and-a-half years’ imprisonment or both.

Windhoek residents 'abducted by UNITA'

WINDHOEK — Angolan rebels are thought to have abducted two Windhoek residents from northern Namibia, a police spokesman, Chief-Inspector Rieke du Rand, said last night.

The missing people are Miss Anneke Gevers and a Mr. Fuhle who parked their vehicles at a mission hospital in Kavango on December 24.

Inspector Du Rand said their disappearance came to the attention of the police when people began to inquire about the apparently abandoned vehicles at the mission hospital.

It is believed the two people went canoeing on the Kavango River on Namibia’s northern border and were forced at gunpoint into southern Namibia by UNITA.
FW bid to keep peace on track

IN A bid to prevent further clashes between Unita and Angolan government forces, President F W de Klerk last year sent an urgent letter to his Angolan counterpart urging him to keep the fragile peace initiative moving.

This was disclosed by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Pretoria yesterday. He said De Klerk had sent a letter to Angolan President Eduardo Dos Santos on December 22 1989 expressing his concern about the “imminent threat” of a major military offensive by Fapla forces.

Botha said De Klerk expressed the opinion that any escalation in military activity from “whatever quarter” would be a severe setback.

“The State President addressed an urgent appeal to Dos Santos to give practical expression to the spirit of reconciliation which had characterised events in our sub regions in 1989 so as to enable all Angolans to begin to find peace which had eluded that country for so long.”

Botha said that in a response Dos Santos replied his government was committed to achieving a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Sapa-AP reports that it was announced in Harare that a meeting of eight African leaders, scheduled to take place in Luanda today, had been postponed indefinitely.

The meeting was to discuss ways of ending the conflict in Angola.

Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva travels to Washington today for a two-day official visit that includes talks with President George Bush on southern Africa.

Last week, a top Portuguese foreign ministry official flew to Luanda for discussions with Dos Santos in advance of Cavaco Silva’s Washington trip, reports Sapa-AP.
Walvis Bay in draft plan for new Namibia

WINDHOEK. — The inclusion of Walvis Bay in the national territory of Namibia is one of the provisions in the draft constitution for Namibia, which has been leaked to a Swapo-supporting Windhoek daily, the Namibian.

The draft constitution, which was handed to the standing committee of the Constituent Assembly on Monday, also outlaws the death penalty and allows conscientious objection to military service.

Besides the SA-held harbour enclave of Walvis Bay it repudiates South African territorial claims to the islands along the Namibian coast and the northern half of the Orange River between the two countries.

The newspaper yesterday published details of the document, which still has to be reviewed by the standing committee, assisted by three prominent South African lawyers, before it is presented to the assembly on Friday.

It provides for apartheid and racial discrimination to be outlawed and made into criminal offences by an act of parliament.

An executive state president will be head of state and head of government, as well as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. He will rule in conjunction with a prime minister and cabinet. A president will be allowed to serve only two five-year terms.

The right to maintain private schools is guaranteed, provided admission is not along racial or ethnic lines.

The economy would provide for mixed forms of ownership, ranging from public to private, and foreign investment would be encouraged. — Sapa-Keuter

Unita captives 'well treated'

WINDHOEK. — A West German man and his South African girlfriend, freed by Unita rebels after being kidnapped at gunpoint while canoeing on Christmas Eve, had been well treated during their captivity, police here said yesterday.

Mr Axel Puhl, 43, a West German who has lived in Namibia for 15 years, and his girlfriend, South African citizen Miss Anelise Gevers, were handed over at the Angola-Namibia border on Monday.

SWA Police, meanwhile, are investigating a large cache of arms and ammunition found buried in northern Namibia on December 22, SWA Police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said.

Residents 10km south of Ondangwa in Ovamboland reported the cache to Unita, who notified the SWA Police.

Police were investigating the possibility the Nato arms had been stolen, Inspector Du Rand said. — Sapa-AF
Another Step at Peace in Angola

Wall of Command.

My government...
New bid to bring peace to Angola

ANOTHER African summit on the 14-year-old Angolan war is in the offing.

JOHN RYAN of the Argus African News Service, who recently visited Angola, discusses the prospects of a ceasefire in an atmosphere of intensified fighting and claims of MPLA military successes.

Leaders from eight African countries were due to meet in Luanda soon in another effort to revive Angola's moribund peace plan.

The meeting has already been postponed twice. Last month, it was called off at the behest of the Angolan president, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and was supposed to take place today. Yesterday it was put back again because of the "indisposition" of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The time, in general, for such a summit hardly seems propitious. The south-eastern part of the country is embroiled in the most intense fighting for nearly two years. Weather the Fapla army reportedly hurling airborne troops against Unita positions north-west of the rebel organisation's Jamba headquarters.

According to both sides, more than a hundred combatants have died since Christmas. The government claims to have gained a major victory on December 20 by capturing the strategic town of Mavinga, only 230km from Jamba.

If so, the hardliners in the regime of President dos Santos are unlikely to relish the prospect of any ceasefire agreement at this stage with Jonas Savimbi so heavily under siege.

The eight who will be meeting in Luanda - who ever they can get the act together - are the leaders of Angola, Gabon, Congo, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It will be their fourth attempt to advance the peace process.

A ceasefire agreed six months ago by the government and Unita at Gbadolite in Zaire soon broke down, with President dos Santos and Dr Savimbi accusing each other of violations.

Also at issue was the claim by several African heads of state that Dr Savimbi had agreed to go into exile and had accepted that his guerrillas be integrated into the Fapla forces. The Unita leader denied any such agreement. He said it would have been tantamount to surrender.

Some diplomats maintain President dos Santos has changed his mind about amicable dealings with Dr Savimbi, since that historic handshake at Gbadolite to seal a pact between them, and is backing off from the sort of ceasefire proposals President Mobutu is trying to sell in his position as mediator.

Certainly the Angolan president's attitude of late could not be called conciliatory.

In an interview with Portuguese television on Saturday, he ruled out any electoral contest with Unita and defended a one-party system for his country.

Under his government's new peace proposals, he said, only the ruling MPLA would be allowed to contest elections as a party. Non-members could stand as individuals only.

Asked if Unita could compete in the elections, he said: "As a political force? We exclude this.

Unita insists it wants a western-style democracy with a multiparty system and, after the Saturday broadcast, a spokesman in Lisbon ruled out any possibility of the organisation accepting President dos Santos's terms.

"He is against democracy," the Unita spokesman said. "He doesn't want elections, he doesn't want an understanding with Unita. This means that he is prepared to continue the war."

Continuing the war may well be President dos Santos's foremost intention at the moment. Not necessarily to the point of Unita's total destruction, more likely in the hope of laying waste to Jamba and killing Dr Savimbi or putting him to flight.

No doubt most Angolans would like to see Unita defeated, and the military and political demise of Dr Savimbi. He is a hated man in the north of the country and in provinces like Huambo and Bie where Unita landmines have killed and maimed thousands of civilians, and where rebel atrocities have put many more thousands to flight.

An interesting reaction to suggestions that Dr Savimbi should be involved sooner rather than later in a new dispensation for the greater good of Angola came recently from the MPLA's secretary for ideology, Roberto de Almeida.

Mr de Almeida, generally regarded as the strong man behind President dos Santos, told the Africa News Service in an exclusive interview in Angola before Christmas: "Savimbi is morally responsible for this situation."

"He is practically and morally responsible for all the crimes that have been committed against our people..."
Savimbi rebels face Luanda onslaught alone

The Argus Foreign Service

JONAS Savimbi's Unita rebels are launching another full-scale military offensive -- this time without the help of South Africa.

First reports are surfacing of an extensive government offensive which has reportedly been under way since December 21 in southeastern Angola -- site of Dr Savimbi's Jamba headquarters. Unita says the onslaught is the reason Dr Savimbi has postponed a two-week European tour due to have begun this weekend.

And in Washington Unita' lobbyists are pushing for a dramatic increase in US military support.

This year Unita faces the annual rainy season MPLA offensive without the support of the SADF -- for the first time since the early '80s.

The SADF was withdrawn from Angola as part of the Namibian settlement deal.

This time the MPLA is said to be helped by members of Swapo forces still in southern Angola. While there have been no indications of Cuban activity, the US State Department has expressed concern that at least 100 Soviet tactical advisers are reportedly behind the MPLA push to gain control of the strategic town of Mavinga.

CALL FOR AID

The capture of the Mavinga airstrip would bring Jamba within range of the MPLA's MiG aircraft and, according to one source, MiGs have already attacked positions near Mavinga.

Sources close to Unita in Washington say a case is being made at the highest level to immediately increase US aid to the rebels.

The State Department said on Monday that it was concerned about the MPLA offensive and reported Soviet assistance "at a time when Unita is prepared to agree to a ceasefire and unconditional negotiations."

It is reported in Lisbon that while there were reports of increased fighting, diplomats said Dr Savimbi's tour postponement was probably due to diplomatic efforts to re-start Angola's ceasefire negotiations.
Angolan plan to strike at Jamba

By GERLAD L'ANGE of the Argus Africa News Service in Johannesburg

ANGOLA'S Fapla government forces - reputedly assisted by Swapo troops - are reported to have made significant advances against Unita since launching their offensive on January 1 and may now be a serious threat to the Unita-held town of Mavinga, the gateway to Jamba, stronghold of rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Up to 10,000 men are thought to be massed against Unita in what appears to be an attempt to drive Unita rebels from Jamba now that they no longer have the protection of South African forces.

Pressure

Military strategists believe the fall of Mavinga would make it virtually impossible for Unita to hold Jamba. This in turn would undercut the international pressure on the MPLA to negotiate a peaceful solution with Unita.

Elements of Swapo's Plan forces were reported to be stationed in southern Angola before the Namibian independence elections in November.

Resolution 435, on which the election was based, and technically would continue to be so.

The Swapo units have been involved in fighting Unita forces at Pup Pe and Fonde in the past few days, well-placed sources say.

This has been corroborated by information obtained by the Argus Foreign Service bureau in Washington where David Braun has been told that three Swapo infantry battalions might be involved.

Sceptical

Braun reports that State Department sources are sceptical of Unita claims that 7,000 Fapla troops have been thrown into the offensive.

However, other sources have estimated that the forces massed against Unita could be as strong as 10,000 men. They believe Fapla has at least eight brigades, including an artillery brigade, as well as several tactical groups in the region in addition to the Swapo battalions. A brigade usually numbers about 1,000 men.

The Fapla forces are said to be at Cahama, Ongiva, Malungo and Fonde.

Sources say forward command posts of the 25th and 59 brigades have been established east of Cuito Cuanavale, the strategic town where Cuban-supported Fapla forces and South African-supported Unita forces were engaged in a crucial battle in 1988.

At least six tactical groups are said to be in position east of Cuito Cuanavale and north of the Lomba River, where South African artillery turned a powerful Fapla advance in the same year.

Heavy convoy movements have been reported from Zangongo, Ongiva and Fonde.

The Fapla offensive supports information that hardliners in the MPLA government in Luanda and in the military believe Fapla can drive Unita out of Jamba now that the rebels have been deprived of South African support.

Peace initiative

It is thought the hardliners have been opposing the peace initiative undertaken by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire with the backing of key African states, the United States and - ostensibly - the Soviet Union.

Some analysts believe the Fapla offensive, if not intended to defeat Unita, could be aimed at weakening Unita's negotiating position and strengthening that of the MPLA.

It could also be intended to undermine Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimba and boost President Jose Eduardo dos Santos before his visit to Washington next month.

Dr Savimba has postponed a two-week visit to Europe, due to have begun this weekend, apparently because of the turn of events on home soil.

Although reports have said this week that Mavinga had been captured by the MPLA forces, there has been no confirmation and it appears likely that it is still held by Unita.

Fighting has been reported on the Lomba River, which runs north of Mavinga, and the Cuanzumbela east of Cuito Cuanavale.

Braun has been told by Washington sources that it has started raining in the area - but not heavily enough to affect the attackers. If the rains continue for another week they could be in serious trouble.

The Fapla forces are said to be more lightly equipped than usual and this is said to have helped them to advance with extraterritorial speed.

Soviet advisers

There are indications that at least 100 Soviet advisers are directing tactics from the rear - prompting a protest this week by South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha.

There are no indications in Washington that Cubans are involved, although 25,000 Cuban troops are still deployed further north and could free Fapla troops for the offensive.
Luanda tense following

Unita attack on resort

LUANDA — The Angolan capital was tense yesterday after reports of a major attack by Unita rebels against a popular beach resort about 100 km from the capital.

A report on the state television network TPA said the rebels seized the resort of Cabo Ledo earlier this week.

Reports said Unita held the town for several hours before retreating ahead of a government advance backed by tanks, helicopters and Cuban troops.

The television report showed burning buildings and cited witnesses saying the fighting had killed and wounded many people. – Sapa-AP.

IMPASSE

● The Star Bureau in Washington reports that Portugal and the United States are considering new ways to break the impasse in Angola to prevent the country slipping back into a situation of violence.

The latest Soviet-backed MPLA offensive on Unita featured high on the agenda at yesterday’s meeting between President Bush and the Prime Minister of Portugal, Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva, at the White House.

A White House spokesman said the two leaders agreed that ever effort should be made to bring about the goal of national reconciliation in Angola.

He said there was recognition that there was now an increased military danger in Angola.

"As you know, the MPLA government has launched an offensive in southern Angola against Unita forces, and clearly both leaders do not wish to see the situation internally in Angola slip back into one of violence," said the spokesman.

"There are lots of possibilities, though, of how one can break this impasse and re-engage on the question of national reconciliation.

"Part of the effort, as you know, has been through the mediation of President Mobutu.

"But there are other ways. Both leaders agreed that both countries have to be deeply involved in this." The spokesman said Mr Silva had proposed new ideas as to how the impasse could be broken, but said these could not be disclosed as discussion between the two governments was continuing.
Untag begins its withdrawal

By BRENDAN SEERY of The Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek

Under a cloudless blue sky in mid-morning temperatures climbing into the low 30s, many of the 130 Canadian soldiers on their final parade in Namibia were already thinking of home.

Home that most of them have not seen for at least five months while on duty in their country's contingent in the Untag peacemaking force.

Home that now, in mid-winter, is wrapped up well against sub-zero freezing weather. Home they will see next week, the first contingent to be shipped out as part of Untag's phased withdrawal as the Resolution 435 peace plan heads for its conclusion at the country's independence.

Medals

Sprightly, white-haired General Dewan Prem Chand — commander of the UN troops in Namibia — told the blue-bereted Canadian men and women on parade: "I know there will be many yellow ribbons waiting for you in your home towns when you go back".

Handing out UN "campaign" medals to the Canadians, General Prem Chand praised them and added: "Very few people had imagined that everything would go do well. I certainly did not".

The Canadian contingent, which has been in charge of the logistics aspects of the Untag operation, has already handed over its duties to the Polish contingent.

With the exception of about 25 officers and NCOs who will remain with the Untag headquarters element in Windhoek, the other Canadian soldiers will start flying home over the next few days.

The commander of the contingent, Colonel Mike Jeffrey, said Untag had not finalised withdrawal plans for its 4500 troops, but that it was likely most UN troops would be on their way home shortly after independence day, which is likely to be some time in March.

Canadian policemen — Mounties — sent here as part of the 1500-strong UN police monitoring group, will remain indefinitely.

At a reception after the medals parade, many of the Canadian soldiers admitted they were looking forward to going home, although they were sure it would be difficult adapting to snow and sleet after the heat and dryness of Namibia in the middle of a drought year.

Welcoming

Warrant officer Frank Porter — the contingent's chief cook, who has served on six previous UN missions — said he had found Namibians welcoming people, and had made many good friends here.

The biggest problem for him was trying to keep the troops supplied with "good old home food". Ketchup (tomato sauce) found on Windhoek's shop shelves, was just not up to standard, and was one of the priority items flown in.

Warrant officer Porter said he would be pleased to be going home to base in Victoria, British Columbia — "I despise the heat" he added grimly.

Sergeant John McDonald, also a veteran of previous Canadian UN missions, said Namibia was "very civilised" when compared to places like the Middle East.

He found Namibians "more reserved than people in Canada", but said he had got on well with local residents — although he avoided sensitive topics like politics.

Colonel Jeffrey said 500 Canadians had served here in two contingents, which each completed a five-month tour before being rotated back home.

Criticism

Although there were many criticisms which could be levelled at both the civil and military organisation of the UN mission in Namibia, said Colonel Jeffrey, the whole operation went off remarkably smoothly considering the diversity of cultures and methods involved in the multinational UN group.

He said Canadian soldiers had acted as ambassadors for their country and had made many friends here.

"In fact I have lots of soldiers who don't want to go home because they have formed romantic attachments here" he said.

At least one man in the contingent will be taking a Namibian bride with him when he goes home next week.
LUANDA — The Angolan capital was tense yesterday after television reports of a major attack by Unita rebels against a popular beach resort some 100km from the capital.

A report on state television said the rebels seized the resort of Cabo Ledo this week. It said Unita held the town for several hours before retreating ahead of a government advance backed by tanks, helicopters and Cuban troops. It said some 100 guerrillas were involved in the attack.

Government officials were reportedly worried at the rebels' capacity to strike so close to the capital.

Military sources here, meanwhile, said government forces were intensifying an offensive against Unita strongholds in south-east Angola.

The sources said government troops had temporarily halted their offensive before the strategic rebel base of Mavinga, 1100km south-east of the capital, but were flying more troops and equipment to the south-east.

More than 31,000 Cuban troops have left Angola in the past year, senior UN officials said.

The withdrawal of Cuban troops began on January 10 last year. The agreement calls for 33,000 Cubans to leave by March 31 this year and the remaining 20,000 by 1991. — Sapa-AP-Reuters
Confusion in Angola over war casualties

LISBON. — As fighting rages in Angola between government forces and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita, conflicting reports of casualties have come from each side.

Unita said it killed 63 soldiers and destroyed three tanks and 21 other military vehicles in "violent" engagements this week in south-eastern Kuando Kubango province.

It acknowledged 13 dead and 86 wounded in fighting along the Kunzumbia River, about 60km east of Cuito Cuanavale.

SCATTERED ACTIONS

In contrast, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, reported troops killed "more than 40" Unita troops in scattered operations between January 3 and 9 against a loss of 22 dead and 42 wounded. The agency made no reference to any major offensive against Unita's south-eastern strongholds.

Unita, however, denied recent reports that it had lost its stronghold at Mavinga, and said the situation in Kuando Kubango was "under control".

Angop said Unita ransacked the fishing and resort village of Cabo Ledo, only 120km south of Luanda, killing seven soldiers and civilians and blowing up the local power station.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa, in a dispatch from Luanda, quoted a survivor as saying many of the estimated 100 attackers were "uniformed and armed" women.

Military sources in Luanda said government forces were intensifying an offensive against Unita strongholds in south-east Angola.

Meanwhile, Portugal and the United States are considering new ways to break the impasse in Angola to prevent the country slipping back into a situation of violence.

The latest Soviet-backed MPLA offensive on Unita featured high on the agenda at yesterday's meeting between President George Bush and the Prime Minister of Portugal, Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva, at the White House.

According to White House spokesman Mr Raymond Seitz, the two leaders talked at length about Africa, particularly southern Africa, South Africa, Mozambique, and had a detailed exchange on Angola. — The Argus Correspondents and Sapa-AP.
LUSAKA. — Unita rebels have blunted an offensive by government troops in south-east Angola, a senior US official said.

"We hope now that the government seems to be defeated by Unita they can think again and find a way to the negotiating table," Assistant Secretary of State Mr Herman Cohen said on Friday.

He was speaking in a television satellite interview with African journalists in several countries, including Zambia.

Mr Cohen urged the Angolan government to rethink its position and accept negotiations with Unita without preconditions, as proposed by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Angola has said almost nothing about the reported offensive, though the foreign ministry in Luanda said on Thursday its troops had engaged in defensive actions only.

African efforts to find a peace settlement in Angola are at a standstill following the postponement of an eight-nation summit.

Mr Cohen said the US would continue its support for Unita, estimated to be running at $50 million (about R125m) a year, but would end it as soon as there was a political solution. — Sapa-Reuters
MiG bombs Namibian village by mistake

WINDHOEK. — A Soviet-made MiG fighter aircraft from Angola attacked a hamlet near Bangani in Kavango, northern Namibia, about 11 am yesterday, police spokesman Chief Inspector Riette du Rand said here.

The border stretch between Kavango and Angola is clearly marked by the Kavango River.

Inspector Du Rand said there had been no casualties or damage to property. Initial indications from a bombed ground hole two metres deep and four metres wide were that napalm or phosphorous devices had been used, he said.

He said the bombing had occurred about 11 am and that the pilot might have mistaken the village for a Unita base.

"We're trying to establish what happened," Inspector Du Rand said.

The incident coincides with reports of heavy fighting between Unita rebels and the troops of the Marxist government in Luanda following a breakdown in ceasefire negotiations in the 15 year civil war. — Sapa, UPI

© US calls for settlement in Angola — Page 4
US aid for
UNita's
defensive peace efforts

LUSAKA - U.S. aid will be expected in Angola by the US military leadership, who have joined a political solution to help the MPLA in Angola. The American aid is part of the US military and political leadership in the Front for National Liberation, who have worked together.

The United States of America, represented by the US military and political leadership, have joined a political solution to help the MPLA in Angola. The American aid is part of the US military and political leadership in the Front for National Liberation, who have worked together.
Angola denies jet bombed village

LUANDA. — Government and military sources here yesterday denied reports that an Angolan Air Force jet fighter had bombed a village in northern Namibia.

It was reported from Windhoek that a Soviet-built MiG fighter had bombed a village near the town of Bangani on Sunday, after apparently straying from a raid against Unita rebels in southern Angola.

A top Angolan government source said the report was fabricated by South Africa and the United States as a possible justification for eventual South African support for Unita inside Angola.

Namibian administrator-general Mr. Louis Pienaar, however, yesterday summoned Angolan charge de affaires in Windhoek, Dr. A.B. Ribeiro, to protest against the bombing.

The Angolan government source also said South Africa was preparing to aid Unita if a government offensive against rebel-held territory in south-east Angola threatens the Unita headquarters at Jamba.

Military sources contacted in Luanda yesterday said a government central committee meeting was expected to approve the continuation of the offensive against the Unita positions.

The meeting began yesterday and was slated to last five days. — Sapa-AF
Israel cuts detainee's prison term

JERUSALEM. — Israel yesterday reduced peace campaigner Abie Nathan's prison term for meeting PLO leader Mr. Yasser Arafat from six months to four months, citing good behaviour.

Nathan, jailed on October 10, will be freed on February 9.

The popular broadcaster was originally sentenced to six months in prison for breaking a law that bars contacts with members of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Nathan met Mr. Arafat in Tunis in 1988. He said he had no regrets about the meeting and refused an offer to be freed in return for a promise never to see PLO representatives again. — Sapa-Reuters

Unita alleges big MPLA offensive

LISBON. — Unita yesterday accused the Marxist Angolan government of waging a big offensive and said it was mobilising throughout the country in response.

Unita said it wanted to sign a new truce but that government actions had forced its guerillas to fight back.

"Unita accepts and confirms that for the MPLA (government) there is no negotiated solution but a military solution," Unita chief Dr. Jonas Savimbi said in a statement issued in Lisbon.

"We are ready to sign a ceasefire without preconditions. But forced into armed combat, we are prepared in the entire country," he added.

The Luanda government says it is fighting in self-defence, but US officials report that a big thrust against Unita's southern strongholds has been largely blunted by Unita.

Both sides have reported particularly heavy losses over the past three weeks in some of the fiercest fighting since a short-lived truce collapsed five months ago.

Zairean mediators have been struggling to revive the initiative to halt 15 years of war raging since Portugal gave up its African colonies.

The Unita communiqué was issued as the central committee of the MPLA party met and the new fighting was expected to be high on the agenda. — Sapa-Reuters
SA, US deny fabricating bomb attack

WINDHOEK. — South Africa, the United States and the Namibian administration yesterday denied allegations by Angolan government and military sources that South Africa and the US had fabricated a bomb attack on a village in the northern Namibian region of Kavango to justify possible future aid to Unita rebels.

SWA Police spokesman Chief Inspector Klerie du Randt announced earlier that the phosphorous bomb had been dropped by a Soviet-made MiG jetfighter on Sunday morning, narrowly missing a village near Bagani, about 4km inside Namibia.

Reports on Monday quoted anonymous Angolan government and military sources denying any involvement in the incident.

They said the report had been fabricated by SA and the US to justify military aid in the event of an Angolan government offensive threatening Unita headquarters at Jamba in southeastern Angola.

Unita still receive an estimated $40 million (about R100m) in aid from the US every year.

On Monday, Namibian administrat-

tor general Mr Louis Pienaar called in the Angolan charge de affaires to protest at the violation of the country's airspace.

Chief Inspector Du Randt said Angolan MiGs were often seen flying in the area. He said Angola was the only country which had any fighter aircraft stationed near the Kavango region.

Mr John Sunde of the SA Interests Office in Windhoek said SA was not involved in the incident and declined further comment.

Military experts who declined to be named, speculated that the MiG would have taken off from the airstrip at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola.

They said the bomb was dropped at the outside range of a MiG flying from this base, which seemed to indicate that the pilot was on a mission against an Angolan base just north of the border when he overflown his target, realised that he had just enough fuel to make it back to base and dropped the bomb to lighten his aircraft.

Namibian television on Monday night showed footage of police removing burning pieces of phosphorous from a huge crater.

Nobody was injured in the attack. —

Sapa
Angolans 'ready for peace talks'

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Both Angola's Marxist government and the Unita rebels reaffirmed their commitment to a negotiated peace settlement yesterday but traded accusations of escalating military attacks.

In a communiqué distributed in Lisbon, Unita said it remained ready to sign a ceasefire "without preconditions".

The rebels, however, warned they were primed for combat "across the whole country" if necessary.

In Luanda, Foreign Minister Mr Pedro Castro Van-Dunem said continued fighting was "no solution" to the 14-year conflict.

Blaming Washington for blocking a ceasefire accord, he charged Unita had launched "a big offensive" aimed at seizing Angola's northern borders with neighbouring Zaire.
Quayle may visit SA before year's end

WASHINGTON — The US administration is quietly weighing up the possibility of sending Vice-President Dan Quayle to SA before the end of the year.

While no decisions have been taken, and many in the administration remain cool about the idea, one scenario under discussion is that he will make a brief, low-key stop-over after attending independence celebrations in Namibia in late March or early April.

Less likely, but also under consideration, is a more formal mid-year visit.

Former Vice-President Walter Mondale and George Bush when he was Ronald Reagan's deputy, were assigned Africa as a special niche, and Quayle is known to be interested in continuing the tradition.

Meanwhile, travel plans for Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen are more certain.

He leaves for SA tomorrow.

He is also scheduled to see Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda prior to his visit to Washington next month at the invitation of Transafrica lobbying group director Randall Robinson.

Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva last week urged Bush to take a more active role in expediting a settlement in Angola. Cohen is expected to lay the groundwork for a meeting between Dos Santos and US Secretary of State James Baker.
HARARE — A much delayed Angolan peace summit of eight African leaders will be held this month, Angolan officials in Harare said yesterday.

"Angola wants and is working towards a summit meeting this month," an official said, confirming media reports from Luanda. He said a venue had not been fixed.

The summit, postponed several times last year, was due to have opened on January 12, but was put off indefinitely after Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko said he was too busy to attend.

"President Mobuto is still mediator," the official said.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said in a recent interview the summit should clarify and redefine the Zairean leader's role as mediator. — Sapa-Reuters.

The ANO news agency reported from Moscow, there were no Soviet advisers in the zone of combat operations in southern Angola. It quoted Gennady Gerasimov, head of the information directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, who at a press conference last June, said Zaire's specialists and the US continued to supply military aid to the Unita anti-government grouping.

"Angola's internal conflict, as Moscow believes, can and should be settled only by political means. Specific steps in this direction were made last June in Zaire," Gerasimov said.

He stressed a political solution to the Angolan problem was possible only if all foreign military interference was stopped. — Sapa-Reuters.
Angolan summit this month

HARARE. — A much-delayed Angolan peace summit of eight African leaders will be held this month. Angolan officials here said yesterday.

"Angola wants and is working towards a summit meeting this month," an official said, confirming media reports from Luanda. He said a venue had not been fixed.

The summit, postponed several times last year, was due to have opened on January 12 but was put off indefinitely after Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko said he was too busy to attend.

President Mobutu has led international efforts to end the war which has raged for 15 years between Angola's Marxist government and pro-Western National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebels.

"President Mobuto is still mediator," the official said. He said he did not know of any attempts to find a new go-between.

President Mobuto scored a public relations coup last June when he persuaded President Dos Santos and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to meet.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said recently that the summit should clarify and redefine the Zairean leader's role. — Sapa-Reuters
Angola spells out new peace plan

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — The Angolan government has offered Unita rebels political reform, including elections within five years, reports Lusa, the Portuguese news agency.

An eight-point peace proposal made public in Luanda insisted, however, that a one-party state be maintained, as well as Angola's socialist identity.

The proposal emphasised that the rebels must recognise the government as legitimate before a ceasefire could take effect and direct talks begin. Unita guerrillas must also be integrated into the armed forces.

Unita has previously rejected these demands and called for multi-party elections and a Western-style democracy. It has said it will sign an immediate ceasefire. Fighting apparently increased over Christmas.

The plan was the long-awaited response to Unita proposals made through the mediation of the Zairean President, Mr Mobutu Sese Soko, in October.

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon said the organisation was waiting for the official response through Mr Mobutu.
LUANDA, Angola. — SWAPO leader M disappears Sam
Nujoma ended a 24-hour working visit with Ango-golan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos here
yesterday. The military situation on the Angola-
Namibia border was thought to have been one of
the topics discussed.
Namibia moves to curb border bandits

WINDHOEK — Namibian police and their UN monitors have stepped up patrols along the border with Angola amid growing concern over an upsurge of cross-border banditry.

But the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) yesterday refused to reveal details of a report it has compiled on lawlessness in the north of Namibia.

Namibian and UN police have reported an escalation in banditry since Angolan government forces and Unita rebels intensified fighting at the end of last year.

Armed men wearing items of uniform from both sides have reportedly been crossing into Namibia and robbing, pillaging and rustling cattle.

A Uniting spokesman said yesterday: "Banditry is of increasing concern. I cannot give figures. The matter is under discussion between local and UN police."

He said a group of 10 armed men raided eight coca shops (shebeens) about 3km inside Namibia on Friday night, stealing goods valued at about R3 500.

"Six cows were also stolen from a farm nearby. The South West Africa Police are investigating."

Residents believe they are either Unita fighters or members of the MPLA government's army separated from their units.

Lightning visit

Fierce fighting has been taking place in recent weeks around Unita's stronghold in south-eastern Angola.

Namibian president-designate and Swapo leader Sam Nujoma is reported to have discussed the issue with Angolan government officials and with President Eduardo dos Santos during a 24-hour lightning visit to the Angolan capital, Luanda, at the weekend.

The Namibian, a pro-Swapo newspaper, said the military situation on the border was on the agenda of talks between the two leaders.

In terms of a UN independence plan expected to result in sovereignty for Namibia in about April, there are 1,500 police monitors assisting some 4,400 troops and more than 1,000 Unita civilians.

The troop strength is in the process of being scaled down, but police are expected to remain at full strength until after independence.

Namibia's independence plan is tied to a phased and simultaneous withdrawal from Angola of some 50,000 Cuban troops who have been helping Luanda's forces fight Unita.

Diplomatic observers and political analysts believe peaceful independence in Namibia cannot be achieved without the end to civil war in Angola which neighbouring African states have been battling to bring about in recent months.
Businessmen visit Angola

WINDHOEK — A group of 15 prominent Namibian businessmen are to leave for Luanda today to hold talks with government officials and businessmen in the Angolan capital.

The trip was announced yesterday by the Angolan ambassador-designate to Namibia, A Ribeiro, after a meeting with businessmen and Swapo president Sam Nujoma.

Ribeiro said his government had requested him to make arrangements for a suitable delegation — even though the trip had been organised at such short notice — apparently as a result of Nujoma’s recent visit to Luanda.

Among the advantages for Namibia of trade with Angola was that the latter was one of the world’s cheapest fuel suppliers, Ribeiro said.

Sources said the visit would primarily be a familiarisation trip and follow-ups would be needed before trade links between the two countries became firmly established. — Sapa.
Cuba suspends troop withdrawal after raid

HAVANA — Cuba, accusing Washington of backing a "terrorist act", said yesterday it was temporarily suspending withdrawal of its troops from Angola following the killing of four Cuban soldiers by US-backed Unita rebels.

A Cuban Foreign Ministry statement said the suspension would remain in effect until Cuba received an explanation for Sunday's incident and was satisfied Unita would not continue to attack its forces during the withdrawal.

In Lisbon, Unita yesterday said it regretted the deaths of the four Cubans. It said it was unaware the Cubans were present during an attack on government troops.

Yesterday, the South African Foreign Minister, Mr. P. Botha, said he did not consider it to be in the interests of furthering the peace process in Angola to make any public comment on the matter at the moment.

In Washington, a US State Department spokesman yesterday said Cuba's refusal to continue pulling its troops out of Angola could indicate that it did not really seek peace.

Ms. Margaret Tutwiler said the US government had asked the Cuban Foreign Ministry to clarify the situation.

"Failure to continue the troop withdrawal in accordance with the schedule established by the accords will call into question the commitment of the Republic of Cuba and the People's Republic of Angola to the search for peace in south-west Africa," she said.

An estimated 50,000 Cuban troops began a phased withdrawal from Angola last January under an accord signed between Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

All the Cubans are due to leave by mid-1991.

In return, South Africa agreed to halt support for the rebels and grant independence to Namibia.

Unita rebels did not sign the accord but pledged not to attack the Cubans as they withdrew.

News reports from Havana said Cuba and Angola temporarily suspended the troop withdrawal pending an investigation into a Unita raid on a water pumping station guarded by Cuban troops on Sunday. The attack left four Cubans dead and seven wounded, members of the UN verification force confirmed.

The US Assistant Secretary for African affairs, Mr. Herman Cohen, spent Wednesday in Luanda conferring with Angolan officials, but Ms. Tutwiler said she had no news on his talks. — Reuter-AP.
HAVANA has halted the withdrawal of its troops from Angola, following a clash with US-backed Unita rebels which left four Cuban soldiers dead.

The surprise move, announced by the Cuban foreign ministry yesterday, immediately raised fears that the almost-completed Namibian independence process could still falter.

Cuban withdrawal is a key element in the complex set of protocols and accords of 1988 involving South Africa, Cuba and Angola, which cleared the way for Namibian freedom.

As agreed, South Africa has reduced its troop strength to 2,500 in Namibia, and 31,000 of Cuba's estimated 50,000 soldiers in Angola have already gone home. The rest are due to be out by mid-1991.

Cuba's decision — described as "temporary" — comes after persistent reports of renewed fighting between Unita and the Fapla forces of the Angolan government.

While it could present a danger to the sub-continental peace accord, it is unlikely to prompt a dramatic response from South Africa.

In a process which has been characterised by periodic crises, some serious and others ephemeral, it is thought that all sides have too much to lose by a collapse of the painstakingly-achieved deal, and that this will lead to a cool-headed approach to the latest problem.
Cuba suspends troop pullout

HAVANA—Cuba's accords with Washington are in effect, the Cuban government said on Saturday, suspending troop movements from its island as a sign of good faith.

The agreement, reached in Havana on Friday, provides for the withdrawal of all American military personnel and equipment within a year, and for a gradual reduction of Cuban forces in the region.

Under the terms of the accord, which was signed by the presidents of the two countries, Cuba will begin withdrawing its troops from bases in the Americas immediately, and will withdraw all its remaining forces within 12 months.

The accord is expected to end a bitter conflict that has been raging for decades, and to open the way for improved relations between the two nations.

The accord is seen as a major victory for Cuba, which has long been isolated by the United States and its allies due to its support for the guerrilla movement in Central America.

The accord also includes provisions for economic cooperation and cultural exchange, as well as for the establishment of diplomatic relations.

The accord was signed in front of a crowded audience in Havana, which erupted in wild celebrations as the news of the agreement spread across the island.

In a statement, President Castro said the accord was a historic moment for Cuba, and that it would be a source of pride for generations to come.
WINDHOEK — Officials were tight-lipped yesterday about the meeting of the joint commission's subcommittee, which started on Wednesday and which continued yesterday, to discuss the security problems on Namibia's northern border with Angola.

Attending the meeting were commission members South Africa, Cuba and Angola, with the Soviet Union and the United States as observers.

Also granted observer status were the United Nations Transition Assistance Group and representatives of Namibian political parties.

The office of the Administrator-General said yesterday there would be no statement from the meeting.

But it has been learnt that the meeting discussed the border violations by units of the Unita movement crossing into Namibia from southern Angola, cattle-raiding in northern Namibia allegedly carried out by Unita and the attack with phosphorous bombs last week on a northern Namibian village by a Soviet-made MiG fighter plane said to belong to the Angolan MPLA government.

The meeting also discussed possibly measures to tighten security along the troubled border.
Cubans halt pull-out after Unita raid.

LUANDA — Cuban troops scheduled to fly out of Angola under a UN-monitored withdrawal programme remained in the capital yesterday, as Havana halted the pull-out in protest against the killing of four Cuban soldiers by Unita.

A Cuban diplomat said only civilians had left in the past 24 hours.

An estimated 30,000 Cuban troops supporting the Angolan government began a phased withdrawal last January, under an accord between Angola, Cuba and SA. Unita was not party to the accord but pledged not to attack departing Cuban forces.

Reports from Havana said Cuba and Angola temporarily suspended the troop withdrawal pending an investigation into a Unita raid on a water-pumping station guarded by Cuban troops. The attack left four Cubans dead and seven wounded, members of the UN verification force confirmed.

But yesterday Unita said it had not known Cubans were guarding the position attacked on Sunday. — Sapa-AP.
SA, Angola agree that 'everything is on track'

WINDHOEK: Despite the threat to peace in southern Africa early yesterday, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha and his Angolan counterpart, Mr Alfonso van Dunem, left Namibia late yesterday positive that everything was still on the right track.

The two ministers were in Windhoek to discuss the implications of the attack by Unita on Cuban soldiers which left four dead and 11 injured, and saw Cuba threatening to stop the withdrawal of the remainder of its troops stationed in Angola as agreed in the settlement plan leading to Namibia's independence.

The Joint Commission comprising Cuba, Angola and South Africa would meet soon to discuss the matter, "Luckily we have agreed on structures to deal with such crises," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha also held talks with Administrator-General Mr Louis Fienaar, United Nations special representative Mr Martí Altisara, Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma, and DTA leader Mr Dick Mudge.
Pik in emergency bid to save accord

By PETER KENNY in Windhoek and KEN POTTINGER in Lisbon

FOREIGN MINISTER Pik Botha flew to Namibia this weekend for an emergency meeting with his Angolan counterpart in an attempt to rescue the faltering Angola peace plan.

'Mr and Mrs Piks' Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dinsum decided to hold talks as soon as possible with Cuban officials in Luanda to persuade Havana to reverse its decision on Thursday to suspend its troop withdrawal.

After the meeting, Mr Botha was optimistic the crisis would soon be resolved.

The United States and the Soviet Union will also attend the meeting as observers.

Members of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group for Namibia will also be present.

Havana suspended its troop withdrawal from Angola after four Cuban soldiers, including a water purification plant in Angola were killed, and 11 wounded by Unita guerrillas.

Mr Botha also held talks with Swapo leader and Namibia's president-to-be, Sam Nujoma, on bilateral matters, including the South African Customs Union.

Mr Botha described these talks as 'very satisfactory'.

Visit

He declined to answer questions about whether the Cuban decision would delay Namibia's independence expected in late March or April, saying: 'The danger of interpretation may exacerbate the situation rather than cool it down.'

Meanwhile, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi began a six-day private visit to Portugal yesterday, as his bush forces remained locked in battle to contain a fierce MPLA effort to overrun their base in south-eastern Angola.

Dr Savimbi, on his first visit to Portugal since 1975, is to hold unofficial talks with President Mario Soares and other government figures.

On the eve of his departure for Lisbon Dr Savimbi told reporters, Luanda, was engaged in its 'biggest ever effort' to dislodge the rebels from their Jamba headquarters.

Since December 23, four infantry brigades, two air defence brigades, two artillery brigades, six motorised groups and a tank company, backed by MiG air cover and 7,000 soldiers have advanced to within 50km of the vital rebel airfield at Mavinga, 400km north-west of Jamba.
Unita leader in Portugal for talks

LISBON. — Unitas leader Dr Jonas Savimbi began a nine-day private visit to Portugal on Saturday. Dr Savimbi, who has led anti-Marxist forces in a 14-year-old civil war against the Soviet-backed MPLA Angolan government, was welcomed by thousands of his supporters during a heavily guarded public appearance in central Lisbon.

The guerrilla leader, on his first visit to Portugal since the four-party Alvor accords that gave Angola independence were signed in 1975, is to hold unofficial talks with President Mario Soares and other government figures.

The Portuguese have mounted a major security operation to protect Dr Savimbi, amid rumours that Angolan government assassination squads have infiltrated the Portuguese capital in a bid to kill him.

Wiping out Dr Savimbi would greatly reduce the concessions the Luanda government is being pressured to make in stalled Zairean-mediated peace negotiations with Unita.

Meanwhile, back in Angola, his bush forces remained locked in a pitched battle to contain a fierce government effort to overrun the rebel's south-eastern Jamba base.
ACMISTACG

STOCK OF

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG

ACMISTACG
Savimbi says no to ‘suicide’

LISBON — Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi says it would be tantamount to suicide for his Unita movement to accept a one-party state as demanded by the country’s Marxist government.

"It’s out of date, even for the conditions in Angola," he said in a television interview on Saturday after arriving in Portugal for his first visit in 15 years.

"Who today in the world would accept a one-party system?"

Savimbi dismissed the peace proposals presented by President José Eduardo dos Santos in a New Year’s speech as sophistry which did not advance the faltering peace process.

He was scornful of Dos Santos’s suggestion that independent associations could exercise political freedoms under the one-party rule of the MPLA.

"Associations to be controlled by one political party? That does not represent anything," he said. "That is not democracy. I cannot accept that."

"You don’t ask a man to commit suicide to gain peace."

Unita, which has fought the MPLA since independence from Portugal in 1975, is demanding a Western-style, multi-party system.

The issue is at the heart of the impasse in peace efforts led by Zaire’s President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Savimbi, 55, appealed to Portugal to join the peace efforts, something it has been reluctant to do. But he denied suggestions that he had lost faith in Mobutu’s initiative.

Dos Santos, in a similar interview three weeks ago, ruled out the prospect of fighting elections against Unita. He argued that a one-party system was more appropriate for an African country in Angola’s stage of development.

But Savimbi would not accept that.

"Can it be that Africa is different from the whole world? Man’s necessities, his aspirations, his expressions are the same whether in Europe or in Africa."

The Unita leader’s visit, which includes talks with President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Aníbal Cavaco Silva, underlines his enhanced diplomatic stature since his meeting with Dos Santos in Zaire last June.

Savimbi is also trying to mobilise support among Portugal’s large expatriate Angolan community. He appealed to them on Saturday to return to their homeland to help rebuild it.

— Sapa-Reuters.
Cuba claims to have killed 13 Unita soldiers

The Star's Africa News Service

Cuba yesterday gave details of the rebel attack in central Angola last week which has led to the suspension of the Cuban withdrawal from the country.

Four Cuban soldiers were killed in the attack.

In a statement to the Angolan news agency, Angop, the Cuban Ministry of Defence said Unita rebels had used missile launchers, machineguns and 60 mm mortars in the attack against a small town near the port of Lobito. The attack was repelled and 33 Unita soldiers were killed, the statement said.

Cuba denounced the United States for its continuing military support to Unita and stressed that the Cuban forces in Angola were all stationed north of 13th parallel as stipulated by the tripartite agreements with Angola and South Africa.

Cuba said it considered continuing US aid to Unita as provocative and a sabotage of the agreements.
Savimbi requests peace meeting with Dos Santos

LISBON — Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi yesterday called on Marxist President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to meet him face-to-face to try to end the 15-year-old civil war.

"It is very important for us to have this meeting, first of all to get to know each other," he told reporters.

The two men met before African mediators in Zaire last June. But the two sides disagreed later about what had been agreed and the fighting continued.

The Zaire meeting enhanced Savimbi’s diplomatic stature, encouraging Portugal to receive him for the first time since 1975.

Luanda denounced the visit yesterday as the culmination of a vast publicity campaign by Portuguese conservatives.

Dos Santos said earlier this month that he had no objection to Savimbi’s visit as it was a private one.

The rebel leader has met President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva. The latter stressed that he received Savimbi in his capacity as leader of the ruling Social Democratic Party, not as head of government.

Cuba suspended the half-completed withdrawal of its 50,000 troops last week after four of them were killed in a Unita attack.

Savimbi said it was a mistake and Unita was in contact with Havana to reassure the Cubans that it would not happen again.

The rebel leader said he had spoken by telephone earlier yesterday with US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen about the latter’s recent visit to Luanda.

Cohen was in London to talk about the next steps in the peace process with the Soviet Union and with Portugal’s Foreign Ministry Secretary of State Durao Barroso, Savimbi said.

Savimbi has called on Portugal to use its good relations with Luanda to help bring about peace negotiations. But he denied strongly that he had lost faith in the mediation of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The rebel leader said fighting was continuing unabated on two fronts in southeastern Angola.

Savimbi forecast that the war would end before 1991. — Sapa-Reuters.
Cuba claims to have killed 13 Unita soldiers

The Star's Africa News Service

Cuba yesterday gave details of the rebel attack in central Angola last week which has led to the suspension of the Cuban withdrawal from the country.

Four Cuban soldiers were killed in the attack.

In a statement to the Angolan news agency, Angop, the Cuban Ministry of Defence said Unita rebels had used missile launchers, machineguns and 60 mm mortars in the attack against a small town near the port of Lobito. The attack was repelled and 33 Unita soldiers were killed, the statement said.

Cuba denounced the United States for its continuing military support to Unita and stressed that the Cuban forces in Angola were all stationed north of 13th parallel as stipulated by the tripartite agreements with Angola and South Africa.

Cuba said it considered continuing US aid to Unita as provocative and a sabotage of the agreements.
Savimbi sees end to war this year

LISBON. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said yesterday that pressure from the superpowers and Angola's weariness with war would bring an end to the 16-year civil war in Angola this year.

"The pressure for peace from inside and outside Angola will be so great I don't see how either side will be able to continue fighting in 1990," Dr Savimbi told foreign journalists.

"We are going to launch an enormous effort to end the war this year," he said.

Dr Savimbi was speaking on the third day of his first visit to Lisbon since 1979, when independence from Portugal plunged Angola into civil war between his US-backed Unita movement and the Marxist government, supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Lessening tension between the superpowers meant the Soviet Union would support a more active role for the United States in seeking a peace settlement for Angola, Dr Savimbi said.

President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva both received Dr Savimbi at the weekend for what Portuguese officials described as unofficial talks. The visit marks the end of a 15-year ban on Dr Savimbi's visiting Portugal. — Saps-AP
Savimbi expects war to end this year

The Argus Foreign Service
LISBON. — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi says he expects the 14-year civil war to end this year in spite of reports of escalating fighting across Angola.

He told a Press conference yesterday: "Both the MPLA and ourselves are going to come under great pressure — both domestic and foreign — to end the war. I don't see how we can continue fighting in 1990."

In a battlefront report distributed only hours later, Unita said it killed 33 soldiers and destroyed 11 tanks and 25 other vehicles in "fierce combat" from January 24 to 27 along the Lomba river in southeastern Kwanza province.

The US-armed guerrillas admitted 11 dead and 68 wounded.

LUANDA CLAIM

However, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said the army killed 55 rebels in the five provinces between January 22 and 26, but made no reference to the five-week government offensive in the southeast.

In a dispatch received in Lisbon, Angop said Unita killed 26 and wounded 69 others, but did not differentiate between military and civilian casualties.

Dr Savimbi, in Portugal on an eight-day private visit, said he had "direct contacts" with Havana and was developing "a formula to guarantee" that his men would not attack withdrawing Cuban troops again.

Cuba has temporarily suspended the half-finished withdrawal of its 50,000-man force following a Unita attack last week that killed four Cuban soldiers.

At the Press conference Dr Savimbi repeated calls for Portugal, Angola's colonial ruler until 1975, to use its influence in Luanda to bring the warring sides back to the negotiating table under the mediation of Zaire's President Mobuto Sese Seko.

MET CARDINAL

Since arriving on Saturday Dr Savimbi has made that request in meetings with President Mario Soares and Prime Minister, Anibal Cavaco Silva.

Yesterday the rebel leader held talks with non-communist labour leaders and met Cardinal Dom Antonio Ribeiro.

He said he would visit Belgium, West Germany, Switzerland and possibly France after his Portuguese tour ends on Saturday.
MPLA, Unita in ‘gigantic battle’

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has cut short a European tour to return to Angola where government and Unita forces are locked in a showdown battle that could settle the fate of the country after 15 years of civil war.

Dr Savimbi said at a hastily convened press conference in Lisbon that the MPLA had attacked Mavinga on the southern banks of the Lumba River in south-east Angola using about a dozen MiG aircraft — an unprecedented number in a single raid in 14 years of civil war.

Unita's British spokesman Mr Abel Shimukukuku last night said the MPLA was "throwing everything" into the fighting.

He rejected reports claiming that South Africa was supporting Unita, with Koevoet units fighting alongside them.

Western journalists and observers had been given unlimited access to the Unita frontline to investigate the facts, he said.

There was no evidence of Cuban ground force, he said, but "large numbers" of Soviet military advisers were helping MPLA tank, missile and artillery units.

Unita had also intercepted messages from Spanish-speaking MiG pilots and suspected they were Cuban.

The Unita spokesman, who is senior in Dr Savimbi's hierarchy, said the Fapla forces were trying to take strategically vital Mavinga to gain a dominant position so they could dictate ceasefire and settlement negotiations.

He added: "But it is true that this could be the (decisive) battle of the war. It started on November 23. Now it is a gigantic battle. Casualties are very heavy on both sides."

He said Unita's supplies of military hardware were "peanuts" compared to the MPLA's — but that Unita continued to receive military supplies from the United States "and other sympathetic countries" including some in Africa, but "definitely" none from South Africa.

Unita was constantly calling on the United Nations, the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and other powerful nations to oblige the MPLA to observe a ceasefire and accept free and fair elections to decide the future of the country.

He said the MPLA "totally refused" to allow Angola to have a democratic future. It wanted to retain one-party power.

Unita would fight till the MPLA accepted Unita's rights to exist and to contest free elections, he said. — Sapa-Router
Namibia and Angola poised for trade

WINDHOEK - Namibia and Angola are poised to enter into trade with one another after the return of 15 businessmen from Luanda, who were impressed with the opportunities available to both countries.

And it appears that, far from reducing Namibia's dependence on SA, all sides are happy for Namibia to be the conduit for indirect trade between SA and Angola.

The businessmen, who went to Luanda on a fact-finding mission, met Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and other cabinet ministers and representatives of state business concerns who apparently were not worried about indirect trade with SA.

The trip was instigated by Swapo president Sam Nujoma during his visit to Luanda 10 days ago, and the entrepreneurs were accompanied by Swapo tourism, transport and construction.

Wecke and Voigt group MD Dieter Voigt said Angola was importing drinking water in 1,5-litre bottles from Portugal, and “we can very easily move in there and it will be much cheaper if supplied by Namibia”.

They said Angola was in dire need of a rehabilitated infrastructure and transport system and Namibia could assist with this.

But Engineer Abie Breckner said Namibia did not have the financial strength to invest large capital to develop Angola because it had to concentrate on developing its own facilities.

A lawyer who accompanied the businessmen, Peter Koep, said Angola had no problems accepting Namibia playing a third-party role in trade links with SA.

As a result of the discussions the businessmen had with government representatives in Angola, the Banco Nacional de Angola had opened an account with Bank of Namibia to facilitate payments for trade between the countries.

Namibia would gain a level of independence from SA in trade with Angola in the areas of petrol, fruit and vegetables, cement and wood. The businessmen said there were factories in Luanda which were under-producing, and with help the output could rise dramatically.

Peace

Breckner said Angola was a rich country but the war had damaged the infrastructure and many people had left the country.

“We got the impression they (the government) are sick and tired of war and are starting to prepare for peace”.

Petrol

A big bonus for Namibia in forging these trade links would be a huge reduction in the cost of petrol. In Angola a litre of petrol costs 22.15c whereas in Namibia, which gets its petrol from SA, it costs 11.5c a litre.

The possibility of SA benefiting from this was not ruled out, although SA does export petrol.

The businessmen examined trade and
Savimbi requests peace meeting with Dos Santos

LISBON — Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi yesterday called on Marxist President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to meet him face-to-face to try to end the 15-year-old civil war.

"It is very important for us to have this meeting, first of all to get to know each other," he told reporters.

The two men met before African mediators in Zaire last June. But the two sides disagreed later about what had been agreed and the fighting continued.

The Zaire meeting enhanced Savimbi's diplomatic stature, encouraging Portugal to receive him for the first time since 1975.

Luanda denounced the visit yesterday as the culmination of a vast publicity campaign by Portuguese conservatives.

Dos Santos said earlier this month that he had no objection to Savimbi's visit as it was a private one.

The rebel leader has met President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva. The latter stressed that he received Savimbi in his capacity as leader of the ruling Social Democratic Party, not as head of government.

Cuba suspended the half-completed withdrawal of its 50,000 troops last week after four of them were killed in a Unita attack.

Savimbi said it was a mistake and Unita was in contact with Havana to reassure the Cubans that it would not happen again.

The rebel leader said he had spoken by telephone earlier yesterday with US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen about the latter's recent visit to Luanda.

Cohen was in London to talk about the next steps in the peace process with the Soviet Union and with Portugal's Foreign Ministry Secretary of State Durao Barroso, Savimbi said.

Savimbi has called on Portugal to use its good relations with Luanda to help bring about peace negotiations. But he denied strongly that he had lost faith in the mediation of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The rebel leader said fighting was continuing unabated on two fronts in south-eastern Angola.

Savimbi forecast that the war would end before 1991. — Sapa-Reuters.
Angolan govt gets message from Savimbi

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — As government troops advanced towards rebel-held areas in southern Angola, a message from Unita rebel leader, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, has been delivered to Angolan government representatives in London.

Mozambique's news agency, Aim, said from Lisbon that Dr. Savimbi had taken a message to Portuguese Prime Minister Mr. Cavaco Silva to be passed to the Angolan authorities.

The agency said indications were that the Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Manuel Durao Barroso, had taken the message to the Angolans.

Mr. Barroso met this week in London with Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr. Venancio de Moura, and with former US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr. Chester Crocker, the agency said, but gave no other details.

Dr. Savimbi cut short an eight-day visit to Portugal on Tuesday, stating that heavy air bombardments had been launched against rebel positions near the strategic town of Mavinga.

Reports from Luanda yesterday said government troops had crossed the Lomba river and were within 12 km of Mavinga. If Mavinga falls, the way could be open for an offensive against Unita's Jamba headquarters.
Angola

Angola’s rebels set to take key rebel base

Dr Savimbi told a news conference in Lisbon on Tuesday night the government had used 14 MiG warplanes in the battle.

An extraordinary session of the Joint Commission will discuss the situation in Luanda. The commission, representing Angola, Cuba, the United States and South Africa, is expected to meet soon, probably within days.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria, reacting to the war news, said: “We are concerned about the recent developments.”

The call for an extraordinary meeting of the Joint Commission was jointly made by Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Piki Botha and Angola’s Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Loy van Duren in Windhoek last week. — Political Staff and Sapa-Reuters

From KEN POTTINGER

LISBON. — Angolan government forces were said to be poised yesterday to seize the vital Unita rebel airfield at Mavinga and open the way for the first government attack on Unita’s Jamba base 400km further south.

Lisbon television, quoting Angolan Defence Ministry sources, said yesterday Luandan military commanders expected Mavinga to fall “within hours” following earlier massive aerial fragmentation bombing of the town.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi cut short a private visit to Portugal late on Tuesday night after hearing of the new offensive.

Mavinga is one of the most important towns held by the rebels. It is Unita’s main incoming air route for US logistic and other supplies and for Dr Savimbi’s own return flight, has an underground hospital and blocks the way to Jamba.

Its capture by government troops would put Jamba within air striking distance.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa yesterday quoted a military source as saying more than 500 Unita rebels were killed in the attack on Mavinga — one of the biggest government operations of the 15-year-old civil war.

No Unita spokesman was immediately available for comment.
Angolan troops close in on key Unita base

LUANDA. — Angolan government troops have crossed the Lomba River, a natural barrier between government forces and territory held by Unita in south-east Angola, military sources said here.

Fierce fighting has been reported on the banks of the Lomba since Unita rebels, dug in south of the river, halted about 9000 government troops, backed by Soviet-supplied tanks and air-support, who began an advance on the key rebel base of Mavinga in late December.

The military sources claimed government forces bridged the Lomba in the last few days and were fighting for control of the vital airstrip at Mavinga, 19km south of the river.

There was no independent confirmation of the claims.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi cut short a planned five-nation European tour on Tuesday, claiming he had to return to organise Unita defences against intensive bombing raids by the government's Soviet-built MiG and Sukhoi aircraft over the Mavinga area.

He said government ground forces did not threaten Mavinga, a strategic position guarding the rebel's bush headquarters about 250km further south-east.

An editorial from the Angolan state news agency, Angop, yesterday accused Dr Savimbi of attempting to gain international sympathy by presenting himself as a victim of government aggression.

Angop claimed the rebels heightened the 16-year civil war by killing four Cuban soldiers in a raid last week. The agency said American and South African advisers had arrived recently to help Unita forces in southern Angola.

The guerrillas claim Soviet advisers are helping government forces.

Cuba called a temporary halt to the withdrawal of its troops backing the Luanda government last week after the slaying of the four soldiers. — Sapa-AP.

Old friends Sisulu and Tambo to reunite

STOCKHOLM. — High above the harbour here, where gargantuan ferries hoist and churn the water as they leave for Finland, is the spot where two South African comrades will be reunited this week for the first time in more than 25 years.

The last time Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo could meet without restraint was before the 1964 Rivonia trial, in which Mr Sisulu and others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

When the recently released Mr Sisulu arrives in the snowy Swedish capital today for a series of top-level meetings with politicians, one of his priorities will be to visit Mr Tambo, who is in the city for treatment for the effects of a stroke he had last year.

After the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and Mr Sisulu, Mr Tambo, now 72, shouldered much of the burden of leading the ANC — he has been one of the leaders since 1958 and president since 1977. And it is believed the pressure contributed to his stroke.

The two friends are likely to meet at the smart Erstagards Clinic in central Stockholm, where Mr Tambo is patient.
Angola says SA, US advisers helping Unita

The Star's Africa News Service

Angola says SA, US advisers helping Unita

The Angolan news agency, Angop, yesterday said South African and American advisers had been sent to Angola to help the Unita rebel group. The claim has been denied by the SADF.

In a commentary on the latest developments in the country the agency said rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was pretending to be a victim of alleged stubbornness on the side of the MPLA government.

It accused him of trying to present the image of a responsible man at the time when a government offensive is taking place against Unita-controlled areas.

"In fact, what is worrying Savimbi and his mentors is the violation of the New York accords on peace in south-western Africa by the attack on Cuban units which were preparing to withdraw, as well as the recent and hurried introduction of American and South African advisers into Unita's lines in the south of Angola in an effort to guarantee Unita's survival," Angop said.

Angop said the reality was that it was Unita which had boycotted the Gbadolite peace agreements.

The Angolan government was ready, however, to continue with its efforts to achieve peace in the country.
THE fierce battle being fought between Angolan government forces and UNITA rebels for control of the southern town and UNITA stronghold of Mavinga may decide the outcome of this country's 15-year civil war.

The fighting is concentrated along the Lomba River, 20km to the north of Mavinga, where the government's rainy-season offensive on the town seems, for the time being, to have been halted.

UNITA trucks ferrying soldiers and supplies to the front at breakneck speed along the rough sand tracks from Mavinga to the river to avoid being picked out by government mortars on the opposite bank and Soviet-made MiG-23 jets overhead. Wrecked vehicles, the legacy of past attempts to wrest Mavinga from UNITA control, litter the forest on either side.

At the river itself, the exchange of artillery and mortar is intense and relentless. UNITA guns, both US and Soviet-made, are dug in at the edge of woods on the south bank, awaiting any attempt by government FAPLA forces to attempt a crossing.

From a vantage point above the Lomba, UNITA officer Lieutenant-Colonel John Kavas pointed out a group of soldiers moving swiftly through the long grass on the northern bank.

"That's one of our patrols. We still have men on the other side of the river. Our tactics now are to harass the enemy so he doesn't have the chance to make a crossing."

If FAPLA was to break through and take Mavinga, the way would be open to the UNITA headquarters at Jamba, further to the south-east. In that case, the government would be in a far better position to dictate peace on its terms. President Eduardo dos Santos wants UNITA to put down its arms and participate in the present one-party system, effectively becoming absorbed into the ruling MPLA.

He has also demanded that UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi step down from politics and go into exile, perhaps for a two-year cooling-off period.

Savimbi has flatly turned down both proposals, calling instead for an internationally monitored cease-fire process leading to a new constitution and multi-party elections, while refusing to leave the political scene.

It is on these differences that peace negotiations, which began in a hastily last June with a ceasefire

Government and rebel soldiers are waging a fierce battle in Mavinga, Angola — a battle which may decide the outcome of the 15-year civil war reports JULIAN BORGER

Cuito Cuanavale
Lomba R.
Mavinga
Held by UNITA
Jamba
UNITA HQ
Caprivi Strip

Fighting is concentrated along the Lomba north of Mavinga and a handshake between dos Santos and Savimbi, have since broken down. The last scheduled meeting of the eight African heads of state supposed to be overseeing the peace process has twice been postponed by the principal mediator in the conflict, Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

UNITA's Chief of General Staff, General Arlindo Pena Chenda "Ben Ben" claims that the government is trying, with this offensive, to make negotiations irrelevant.

"They are in a very critical situation diplomatically," he said.

"They are under a lot of pressure from other countries, even their friends in Africa, to sign a cease-fire. So they want to say to other countries, 'Why should we sign when UNITA is weak, while we're beating them?' That's why they launch an offensive now, in the rainy season."

The general, giving an interview a few kilometres from the Lomba River, rejected criticisms of a UNITA ambush on January 22 in Benguela province further north, in which four Cuban soldiers were killed, provoking Cuban leader Fidel Castro's announcement last week that he was halting the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

UNITA forces armed with rocket-propelled...
southern Angola

RESCUE: Propelled grenades guard their Mavinga stronghold. Picture: LAURINDA KEYS

Training:

AIDS and South Africans on the rebel side, denied in turn by UNITA.

Although there was no direct evidence of the continued presence of South Africans at the front, it is clear Pretoria has not completely severed its ties with UNITA. Journalists are still flown into UNITA-held territory direct from South Africa. On this occasion, journalists shared the flight with boxes of medical supplies in a vintage Dakota, owned by a charter air company, that took off from Wonderboom airport, Pretoria, and flew the last leg to the airstrip at Mavinga just above tree-top level with the lights out.

UNITA have repeated a regular accusation that Papla bombers have dropped chemical weapons on areas under rebel control, but the evidence they have put forward up to now has been discredited by independent analysts. Last week, journalists were taken at their own request to the site of an alleged chemical attack, a small crater in the middle of woods.

The surrounding trees were intact, and there were no signs of a blast, but the foliage in the area had turned brown, while, eight days after UNITA say this bomb dropped, a powerful acrid stench still came from the crater.

UNITA officers claim that, of an 11-man detachment sent out to investigate the weapon five days earlier, three had died and eight had been evacuated to Jamba when they began vomiting blood, and so were not available for an interview.

Labour and Community Resources Project
(LACOM) Durban
UNITA loses stronghold in big battle

LISBON — The Angolan army said yesterday that it had captured the southeastern rebel stronghold of Mayinga in some of the fiercest fighting in the country's 15-year civil war, the Portuguese news agency Lusa said.

Lusa quoted a military source as saying there were thousands of casualties from both sides when government troops overran the UNITA-held town on Wednesday.

UNITA officials in Lisbon reported heavy fighting but denied that the town had fallen saying that as of yesterday, government troops were still 30 km from Mayinga.

Lusa said government troops supported by MiG-23 planes, heavy artillery and armoured tanks had broken rebel defences on the Lomba River.
WASHINGTON. The United States yesterday called on the Angolan government to stop its offensive against the US-armed Unita rebels, while both sides yesterday claimed control of the strategic Mavinga airstrip after fierce fighting.

The US State Department's statement reflects growing concern at gains by the Soviet-armed government forces, which have brought them to the edge of Unita-controlled territory in south-eastern Angola. It also stated the US had sought Soviet co-operation to end the fighting.

A high-ranking military source in Luanda claimed two government military columns took the small town, 1,100km south-east of the capital in Cuando Cubango province, on Thursday afternoon after heavy air and ground attacks.

The source, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said both sides incurred heavy casualties but government troops had consolidated positions in "all the area of Mavinga".

Unita foreign-affairs spokesman Mr Tonel da Costa Fernandes dismissed the claim at a news conference in the northern Portuguese city of Oporto, the Portuguese news agency Lusa said.

State Department spokeswoman Ms Margaret Tutwiler said she could not confirm the fall of Mavinga to the government, but that a large force of troops had crossed the Lombo River and were within 16km of Mavinga.

That information was based on independent confirmation, officials said.

Mavinga is considered a key to military control of the region and vital to any government plans to attack the rebel stronghold at Jamba, 192km farther south.

The town's natural defence is the Lombo River that passes as close as 19km directly to the north.

Latest reports from the rebels' stronghold in Jamba, more than 200km further south, said fighting was concentrated about 30km outside Mavinga, Mr Fernandes said.

"The MPLA (government) troops are completely blocked. They can't even make patrols," said Mr Fernandes, though adding that Soviet-built MiG fighters still were attacking Unita positions.

He ruled out the possibility of a rebel counter-attack.

Rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, who cut short a five-nation European tour on Tuesday to return to Angola, broadcast a general alert yesterday, ordering his forces to resume full-scale operations against government forces around the country.

In a broadcast over Unita's Black Cockrel radio, monitored in Luanda, Dr Savimbi said he called for an "all-out attack" in response to the heavy government shelling of Mavinga.

He warned that the response would include urban guerrilla attacks that would render Angolan cities "uncontrollable" over the next two months. — Sapa-AP
Mavinga has fallen – report

The Star's
Foreign News Service

LISBON – Angolan troops, backed by Soviet-supplied warplanes and armour, have seized the strategic south-eastern town of Mavinga from Unita rebels after several days of fierce fighting, according to Portuguese news reports from the Angolan capital.

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon denied that Mavinga and its airfield — pivotal in the US operation resupplying the guerrillas — had fallen.

But he conceded that government forces had broken through rebel defensive lines along the Lomba River to the north.

The Marxist government in Luanda maintained an official silence.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa and other local media cited unidentified military sources in Luanda as saying Mavinga had been overrun, with thousands of casualties on both sides.

A diplomat said there had been heavy losses in men and equipment on both sides but considered the casualty reports from Luanda exaggerated.

Unita spokesman Mr Norberto Castro told reporters in Lisbon the fighting had been taking place about 28 km north of Mavinga, just south of the Lomba River.

Unita anti-aircraft units, he said, had downed five helicopter gunships, three MiG-23 jetfighters and one Sukhoi-25 bomber.

South-eastern Mavinga, the gateway to Unita's bush capital at Jamba, about 300 km south, dominates the rebels' supply lines into central and northern Angola.

Unita officials in Lisbon noted that Portuguese news reports from Luanda had reported the fall of Mavinga "at least three times" during the past two weeks.

Luanda and its official news agency Angop have not yet commented on the reports nor even officially acknowledged that a major offensive was under way.

Luanda deployed 10,000 men backed by jetfighters, bombers and about 400 armoured cars and tanks against Mavinga's defensive lines on December 23.
Unita denies fall of Mavinga

The Argus Foreign Service
LISBON. — Angolan troops, backed by Soviet-supplied warplanes and armour, are reported to have seized the strategic southeastern town of Mavinga from the Unita rebels after several days of fierce fighting.

But a Unita spokesman in Lisbon denied news reports from the Angolan capital that Mavinga and its airfield, pivotal to the United States air-bridge resupply to the guerrillas, had fallen.

He conceded that Angolan government forces had broken through rebel defensive lines along the Lomba River, to the north of the town.

The Marxist government in Luanda maintained an official silence.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa and other media cited unidentified military sources in Luanda as saying Mavinga was overrun, with "thousands of casualties" on both sides.

A diplomat said there had been "heavy losses in men and equipment" on both sides but considered the casualty reports "exaggerated".

Unita spokesman Mr. Norberto Castro said the fighting had been taking place about 25km north of Mavinga, just south of the Lomba River.

Unita anti-aircraft units, he said, had downed five helicopter gunships, three MiG 23 jet fighters and one Sukhoi 25 bomber.

In a speech over rebel radio, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi ordered his forces on "an all-out attack" across the country and threatened to take the war into Angola's cities.

Mavinga, the gateway to Unita's bush capital at Jamba, 300km to the south, dominates its supply lines into central and northern Angola.

Its airfield is also, reportedly, a main receiving point for United States arms aid, including the anti-aircraft Stinger missile.

Unita officials in Portugal, Angola's colonial ruler until 1975, noted that news reports from Luanda had reported the fall of Mavinga "at least three times" in the past two weeks.

The Angolan government deployed some 10,000 men backed by jet fighters, bombers and about 400 armoured cars and tanks against Mavinga's defensive lines on December 23.
Unita, MPLA both claim Mavinga

LISBON. — The fate of the Angolan rebel stronghold of Mavinga remained unclear at the weekend with both sides claiming they hold the town.

Both the Marxist government and Western-backed Unita rebels insisted that the strategic south-east Angolan base was in their hands.

"The situation is difficult but Mavinga has not fallen into the hands of the MPLA," a Unita official here said yesterday.

However, the government said in a statement yesterday that its troops had captured the town on Friday evening. It added that 500 Unita forces and 47 government soldiers had died.

Meanwhile, it is reported from Washington, that Unita's battlefield setbacks may be the result of US supplies having been drastically curtailed or stopped since last November.

While administration officials strongly denied any drop-off in supplies to the rebels, there have been Republican charges that the cutbacks are related to the crashing of an aircraft in Angola carrying an American agent. — Sapa-Reuters, Own Correspondent
Mavinga: beginning of end for Unita?

The reported fall of the Unita stronghold of Mavinga to Angolan government forces over the weekend may mark the beginning of the end for Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Unita rebel movement after 18 years of civil war. If the MPLA government troops can dig in and hold Mavinga long enough to enable its vital airstrip to be used by MiG fighter-bombers, then Dr Savimbi's base capital of Jamba will be almost back to where he began 15 years ago — isolated from the world.

The present fighting is the outcome of a civil war fought by Angolans against the MPLA government that Dr Savimbi cannot survive without South African assistance, a current that seems to be strengthened by the recent South African intervention.

In 1986 and 1987, South Africa intervened militarily to defeat MPLA offensives twice as long as the present force aimed at capturing Mavinga and Jamba.

Questions are now being asked about the much vaunted United States-supplied S-300 anti-aircraft missiles and F-16 fighter jets that seem to have been ineffective against the Soviet-supplied MiGs and tanks that are spearheading the present offensive, and about the real fighting ability of Dr Savimbi's forces.

Their twin inability to withstand the present 10,000-strong force has greatly strengthened the hands of the MPLA leadership in Luanda, the ultimate target of the MPLA force, little more than a collection of semi-underground grass-roofed huts spread thinly across the land. But is Dr Savimbi's "capital", his access to the world and more importantly, the media.

Without Jamba, Dr Savimbi will almost certainly be isolated from the world.

Even if Dr Savimbi and his men survive to fight on, the pressure on the MPLA government to compromise with Dr Savimbi and negotiate a peace settlement will also fade.

Angolan President Joao dos Santos will be able to claim that Dr Savimbi was shown to be an instrument of South African destabilisation who could not survive after South Africa was forced to withdraw all aid after the 1988 agreement with Angola and Cuba.

Such a scenario is unlikely for the "Black Panthers", so it is expected that Dr Savimbi will make every ounce of force he has to try to defeat the government column.

The supply lines to the MPLA column at Mavinga, stretch over more than 100 km through bushland still largely under the control of Unita guerrillas, and Dr Savimbi will attempt to cut them.

The destruction of the 10,000-strong MPLA armoured force would signal an end to the power of the Angolans in the Dos Santos government and could still see Dr Savimbi salvage a favourable negotiated end to his war.
Rains may foil Angola bid to crush Unita

LISBON. — Angola has vowed to crush Unita in battles near the rebel stronghold of Mavinga, but an armoured column there could become isolated behind Unita lines, reports the Portuguese news agency, Lusa.

The agency quoted an Angolan military source as saying that supply lines to Mavinga, which the Marxist government says it captured on Friday, were very long and the rains had started.

"If the armed forces' logistics do not improve, Unita could well stage a counter-attack and retake Mavinga," the source was quoted as saying.

Unita reiterated its denial that the town had fallen, saying the government's claims were a "farce".

"It is an operation aimed only at raising the morale of exhausted troops who are facing serious logistical problems and intense fire," Unita said in Lisbon.

Meanwhile electricity in Luanda had been cut off by an apparent Unita attack, Lusa said.

The Cuban-backed government also extended for a year an offer of amnesty to Unita. A wide-ranging decree signed by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was made public by the Angolan embassy in Lisbon.

The government also claimed that Unita's former military chief, Demostenes Amos Chilungwila, and 100 men had deserted and were fleeing to Botswana.

"FINAL ASSAULT".

An Angolan military source said the Mavinga offensive had cost more than $900 million (R2 600-m). Attacks by Soviet-built MiG-23s and MiG-25s had been decisive.

Some 400 armoured vehicles and 20 000 troops took part in the operation, code-named "Final Assault".

One of two columns had crossed the Lomba River north of Mavinga on metal bridges, breaking Unita lines.

"The region, known by the former Portuguese colonialists as "The End of the World", is full of swamps and lakes and 150km by air from the nearest government base at Cuito Cuanavale," Sapa-Reporter.
Cubans in Mavinga battle — Unita claim

The Star's Foreign News Service
LISBON — Angola's Unita guerillas have reaffirmed that they are still holding the strategic south-eastern town of Mavinga and have claimed Cuban troops are joining the offensive.

"The combats are hard, claiming hundreds, even thousands, of civilian lives," Unita said in a statement distributed in Lisbon yesterday.

Without elaboration, the rebels said a "Cuban unit" was advancing eastward from Cuito Cuanavale towards Mavinga, which was coming under intensified aerial bombardment.

Describing the MPLA government's claims that it seized Mavinga on Friday after a five-week offensive as "lies", Unita said rebel chief Dr Jonas Savimbi had spent 36 hours in the town inspecting its defences. It did not specify when this took place.

In contrast to the rebel statement, the Portuguese news agency, Lusa, quoted a Luanda military communiqué as saying troops were consolidating their hold on Mavinga and conducting mopping-up operations to the south.

The army claimed it had killed 543 guerillas in its final assault against the town and its airfield, the pivotal point for the American weapons air bridge to Unita. The army conceded 55 dead and 180 wounded.

Reuter reports that the Angolan government said yesterday it wanted a fresh ceasefire with Unita.

Luanda had handed Zairean mediators new proposals to break the current deadlock in peace talks with Unita, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said.

He said he was willing to allow "independent candidates" to participate in one-party elections.

David Braun of The Star Bureau in Washington reports that Soviet Union involvement in the MPLA offensive against Unita is on the agenda for this week's meeting in Moscow between the American and Soviet foreign Ministers.

PRESSURE

US Secretary of State Mr. James Baker was under intense pressure from the Congress to raise Soviet policy towards Southern Africa, particularly Angola, with his Soviet counterpart. Senator Bob Dole, Republican leader in the Senate, told Mr Baker last week there were disturbing reports that Soviet advisers had replaced Cubans withdrawn under the terms of last year's agreement on Southern Africa, and that massive shipments of Soviet arms continued to flow into Angola.
AFRICA

Dos Santos calls for renewed ceasefire

LISBON — Angola's government said on Tuesday it wanted a fresh ceasefire with UNITA rebels despite fierce battles over a guerrilla base in the southeast of the country.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said government forces had seized UNITA's Mavinga base because the rebels had stepped up attacks, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

Luanda had handed Zairean mediators new proposals to break the current deadlock in peace talks, Dos Santos said.

"Despite the action against Mavinga the government continues to seek peace. Our government does not want to obtain a total military victory," he was quoted as saying.

Dos Santos said he was willing to allow "independent candidates" to take part in one-party elections.

The battle over Mavinga, a major rebel base with an air strip, has involved some of the heaviest fighting in Angola's 15-year civil war.

UNITA disputes government's claim that it seized the town on Friday. Independent confirmation has not been available.

Military analysts believe government wanted to capture Mavinga, which lies en route to UNITA's bush headquarters at Jamba, to gain the upper hand in peace talks.

Diplomatic efforts to end the war continued yesterday, with reports that Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko discussed ways to relaunch the peace process with President Denis Sassou-Nguesso of Congo and Gabon's President Omar Bongo.

The three leaders were among 18 African heads of state at the Gondolite summit on Angola, and formed part of a group of eight leaders who have met periodically to discuss the peace process.

Backer

Sassou-Nguesso expected to discuss Angola with US President George Bush in Washington later this week.

The US is UNITA's main backer, supplying the rebels with an estimated $50m a year in military equipment.

Meanwhile, Dos Santos announced a commission set up by Angola, SA and Cuba would meet this month in Luanda to discuss Havana's January decision to halt its troop withdrawal after UNITA killed four Cuban soldiers.

Dos Santos said he hoped the meeting would help clear the way for the withdrawal to continue. — Sapa-Reuters-AP.

Mozambique production still lags

MAPUTO — In spite of significant improvements since 1987, labour productivity in Mozambique is still six times lower than the indices for 1974, the year before the country's independence.

The Mozambican government revealed several figures on the country's economic performance during a meeting that Prime Minister Mario Machungo held at the weekend with Frelimo party militants, trade union cadres and managers from industry and the state apparatus.

Illustrating the decline in productivity, Machungo said that in 1973 Mozambique's three main ports of Maputo, Beira and Nacala handled 20-million tons of traffic, while the rail system moved 16-million tons. This dropped to 6-million tons and 3-million tons by 1989. But the number of workers involved dropped from 39,000 to 31,000.

In 1973/74 Mozambique was producing 280,000 tons of sugar a year, with 38,000 people working in the sugar sector. By 1989 production had fallen to 25,000 tons with a workforce of 15,000.

The coal mines at Montale, in the northwestern province of Fete, produced 535,000 tons in 1981 with 2,705 workers. But in 1989, 1,500 workers produced just 63,000 tons of coal.

In agriculture, marketed production of cashew nuts (of which Mozambique used to be the world's largest producer) fell from 196,000 tons in 1974 to 80,000 tons in 1989.

Since the liberalisation of the economy, with the introduction of an economic recovery programme backed by the World Bank and the IMF in early 1987, there has been economic growth. The growth rate in 1987 was 4.4% and in 1988 it was 5.5%.

Mozambique's foreign debt increased from $1bn in 1981 to $4.2bn in 1989. Annual debt-servicing amounts to $550m, more than twice the total value of Mozambique's exports of goods and services. — ANO.
Sign the ceasefire pact, Dos Santos tells rebel Savimbi

LUANDA. — President José Eduardo dos Santos, claiming that his forces have captured Mavinga, the strategic base in southeast Angola, has urged rebel leader Jonas Savimbi to accept ceasefire terms.

Speaking at a meeting of Angolan farmers, President Dos Santos offered Dr Savimbi “humane treatment” if the guerrilla chief accepted a ceasefire based on a government amnesty offer leading to the rebels’ integration into Angola’s military, economic and social structures.

ONE-PARTY RULE

President Dos Santos said candidates independent of the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) would be allowed to stand in elections held after the civil war ends.

In other recent statements President Dos Santos has said elections would not end one-party rule by the Marxist-oriented MPLA. He has ruled out Dr Savimbi’s National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) standing in any future elections.

The rebels continued yesterday to claim they controlled Mavinga.

In a statement monitored in Lisbon, Unita said their lines were holding out against intense bombing from the government’s Soviet-supplied planes and helicopters.

A Western diplomat monitoring the fighting from Lisbon said government troops had captured Mavinga’s airstrip, but he added that the rebels remained in control of their base and were mounting counter-attacks.

MULTIPARTY ELECTIONS

Unita officials contacted in Lisbon declined to comment on President Dos Santos’s latest ceasefire call.

Previously Dr Savimbi has rejected government amnesty and integration offers. The rebel leader has insisted that a ceasefire be followed by the formation of a transitional government to prepare for free, multiparty elections. — Sapa-AP.
Angolan leader seeks peaceful solution

We won’t attack
Jamba – Dos Santos

LUANDE — Angola’s President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has ruled out the possibility of an assault on the Unita rebel headquarters at Jamba, despite top-level assurances that the rebels would not be able to resist a government offensive.

Speaking at a national conference of peasants, Mr dos Santos said that despite what he called the recent military victory at Mavinga, his government intended to continue searching for a peaceful solution to the Angolan conflict.

SA involvement

“We do not have at the moment the intention to launch an attack for a total military victory,” President dos Santos said.

Angola’s Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem was quoted by the Angola news agency as saying that the government troops had in the past been unable to defeat Unita because of South African involvement in the war.

“Now that we are face to face, we can see that Unita is not in condition to resist actions by Fapla (the Angolan army),” he said.

Earlier, analysts had said that if government troops could maintain their control over Mavinga, the way would be open for attacks on Jamba.

There are conflicting reports about the situation in Mavinga, with the Angolan government maintaining it has won control of the strategic town and Unita denying this.

Some diplomatic sources have said Mavinga is in government hands but other diplomats said heavy fighting was still raging.

Reports said government troops had seized control of the town’s airstrip but Unita still controlled the outskirts of the town where it has built a huge base.

In his speech Mr dos Santos said that, in accordance with his government amnesty policies, he was ready to integrate into the political, economic and military life all Unita members who agree to lay down their arms.

Talks on Cuban deadlock

The Star’s Africa News Service

LUANDE — South Africa, Angola and Cuba are to meet next week in Luanda to discuss the suspension of the Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

The meeting would discuss ways “to unblock the process of Cuban withdrawal from Angola.”

The Cuban withdrawal was suspended after Unita rebels killed four Cubans in an attack near the port of Lobito.

Cuba has so far withdrawn more than half of its 50,000 troops in accordance with a deal signed with Angola and South Africa last year.
Stand at Mavinga

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has denied that Angolan government forces captured the strategically important Unita stronghold at Mavinga last Friday.

If Fapla had indeed taken Mavinga as claimed by President Eduardo dos Santos, this would have put Savimbi's Jamba HQ within easy striking range of Fapla and what is possibly the region’s most powerful airforce. (Mavinga is near the Lomba River in the south-east of Angola, 280 km north-west of Jamba.)

The battle for Mavinga rages on — having apparently blown apart the peace process kicked off in the wake of the December 1988 New York Accord, which linked Namibian independence to Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

The weak link in the chain always was Unita. Despite optimism after their famous handshake at Gbadolite last June, the negotiating positions of Dos Santos and Savimbi remained too far apart to be bridged.

Despite all this, the Angolan peace process is not necessarily in tatters, suggests Andre du Pisani of the SA Institute of International Affairs. It’s almost inevitable, he says, for the two sides to try and capture “political space, parallel to continuing mediation efforts” led by Zaire’s President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Negative perceptions of Mobutu’s mediation have resulted from three failings:

☐ Mobutu and the Frontline States lost an opportunity for mediation by not taking advantage of the momentum for peace in the wake of the New York Accord;

☐ The Luanda meeting of eight African and Frontline State leaders last May left vague the mediator’s role and set no deadline; and

☐ External patrons — chiefly the US and the Soviet Union (distracted, possibly, by eastern Europe) — have not yet redefined their relationship with their respective clients, in spite their newfound consensus that conflicts should be peacefully resolved.

However, there have been fresh indications of the superpowers as well as Portugal (whose role, it is said, will be crucial) and, to a lesser extent, SA, coming back in to revive the peace process. Involvement by this “consortium” of States (including the Africans) holds out hope, according to Du Pisani, since they will provide the needed leverage on the antagonists.

Cuban disengagement is not really a factor; any hiccups will be handled by the SA-Angolan Joint Military Commission.

What the fighting at Mavinga reflects is the MPLA government taking advantage of its present military superiority to try and force Unita into accepting its terms. Dos Santos would like to absorb Unita into the MPLA, rather than agreeing to any of Savimbi’s conditions: a formal ceasefire, interim government and internationally supervised elections.

Luanda’s strategy puts great pressure on Unita’s internal cohesion, observes Du Pisani, adding that Indications for Unita are bad now. Whether this will achieve Luanda’s dream of dislodging Savimbi himself (ideally into exile, or at least neutralising him) remains to be seen.

This is the critical hurdle, after which the real business — direct MPLA-Unita talks — can come to the fore. “In a way, things now look more propitious for working towards a resolution,” says Du Pisani.

Zaire’s Mobutu... waiting for superpower leverage

FINANCIAL MAIL FEBRUARY 9 1990
Angola denies Cuban troop build-up

LUANDA — The Angolan government yesterday denied persistent media reports that Cuban troops were on their way from Cuito Cuanavale to Mavinga to reinforce Angolan forces fighting against Unita.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem said here the reports were aimed at justifying US military support for Unita; the Angolan news agency (Angop) reported. 9/2/79

"Even people that are cautious know that Cuban troops are at this very moment north of the Lobito parallel."

Van Dunem said the Angolan armed forces (Fapla) had the capacity to eliminate Unita but SA intervention had prevented this in the past.

He said: "Now that we are meeting each other face to face, we see that Unita does not have the capacity to defeat us."

He insisted there were no troops marching to Mavinga.

Sapa reports that a group of US congressmen has appealed to President George Bush to step-up military aid to Unita because of the increasing conflict.

The leader of the group, Republican con-

Cuban troops

gressman Dan Burton of Indiana, said he and his colleagues had urged Bush to send emergency military supplies and fuel to Unita.

Burton, the senior Republican member of the foreign affairs' sub-committee for Africa, said Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen had given his word the supplies were already on their way.

Burton said reports had now been received that Cuban soldiers were indeed supporting MPLA forces.

Meanwhile, the Angolan Foreign Min-

istry said yesterday the next meeting of the joint verification commission of Angola, Cuba and SA will convene in Luanda from February 15 to 18.

A ministry source confirmed that the meeting would focus on the Cuban government's January decision to suspend the withdrawal of its remaining 19,000 soldiers from Angola after four of its soldiers died in a Unita attack.

Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos said earlier that the objective of the meeting would be to "unblock the process of Cuban troop withdrawal". — ANO.
Vlok intervenes in row over aid for Savimbi

BY DE WET POTGIETER

SENIOR South African Cabinet Ministers have unwittingly become involved in a row over supplies for Unita.

And a Defence Force general has been embarrassed by the Farunic company, which used his name in a bid to secure lucrative clandestine SADF contracts.

But Intelligence Chief of Staff Lieutenant-General Rudolph "Wilko" Badenhorst has denied any involvement in the company.

Now Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has revealed how he personally intervened to sort out the bitter row between the company's partners over the contracts. This follows an investigation by the Sunday Times into the activities of a SADF front organisation, Frama, formed in 1986 to secretly supply rations to Unita.

At the end of 1994 the SADF severed links with Frama which sold the company to its directors, Mr Francisco Lopes and Mr Arlindo Manuel Maia.

A year later the SADF discovered Frama had "short delivered" Unita supplies — to the tune of R3-million.

Embroidering

The SADF then entered into immediate negotiations with the directors of Frama and it was agreed they would cease its contract, assets and liabilities to its successor, Farunic.

The name Farunic was derived from the initials of the company's "directors": Pretoria businessman Francois van der Merwe, General Badenhorst and Mr Nico de Lange.

Mr Van der Merwe claims he agreed on a contract with Cape Town businessman Mr Jan Jooste.

In early 1997 the two became embroiled in a bitter wrangle over a lucrative part of the contract — the supply of maize to Dr Jonas Savimbi's troops in southern Angola. Mr Van der Merwe promised to find out," he said.

Mr Van der Merwe had then wanted to know whether a civil case against Mr Jooste regarding Farunic would embarrass the South African government.

After consulting the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breedt, Mr Vlok informed Mr Kruger that South Africa's involvement with Unita was no longer a secret.

During the meeting Mr Vlok accused Mr Van der Merwe of "name, dropping" and asked him to stop using his name to secure business.

The dispute between Mr Jooste and Mr Van der Merwe was eventually settled out of court.

General Badenhorst this week denied he had benefited in any way from the company's activities.

A spokesman for the SADF said at the beginning of 1996 Mr De Lange and Mr Van der Merwe had asked General Badenhorst if he would accept a directorship in their firm when he retired.

"General Badenhorst viewed this 'offer' as an option to consider after retirement," the spokesman explained.

"In fact, this is one of many approaches made to him, none of which he accepted." General Badenhorst said he strongly objected to the unauthorised use of his name by Farunic.

RUDOLPH BADENHORST

Denied involvement said he had objected to Mr Jooste's insistence the maize contract be awarded to him alone.

But Mr De Lange told the Sunday Times the contract had nothing to do with the bitter wrangle between the two.

"The wrangle was the result of personal clashes between the two," he explained.

Mr Vlok, then Deputy Minister of Defence, said this week he had become involved in the wrangle after Mr Van der Merwe and his attorney, former MP Mr Jackie Kruger, visited him in Pretoria in 1997.

"I told them I had no knowledge of these contracts, but
Luanda tense after reports of Unita attack on nearby beach resort

LUANDA — The Angolan capital was tense yesterday after television reports of a major attack by Unita rebels against a popular beach resort about 100km from the city. A report on the state television network TPA said the rebels seized the resort of Cabo Ledo earlier this week.

Unita, it said, held the town for several hours before retreating ahead of a government advance backed by tanks, helicopters and Cuban troops.

The television report showed burning buildings and cited witnesses saying the fighting killed and wounded many people.

News reports said about 100 guerrillas were involved in the attack. Officials were reported to be worried at the rebels’ capacity to strike so close to the capital.

News of the Cabo Ledo attack followed a bomb blast on Tuesday that injured three people in Luanda’s city centre. The bomb damaged the criminal records office.

Meanwhile, military sources in the capital said government forces were intensifying an offensive against Unita strongholds in southeast Angola.

The source said more troops and equipment were being flown to the south-east even though an offensive had been halted temporarily at Mavinga.

The national news agency Angop reported yesterday that 51,000 Cubans of an estimated 80,000 had left the country. — Sapo-AP.
HAVANA — Cuba said on Sunday that a meeting to discuss restarting its suspended military withdrawal from Angola had been postponed and repeated that the pullout would not resume without formal guarantees for the safety of its troops.

The meeting between SA, Cuban and Angolan officials and US and Soviet observers had been scheduled for February 15-18 in Luanda.

It was expected to discuss the January 25 decision by Cuba temporarily to suspend the withdrawal of its forces following an attack on its troops by US-backed Unita rebels.

Communist Party secretariat member Carlos Aldana said Cuba was still firmly committed to keeping to the withdrawal calendar.

Yesterday officials introduced water rationing in Luanda after Unita rebels blew up the city's main water supply pipes, Portuguese news agency Lusa reported. — Sapa-Reuters-AP.
civillian toll may also have set a grisly record thanks to the government’s unprecedented high-level bombing of the town.

It was unclear whether the MPLA intended to proceed toward Jamba. Cooler heads thought it unlikely, noting that it would be at least a week before the invading army could be sufficiently resupplied and refueled to push on.

Since the Cuban withdrawal agreement went into effect at the start of last year, Soviet advisers have extensively retrained and re-equipped Fapla and have taught it a new set of tactics. It is now a more formidable fighting force than the one which convinced Fidel Castro to look for an honourable exit after the Mavinga rout of 1987.

By contrast, Unita has lost the South African artillery and air cover, plus the levelling of South African infantry.

American officials have heatedly denied charges levied by Unita Foreign Secretary Jeremias Chirunda and now angrily repeated by Unita’s supporters on Capitol Hill that US supplies have ceased or been seriously curtailed since a CIA flight crash near Jamba in November.

Unita has not even been able to make Fapla pay for its lengthy supply lines. These have remained open.

That the offensive was being prepared for much of last year was no secret, even though the Americans now say their first solid indication came in October. The truth is they were fully aware of the Soviet retraining programme well before that. Worse, the more ominous the build-up at Cuito Cuanavale became, the less they seemed to heed the warning signs.

Foreign Affairs director general Neill van Heerden, concerned about the implications of a major new assault on South African domestic politics, was repeatedly given the brush-off in late November, early December and told that it was no longer any of Pretoria’s business. The feeling here is that maybe the MPLA needed to be taught another lesson by Unita to make it see the virtues of Unita’s ceasefire offer.

Neat trick

Far from being sobered, Dos Santos has now been emboldened to offer a counter-proposal even less productive than his government’s interpretation of the Guadalupe agreement. The plan calls for an effective ceasefire in place, the integration of Unita into the ruling party and “humanitarian settlement” for Jonas Savimbi.

It then calls for a neat trick by promising “free and open elections” on the basis of “one man, one vote” in which “independent candidates” will be permitted to run so long as they don’t belong to any rival party. Finally, the proposal suggests that there is room for negotiation as long as the ensuing principles are accepted first.

This can only mean one thing: More war, egged on by Unita’s congressional supporters who are betting on a massive resupply effort. Republican members of the House Intelligence Committee wrote to Bush last Wednesday warning him that “Unita’s headquarters at Jamba are in jeopardy” and demanding that “aircraft
THE NAMIBIAN DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

2.1 Population

The physical and geographical features of Namibia are harsh and largely unfavourable to human endeavour, resulting in a great diversity in the size and distribution of the Namibian population. Table 2.1 gives the Namibian population 1981 and composition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POPULATION GROUPS</th>
<th>NUMBERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ovambos</td>
<td>326,249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavangos</td>
<td>140,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>76,307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herero</td>
<td>51,377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damara</td>
<td>48,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namas</td>
<td>42,293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colour</td>
<td>26,821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caprivian</td>
<td>23,975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San (B)</td>
<td>21,801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baster</td>
<td>19,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawana</td>
<td>19,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>10,985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>623,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Based on population of the Namibian Section, 1988 Census.

In 1988 the Ovambos numbered 623,000, virtually half of the total population. The northern ecological zone (Ovambo/Kavango/Kapriv) is inhabited by 787,000 people or 63 per cent of the total population in 1988. The percentage composition of the population has not changed significantly.

1. The population groups are official classifications.
3. The 1988 projections are estimates that have been calculated on an annual population growth of 3% for all population groups, 1.5% for Whites and nil for "others".

Angola: US must get its act together

SINCE Dr Chester Crocker stepped down last March, US policy towards Angola has been driven by the motto "African solutions to African problems". Unfortunately, it hasn't worked. The new policy is now in a truer sense, "African solutions to African solutions to African problems". In the absence of a peace plan, the parties have made their own war plans. The mediation of Zaire's President Mobutu has turned into a tasteless joke. Neither side has confidence left in the man. And now, having abandoned the lessons of the past eight years and failed to develop even the flimsiest conceptual framework of what a workable settlement might look like, the State Department's Africanists are reduced to wondering who lost Mavinga.

About 66% of the town was in MPLA hands as of Friday, although Unita appeared to be clawing its way back into what remained of the airport. While casualties were...
Liberalising Angola

LUANDA - The first news of East Germany's New Forum movement came out of family homes where men and women of books and quill pensions about peace, PLA change and political ideals over coffee.

In a sitting room which fights to stem the roar of traffic on the Largo 4 de Fevereiro as it sweeps along Luanda's limpid Baía Azul, Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, a lawyer, former priest and a man also of books and ideals, represents Angola's new opposition political force.

The comparison to New Forum is irresistible; Pinto de Andrade draws it himself, stressing that he is president of an organisation seeking not political power but the space for political expression.

Dialogue

New Forum's founding document said late last year: "We are asking for a dialogue beyond or outside the Party." History tells the rest.

"Angola is a closed society," says Pinto de Andrade, who was elected president of the Angolan Civic Association on January 25, this year by its 130-member founding group.

"Before independence we had colonial rule. After independence we had a party (the MPLA) which conquered the others (Unita and FNLA) and arrived in the ruling position by armed force. There were no elections.

The MPLA was imposed on the society," Pinto de Andrade was himself a founder member of the MPLA in 1956. A year before independence, on November 11, 1975, he broke from the MPLA to form MPLA - Active Revolt, one of two factions which opposed the MPLA itself.

"Following independence he was detained by the new rulers. Today he describes the MPLA as a "monolith," a force which perceives itself as the exclusive director of the society."

"A 15 years of civil war in Angola the society is bi-polarised. If you're not MPLA you're Unita and vice versa. Therefore, the real Angolan society, the civil society, has no role in the country, caught as it is between these two opposing military forces."

He believes that peace will come now, but an end to the war holds new dangers: either one party will emerge as dominant or the MPLA and Unita will "divide the cake." In either case the majority of Angolans will remain excluded.

"By power sharing or domination, government remains an imposition on society."

The ACA's goal is to provide the space in which the voice of this silent population may be heard; the voices of those who have chosen "one boat or the other" because there has been no alternative - and because they have needed jobs and security.

"Pinto de Andrade says he does not want an executive political role though and he remains committed to the slow task of spreading the ACA idea. Angolan law recognises liberty of association in principle and seeking to exploit this, the ACA group has sought legal approval."

The Ministry of Justice examined its founding documents in February, finding the organisation's aims legal.

"But they said there were political questions not within the cam-
Eight Angolan civilians killed

WESTERN-backed Angolan rebels accused the Marxist government on Tuesday of killing eight civilians in air raids on the southern guerrilla-held town of Likuwa.

A Unita statement issued in Lisbon said the government used MiG-23s in attacks on Monday on the village which lies near the disputed guerrilla base of Mavinga.
Talks on Cuban pull-out

Lisbon - Angolan and Cuban officials meet for the second time in Luanda today to discuss Havana's decision to suspend the withdrawal of its 50,000 troops from Angola.

Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro Vandaem, said the suspension had concerned the international community. Havana ordered a pause in the troop pull-out last month after Western-backed rebels killed four Cuban soldiers. The Unitas rebels say they regret the deaths of the four Cubans and claim they were unintentional.

The local government news agency Angop reports that sporadic fighting has continued in three provinces over the past week.

Government forces claim 35 guerrillas and 16 civilians have been killed. Unitas claims 105 government soldiers died in an attack on a supply convoy.

The two sides routinely dismiss each other's casualty figures as propaganda. — Reuters.
HAVANA — Cuba and Angola said yesterday that they would resume talks to withdraw their troops from Angola, which are expected to resume in the coming days after a previous meeting.

The Cuban government announced that it will withdraw its troops from Angola, where they have been stationed for several years. The Angolan government has also agreed to withdraw its troops from Angola, which it says are being held in place by the South African government.

The talks between Cuba and Angola are expected to be held in Havana, where the two nations have a long history of cooperation. The talks will be focused on the withdrawal of troops and the normalization of relations between the two nations.

A previous meeting between Cuba and Angola to discuss the withdrawal of troops was held in May 2019. However, the talks were unable to reach an agreement, and the two nations have since been unable to agree on the withdrawal of troops.

The withdrawal of troops is expected to be a significant step in the normalization of relations between Cuba and Angola, which have been tense in recent years due to political differences.

The talks will be held in Havana, where the two nations have a long history of cooperation. The talks will be focused on the withdrawal of troops and the normalization of relations between the two nations.

A previous meeting between Cuba and Angola to discuss the withdrawal of troops was held in May 2019. However, the talks were unable to reach an agreement, and the two nations have since been unable to agree on the withdrawal of troops.

The withdrawal of troops is expected to be a significant step in the normalization of relations between Cuba and Angola, which have been tense in recent years due to political differences.
BRUSSELS. — A team of West European chemical warfare experts accused the Angolan government yesterday of using chemical weapons against its population for years, while fighting the Western-backed Unita rebels.

Belgian Professor Aubin Heyndrickx, who led a team that visited the scene of alleged attacks, collected samples and examined victims. He issued a statement to Reuters in English, through Ghent University in Belgium.

"The clinical and toxicological studies show clearly that the chemical bombs have gassed the population in this region, recently and for many years," Prof Heyndrickx said.

His statement is one of the first independent confirmations of charges made by the rebels. The MPLA government in Luanda has denied using chemical weapons in the 15-year civil war.

Pik's visit to Luanda postponed for week

LUANDA. — Angolan government sources said yesterday that a visit to Luanda by South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, originally expected today, had been postponed for one week and would take place on March 1.

Sources at the Luanda Foreign Ministry said they had been informed of the postponement by a telex from the SA Department of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Botha's office also said he would not make the trip today. — Sapa-AP

often referred to as the poor man's atomic bomb, is prohibited under a 1925 Geneva protocol.

The statement was datelined Jamba, Unita's headquarters in south-eastern Angola, but gave no details of areas visited by the team.

The statement said the team had examined civilians who had been "severely intoxicated by the chemical bombs used by the MPLA and the government of Luanda against the villages of Unita."

"The environmental samples have been analysed on the spot as well as the exploded bombs ... No therapy, using different pharmaceutical products, could decontaminate the victims," the statement said.

It gave no further details.

Prof Heyndrickx was accompanied by colleagues from the Universities of Madrid, Vienna and Innsbruck.

Talks on a worldwide ban on making and possessing chemical weapons are in progress in Geneva, and the super-powers have promised to sign an agreement destroying most of their chemical weapons stocks.

Prof Heyndrickx was called in to examine victims of chemical attacks in the Iran-Iraq Gulf War. — Sapa-Reuters
‘In retaliation for Unita attacks’

Angolan air force bombs rebel targets

LUANDA — The Angolan air force claims it has bombed military targets near the Unita’s headquarters.

In a statement issued this weekend the air force command said two fighter-bombers had attacked positions close to Jamba, the bush stronghold of Unita, some 335 km southeast of Luanda.

The statement said the planes bombed Jamba on Saturday to punish the rebels for recent attacks that sabotaged Luanda’s water and electricity services and hit government supply lines to the frontline in fighting between the two sides near Mavinga, some 250 km northwest of Jamba.

There was no immediate comment from the rebels on the air force claims, or independent confirmation of the attack.

Unita officials said recently Jamba’s air defences, which include US-supplied radar systems and Stinger ground-to-air missiles, made the headquarters safe from air attack.

But according to observers in Luanda, Soviet-built Sukhoi-25 fighter-bombers supplied to the Angolan government last year can reach Jamba by flying low over the ground to avoid radar detection.

Observers in Luanda said the attack could have been made by Sukhoi 25’s flying from the air base of Cuito Carnavale some 400 km northwest of Jamba.

Cuito Carnavale air strip was captured from the rebels by government forces in 1987 and has recently been modernised by government engineers.

**Cuban pull-out**

In a separate development, some 150 Cuban troops were reported to have flown out of Luanda for Havana yesterday morning.

The contingent was the first to leave Angola since the Cuban government suspended a withdrawal of its troops after four soldiers perished in a Unita attack on January 26.

Cuba agreed to pull out its 50,000 troops supporting the Angolan government in a 1988 accord signed in New York with Angola and South Africa. The accord linked the withdrawal to South Africa ending aid to Unita and granting independence to Angola’s southern neighbour, Namibia.

Angola and Cuba agreed last Tuesday to resume the withdrawal after Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi pledged his forces would not launch further attacks against the Cubans.

The battle for Mavinga, said to be the heaviest in 15 years of fighting, has raged since government forces launched an offensive late December to capture an airstrip and Unita base there.

Unita has being fighting to force the Luanda government to share power since Angola gained independence from Portugal in 1975. — AP
BOMB SAVIMBI HQ.

Angolan Warplanes

get into an aircraft at Libreville

get into an aircraft at Libreville

get into an aircraft at Libreville

get into an aircraft at Libreville

get into an aircraft at Libreville

get into an aircraft at Libreville

get into an aircraft at Libreville
Angola claims: We bombed Unita HQ.

LISBON — The Angolan government said it bombed Unita headquarters at the weekend, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

An armed forces statement said two fighter-bombers raided military targets at Jamba, deep in the south-west bush.

The statement described Saturday's raid as punitive action in retaliation for recent guerrilla sabotage attacks against Luanda's power and water supplies.

No Unita spokesman was available for comment.

**Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has said in letters to Portuguese leaders he is willing to accept a single national Angolan army and is "open to all realistic suggestions" for a negotiated peace, reports the Lisbon weekly Expresso.**

In a recent letter to Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva, Savimbi said he was ready to "accept a single national army without prior political dialogue".

In a separate note to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation Jose Manuel Durao Barroso, Savimbi said he was "open to all realistic suggestions".

The paper added that Portuguese diplomatic sources said the Luanda government responded favourably. — Sapa-Reuter-AF.
Unita rebels deny air raid on headquarters

LISBON. — Angolan rebels rejected yesterday a claim by the Marxist government that it had bombed their bush headquarters at the weekend.

A statement issued in Lisbon by the US-backed Unita rebels said foreign journalists at the Jamba base in southern Angola could testify that the government had not raided military targets on Saturday as it claimed.

Mavinga, a strategic Unita base, has seen very heavy fighting in the past month. Both sides claim it is in their hands. A government statement on Saturday described the air raid on Jamba as punitive action in retaliation for guerrilla attacks on Luanda.

— Sapa-Reuters
Unita's war chest sparkles

LUANDA — In deepest, war-torn Angola, diamonds are still picked from the earth.

Most, according to Unita diamond expert Maj Diao Vasconcelos, are still carried through the bush on porters' backs. But, in reality, the porters wear military uniforms and the diamonds are mined to finance a brutal civil war.

Unita rebels have vastly increased diamond production over the past few years, says Vasconcelos, as he stands over a table spread with 9,000 carats of uncut diamonds, valued at $2.4m. They are a small part of last year's take.

The 1989 total will be 45,000 carats, or about $14m, he says.

Five years ago, the rebels received only $1m for their diamonds. Now Unita has a more sophisticated operation. In time Unita could be self-sufficient, but it is still thankful for the $99m in cash it received last year from the US.

The size of rebel diamond profits will not comfort the Marxist Angolan government, which has been fighting Unita for 15 years.

Role

Next year, Vasconcelos estimates, Unita will triple the value of its production to $12m — a result of bigger mines, more manpower, and continued prospecting.

"Diamonds are playing the biggest role in our own contribution to the war," says Unita leader Jonas Savimbi. "We get most of them from trading with the local population."

Unita gives the locals radios, clothing and "things they need" in exchange.

Vasconcelos is an Angolan, trained for two years in Canada and three years in London. His tiny office in Jamba is fitted with electronic scales, magnifying glasses, prospecting maps and sorting tools. He estimates the value of each stone and prepares it for the European market in accordance with international standards.

The major has already trained 36 Angolans as geologists. Four of them can estimate a diamond's value.

"We have no smuggling problems because our people are not exposed to the world and have no market to sell them to," the major says.

Unita operates both river and open-pit mines, some in the south-eastern third of Angola which Unita controls, and others in nominally government-held areas. The techniques are crude but productive.

"At the moment Unita does not have enough equipment," Vasconcelos says. The rebels operate three dammed-river sites in the area, each with about 350 workers.

Seven open-pit mines are also under excavation.

The diamonds are carried back to Jamba by porters. But Unita appears to have few security problems compared with government mines, which have been plagued by smuggling.

Unita's link to European markets is SA's De Beers company which, ironically, worked with the MPLA until 1985.

Unita diamonds fetch from $80 a carat for low quality industrial diamonds to $100 a carat for the best stones. In 1989, the rebels averaged $310 a carat.

According to Savimbi, for a guerrilla army with an annual budget of $60m that is no small change. If anything, it guarantees their survival. — Sunday Telegraph
New diplomatic breakthrough • FW, Dos Santos to meet

From KEN VERNON
Argus Africa News Service
LUANDA. — In a major diplomatic breakthrough, President De Klerk will meet Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in a few weeks, it was learnt here today.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who arrives here today, will prepare the agenda for the summit meeting with his Angolan counterpart, Mr Pedro de Castro van Dupen Loy and discuss bilateral cooperation between the two countries.

It is the first time Mr Botha will have travelled to Luanda since Angola's independence in 1975, although he had previous contacts with top level Angolan officials during the negotiations for Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

Last year, the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Neil van Heerden, had a short meeting with President dos Santos in Luanda.

The talks between Mr Botha and Mr Loy are scheduled to last three hours. According to the agenda they will exchange information on the internal situation in both countries as well as bilateral cooperation.

Diplomatic sources say the resolution of the protracted war between the MPLA government and the Unita rebel movement is likely to be the main topic of discussion.

LACK OF PROGRESS

They say the prospect of improved trade links between the two countries is being hindered by the lack of progress in the peace initiative.

The foreign ministers will also discuss a meeting between the heads of state.

Although a date for the meeting has not yet been set, well-informed sources said it could take place before the end of the month.

Mr Botha is scheduled to meet President dos Santos for about an hour this afternoon before returning home.

Diplomatic sources here said the scheduled meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr dos Santos is regarded as the biggest breakthrough in black Africa by the South African government.
US sends arms to besieged Unita rebels

WASHINGTON. — The United States has rushed arms supplies to Unita rebels under siege by Soviet-backed government forces in Angola. Angolan representatives said after meeting US defence officials.

It was the first meeting at the US Defence Department with officials from Angola, which does not have diplomatic relations with the United States.

Peace talks

General Roberto Leal Monteiro, an adviser to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and Justice Minister Fernando Franca Van Dunem, met the Defence Department's Angola Task Force on Tuesday.

The officials urged the United States to stop arming Unita so that peace talks, stalled since last summer, could resume.

US officials said privately the Angolans complained that the mediator in the conflict, Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, was dragging his feet.

The administration, under strong pressure from conservatives in Congress, has pledged to Unita in recent weeks that it would fully support the rebels who are engaged in the most bitter fighting of Angola's 15-year civil war.

General Monteiro said two ships loaded with weapons for Unita had arrived since February 2 at the port of Matadi in northern Zaire.

The arms were then flown to a US-built airfield in Unita territory in south-eastern Zaire, he said.

The Angolan army also has intelligence information that five to eight US military advisers are helping Unita at the guerrillas' headquarters in the town of Jamba.

Mr Van Dunem said Angola's air force bombed a military command post in Jamba last Saturday, but he denied Unita claims that chemical weapons were used.

Official figures of the extent of US aid for Unita are secret. Estimates range from $40 to $80 million and are said to include Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

General Monteiro said Unita blew up the airstrip at Mavinga to prevent it falling into enemy hands. Fighting around Mavinga continues in what he described as clean-up operations.

Fighting continues

A State Department official said fighting continues around Mavinga, but "it's not clear if either controls the entire town". The official could not confirm that Jamba had been bombed.

Meanwhile, the Angolan government said yesterday that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi may have been hurt in a raid on his bush headquarters but the guerrillas rejected the report.

An Angolan military source, quoted by the Portuguese news agency Lusa in Luanda, said Dr Savimbi could have been wounded during Saturday's bomb attack on Jamba. — Sapa-Reuters.
Economic giant may grow from Luanda meeting

It is a sign of the changing political situation in southern Africa that Foreign Minister Pik Botha will be arriving in Luanda in the same week that the Cubans resumed their withdrawal from Angola.

For as the Soviet bloc withdraws from Africa and the European Community looks towards integration and eastern Europe for bigger economic returns, a growing awareness now exists in the region that co-operation could result in the creation of an economic giant in southern Africa.

Angola and South Africa are the richest southern African countries, with virtually unlimited economic ties.

Business sources, who in the past few months have had contacts with Luanda, said the first tentative steps have already been taken in several fields. Business contacts through Namibian based companies have also been established.

Mineral wealth

They point out that Angola’s mineral wealth (oil, diamonds, iron ore) combined with South Africa’s own riches and technical expertise could have major implications for the whole region.

Even Angolan political figures identified with the more orthodox wing of the ruling MPLA party have recognised the need for co-operation.

In December, Mr Roberto de Almeida, MPLA’s secretary for ideology, told the Star’s Africa News Service in Luanda that his government recognised that South Africa was an economic power in the region.

“If in this region South Africa could become a partner in the economy in the social services, in fact in everything. We thus see co-operation as possible,” Mr de Almeida said.

Paradoxically, it is widely believed that the long-time mentors of the Angolan government — the Soviet Union — have given their nod of approval to growing economic ties between Luanda and Pretoria.

Regional co-operation could prevent Western Europe from dealing individually with the mineral-rich southern African countries, resulting in more stable prices which would also benefit the mineral rich Soviet Union.

In the short term the possibilities are also immense. A short stay-in one of the two hotels that still function in Luanda shows that literally everything — mineral water, cold drinks, beer, butter, jams, canned fruit, wine — is imported from Europe.

“We are aware that everything we now get from Europe is readily available much nearer and much cheaper,” an MPLA central committee member said last year in Luanda, adding that South Africa could easily become Portugal’s biggest competitor in Angola.

Politically, an understanding between Angola and South Africa would also have serious implications for the region.

South Africa still maintains close contacts with the UNITA rebel group and Angola was for a long time the main logistical and training base of the ANC, with which it is said to maintain close ties.

Thus, the two countries could play an important role in pushing each other’s armed opposition towards the negotiating table.

Manoeuvrability

At a regional level Mozambique is understood to be a keen supporter of a rapprochement between Angola and South Africa. Both Mozambique and Angola are members of the six-nation Frontline States and their influence within that group cannot be overlooked.

Unlike the other four Frontline States, the two former Portuguese colonies are not members of the British Commonwealth. They thus have greater political manoeuvrability in dealing with South Africa, which in turn creates problems for anyone who thought of Zimbabwe as the possible centre of Frontline politics.

President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, who has himself met President F W de Klerk and who played a role in establishing contacts between Pretoria and Moscow, is said to be a keen supporter of a meeting between the South African head of state and his Angolan counterpart.

If Mr Botha’s visit to Luanda is a success that meeting could take place as soon as next month.
Peace initiative on agenda

Pik flies to Luanda for top-level talks

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha flies to Luanda today to meet his Angolan counterpart for the first time on Angolan soil.

Diplomatic sources believe that the Angolans, who requested the meeting, would like to discuss establishing trade links with South Africa, but it seems that the resolution of the protracted war between the MPLA government and Unita will dominate the talks.

Mr Botha, his department's director-general, Mr Neil van Heerden, deputy director-general Mr Rusty Evans and other officials will meet an Angolan delegation headed by Foreign Minister Mr Pedro Loy van Dujem.

Although the faltering peace initiative seems likely to dominate, SA diplomatic sources say Angola is also eager to establish bilateral links.

They say Angola has shown that it wants trade links with South Africa, selling its raw materials, especially oil, in exchange for SA-manufactured goods and food. But the sources say the prospect of such links is being 'hindered by the lack of progress in the peace initiative'.

It seems then South Africa is likely to put pressure on the Angolan government to resume peace talks with Unita, which collapsed with the full-scale offensive by the MPLA against Unita's Jamba stronghold.

The Angolan government clearly hopes to persuade the SA Government to put pressure on Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to meet its conditions for calling off the war, which require Unita to merge into the present constitutional structure.

- The US has rushed arms to Unita rebels under siege by government troops, Angolan government representatives said yesterday in Washington.
- They urged the US to stop arming Unita so the stalled peace talks could resume.
- General Roberto Leal Monteiro, an adviser to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and Justice Minister Mr Fernando France van Dunem met US Defence Department officials on Tuesday. — Sapa-AP.
Angola, SA in wide-ranging talks

The Star's Africa News Service
LUANDA — South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha shook hands with Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos here yesterday in a meeting that could have major ramifications for relations between the two countries.

The meeting took place after a South African delegation led by Mr Botha and an Angolan delegation led by Foreign Minister Mr Pedro Lol van Dunem held discussions on a wide range of topics, including reform in South Africa, the impasse in peace negotiations in Angola and future trade links.

The timing of a meeting between Mr dos Santos and the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, was also discussed, but no date was released.

From the content of the speeches of welcome it was obvious economic co-operation was near the top of the agenda. This was confirmed later when Mr van Dunem, in an exclusive interview, said his government was working on the creation of direct trade links with South Africa.

Mr Botha referred to the potential wealth of Angola, and its lack of technical expertise that SA could presumably supply.

He returned constantly to the theme of a united Europe in 1992 bypassing individual African countries, and stressing that a united southern African trading bloc could secure a far better deal for all.

At a press conference after the talks, Mr Botha side-stepped a question on whether the talks represented a change in SA's policy of support for Unita.

After reviewing the South African commitment to a peaceful solution in Angola, he said "it takes time to stop a ship's engines and turn the ship around", adding that perhaps South Africa had "reached that spot".

Asked if South Africa might play a mediating role in ending the Angolan civil war, Mr Botha said if SA could play a facilitating role, it stood ready to do so. Asked if it had been asked to do so, he said it was difficult to answer all such questions at this time.

Questioned on the impasse in peace negotiations with Unita, Mr van Dunem said his government was now "very close to face to face discussions" with Unita on ending the conflict.
Angolan summit for FW

LUANDA — In a major diplomatic breakthrough, President de Klerk will meet Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos within the next few weeks, it was learnt here today.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who arrives here today, will prepare the agenda for the summit meeting with his Angolan counterpart Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy and will also discuss bilateral cooperation between the two countries.

Although a date for the meeting has not yet been set, well-informed sources said it could take place before the end of the month.

Diplomatic sources here said the scheduled meeting between Mr dos Santos and Mr de Klerk is regarded as the biggest breakthrough in black Africa by the South African Government.

See Page 3 and 21.
Pik on one-day visit to Angola

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha will fly to Luanda today for his first visit to the Angolan capital since the former Portuguese colony became independent, his spokesman said yesterday.

Botha will meet Angolan Foreign Minister Loy van Dunem on his one-day visit.

The visit was expected to take place a week ago, but was postponed.

Botha has been in Angola since 1975, but it was a trip to the southern part of the country where he and other SA Cabinet ministers, including former President PW Botha, visited SA troops fighting the Angolan army.

SA withdrew its troops from Angola in 1988 and ended all aid to Unita last year. — Sapa-AP.
Pik on one-day visit to Angola

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha will fly to Luanda today for his first visit to the Angolan capital since the former Portuguese colony became independent, his spokesman said yesterday.

Botha will meet Angolan Foreign Minister Loy van Dunem on his one-day visit.

The visit was expected to take place a week ago, but was postponed.

Botha has been in Angola since 1975, but it was a trip to the southern part of the country where he and other SA Cabinet ministers, including former President P W Botha, visited SA troops fighting the Angolan army.

SA withdrew its troops from Angola in 1988 and ended all aid to Unita last year. — Sapa-AP.
Botha's Angola meeting spells regional change

Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — Foreign Minister Pik Botha has shaken hands with Angolan President Edwaro Dos Santos, in an historic meeting which may have major ramifications for relations between the two countries.

The meeting took place yesterday after a delegation led by Mr Botha and an Angolan delegation led by Foreign Minister Pedro Loi van Dunem held discussions on topics ranging from the reform process in South Africa, through the impasse in Angolan peace negotiations to future trade links.

Also discussed was the timing of a proposed meeting between Mr Dos Santos and President De Klerk, but no date was released.

Before beginning more than an hour of private discussion with Mr Botha, Mr Dos Santos said he wanted to make public the congratulations he had already conveyed privately to the South African government and Mr De Klerk on the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other recent reforms.

He said he regarded their meeting as an "historic event" to which Mr Botha replied that it was time for the two countries to put aside the bitterness and distrust of the past and work together for the benefit of the entire region.

"Direct links"

From the welcome speeches, it became obvious that the topic of economic co-operation must have been near the top of the talks agenda.

This was confirmed later when Mr Van Dunem said his government was "working on direct trade links" with South Africa.

Mr Botha referred to the potential wealth of Angola, and its lack of technical expertise — which South Africa could presumably supply.

It seemed, though, that the two countries may have "agreed to disagree" on how to end the impasse in peace talks between the MPLA government of Angola and Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita movement, a former ally of South Africa.

Mr Van Dunem reiterated his government's commitment to the integration of Unita into existing government institutions, while Mr Botha called for African countries to move away from one party solutions to their problems.

He did say that if South Africa could "play" a "facilitating role," it stood ready to do so.
FW to meet dos Santos privately?

By KEN POTTINGER

Lisbon

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and his Angolan counterpart Jose Eduardo dos Santos will meet formally and alone for the first time in Windhoek later this month, says a report here.

The leading Lisbon weekly Expresso said yesterday that the meeting had been fixed for March 22 in talks in Luanda on Thursday between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Duzeren.

The atmosphere of the meeting was said to be "remarkably open" amid signs that a new era in relations between Pretoria and Luanda is beginning.

Expresso said the foreign ministers discussed their respective support for Unita and the ANC. The paper said South Africa had undertaken to stop aid to the Angolan rebels in return for a promise that Luanda would pressure the ANC to moderate its political demands.

The report said South Africa had agreed to launch an unpublished economic aid programme for Angola.

Meetings between South African businessmen and the Angolan authorities to study investment and other opportunities in the former Portuguese colony are planned.
LUANDA — Unita forces appealed for a ceasefire in their 15-year war with the Angolan government yesterday as South Africa, Cuba and Angola met to review a regional peace accord which will usher in Namibia's independence this month.

Wounded rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said he was ready to accept an immediate ceasefire, organised by Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko, if government troops would abandon military gains of the past two months.

Dr Savimbi's statement was the first time Unita rebels had admitted the government had scored military victories recently.

Government forces said they had captured the key Unita-held town of Mavinga and twice bombed rebel headquarters at Jamba, deep in southeastern Angola, during a military offensive that began in December.

"I am ready to sign a ceasefire if government forces withdraw to their previous positions," Dr Savimbi said, adding: "Government forces hold Mavinga."

The Unita chief, who said he had been wounded during the February 24 bombing of Mavinga, said the truce should be worked out by Mr Mobutu.

The ceasefire should be followed by a transitional government under the leadership of a man of integrity, he said, recommending Mr Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, head of a newly formed Angolan civic association known as the Progressive Group, for such a role.

Mr Mobutu has tried unsuccessfully since last year to mediate an end to the Angolan civil war which began when the country gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

In Luanda officials from Cuba, Angola and South Africa met for talks marking the halfway point in a peace accord between the former enemies.

"We hope this meeting will make an important contribution to peace and stability in southern Africa in particular, and to the whole of the Southern African region in general," Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem told the meeting.

"We hope it will bring into view the social and economic development which the people of our sub-continent want," he added.

One diplomat said: "I think the meeting will go smoothly. There isn't anything very contentious on the agenda." — Sapa-Reuters
Savimbi urges ceasefire, admits Mavinga defeat

LUANDA. — Unita rebel forces have appealed for a ceasefire in their 15-year war with the Angolan government as South Africa, Cuba and Angola met to review a regional peace accord ushering in Namibia's independence this month.

Rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi told Unita radio yesterday he was ready to accept an immediate ceasefire, organised by Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko, if government troops would abandon recent military gains.

Dr Savimbi's statement was the first Unita acknowledgment of government military victories.

Government forces said they captured Mavinga and twice bombed Unita headquarters at Jamba, during a military offensive begun in December.

Dr Savimbi said: "I am ready to sign a ceasefire if government forces withdraw to their previous positions. Government forces hold Mavinga."

The truce should be worked out by President Mobutu, Dr Savimbi said.

It is reported from Washington, however, that the United States and an Unita spokesman there yesterday denied this report.

A US State Department statement said: "According to our information, control of Mavinga is still contested."

The Unita spokesman said Dr Savimbi's statement had been distorted by government radio. He had actually said: "Luanda says that government forces hold Mavinga. This is false." — Sapa-Reuters.

Antarctic epic explorers
Wounded Savimbi appeals for ceasefire

LUANDA — Unita yesterday appealed for a ceasefire in its 15-year war with the Angolan government as the Joint Monitoring Commission met to review a regional peace accord which will usher in Namibia’s independence this month.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi told Unita radio he was ready to accept an immediate ceasefire, organised by Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, if government abandoned gains of the past two months.

Savimbi’s statement was the first time Unita had admitted the government had recently scored military victories.

Government forces say they have captured the key town of Mavinga and twice bombed Unita headquarters at Jamba since December.

“I am ready to sign a ceasefire if government forces withdraw to their previous positions,” Savimbi said, adding: “Government forces hold Mavinga.”

Savimbi, who said he had been wounded during the February 24 bombing of Mavinga, said the truce should be worked out by Mobutu.

The ceasefire should be followed by a transitional government under the leadership of a man of integrity, he said, recom-
Angolan peace talks ‘days away’

LUANDA — Peace talks between the Angolan government and Unita could start within days, SA Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden said yesterday.

"I hope it will be within days," he said when asked when talks would open between the Luanda government and Unita.

Van Heerden had been attending a two-day meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission in Luanda.

He discounted suggestions that the talks would be held in Zaire under the auspices of President Mobutu Sese Seko. "We'll have to find a really special little spot somewhere else," he said.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos and Unita agreed to a verbal peace accord last June, which fell apart only days later with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi angrily rejecting terms to which he was supposed to have agreed.

"SA has access to both sides and in any negotiating process that is a very useful position, and we will use that position and the confidence which has arisen with both sides to bring about conditions which favour a settlement," Van Heerden said.

He said Dos Santos had reacted well to Foreign Minister Pik Botha's offer last Thursday to play a facilitating role.

"It is my impression that President dos Santos is serious about finding a settlement which ends the war and that he wants to use every opportunity, also SA involvement to bring that about," he said. — Sapa-Reuters.
Cuban withdrawal ‘slow but sure’

Political Staff
CUBAN troop withdrawal from Angola was still intact in spite of being marginally behind schedule, said the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden.

The Cubans had indicated they would not achieve the target of moving 33,000 soldiers out of the country by April.

But Mr Van Heerden said they would fall only a few hundred behind and would stick to the agreed timetable of the last man out by June next year.

Speaking after two days of talks in Luanda with the Joint Commission consisting of South Africa, Angola and Cuba, he said the Cubans would resume troop withdrawal after freezing it in response to two attacks on them by Unita rebels.

“We made it clear that any continuation of the withdrawal suspension beyond that timeframe would not be acceptable,” he said.

The Cubans had to reactivate their troop pipeline out of Angola and assured the commission they would do their best not to fall behind.

“They hope to make it up by October,” he said.

“My own feeling is the Cubans will find ways and means to catch up with this schedule and will not allow a couple of hundred soldiers to endanger this process. I feel the Cuban troop withdrawal is intact.”
Poison war: Victims in mute testimony

LIKWA, (Southeastern Angola).—Sixteen-year-old Rodrigo Sambatele was walking out of his bush classroom near Mavinga this month when the fighter-bomber dropped its lethal cargo.

"It did not sound so much like a bomb. More like a bucket of water falling on the ground," he recalled.

The teenager could not remember much else as, shortly afterwards, he was overcome by fumes. What he did not forget, however, was the thick black smoke that came out of the bomb.

"It smelt like periperi," he said.

Rodrigo was lucky. He was pulled out of the area and taken to a Unita hospital where a few weeks after the bombing he still has a chest, difficulty in breathing and spells of dizziness. His brother did not survive.

The young Unita student is one of the many victims of what the rebel movement describes as chemical warfare — an allegation that the Angolan government denies and to which the international community is largely indifferent.

Last week, an international team of doctors spent some time in Unita-held areas to verify the claims, accompanied by several foreign journalists.

And, although a bit of uncertainty still surrounds the type of bomb used, the doctors were unanimous that something unconventional had been used. It would be difficult at this stage to say precisely what it was though.

Anti-communist

Professor A Heydrickx of Belgium is, however, certain that a new type of chemical weapon is being used. Considered an expert in the field of chemical warfare, Professor Heydrickx is, however, something of a controversial figure in the Belgian academic world as his strong anti-communist feelings are said sometimes to have made him jump to conclusions without scientific proof and to have clouded his judgment.

It was he who, about two years ago, first raised the question of chemical weapons being used in Angola. But the matter was quickly forgotten, not only because of lack of sufficient proof but also because of the professor’s credentials. Unita has stuck to the professor’s disputed facts as proof that the other side is using chemical warfare.

However, to his credit, Professor Heydrickx travelled to Moscow with his findings where he was candidly told that indeed the type of bomb he suspected the Angolan army of using had been supplied by the Soviets.

Poisonous reaction

But the Soviets told him that the bomb was not a chemical weapon as it did not fall within the definition established by the 1925 Geneva Convention on chemical warfare.

"They said it was an incendiary bomb," Professor Heydrickx said.

The problem is that the products they add to the bomb provoke the poisonous chemical reaction which kills people. There is an urgent need to redefine the Geneva Convention on chemical warfare to prevent this type of situation.

This time he came back with a larger team of experts, most of them not linked academically to him.

And, even though the rest of the team was convinced that further research was needed, there was clear unanimity that “something unconventional” had indeed been used.

Evelyn Le Chene, an independent British researcher who was also in Angola, said it seemed that whatever was used in the bombs affected the nervous system.

“A vegetable”

While the experts might be uncertain about the nature of the bombs, the soldiers on the ground have no doubt that chemical or poisonous gases are being used. Soldiers were seen to put small pieces of towel around their belts in the pathetic belief that if the bombs were dropped they could be used to protect their mouths and noses and thus be safe.

At the hospital outside Likwa, Unita soldier Alberto Campas, 26, will never be able to remember what happened on February 18 at the Mavinga front.

Campas sits in a chair while the doctors examine him. He can’t talk and has lost sensitivity in his feet, legs and hands. He has difficulty in swallowing and breathing. His eyes roll back constantly, he has almost entirely lost his hearing. His hair has partly fallen out.

"He is a vegetable," said a doctor.
Angola prepared to talk to end civil war

Mr Van Heerden said unless the war was settled there would always be a very fragile peace in Southern Africa with the danger of hostilities spilling over into Namibia.

South Africa was in a good position to help with the negotiation process, which had to take place in the context of an African solution.

Mr Van Heerden said the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola was intact despite having fallen behind schedule following an attack on Cuban troops early this year.

Peace pledge

HAVANA. — Cuba said this week that SA and the US had pledged to do their best to stop Unita from attacking Cuban forces withdrawing from Angola. They agreed that Unita's activities were a threat to peace.

Govt 'held Mavinga since Feb'

LUANADA. — Angola's left-wing government insisted yesterday its troops held the disputed town of Mavinga.

"Our forces have held Mavinga since February," Mr Joan Miranda, director of Information and propaganda, said in an interview.

Unita has, however, several times denied government claims to have captured Mavinga, the last base on the road to rebel headquarters at Jamba, during a military offensive launched in December. — Sapa-Reuters
SA, US will help curb Unita: claim

HAVANA - Cuba said this week that South Africa and the United States had pledged to do their best to stop US-backed Unita rebels from attacking Cuban forces withdrawing from Angola.

The Cuban news agency Prensa Latina quoted a statement issued after a two-day meeting, in Luanda, of South African, Cuban and Angolan officials. The Pretoria and Washington would use their "best efforts" to stop attacks by Unita.

US and Soviet observers also attended the meeting.

Meetings

Prensa Latina quoted "Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon as saying in Luanda that the meeting had accepted that Unita activities were a potential threat to peace accords signed by the three countries in December 1988.

"The two governments that are friends of Unita (South Africa and US) agreed to do everything possible to stop attacks by that subversive organisation," Alarcon said.

Last January 25 Cuba and Angola halted for a month the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, after four Cuban soldiers were killed in an Unita attack.

The Cuban pullout was regretted by the Cuban deaths.- Sapa-Reuter
Disaster for Papan

Air transport in the Far East is facing a critical situation. This region is the most important sector of the South Far East sector, and a transportation system fails to function. The passenger transport situation is critical. Air transport services are facing severe problems because of fuel shortages and other factors. The situation is worsened by the lack of coordination among various transportation modes.

A 155-mm G-5 howitzer from a typical well-concealed howitzer position in the komparta district is now ready to engage targets in the vicinity.
dealt.

1. It is important to understand the strategic situation. In a complex world, there are many factors that influence decision-making. The key to success is to identify the critical few and act accordingly.

2. The Intermediate Stage: This is the period between the pre-invasion and the main battle phases. It is crucial to maintain momentum and prepare for the main event.

3. The Main Battle Phase: This is the period when the decisive action is taken. It is important to anticipate the enemy's actions and react accordingly.

4. The Post-Battle Phase: This is the period after the main battle. It is important to consolidate gains and prepare for future operations.

**Regular articles**

1. The Role of Intelligence: Intelligence plays a crucial role in military operations. The quality of intelligence can make or break an operation.

2. The Importance of Communication: Communication is essential in military operations. It is important to ensure that all parties are on the same page.

3. The Need for Training: Training is crucial for military personnel. It is important to ensure that all personnel are prepared for the challenges they may face.

**Non-regular articles**

1. The Impact of Technology: Technology has had a significant impact on military operations. The use of technology can make or break an operation.

2. The Role of Leadership: Leadership is crucial in military operations. It is important to have strong leaders who can make the right decisions.

3. The Importance of Morale: Morale is essential in military operations. It is important to maintain high morale to ensure that personnel are motivated.

**Notes**

- Regular articles are typically more formal and are intended for a general audience.
- Non-regular articles are usually more informal and are intended for a specific audience.

**Conclusion**

In summary, military operations are complex and require a combination of factors to be successful. It is important to understand the strategic situation, maintain momentum, and prepare for the future.
Call for US neutrality in Angola's 15-year-old war

LUANDA. — Soviet-backed Angola has condemned the United States for "stubbornly" continuing to support rightist rebels fighting its rule and demanded US neutrality in the 15-year-old civil war.

Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro Van-Dunen yesterday told his Soviet counterpart, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, that Angola blamed Washington for helping to fuel the government's war with Unita insurgents.

He told Mr Shevardnadze, in Luanda on the first leg of a 10-day tour of Southern Africa, that Angola was seeking international help to repair damage done by guerrillas in recent raids.

"It is clear that Unita's actions ... can take place only due to the stubborn help of the United States.

"The Angolan government demands that this administration assume a neutral position in the Angolan conflict," he said.

"Once more we ask our compatriots to put down their arms ... and to allow direct dialogue," he said.

Mr Van-Dunen asked for international help to repair damage done by guerrillas in recent attacks such as one on a dam in Cunene province.

He said Unita sabotage was costing Angola millions of dollars.

"Peace remains a hope and not a reality in Angola," he said.

Mr Shevardnadze, who will take part in Namibian independence celebrations on Wednesday, reaffirmed Moscow's support for the Angolan government.

He also said talks set between South Africa's nationalist movement, the African National Congress, and the government of President De Klerk, scheduled for April 11, would be an important step towards a democratic government in South Africa. — Sapa-Reuters.
Cubans forces told to retaliate to Unita attack

HAVANA. — Cuba yesterday said it had instructed its troops in Angola to retaliate against US-backed Unita rebels for an attack last Saturday against a Cuban supply column.

An Armed Forces Ministry statement said one Cuban soldier was killed and six were injured, one seriously, when Unita guerrillas ambushed the supply column near the village of Longonjo, south-west of Huambo City in central Angola.

"This new aggression against Cuban troops will not go unpunished and the Cuban military command in Angola has been given the necessary orders to this effect," the statement said.

"It did not specify exactly what action would be taken but added that the United States also bore responsibility for the attack because of its political and military support for Unita."

Western diplomats said they believed that Cuba still had MiG-21 and MiG-23 fighters based in Angola and these could be used in a possible retaliatory strike against Unita bases.

The Namibian independence accord set in motion a Cuban withdrawal from Angola to be completed by mid-1991.

Following an attack by Unita on its forces in January, Cuba suspended the withdrawal of its troops.

The withdrawal was resumed on February 22 after Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi apologised for the action and the United States and South Africa said they would do their best to stop further attacks. — Reuters
Cubans forces
told to retaliate
to Unita attack

HAVANA. — Cuba yesterday said it had instructed its troops in Angola to retaliate against US-backed Unita rebels for an attack last Saturday against a Cuban supply column.

An Armed Forces Ministry statement said one Cuban soldier was killed and six were injured, one seriously, when Unita guerrillas ambushed the supply column near the village of Longonjo, south-west of Huambo City in central Angola.

“This new aggression against Cuban troops will not go unpunished and the Cuban military command in Angola has been given the necessary orders to this effect,” the statement said.

It did not specify exactly what action would be taken but added that the United States also bore responsibility for the attack because of its political and military support for Unita.

Western diplomats said they believed that Cuba still had MiG-21 and MiG-23 fighters based in Angola and these could be used in a possible retaliatory strike against Unita bases.

The Namibian independence accord set in motion a Cuban withdrawal from Angola to be completed by mid-1991.

Following an attack by Unita on its forces in January, Cuba suspended the withdrawal of its troops.

The withdrawal was resumed on February 22 after Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi apologised for the action and the United States and South Africa said they would do their best to stop further attacks. — Reuters
Savimbi waits for Angola

 tecnology • medicine
 science • environment
 problems • answers • this week

WORLD

THE WEEKLY MAIL
Angola considers democracy.

LUANDA — Angola's Marxist rulers are examining ways of introducing democratic reforms to this oneparty state. (Date: 24/11/80)

The MPLA wants to separate government functions from those of the ruling party, create a prime ministerial post appointed by the president and limit terms holding party jobs. (Date: 14/5)

"We don't feel a pressing need to change our system, but it's possible that the evolution of the system could lead, in the future, to a new system which includes several parties," President Jose Eduardo dos Santos told the New York Times in Brazil last week.

"I think that if all these changes take place we could see elections before the end of this electoral period (in 1982)," another MPLA spokesman said.

The government has christened 1980 "the year of the expansion of democracy." — Sapa-Reuter.
Many meetings

The stalled Angolan peace process seems to have had new life breathed into it. The US government has found “new flexibility” in Angola’s “attitude to peace in general,” said a senior State department official in Windhoek, after an hour of talks between Secretary of State James Baker and Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos. The meeting followed one between Dos Santos and President F W de Klerk.

Dos Santos apparently is more inclined now to an early ceasefire with Unita than he was three months ago. “Today, he feels a ceasefire is a prerequisite to peace talks,” the US official said. Baker told Dos Santos the US is prepared to improve its relations with Angola once a ceasefire has been implemented.

He also said the US would continue to “supply” Unita “until national reconciliation has been achieved.” Baker emphasised the consistency of US policy to Angola, which is “essentially our belief in a political solution and our feeling that a military solution is not possible.”

Dos Santos indicated that his government may consider entering negotiations with Unita. Baker and Dos Santos agreed that their subordinates would continue discussions over the next few days. This is in preparation for Baker’s visit to Kinshasa, next week, where he will meet the mediator, President Mobutu, as well as Jonas Savimbi.

Meanwhile, the Bush administration’s Africa man, Hank Cohen, will this week be holding discussions with Angola’s chief of staff, General Fransca Ndulu.

The Baker-Dos Santos meeting followed one on Monday in Luanda between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Dos Santos. Shevardnadze apparently also emphasised the need for a ceasefire, leading to negotiations with Unita.

Turning to Namibia, the US view is that the new constitution is a model for the rest of Africa and should be considered by SA. The issue of Walvis Bay, the US feels, should be the subject of negotiation between SA and Namibia.

Baker was also expected to use his time in Windhoek to meet German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher and Shevardnadze to discuss a united Germany.
Business Day

SURVEY

Namibia's independence carries the burden of the high expectations of the majority of its people. Most organisations concerned with investment and development believe Namibia has the potential to meet these expectations. However much depends on the first policy decisions.

MANDY JEAN WOODS reports.

TRADE LINKS WITH ANGOLA SET FOR SPEEDY REOPENING

FORMAL trade links between Namibia and Angola could be established within weeks of independence, says Windhoek attorney Peter Koep.

At the request of the Angolan government and Namibian President Sam Nujoma, Koep organised a visit to Angola by group of Namibian businessmen in late January to investigate opening up trade.

"It was only once we arrived in Angola that we realised the extent to which the economy has suffered as a result of the war and decolonisation," says Koep.

"Angola needs everything. The Angolans are keen to trade with Namibia, especially foodstuffs, spare parts, engines and heavy machinery." The country is also in dire need of expertise and technology.

The Namibian delegation made contact with a Namibian bank and the Angola Reserve Bank with a view to financing and expediting trade between the two countries, he says.

An Angolan trade delegation visited Namibia in early March to investigate Namibia's resources. They were impressed by the availability of goods, competitive prices and infrastructure Namibia offered.

Koep says: "They went to Walvis Bay to see off-loading of refined oil, cement and timber facilities. They were surprised to see how under-utilised the harbour was."

"The delegation was very keen to get business going. They want southern Angola to be serviced from Namibia and are already looking for road contractors to start upgrading the roads."

"The cheaper cost of transport and the weaker currency makes it far more viable for Angola to purchase its goods from Namibia. Even our imports are cheaper to export to Angola than for them to import it from elsewhere."
Cold War lobbyists
Angola is last stand for US conservatives

WASHINGTON. — A highly paid army of lobbyists and lawyers is fighting one of the last battles of the Cold War, an intense struggle to influence US policy in Angola.

It is one of the last skirmishes left for the United States and Soviet Union. Neither is willing to abandon its allies in Angola, but neither is either side willing to let the civil war there hold up overall improvements in their relationship.

While the Bush administration's approach is low-key, conservatives in Washington have adopted a highly visible stance.

A key test of whether the Soviets have in fact changed their imperial ambitions is Soviet behavior in Angola, according to a half-page ad in The New York Times that was paid for by the International Security Council, a conservative think tank.

With the Sandinistas removed from power in Nicaragua and the Soviets gone from Afghanistan, conservatives are fast running out of opponents. "It's almost their last cause," said Mr. Dimitri Simes, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

To counter the conservatives, the Soviet-backed Angolan government recently hired the legal firm of Washington, Perito and Dubuc for $800,000 a year (over R2m) to present its side. Two other firms also represent its interests at an annual cost of $350,000 (R900,000).

Angola wants the United States to grant it diplomatic recognition, to stop arming the rebels and to bring them to peace talks. US efforts to arrange peace talks have stalled since last summer and fighting has intensified in recent weeks.

But while Angola has made some recent advances against the rebels on the battlefield, in Washington its enemy remains formidable.

Unita maintains an office in Washington at a cost of $500,000 a year. It also retains the services of one of the city's most powerful lobbying firms at a cost of $500,000 annually.

There is little question that Unita has been far more effective than the Angolan government at Washington lobbying. — Sapa-AP
LISBON. — Forty people died and several were wounded in northern Angola when a vehicle carrying them to market triggered a mine planted by Unita.

The Angolan government news agency Angop, monitored in Lisbon, said the incident occurred near Kawenda village in Uige province.

In another dispatch, Angop said more than 32,000 of the 50,000 Cuban troops backing the government had returned home.

Angop, quoting an official statement in Havana, said Unita attacks on Cuban soldiers meant Cuba was a month behind its plan to withdraw 33,000 soldiers by April 31.

- Havana suspended the pull-out for a month in January after a rebel raid on its forces.
- The phased withdrawal of Cuban troops by mid-1991 was agreed under regional peace accords signed in December 1988.

WASHINGTON. — The United States has officially unveiled its “stealth” fighter aircraft, the F-117A, a black jet built to avoid enemy radar detection.

— Sapa-Reuter.
Unita condemns bid to end Angolan war

LISBON. — Four African presidents met in Sao Tome and Principe yesterday to seek a solution to Angola's 15-year civil war, but the summit was condemned by Angolan rebels.

Unita guerrillas said the one-day summit of Angola, Congo, Sao Tome and Gabon had sidestepped Zairean mediators and was unwelcome.

"We accept Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko as the mediator," said a Unita statement here.

The communique was issued as the four African leaders began their closed-door talks in Sao Tome and Principe's capital.

The summit is the latest international bid to end fighting between Angola's Marxist government and the US-backed Unita. A verbal truce brokered by Zaire last June quickly collapsed and hostilities have intensified since the Angolan government launched an offensive against southern rebel strongholds in December. — Sapa-Reuter
Namibia, Angola to sign agreement on air services

From DALE LAUTENBACH
Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — An air services agreement for commercial flights between Namibia and Angola is expected to be signed this week, according to a senior Angolan diplomatic source.

Angolan Minister of Transport and Communications Mr Carlos Fernandez arrives in Windhoek on Wednesday for talks with his Namibian counterpart, Mr Richard Kapelwa Kabanjani.

They will travel to Angola's "capital of the south", Lubango, and will also discuss the future of road and sea transport and communications between the countries.

The source said that no date had been set for the first commercial flight.

CO-OPERATION INITIATIVE

The meeting follows a similar co-operation initiative between the countries last week when the Namibian Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Hifikepunye Pohamba, and Minister of Defence Mr Peter Mueshimbange met an Angolan delegation in Lubango to discuss border security and the repatriation of Angolan refugees in Namibia.

The Angolan delegation was led by General Antonio France Ndalu, Deputy Minister of Defence.

The diplomatic source said Luanda had given priority to the repatriation of Namibian exiles in Angola during the implementation of Resolution 435 and the peace talks before Namibia's independence process.

Now the priority had shifted to Angolan refugees. 40,000 of whom were displaced by the war with Unita forces.

Military activity in southern Angola since January had displaced a further 3,000 people, the source said.
UNITA 'ready for ceasefire'

PARIS — Unità rebels said yesterday they were seeking direct talks with Angola’s Marxist government and were ready to proclaim an immediate ceasefire in the 15-year-old war.

A statement signed by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and made public in Paris called on the Luanda government to accept secret talks in Portugal.

The statement was issued after a meeting of Unita’s political and military leadership at its Jamba headquarters in southern Angola. It was dated April 7.

It said Unita was prepared to share power with the MPLA. But should the Angolan government refuse to negotiate, Unita was prepared to attack Luanda, the statement said. Safa-Reuters.
Angolan hint of a new regional order

By DALE LAUTENBACH of The Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek

ANGOLA would offer facilities such as its deep water ports, and resources such as its oil, to Namibia and other countries in the region as part of a policy of economic co-operation, according to Mr Alberto Bento Ribeiro, Angola's ambassador to Windhoek and the first head of mission to present his credentials to President Sam Nujoma.

But, he stressed, the first priority would be to follow up the recent peace initiatives which led to Namibia's independence, and to bring peace to the entire region, especially Angola.

In an interview he said: “We can't have real peace in Namibia without just crossing the border. So co-operation with the Namibian government and the entire region to secure peace is the number refers to the objective.”

Mr Ribeiro believes the sub-continent is now gripped by a spirit of peace. In which economic policies could begin to evolve.

Resources

“The real alternative to war is economic co-operation. We share a long border with Namibia and we need to share our resources. Some are scarce and valuable — like water, energy, including oil, and suitable infrastructures. Geography has given Angola deep water harbours and we can integrate these infrastructures in the region through Namibia.”

He mentions, too, the joint management of the rich fishing resources which thrive in the country's shared Benguela current but, albeit carefully phrased, implicit in his vision of bilateral co-operation with Namibia is a look further south.

He approaches the idea of a “peace-oriented” fashion carefully, first couching Angola's newly liberated and apparently warm relationship with Namibia in the countries' common history of struggle. “We began fighting for national independence in 1961 so from that far back we were comrades-in-arms with those fighting for the liberation of Namibia.”

Initiatives

The first SADF incursion into Angola was as far back as 1974. “Now we can reverse this,” says Mr Ribeiro. ‘Namibia now can become a base to co-operate with us for new peace initiatives and a co-operation in new co-operation with the south, including South Africa.”

What else is down south, Mr Ribeiro? The ambassador grins.

“At a political level we have co-operated with South Africa to achieve the independence of Namibia.” He refers to the December 1988 New York Accords which made the implementation of UN Resolution 435 possible.

Merits

The Joint Commission which was subsequently set up provided another useful instrument for the achievement of peaceful independence.

“Second, one of the merits of the exercise has been to build up a capital of trust, of confidence, among ourselves — meaning us and South Africa.”

Mr Ribeiro says his government recognises that things are changing inside South Africa and on the road to the dismantling of apartheid, acknowledges that some progress has been made.

“Obviously, though, full economic co-operation with South Africa can only take place in a post-apartheid era and after there has been international agreement to lift sanctions.”

Would there be similar understanding if, hypothetically, Namibia bought Angolan oil and sold it to South Africa?

Sensitive

“That's a difficult and complicated question. Namibia has no independent oil sources. In this very sensitive area, Namibia was, still is, completely dependent on South Africa. It is looking for alternatives and one is Angola, as the second largest oil producer in black Africa after Nigeria. But it would be premature to address what is politically unacceptable.”

Practical issues like distribution of oil and petrol, quality control and storage are receiving attention even now and as Walvis Bay is the only deep water port in Namibia and most of the country's energy supply is routed through this port now, the Namibian government has asked the international community to suspend sanctions on imports made through Walvis.

Alternatives

But would South Africa allow Angolan oil through what it still considers its port?

Mr Ribeiro laughs. “I have no answer for that. The Namibian government must negotiate with the South African government. I understand the South African government will be co-operative in this direction but we can offer alternatives through our borders from southern Angola.”

Put to Mr Ribeiro that there is a thread of optimism running through much of what he has to say regarding co-operation with South Africa, he laughs again: “In answer to that a very big yes, an affirmative yes. The trend towards peace is based on a very deep and broad consensus — all of us feel the need for peace and economic co-operation. It makes sense.

Experience

“Our resources are very much complementary. We could share our resources against expertise and know-how available in South Africa. We had some experience over the past two years of negotiating with South Africa on very difficult and very sensitive political problems. We achieved good results in a short time and these events are accelerating towards a peaceful settlement in the region.

“We need, at bilateral level, to talk and help each other. Help in the dismantling of apartheid, for example, which I understand to be very much in the process.”

Then diplomatically, he slips in a sly one: “This word 'linkage' (referring to the American policy of linking a Cuban withdrawal to implementation of 435) was not coined by us. But now it makes sense to talk of reverse linkage. We can't have peace in Namibia with fighting just across the border. Units bases are too close to this territory and they have co-operated closely with Koevoet, SWATF and the SADF.

“The disbandment of all these forces now gives us a new situation but the integration of these forces in an independent Namibia is not yet fulfilled. This gives us cause for concern so in handling the internal Angolan conflict, we can talk of reverse linkage, no. You like this term?”

He grins. One for the next round of talks. And, one notes, he offers Rietmeester cigars after lunch, with a chuckle, not Cuban.
Border police to 'fight crime — not Unita'

From DALE LAUTENBACH
Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The deployment on Namibian-Angolan border of 1,500 temporary policemen is a move to combat crime and not a signal that the Namibian government is preparing to tackle Unita, the Home Affairs Department said today.

Permanent secretary Mr Ndali Kamati said men were being recruited from the ranks of the defence force on a temporary basis to aid police fighting a growing crime problem.

He hoped the recruits would be installed by April 25.

Mr Kamati said there had been an increase of "banditry" along the border as weapons came in from Angola and were used to rob shops and steal cattle.

Windhoek newspapers reacted with alarm to the first reports of the recruitment drive and speculated that the Swapo government was preparing itself to tackle Unita forces should peace talks between the rebels and Angola's MPLA government fail.

"OWN SPECULATION"

One newspaper went so far as to suggest that Namibia was creating its own elite paramilitary squad styled on the infamous Koevoet counter-insurgency unit.

Mr Kamati said newspapers had the right to "do their own speculation" but his department's action had nothing to do with the war in Angola.

Namibian police spokesman Brigadier Siggi Einheck confirmed that police had received orders to recruit 1,500 defence force members for temporary deployment as policemen.

A thousand were to be deployed at Oshakati and 500 at Rundu, he said.

The newspapers argued that the bulk of the force was being sent to the Kavango, where contact with Unita was most likely, while the lesser number was being sent to Owamboland, where crime is known to be increasing.

Mr Kamati dismissed this, too, as speculation.
Angola talks back on track.

LISBON — The Angolan government has agreed to start direct peace negotiations with Unita.

The talks will be aimed at ending the country's 15-year civil war.

In a dispatch from Luanda released in Lisbon, the news agency Angop quoted Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Vercenício de Moura as saying: "Probably this month (and) next month, representatives of the Angolan government and elements of Unita will meet to discuss the internal problem."

Luanda sources said the initial contacts would be held in Portugal, probably on April 18, with more talks following in Cape Verde.

Unita's Lisbon spokesman Norberto de Castro said he had received no official confirmation of the report, but would welcome the MPLA government's readiness to talk.

"This is a sign that the MPLA understands the situation for us, any date will do," De Castro said. — Sapa-AP.
Angola to start talks with Unita

LISBON. — The Angolan government has agreed to start peace talks with Dr Jonas Savimbi's US-backed Unita rebels this month in Portugal, the Angolan state news agency Angop reported yesterday.

In a dispatch released here, the agency quoted Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venacio de Moura as saying: "Probably this month and next month representatives of the Angolan government and Unita will meet to discuss the internal problem."

Mr De Moura said initial direct contacts would be held in Portugal, probably on Monday, with more talks following in the West African island nation of Cape Verde, Angop reported.

The site of the talks "cannot be an obstacle, because peace can be negotiated in any part of the world if the negotiators are interested in a determined objective."

The announcement follows the rebels' offer of an immediate cease-fire in the field and some other concessions made on Monday.

Fighting has intensified in recent months and the rebels have stepped up urban bomb and sabotage attacks in the capital Luanda.

The Soviet-backed Marxist government has been fighting the Unita rebels since shortly after the southern African nation gained independence from Portugal in 1975. — Sapa-AP
Angola war breakthrough as MPLA agrees to meet Unita

By Eddie Koch

A BREAKTHROUGH in Angola's 15-year-old civil war is imminent after President Eduardo dos Santos's government announced last week it would start face-to-face peace talks with Unita in Portugal.

Venancio de Moura, Angola's deputy foreign minister, said in Lisbon that next month, representatives of the Angolan government and elements of Unita will meet to discuss the internal problem.

The Angolan news agency Angop quoted De Moura as saying that the first direct contact with Unita would take place in Portugal, probably on April 16, with more talks later on the West African island of Cape Verde.

The deadlock in attempts to end Angola's bitter war appears to have been broken after the MPLA-led government dropped its demand that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi be excluded from any peace settlement.

De Moura told reporters in Lisbon that Savimbi, as the head of Unita, deserved special treatment in any peace settlement. This implies that Luanda has dropped its insistence that Savimbi suspend public activities for 12 months before an accord can be reached.

On Monday Unita met the Angolan government's other precondition by offering an immediate ceasefire and other minor concessions in exchange for peace talks.

Peter Yale, director of the Institute of Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, said:

"Savimbi's role has always been the major stumbling block in previous peace talks. If this is a settlement that includes Savimbi then it is highly significant."
In Angola, violence is the victor

Once more conflict has been reached from the jaws of compromise in the history of Angolan peace-making. Little progress has been made in recent weeks toward a negotiated end to Angola's 17-year civil war. But just the government and UNITA rebels were about to name the time and place for direct talks, a sudden outbreak of violence in the northern province of Uige appears to have stalled the process.

The Angolan government claimed earlier this week that two of its helicopters were destroyed by UNITA last Saturday while providing cover for a supply convoy traveling to the town of 160,000. The attack was the latest in a sharp increase of UNITA activity in the north of the country, in which towns and villages have been temporarily abandoned by the rebels and bombs have been found throughout the capital, Luanda.

Foreign Minister Pedro de Carvalho van Dussen "Loy" is quick to warn that the direct contacts between the two sides, which were supposed to have begun this week, were instead "now in jeopardy," although he was careful not to rule out the possibility of such contacts taking place later this month if the situation can be kept under control.

UNITA does seem, though, to have a knack for pulling a spanner in the peace process. The ceasefire that followed the famous handshake in June last year between Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi in the Zairean town of Gbadolite, lasted only a few weeks.

Even Western diplomats in Luanda admitted at the time that the peace was broken by a midweek increase in UNITA activity.

So far this year there have been two attacks on the major airport in Luanda, at least one of which was blamed for President Fidel Chaves. And earlier this month, UNITA attacked the airfield of its base from Angola, a crucial ingredient in the Angola regional peace process.

The latest attack breaks into a growing mood of compromise over peace negotiations. Direct talks were due to begin this week, probably in Lisbon, after both sides fought each other in a battle around the northeastern town of Malanje. A government offensive launched last Christmas on this UNITA stronghold was driven back and although government troops succeeded in reaching the town they found its airfield totally destroyed and appear to have withdrawn into the town from heavy UNITA bombardment.

The battle was a victory for the rebels, who had considered Mavinga to be invincible, while the offensive forced UNITA leader Josimar.SÃ£o to cut short a visit to Portugal and make an embattled dash back to his base at Mabila, only 25 miles to the south.

UNITA has since recognized the "legitimacy of the Angolan state," having previously insisted that it would only negotiate with the ruling MPLA as a party, not as a government. Savimbi has also dropped his demand that government troops pull back to their pre-Christmas positions before agreeing to a ceasefire.

It is the MPLA, however, who have moved the greatest distance toward negotiating the table. The previous round of talks, begun last June, broke down principally over Luanda's demands that UNITA be absorbed into the existing one-party system, and that Savimbi retire from politics for at least a two-year cooling-off period. Both those demands have now been dropped.

A nine-point peace proposal handed by Deputy Secretary of State James Baker at the Namibian independence celebrations in March asks only for recognition of the state. There is no longer any mention of respect for existing constitutional law, as the Angolan constitution itself is presently undergoing a thorough revision.

Van Dussen "Loy" this week publicly scolded one of the MPLA's most sacred cows when he announced that the government was considering a referendum on the possibility of multi-party elections in Angola.

Furthermore, it now seems likely that the MPLA's Third Congress, scheduled for December this year, will be brought forward as a result of pressure for a new grass roots and fundamental change. The congress is expected to announce a referendum on the possibility of multi-party elections.

Both sides now seem to have damped Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko as mediator in the conflict. The Angolan government has been increasingly hostile to President Mobutu's role - his government has consistently refused to allow him to the Angolan president's official residence.

The Angolan government has been accused, like its counterparts in Southern Africa, of providing the kind of pressure on the National Assembly to hold a referendum that several other countries have been doing.

It seems that the MPLA has now decided to hold a referendum on the possibility of multi-party elections, in order to give the country a chance to be heard and to show that it is committed to the process of change in the country. The referendum is expected to be held in December, and it will be followed by a new round of negotiations with UNITA.

A group of independent magazines and organizations representing university students, economists and lawyers have prepared a position paper on the subject, which they hope will help to establish the "right to peace." In their view, the "right to peace" is a fundamental human right that should be protected by international law.

Another challenge to the government is to negotiate a new peace process. The absence of all these intermediaries is being felt in Luanda as one of the most important signs that peace will ultimately prevail.

- To PAGE 10
Bomb falls in Kavango

WINDHOEK. — An aircraft from Angola dropped a bomb that exploded in the Kavango River, which forms the border between Namibia and Angola, police spokesman Brigadier Sigfried Elmeck said here yesterday.

This is the fourth bombing incident in the border region this year. Brigadier Elmeck said Sunday's explosion occurred about 500m from houses in the village of Mukwe in eastern Kavango.

Residents claimed the aircraft was a Russian MiG. — Sapa
Angola peace talks begin

BY KEN POTTINGER

Lisbon

THE FIRST of a series of face-to-face peace talks between Angola's ruling Marxist government and the pro-Western Unita movement has taken place in Portugal.

Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Jose Manuel Durao Barroso said yesterday the talks between "high level delegations" had taken place secretly in the northern city of Evora on Tuesday and Wednesday this week.

Declining to say when or where the next round would take place, he admitted the two sides were still "far apart" on fundamental issues but he was "reasonably optimistic" the peace process is back on track.

Divisions

He said: "There is a calendar for future talks, but I am not at liberty to reveal it. The important thing is that the two sides have met and heard each other's points of view."

"I must say frankly that there are still deep divisions separating them."

Those included the recognition by Unita of the existing constitutional order in Angola and the commitment by Luanda to an immediate multi-party democracy.

News of the talks comes on the eve of a scheduled visit to Portugal on Thursday by South African President P W de Klerk.
Savimbi wants urgent Angolan peace talks

LISBON — Angola’s Unita rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday proposed urgent peace talks with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Portugal or Zaire to end 15 years of civil war.

"President Jose Eduardo dos Santos should, in this grave hour afflicting the country, talk directly and urgently with Jonas Savimbi in Portugal or Kinshasa," said a statement signed by Dr Savimbi and issued to the Portuguese news agency, Lusa.

It said Unita recognised Mr dos Santos as head of Angola — but would not recognise the Marxist government as demanded by Luanda.

The announcement followed exploratory contacts between the United States-backed rebels and the Angolant government last week in Portugal. On Monday, the rebels said they wanted to sign a ceasefire in June.

Both sides have said they want secret negotiations soon, but have not said when. Dr Savimbi’s announcement was the first public suggestion that talks would be at the highest level.

Last week’s contacts were the first since the collapse of a short-lived truce brokered by Zaire last June. Fighting broke out almost immediately and Unita launched a northern offensive a month ago in response to the government’s push in the south since Christmas.

Warning

Dr Savimbi warned that fighting would intensify if Luanda did not respond to the concessions proposed by Unita.

Both sides have called for the active participation of Portugal, Angola’s former colonial ruler.

The rebels also want Washington and Luanda’s Soviet and Cuban backers to act as observers in the peace process.

Unita has approved Zairean president Mr Mobutu Sese Seko as official mediator. But Luanda has accused Zaire of allowing US and South African military aid to reach the rebels.

In a May Day speech, Mr dos Santos said Zaire was jeopardising the peace process by helping Unita launch attacks in northern Angola, but he said he saw promising prospects for peace if Unita recognised the current government and foreign meddling ceased, Lusa reported from Luanda.

"The road to peace in Angola could be short if there is goodwill and a spirit of compromise on the part of Unita," Mr dos Santos added.

Portuguese officials say the two sides are still far apart over Unita’s refusal to recognise the government and Luanda’s slowness in adopting a multiparty system. Mr dos Santos has not ruled out a multiparty system in the future. — Reuter.
SA, US accused of arming Unita

The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA -- President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has accused South Africa and the United States of continuing to supply weapons to the Unita rebel group.

Mr dos Santos said in Luanda that violations of Angola's northern border and the country's air space had increased substantially in recent weeks.

The United States was supplying Unita via Zaire, Mr dos Santos said, but gave no details concerning the alleged South African support to Unita.
Angola moves slowly toward peace

The war in Angola has been going on for over ten years, and despite many peace negotiations, a lasting peace has yet to be achieved. The Angolan government and the Unita rebels have been in talks for several months, but progress has been slow. The United Nations has been trying to mediate the talks, but so far, no concrete solutions have been reached.

The conflict in Angola began in 1975 when the long-standing Portuguese colonial administration was overthrown. The new government of Angola included both Soviet and Cuban military support. In 1976, a civil war broke out between Angolan communists and the South African-backed Unita, which led to the current conflict.

In recent years, there have been efforts to negotiate a peace settlement. However, the talks have been complicated by the involvement of foreign countries and the lack of trust between the parties. Despite these challenges, there is a hope that a peaceful resolution can be achieved.

The war has had a devastating impact on the people of Angola, with widespread displacement, loss of life, and economic hardship. The international community, including the United Nations, continues to work towards a peaceful resolution to the conflict.
Angola's peace efforts gather steam as talks between the government and the FNLA continue.
 Angola bans new hard currency shops

LISBON — Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos has temporarily banned the opening of hard currency stores in the nominally Marxist country, it is reported.

State news agency Angop said yesterday a presidential decree issued at the weekend suspended new permits for foreign currency stores until extensive rules could be worked out to "regulate the opening and operation of such establishments."

It gave no date for the new regulations.

"The decision is due to the increase in stores of this type which are provoking ... social inequality and a weakening of the role of the national currency," Angop quoted Dos Santos as saying.

The decree said all hard currency stores operating without the necessary licence had to review their situation at the central bank, the Trade Ministry and the Office for Foreign Investment.

"However, a handful of foreign-owned stores in Luanda have been authorised by Dos Santos. — Sapa-AP, 11/6/99"
Dispute over Unita 'victory'

LISBON — Angolan rebels said yesterday they had pushed back government troops near the strategic town of Mavinga in the south-east, killing 130 soldiers and capturing about 100 tanks and other military vehicles.

A statement issued in Lisbon said Unita rebels had stormed government positions on Monday morning, sending the troops fleeing in disarray towards their base at Cuito Cuanavale.

The Lisbon embassy of the left-wing government dismissed the report.

"The information I have received from Luanda is that the armed forces have consolidated their positions in Mavinga," a spokesman said yesterday.

There was no independent confirmation of the report, which came two weeks after the start of exploratory peace talks between the government and Unita.

In Kinshasa, Zaire, rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was reported as saying he believed a settlement to the 15-year-long Angolan conflict was at hand.

The rebels claim the battle for control of Mavinga has produced the heaviest fighting of the war. Sapa-AP
Angolans retreat from key town

LISBON — The Angolan government admitted yesterday its forces had withdrawn from the strategic town of Mavinga but denied they were chased out by Unita rebels.

A Defence Ministry statement, reported from Luanda by the Portuguese news agency Lusa, said the troops were being redeployed to counter new threats from the rebels.

"The armed forces (Unita), having fulfilled with success their mission of sovereignty in Mavinga and won the most resounding victories over the Unita groups, are currently moving to other positions," the statement said.

The two sides have fought since December over Mavinga, in southeastern Angola, amid some of the fiercest battles of the 15-year-old civil war.

Unita announced a big victory at Mavinga on Tuesday. It said its fighters stormed government trenches north of the town on Monday, killing 138 soldiers, capturing 53 and sending the rest fleeing in disorder back towards their base at Cuito Cuanavale. — Sapa-Reuters
Mandela thanks Angola for support

LISBON. — Mr Nelson Mandela thanked Angola yesterday for its support of the ANC in its struggle, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

The African National Congress deputy president was addressing a rally on his first visit to Luanda.

Mr Mandela cited the asylum given by Angola to thousands of South African refugees and the military training given to young men fighting to overthrow apartheid, Lusa said.

Mr Mandela, on a six-nation Africa tour to discuss his groundbreaking talks with President FW de Klerk's government, was earlier welcomed by thousands of cheering Angolans.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos led an unusually large reception committee of senior members of his left-wing government at Luanda airport.

He said Angola had made sacrifices in the fight against apartheid, according to Lusa. "We suffered tremendous military, political and economic pressure," he told the crowd.

But he added: "Our region has now entered a new era of peace. All the black states of the region have to prepare for the post-apartheid and post-war era."

He also used the occasion to attack Unita.

The rebels proclaimed a major victory this week when the Angolan army withdrew from the South-Eastern town of Mavinga, scene of fierce fighting since December. The Luanda government said the troops were just being redeployed.

Unita said it would use its "resounding victory" at Mavinga to promote peace negotiations and promised to put forward new concrete proposals.

It was reported from Dublin yesterday that Mr Mandela would be invited to address a special session of the Irish Dail (parliament) when he visited Ireland on July 1-3.

Prime Minister Mr Charles Haughey proposed the invitation yesterday. — Sapa-Reuters-AP
Mandela thanks Angola for support

NELSON MANDELA yesterday thanked the people of Angola for their support for the resistance struggle in South Africa.

Mandela, who was met at Luanda airport by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and a large reception committee of government members, said Angola had given asylum to thousands of South African refugees and had helped train ANC guerillas.

Dos Santos said Angola had suffered "tremendous military, political and economic pressure" in its fight against apartheid. But, he said, the region was entering a new era of peace.

Earlier in the day, Mandela visited the tomb of Agostinho Neto, who led Angola to independence and became its first president in 1979.

Dos Santos presented Mandela with Angola's highest honour, the Order of Agostinho Neto.

Mandela is expected to visit Nigeria, Libya, Algeria, Egypt and Zambia in an African tour in which he will brief African leaders on the talks about talks held between the ANC and the South African government last week.
Cheers for Mandela in Angola

The Deputy President of the African National Congress, Dr. Jeffrey Gona, and his delegation are on their way to Angola for a historic visit. This is the first visit by a high-ranking African leader to Angola since independence. The delegation is expected to meet with President Eduardo dos Santos and other leaders. The trip is seen as a significant step towards strengthening diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Mr. Mandela visited Angola last year, and his visit was widely praised. The Angolan government has expressed its desire to work closely with South Africa. The visit is expected to further cement cooperation between the two nations.

Meanwhile, the United States and Europe have expressed support for the delegation's visit. Their support is seen as crucial in ensuring the success of the trip. The delegation is expected to return to South Africa with a commitment to continue working towards a peaceful and prosperous region.

The visit of Mr. Mandela is also seen as a significant boost to the international community's efforts to promote peace and stability in the region. The presence of top-level officials from both countries is expected to send a strong message of unity and cooperation.

The delegation is expected to arrive in Angola on Thursday, where they will meet with the Angolan leaders. The visit is expected to be a landmark event in the relationship between South Africa and Angola.
Exiles give Mandelas an emotional welcome

NELSON Mandela and his wife Winnie received an emotional welcome from over 200 South African political exiles at an ANC training camp in Angola on Friday.

The Mandelas both called for rank-and-file discipline when the ANC’s estimated 20,000 exiles around the world eventually return home to face housing and job shortages and a lack of schooling facilities for their children.

“We feel the day we have been waiting for might be close at hand,” said Nelson Mandela, standing before militants crammed into a prefab hut at Viana, 20 kilometres outside Luanda.

“The ANC calls on you to act in a disciplined manner when you return and I must say (members) can’t expect to to live like millionaires — choosing mansions in whatever part of town they prefer,” he said.

Mandela, who was greeted by chants of “we know you are our father” in Zulu and Sotho, gave the crowd a detailed account of his talks last week with President FW de Klerk that produced a broad agreement to work for an end to political violence and clear the way for bringing blacks into the government.

Obviously moved by the warm reception, Mandela read the agreement in full to the crowd and later answered members’ questions in a session closed to the handful of foreign journalists covering the visit.

Mandela said he believed De Klerk and the government delegation at the talks were sincerely searching for a peaceful solution, but warned:

“We don’t know if the delegation stands for all whites in South Africa and that’s what we’re worried about.”

The Mandelas arrived on Thursday from Lusaka, Zambia, for their first visit to Angola.
Mandela urges West not to ease sanctions

LUANDA — ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela yesterday urged Western nations not to ease sanctions against South Africa.

"We have called on the international community to isolate South Africa and that is still our position," Mr. Mandela told a news conference in the Angolan capital at the end of an official visit.

Asked whether he intended to run for president in any future democratic elections in South Africa, Mr. Mandela said: "I would like to indicate that I have no such ambition. I will do what the ANC and the South African people require me to do..."

Mr. Mandela indicated that the ANC was prepared to compromise with President de Klerk on several points, but demands for one person, one vote were not negotiable.

Mr. Mandela pledged a Bill of Rights to "guarantee fundamental human rights to all sections of the population".

Mr. Mandela is scheduled to attend the fifth meeting of the nine-member British Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' committee on South Africa, which opens in Lagos tomorrow.

PAC president Zeph Mothopeng said in Umtata yesterday that President de Klerk was the real victor in the talks between the South African Government and the ANC.

Mr. Mothopeng said Mr. de Klerk had succeeded in breaking down South Africa's international isolation and had apparently warded off the imposition of stronger sanctions by the American Congress. He said President de Klerk was now likely to obtain financial and investment assistance with which "to build a bigger army and police force". — Sapa-Associated Press.
Savimbi hopeful about peace, rules out coalition

From KEN VERNON, Argus Africa News Service

MAVINGA (Angola) — In a major policy turnaround, Dr Jonas Savimbi has ruled out the possibility of Unita joining the ruling MPLA in a transitional government if haggling peace talks are successful.

At a conference here, the Unita leader suggested that the situation was so bad in Angola after 15 years of MPLA rule that it would be better if they are left to drive this boat alone.

"If we share in the government it will serve only to confuse the people because we might be seen as sharing in the government's mistakes" he said.

Just days after some of the heaviest fighting between his movement and government troops for control of the strategically important town of Mavinga and its airstrip, he expressed optimism at prospects for a settlement.

"Very good beginning"

He said initial direct talks with the MPLA government in Portugal on April 25 and 26 had been "a very good beginning."

Further direct contacts were planned for the near future, he said, but cautioned that these talks were still in the "talking-about-talks" stage.

Turning to the defeat of the government armoured column outside Mavinga last week, Dr Savimbi said he hoped he had succeeded in repulsing the MPLA "so that they will not think in terms of a military solution again."

"We are ready to talk to the MPLA tomorrow, but now we want to talk about a ceasefire."

He said that while he was willing to recognize President Eduardo dos Santos' legitimacy, he would not recognize the government as that would entail recognizing its institutions and laws "and that we can never do."

In the wake of the resounding Mavinga victory, Dr Savimbi has called on President Eduardo dos Santos to meet him "face-to-face" to talk peace.

"I am still waiting for a reply, but after this defeat the Luanda government must finally realize that the military option is no option," he said.

Dr Savimbi was speaking to journalists at a forward command post at Mavinga after they had visited the scene of what he called "our most important battle since 1976." It was the first time Unita had to fight a major conventional battle without South African help.

1,062 MPLA troops killed

The visit to the government column's forward base where the final battle took place showed a scene of devastation. The skeletal remains of tanks and trucks littered the base, also dotted with the graves of government soldiers.

According to Unita, 1,398 government troops died in the final battle, while 95 tanks, trucks and armoured vehicles were destroyed.

In the 137 days the campaign lasted, Unita says it killed 1,062 government soldiers and destroyed 308 trucks and 532 tanks and armoured vehicles.

However, while Unita is usually meticulous about giving both sides of the grim "balance sheet" after clashes, this time they could give no figures for their own losses, giving rise to speculation that they suffered heavily.

US may review policy of arms for Unita

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — The United States Congress has agreed to review the policy of arming Unita against the Angolan government.

Senate Democratic leader Mr George Mitchell gave an undertaking to this effect after meeting a delegation seeking US recognition of the Angolan government and an end to covert military aid for Unita.

The Democratic Party is the majority party in both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Mr Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, the group which led the delegation to meet the Democratic leaders, described the meeting as going "very, very well."

He said US black leaders were considering a campaign of civil disobedience to focus attention on US aid to Unita, which is believed to be about $80 million (about R200 million).
US turned tide for Unita

By Ken Vernon,
The Star's Africa
News Service

MAVINGA — In the wake of a resounding victory in the battle for Mavinga, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has called on Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to meet him face-to-face to talk peace.

Dr Savimbi was speaking to journalists at a forward command post at Mavinga after they had visited the scene of what he called "our most important battle since 1976".

He said it was the first time Unita had had to fight a major conventional battle without South African help.

Since December a 15,000-strong armoured column of government troops had managed to push to within 10 km of Mavinga and its strategically important airstrip — gateway to Unita's bush capital at Jamba, 200 km further south.

But, according to Unita, the column was harried to a halt short of its target before being defeated in a 36-hour battle on May 6 and 7.

At the press conference Dr Savimbi thanked the United States for an "emergency" airlift of what became Unita's secret weapon in the battle — 106 mm recoilless rifles fitted to Land-Rovers and Toyota Land Cruisers — that he said had been "very effective" against the government heavy armour.

Numerous graves

The visit to the government column's forward base where the final battle took place revealed a scene of devastation over a 4 sq km area.

"Remains of tanks and trucks..."
thanked the United States for an
“emergency” airlift of what became
Unita’s secret weapon in the battle —
106 mm recoilless rifles fitted to
Land-Rovers and Toyota Land Cruis-
ers — that he said that been “very
effective” against the government
heavy armour.

Numerous graves

The visit to the government
column’s forward base where the final
battle took place revealed a scene of
devastation over a 4 sq km area.
The remains of tanks and trucks
littered the base, also dotted with the
grabes of government soldiers.
Graves of those killed in attacks
before the final battle were marked
with simple crosses adorned with re-
membrance lamps fashioned from ra-
tion tins by their comrades, while
whorn boots and battled helmets
marked the final resting place of
those buried by Unita afterwards.
According to Unita, 132 govern-
ment troops died in the final battle,
while 95 tanks, trucks and armoured
vehicles were destroyed.
In the 137 days of the campaign
lasted, Unita says it killed 1,062 go-
vment soldiers and destroyed 306
trucks and 319 tanks and armoured
vehicles.

But, unusually, Unita did not list
their own losses, sparking speculation that
they too suffered heavily.

11 rapes in a day

A three-year-old girl was among 11
victims of rape committed in Soweto
during the past 24 hours.

Eight cars were stolen by force, 29
stolen cars were recovered and seven
men were arrested for car theft, ac-
cording to the latest crime report
from the township.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn,
liaison officer for the Soweto police,
said the white construction worker was
also robbed of a watch and about R80
by armed robbers while on site in the
township yesterday. In another inci-
dent, an off-duty Brixton police con-
stable shot and wounded an armed
robber while travelling to Soweto by
train. — West Rand Bureau.

Fake dollars seam: man held

By John Miller

A Randburg man was arrested
yesterday after he had allegedly
conned at least 30 job seekers into
paying him R2,590 each and, in
exchange, given them 1,000 coun-
terfeit US dollars to use for employ-
ment opportunities in Mauritius.

A police spokesman said the
man allegedly began manufactur-
ing counterfeit dollars about nine
months ago.

An advertisement was placed in
a daily newspaper on March 9
It asked people interested in
working in Mauritius — project
managers, civil and electrical en-
gineers, architects, accountants,
computer programmers, personal
managers and vehicle and equip-
ment maintenance experts — to
send a CV to a given address.

Once the CVs were received, the
suspect would telephone the job
seeker and arrange a meeting at a
Johannesburg hotel. He requested
they bring R2,590.

He allegedly exchanged this
money for $1,000 in counterfeit
dollars, to be used as a deposit.

Police have asked anyone who
answered the advertisement to
telephone Major Fred Kitching at
(011) 839-0903 during office hours.

Unita won’t join interim
govt — Savimbi

The Star’s Africa
News Service

MAVINGA — Unita leader Jonas
Savimbi has ruled out the possibil-
ity of Unita joining the ruling
MPLA in a transitional govern-
ment if fledgling peace talks are
successful.

In major policy shift, he sug-
gested at a press conference here
that things were so bad in Angola
after 15 years of MPLA rule that
“it would be better if they are left
to drive this boat alone”.

“If we share in the government
it will serve only to confuse the
people because we might be seen
as sharing in the government’s
mistakes.”

He expressed optimism at the
prospects for a peaceful settle-
ment, saying initial direct talks
held with the MPLA government
in Portugal on April 25 and 26 had
been “a very good beginning”.

Referring to the defeat of a go-
vemment armoured column at Ma-
vina last week, Dr Savimbi said
he hoped he had succeeded in re-
 pulsing the MPLA “not only physi-
cally, but also mentally so that
they will not think in terms of a
military solution again.”

He envisaged that after a cease-
fire, Unita would campaign in the
country as an opposition party.
Savimbi's biggest victory

MAVINGA, Angola — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi claims his forces have won the biggest battle of the country's 15-year civil war, and he expects the victory will speed up efforts to end the conflict.

Unita halted an MPLA offensive last week in a decisive 36-hour battle outside Mavinga, a strategic town in south-eastern Angola.

Meanwhile in Lisbon yesterday during a joint press conference with Portuguese president Mr Mario Soares, President F W de Klerk denied allegations that South Africa was supplying arms to Unita.

"All our efforts are directed at promoting reconciliation and not the escalation of the war," Mr De Klerk said.

Earlier Mr De Klerk said he believed it was only a question of time before there was an Angolan ceasefire. — Sapo-AP.
Angolans keen to sell crude oil to Japanese

TOKYO — Angola is keen to sell crude oil to Japan on term contracts and is ready to negotiate changes in its conventional price formula to make its oil more attractive, national oil firm Sonangol general manager Joaquim David said.

David, currently on a tour of Japan, has been meeting government officials and oil, gas and petrochemical industry officials to seek co-operation in various projects in Angola. "We see interest in long-term oil contracts from Japanese companies and we want such contracts," some oil industry officials said they have been contacted by Sonangol to buy crude on term contracts, but its price formula, which is now linked to North Sea Brent prices for both European and US buyers, dampens interest.

"We are studying selling to US customers on prices related to West Texas Intermediate (WTI), so I see no reason why we can't sell oil based on market prices over here," David said.

Japanese imports of Angolan crude jumped sharply in 1988 to 707,000 kilolitres, due partly to swelling demand from electric power companies for thermal power generation, Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) figures show.

Although Angolan imports dropped to 597,600 kilolitres in 1989, industry figures show considerable demand for Angolan oil over the long term as supplies of low-sulphur crudes from Indonesia and China decline. Angola aims to raise crude oil output this year.

David said he has invited Japanese oil and gas firms to join Angola's oil and gas development schemes, particularly in new offshore areas, and to invest in possible major petrochemical plants that would use Angola's now-wasted natural gas. — Reuters.
UNITA peace plan 'flexible'

LISBON — Angolan rebels said yesterday they had drawn up some "concrete and very flexible" proposals for peace talks, as the government reported more sabotage of Luanda's electricity supplies.

A statement issued here said the proposals would be presented to the Portuguese government, which hosted exploratory contacts between the two sides three weeks ago.

UNITA said its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, had left for Zaire for talks with President Mobutu Sese Seko and US Assistant Secretary of State Mr Herman Cohen.

A UNITA spokesman said the rebels' foreign affairs chief, Mr Tony da Costa Fernandes, was due here today to hand over the proposals on the negotiating process. — Saps-Reuter
South African capital looks toward Angola

By EDDIE KOCH

SOUTH African businessmen are casing their eyes westwards to Angola, where a pending peace settlement between the MPLA government and UNITA rebels promises to open a lucrative market for investment and trade. "It's all very sensitive and still a very temperamental line of communication," says Bill Gresty, a consultant who specialises in exploring business opportunities in Angola.

But a number of companies — including giants like De Beers, Premier International, Anglo Vail Industries and Shell South Africa — have launched a serious initiative to take advantage of new business initiatives in Angola.

De Beers chairman Nicky Oppenheimer made the trek to Luanda in the middle of last year. He clinched an agreement with Endiama, the Angolan government's diamond marketing arm, to explore the possibility of jointly mining the country's gem-rich Kimberlite deposits.

The Angolans, who produce about one million carats of gem-quality diamonds a year, also agreed to join the Central Selling Organisation (CSO) — the international marketing cartel that is controlled by De Beers.

Following in Oppenheimer's footsteps are Premier, Shell and Anglo Vail Industries who have all begun to look very seriously at investing in the war-torn country once the conflict stops.

It is reported that manufacturers of heavy mining equipment and trucks are discussing contracts to supply De Beers with the hardware needed for its mining operations. "We are interested in the same kind of involvement that we have in other parts of Africa," Premier MD Kervina Vianakis told the *Weekly Mail*.

"This includes food exports and the rehabilitation of existing industrial infrastructure.

Peter Hugo, Shell's marketing manager for lubricants, says Shell is ready to begin exporting lubricants to Angola, a major exporter of crude oil, when the conditions are right.

And Anglo Vail Industry subsidiaries — Beckett's Bakers, Biscuits and Irwin and Johnson — are reported to be extremely interested in Angola's food market and the extremely rich supply of fish off its coast.

"The big attraction is that the Angolan government is desperate for basic commodities such as clothing and simple foodstuffs to feed its people," says Gresty. "Unlike other African states it has the ability to pay and has allocated 10 percent of its oil revenue to purchase those goods."

Most of the business representatives interviewed by the *Weekly Mail* stressed that their plans for a drive into Angola are still in early and delicate stages.

The issues that need to be sorted out are twofold: security and sanctions. "There has to be a guarantee of security before business of any sort will go there in a big way," says De Beers representative Neville Huxham.

The Angolan government, while it is reportedly keen to establish formal contact with South African capitalists, at this stage is still bound by the official embargo on economic dealings with South Africa.

But while everyone connected to the business foray into Angola stresses that they are moving cautiously and slowly, the *Weekly Mail* is informed that some of the projects are well beyond the planning stages.

South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) is said by some of those involved to have adopted a novel line on the issue. In contrast to the pattern in Mozambique, where South African capital flowed in an ad hoc way, DFA is asking entrepreneurs to hold fire until a peace settlement is firmly in place.
No clear victors in the battle for Mavinga

The battle for Mavinga has taken a heavy toll on both Unita and Angolan government forces. JULIAN BORGER reports

JUST outside Mavinga in the south-east of Angola, the dry forest gives way to what appears, at first glance, to be a huge, deserted building site. The few trees left standing have been reduced to burnt stumps and the sand below has been churned up into a maze of trenches and earthworks. In place of cranes and bulldozers, however, the landscape is littered with the wreckage from tanks, armoured cars and countless other pieces of military hardware.

The Angolan army (Fapla) and Unita rebels fought a pitched battle here earlier this month, only a fortnight after exploratory peace talks between the two sides had been held in Portugal.

The struggle was over the Unita base at Mavinga and its airstrip, which would have been crucial to the government’s ability to threaten the Unita headquarters at Jamba some 200km further to the south-east, allowing its air force to launch sustained bombing raids in preparation for a ground attack.

The runway is now unusable; pockmarked with craters at regular intervals along its entire length. Unita officers say they blew it up in January when Fapla crossed the nearby Lomba River and it looked as though Mavinga might fall.

Unita took journalists to the battlefield this week to back up their claims to have held on to Mavinga and to have also pushed Fapla back virtually to where it began its offensive on the south-east last December, the garrison at Cuito Cuanavale.

The government in Luanda acknowledged earlier this month that its forces had withdrawn, but claimed that this was done to create a positive atmosphere for peace talks. Unita leader Jonas Savimbi had recently demanded Fapla’s withdrawal to Cuito Cuanavale as a precondition to agreeing to a ceasefire.

Unita are understandably keen to portray the withdrawal as a rout of the government’s troops, claiming Fapla lost over 1,000 men during the offensive. The rebels have issued a number of balance sheets for the campaign, which are quite literally one-sided, giving figures for Fapla losses alone.

The battle for Mavinga, however, has clearly taken a heavy toll on Unita and the government, and significant compromises have been made from both sides’ negotiating positions in the last few months.

The biggest concessions to date have come from President Eduardo dos Santos, who has dropped his earlier insistence that Savimbi go into temporary exile for a two-year cooling-off period after a ceasefire, and whose ruling party, the MPLA, is rapidly moving towards abandoning the one-party system, which Unita has hitherto refused to accept.

The greatest remaining obstacle to progress in the present round of peace talks is Savimbi’s refusal to recognise the legitimacy of the MPLA government on the grounds that it came to power at independence in 1975 by force of arms with Cuban assistance.

The Unita leader restated this position at a press conference earlier this week in a bunker at Mavinga. “People are putting pressure on us,” he said, “but we refuse. The soldiers refuse, the officers refuse, the rank and file of Unita refuse.”

Savimbi expressed hopes, however, that direct talks could be reconvened over the next few weeks and left a number of doors open for the government.

He conceded recognition of Dos Santos as head of state, arguing that such a concession did not entail accepting the legitimacy of the government’s legal and political machinery.

He also suggested that he would recognise the government if the MPLA demonstrated, in their forthcoming party congress, that they are committed to a pluralist democracy, by unbanning opposition and announcing a date for general elections. “If they are really serious,” Savimbi said, “then why not?”
The young victims of Angola's s-

LIKUWA — The name is likely to be Joao, Antonio, Francisco or Manuel, possibly even Maria or Teresa. And while they might look only 12 or 13, they say they are 21. "They" are the "soldiers" fighting the Angolan civil war and they could be dressed in either the khaki-and-green camouflage of Fapla or the olive green of Fala — respective military wings of the MPLA, government and the Unita rebels.

Born in one of the countless villages of Angola, such a boy's fate probably depended only on whether an MPLA or a Unita patrol was first through his village after his 16th birthday. But now he's in the army. Training is brief, to the point of non-existence, and he is on the front-line. Often, he is a prisoner soon after wards. 'A few months of training and the uniform may change and he is on the front-line again — on the other side. It's impossible not to be cynical about the ideological devotion of the rank and file fighting in the Angolan civil war. The "soldier young."

Once again, bewl the main emotion — Fapla prisoners died last week, in the war in the battle for Mai... One admitted he said they were proud captured by Unita. Speaking through
The view that the firm's decisions are made in the best interests of the company is in my opinion somewhat illusory. The firm has interests that are not necessarily identical to those of employees. The firm may be more concerned with maximizing profits than with maintaining employee welfare. In some cases, the firm may be willing to make changes that will benefit the company at the expense of its employees. For example, the firm may decide to automate a production process that will result in job losses. The firm may argue that this will increase efficiency and reduce costs, but employees may see it as a threat to their livelihood.

The firm's decisions may also be influenced by factors other than the best interests of the company. For example, the firm may be under pressure from shareholders to increase dividends or share buybacks, which may conflict with the interests of employees. The firm may also be influenced by changes in the external environment, such as changes in consumer preferences or technological advancements, which may require the firm to make changes to its operations. These changes may not necessarily be in the best interests of employees.

It is important to recognize that employers and employees have different perspectives on the workplace. Employers have a vested interest in maximizing profits and maintaining productivity, while employees may be more concerned with job security, wages, and working conditions. It is not always possible to align these interests, and employers may need to make difficult decisions that may have unintended consequences for employees.
Namibia, Angola in security agreement

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK — Namibia and Angola have signed a bilateral agreement to establish a Joint Commission on security to operate along their common border.

This was disclosed in a joint communique released here yesterday by visiting Angolan Defence Minister Lieutenant-General Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale and Namibian Home Affairs Minister Mr Hifikepunye Pohamba.

Armed banditry has been on the increase in the northern border area of Namibia with former members of the South West African Territorial Force (SWATF), Swapo, Koevoet and Unita rebels all having been blamed.

The ministers, however, blamed Unita for acts of banditry on both sides of the border.
Positive appreciation of FW’s reforms

Winds of peace are blowing strongly

Windhoek - The Angolans came to Namibia with an insistent message: Peace across the sub-continent.

A high-level delegation, led by the Minister of Defence, Lieutenant-General Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale, signed agreements, traded brotherly speeches and embraced former comrades-in-arms in their new sister republic during their visit last week.

In speeches and at official receptions, peace was the subject; the vision: a network of cooperation spanning southern Africa.

Notable in speeches and interviews was not only the frequency with which South Africa was mentioned but also the conciliatory tone, underpinned by a repeated emphasis on subcontinental cooperation and development.

Referring to South Africans, Tonha said in an interview: "They are all Africans and we all have to contribute to eradicating apartheid and discrimination now. That date is not far away.

Apartheid

"I am sure the present process in South Africa will culminate in justice and when apartheid disappears, we will all be able to utilise our resources and make a better Africa."

The general said South Africa's role in the Angolan peace process was not yet an active one. "They have manifested that they want to cooperate to find peace. They have tried tentatively. Pk Botha was in Luanda and conveyed some of the South African government's viewpoints. Until now we have not seen any good work done or any positive results. But we believe in the future that this can happen.

Asked whether Angola would value South Africa's cooperation, the general replied: "Yes, of course. This is in the interest of all of us."

"Considering that South Africa is a technologically and industrially advanced country, all the countries in the region are interested to negotiate cooperation with South Africa - it eradicates apartheid. We are satisfied with the changes that are taking place.

"We are convinced that President de Klerk is going to find some difficulties but they still have to fight hard. He has to continue, he has no alternative to finding a society in which everyone can cooperate.

Welcome

"If South Africa stops supporting Unita - and we believe they are because they are forced by America to do so - and they eradicate apartheid, they are welcome."

Welcome, he meant, in the Southern African family. And this has been a common theme in conversations across a wide spectrum recently with all the various delegations and think-tanks coming through the Namibian capital in the wake of independence.

Southern African Development Coordinating Conference officials, particularly, have been talking of economic union with a glint of fervour in their eyes.

Tonha spoke insistently of ending the 16-year-old civil war in Angola and of "receiving Unita supporters into the total Angolan population to contribute towards the reconstruction of the country."

"We must go back to peace talks, and we must have agreement. This is the only way to get to peace," he said.

"I am sure the present process in South Africa will culminate in justice and when apartheid disappears, we will all be able to utilise our resources and make a better Africa."

The general said South Africa's role in the Angolan peace process was not yet an active one. "They have manifested that they want to cooperate to find peace. They have tried tentatively. Pk Botha was in Luanda and conveyed some of the South African government's viewpoints. Until now we have not seen any good work done or any positive results. But we believe in the future that this can happen.

A Faplako base on Namibian soil then? "Namibia is a sovereign state and the utilisation of Namibian territory by the Angolans is up to the Namibians to decide," Tonha replied.

"There are certain universal principles which we cannot violate."

Namibian Defence Minister Peter Mueshikane said that the Angolan delegation were in Windhoek not to sign joint military operational agreements but agreements on establishing border security.

Evolution

Bear in mind that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos introduced thoughts of "an evolution to a multi-party system" last year, what about the prospect of Savimbi contesting an election? The general held his line: "When we have established the conditions for a multi-party system, which is one of the aspects of peace, then of course all parties are free to participate - including Savimbi."
Battered and beleaguered—Luanda is running out of time

Jonas Savimbi’s UNITA rebels have gained control of a large northeastern area in Angola and appear poised to close in on Luanda from the north and the south.

This has led to increased pressure on the Angolan government to revive negotiations.

The government’s military situation in northern Angola has deteriorated over the past six months to a crisis level. Fierce fighting continues in the southern region around Mavinga, and UNITA has stepped up its attacks from its new base in the north-east along the border with Zaire.

Additional headaches for President Jose Eduardo dos Santos are water and power shortages in Luanda itself, caused by UNITA sabotage.

The MPLA government has accused South Africa, the United States and Zaire of plotting a coup with UNITA.

The Angolan government has no doubt that South Africa, Zaire and the United States of America have been working together in a conspiracy against the People’s Republic of Angola with the aim of toppling its government, said a statement issued by the Angolan embassy in Harare.

The Angolan government accused the South African government of supplying UNITA with all the fuel it has been using in the conflict.

South Africa’s renewed concentrationist activities in Angola could imply that it is not interested in resolving the Angolan conflict, said the statement.

The statement also rejected Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko as a mediator in the conflict, saying that “from now on direct talks will be the way in which Angolans will resolve their problems. Indeed it seems to us that it is the only way to guarantee the removal of international interference and an internationalisation of the conflict.”

A United States embassy spokesman in Harare confirmed that US assistance Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen recently met Mobutu and Savimbi in Kinshasa.

The Angolan government denied that the meeting was to plan a coup.

“Our policy is that we have constantly worked for national reconciliation in Angola, and we have repeatedly said that a military solution is impossible,” he said.

“The solution to the conflict can only come from negotiations. We still stand by the need for both sides to come together and resolve the issues.”

Time may be running out for Dos Santos to negotiate from a position of strength, especially because of UNITA’s success in establishing a base of operations in the north.

UNITA has wrested control from the government of a large, populous area in north-eastern Angola, according to a report by the Harare-based Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC).

The new UNITA zone stretches in a vast half-circle facing the Atlantic...
'Foreign plot’ to topple Angola govt

HARARE. — Angola's chargé de affaires here yesterday accused "foreign agents", including South Africa, of planning a coup next summer to topple President José dos Santos's government, Ziana reported.

According to allegations made by Mr André Pano at a press conference in the Zimbabwe capital, his government had uncovered the alleged plot. The plan to topple President Santos's government was hatched by the secret services of the United States, South Africa, Israel and Zaire, Mr Pano claimed.

The plan — which was timed to last 48 hours — would result in the assassination of top government and ruling MPLA party members.

"Then certain Angolan personalities held to be neutral, or independent would be chosen to form a transitional government, which would immediately contact Unita to conclude accords for peace and national reconciliation." — Sapa
Johannesburg. — Nearly 4,000 people died from malnutrition in the Benguela province in central Angola during the past four months, Angola's news agency Angop reports.
The riddle of the Casspirs

All of a sudden Unita has ‘lots’

By KEN VERNON
Weekend Argus Africa Service

JOHANNESBURG - The Unita rebel movement in Angola has recently been seen for the first time to be using South African-made Casspirs, but there is a mystery over where the armoured troop carriers have come from.

Both the SADF and the Namibian police have denied that any of their Casspirs could have been supplied to Unita, although one source said “lots” were missing.

Up to 10 of the vehicles were seen by journalists on a recent trip to Unita-held territory around Mavinga in southeast Angola.

Unita’s chief of staff and battlefield commander, General “Ben Ben” Pena, and the foreign secretary, General Tony Da Costa Fernandes, conducted journalists on a battlefield tour from a new-looking Casspir painted in similar colours to that of the infamous Koevoet unit.

On the return from the battlefield tour a convoy of six Casspirs was passed near the town of Mavinga, while outside the nearby Unita headquarters, three Casspirs painted in the khaki colours used by 101 Battalion were seen.

“Only one vehicle”

When questioned later about the sudden appearance of Casspirs in his armoury, Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said the organisation had been given five vehicles by South Africa before they were obliged to stop supplying Unita under the tripartite agreement with Angola and Cuba signed in 1988.

Earlier, another Unita officer had said the organisation had only one of the vehicles.

A high official in the Angolan government told me there were no reported instances of Unita having used Casspirs in the past, though the vehicles were well known from Koevoet and 101 Battalion operations.

The Casspirs used by Koevoet during the Namibian border conflict were reportedly equipped with sophisticated navigation and communication equipment and the Unita generals on the battlefield tour appeared to be using their Casspir as a command vehicle.

That particular Casspir had been fitted with a large lounge chair, covered with a floral print cloth, as well as a small fan and curtains — presumably for the Dr Savimbi’s comfort.

The police spokesman for the Namibian police, Brigadier Ziggi Elmbrecht, said that all of the police Casspirs in Namibia at the time of independence had been accounted for. “There are no Namibian police Casspirs missing and all the others were taken back by South Africa in February this year” he said.

He said that rumours that many former Koevoet members had fled to Unita, taking their Casspirs with them, had been found upon investigation to be untrue. “A number of former Koevoet members did cross over to Unita, but none took Casspirs,” he said.

However, this was denied by a former member of the SWA Police, who said that “lots” of Casspirs were missing, in the confusion surrounding independence.

But other South African military sources said that when the SADF withdrew from Angola in September 1988, it left behind “between 60 and 80 Casspirs” for Unita, but could not explain why they had not been seen until this year.

According to the book, South Africa’s Border War — 1966-1989 by military writer Willem Steenkamp, “101 Battalion was the only army unit to be issued with this highly effective police vehicle.”
Casspirs spotted operating with UNITA forces

NEWS 1998 05 10

Ken Verzon

Ken Verzon
MPLA troops mass for big offensive

JOHANNESBURG. Angola's government forces are massing for a new large-scale military operation against Unita rebels in northern Angola, SABC's Africa desk reported yesterday.

Military sources told Unita's Rup news agency that 'large' numbers of heavily-armed MPLA troops had been arriving in the northern provinces of Uige and Zaire on an almost daily basis.

The report comes in the wake of a large-scale MPLA military offensive against the Unita stronghold of Mavinga early last month which the rebels repelled.

The sources noted the military build-up contradicted the Luanda government's statements that it was ready to seek a peaceful solution to the civil war. — Sapa
35,000 Cubans have left Angola – report

The Star's Africa News Service

About 35,000 Cuban soldiers have already left Angola under the tripartite agreements between Angola, Cuba and South Africa, reports the Angolan news agency, Angop.

In a report from Havana, where the joint verification committee of the three countries is meeting, Angop said yesterday that “some” 35,000 Cubans had left by May 31.

Under the agreements, 25,000 Cubans should have left Angola by April 1 and all Cuban troops must be out of Angola by July next year.

It was estimated that at the time the agreements were signed in 1988, 50,000 Cuban troops were stationed in Angola.

Angop quoted the head of the Angolan delegation to the Havana meeting, Lieutenant-General Franca Ndalu, as saying that the meeting would discuss “continued support to Unita rebels by the United States and South Africa”.

Accused

General Ndalu said support for Unita was being supplied via Zaire, but gave no other details.

The SA delegation to the talks is led by the director general of foreign affairs, Nell van Heerden. Angop reported that the commissioner of the diamond-rich northern province of Lunda Norte, Norberto dos Santos, had accused Zaire of allowing constant violations of Angolan airspace by planes travelling from Zaire.

Mr dos Santos was quoted as saying that the situation in Lunda Norte was “worrying” due to growing Unita attacks. US aid to the Angolan rebels is reported to be reaching Unita via Zaire.

A member of the ruling MPLA Party’s central committee, Mr Joao Lourenco, said arms for Unita were being unloaded in the Zairese port of Matadi.

Mr Lourenco also accused the Ivory Coast and Morocco of supporting Unita.
A battle was fought, but who won remains the question?

JUST one question remains unanswered after the battle for Mavinga — one of the biggest confrontations of the Angolan civil war that involved more than 30,000 men and billions of rands worth of hi-tech military hardware — who won? That the question will probably remain forever unanswered goes a long way to explaining the difficulties of reporting on the 15-year-long civil war being waged in the seemingly endless bushveld of Angola.

Both sides have claimed victory in the battle. Both sides have produced for the world’s press their heroes and their captives, their campaign “balance sheets” of enemy killed, wounded, captured and surrendered, as well as their inevitably modest tally of own losses all to conclusively “prove” that they won and the enemy lost.

The confrontation outside Mavinga was the culmination of a four-month push by a strong government armoured column into Unita’s heartland in south-east Angola. Unita says the government called the campaign operation “final assault,” but not surprisingly the government disagreed, saying its codename was operation “Zebra.”

‘Common cause’

For the first time in more than a decade, the government troops managed to cross the Lomba river, a natural barrier 30 kilometres north of the town, suffering, and causing, heavy casualties in the process.

So much is “common cause” as might be said in a court of law, but thereafter the maxim that: “In war, truth is the first casualty”, becomes operative.

On February 2 the MPLA government claimed to have occupied Mavinga, a claim immediately denied by Unita. Western intelligence sources said that “parts” of the town were occupied by the opposing forces and that the fighting was continuing.

Only a month ago one of the largest battles of the Angolan civil war came to an end in the bush outside the tiny hamlet of Mavinga. For the first time the Angolan government army, Fapla, and the rebel Unita’s armed wing, Fola, came to grips in a major battle unceded by foreign forces. KEN VERNON of the Argus Africa News Service looks at the difficulties of reporting on and analysing the conflict.

As a journalist who has been to Mavinga three times in the past year, I find the notion of two armies occupying different portions of the “town” of Mavinga little short of bizarre.

Mavinga consists of the remains of about ten houses, a small school and a town hall.

Two warring armies might find it a trifle small for their liking.

Reports from the Luanda government that its forces had occupied both the town and its vital airstrip, just 500 metres from the tiny town centre, were shown to be false by a visit to the town two weeks ago.

The “captured” airstrip had been sabotaged by Unita — a fact now admitted by Luanda — while both the “town” and the Unita headquarters just north of the town were unchanged from my previous two visits.

Disarray

If government troops did capture Mavinga and the Unita headquarters buildings they considerably left them just as they found them.

What is also “common cause” is that the government troops who were either in or near Mavinga are no longer there.

Luanda says the troops withdrew — after having “fulfilled with success their mission of sovereignty” in Mavinga — as a gesture of “peace and goodwill” towards Unita on the eve of possible negotiations.

A trip to the alleged final battlefield, a four square kilometre area littered with destroyed or abandoned military hardware and perforated with trenches and bunkers, did little to resolve the conundrum.

Did the government troops leave or were they thrown out? If they did capture Mavinga, why did they leave and why did they allow Unita to sabotage their” airstrip? If, as Unita say, the government troops were short of food, water and diesel before their defeat, how did they manage to simply drive 300km back to their base at Cuito Cuanavale?

Manipulation

Finally, in the end does it really matter? A simple ground-rule for every journalist is to accept that both sides are lying — manipulation is the name of the game.

In the end what probably matters most is that neither side can claim absolute victory. Old Africa hands have long said that both sides had needed to vindicate past propaganda by a battlefield confrontation without allies at their sides.

Previously, government hawks had said that only South Africa had kept them from razing Unita’s capital at Jamba, while Unita boasted that only the Cubans and the Russians had denied them Luanda.

If both sides realise that military victory is impossible, and at the same time claim military victory, then strangely enough honour is maintained and a political solution becomes possible.
The city that goes to war by night

LUANDA - By day, life in Luanda has been much the same for 15 years: armed soldiers stand on street corners, women wait in line at dismal shops for the monthly rations of necessities, and everyone looks tired.

At night, war comes to the city, which less than a year ago was cautiously preparing for peace.

Four bombs have exploded in the capital this year. Most of Luanda has been dark after sundown since rebels sabotaged 44 high-voltage pylons east of Luanda in April. Sporadic gunfire can be heard until dawn.

Sabotage

Guerilla sabotage has interrupted water supplies and delayed food shipments, sending prices soaring in bustling black markets that are much better supplied than state stores, where prices are fixed.

In April, the curfew began at midnight and most people ignored it. Now it starts at 9:30pm and is enforced by soldiers, who push curfew-breakers into vans and take them to police stations for the night.

Rebel leader Jonas Savimbi was angered by an army offensive deep into his southern strongholds early this year and has stepped up urban sabotage and bombings, despite new peace efforts that began in April. Most of the attacks have been in and around Luanda.

Electricity

In the dusty suburb of Palanca, a young soldier who identified himself only as Ben leaned against the barred doors of a darkened cafe and switched off the regular "Good Morning, Combatant" programme on his transistor radio.

"It's not just that people are frightened to go out at night," he said. "[There's no electricity, so there's nowhere to go."

Angola's civil war began as soon as it gained independence from Portugal in 1975 and fighting continues despite peace talks. Associated Press correspondent TONY SMITH travelled to Luanda and filed this report from the government side.

Bars and discos that provide Luandans with a weekend release from the war are becoming scarce.

Last year, new bars and nightclubs began to thrive after President Mário Macias of Zaire brought Savimbi and José Eduardo dos Santos, Angola's president, together on June 22 and the two foes sealed a truce with a handshake.

Compatriots

The ceasefire collapsed within days, however, and tentative peace talks broke down soon afterwards.

In April, low-level officials from both sides met in Portugal for the first discussions since then. Unita has called for a new truce, but government delegates say agreement on terms and a future agenda must come first.

Dos Santos' government, still avowedly Marxist and backed by an estimated 1.5 billion dollars a year in Soviet military aid, has hinted it might accept rebel demands for free multi-party elections, but only when peace is well established.

"The government doesn't want to prolong a perilous war when political solutions are feasible among compatriots," Defense Minister General Pedro Maria Tonha said on television last month.

He said Operation Zebra, an offensive the government says captured a strategic airstrip on February 2 at Mavinga, which is 1110 km south-east of Luanda, shows the army "has sufficient fighting power to silence Unita militarily".

Tonha spoke at a ceremony in southern Cuando-Cubango province, where he decorated soldiers who fought in the campaign.

On May 15, Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Furtado, Zaire's chief of staff, told foreign reporters visiting the south-eastern military base at Cuito Cuanavale that his soldiers were withdrawing from Mavinga because it had "lost its strategic importance".

Bombardment

A Defence Ministry statement in mid-May said Mavinga, some 145 km south of Cuito Cuanavale, was firmly under government control and that Dos Santos threatened to "strangle" the rebel headquarters at Jamba, further south, with long-range artillery bombardment.

UNITA claimed its fighters routed government troops well north of the area last week, but Western diplomats in Lisbon, capital of Portugal, said intelligence reports gave no indication of such a battle.

Large troop movements through the Luanda airport support claims by Western sources that two of four government battalions from the Mavinga operation were being moved north to the new Cuanza-Bengo front, which starts about 35 km east of Luanda. It is commanded by General Antonio dos Santos Franco, who planned operation Zebra.

Military sources in Luanda say the estimated 2,000 Unita guerrillas operating in small sabotage and ambush squads around the capital should be no match for government ground and air offensives.

Fighting

Heavy fighting continues in the northern Uige, Zaire and Malanje provinces, near the border with Zaire, and rebels have attacked government units guarding foreign oil installations near the coastal city of Soyo, north of Luanda.

Also, Unita says it always can return to bush warfare, making hit-and-run attacks on areas under government control.

UN observers in Angola say more than 33,000 of the Cuban soldiers who helped fight the rebellion since it began in 1975 have returned home under US-brokered accords signed by Angola, Cuba and South Africa in December 1988. Cuba had about 50,000 military personnel in Angola when the withdrawal began.

Under the agreement, South Africa promised Namibia independence and an end to its military and logistical support for Unita.

The rebels still receive about $250 million a year in US military aid, most of it funneled through Zaire. The State Department has pledged to continue assistance until peace is achieved. - Sapa-AP.
HAVANA - Assurances had been given that Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola was proceeding on schedule, Director General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil Van Heerden said in a statement yesterday.

Speaking from the Cuban capital Havana, spokeswoman for Mr Van Heerden, Ms Alayne Reesberg, said that, at the eighth ordinary meeting of the Joint Commission held on Monday in Havana, Cuba, had assured the delegates that withdrawal of its troops from Angola would continue as scheduled despite increased activity by Unita rebels.

In a joint communiqué issued after the meeting, the delegates said different views and perceptions had been exchanged on the statement made by the Angolan delegation regarding the continued interference in its internal affairs. - Sapa.
Angola to move troops as 'goodwill gesture'

NEW YORK — Angola's UN envoy said on Tuesday Luanda was withdrawing its troops fighting Unita rebels in the southeast of the country as a goodwill gesture.

Ambassador Manuel Pedro Pacavira could not say how many men were involved.

But he told a news conference that, based on some indications that Unita was more receptive to peace moves, Angolan troops were being moved north.

He said the move was also partly in response to requests by the US, which supports Unita, for President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to show flexibility in helping end the 15-year-old civil war.

Pacavira said a similar gesture was made earlier this year when Angolan troops withdrew from the strategic town of Mavinga.

"In the next two or three weeks, a delegation from our government will meet again with a delegation of the opposition to discuss all questions concerning a ceasefire accord," he said, without giving details.

Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura announced the meeting would be in Portugal but he also gave no date, according to the Angolan News Agency (Angop) yesterday.

Pacavira said details of the Angolan move had been sent to the Portuguese government, which was organising the peace talks, as well as to the US, US congressional leaders, and other governments concerned with peace efforts.

The two warring parties met in Portugal in April for the first time for what Unita leader Jonas Savimbi described as "exploratory contacts".

The April meeting marked the first direct meeting between the MPLA government and Unita since the Babalouba meeting in Zaire last June when agreement was reached on a ceasefire.

De Moura told journalists "the second meeting with Unita will also be secret in order to safeguard the interests of all concerned." — Sapa-Reuters, ANO.
Angola govt brushes off Unita truce proposal

LISBON — Angola has brushed off a proposal by Unita rebels for a three-month truce while peace negotiations are held.

A statement by the Angolan embassy here did not explicitly accept or reject the suggestion.

It proposed instead that a permanent ceasefire should be discussed at the next round of peace talks, due to be held in Portugal before the end of June.

"The Angolan people want a lasting peace — not just provisional truces which could mean a desire to return to war again," it said.

The Unita proposal was made in a statement signed by its leader, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, and Unita military and political commanders. — Sapa-Reuters
LISBON. — Negotiators representing the Marxist MPLA government in Angola and Unita rebels have held a second round of secret talks here, which could lead to a new ceasefire in early July.

No details were immediately available but diplomats said the two sides, meeting under the auspices of Portugal, had discussed three fundamental issues: National elections, mutual recognition of the legitimacy of both sides and steps aimed at a lasting ceasefire.

President George Bush's administration is asking Congress for an additional $10 million to $15 million in covert military aid to Unita.

Quoting unnamed administration and other sources, the Washington Post said yesterday the request apparently had been formally approved by the Senate and House intelligence committees last week. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuters
Unita, Angolan govt in secret talks

LISBON — Angola's Marxist government and US-backed Unita rebels held secret talks at the weekend near Lisbon to discuss ending 15 years of civil war, Portuguese media said yesterday.

The two sides met at a military installation in the seaside suburb of Oeiras on Saturday and Sunday, to define political positions which would eventually lead to a ceasefire accord.

Sources close to the talks said the discussions focused on forging an agreement in principle to hold a general election and establish a multi-party system.

This was the second meeting between the two sides in three months to be hosted by Portugal, which ruled Angola as a colony until 1975.

Further negotiations are expected.

An Angolan Embassy spokesman, while declining to confirm the talks, emphasised secrecy was necessary for the delicate negotiations to succeed.

There was no immediate comment from Unita or Portuguese officials.

Exploratory contacts between Unita and the MPLA government were held in April in Portugal, but were officially confirmed only later.

Diplomats said the two sides were still distrustful of each other, with Unita insinuating that the government was demanding recognition from the guerrillas.

But they noted that both sides were worn out from heavy fighting in recent months, especially in the north.

The talks are the first promising sign of a negotiated end to the conflict since the collapse of a short-lived truce brokered by Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko last year.

The Washington Post reported yesterday that President George Bush's administration was asking Congress for an additional $10m to $15m in covert military aid for Unita.

Quoting unnamed administration and other sources, the Post said the request apparently had been formally approved by the Senate and House intelligence committees last week.

Administration officials could not immediately be reached for comment.

Secretary of State James Baker told the House Foreign Affairs Committee last week administration officials had been holding "extensive discussions" with the Soviet Union on ways to end Angola's civil war. — Sapa-Reuter.
UNITA halts peace talks

LISBON — The rebel movement Unita said yesterday it was suspending peace talks with the Angolan government until it had cleared up misunderstandings which arose during secret contacts in Portugal at the weekend.

"Unita considers that these exploratory contacts should continue at a later date, when the misunderstandings that have arisen have been removed," the movement said in a statement issued by its Paris office.

Unita officials in Paris said it had been sent from the rebel movement's headquarters at Jamba, Angola.

"After two days of direct talks between Unita and the MPLA, under the auspices of the Portuguese government, Unita has decided to recall its delegation for consultations," the statement said, citing communications problems with Jamba.

Sources close to the talks said the discussions hinged on forging an agreement in principle to hold a general election and establish a multiparty system.

But they said there was contention over how to enforce a ceasefire, with Unita insisting on international supervision, and over a timetable for the gradual surrender of arms. — Sapa-Reuters.
SA is not yet ready to abandon its old ally

While the African National Congress and other opponents of apartheid are campaigning for tougher sanctions against South Africa, the MPLA government in Angola is urging Pretoria to set up a trade mission in Luanda.

And, in an almost bizarre reversal of its search for acceptance in Africa, Pretoria is believed to be responding coolly to the Angolan overtures.

The reason, apparently, is that the South African Government sees more advantage at present in not accepting the offer than in accepting it.

For if it accepted the Angolan invitation, South Africa would have to abandon its old ally, the Unita rebel movement headed by Dr Jonas Savimbi. This Pretoria is not prepared to do, according to reliable accounts circulating here.

Abandoning Unita would expose South Africa to accusations of bad faith in its international alliances. And by weakening Unita's foreign support it could encourage the hardliners in Luanda who are against negotiating a settlement with Unita.

Reconciliation

Pretoria's prime concern in Angola at present is helping to bring about a reconciliation of the warring parties, which would in turn clear the way to the rebuilding of the wrecked but still potentially rich economy.

From this South Africa would hope to gain substantial benefits, both in trade and politically.

Acceptance of the Luanda overtures at this stage would offer only the political benefit that would come from being openly accepted by another African country.

The MPLA government is thought by observers to want a South African trade mission in Luanda not only to improve its access to South African goods and services but also to end what it apparently believes is continued material support for Unita from the Republic.

Pretoria has said it is no longer giving military aid to Unita.

According to the Lisbon newsletter, InformAfrica, however, President dos Santos of Angola complained to President de Klerk when they met in Windhoek at Namibian independence that South Africa was still supplying the rebels with food, clothing and medicine.

The newsletter claimed Pretoria was also still supplying them with fuel, but did not say how this was accomplished after South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia deprived it of direct access to the rebels.

Pretoria is believed to be actively involved in the Angolan peace efforts - but as a facilitator of the Portuguese initiative rather than on its own.

A tentative start has been made, with direct talks between the MPLA and Unita in Portugal. They are due to resume early next month.

Obstacle

A major obstacle appears however, to be the inability of the MPLA to agree on a stand because of the continuing conflict between the hawks in the government who favour a military solution and the doves who want negotiation.

This situation is aggravated by the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union are continuing to supply arms to Unita and the MPLA respectively. The Soviets are thought to be willing to stop the traffic but only if the Americans do the same.

Withdrawal

The Americans are believed to take the attitude that they must be allowed to give Unita something like military parity with the MPLA before arms supplies are stopped.

The issue is being discussed by the superpowers and may be resolved, but until this happens it will probably continue to hamper the Angolan peace effort.

In the meantime the Cubid troop withdrawal, which was ahead of schedule, is reported to have been slowed, apparently to signal Havana's displeasure at the continuing attacks on Cuban personnel by Unita rebels. There is no suggestion however, that Cuba will halt the withdrawal.
‘Stop this civil war’
Angolan president calls for ceasefire to stop ‘great suffering'

From DALE LAUTENBACH
Argus Africa News Service
LUANDA. — President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola has renewed his appeal for an end to the bloody civil war in his country.

He urged this after the latest peace talks with Unita stalled in Portugal earlier this week.

"The Angolan people are suffering a great deal," said Mr. Dos Santos in an exclusive interview with The Argus yesterday, his first with South African journalists visiting Angola.

Expressing great disappointment, Mr. Dos Santos said that the Unita delegation to the talks had requested a postponement and had not been ready to discuss the ceasefire agreement Angola hoped to reach.

"They said they needed to have consultation. However, we do not know the reason behind the postponement.

"We regret that no decision has been taken because the Angolan people are suffering a great deal."

He cautioned Unita not to exploit this latest stalemate with an increase in its military activities. Any such attempt would be “frustrated by an energetic reply from our armed forces”.

Mr. Dos Santos said no date had been established for the resumption of talks but he expected it would be some time next month.

He praised Portugal's "good offices" in hosting and helping to arrange the series of face-to-face encounters between his government and Dr. Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels.

Mr. Dos Santos did not identify any way in which South Africa might be of direct assistance in the resolution of Angola's internal conflict.

Destabilisation

He did suggest, however, that President F.W. de Klerk might "use all his capabilities to hinder" those conservative South African forces which might be involved in the continued destabilisation of Angola.

"There are forces within South Africa that are not making the process of peace easy (and which are) complicating the task of President de Klerk by opposing his policy of a peaceful settlement of the problems of apartheid," he said.

Mr. Dos Santos said these were "conservative forces" which "may have some influence in the defence and security forces in South Africa".

"We are living through a new era in our region — that stage of confrontation is part of the past now," he said, praising Mr. de Klerk's "noble" reform efforts. He said he "strongly" endorsed Mr. Nelson Mandela's decision to lead the African National Congress into negotiations with Pretoria.

Mr. Dos Santos, who met Mr. de Klerk for the first time in Windhoek on the occasion of Namibia's independence on March 21, said he hoped for continued dialogue with South Africa and described his counterpart as a man of "integrity" and "open to discussion".

He spoke with enthusiasm of regional co-operation and the role of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) in unifying a Southern Africa challenged by other powerful regional economic groupings, particularly the European Community.
Dos Santos supports trade ties with SA

By Dale Lautenbach
The Star's Africa News Service

LUANCA — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has given open support for trade links with South Africa, and has praised President de Klerk's "noble" reform initiatives.

He has also endorsed a major role for a post-apartheid South Africa in a southern African economic grouping that would help the region compete with other trading blocs.

President dos Santos was speaking in an exclusive interview with The Star's Africa News Service in which he renewed his appeal for an end to the bloody civil war in Angola.

He did not identify any way in which South Africa might be of direct assistance in helping end the war.

He did suggest, though, that President de Klerk might "use all his capabilities to hinder those conservative South African forces which might be involved in the continued destabilisation of Angola.

Complicating factors within South Africa that are not making the peace process easy (and which are) complicating the task of President de Klerk by opposing his policy of a peaceful settlement of the problems of apartheid.

"We are living through a new era in our region — the stage of confrontation is past now," he said, praising Mr. de Klerk's "noble" reform efforts and "strongly" endorsing Nelson Mandela's decision to lead the ANC into negotiations with Pretoria.

President dos Santos described Mr. de Klerk "as a man of integrity who was open to discussion."

He added that his government accepted the idea of a general election "in principle" and proposed a referendum in which the people would decide between a one-party or multiparty state. The political role of Unita would be put to the vote.
Angola shakes up its economic team

LISBON — Angolan president José Eduardo dos Santos, shaking up his government's economic team, has sworn in new ministers of finance and planning, and made several other changes, the official news agency Angop said yesterday.

The new appointments include both the governor and deputy governor of the war-ravaged African country's central bank, the Banco Nacional de Angola, Angop, monitored in Lisbon, said.

In a speech at the swearing-in ceremony on Monday, Mr. Dos Santos denounced official corruption and inefficiency.

He also named a new information minister and deputy minister, saying more open government would help counter hostile propaganda from Western-backed rebels.

Mr. Dos Santos' ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has moved away from its original Marxist economic policy and sought to encourage foreign investment.

Two rounds of government-rebel talks to end the 15-year-old civil war, which has devastated the potentially rich country, have been held in Portugal in the past few weeks.

Aguião dos Santos was sworn in as finance minister, Fernando Van-Danem as planning minister, and Boaventura da Silva Cardoso as information minister. Angop did not say if Van-Danem was relinquishing his previous portfolio, justice.

The new central bank governor, whose appointment was announced separately, will be deputy governor Pedro Cunha Neto. Joao Baptista Madeira Torres was appointed deputy governor.

Dos Santos also appointed several other deputy ministers and secretaries of state. — Sap-Reuters
CP warns Govt of threat to Unita forces

The Conservative Party has claimed Angolan government Fapla forces are moving south towards Rundu on the Angola-Namibia border, and pose a threat to Unita.

Koos van der Merwe, CP MP for Overvaal, said in a statement last night that the CP had called on the Government to protect Unita in the interests of peace in the region.

The Department of Foreign Affairs last night said that it had been unable to confirm the claims made by Mr van der Merwe, that Angolan government Fapla troops were at Rundu in northern Namibia.

A spokesman for the department said in Pretoria that similar rumours had done the rounds in the past and had been shown to be unfounded.

He said that from the nature of its duties, the South African mission in Namibia remained aware of developments in the country.

A newspaper report claimed that the air base at Rundu, which had been used previously by the South African Defence Force, could enable Fapla to strike at the Unita movement in Angola with Mig 23 military aircraft. — Sapa.
Angola signals support for SA trade links

By Dale Lautenbach,
The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has given open support for trade links with South Africa and praised President de Klerk's "noble" reform initiatives.

He hopes President de Klerk might "hinder" those conservative South African forces which might be involved in the continued destabilisation of Angola.

"We are living through a new era in our region. The stage of confrontation is part of the past now," he said, praising Mr de Klerk's reform efforts and endorsing Nelson Mandela's decision to lead the ANC into negotiations with the Government.

His government accepted the idea of a general election and had proposed a referendum in which Angolans would decide between a one-party or multiparty state. The role of Unita would be put to the vote.
Mandela slams US aid for the Unita rebels

WASHINGTON - South African black leader Nelson Mandela, in his first major criticism of Washington since beginning a triumphant US tour, condemned the United States on Sunday for supporting rebels fighting to topple the Angolan government.

Mandela said both nations were obliged to respect the independence and sovereignty of Angola and not throw their weight behind rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, whose group known as Unita, has been fighting the leftist Angolan government since independence.

"The United States of America and South Africa are the main countries that supported Savimbi," he told a news conference for African-American media.

"We strongly condemn this because independent countries should respect the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and no assistance should be rendered to Savimbi," he said.

Mandela said the subject had not come up during his current discussions with the South African President FW de Klerk but if his African National Congress and the Government reached a settlement "we will not tolerate that South Africa should be involved in operations of this nature."

The United States has stepped up aid to Savimbi in recent years following South Africa's announced withdrawal of military support, funneling many of the weapons through Zaire.

Oil

On the other hand US oil companies work closely with the Angolan government in extracting oil from Cabinda province.

On the eve of his visit to President George Bush, Mandela would not say what he planned to discuss or whether Angola would be included in the meeting the White House says will be to review negotiations between the ANC and the South African government and how the US will support those talks. - Sapa-Reuter.
Angola wants SA trade

EXCLUSIVE: INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS OF ANGOLA

An economic and financial agreement (by its Portuguese acronym SEG) was signed at Luanda last week. But the gove-

ment and industry representatives have not moved forward as quickly as we would like. We need to build on

the momentum created by the new political climate in Angola. We are looking forward to discussing these

issues further in the near future.

The recent elections have brought about positive changes in Angola. We are committed to working with our

friends in South Africa to promote trade and investment.

President dos Santos

ARGUS editor ANDREW DRYSDALE and DALE LAUTENBAUGH, Argus Africa News Ser-

vice, interviewed Angola’s President José Eduardo dos Santos at the presidential complex near Luanda last

week.

It was the president’s first formal meeting with South African journalists in Angola, South-

ern African affairs, his recent meeting with President De Klerk, bilateral relations with South Africa, and international perspectives. The interview was conducted through an interpreter.

President dos Santos


could help in achieving peace. President dos Santos

replied without direct involvement.

South Africa was in the past

closely connected to the South African leaders. We do not say that these links have completely broken down. There are forces within South Africa that are not making it easy for the process of peace to proceed. And I feel those forces are the ones that are

complicating the task of Presi-

dent De Klerk (by opposing his policy to democracy and to South

Africa and South Africa) and (arguing about a peaceful solution) for the problem of apartheid.

These are the same con-

servative forces that may have some influence in the domestic politics of South Africa. We would like to see President De Klerk use his capabilities to hinder those forces and force them toward a peaceful solution to the problem of apartheid.

PEACE:

The Angolan government has adopted the idea of a multi-party state that must be practiced,

able to be addressed when peace has been established.

Angola wanted to be consulted on the peaceful transition in Angola. The

President dos Santos did not see President De Klerk’s path as a solution. He

shattered a heavy past.

Angola’s head of state was encouraged by the open

talks to dialogue with the Afri-

can National Congress that occurred during the interview. We are making important

steps in order to achieve peace. Even at this very moment some economic relations (with South Africa) have already

started. They are still very weak but I believe they will increase as the political process progresses in South Africa and in Angola when we reach peace and stability.

SA’s reform process:

President dos Santos met his South African counterparts for the first time in Windhoek 21 on the occasion of Namibia’s independence.

President dos Santos said the Angolan population itself must be involved in the re-

organization of the country. They are the ones who will decide on the future of their nation.

The Angolan president said his government would not stand in the way of the Angolan people’s aspirations. The

President hinted that unity breaking might have been as a result of “external

pressure” but we do not need to categorize statements. He ruled out any US as a behind the

scenes effort. It strange that Angola has made a lot of declarations that they want to achieve peace but do not talk about discussions and con-

ferences for a peaceful solution.

President dos Santos did not see President De Klerk’s path as an easy one. He

shattered a heavy past. The Angolan head of state was encouraged by the open

talks to dialogue with the Afri-

can National Congress. Asked whether he approved of Mr Nelson Mande-

la’s decision to lead his re-

mediation with government, President dos Santos said: “Yes we do strongly. There is no other way.

No solutions are possible without the ANC.” The president was disappo-

toned that the talks between

President dos Santos and with the Angolan people are people, peace, and stability.

It seems to us that there are no

The interview was conducted through an interpreter.

The first interview of the Angola’s President Jose Eduardo dos Santos with President De Klerk.

argues that this is a “wider approach.”

We asked the president first in a reception envelope of grey dash-

kraft and red felt topped with a wooden

Interpretation is part of the conversation and we believe that it is important to

Angola’s trading economic scene and its intended shift at a market economy. As

host país spoke with an imbued

emotions towards trade links with South Africa. The

President’s response was no different.

Yes, it is our wish to de-

velop trade exchanges with South Africa, although we hope that there are

problems to be solved.

A fortified military position and a power balance with the United States were

signa of the approach to FRELIMO. The

Armed guards go through security checks at an Angolan press conference. The event was covered by a foreign press.

In the presidential compound, at a place known as Fungufo dos Be-

grande, the presidential retreat in colonial times - is the site of a small palace with the capital along a road which passes through a small cement house on the outskirts of the capital.

The urban sprawl gives way to open ground scattered with huts and a palm-fringed coastline below.

A fortified military position and a power balance with the United States were

signa of the approach to FRELIMO. The

Armed guards go through security checks at an Angolan press conference. The event was covered by a foreign press.

However, our wish is to de-

velop trade exchanges with South Africa, although we hope that there are

problems to be solved.

A fortified military position and a power balance with the United States were

signa of the approach to FRELIMO. The

Armed guards go through security checks at an Angolan press conference. The event was covered by a foreign press.

In the presidential compound, at a place known as Fungufo dos Be-

grande, the presidential retreat in colonial times - is the site of a small palace with the capital along a road which passes through a small cement house on the outskirts of the capital.

The urban sprawl gives way to open ground scattered with huts and a palm-fringed coastline below.

A fortified military position and a power balance with the United States were

signa of the approach to FRELIMO. The

Armed guards go through security checks at an Angolan press conference. The event was covered by a foreign press.

ACROSS

A 1947-1951. The end of the interview, after 45 minutes or so, he says he is not going to take any questions "because we have been friends of the Angolan people" and adds that the press has a "certain role to promote positive images of the Angolan people and their country, in a "wider approach." He replies "no" for photos for graphs, shakes hands again, and is struck off surrounded by aides.
crying out for peace

ment from South Africa, the impression is that it would be welcome, particularly for reasons of proximity, technology and expertise.

Says a senior official: “The time has come to clear ideological obstacles. We are brothers, we need to seek understanding.”

Angola, which is overwhelmingly dependent on oil and diamonds (they account for more than 90 percent of foreign exchange), is looking to diversify — notably in agriculture, in which it once excelled — and to rebuild infrastructures such as roads, bridges, railways and harbours.

Declarations of intent to root out corruption — something which the president himself rails against — need to be matched by vigorous action.

But salvaging the economy cannot happen effectively until there is peace in the land.

Peace accord

In spite of hiccups in early peace talks between the government and Jonas Savimbi’s Unita, officials and others in Luanda are generally optimistic. The main factor is that after decades of killing and destruction everyone has had enough.

In a sense, too, the MPLA government has been obliged to make reforms because of changes in Europe and elsewhere. With the Soviet Union distancing itself, Cubans on the way out and the SADF gone, the imperative is a peace accord.

President Dos Santos speaks of testing public opinion on future political structures and participation. He insists on a ceasefire first, holds that people should return to the home areas and that a national census and registration are needed.

A scenario by a authority clear of party political interests suggests an interim government with a president above the party, an integrat ed national arm, an executive to prepare for elections, a national assembly and the restoration of justice and the rule of law.

However the outcome, none of it will happen without peace.


Bishop Emelio Julio Miguel de Carvalho

Pleas for peace

THE MPLA’s President José Eduardo Dos Santos, disappointed at the recently stalled ceasefire talks with Unita — which may soon be back on track — declares: “The Angolan people have suffered a great deal.”

Says a Minister: “Everyone is tired of war, but there are political restraints.”

The churches (two-thirds of Angolans are Christian, mostly Catholic) seek impartiality between state and rebels and are pressing the combatants to settle.

Methodist bishop Emelio Julio Miguel de Carvalho, says: “Our people tell us they are tired of war.”

The churches, he asserts, have done well in promoting the peace process.

“There will never be a military victory. People in Angola and South Africa, be they blacks or whites, must get together.”

Cardinal Alexandre Do Nascimento, archbishop of Luanda — freed by Unita after being held for 31 days in 1982 — says the church is promoting reconciliation and unity but cautions that the war has brought “great feelings of hate and mistrust” between people of various regions and it will take much effort to put that aside.

Picture postcard scene of the beautiful and placid city of Luanda as it is today. Below: President José Eduardo dos Santos, pictured during an interview.
POLITICAL life in Angola is polarised between the internationally recognised government of the MPLA and Jonas Savimbi's US-backed Unita rebels.

The FNLA, historically a third player, now flirts among the tatters of the main conflict. But today there is a new political voice in the Angolan capital and as a test of current efforts by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to reform the one-party model of his shattered country, this liberal voice, still small and exploratory, has not been silenced.

DALE LAUTENBACH of ARGUS AFRICA NEWS SERVICE met Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, president of the Angolan Civic Association, in Luanda.
LUANDA - The first news of East Germany's New Forum movement came out of family homes where men and women of books and quiet passions about peace exchanged political ideas over coffee.

In a sitting room which fights to stem the roar of traffic on the Largo 4 de Fevereiro as it sweeps along Luanda's limpid Baia Azul, Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, a lawyer, former priest and a man also of books and ideals, represents Angola's new opposition political force.

The comparison to New Forum is irresistible; Pinto de Andrade draws it himself, stressing that he is president of an organisation seeking not political power but the space for political expression.

Dialogue

New Forum's founding document said late last year: "We are asking for a dialogue beyond or outside the Party." History tells the rest.

"Angola is a closed society," says Pinto de Andrade, who was elected president of the Angolan Civic Association on January 25 this year by its 130-member founding group.

"Before independence we had colonial rule. After independence we had a party (the MPLA) which conquered the others (Unita and FNLA) and arrived in the ruling position by armed force. There were no elections. The MPLA was imposed on the society." Pinto de Andrade was himself a founder member of the MPLA in 1956.

"A year before independence, on November 11, 1975, I broke from the MPLA to form MPLA-Active Revolt, one of two factions which opposed the MPLA itself."

Following independence he was detained by the new rulers.

Today he describes the MPLA as a "monolith", a force which perceives itself as the exclusive director of the society.

"After 15 years of civil war in Angola the society is bi-polarised. If you're not MPLA you're Unita and vice versa. Therefore, the real Angola society, the civil society, has no role in the country, caught as it is between these two opposing military forces."

He believes that peace will come now, but, an end to the war holds new dangers: either one party will emerge as dominant or Unita and Unia will "divide the cake". In either case the majority of Angolans will remain excluded.

"By power sharing or domination, government remains an imposition on society."

The ACA's goal is to provide the space in which the voice of this silent population may be heard; the voices of those who have chosen "one boat or the other" because there has been no alternative and because they have needed jobs and security.

The MPLA has been forced to change by, internally, the decomposition of the force and credibility of the party due to the war with Unita, inefficiency and corruption and, externally, due to the changes in Eastern Europe.

Pinto de Andrade says he does not want an executive political role though and he remains committed to the slow task of spreading the ACA idea.

Angolan law recognises liberty of association in principle and seeking to exploit this, the ACA group has sought legal approval.

The Ministry of Justice examined its founding documents in February, finding the organisation's aims legal.

"But they said there were political questions not within the comm."
Rebels ready.

PARIS - Angola's Unita rebel movement said it was willing to resume exploratory talks on ending the country's 15-year civil war after withdrawing its delegates last week.
Unita calls for a free economy

THE Unita movement says conditions for peace and multi-party democracy must be created in Angola as soon as possible to allow for a free market economy and foreign investment.

In a statement carried by its news agency, KUP, Unita said the Angolan economy was in sharp decline as a result of economic mismanagement by the Luanda government.

It said that Angola was endowed with enormous natural resources, and just over 15 years ago had been one of Africa’s leading exporters of cash crops.

Unita blamed the MPLA government’s Marxist economic policies, in terms of which all Angola’s industries had been nationalised.

In addition, Unita charged that corrupt MPLA officials had emerged as the new economic barons of the country. It said many of them had amassed large personal fortunes for themselves and their families. - Sapa
A new voice in Angola

A small group of liberals speak out

THE first news of East Germany's New Forum movement came out of family homes where men and women of books and quiet passions about peace exchanged political ideals over coffee.

In a sitting room which fights to stem the roar of traffic on the Largo 4 de Fevereiro as it sweeps along Luanda's limpid Baía Azul, Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, a lawyer, former priest and also a man of books and ideals, represents Angola's new opposition political force.

The comparison to New Forum is irresistible, Mr. De Andrade draws it himself, stressing that he is president of an organisation seeking not political power but the space for political expression. New Forum's founding document said late last year: "We are asking for a dialogue beyond or outside the party." History tells the rest.

"Angola is a closed society," says Mr. De Andrade, who was elected president of the Angolan Civic Association on January 25 this year by its 130-member founding group.

"Before independence we had colonial rule. After independence we had a party (the MPLA) which conquered the others (Unita and FNLA) and arrived in the ruling position by armed force. There were no elections ... the MPLA was imposed on the society."

Mr. De Andrade was himself a founder member of the MPLA in 1956. A year before the November 11 1975 independence, he broke from the MPLA to form MPLA Active Revolt, one of two factions which opposed the MPLA itself. Following independence he was detained by the new rulers.

Today he describes the MPLA as a "monolith", a force which perceives itself as the exclusive director of the society.

"After 15 years of civil war in Angola the society is bi-polarised. If you're not MPLA you're Unita and vice versa. Therefore the real Angolan society, the civil society, has no role in the country, caught as it is between two opposing military forces."

He believes that peace will come now ... but an end to the war holds new dangers: either one party will emerge as dominant or the MPLA and Unita will "divide the cake". In either case the majority of Angolans will remain excluded.

"By power sharing or domination, government remains an imposition on society."

The ACA's goal is to provide the space in which the voice of this silent population may be heard, the voices of those who have chosen "one boat or the other" because there has been no alternative and because they have needed jobs and security.

"If there was another space for expression, they would take it."

Interestingly, it was Mr De Andrade's name that Dr Savimbi put forward as a neutral figure to lead a transitional government when, in March, Unita was talking transitional rule.

Mr. De Andrade says he does not want an executive political role though and he remains committed to the slow task of spreading the ACA idea.

Angolan law recognises liberty of association in principle and seeking to exploit this, the ACA group has sought legal approval.

The Ministry of Justice examined its founding documents in February and found the organisation's aims legal.

"But they said there were political questions not within the competence of their ministry to decide," says Mr De Andrade.

The ACA dossier was passed to the party's central committee and nothing has been heard since. Or rather what has been heard was a document from the MPLA's political bureau denouncing the ACA as "the imperialist lackeys of the United States and Unita", says Mr De Andrade.
Angola loosens socialist bonds

A pragmatic attempt to free the Angolan economy from its socialist bonds is reflected in a recent Cabinet reshuffle resembling a non-party reformist at the head of the Ministry of Finance. Prime minister for economic reform is in the hands of Mr Aguinaldo da Silva, who leaves his post as director of the Foreign Investment Board to become Finance Minister.

Government officials are fairly optimistic about the failure so far of the economic recovery programme initiated three years ago. So last week's Cabinet reshuffle, which includes a new director of Planning and is being presented as an effort to speed the reform process.

The programme has been stalled by inefficiency and an apparent unwillingness to deviate from the official currency, the kwanza, because of the enormous negative political impact this would have in the short term.

What has been achieved is a tinkering with the legal framework of the economy — some price regulation, especially in agriculture, has been abolished and laws have been redrafted to provide for state, private and mixed enterprise. But the short-term effect of devaluation of the kwanza would be dramatic price increases and unemployment.

Economic reform calls too for a streamlining of the bloated state bureaucracy, a move away from job protectionism and a significant reduction in state intervention — all changes which will take time. But an early withdrawal is advisable.

"Yes, there is the fear that the programme will create social instability, but the government has concluded that there is no alternative," says Mr Jaime. The thinking seems to be that what looks hard right now will be easier tomorrow, so let's get on with it.

Dr Joao Filipe Martins, a director in the foreign affairs department, acknowledges that the government could become unpopular as a result. "But it is preparing the people, telling them that there will be problems. It must be done.

Mr Jaime anticipates a 100 percent devaluation of the kwanza soon.

Another reformist thinker in government had suggested the devaluation could be as much as 500 percent. "Could be, could be," says Mr Jaime. At present the official exchange rate is about 30 kwanzas to the dollar whereas, on the black market, everyone seems to use the interests of survival, the rate is between 2,500 and 3,000 to the dollar.

MPLA joins economic revolution

Mr Jaime is confident that the short-term problems will be relieved in the longer term by the creation of jobs in an economy made more attractive to investors.

The steady income from oil, which even after the price drop still accounts for 95 percent of export earnings and 53 percent of government revenue, has in the past blinded the government to the inefficiency of its economy, according to Mr Jaime.

The fall in the oil price resulted in more pragmatic thinking and opened the way to technocrats like Mr Jaime.

He explains that with the mass exodus of Portuguese expertise into the chaotic independence process of 1975, the new MPLA government had to run on its own. State intervention was not a political choice, he says, but a necessity.

"And the results were a disaster." Today foreign investors are no longer threatened by nationalisation.

"The state has concluded that it can't take care of so many state-run companies," says Mr Jaime.

He outlines the basic components of the recovery programme, known by its Portuguese acronym SEF, as a change in the management of the economy by freeing it to market forces — less administrative interference ("as in the past") and greater encouragement of foreign investment.

The government will also negotiate with creditors for the settlement of Angola's foreign debt (Angola was admitted to the World Bank and the IMF last August and successfully negotiated a rescheduling of its $6-billion debt).

The Foreign Investment Board, which Mr Jaime led until now will set up in April last year and since January this year there has been a dramatic show of interest, says Mr Jaime.

About 100 foreign investment proposals have come in from Portugal (about 70 percent), Spain (with a special interest in fishing), Japan (mining), Belgium and the Netherlands.

There is also believed to be strong interest among South African business concerns and already there is evidence of South African presence in Angola with Safair pilots training for Angola's national airline Tag and leasing two planes to the state.

Another measure of Angola's shift away from a strictly socialist economy is that, with the exception of oil and mining, the state no longer insists on being a majority shareholder in industrial and commercial enterprises. In certain sectors it is now possible for a company to be owned wholly by private interests.

Political risk insurance, which is made more than usually important by the war, is offered by a subsidiary of Angola's membership of the World Bank's Multi-lateral Investment Guarantee Agency (Miga).

Labour laws which potential investors might regard as excessively protective of workers are being changed, says Mr Jaime. And, according to deputy minister of planning Mr Julio Sampaio, changes in tax regulations should also improve investment prospects.

Dr Martins paints a reformist picture of the bureaucratic bloated that has blighted state-run enterprise. A company presently run by 200 people could run efficiently with 25 to 50, he says.

"What we have now is a vicious circle and these state-run enterprises are draining the government.

With surprising frankness he says that after independence people were appointed to enterprises on the basis of party loyalty rather than commercial or industrial skill.

"When enterprises were ruled by government it was a disaster: Government realises that there are gains to be made in freeing enterprise to market forces."

To ease the pain of unemployment which will accompany such economic restructuring in the beginning, the government has created a fund to provide individuals with one year's cover. Training will be provided for those who lose their jobs because they lack skills.

The cloud over all the bright new plans and the optimism, however, is Angola's overriding reality: the war.

With remarkable consistency, Luan-dans talk of war weariness.

Mr Jaime: "Everyone is tired of war — but there are always political constraints." Mr Sampaio hopes for peace by the end of the year.

Obviously economic reform is unlikely to flourish while the country remains locked in a fratricidal dispute.

But government officials seem to take comfort in their new economic vision, cautiously confident that it will support the political resolution about which they have, amid shortages of everything else, only hope.
Despite its enforced preoccupation with the war against the bels, Angola's ruling MPLA is joining with other socialist gov's in Africa's economic revolution, abandoning exclusive state c. the economy and opting for a large measure of free enterprise. LAUTENBACH of the Argus Africa News Service reports from

State control of the economy has made queuing for food a feature of life for many Angolans.
ANGOLA - GENERAL
1990

JULY - DEC
the worst actor in the cap
Luanda besieged by Unita claim

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — The civil war in Angola had swung dramatically in favour of the US-backed rebel Unita forces who had surrounded and cut off the capital of Luanda, Africa Confidential reported yesterday.

Luanda was trapped in a “Saigon syndrome,” with the population anticipating a “final assault” by Jonas Savimbi’s rebel forces, pressing home the major land offensive they launched in December and carried into northern Angola, the journal said.

The report said the capital was surrounded by a defensive cordon of Cuban and MPLA soldiers who were in turn encircled by the advancing Unita forces — and it was impossible for anyone to leave or enter by land.

Unita commandos had blown up 40 electricity pylons, cutting off supplies from the Cumbamba Dam plant. Heavily armed convoys could not repair pylons because of Unita attacks.

Luanda’s main water treatment plant had also been sabotaged and drinking water was being distributed by truck.

The journal said Unita forces received US supplies for a base at Beu, which lies 50km inside Angola and just 20 minutes’ flying time by US Lockheed transport aircraft from Brazzaville in Zaire’s Kinshasa province. Beu, reportedly the key base for the northern offensive, lies 300km from Savimbi’s headquarters at Jamba in the south-east.

Unita, it said, was reinforcing positions in the north of Angola to make a “final push on Luanda” led by a “huge offensive.”

It also claimed populations had fled on foot to the provincial capital of Uige or the Zairean border.

Luanda has accused Zaire of using the main airport at Matadi for unloading war material for Unita. Matadi is only a few kilometres from Noquili, the Angolan town which is the only land crossing between Zaire and Angola still officially open.

The journal said the scenario was exactly the same as in Vietnam in 1975, when North Vietnamese forces made their final onslaught on Saigon. “This time, though, the US is on the winning side,” it said.

Factor

Africa Confidential said the change in civilian war fortunes followed four days of heavy fighting that ended on May 9 with Unita retaking the key south-eastern town of Mavinga, with poorly supplied Luanda forces were routed and withdrew in bad condition.

The journal said another key factor in Unita’s claimed resurgence was Namibian independence, with Swapo president Sam Nujoma refusing to allow Luanda forces to use his territory to attack Jamba.

It said Unita representatives, who had their first official meeting with the MPLA government at Evora in Portugal on April 24-25, were now in a position of strength to negotiate.

There had since been secret talks between the MPLA deputy foreign minister Venete de Moura and a delegation led by his Unita opposite number, Paulo Gato Lukanga.

The journal said the main difference between the parties was that Unita was demanding a reform of the constitution and local elections while the MPLA continued to demand “voluntary exile” for Jonas Savimbi and the integration of the rival armies.
 UNITA PUTS NOOSE ROUND LUANDA FOR 'FINAL PUSH'

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Unitas is now planning a “final push” to capture Luanda, says Africa Confidential magazine.

The influential journal says the rebel movement has effectively thrown a noose around the Angolan capital, making it impossible to leave or enter the town.

Aided by the United States and logistical support from Zaire, Unitas plans a major assault on Luanda, launched from Beu and other bases in northern Angola.

Far from being weakened by Namibian independence — and the attendant loss of South African support — Unitas has grown stronger, says the magazine.

The Luanda government has accused Namibian President Sam Nujoma of “monstrous ingratitude” for refusing to allow Fapla to use Namibian territory to attack Unitas’s traditional main base at Jamba, southern Angola.

Unitas has also established a firm foothold in the north, with the aid of the United States, it says.

As Cuban troops continue to leave Angola, Luanda “is falling victim to the Saigon syndrome.”

“The city’s people live in anticipation of a final assault by Unitas, so rapidly has the balance of forces been transformed since government troops launched an offensive last December.

“Luanda is now surrounded on its land side by a security cordon composed of Cuban and Angolan government armed forces. Beyond the cordon Unitas has thrown a noose around the city.”

Unitas commandos, says Africa Confidential, have blown up, over 40 electricity pylons between Luanda and the Cambamba dam, cutting off the supply.
Unita plans ‘final push’ on Luanda

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Unita is now planning a “final push” to capture Luanda, says Africa Confidential magazine.

The influential journal says the rebel movement has effectively thrown a noose around the Angolan capital, making it impossible to leave or enter the town.

Aided by the United States and with logistical support from Zaire, Unita is now planning a major assault on Luanda, launched from Beu and other bases in northern Angola.

Far from being weakened by Namibian independence — and the attendant loss of South African support — Unita has grown stronger, says the magazine.

‘Ingratitude’

It adds that the Luanda government has accused Namibian President Sam Nujoma of monstrous ingratitude for refusing to allow its Fapla forces to use Namibian territory to attack Unitas’s base at Jamba in southern Angola.

Unita has now managed in addition to establish a firm foothold in the north, with the aid of the US, says the magazine.

As Cuban troops continue to leave Angola, Luanda “is falling victim to the Saigon syndrome.”

“The city’s people live in anticipation of a final assault by Unita. Luanda is now surrounded on its land side by a security cordon composed of Cuban and Angolan government armed forces.”

Unita commandos, says Africa Confidential, have blown up over 40 electricity pylons between Luanda and the Cambamba dam, cutting off the supply. Repair teams cannot get to the sites since even heavily guarded convoys are liable to Unita attack. After the sabotage of the water treatment plant for Luanda, drinking water is being distributed by truck.

The magazine says the planned offensive is being prepared with military supplies funnelled in from Beu, less than 50 km from the Zairean border.

“Re-supply to Beu is mostly carried out by aircraft leaving Kinshasa and delivering supplies to the airstrip at Maquela do Zombo, 40 km from Beu. From Kinshasa, Lockheed transport aircraft operated by or on behalf of the US government can reach Maquela do Zombo in barely 20 minutes. These Lockheed are hangared at Kinshasa’s international airport.”

Luanda has also accused the Zairean authorities of allowing the country’s main port at Matadi to be used for the unloading of war material for Unita.

“It is now becoming evident just how great is the strategic importance of the north compared with the far south-east of the country — the site of the main Unita headquarters at Jamba. Jamba is some 1,300 km from Luanda, while Beu is no more than 800 km away.”
Luanda besieged by Unita claim

IAN HORBS

LONDON — The civil war in Angola had swung dramatically in favour of the US-backed rebel Unita forces who had surrounded and cut off the capital of Luanda, Africa Confidential reported yesterday.

Luanda was trapped in a "Saigon syndrome," with the population anticipating a "final assault" by Jonas Savimbi's rebel forces, pressuring home the major land offensive they launched in December and carried into northern Angola, the journal said.

The report said the capital was surrounded by a defensive cordon of Cuban and MPLA soldiers who were in turn encircled by the advancing Unita forces and it was impossible for anyone to leave or enter by land.

Unita commandos had blown up 40 electricity pylons, cutting off supplies from the Cambamba Dam plant. Heavily armed convoys could not repair pylons because of Unita attacks.

Luanda's main water treatment plant had also been sabotaged and drinking water was being distributed by truck.

The journal said Unita forces received US supplies for a base at Beu, which lies 50km inside Angola and just 20 minutes' flying time by US Lockheed transport aircraft from Brazzaville in Zaire's Kinshasa province: Beu, reportedly a key base for the northern offensive, lies 300km from Savimbi's headquarters at Jamba in the south-east.

Unita, it said, was reinforcing positions in the north of Angola to make a "final push on Luanda" led by a "huge offensive." It also claimed populations had fled on foot to the provincial capital of Uige or the Zairean border.

Luanda has accused Zaire of using the main port at Matadi for unloading war material for Unita. Matadi is only a few kilometres from N'gali, the Angolan town which is the only land crossing between Zaire and Angola still officially open.

The journal said the scenario was exactly the same as in Vietnam in 1975, when North Vietnamese forces made their final onslaught on Saigon. "This time, though, the US is on the winning side," it said.

Factor

Africa Confidential said the change in civil war fortunes followed four days of heavy fighting that ended on May 9 with Unita retaking the key south-eastern town of Mavinga, where poorly supplied Luanda forces were routed, and withdrew in bad condition.

The journal said another key factor in Unita's claimed resurgence was Namibian independence, with Swapo president Sam Nujoma refusing to allow Luanda forces to use his territory to attack Jamba.

It said Unita representatives, who had their first official meeting with the MPLA government at Evora in Portugal on April 24-25, were now in a position of strength to negotiate.

There had since been secret talks between the MPLA deputy foreign minister Venancio de Moura and a delegation led by his Unita opposite number, Paulo Gato Lukamba.

The journal said the main difference between the parties was that Unita was demanding a reform of the constitution and free elections while the MPLA continued to demand "voluntary exile" for Jonas Savimbi and the integration of the rival armies.
Civil war swings Unitas way

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The civil war in Angola has swung dramatically in favour of Unitas forces, who have surrounded and cut off the capital Luanda, the journal "Africa Confidential" claimed yesterday.

Luanda’s population was anticipating a “final assault” by Dr Jonas Savimbi’s rebel forces intent on pressing home the major land offensive they launched in December and carried into northern Angola, the journal said.

The report said the capital was surrounded by a defensive cordon of Cuban and MPLA armed forces — which was in turn encircled by the advancing Unitas forces — and it was impossible for anyone to leave or enter by land.

Unitas commandos had blown up 40 electricity pylons, cutting off supplies. Even heavily armed convoys could not repair pylons because of Unitas attacks.

Luanda’s main water-treatment plant had also been sabotaged and drinking water was being distributed by truck.

The journal said Unitas forces received American supplies from a base at Beu, which lies 50km inside Angola. Africa Confidential said the people had fled on foot to the provincial capital of Uige or the Zairean border. Northern towns like Maquela do Zombo, some 40km from Beu, were ghost towns.

In his May Day speech, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos denounced foreign violations of Angola’s northern territory. Luanda has also accused Zaire of using the main (estuary) port at Matadi for unloading war material for Unitas.

The journal said the change in civil-war fortunes followed four days of heavy fighting that ended on May 9 with Unitas retaking the key south-eastern town of Maungue, when poorly supplied Luanda forces were routed and withdrew in bad condition.

It said Unitas representatives, who had their first official meeting with the MPLA government at Evora in Portugal on April 24, were now in a position of strength to negotiate.

There had since been secret talks between the MPLA Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Moura and a delegation led by his Unitas opposite number, Mr Paulo Gato Lukamba.
Angola offers olive branch to Savimbi

From ANITA COULSON in Luanda

Angola has offered an olive branch to rebels demanding political pluralism by announcing that it aims to move towards a multi-party system, according to diplomats.

They said the cautiously worded promise, made shortly before a further round of exploratory talks with US-backed Unita rebels, could take a long time to put into practice.

But it was likely to give a lift to the peace process as the third round of talks in three months gets under way in Portugal in the next few days, they added.

President José Eduardo dos Santos's proposal, for a referendum to decide between a single-party or a multi-party system after a ceasefire, won approval on Tuesday from his ruling party's Central Committee.

The committee endorsed the proposal after a planned three-day meeting had stretched into seven days of heated debate.

Diplomats said the Dos Santos plan, and the recent appointment of Deputy Defence Minister Antonio dos Santos Franca (Ndalu) to head the peace delegation, showed the MPLA government was taking the peace talks seriously.

"Why a military man to head the MPLA team? Because they are already thinking ahead to the integration of the two armies, and that will be the trickiest issue at any talks," a diplomat said.

Means of monitoring a ceasefire also needed to be sorted out, he added.

Diplomats said the new proposal could be a sign that the previous two rounds of talks had brought the two sides closer than had been made public.

Ceasefire

The Central Committee also agreed to reform local and central government, and called for more powers to be given to the People's Assembly (parliament) as a counterbalance to the power of the ruling party.

President dos Santos has made it clear that there has to be a guaranteed ceasefire, allowing thousands of Angolans displaced by war, drought and famine to return home, and that only then will it be possible to conduct a national census, draw up an electoral register and hold a general election and referendum. All this could take a number of years.

"The government has more to gain from a ceasefire: better foreign trade or the possible resumption of relations with the United States. It has (set) few conditions and has always shown itself willing to reach that stage," a diplomat said.

"Unita, on the other hand, has always set many conditions ... it has more to lose by a ceasefire and must make its gains first," he added.

The gap between the two sides was illustrated yesterday when the Angolan government denounced a proposal by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to set up "corridors of peace" for humanitarian aid to civilians in war zones.

A statement distributed by the Angolan embassy in Zimbabwe said Savimbi was making opportunistic use of a human tragedy to gain freedom of movement and easier access to US war material coming into Angola from Zaire. — Sapa-Reuters.
Plans for multi-party system ‘too vague’

LISBON. — Unita said the MPLA government here was too vague in its plans to move towards a multi-party system and questioned its resolve to end 15 years of civil war.

But Unita guerrillas said yesterday they were open to a third round of exploratory peace talks in Portugal with the Angolan government in the second half of July.

The MPLA government issued a statement after a central committee meeting on Tuesday saying the country would evolve towards political pluralism, a demand long voiced by the guerrillas.

“PROPAGANDA MOVE”

But Unita’s chief negotiator and Lisbon representative, Mr. Paulo Alcebes Mango, said that the communiqué was a propaganda move aimed at buying time in talks.

“It contains nothing new,” he said, adding that the rebels were awaiting more specific proposals.

Diplomats saw the timing of the MPLA statement as promising, however. — Sapa-Reuters.
SA airlines keep Angola flying

Johannesburg. — Two independent South African airlines, Safair and National Airways Corporation, have disclosed details of Angolan operations. SABC radio news reports that, as far as is known, it is the first civilian contact between South Africa and Angola since relations between the two countries were suspended in 1975.

Although Safair and National Airways had operated aviation missions in most countries of Southern Africa during South Africa’s isolation, they had been kept secret because of their sensitivity.

The managing director of Safair, Mr Braam Loots, said that more than half of his fleet of Lockheed Hercules cargo aircraft were deployed in Angola at present. His company operated a large percentage of the flights of the Angolan national airline.

The managing director of National Airways, Mr Graham Conlyn, disclosed that his airline had flown a number of charter missions into Angola. He said what was significant was that the initial advances had come from the Angolians.

Both companies are intensively engaged in the maintenance of aircraft and the training of staff for a number of airlines in Africa. — Sapa
Angola: US military advisers aiding Unita

HARARE. — Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem yesterday accused the US of deploying military advisers to assist Unita rebels.

US officials in Harare immediately dismissed the charges as "absolute nonsense".

Mr Van Dunem's charge, the most serious in a war of words by President Eduardo dos Santos' MPLA government, comes as Unita is reportedly besieging the capital, Luanda.

Mr Van Dunem told a press conference Unita was "not the only one in this destabilisation offensive in the north of the country".

Asked if he was claiming a presence of American personnel he replied: "We have no doubt about that. Specialist American military advisers have been working with Unita and other mercenaries. They are there and undoubtedly some of them will be captured if they do not withdraw."

The Angolan minister, who arrived in Harare from the Organization of African Unity headquarters in Addis Ababa, scene of this week's summit by heads of state, said that numbers were "unimportant".

"They are in Jamba, now they are in the north. They are not only there to give Unita military and technical advice, but they are also there to operate the sophisticated military equipment with which the US has supplied Unita."

Mr Van Dunem said, however, that he was confident the MPLA government and Unita would sign a ceasefire agreement at peace talks in Portugal later this month.

"We don't think the few differences that still exist will prevent the signing of a ceasefire," he said. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter
Luanda

Savimbi: Massing forces are facing the threat

Savimbi massing forces are facing the threat of a massive counteroffensive by the Angolan government army, according to reports from Luanda.

Advance

BY DE WIT POTGIETER

...the time was perfect.

Savimbi:

...the time was perfect.

ibia: Massing forces are facing the threat

Savimbi: Massing forces are facing the threat of a massive counteroffensive by the Angolan government army, according to reports from Luanda.

Advance

BY DE WIT POTGIETER

...the time was perfect.
Napalm used on civilians — Unita

Johannesburg. — Unita says the Angolan government has stepped up the use of chemical and other internationally-outlawed weapons in its military offensive against Unita in the north of the country, the SABC reports.

Unita said villages and other civilian installations were coming under increasing bombardment, with toxic and napalm bombs being used.

In the latest incident, two Soviet-made MIG-23 fighter aircraft of the Angolan Air Force are reported to have carried out indiscriminate bombing raids on a number of civilian settlements in Uige province.

Several villagers were killed and many others were injured, Unita said.

Crops were wilting after toxic bombs were dropped on farm lands, which had given rise to fears of famine in the area.

Unita said yesterday they would be prepared to sign a ceasefire with the government at talks due later this month in Portugal. — Sapa-Reuters
Savimbi in talks to end Angolan war

RABAT — Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi and a senior Portuguese official discussed moves towards ending Angola's 13-year-old civil war during a meeting in Rabat, a rebel spokesman said yesterday.

The Tuesday night meeting with Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs José Manuel Durão Barroso centred on the possibility of holding a third round of talks this month between Luanda authorities and the rebel group Unita led by Savimbi.

"No date has been fixed yet. Durão Barroso will be getting back to Luanda to make proposals," the spokesman said.

He said Savimbi, who arrived in Rabat on Sunday, had also met Moroccan officials. King Hassan has been giving Unita military assistance for several years in co-operation with Western powers, diplomats said.

They said Durão Barroso, who has hosted two rounds of Unita-Luanda talks since April, delivered a message to Savimbi from Portuguese Prime Minister Aníbal Cavaco Silva.

Portugal has played an active part in diplomatic moves to end the conflict, since it granted independence to Angola in 1975.

Sources close to the peace talks say the two sides are still far apart on several issues, including a timetable for Angolan general elections. — Sapa-Reuters.
Chissango, Dos Santos bonded before winds of twin wars
LUANDA — The US will aid Unita until peace efforts bear fruit, a senior US diplomat said on Tuesday.

At a news conference after holding talks with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Jeffrey Davidow said he would not propose restraint on American support for Unita. The US will continue to supply appropriate assistance to Unita until such time as there is a process of national reconciliation underway," he said.

Davidow, deputy assistant US Secretary of State, met Dos Santos during a two-day visit to Angola to probe the government's willingness to set up a multi-party system as part of a peace agreement.

He declined to go into detail on the prospects of a breakthrough in talks to end Angola's civil war, but he said his meeting with Dos Santos took place in a cordial and frank atmosphere.

Portugal has hosted two rounds of discreet talks between the MPLA government and Unita and a third meeting is due shortly.

Dos Santos has won his party's endorsement for a gradual shift to a multi-party system if the war ends. But Unita leader Jonas Savimbi says that in return for recognising the Luanda government he wants recognition now as an opposition leader.

Davidow said: "After these talks we have a better understanding of many of the points of view of the government, and that is a positive development. The recent movements by the Angolan government towards multi-partyism, economic liberalisation and political reforms were important steps..." — Sapa-Reuters.
US talks in Angola on peace and poverty

WASHINGTON — A United States delegation will meet Angola’s government this weekend to discuss stalled peace talks with Unita and efforts to feed hungry Angolans.

The State Department confirmed that Mr. Jeffrey Dlawdow, No. 2 official in the African Affairs Bureau, Mr. Jim Woods of the Defence Department and two other officials would travel to Luanda tomorrow.

In spite of the urgency of providing food in both government and rebel-held territory, international relief efforts have been stalled by disagreement between the warring sides over the supply routes.

BACKLOGS AT PORTS

Several international helpers have revoked their pledges of food because of backlogs at Angola’s ports and pilfering of relief supplies.

The International Committee of the Red Cross, which is leading the relief project, has decided that airlifts are too expensive and is trying to arrange safe passage through land corridors for trucks to carry the supplies.

The organisation estimates 250,000 people are in immediate need.

The United States refuses to establish diplomatic relations with Angola although US officials meet periodically with the Angolans. The United States provides Unita’s Dr Jonas Savimbi with more than R150 million every year in weapons. The Soviets send Angola R1 800 million in weapons annually, according to the State Department. — Sapa-AP.
Angola hopes to stop US aid to Unita

LUANDA. — Angola's Marxist government hopes its promise to create a multi-party system will persuade the United States to suspend military aid to Unita rebels after 15 years of civil war.

Official sources said Luanda hoped to impress upon US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Jeffrey Davidow, due in the country today, that it was serious about ending its one-party rule if the war stops.

Mr Davidow will spend two days in Luanda and meet Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem and other officials.

POLITICAL PLURALISM

The sources, close to the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), said there were "high hopes" that the government's promise last month to move towards political pluralism when peace was established might influence Washington to stop aid to Unita.

Washington has no diplomatic relations with the MPLA.

A senior Portuguese government official announced last week that a third round of talks between Unita and the MPLA government would be held in Portugal soon.

Meanwhile, Angola has accused Unita of spreading false propaganda about high-level corruption in the country's state-owned diamond and oil companies to undermine their reputation abroad.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said in a statement Unita had given false information to Portuguese media alleging officials of the Endiama diamond company and Sonangol oil company had embezzled hundreds of millions of dollars.

"It's easy to understand the reasons that led Unita to take an interest in attempting to undermine the reputation and prestige of the mainstays of the Angolan economy," it said.
Savimbi aims for peace

By PATRICIA CHENEY

ANGOLAN rebel leader Jonas Savimbi has proposed a plan for peace talks with the Luanda government that could lead to a ceasefire by the end of this year and multiparty elections by the end of the next.

The five-point plan, announced here by Unita representative Jardo Musakala, calls for:

- "Explicit mutual recognition" by Luanda and Unita of each other as political parties.
- A firm commitment to multiparty democracy and free, fair elections.
- A ceasefire monitored by an "outside" organisation such as the UN.
- The formation of a national army.
- Assurances of freedom of speech, religion, liberty and association.

Concessions

Mr Musakala criticised the MPLA government for refusing to allow other political parties, despite claims that it was heading towards democracy.

He also said Unita had made important concessions to the Luanda government and that the time had come for it "to back up its democratic rhetoric with a concrete timetable" for a multiparty system.

These concessions included recognising President Jose Eduardo dos Santos as head of state and dropping a demand for Unita to be part of a transitional government until elections could be held.

Government spokesman Francisco da Cruz was quoted by the Washington Post as saying a ceasefire should be agreed on before negotiations about a multiparty system.
Problems with Angola talks - PM

LISBON — The Prime Minister of Portugal, host to peace talks between the Angolan government and Unita rebels, said yesterday there were still great problems to resolve.

Anibal Cavaco Silva told reporters a third round of peace talks in Portugal was expected in the first half of this month, although an exact date had not yet been set.

He said a flurry of contacts in recent weeks between United States, Portuguese, Angolan and Unita officials was aimed at advancing towards an eventual ceasefire to end the 16-year-old civil war.

But Mr Cavaco Silva cautioned against expecting too much from the next round of talks.

"There are still great difficulties and I do not venture to say that they will be completely overcome in the next meeting," he said, without elaborating.

Exploratory contacts in April and June in Portugal have unlocked an impasse in peace moves since a short-lived verbal truce broke down a year ago.

But all parties say there are differences on several points, including the demand by Unita (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) for recognition as an opposition movement.

Unita has been particularly active on the battlefront lately and said yesterday it had killed at least 107 soldiers in Angola over the past week. — Reuters.
JOHANNESBURG. — Large-scale desertions from government military units stationed in the northern provinces of Angola have been reported by Unita's news agency, KUP, the SABC's Africa desk said yesterday.

KUP said that in one incident desertions had reduced a battalion in Zaire province by a third.

The agency said MPLA military commanders, in charge of units in Uige, Zaire, Kwanza Norte, Malange and Cuando Cubango provinces were threatening to refuse to carry out any orders by the Luanda government if no steps were taken to end the desertions.

Sapa
Unita ‘exporting R109m in diamonds’

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The rebel group, Unita, is estimated to be exporting diamonds worth up to R109 million annually from Angola.

In the latest edition of Africa Confidential, it is reported that one of the main purchasers of the Unita diamonds is said to be Fernando Lopes, the former Portuguese settler whose Prama company had the main contract to trade with Unita in the days when it received huge South African backing from northern Namibia.

The journal claims that Mr Lopes is “working out of an island in the Kavango River in Caprivi”.

Also said to be involved in the diamond business is a Windhoek businessman of Portuguese origin, who is close to senior Swapo officials.

It adds that “a mystery continues to hang over the presence in Windhoek of a representative of Lazare Kaplan International (LKI), the New York diamond company headed by Maurice Tempelsman”.

Despite this presence, it says, an LKI spokesman said the company had done no business in Namibia.

Africa Confidential says Windhoek itself is “rife with rumours of political involvement in diamond-smuggling, with several cabinet ministers said to be implicated in the trade”. The gems are allegedly smuggled out of the Consolidated Diamond Mines at Oranjemund, by workers, many of them migrants from Ovamboland.”
ONDJIVA - Nothing in this southern Cunene province town appears to support a Unita claim that the Angolan army had massed over 2,500 men here in readiness for an attack on rebel headquarters at Jamba.

And if a build-up of this size was possible to hide from a passing journalist, an organised from a neutral food-aid organisation who had been in the town for some months, has similarly seen no recent increase in military activity.

Unita's Chief-of-Staff, General Armando Chenda Isaac Pena Ben Ben claimed in Lisboa last week that three Fapla infantry brigades and one artillery brigade were concentrated at Onjivja and had been inspected by senior Fapla officials and Soviet military advisors.

He said the build-up was part of a planned offensive against Unita's southern frontier to the east in Cuando Cubango province.

Propaganda

The allegation came at the time when Unita and the Angolan government were supposedly beginning round three of their highly secretive peace talks in Portugal, a meeting for which Unita claimed the government representatives did not show and which, on Friday, was announced would now take place at the end of August.

Noting the timing of Ben Ben's claim was ripe with propaganda potential, diplomats and Unita observers suggested a cool approach to his claims, saying the general's was not usually the voice heard in the political posturing between the two opposing sides.

On Thursday, however, a Unita statement reiterated the claims. What made the next part of the process rather unusual was not the apparently fruitless trip to Onjivja in search of corroborating evidence but the fact that within 36 hours of the second statement I was, in Onjivja, the Angolan government having agreed with unprecedented speed to my request to allow a representative of the 'Independent Newspaper Group, Viva for itself', to visit the area.

The 15-year Angolan civil war has been one of the uncovered conflicts. Each major battle has had as many claims for victory as there have been parties involved and there has been no one to tell the real score.

An excessively close regime in Luanda has issued statements through its government mouthpieces and escorted the international press to the scene of locations chosen by the military. Unita's Jonas Savimbi is in turn for organizing junkets to Jamba where he too makes his point to journalists before escorting them safely on their way.

Involvement

During its involvement in Angola, the SADF declared the war a similarly go-go area to anyone seeking a free flow of information.

Onjivja is about 35 km north of the Namibian border by road and exactly a month ago I travelled the same road so that I was able to compare the military presence in the area.

As last time, there were three military checkpoints along the way, manned, as before, by small groups (less than 10) of combined Faplalo military police and civilian police forces.

The only new sight was the burnt-out hulk of a truck about halfway to Onjivja, the road still scarred with the black marks of destruction.

My Angolan guide said it had been a Namibian commercial vehicle, ambushed by Unita on July 26.

In the last two months, two other vehicles had hit landmines planted along this road by Unita recently, he said.

Red Cross officials I spoke to in Onjivja later confirmed treating landmine victims in this period and said "it's not easy working here - you never know where there's a landmine".

"My guide also took an AK out of our car boot once we had crossed into Angola," said the official. "You get some Unita's here," he said, explaining as we waved to the odd Fapla soldier along the way that one could never be sure whether they were Fapla or Unita.

A well-worn bush uniform lost all distinguishability.

One aspect of Unita's claim which did prove valid was that Fapla had established a logistics base at Onjivja. Major Jose Vergilio is in command of this recent development and said between two and 300 soldiers, police and border guards were deployed in the Cunene province 'for security'.

Explaining the creation of a logistics base, he said that following Namibian independence, it was now possible for Angola to trade with that country, unlocked as it was from official South African ties.

Afrikaans

There was laughter and a leoncine shrugging of shoulders when I pointed out the Afrikaans label on the coffee which ended our 'open-air' lunch in the major's half-bombed, half-reconstructed house and HQ.

The purpose of the logistics base was to distribute food to the local population, said the major, in the absence of a functioning civilian administration in a country at war. The military did the job, he said.

So show me your stories, I said. And they did: a big warehouse packed with bales of Miller and white sugar, all marked ex-Otavi, Namibia.

The major said too that the sporadic Unita activity on this road was aimed at intercepting the commercial traffic now venturing for the first time in years into the Cunene and as far as Lubango, capital of Huila province just to the north.

Huila, Cunene and Namibe provinces have been fairly quiet militarily for some time and provincial officials are seeking to reconstruct this area shattered by SADF occupation of the last decade.

Following my previous trip, a Namibian construction company confirmed this month and it had already quoted for the rebuilding of Onjivja.

Consequently, I met three of the company's engineers at the border this time. They had been in Lubango, negotiating. They were depressed.

Socialist

The Angolan will to rebuild was genuine enough but trying to dovetail free-market thinking with Angolans who are just beginning to revise their socialist ways was a headachef.

Continuing the search for massed Fapla, I asked to see Onjivja airport, a few kilometres out of town. There was nothing to be seen. A few soldiers along the way and a bombed airport building destroyed in 1983, by Unita.

The town of Onjivja, bombèd by the SADF for the first time in 1981, remains a shell of a place and nothing on a weekend afternoon here betrayed the presence of a force of 2,500 men.

But perhaps they had all been hidden? Could such a grand deception be staged for a single journalist at 36 hours notice? Bernie Hutchinson, the chief of logistics for Care International food aid organisation, had been in Onjivja a few months and was freer than his Red Cross colleagues to talk to me.

But he was an increase in the number of military personnel car- riers and tanks in the area of Inga, "I haven't seen personnel carriers or tanks here, period," he
UNITA, MPLA to talk today

LISBON - US-backed UNITA rebels said they would meet the leftist Angolan government for a third set of peace talks today but ruled out progress on ending 15 years of war unless they won formal recognition.

The meeting would probably take place in the Portuguese capital or nearby. UNITA's Lisbon representative Mr. Adolfo Paulo Munguiceres told Reuters.

At the top of the agenda is UNITA's demand for formal recognition as an opposition political movement by the ruling MPLA ( Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) which it has been battling since independence from Portugal in 1975.

He said other matters to be discussed were a shift to a multiparty system; a date for general elections; setting up a single army; and how to implement a ceasefire.

Bid to end Angolan civil war resumes

Soweto correspondent

LISBON - Efforts to end Angola’s 15-year civil war have resumed here, as representatives from the Angolan government and the Unita rebels meet for a third round of direct discussions.

Diplomats were guarded as to the chances of progress, as long as the two sides remain as far apart over the key issues of a ceasefire and of formal recognition by Luanda of Unita as a political movement.

Ready

The Unita guerrilla movement led by Dr Jonas Savimbi says it is ready to sign a ceasefire, but its officials have repeatedly stressed that progress will depend on the movement’s formal recognition.

Luanda wants a ceasefire first, to be followed by further negotiations to set out the principles of a final political settlement which would include explicit recognition of Unita.

An Angolan government announcement last month that it would "evolve towards a multi-party system" - one of Unita’s main demands - had raised hopes of progress in the current round of talks.

Cloud

But repeated postponements of the meeting amid accusations of inflexibility from each side, and the last-minute downgrading of Unita’s delegation to the talks, have cast a cloud over the possible outcome of this week’s meeting.

"It’s got off to a rocky start, but the impression we get is that both sides want a settlement, and the gaps are not insurmountable," a diplomat said.

Mutual suspicions have not been reduced by the failure of previous attempts to end the war.
Portuguese search for way of saving Angolan talks

LISBON — Portuguese diplomats searched for a breakthrough yesterday to end the apparent deadlock in negotiations between the Angolan government and US-backed Unita rebels.

But as talks in Lisbon to end 15-year civil war entered their second day, a ceasefire agreement seemed unlikely.

Unita is demanding government acceptance of a series of political demands before they will accept a truce.

They want recognition as an opposition force, a fixed date for multi-party elections, and agreement on the formation of a national army.

The Marxist government has agreed in principle to Angola's transition to a multi-party democracy, but says the fighting must stop before major political changes.

However, Angola's parliament, the People's Assembly, was to vote today on a government proposal to break constitutional links between the Angolan armed forces and the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

Observers in Luanda said the constitutional changes could open the way for the creation of a national army.

The Lisbon talks opened on Monday in a heavily guarded military studies institute in a western suburb of the Portuguese capital.

Angola's state-run radio accused Unita on Monday of delaying a ceasefire until after a US Congress vote scheduled for mid-September on a proposed increase in arms supplies to the rebels.

If a truce is reached, "Congress might not vote for the increase... and Unita does not want to take that risk," said the radio report.

The Bush administration has asked Congress to add $10m-$15m to the estimated $60m in arms sent annually to the rebels, Washington sources said in June.

According to Portuguese Press reports yesterday, the talks opened with a dispute over the composition of the two delegations.

Government officials protested that Unita had not kept a pledge to upgrade their delegation.

Led team

The government replied by switching the leadership of their team from Col Fernando Piedade, deputy minister for state security, to Antonio Pitra, a close adviser to President José Eduardo dos Santos, said the reports.

Pitra led government negotiators at the earlier rounds.

Unita's delegation was headed by the rebels' Lisbon representative Gen Paulo Alcides Manga, who led Unita's team at the previous meetings in Portugal.

Unita has been fighting the Soviet-backed government since Angola gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

An initial ceasefire brokered by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko in June 1989 collapsed within days. — Sapa-AP.
Angolans discuss economic reform

LUANZA — Angola's parliament began a four-day meeting yesterday with plans for reforming an economy devastated by 15 years of civil war topping the agenda, the state newspaper Jornal de Angola said.

It said the session, which ends on Saturday, would hear details of the 1989/90 economic recovery plan, the state budget and the state's policy outline for the year.

Reports earlier this month said the Council of Ministers had given the go-ahead for tax reforms designed to increase government revenue and cut state spending this year by 50%.

**Devaluation**

A full package of economic reform measures, which has yet to be made public, has been described as an austerity plan by those who have seen it.

Among components of the plan, according to published reports and information given to Reuters, is the intended devaluation of the Kwanza currency unit to 60 to the US dollar from its present rate of just under 30 to the dollar.

The black market rate, now around 1,800 to the dollar, has reached highs of 2,200.

The MPLA government and US-backed rebels Unita have been at war since independence from Portugal in 1975.

Angola, which gets 90% of its revenue from oil production, has had to plough about half its income into defence spending.

Economic specialists in Luanda said the planned economic austerity measures, which fall within the scope of a broad plan agreed with the IMF, were bound to cause hardship to a large segment of the population.

Meanwhile, reports from Lisbon were that Portuguese mediators tried yesterday to unblock an impasse in peace talks between Angola's leftist government and Unita.

The two sides began a third day of bargaining with diplomats unsure they could agree on a ceasefire to end the war.

"Neither side wants to make concessions. They're being very inflexible," one source said about the deadlock meeting at a military installation near Lisbon.

Unita insists on immediate recognition and a firm date for multi-party elections before signing a ceasefire accord.

But the MPLA wants a truce first to ensure a peaceful transition to political pluralism. Recognition would come later.

The talks were the third between the foes hosted by former colonial ruler Portugal in five months.

Unita has been scoring military advances in the country's north and could profit from the phased withdrawal of the MPLA's Cuban backers by mid-1991. Unita denies this and accuses the MPLA of launching a big southern offensive.

Sapa-Reuters.
Angolan talks end with no ceasefire

merely as a "partner in the search for peace".

Meanwhile Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday denied delaying a ceasefire in the Angolan civil war because of future US congressional votes on aid to his rebel movement.

Dr Savimbi was speaking in an interview with the Voice of America.

The American Congress is expected to vote on aid to Unita in October and US officials have said that once there is a ceasefire, and a political agreement there will be no reason to continue aid.
HÁVANA. — More than 37,000 Cuban troops had been withdrawn from Angola by August 31 under peace accords signed by Angola, South Africa and Cuba in December 1988, the armed forces ministry said.
PRETORIA — The South African director general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, will leave here for Windhoek today to attend another meeting of the Joint Commission to review the status of Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.
We’re talking to Cubans

WINDHOEK - The ninth ordinary session of the Joint Commission between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and Namibia is due to begin here tomorrow.

South African Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden will lead the South African delegation and the chief of the Angolan Defence Force and deputy Minister of Defence, General Antonio do Santos Franca Ndalu, will lead the Angolan delegation.

Mr Peter Talelemana, Namibian deputy Minister for State Security, will lead a 13-person Namibian delegation and chair the meeting.

The Joint Commission was established following the signing of the Brazzaville Protocol which set the ball rolling for the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia. The forum was designed to facilitate discussion and the resolution of any dispute arising from the tripartite agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.
Mack, who is also a friend of mine. I think Congress will continue aid ... at least at the same level."

"Unita says the MPLA forces are using toxic gas. They showed me canisters which they claim contained the gases. They told me there have been about 4,000 victims, all showing signs of paralysis of the lower limbs and lung problems. People have reported the smell of onions, garlic and peanuts before they lost consciousness. Apparently this indicates certain kinds of poison gases."

During his visit, McKee was accompanied to the Jamba hospital by director of medical services Dr. Manassas Neto, who told him that the International Red Cross has shown little interest in the allegations. "Neto told me that doctors from Germany, Belgium, the UK and Spain have all substantiated that chemical weapons were used, after they visited the hospital. The Red Cross, however, only gives aid to the Luangando hospital, which is a seven-hour drive from Jamba."

McKee says he has also been shown large craters in the ground which Unita alleges were caused by napalm. "I could see that the trees in the area were severely burnt."

Unita is optimistic that it is making gains in the war. "But they are worried about another MPLA offensive from the southwest. And they claim that Namibian air space is being used by MiG fighters to level out their approach during bombing. They also allege that the Soviets are still unloading weapons to MPLA and that there has been more Soviet involvement since the Cubans have left."

Unita thinks the MPLA will continue to use their massive mechanised units to attack. "That is why they are stalling the peace process which was started some time ago.

McKee says he has not detected any animosity by Unita against SA since Pretoria stopped all aid to the rebel organisation. "But they are in need of medical supplies and the drought is causing a severe food shortage."

ANGOLA (5)

YEARS OF WAR

Angola's Eduardo dos Santos has become the Saddam Husseim of southern Africa, by allowing chemical weapons to be used against Unita rebels. So says a US legal adviser to Unita's Jonas Savimbi, after visiting the Jamba headquarters of Unita. The adviser was told by Unita that chemical weapons are being used by the ruling MPLA troops.

In another development in the long civil war between the forces of Savimbi and Dos Santos, it is alleged that Soviet-built and supplied MiG fighter planes crossed Namibian air space to launch attacks on the rebel forces.

This is the message which commanders at Jamba have given to Clarence McKee, a US legal adviser to the Unita leader. In an interview with the FM after his return, McKee, a former appointee of President Ronald Reagan to the White House's board of legal resources, said he would report back to various US congressmen on Capitol Hill in Washington.

McKee, an American black who led the Republican Party's Washington delegation to its convention in Dallas in 1984, says Congress is ready to vote on its aid to Unita again. "I'll advise some congressmen, as well as Florida Republican Senator Connie

McKee at Jamba . . . disturbing claims
Superpowers focus on Angola

WASHINGTON - The United States and the Soviet Union have offered to send officials to take part in the next round of peace talks aimed at ending the Angolan civil war, the US State Department said.

"We have offered to provide experts at the technical level for the next round of talks between Unita and Luanda authorities to be held under Portuguese auspices, and we continue to urge both sides to move forward on the peace process," said Boucher. - Sapa-Reuters
Angola gears up to stir the global coffee market

LUANDA — Angola, once the world’s fourth largest coffee producer, is still fighting an agricultural battle to stop a long-running civil war draining away its pre-independence riches.

But growing moves towards peace and a plan to revive the flagging sector have raised cautious hopes of a return to profitability in the foreseeable future, Secretary of State for Coffee Filomeno Céita said in an interview.

The plan included privatisation of some state coffee estates and finding ways around transport problems by paying 3.5% of the market price as commission to any agent who can get a coffee crop to the coast, he said.

“We don’t have exact figures, but we can give an example: as a direct consequence of the war, from 1987 to 1989 our export earnings fell from around $23m to $13m,” Céita said.

Angolan production available for export by volume has also declined in recent years, going from about 14,000 tons in 1982 to 15,000 in 1986, about 16,000 in 1987, down to 10,000 in 1988 and 1989, Céita added.

“But I don’t think it will be difficult to move back to around 20,000 tons by 1992,” he said.

“We think that from 1992, and in conditions of peace, production could slowly go up to maybe 20,000 tons or 40,000 tons by 1993. Of course this will depend very much on the state of the external market.”

Nosedive

In 1974, the year before independence, Angola supplied 19% of world Robusta imports and exported 215,000 tons of the coarse beans used to make instant powdered coffees.

The civil war, which made it difficult to get crops to the coast, and the abandoning of an international export quota system last year, which caused world prices to nosedive, led to lower production.

“The problems with transport are linked to security,” Céita said. “They are also linked to the state of the roads, as in some zones it is impossible to use lorries and this impedes transport.”

Céita said Angola planned to change export regulations to make it easier for small private producers to band together and export coffee.

A plantation privatisation scheme — through auctions — was announced in January and was being implemented.

Céita said as yet there was no foreign participation in the industry. He said the basic incentive for foreigners was the right to transport and export their own coffee.

Foreigners investing in Angola would be invited to set up joint ventures with the Angolan government, in which the government would provide the estates, but would not take part in management. Profits would be shared, he said.

Portuguese as well as other foreign companies were interested.

“There are English groups, for example, not only Lombro but also other groups such as Booker-Tate,” he said, adding that multinational groups were also interested. — Reuters.
LUANDA — The leaders of Angola and Namibia have signed economic accords pledging co-operation in a number of fields, including energy, transport and fishing.

Namibian President Sam Nujoma also said international aid to drought-stricken southern Angolan could pass through his country, said a joint statement released on Tuesday.

Nujoma met Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos on Tuesday in Luanda. The visit was Nujoma's first to Angola as Namibian president.

Dos Santos, Nujoma sign accords

Nujoma told Dos Santos Namibia would soon open an embassy in Luanda.

The statement said aid channelled through Namibia to the victims of southern Angola's drought must be subject to government controls.

The 15-year civil war between the government and US-backed Unita has handicapped efforts to distribute aid to an estimated 1.4-million people threatened by starvation.

The joint statement said the two presidents pledged to work for "stability on the common frontier to benefit the prosperity of the two countries and increase trade".

Since Namibian independence trade between the two countries has reopened. The first delivery of Angolan fuel oil was reported to have arrived in Namibia this week. Dam projects in southern Angola are supplying water and electricity to northern Namibia.

A fourth round of talks between the Angolan government and Unita is scheduled for next week. — Sapa-AP.
Pretoria 'stepping up Angolan peace efforts'

SA was in the process of stepping up its involvement in efforts to end the Angolan civil war, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden indicated yesterday.

Van Heerden told a meeting of the SA German Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg yesterday that stability throughout southern Africa would remain fragile until the conflict between the MPLA government and Unita was resolved.

He had set aside this afternoon for discussions with the Angolan delegation to the Joint Commission on Cuban troop withdrawals, meeting in Windhoek today.

SA's role in helping to end the war would be discussed, Van Heerden said.

The JMC meeting will be attended by SA, Angolan, Cuban and Namibian delegations, with US and Soviet observers.
LISBON - Angolan peace talks resume this week with the two backstage players in one of Africa's nastiest conflicts finally seated openly at the negotiating table.
LISBON. — Angola's leftist government and Unita rebels have agreed in principle to let their superpower backers monitor an eventual ceasefire in their 15-year civil war, Portuguese mediators said yesterday.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Mr. Jose Durao Barroso told a news conference after four days of peace talks that the two sides reached consensus on various points of a ceasefire mechanism although an accord was not yet ready to sign.

Details had to be worked out but one major point of agreement in principle was that Unita and the MPLA government's respective allies—Washington and Moscow—and Portugal would help oversee an eventual truce to guarantee its success.

He said it was still unclear whether military personnel would be deployed in monitoring teams.

Mr. Durao Barroso said there was also agreement in principle that formal recognition of Unita could take place simultaneously with a ceasefire signing.

During the talks the MPLA announced it would speed reforms over the next few months.

Unita and the MPLA will meet again in the last week of October. — Sapa-Reuter
SOUTH AFRICA 1975

ANGOLA 1975

David Wrests

Angola

events in

mirror '74

troops' role,

Crackdown,

SAS's Lookimg Glass War

Spectrum
attending the IMF and World Bank conference in Washington this week, says interest rates can
not possibly be reduced at a time of soaring oil prices and a slowdown in world economic growth.
"Higher oil prices will lead to lower living standards in South Africa," he told colleagues Sven
Eklund, who covered the conference for The Star.

Predictions

Predictions of petrol at R3 a litre by the end of the year should
Oil crisis not be resolved
Talk, talk ... but peace eludes Angola

LISBON: Talks between Angola's government and US-backed guerrillas, aimed at ending 15 years of civil war, entered a fourth day yesterday with no ceasefire accord in sight.

Sources close to the talks said Portuguese mediators were trying to break a deadlock over whether democratic reforms and mutual recognition should take place before or after a truce.

"It is very problematic, but at least they are still meeting," one diplomatic source said. Expectations had been high for the meeting, held at a Lisbon military installation. It is the third round in five months hosted by Portugal. But neither Unita nor the ruling MPLA wanted to make concessions, sources said. (

Talks were due to end on Tuesday but Portuguese Foreign Affairs Secretary of State José Durno Barroso extended them in the hopes that a compromise could be reached.

In Luanda on Wednesday, Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos told parliament he questioned Unita's commitment to peace. "While we use the language of peace Unita uses the language of war," he said. — Sapa-Reuters
Savimbi predicts ceasefire by year-end

WASHINGTON — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, lobbying for a continuation of US military aid, is predicting a ceasefire with the MPLA by the end of the year followed by elections in 1991.

This follows the fourth round of talks between the parties in Lisbon last week at which the principles for a ceasefire and political settlement were broadly agreed upon, sources familiar with the negotiations said.

The principles will go into effect if and when the MPLA party conference in December amends the Angolan constitution to recognise Unita and permit multiparty elections.

The potential breakthrough comes amid growing co-operation on Ango-

Soviet Union and the US. Both attended the latest talks as observers.

Pretoria also appears to have played a role in persuading Savimbi to enter ceasefire talks before the formal recognition by the MPLA of Unita as a political party.

Savimbi, who is to see President George Bush today, argues that any cut-off in US aid — now running at about $80m a year — prior to the conference could make the MPLA think twice about recognising Unita.

LINDEN BIRNS reports that military experts said yesterday the Soviets were stepping up supplies of military hardware to the MPLA.

They said this in the wake of reports that Cuban troop levels in Angola were higher than the 12,000 they should have been in terms of the multinational withdrawal plan.

They said the cash-strapped Soviets were selling — and not donating — equipment to the oil-rich Angolan government.

One expert said the Angolans were receiving obsolete technology at the same price as new equipment.

Yesterday Foreign Affairs spokesman Elsa Dry said the SA ambassador to Namibia, Ruan Eksteen, was monitoring the Cuban withdrawal and had reported that everything was going according to plan.
Savimbi confident of ceasefire soon

WASHINGTON - The leader of Angola's US-backed rebels says he believes peace negotiations with the country's leftist government are so far advanced that a ceasefire is likely within the next three months.

"We feel the climate is favourable by the end of the year," Jonas Savimbi, head of Unita, said in an interview. He based his optimism on the last round of negotiations with government representatives, which ended on Thursday in Portugal.

Savimbi outlined his thoughts to two American reporters on Sunday at the start of a week-long round of official talks and media appearances. He meets President George Bush today.

Leader

The veteran guerrilla leader said more upbeat about peace prospects than at any time since he took up arms against Portuguese colonial rule 25 years ago. He and his followers have been waging a bloody civil war against the Soviet-backed government for 15 years.

Savimbi said it should be possible for free elections to be held in Angola by the end of 1991 if all goes according to plan. But he said the process could be upset if Congress denies his forces additional aid.

"If aid to Unita is put in doubt, then this is going to hamper tremendously the negotiating process," he said. The US assistance, provided covertly, is believed to average about R150 million annually. - *Sapa-AP*

Reparations from Iraq

NEW YORK - Britain and the US are considering seeking a UN resolution to demand reparations from Iraq for damage inflicted on Kuwait since Baghdad's troops invaded the emirate, British officials said.

They said the idea, aimed at stepping up pressure on Iraq to pull out of Kuwait, was discussed at talks and a subsequent dinner between British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and US President George Bush on Sunday evening.

"There was considerable interest in a resolution to try to signal that reparations and war crimes are on our agenda," one official said. - *Sapa-Reuter*
Angolan war may end

NEW YORK - The United States and the Soviet Union have indicated they would be willing to police a ceasefire and elections to end Angola's 15-year-old civil war, The New York Times reported.

A US-Soviet role in reaching a settlement was discussed last week in Portugal during the fourth round of negotiations between Luanda and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, or UNITA, the paper said.

A senior US State Department official told the paper that the Soviet Union and United States had agreed to accept an invitation from the two Angolan sides to join in an international force that would work out and then supervise a ceasefire.

The official expressed optimism that the two sides in the Angolan conflict were closer to an agreement on elections, saying: "For the first time they are talking seriously about a ceasefire."

The superpowers have strong influence in Angola because of their roles in the conflict. Moscow supports Angola with 1,100 advisers, while Washington has backed UNITA with 60 million dollars in military assistance.

A ceasefire was arranged last year under the mediation of President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire but it quickly broke down and the fighting intensified.

Soviet, US and Angolan officials told the Times they hoped the involvement of the two superpowers would make it more likely a ceasefire would hold this time.

Sapo-Reuter
Fireworks herald a united Germany

BERLIN - East and West Germany united amid street parties and fireworks on yesterday, burying 45 years of Cold War division and creating the richest and most populous state in Europe.

At the stroke of midnight, as a giant black, red and gold German flag was hoisted before Berlin's historic Reichstag building, the struggling ex-communist East joined the rich Western state it had long reviled.

Hundreds of thousands of revellers, watched by nervous police, thronged central Berlin to cheer the ceremony and millions more watched on television.

The Liberty Bell pealed throughout Berlin and President Richard von Weltsaecker proclaimed: "In free self-determination we have completed the unity and freedom of Germany. We want to serve world peace in a united Europe."

Fireworks soared over the nearby Brandenburg Gate, until recently marooned behind the now demolished Berlin Wall, and lit up the sky in cities across the new country of 79 million.

"Unification - the end of the Cold War and catalyst to a new security structure in Europe - came 11 dramatic months after the Wall burst open under the pressure of mounting protests against the East's Stalinist leaders."

At first feared by neighbours who had twice suffered at German hands this century, the merger won official approval all around after tireless diplomacy by Chancellor Helmut Kohl and his veteran Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

"The end of East Germany is a positive turn of the kind history only rarely allows," Lothar de Maiziere said in his final address as prime minister of the disappearing state.

Savimbi's notion

WASHINGTON - Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has rejected the notion that Angola could be a part of a southern African economic common market as an idea that was premature.

Savimbi said this in answer to a question after speaking to the Congressional Task Force on Angola and Freedom House on Capitol Hill on Tuesday.
Food convoy leaves to aid both sides in Angolan war

Argus Africa News Service
WINDHOEK. — The first consignment of food aid for the starving people of southern Angola to be taken across the Namibian border departs today under the flag of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

ICRC Windhoek director Mr Nicol Rougemont said a convoy of trucks would leave Ovapi, carrying 150 tons of Namibian maize and 50 tons of beans.

Half the convoy would cross the border at Oshikango-Santa Clara for Lubango in Angolan government territory, while the rest of the trucks would reach rebel Dr Jonas Savimbi's UNITA-held territory through Bagani on route to Likue.

The arrangement follows negotiations in recent weeks to find a way of aiding the drought-stricken people of southern Angola.

Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos accepted an offer, from Namibia at a meeting with President Sam Nujoma about three weeks ago, that its territory could be used to route the aid.

The Angolan government's primary concern has been that food aid reaching UNITA-held territory should be monitored to prevent contraband reaching the rebels.
Hungry Angolans get food supplies

WINDHOEK - The first consignment of humanitarian food aid for the starving people of southern Angola using routes through the Namibian border departed yesterday under the flag of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

ICRC director in Windhoek, Mr Nicol Rougemont, said a convoy of trucks carrying 150 tonnes of Namibian maize and 50 tonnes of beans would leave Otavi today.

Half the convoy would cross the border at Oshikango-Santa Clara for Lubango in Angolan government territory while the remainder of the trucks would reach rebel Jonas Savimbi's Unita-held territory through Bagam e route to Likue.

Arrangement

The arrangement follows intense negotiations in recent weeks to find a way of aiding the drought-stricken people of southern Angola irrespective of which side of the war they found themselves on.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos accepted an offer from Namibia in a summit meeting with President Sam Nujoma about three weeks ago that its territory could be used to route the aid. - Sowetan Africa News Service.
Angola to get special UN famine relief

NEW YORK. — The Angolan government and US-backed Unita rebels have agreed to an expanded UN relief programme aimed at reaching all famine victims, including those in conflict areas, a United Nations spokesman said here.

In recent months worsening conditions and increasing reports of death and malnutrition because of starvation in other areas had underscored the urgency of expanding the relief operations.

UN Secretary General Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar had sent a mission to Luanda in August to discuss ways of widening the existing relief programmes to cover all provinces severely affected by drought and war-related famine. — Sapa-Reuters.
Angolan peace but not on economic front
UN relief for Angolan war, famine regions

LUANDA — UN relief aid would start rolling on November 1 into four of Angola's nine provinces suffering from war and famine, a top UN official said.
The relief will reach — for the first time — areas under Unita control.

UN under-secretary Gen Abdulrahim Farah told a news conference on Wednesday that 25,000 tonnes of food were already available for distribution at a rate of 8,000-10,000 tons a month, with a target of 16,000 tons a month.

"This is not an easy operation. Some of the routes are reported to be heavily mined, key bridges have been destroyed, and both the primary and secondary road networks are in poor condition," Farah said.

He said the government would help clear roads and he hoped Unita would do the same in areas it controlled. UN experts would also precede the aid convoys to make sure roads are safe.

Despite the problems, the UN plans to move about 118,000 tons of humanitarian supplies over six months at a cost of between $78m and $98m.

The world body estimates 1.9 million people have been affected by war or drought-induced famine in nine provinces in the centre and south of Angola.

Farah said UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar was satisfied with arrangements for the relief.

The government and Unita are due to hold a fifth round of direct peace talks at the end of this month.

Farah said the Angolan government had the right to inspect relief cargoes entering the country from Zambia and Namibia.

He said about $23m had been earmarked for non-food essentials such as medicines, seeds and clothing.

Perez de Cuellar will launch a new international appeal for aid at the end of this month or in early November, he said.

The previous appeal had received a disappointing response, Farah said, but it was hoped donor governments would be encouraged by the fact that the United Nations was taking responsibility for logistics, transport and need assessment. — Sapa-Reuters.
Prospect of peace sparks business interest in Angola

LUANDA — The prospect of peace in Angola after 15 years of civil war has awakened the interest of many foreign firms, but only a handful are turning interest into investment in an abundantly blessed but battered economy.

More than 250 foreign investors sought information about business opportunities in Angola in the first nine months of 1999, the director of the Luanda Foreign Investment Bureau (GIB) said.

"Inquiries only really took off after the Angolan government announced at the end of last year that it was prepared for direct negotiations with the rebels," Maria Luiza Perdigao Abrantes said.

Ceasefire

Angola's hitherto Marxist-Leninist government has been fighting a civil war against Western-backed Unita guerrillas since independence from Portugal in 1975.

Four days of peace talks near Lisbon last week ended with Angola's MPLA government and Unita agreeing in principle on some of the outlines of a ceasefire.

The civil war has crippled a potentially rich economy. Angola produces at least 450,000 barrels of oil a day and could be a major exporter of diamonds and coffee — the country was once the world's fourth largest coffee producer.

Foreign interest has concentrated on manufacturing industry, mining, fishing, agriculture, building and construction, and rehabilitation of equipment.

Potential Portuguese investors are leading the way, but there have also been queries from France, Britain, Brazil and SA.

Incentives to foreign investors include tax exemptions and unlimited repatriation of dividends, but the surge in interest has yet to be translated into a surge in the opening of new, foreign-backed businesses.

Only seven out of 250 or so inquiries are likely to be approved by the end of this month. The process should take six months but has been subject to bureaucratic delay.

So far no company operating with foreign capital has withdrawn from Angola for security reasons, but some would-be investors have expressed caution about setting up before a permanent ceasefire is signed.

"Investment proposals mentioned so far are all for areas under government control," Abrantes said.

The Angolan government was providing guarantees against confiscation and nationalisation, she said.

The country, which joined the IMF last year, has been working on launching a full structural adjustment programme in 1991 and bringing the country into a Western-style free-market economy.

The government is about to embark on a quasi-privatization programme intended to relieve the government of expensive subsidies and a big salaries bill. Part of the plan entails shedding 70,000 public sector jobs.

Bloated

From October 1, the government halved the exchange value of its currency, the kwanzza, in an attempt to restore order to its shattered economy and cut down on black market dealings.

But detailed discussion on cutting back the bloated state sector and handling repayment and servicing of the $8bn foreign debt was put off until after the end of October.

Diplomats said the Angolan government was concerned that any fresh hardships would spark protests from the slums of Luanda. — Sapa-Reuters.
NEW YORK - More than 38,000 Cuban troops have left Angola, ahead of the schedule agreed to in the Namibia independence plan, Mr Pedro Van Dunem, the Angolan foreign minister, said yesterday.

But he said that American and South African "conservative circles" support for the Angolan insurgent group Unita had damaged hopes for a peaceful settlement based on the talks in Glodolite. Van Dunem said his government reaffirmed its dedication to a continued peace effort "geared to national unity and reconciliation of Angolans."

This was not equally true for Unita. - Sovietan Correspondent.
Angolan Civil War
Soviet Civil War

Advisers

The Soviet advisers, who are now in Angola, have been working closely with the MPLA, the Angolan People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, to help them prepare for their fight against the South African-backed UNITA forces. The advisers are providing training, equipment, and strategic advice to the MPLA, helping them to better organize and prepare for the upcoming conflict.

Focus

In the recent escalation of violence in Angola, the MPLA has been gaining ground, thanks to the support of the Soviet Union. The South African-backed UNITA forces, on the other hand, are struggling to maintain their hold on power.

The war has become a proxy battle between the two superpowers, with the US supporting UNITA and the Soviet Union backing the MPLA. The situation in Angola is a direct result of the Cold War, and the conflict is expected to continue for some time.
Angola aims for greater production of local goods

LUANDA — Angolan President João Eduardo dos Santos has said that the government's economic programme of action was aimed at increasing the supply of locally produced consumer goods in the country by making use of local raw materials.

Dos Santos was speaking at a meeting attended by representatives of the country's strategic enterprises, Angolan news agency Angop reported on Wednesday.

The president considered an "urgent necessity" the reactivation of the country's production to increase, in the first phase, the supply of essential consumer goods for the benefit of the population.

"All this will only be possible with the substitution of imports with local ones," he said, adding that at the moment too much emphasis was being placed on increasing the supply of commodities by using imported goods.

Dos Santos said efforts have been made to increase the production of beer with a view of reducing imports and thus saving valuable foreign currency. This had to be extended to food production and clothing manufacture.

He regretted the fact that the Angolan government was still importing trousers, shirts and other clothes while the country had the capability to produce these items.

There was also still a too large state involvement in the baking of bread. He said efforts were being made to decentralise the baking industry and use the capabilities of other economic agents. — ANO.
Angola plans to dump communism

Own Correspondent

LISBON. — The MPLA government in Angola, one of the last bastions of orthodox Marxism in Africa, seems set to abandon doctrinaire rule and begin a move towards democracy.

The party has agreed to introduce a multi-party system and hold free elections possibly within the next 36 months.

This could open the door for an election in which the rebel Unita movement and other groups will be allowed to participate — one of the guerrillas' main demands.

At an extraordinary central committee meeting in Luanda on Friday, the MPLA decided to reconstitute itself as a social democratic group, abandoning its communist dogmas.

According to Portuguese news reports in Lisbon at the weekend, the central committee's decisions will be ratified by the party's third congress in December.

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon welcomed the decision but said 36 months was too long an interim period.

"Namibia didn't need that much time to prepare elections, neither does Angola," he said.

The central committee reportedly approved a programme, tabled by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, providing for the drafting of the current constitution to take into account the planned reforms. The task is scheduled to take 32 months.

There appeared to be hesitation over setting a definite election date, which would be determined "by experts and dates from the day of the ceasefire," according to a communiqué issued after the meeting.
Corridors of peace set up in Angola

HARARE - Trucks loaded with international aid will set out this week "along "corridors of peace" to try to help feed hundreds of thousands of starving Angolans on both sides of a crippling civil war."

The Luanda government says nearly 900,000 people are starving. Unita claims, a much higher figure, taking account of those living under Unita control. The mercy mission, organised by the UN and due to start today, is the first to try channelling food to both sides down "corridors of peace" agreed by government and rebel leaders. Diplomats, regional economic officials and aid agencies say the way ahead is full of pitfalls. The war has devastated Angola's economy and infrastructure. "Although the corridors plan would be a significant step, it would not necessarily resolve how to get food from the main arteries to the outlying, rural areas, which could be open to attack," said Andrew Coulridge of the British aid agency Oxfam.

Until now, international aid has been sent mainly to ports. Efforts to distribute it to government areas inland have been thwarted by rebel attacks on the dilapidated road network. The first trucks are due to set off from the Atlantic ports of Benguela and Lobito and arrive in the southern inland city of Cunene in a few days. - Reuters.
Unita rebels attack oil fields

LUANDA — Unita guerrillas attacked oil fields in north Angola, damaging installations belonging to Belgium's Fina oil company, an army statement said yesterday. The statement did not mention any casualties in the attack on Friday, but said three oil pumps and a 100,000-m³ storage tank were destroyed.

According to the statement, the raid by Unita guerrillas hit the town of Lango, some 300 km north of here in Angola's oil-rich Zaire province.

The attack was the 18th reported this year against oil installations in northern Angola. Oil exports are a lifeline for the war-ravaged Angolan economy.

Earlier this month an American helicopter mechanic working for a firm contracted by Chevron Oil was kidnapped in northern Angola. Government officials blamed Unita for the kidnapping. The rebels said the American was taken by a separate group demanding independence for Angola's northern Cabinda province. — Sapa-AP
Aids orphans

From PAUL CHINTOWA

DAR ES SALAAM.—Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) has orphaned 20,000 children here.

Experts are worried many more will die as women of child-bearing age become the group most likely to be infected by the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV).

Local professionals have expressed alarm at the spread of AIDS and the impact this will have on objectives to reduce the number of deaths of mothers and children from child diseases and pregnancy complications.

Paediatrician Kissi Pallanyo at the nation's main referral hospital says national figures are still being compiled, but they are high.

Surveys in two provinces in the north and south of the country have shown an average annual 15 percent increase in children born HIV positive between 1984 and 1989.

"This (AIDS) is a more serious problem than the child diseases," says UNICEF representative in Tanzania and the Seychelles, Laetitia Van Dupem Assum. — AITA

Weird and wonderful world

Beating about the Bush

US President George Bush may appear to some to be pushy on the Gulf crisis issue.

But he’s not really a go-getter, if you consider that the Procrastinators Club of America has given him its Procrastinator of the Year award for the slow pace of talks on the federal budget.

Joking Germans

ALTHOUGH Germany is now reunited, West Germans are still telling jokes of their East German cousins — regarded as the Van der Merwes of that part of the world.

One of the latest doing the rounds goes: How can you tell when you have an east German in your office?

Answer: From the Tipp-Er marks on your computer screen.

Or there’s the story of the East German who bought a digital watch in the Western sector the day after the Berlin Wall came down.

“What’s the time,” his wife asked.

“Twenty divided by seven,” he replied.

Grabba McCastro now!

HAVANA has been hit by the “McCastro”, the Cuban version of the imperialists’ McDonald hamburger.

They contain pork instead of minced beef.

Maybe the Cubans will find a substitute yet for that other symbol of capitalist America, Coke.

Tug of war

IT’S the thought that counts, as they say.

Poland wants to contribute to the international show of force taking up formation in the Gulf.

Reports reveal it has just offered to send a tugboat to the crisis area.
Angola shifts from Marxism

Luanda - Formerly an arid country, Angola will be operating on a market-based economy in the near future, says finance minister Agualnaldo Jaime.

But other African countries that have switched from an extreme socialist to free enterprise, Angola will not start seeing dramatic benefits. The situation will in fact get worse before it gets better.

The Angolan economy appears a labyrinth to the passing observer. Not only does there seem no clear exit but the very entry is hard to find. At last trying to understand just what is going on.

Signposts

The first sign of signposts now thought: A new willingness - indeed almost an acceptance - of many of the Austrian government's economic reforms, a commitment (albeit very tentative) to the very necessary discipline of currency devaluation, a pragmatically understanding of the need to attract foreign investment and trade (including South African trade) to this country and a number of other managerial changes which are not hanged up on yesterday's ideology.

Deduce

Jaime is a small, young man with a British education and, one must deduce, a very small but necessary nerve.

He appears recalling a recent meeting (broadly-breaking in itself) with South African Finance Minister Barend van Plessis in Geneve. It was in this meeting Jaime listened to the key position of the financial and economic reform - and the political reform - in South Africa.

Jaime's anxiety turns a little way: "De Plessis said he was impressed by the enormity of what we are undertaking in Angola." South African Jaime smiles: "We have been visited by many African enterprises. They are interested in cooperation."

A Soviet diplomat, on the other hand, has an even broader vision. The Soviet Union needs to get something back for all the years spent supporting the MPLA. The diplomat too calls for new joint ventures involving Angolan, Soviet and South African interests.

Excess

"The enormity of what we are undertaking," as De Plessis expressed it involves giving meaning too to a currency stripped of all value. An excess supply of money and an extreme shortage of goods has nurtured the parallel markets (knowing) where the value of the kwanza has been about 100% of its official rate and beer is a currency valued above the black market.

But with the first blaze of economic reform, and the troca came the "troca" - a sort of commercial barter which the force price swooping now on the market at about 125,000: a clear sign of the country's attempt to stabilize the kwanza.

Yet, even these discussions in Angola were back to the way.

"I think Jaime uses what he to justify everything that goes wrong," remarks one disgruntled Luanda.

Troca

In October the European population was hit by the troca as it's called here, even in English dialogue.

Troca is Portuguese for exchange and one can's help noticing that the next word in the dictionary, the same but for a credit card under the t is means fake or mocking.

By all accounts many Luandans may have experienced the troca of their kwanza currency in this way.

The troca was an effective 55 percent confection of the money supply. You handed in your old kwanza notes at the bank and received five percent back along with a piece of paper, a government ISU, for the rest.

When the new money (overpriced old notes) ran out, according to diplomatic sources, your piece of paper promised 100 percent of what you had surrendered and you left the bank empty-handed.

The old kwanza coins were melted, the biggest being the unit of 20. Several sources and some secondary Luandan wouldn’t be shopkeepers (for there were little in the shops, they said, although stocks had been promised) reported that the new kwanza note was a 500 unit.

There was nothing between 20 and 500 until the government released old 50 kwanza notes on to the market.

Crisis

Along with the troca came the real price: In oil rich Angola, has nothing to do with the Gulf crisis but the imposition of a 500 percent government tax on period refined rights in Luanda itself.

The official US dollar-kwanza exchange rate was and remains to roughly 50.

A devaluation of 1 to 60 was supposed to have followed but on the back of the troca has been delayed while official "assess the impact of the currency change and co- establish how much currency there is in circulation," says Jaime.

He says not even the Banco Nacional de Angola had any idea how much money was out there: "In the past we financed our budget deficit by printing more money."

It was a bad week, the week of the troca. Bank accounts were frozen and even embassies found themselves without money.

There is talk in Luanda that the International Monetary Fund was critical of the way the exchange was handled.

Denial

Jaime denies this: "That is not my impression. They have nothing against our monetary reforms." When they have been, says, is that Angola has taken so long to implement the reforms proposed in 1987. The devaluation will probably take place soon, yes, it was supposed to be a few days after the exchange "but things in Angola are difficult."

The war creates "unpredictability," Normal methods cannot be applied in an abnormal society, he says.

All discussions in Angola were back to the way.

"I think there may use it to justify everything that goes wrong," remarks one disgruntled Luanda.

Economy

What's happening now is chaotic and Jaime acknowledges that the situation is less satisfactory.

He remains committed though to the market economy plan, saying it will be a step-by-step process, the first being to sell off about 100 small state enterprises to interna- tional entrepreneurs.
Angola gets $138m in aid

LUANDA — The EC would grant $138m to Angola within the framework of Lome Convention IV, an EC official told Angop in Luanda yesterday.

In addition, $720 000 would be used to finance work at a nursing centre in Luanda with the participation of the Medicines Sans Frontières organisation, EC division for common market development, head Wilhelmina Blok, said.

He said the EC would also grant 15m ecaus for upgrading Luanda's sanitation system.

During his visit Blok met Planning Minister Fernando Franca Van-Dunen, Health Minister Flavio Fernandes and Agriculture Minister Faustino Muteka.

He was also to inspect Americo Boavida Hospital renovations financed by the EC.

Meanwhile, Brazilian ambassador to Luanda Ivan Oliveira Cunha said yesterday that trade between Angola and Brazil was estimated at about $806m.

Trade relations between Brazil and Angola had existed since 1978, he said.

Brazil, the first country to recognise Angolan independence in 1975, exports mainly trucks, meat, frozen chicken and other consumer goods to Angola. — ANO.
Angola edges closer to peace

THE two sides in the Angola war, meeting this week in Lisbon, are close to signing a ceasefire, according to the Portuguese mediators.

The major stumbling block now may be how to integrate the rebel Unita movement's fighters into one single national army.

"Agreement has been reached on many matters related to the ceasefire in Angola. A peace agreement may be signed during the next round of talks," Portuguese minister of state Duro Barosa told journalists last week.

Arrangements
A sixth meeting is expected at the end of January.

As this round of talks ended, the two sides were still formally insisting on different arrangements: Unita wants political recognition before a ceasefire; the government side wants a ceasefire first; the Portuguese mediators want a ceasefire and political recognition to go together.

This may be the option that wins out.

UNITA POLICITALLY HAS BEEN SETTLED. THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT IS ALMOST READY TO BE SIGNED.

Portugal's optimistic stance followed sharp exchanges between the two sides, in which observers noted their "inflexible stances".

It also followed a meeting between rebel Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, in which the exchanges were described afterwards by Portuguese radio as "very frank and probably even harsh".

Pressure was also being applied from the US and the Soviet sides — both in Lisbon as observers, Alexandre Smirnov, the head of a Soviet team of observers, said Moscow wanted to see an early cut in military support to both Angolan sides to encourage a ceasefire.

Aide
Portuguese officials believe the presence of the new Angolan presidential aide, Lopo do Nascimento, had a major positive effect on the talks.

If a ceasefire does go ahead in January, it is expected to have an immediate effect on Angola's relations with the US — Africa envoy Herman Cohen said earlier this month the US would open an interest section in Luanda.
Angola epic confirms guards' secrets

...
MPLA looks at democracy

LUANDA — The central committee of Angola’s ruling MPLA party met yesterday to discuss constitutional changes making way for multi-party democracy in its country. The meeting, scheduled to last three days, followed a fifth round of peace talks in Lisbon between the MPLA and Unita, which failed to bring a ceasefire to the 15-year civil war. Unita has demanded formal recognition as a political party, but the MPLA wants a ceasefire in place first.

The government has issued a statement saying 1738 civilians were killed by Unita action during the first 10 months of this year, and that 2969 civilians were kidnapped. — Sapa-Heuter.
Angola epic confirms hunches, guards secrets

H. 010 2/140

They live by the sword.

And in 1958, the company and politician

Struggle to maintain power and influence

Information and political intrigue

The region's political landscape

Legend of the founding Father - Osirian

Struggle for power and control

The emergence of new political forces
Namibia sending food aid to Angola

WINDHOEK - Relief food aid worth over R400 000 is being packed onto trucks in Otavi in northern Namibia for transport to south-eastern Angola this week under the flag of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

ICRC delegation head in Namibia, Nicolas de Rougemont, said in Windhoek on Tuesday the convoy being prepared, the second this month, would take 120 tons of maize meal, 36 tons of beans and 24 tons of cooking oil on six trucks, mostly with double trailers, to the Cacuachi region of south-east Angola through Bagani in the Caprivi.

The area is a recognised Unita stronghold.

"In the whole of southern Angola, we have identified separate groups of people, about 120 000 altogether, who are going to need help until the harvest in January," De Rougemont said.

Victims

"Some are victims of war (between Unita rebel and Angolan MPLA government forces), some of drought and war and some only of drought," he explained.

"The last group, in a country at peace, would be assisted by the National Red Cross or League of Red Crescent Societies.

"Since none of these exist or has had access to south-eastern Angola, we have to do it."

De Rougemont said funding for the relief project was provided by the European Economic Community and the Swiss government.

The ICRC was not going to areas where it would be cheaper and more direct to ship aid from donor countries to the southern Angola port of Lobito, from where it would be taken inland by convoy or plane, when too dangerous for a convoy.

"The ICRC convoys from Namibia are going to both parts of Angola," De Rougemont said, referring indirectly to Unita and MPA government-controlled regions of the country. - Sapa
End to Angolan war predicted

The 15-year war in Angola could be over by the end of the year.

Both sides, the MPLA government headed by Eduardo dos Santos and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), predict at least a ceasefire by December.

While fighting continues, observers are asking who will inherit the war-ravaged nation which, on paper, could quickly rival South Africa's economic might if there were peace and coherent national management.

The stakes are high. Angola is embarking on a process of fundamental political and economic change that will either offer an opportunity to bring the original promise of democratic social transformation a step closer or run the risk of slipping into a neo-colonial status managed by Portugal, the former imperial master.

These are the options that have emerged from the diplomacy of the past year in Lisbon, Kinshasa, London, Harare and Washington DC, and the course of the war and economic crisis in the nation itself.

On the military side, decisive intervention by the United States and its local ally Zaire on behalf of embattled Unita forces during a December-February offensive by Fapla, the Angolan armed forces, made the Dos Santos administration accept that it could not win the de facto war.

Strategy

As US military assistance flowed to the rebel group, the Luanda government embarked on a two-pronged strategy of negotiation and internal political change. On the economic side, 15 years of war finally took its toll.

Between 1987 and 1989 the economy, which had managed to use oil revenues to pay its debts and devote 70 percent of its income to the military, slipped into debt for the first time since independence in 1975.

This caused the government to look at the chronic economic chaos and take up the suggestions of the International Monetary Fund to apply an austerity programme.—A/A
Words of hate like landmines
for an American in Angola

When American citizen VICKI FINKEL visited Angola recently, she found that there was much enmity and animosity for her country. Her burning words of enmity for the country emblazoned in gold letters on my passport haunted me throughout my month-long stay in Angola. I constantly identified the crippling effects of the 15-year civil strife with America's contradictory involvement with the oil-rich country.

Despite the MPLA government's new commitment to forming a multi-party system, holding open elections, and undergoing economic liberalisation, the US House of Representatives Intelligence Committee last month approved $500 million above the $600 million already budgeted for UNITA for the present fiscal year. The increased aid was ratified by the Congressional House last week.

"I am very sorry to hear that," said Jack Blackshire, president of the Angolan operations of the American oil giant Continental Oil Corporation (Conoco), when I asked him about the action to bolster aid to UNITA.

"The Angolans just need to be left alone," he said in a Texan drawl, unseasoned by 10 years in Africa.

Blacksheir and I strolled through the grounds of Conoco-Angola's headquarters to a towering baobab tree, under which he said he wished to be buried.

Looking over the deep blue waters of Luanda Bay, Blacksheir pointed through the wire fence down to a fishing village complete with 10 outboard motor boats and recently constructed fish-drying racks. It is one of the 36 development projects Conoco has financed with a total of $4 million during their five years in Angola.

"It is in our interest to work in a stable environment, the worst thing is to have the country in turmoil," said Blackshire, whose amiable relations with the Angolan government have caused him to be denounced as a communist by United States congressmen who visited the Conoco-Angola base.

Ironically, US dollars purchase 80 to 90 percent of Angola's total oil production and in turn finance the MPLA government's defence against the UNITA rebels.

When invariably questioned about my place of origin, I found myself tempted to give the misleading, "I am coming from Zimbabwe," but could not avoid the truth that I was an American.
Starvation

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has called for nearly $22.7 million for emergency relief in Angola, reports SABC's Africa Desk. UNICEF predicts a widespread starvation.

Sapa.
Angola talks: Hopes of a settlement fade

LISBON. — Peace talks between the Angolan government and US-backed Unita rebels entered their fourth day yesterday, but hopes of a settlement dimmed after accusations of bad faith on both sides.

"What's happened so far is unhappy and very little, almost nothing, because of the manifest lack of political will on one side," a Unita spokesman said.

Unita broke the silence imposed by both sides at this round of talks and the four earlier meetings to counter Portuguese news reports blaming the rebels for the deadlock.

Negotiations appeared stalled on the timing of moves to unite the armies and government recognition of Unita's legitimacy.

Meanwhile, a 550-strong Unita force has attacked oil installations in Northern Zaire province, Radio Angola reports. — Sapa-AP-Reuter
Aid workers said famine threatened the rest of the

NEWS IN BRIEF

Tyre manufacturing plan
HARARE — The Zimbabwe government was looking into the possibility of setting up a company to compete with Dunlop in the manufacture of tyres, news agency Ziana quoted vice-president Joshua Nkomo as saying on Wednesday. He was addressing the Zimbabwe transport organisation annual congress.

New petrol price hike in Maputo
MAPUTO — For the second time in two months, the Mozambican authorities have announced large rises in the price of fuels. The price of a litre of petrol in Maputo rises by 42.5%, from 0,95c/l to 1,35c/l. Diesel suffers the same percentage increase, rising from 0,55c/l to 0,80c/l.

R10m deal for Botswana bank
GABORONE — The Bank of Botswana has signed a contract worth about R10m for the construction of a four-storey building. The bank was experiencing an office accommodation shortage.

Mozambican peace talks
MAPUTO — A government delegation was in Rome to hold peace talks with Renamo representatives, SABC radio news yesterday quoted Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano as saying. But he said much was still to be done in the process of reconciliation.

Fewer Cuban doctors in Angola
LUANDA — Angola has reduced the number of Cuban doctors in the country from 310 in 1988 to 86, a source close to the Ministry of Health said yesterday.

REPORTS: SAIMA AND
Fewer Cuban doctors in Angola

LUANDA — Angola has reduced the number of Cuban doctors in the country from 310 in 1996 to 56, a source close to the Ministry of Health said yesterday.

REPORTS: EPA, ANG.
Angola tests democracy

Angola celebrated the 15th anniversary of its independence at the weekend as a country in the grip of tumultuous change, committed now for the first time to a timetable for introducing multiparty democracy and optimistic about a ceasefire with the Unita rebels before the year is out.

At a landmark meeting at the end of October the central committee of the ruling MPLA announced a “partial revision” of the constitution to “enshrine multipartyism” and change the present law providing for a one-party system within the first three months of next year.

Within 15 months a new constitution should be ready, clearing the way for general elections as soon as peace is established. At the same time a single national army would be created, independent of the MPLA.

Enthusiasm

Diplomats in Luanda say the commitment to a timetable should please the Americans, who have been impatient at the lack of progress, and who are still withholding diplomatic recognition, aid and investment.

But on the streets and on the fine beaches of Luanda, the mood has improved to generate popular enthusiasm.

Angolans grumble through each day as it comes, numbed even more than usual by the economic chaos following the money change earlier in October which withdrew 95 percent of the money supply prior to an “imminent” 100 percent devaluation of the kwanza that has yet to be announced.

The government had reportedly promised that there would be food in the shops. Ordinary Luandans say this promise has not been met. But in the first of two government shake-ups earlier this month, Mr Dumidile Rangel, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, who had apparently given the undertaking, was forced out.

After 15 years of Marxist-Leninist autocracy, Angolans are being promised democracy — but most will believe it when they see it working. DAE LAUTENBACH of the Argus Africa News Service reports from Luanda.

On the beach one Sunday a journalist in his thirties expressed the anger of what he called “the lost generation”: people like him who grew up under Marxist-Leninist ideology that is now being overturned in an awkward flurry after 15 years of war and devastation. Not that he opposed the reforms... but the waste, the waste.

The waste swirls around one in the tourist capital. But daily, the Jornal de Angola, the only newspaper, bears beneath its masthead the legend “1990 - Year of the Third Party Congress and the Extension of Democracy”. Roberto de Almeida, the MPLA head of ideology, defends this idea of a progression, saying that the majority of the MPLA party members are not Marxist-Leninists. “Although the political base was Marxist-Leninist we were always conscious that it was not an ideal or to be fixed forever. It was used as a guide,” he says.

Fierce, more than 65,000 Angolans in a population of about 10 million are party members, he says.

That is very small. Therefore we have decided to invite broader participation in a more open political organisation.”

He talks now of a total restructuring of the party in the course of which some departments, possibly his own, will disappear. The ideological framework is democratic socialism, he says.

“There is no contradiction between socialism and democracy as we understand it. The socialist can have true democracy which recognises the rights of free association, religion, strikes...”

At this stage though, terms are still being bumbled about. A senior diplomat says he has heard talk of democratic socialism and social democracy. And Christian democracy, too, in a country where the power of the church, predominantly Roman Catholic, is being encouraged by government to re-emerge. (The recently appointed Minister of Justice, Dr Lazaro Dias, for example, is a churchman through and through.)

Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, founder member of the Angolan Civic Organisation which seeks to encourage political debate in a society until now closed and in many ways still silenced (whether by decree or habit), praises the MPLA central committee announcement, but with reserve.

His association has yet to be granted the legal right to organise that it has been seeking since it was launched early this year and he is suspicious that the latest moves do not represent a real shift in party thinking as much as expediency in the face of pressure from the United States.

Only last month President Jose Eduardo de Souza told the US Congress that it was impossible to set a date for multipartyism, says Pinto de Andrade.

“Now suddenly, they give a date. But they’ve not thought it through. I don’t see a progression in their thinking.”

Broadly, though, there is praise for President dos Santos. Good Dos Santos men are being appointed, notes one diplomat, adding that already there is some evidence of a separation of government and party.

The old talk of a split between the hawks and the doves in the party - yesterday’s hardline ideologues and the new reformers - is still there but with a perception now, endorsed by diplomats from very different ideological backgrounds themselves, that the President’s hand is growing stronger.

“He is the best reformist we have,” says Finance Minister Agostinho Joaime of his President. Jaime, a young...
Angola eager to turn on the tap

Angola is anxious to begin trading with South Africa and is ready to supply the commodity SA needs most — oil — despite the international embargo, reports DALE LAUTENBACH.

As soon as politicians showed the green light, Angolan oil will be on its way to South Africa.

This was the interpretation of oil officials in the Angolan government on the issue of Angolan oil being sold to the Republic.

South Africa, which has operated under an oil embargo since November 28, 1973, is extremely close on the subject of where and how it gets its petroleum products, and has legislation barring the publication of information about its politically sensitive oil deals.

Some obvious questions begged for answers, though, when South Africa's Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Dr Dawie de Villiers, made a low-profile visit to Luanda in September for talks with his energy counterpart there just a month after the Gulf crisis had begun to squeeze world markets.

At the time, both sides confirmed that oil had been on the agenda of Dr de Villiers's meeting with Zeferino Cassa Tombo. South African sources were at pains, however, not to have this "over-emphasised".

There is still no confirmation of an agreement between the two governments, but if attitudes can be an index of future action, Desiderio Costa, Angolan vice-Minister of Petroleum, speaks eagerly now about trade with South Africa.

"If I received orders today to send tankers to South Africa, I could. But the top (the political level) must be sorted out first. We are waiting for the green light, the will is there."

Mr Costa had strong views about building relations between his country and South Africa — quite besides his personal ambition to be the first Angolan to sail to South Africa.

He said he no longer gave interviews to journalists. He agreed to see me, however, "Because South Africa needs the real truth about Angola".

He spoke of Angola's desire to end its internal conflict, of the role South Africa could play in helping to achieve this and, more reluctantly, of oil.

"At the moment there is no commercial business in oil with South Africa, but that doesn't mean we are not prepared. Not only are we prepared to sell but to buy products from South Africa. In future South Africa will be one of Angola's important partners. You produce maize, no? And your technical experience. There are already some South African products here — that shows goodwill."

There is an indisputable logic to oil and other trading links being formed between South Africa and Angola.

"We are not far from you," said Mr Costa. "An oil tanker would not take too long and if we wanted to buy goods from you it would take maybe seven days, whereas now it takes 11 to 15 days from the European markets."

While expressing appreciation for the reform efforts of President de Klerk, Mr Costa called urgently for an end to South Africa's support for Unita. South African Government sources claim this support is now only diplomatic and humanitarian. Angola insists there is continuing military support.

More restrained in his attitude to South Africa but no less optimistic, Joaquim David, general manager of the State oil company Sonangol, confirmed the desire to build a partnership.

"With the decrease in military activity in this part of the world we look with high interest to increasing co-operation with South Africa," he said.

At a recent meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, he had perceived a general desire on the part of most of the countries represented to increase commercial relationships with South Africa.

He pointed out remaining political barriers, but with "firm, strong decisive steps being given, especially by Mr de Klerk, we all expect that in the very, very short future we can deal openly with South Africa."

Could he confirm that there had already been an undertaking from Angola to sell its oil, as has been rumoured?"

"I can confirm that we had and still have correspondence and contacts towards increasing commercial relationships," he said. "There are still some barriers but everyone is working closely to overcome that. — Star Africa Service.□
Rivers make Angola a superpower

By DALE LAUTENBACH
Argus Africa News Service
LUANDA.—The night roar with the sound of private generators installed on apartment balconies and in backyards. They chug into action as soon as the lights go off, which they do often because of sabotage to the power lines to the city by the Unita rebels.

But in the midst of electricity supplies made almost redundant by the war, engineers are speaking of a far-flung network of power lines not only criss-crossing Angola but feeding into a regional network across the whole of Southern Africa.

Angola is uniquely blessed with enough vigorous rivers to set a hydro-electrician's heart pounding. These rivers give it a vast, untapped potential for hydro-electric power. It is this that the engineers are thinking of as they look beyond the backyard generators to a settlement of the war that has blocked nearly all development.

But some development is going ahead despite the war. The project at Capanda on the Kwassa River will double Angola's hydro-electric output when the first phase is completed in 1991 to give an output of 350 megawatts, says the project director, Josete Seufilome. The second phase when completed will take the output to 550 mw.

Capanda, which is being built by Brazilians with Soviet technical help, will distribute water as well as electricity. Though on-site training, it will give skills to 2,000 Angolans by 1992. An agricultural scheme provides for the project community and teaches current farming methods to the surrounding population.

The green lake formed by the dam will irrigate agricultural development and support fish breeding in a rural area where protein has always been a problem.

Eskom's chief executive, Dr Ian MacRae, is not alone in following a vision of a giant power transmission grid criss-crossing Southern Africa. Angolan authorities are thinking along the same lines.

Dr MacRae spoke in Harare recently about a grid linking the regions from the Cahora Bassa dam in Mozambique to the Ruauma and Capanda schemes in the west.

Angola's deputy Minister of Energy, Carlos Amore, envisages linking Capanda to Ruauma on the Cuanza and thus, as Namibia and its southern neighbour are already linked, to South Africa as well. The Namibia electricity authority is eager to build another station at Kuppa, downstream from Ruauma on the Cuanza River.

The war-damaged barrier of the Calueque Dam...new hydro-electric dams are being planned for Angola.

The Angolans seemed less enthusiastic about Kuppa for which at least their agreement would be necessary as the Namibia-Angola border is the course of the river here.

Their dreams seem to be with their remarkable Kwassa. Seufilome says the 200km stretch of the middle Kwassa drops one kilometer along its course and on this stretch of plummeting water eight more hydro-electric installations besides the existing 200 mw Cahora Bassa and the Capanda could be built. At least two of these eight hydro-electric dams would have an output greater than the 350 mw Capanda.

A number of people are already critical of the Capanda scheme, let alone more installations although they are still very much on the drawing board. They ask what Angola is going to do with all that power. Boonswegg remarks: "Maybe we'll need a railway to be electrified and when the total system is linked, we could electrify the Benguela line."
Looking beyond the Angolan war, engineers are already planning for the day when electricity generated by the country's surging rivers will be used to fry eggs in Johannesburg, reports DALE LAUTENBACH.

Angola's untapped rivers of power

LUANDA nights roar with the sound of private generators installed on apartment balconies and in backyards. They chug into action as soon as the lights go off, which they do often because of sabotage to the power lines by the civil rebels.

But in the midst of electricity shortages, Angola's government is looking into the possibility of tapping into the country's abundant hydroelectric potential.

A number of people are already considering the possibility of building power plants on the Kwanza River, which runs through central Angola. The Kwanza is one of several major rivers in Angola that could be harnessed for hydroelectric power.

Angola has been working on developing its hydroelectric potential for several years, and has already built several small hydroelectric plants. However, the country still relies heavily on imported electricity from neighboring countries.

The potential for hydroelectric power in Angola is enormous, and the country is planning to build several large hydroelectric plants in the coming years. These plants are expected to generate a significant amount of electricity, which will help to meet the country's growing energy needs.

The potential for hydroelectric power in Angola is not just limited to the Kwanza River. The country has several other major rivers that could be harnessed for hydroelectric power, including the Cunene and the Kuando.

The government of Angola is committed to developing its hydroelectric potential, and is working with international organizations and private companies to help finance these projects.

In conclusion, Angola's untapped rivers of power represent a significant opportunity for the country to generate electricity and improve its energy supply. With the right investment and planning, Angola could become a major player in the global energy market.
Industry to tap waters of Okavango

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The 20-year battle to save Botswana's famous Okavango Delta from being tapped for industrial purposes has been lost.

The Botswana government intends extracting water from the swamps which constitute one of Africa's richest wildlife areas.

The water will feed De Beers' diamond mine at Orapa, the town of Maun and some small irrigation schemes and wildlife areas. Work will begin "almost immediately".

Many people in Maun are angry about the 48 km channel and claim it was planned in secret.

The director of Water Affairs in Gaborone, Mr. Moremi Sekwale, told me there was never any secret and that informative public meetings had been held in Maun.

He said the channel from the swamps would be only 1 m deep and flow at a rate of 1 m every three seconds. "It is not a canal, merely an improved channel."

ABOVE AVERAGE RATE

The channel will not be concrete lined and, apart from being shallow will have a base 3 m wide and a rim 23 m wide so it will not trap animals which, he said, will treat it as a natural stream.

During years that the natural river which drains the swamps is flowing at an average or above average rate the channel's supply will not be needed. During drier years the scheme's four reservoirs, will be used to provide an assured supply for Orapa and other developments south of the swamps.

Mr. Sekwale said their would be no clearing of trees and he doubted people would notice any scenic or ecological differences.

"We called in top overseas experts to do an independent environmental impact analysis and we asked them to look at the tourist aspect. Their report is available to the public in our offices at Gaborone."

GEOLOGICAL FAULT

"There is no question of us felling trees or draining the delta."

The area accommodates some of Africa's last great herds of buffalo, elephant and other animals.

The 16,000 sq km delta — the biggest inland river delta on earth — is created by the Okavango River, Southern Africa's second biggest river after the Zambezi. The river dams up behind a geological fault. In prehistoric times it flowed into the Limpopo. Now it spreads out over the Kalahari.

Only 3 percent of the Okavango flows out at the southern end, the rest evaporates or sinks into aquifers.

Mr. Sekwale said he did not anticipate an adverse international reaction.

Botswana had not applied for the Okavango Delta to be listed as a world heritage wetland under the recent Ramsar agreement.
Unexpected benefits of being South African

By DALE LAUTENBACH of The Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek

W H O E V E R would ever have thought that being a South African journalist in Angola would give you a head and shoulders advantage over the rest of the pack?

Indeed it seemed logical to expect the reverse: cautiousness on the part of the Angolans at very least, some suspicion surely, even hostility.

But, in the course of five visits to Angola, two of them to the capital, I have experienced the very opposite. Dare I go so far as to call it a welcome? Yes, I have felt welcomed.

When I first visited Luanda in June this year, I went expecting frustrations. Other journalists had told me about their fruitless attempts to secure interviews with Angolan government officials. If you got lucky, they said, and were promised a meeting, chances were slight that from some corridor where you waited for hours you would actually be ushered in to the awaited audience.

Again, not my experience. But perhaps, rationalising things, it was because on that first visit I was not alone but with a weighty delegation comprising four of the five editors of the Argus group’s daily newspapers. Perhaps it was because we had requested an interview with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

My next visit would test that theory. After two weeks in Luanda this time, alone, I have, with one exception, seen everyone with whom I requested a meeting — and more.

In a good-humoured sort of way I’m not exactly popular with my colleagues in Luanda either.

I’m the journalist who gets through the doors they don’t and for no reason other than that I am South African.

I telephoned a British colleague to make contact. “Hello, I’m Dale Lau…” “Hello, yes, I know who you are.” “You do?” “You were the journalist who interviewed the President in June. The whole thing was on TV and radio (all 45 minutes of it). We all know you as the bunch of South African journalists who swept in here and within a week had the interview others had been trying to get for months. But don’t take it personally — it’s just interesting.”

Isn’t it.

The Angolans make no bones now about wanting improved relations with South Africa and the Argus group seems to have taken the initiative with canny timing. As little as a year ago it’s certain that the reception would have been frosty.

Now, somewhere in Angoila’s ruling hierarchy someone has understood that the way to improve your image is through open communication. The image consciousness is new too. Angola opens up to Western thinking and moves away from the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the past it is concerned that, worldwide, its image is not good.

This understanding is all the more interesting as Angolans does not yet function as an open society and foreign journalists based there are all pretty edgy about what they file and, according to their versions and reports of surveillance, they have some cause.

But I have not yet been (and hope never will be) leaned on to be anything but my own pen.

In Luanda itself all journalists must work through the state Press centre which falls under the Ministry of Information. It provides you with a guide cum interpreter and arranges the interviews you request in advance, those interviews which South Africans get and others don’t. As a result the Press centre also has a rotten reputation with journalists because its arrangements invariably come to naught through a lack of co-operation, it sends out government members of whom the interviews are requested.

I was told that the Press centre acts too as a sort of watchdog on your activities but it made no attempt to inhibit me when I added to my schedule on arrival for meetings, my own contacts, dismissing my guide now and then to meet someone alone. Was I followed? I don’t know.

There are twitchy areas certainly. Twice I was accompanied by silent, impressive men described as “political protection” — not my protection, clearly. But hell, this was in an oil refinery and as just last week this installation was attacked and damaged by Unita rebels, this sort of security is to be expected.

Another twitch is that taking photographs is still difficult. You have to ask permission and sometimes argue for it. But I have never felt that I should not argue.

Beyond my own perception of this unexpected open-door treatment, a number of on-the-record comments from senior government people provided confirmation.

I saw the deputy Energy Minister for Petroleum. I wanted to talk oil. He wanted to talk South Africa. “I never see journalists now,” he said telling of some bad experience in the past. “I agreed to see you because you are a South African. Go back to your country and make propaganda for peace.”

Propaganda, I laughed. Yesterday’s language, certainly, the familiar vocabulary has not changed yet. But the word has a whole new meaning.
One-party rule to go, MPLA told

LUANDA — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos called yesterday for sweeping economic and political reforms and told his ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola their 15-year one-party rule would soon be over.

President dos Santos told 700 MPLA delegates that the party's third congress which opened yesterday would be "the last under a single-party system".

In a 30-minute speech interrupted by frequent applause, he said the MPLA must abandon its Marxist economic model to embrace the free market and a new strategy of democratic socialism.

The six-day congress is scheduled to debate proposals for reforming the centralised economy and introducing multiparty democracy.

Delegates will also discuss ongoing peace talks with US-backed Unita rebels to end a 15-year civil war which has devastated what is potentially one of Africa's richest economies.

After a fifth round of peace talks between the two sides last month, Portuguese government mediators said they were close to a ceasefire.

Introduce

President dos Santos yesterday said political advances would be difficult while the war continued with Unita.

He has said that plans to introduce a multiparty system would go ahead early next year, even without an agreement with the rebels.

Peace talks are expected to resume next month.

President dos Santos criticised the centrally planned economic system followed by the MPLA since Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975.

"The inadequacy of the system is showing in an economic asphyxiation because of the high level of collectivism of the means of production and services," he said.

Angola is rich in minerals and agricultural land, but the war has crippled economic activity and severed communications.

Only exports from the heavily guarded northwestern oilfields have kept the economy afloat.

President dos Santos faces resistance to his reform plans from MPLA hardliners.

Observers in Luanda said opposition to some planned changes may delay their discussion until an extraordinary party congress early next year. — Sapa-AP.
Dos Santos pleads for end to Marxism

LUANDA. — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos yesterday called for sweeping economic and political reforms and told his ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola their 15-year one-party rule would soon be over.

He told 700 MPLA delegates that the party's third congress that opened yesterday would be "the last under a single-party system".

In a 30-minute speech punctuated by frequent applause, President Dos Santos said the MPLA had to abandon its Marxist economic model and embrace the free market and a new strategy of democratic socialism.

The six-day congress is scheduled to debate proposals for reforming the centralized economy and introducing multi-party democracy.

Delegates will also discuss ongoing peace talks with US-backed UNITA rebels to end a 15-year civil war which has devastated what is potentially one of Africa's richest economies.

After a fifth round of peace talks between the two sides last month, Portuguese government mediators said they were close to a ceasefire.

President Dos Santos said yesterday that political advances would be difficult while the war continued with UNITA. Previously he has said that plans to introduce a multi-party system will go ahead early next year, even without an agreement with the rebels.

Talks are expected to resume in January.

Mr Dos Santos criticised the centrally planned economic system followed by the MPLA since Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975.

"The inadequacy of the system is showing in an economic asphyxiation because of the high level of collectivism of the means of production and services," he said.

Angola is rich in minerals and agricultural land, but the war has crippled economic activity and severed communications. Only exports from the heavily guarded north-western oil fields have kept the economy afloat.

President Dos Santos faces resistance to his reform plans from party hardliners.

Observers in Luanda said opposition to some planned changes may delay their discussion until an extraordinary party congress early next year.

President Dos Santos hopes to strengthen his hand at the current congress in elections for members of the policy-making central committee.

Tipped to win the new position of MPLA general secretary is the president's special assistant and leading reformer, Mr Lopo de Nascimento. — Sapa-AP.
Angola gears up for presidential

Elections — After 20 years of war, Angola is poised for a peaceful transition to democracy. The country has made significant progress in recent years, but much work remains to be done. The main opposition candidate, the former guerrilla leader, has promised a new era of stability and development.

Key issues:
- Economic growth
- Political reform
- Human rights

Angola's economy is recovering, but inequality remains high. The government must address corruption and ensure that benefits reach the poor.

Polling day is set for next month, and the world watches to see if Angola can finally move forward from conflict.

Source: The Economist
Angola set to abandon Marxist era

From DALE LAUTENBACH
Argus African New Service

WINDHOEK. — Angola could no longer row against the tide, said President Josè Eduardo dos Santos, setting the tone of the milestone third MPLA Workers' Party congress in Luanda.

This was "perhaps" the last congress in a one-party state; "perhaps" the last congress of the MPLA Workers' Party (MPLA-PT) in its present form, said the president this week. But all those "perhaps"s appeared little more than political politesse aimed at the hardliners whose numbers among the 684 congress delegates is anyone's guess.

"The outgoing Central Committee has pronounced itself in favour of institutionalising a multiparty system and I am convinced that this congress is going to ratify that decision."

Party on the line

President Dos Santos has therefore put his party on the line: when, only last May, the proposed outline for this congress was a gentle "suggestion" that the multiparty system be "discussed".

The recent acceleration of the message of change has created its own momentum though. Foreign observers in the gallery at the Palace of Congress were said to be disappointed that the president said nothing new in his opening address.

Out on the streets of the capital too there is apparently little enthusiasm for the congress which continues until Sunday, a sense of déjà-vu that this has all been said before.

Perhaps now that Angola seems finally on a roll, history will judge the changes to be as precipitous as those which have shaken socialist states in Eastern Europe.

But while everyone watches for signals on the high-level sister issues of the move to a multiparty state and to a market-based economy, there are other more subtle political manoeuvres going on that could prove equally crucial for Angola's future.

The president announced that changes to the programme and statutes of the MPLA-PT be held over until an extraordinary party congress early next year. The base of the party remains, despite all pronouncements of change, Marxist-Leninist.

The penultimate Central Committee meeting at the end of October proposed shifting the ideological ground to democratic socialism and said the MPLA-PT would no longer be a vanguard party.

Now the talk in Luanda is said to be that democratic socialism does not take the move far enough and that the president is hoping to push things as far as social democracy.

So, if he waits until after this congress to address changes to the party's ideology, he will have a new Central Committee to work with after its election this weekend.

Oust old guard

This thinking anticipates that the election (30 or so faces among a present line-up of 7a are reported to be expected to change) will oust some of the foot-dragging hardliners.

Indeed when he exhorted congress delegates to vote carefully he said consider "competence" and "moral integrity". He could be interpreted as saying get the old guard out.

The extraordinary congress next year then could be a smart play for time by a president banking on a more forward-looking new team.

And was he making a veiled plea for a real leap when he said the "edifice of socialism" had proved "not the best method for the economic reconstruction" of Angola?
Unita clears way for peace

By Shaun Johnson
Star Africa Service

JAMBA — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has made an important compromise as peace negotiations with the MPLA are being stepped up. He has dropped his demand for explicit recognition of his movement.

Instead, he has called on the MPLA government to declare itself in favour of a multiparty system in Angola.

Olive branch

Such a declaration would be enough to clear the way for a ceasefire in the 15-year-old war “very soon”, he said, and would ensure that next month's sixth round of MPLA/Unita peace talks in Portugal produce a decisive breakthrough.

Speaking at Jamba, his “capital”, in southern Angola, Dr Savimbi offered a carefully timed olive branch to the MPLA government in Luanda.

He said: “This is a new position. If they (the government) approve the multiparty system now — it's not only for Unita but other parties as well — if they do that, then … we sign a ceasefire.”

Previously, Unita made a ceasefire contingent upon specific and individual recognition from the MPLA.

In Jamba, Dr Savimbi said a generalised recognition of opposition political parties would allow for recognition of Unita without the MPLA feeling humiliated. They can say they did it, they were not forced to do so by Unita … It will mean there is no need for them to say they recognise us. It will be a fact.

Although differences over detailed arrangements will emerge — Unita insists on a UN style monitoring force, which the MPLA rejects — it is clear Dr Savimbi is going all out to achieve a ceasefire as soon as possible.

“We consider, quite sincerely, that for us the war is over, whether it is a matter of days or months,” he said.

“This negotiation process cannot go wrong completely. We have made six major concussions already and are prepared to make more.”

Dr Savimbi said the key to speeding up the process in Angola was “guarantees … that the US and the Soviet Union can, through the UN, offer a guarantee that MPLA will not (use a transitional period) to destroy Unita and vice versa.”

It was imperative that a “complete” ceasefire be achieved because a partial or ambiguous ceasefire “would not last”.

For its size, Angola was one of the most heavily armed countries in the world. “Angola is full of powder. Only political will can lead us to peace,” he said.
Unita gives MPLA proviso to end war

JAMBA. UNITA rebels say they will sign a ceasefire ending Angola's 15-year civil war — provided the MPLA approve a system of multi-party democracy at a congress that opened yesterday in Luanda.

"For us the war is over," Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi told reporters at his bush headquarters here yesterday. — Sapa-Reuters
Savimbi confident of victory in free poll

SHAUN JOHNSON

JAMBA — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is cock-a-hoop about his prospects for coming to power in Angola once the MPLA government follows the trend in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa and opts for a multi-party system.

Speaking this week in Jamba, his fortified rebel "capital" in the southeastern corner of Angola, Dr Savimbi said he was keen to participate in elections "as soon as possible" and was convinced that Unita would win outright in a nationwide ballot.

He offered a further concession to the MPLA — whose crucial congress is under way in Luanda — by dropping his demand for explicit recognition for his rebel movement. The move was designed to encourage the Soviet Union and the United States to pressurise the MPLA into an agreement on free political activity.

Dr Savimbi, speaking about Unita's electoral chances, told reporters his belief was the movement would "get 60 percent of the vote".

Vote en masse

Unita strategists say that if there is a free and fair election, for which Unita insists an Untag-style monitoring force is essential, rural areas in particular will vote en masse for Unita.

Sources close to the MPLA greeted Dr Savimbi's estimates with caution. They are confident that the majority of Angolans remain loyal to the tradition of Agostinho Neto, the MPLA's leader when it assumed power from the Portuguese.

Major logistical problems will bedevil any attempts to hold timeous elections. There is no voters' roll in Angola, and infrastructure in the vast country is almost non-existent. An Untag-style operation would be considerably more difficult than it was in Namibia. It is expected that if elections do go ahead, the main fight will be between the MPLA and Unita, although Holden Roberto's almost moribund FNLA might stage a revival.

*See PAGE 6.
Angola to free economy in two years

LUANDA — Angola will be operating on a market-based economy within two years, says Finance Minister Aguiñaldo Jaime.

But for the moment his task looks daunting.

All options, it seems, will make things worse before the healing can begin.

The Angolan economy appears a laburnum to the passing observer. Not only does there seem no clear exit but the very entry is hard to find when trying to understand just what is going on.

There are a number of signposts now though; a new willingness — indeed to the point of urgency — on the part of the Angolan government to effect change. A commitment (albeit stalled) to very necessary currency devaluation, a pragmatic understanding of the need to attract foreign investment and trade (including South African) to this country widely quoted as potentially one of Africa’s richest, and a number of financial managers, like Mr Jaime, not hung up on yesterday’s ideology.

Boundary-breaking

Mr Jaime is a small, young man with a British education and, one must deduce, some necessary nerve. He smiles recalling a recent meeting (boundary-breaking in itself) with South African Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in Geneva: "It was very important to listen to someone in a key position in the processes of financial, economic and political reform in South Africa.”

In October the Angolan population was hit by the "trocado" as it’s called here, even in English. Troca is Portuguese for exchange, and one can’t help noticing that the next word in the dictionary, spelt the same but for a cedilla under the c, means "ridicule" or "mockery". By all accounts many Luan- danos must have experienced the troca of their kwanzas currency this way.

The troca was an effective 95 percent confiscation of the money supply. You handed in your old kwanzas notes at the bank and received five percent with a piece of paper, a government IOU, for the rest.

When the new money (overprinted old notes) ran out, according to diplomatic sources, your piece of paper promised 100 percent of what you had surrendered.

The old kwanzas coins were retained, the biggest being the unit of 20. Several sources and some ordinary Luandan would-be shoppers reported that the smallest new kwanza note was a 500 unit.

Along with the troca came a new petrol price: $2,50 a litre and that, in oil-rich Angola, had nothing to do with the Gulf crisis but the imposition of a 500 percent government tax on petrol refined in Luanda.

The official US dollar-for-kwanzua exchange rate was and remains one to about 30. A devaluation of one to 60 was supposed to have followed hot on the heels of the troca but has been delayed while officials "assess the impact of the currency change and establish how much currency there is in circulation," says Mr Jaime.

He said not even the Banco Nacional de Angola had any idea how much money was out there: "In the past we financed our budget deficit by printing more money."

It was a hard week, the troca.

Bank accounts were frozen and even embassies found themselves without money, they reported.

Asked when the devaluation will take place, he says "probably November". "Yes, it was supposed to be a few days after the exchange. But things in Angola are difficult." He refers to the war which creates "unpredictability"; normal methods cannot be applied in an abnor-

mal society, he says.

What’s happening now does seem chaotic and Mr Jaime acknowledges that the situation is less than satisfactory. He remains committed though to the market economy plan, saying it will be a step-by-step process, the first being to sell off about 100 small state enterprises to international entrepreneurs.

South African? Jaime smiles: "We have been visited by many South African enterprises. They are interested in co-operation."

A Soviet diplomat has an even broader vision. The Soviet Union need to get something back for all the years it spent supporting the MPLA. The diplomat too smiles, envisaging joint ventures involving Angolan, Soviet and South African interests.

What Angola is undertaking involves giving meaning to a currency stripped of all value. An excess supply of money and an extreme shortage of goods has nurtured the parallel markets (candongas) where the value of the kwanza has been about 100th of its official rate and beer is a currency valued above the kwanza.

Swooping

But with the first bite of economic reform and the troca came the "trocado police", a sort of commercial branch swooping on back-door deals out of poorly stocked government shops and traders charging excessive prices. Each night on national television, a policeman reports to the nation and names the day’s offenders.

The candongas clearly have to be brought to heel if the economy is to establish any sense of reality, if the kwanza is to gain a measure of respect. But for Angolans who have survived the crazy combination of government price controls on the one hand, and on the other the wild sort of make-do entrepreneur of the parallel markets, it’s going to be a hard adjustment.
Angola's ruling party has endorsed proposals to bring in multiparty rule after 15 years of MPLA government.

SAPA / ROUTER reports that the MPLA's 700-member congress, meeting this week to discuss proposals by the central committee, approved a plan on Saturday to revise the constitution to institute a multiparty state.

President José Eduardo dos Santos would continue to act as both head of state and MPLA party leader until a law allowing the formation of political parties was on the statute books, probably in March, the state news agency Angop reported.

TIM COHEN reports that SA Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden yesterday welcomed the MPLA's decision and said government would put pressure on Unita to stay at the negotiation table.

The MPLA decision, which follows a similar decision by the Mozambican government, confirmed the trend in Africa away from one-party states, he said.

Multiparty politics was high on Unita's list of demands and the MPLA decision would help ease the negotiation process, Van Heerden said.

World Bank and IMF requirements that states wishing to receive financial aid would have to demonstrate their governments were truly representative, would have influenced the MPLA's decision.
MPLA gives multi-party rule go-ahead

LUANDA. — Angola's ruling MPLA has endorsed proposals to bring in multi-party rule after 15 years of government.

The MPLA's 700-member congress, meeting at the weekend to discuss proposals by the central committee, approved a plan to revise the constitution to institute a multi-party state.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos would continue to act as both head of state and MPLA party leader until a law allowing the formation of political parties was on the statute books. The law should be ready by next March.

The US-backed Unita, which has fought the Luanda government since independence from Portugal in 1975, said it would sign a ceasefire if the congress approved multi-party rule.

Foreign Affairs director general Mr. Neil Van Heerden yesterday welcomed the MPLA's decision and said the government would put pressure on Unita to stay at the negotiation table.

Multi-party politics were high on the list of demands put forward by Unita and the MPLA decision would help ease the negotiation process between the warring groups, Mr. Van Heerden said.

World Bank and International Monetary Fund requirements that states wishing to receive financial aid would have to demonstrate that their governments were truly representative would have influenced the MPLA's decision.

More importantly, the MPLA had realised it would not achieve a solution to civil war without freeing the political process, he said. — Sapa-Reuters and Own Correspondent
Angola’s milestone: multi-party democracy replaces Marxism

From DALE LAUTENBACH
Argus Africa News
Service
in Windhoek

THE milestone third congress of the MPLA Workers’ Party, Angola’s ruling and only legal party, has approved fundamental changes to lead the Marxist-Leninist state on to the road of multiparty democracy.

The mood in Luanda as the congress ended early yesterday was reported to be anti-climactic. All the groundwork for the shift to multipartyism and a timetable for constitutional change to effect this had been achieved in the months and even weeks before congress.

The gathering of 894 MPLA-PT delegates was merely expected to ratify these proposals which had been approved by a Central Committee meeting in late October and which, significantly, included for the first time a commitment to a timetable to change the Constitution and provide for multipartyism, freedom of assembly and a free Press within the first trimester of next year.

President dos Santos sweep’, according to one source.

The only real surprise was that Defence Minister Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale was not reelected which means he also falls out of the Politburo.

Changes to the ideological base of the party following President Jose Eduardo dos Santos’s admission that the “socialist edifice” had failed to provide economic security in Angola, still reflect some confusion.

There is talk in Luanda that the President himself would like to see the move be one as far-reaching as a shift to social democracy. However, prior to the congress the Central Committee proposed that a programme of democratic socialism be accepted and a draft proposal to effect this was adopted by Congress.

There is talk in Luanda that the President himself would like to see the move be one as far-reaching as a shift to social democracy. However, prior to the congress the Central Committee proposed that a programme of democratic socialism be accepted and a draft proposal to effect this was adopted by Congress.

President dos Santos’s reform programme has also proposed the separation of the state, the party and the military and while congress considered it “premature” to give effect to any of these changes now, debate was reportedly positive.

The President himself was “unanimously acclaimed” as party leader in the congress election but there was much discussion about the eligibility of party members for state office and vice versa. Debate also seemed to indicate that military personnel should not be eligible for party office.

Oustings

Observers in Luanda for the congress, which began today, were reportedly more concerned about other signals which might emerge to affirm the push towards fundamental change in Angola.

The election of a new Central Committee was earmarked to reflect an ousting of the so-called old guard or hardline Marxist-Leninist ideologues within the party, was less than dramatic. While there were a number of changes, it was “not by a long chalk a clean

ly, an issue which has long been a stumbling block in the continuing peace talks between the two sides which have been ongoing in Portugal since April.

However, observers at the congress in Luanda fear that UNITA might consider there to be too few guarantees still, especially on the important issue of the integration of the two armies and the establishment of one national apolitical army.

The Argus, Tuesday December 11 1990

15
A lot of it only as Angola battles to end war

Political writer Shaun Johnson assesses the prospects of peace between the MPLA and UNITA.
Ex-Koevoet boss 'not with Unita’

Political Staff

The ministry of Law and Order denied yesterday that former Koevoet police unit boss Major-General ‘Sterk Hans’ Dreyer is with Unita in Angola. Namibian President Sam Nujoma claimed at the weekend that General Dreyer was with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi at Jamba in Angola.

But ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday that the allegation was "ridiculous" and added: “I know he is in Durban at present.”

General Dreyer, a former head of the security police in Maritzburg and Port Elizabeth, was head of Koevoet in Namibia until December last year when he was transferred to Pretoria.

Captain Kotze said yesterday that General Dreyer, who gained experience in counter-insurgency techniques in the Rhodesian bush war in the 1970s, had since retired from the police force.

He also denied Namibian allegations that former members of Koevoet had been recruited into a force to oust Mr Nujoma and the Swapo government.

"South Africa will not allow itself to be used as a springboard for targets in neighbouring countries," he said. “Any nature of an offensive operation against a neighbouring state will not be tolerated."
UNITA, in an effort to disrupt the UN efforts to deliver humanitarian aid to Angola, has threatened to attack UN convoys and block bridges. The United Nations has called on all parties to respect the humanitarian ceasefire. According to a UN official, the situation is being monitored closely. The UN has emphasized the importance of ensuring that aid reaches those in need.
Bid for Angolan peace

By David Braam

WASHINGTON - The US and Soviet foreign ministers met leaders from UNITA in Washington yesterday in a superpower bid to clinch the Angolan peace process.

Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze met UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and US Secretary of State Jim Baker had talks with Angolan foreign minister Pedro Castro van Durnen.

Mr Baker also met Dr Savimbi and Mr Shevardnadze with Mr van Durnen.

The Soviet and American Foreign Ministers earlier this week announced they had developed a peace plan for Angola, calling for a ceasefire, a cut-off in arms supplies for each side and internationally supervised elections.

The next round of talks between the MPLA government and UNITA is scheduled to take place in Portugal next month.

Details of the Shevardnadze-Baker plan were discussed during yesterday's Washington talks with Dr Savimbi and Mr van Durnen.

Talks between top US, Soviet, Portuguese, MPLA and UNITA officials will take place in Washington following yesterday's meetings.

Dr Savimbi flew to Washington a few days ago at the request of Mr Baker.

Prospects for peace in Angola are considered to be good following the decision at the weekend by the MPLA to recognise opposition political parties in Angola.

UNITA had already announced that if the MPLA accepts the legitimacy of opposition parties it would drop its insistence that its movement be recognised and it would accept an immediate ceasefire.

If the superpowers agree to cut their military assistance to their traditional clients in Angola, UNITA will lose some $30 million (R78 million) in US support in 1991 and the MPLA stands to lose hundreds of millions of dollars in armament supplies from the Soviet Union.
US-Soviet plan for Angolan peace

WASHINGTON — The US and Soviet Union yesterday outlined a joint peace proposal to the MPLA and Unita in the hope of producing an internationally monitored ceasefire and an end to foreign arms supplies to either side by the end of January. In a break with precedent designed to build Unita confidence, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze personally briefed Unita leader Jonas Savimbi at the Soviet embassy here. US Secretary of State James Baker simultaneously met Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro "Loy" van Dúnem at the State Department. Follow-up consultations between senior officials from the MPLA, Unita, the US, Soviet Union and mediator Portugal were set for today.

As outlined in a joint statement issued yesterday, the US-Soviet proposal calls for a ceasefire, followed by:

☐ The participation of Unita and other parties in the political process of Angola in the framework of multiparty democracy,
☐ The conduct of free and fair elections with monitoring by international neutral observers; and
☐ The termination of deliveries of all military material to Angola.

Baker and Shevardnadze said they

Angolan peace

hoped the details could be nailed down finally at the sixth round on MPLA-Unita talks in Lisbon in January.

Sources familiar with the negotiations said the mechanical details of a ceasefire had already been largely settled, but several critical political issues were outstanding.

These included the integration of MPLA and Unita forces, which Unita wished to keep separate, but confined to base, until after elections.

Unita was also said to be opposed to forming a government of national reconciliation in the run-up to elections.

There were still questions about the status of Savimbi himself during the interim period, which could be protracted if the MPLA wished to hold a census and delimit constituencies before an election.

Details of an international monitoring effort were also undecided. Indications are that neither the US nor the Soviet Union is prepared to foot the bill for an operation on the scale of Namibia's.
Angola goes multiparty

LUANDA — Angola should have a multiparty system by the middle of 1991, ditching its Marxist stance practised since independence.

Elections should follow.

This is the result of the six-day congress of the ruling MPLA Workers' Party which ended here last Sunday.

The congress endorsed proceedings with amendments to the constitution that will create a multiparty system, the formation of political parties, the right of free association, freedom of the press, privatisation of state-controlled companies, depoliticisation of the army, and the application of free market principles to economic activity.

Many of the political and economic actions required to start the process have been coming into place during the last quarter for the year.

Jonas Savimbi, leader of the USA-supported Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) has pledged to implement a ceasefire when the multiparty system is in place. — AIA
Savimbi hears the other side
WASHINGTON - Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told the leader of a US-backed Angolan rebel-group that "people have grown tired" of the 15-year civil war in Angola. *Reuters 14/11/90 (5)*

Shevardnadze's first face-to-face meeting with Jonas Savimbi, president of the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), seemed to suggest that a ceasefire was near.

Angola starts a new bureau
LUANDA: Angola's ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) announced a new political bureau at the end of the first meeting of its new central committee *Reuters 14/11/90 (5)*

The leading body of the party has been expanded from 13 members to 21.
Angola moves towards peace after showdown

The Argus-Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — Top-level negotiations between the Soviet Union, the United States, Portugal and Angola's warring parties ended on an optimistic note here with all sides agreeing that significant progress had been made towards a ceasefire.

The MPLA government and Unita now enter the next round of talks to end the war with the differences between them narrowed. The talks are scheduled to be held in Portugal next month.

President Bush, personally involved in the meetings yesterday when he met the leader of Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi, reaffirmed US support for the rebel group but emphasising the need for an early ceasefire.

The talks started in Texas this week when the foreign ministers of the US and the Soviet Union met to discuss issues including the 15-year civil war in Angola.

US Secretary of State Mr James Baker then met Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem and Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Eduard Shevardnadze met Dr Savimbi in separate talks in Washington on Wednesday.

The superpowers said after Wednesday's talks that they had developed a plan to bolster the Portuguese-led initiative to end the war between Unita and the MPLA government.

GUARANTEES

The crux of that plan, according to sources, was for the US and the Soviet Union to furnish political and military guarantees to the two Angolan parties that in the event of their signing a ceasefire agreement, no external lethal aid would be supplied to any organisation inside Angola.

The superpowers had effectively agreed to remove all external forces from the Angolan conflict leaving the Angolans free to concentrate on reconciling their differences.
BRUSSELS. — A Belgian toxicology expert alleged yesterday that the Angolan government used chemical weapons against UNITA-controlled villages earlier this month, killing dozens of people and injuring hundreds.

Professor Aubin Heyndrickx, head of Ghent University's toxicology department, said he was in regular contact with three prominent Angolan doctors.

He said the Soviet-backed MPLA government bombed several villages near Jamba, headquarters of the rebel UNITA in southeast Angola, on December 5 and 6.

Professor Heyndrickx, who has repeatedly visited Angola with colleagues from European universities, feared the government had used new mixtures of gases supplied by Moscow.

WASHINGON TALKS

He said he believed that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein possessed the same Soviet-made weapons as those in Angola.

What's why we now want to know the chemical composition of the weapons used in Angola, so we can use that information if war breaks out in the Gulf.

UNITA and the Angolan government have met five times in Lisbon this year to try to end the civil war and are now meeting in Washington.

UNITA president Joao Savimbi met Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Shevardnadze in Washington on Wednesday, a move which indicated a ceasefire could be near.

Mr Shevardnadze told Dr Savimbi that "people have grown tired" of the war in Angola.

After the meeting, Dr Savimbi said: "Today all the big powers understand they can cooperate to find peace and stability for our country." — Sapa-Reuter-AP.
Angolans prepare for multi-party democracy

Last week's MPLA congress made major steps towards transforming the political and economic scene in Angola.

ANITA COULSON reports from Luanda

BY THE time Angola's ruling MPLA party ended its third-ever congress in the early hours of Monday morning it had stepped closer towards peace by agreeing to establish a multi-party democracy and a free market economy.

The party will make these changes in two stages: first it will establish a multi-party system by the end of March 1991 and then allow the registration of other political parties, which will be invited to a national commission to redraft the constitution within the following 12 months.

Western diplomats in Luanda agree that the MPLA has gone "nearly all the way" to creating conditions for a ceasefire, but complained that the 36-month process mapped out by the MPLA should be speeded up.

Yet early reaction from the Unita rebels was not encouraging. "The mountain has given birth to a mouse," Unita spokesman Norberto de Castro said elliptically from Lisbon. He said the congress had been "too timid" and Unita would still demand immediate political recognition.

Only last week, however, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi told a group of journalists in Zambia that he would accept implementation of the multi-party system as tantamount to recognition.

The most decisive meeting to bring peace may well have taken place in Washington this week where US Secretary of State James Baker met Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dano, and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met Savimbi. Such unprecedented attention by the superpowers who back the clashing sides bodes well for the peace process.

After 15 years of ruling Angola as a one-party Marxist state, the MPLA endorsed sweeping constitutional changes to include broader protection for human and individual rights, including guarantees of freedom of expression, religious belief and freedom of information and the press.

Already this week President Dos Santos sounded as though he was kicking off the MPLA's election campaign. Addressing a rally of the party faithful on Tuesday, to mark the 34th anniversary of the founding of the MPLA party and the 13th anniversary of its transformation into a workers' party, he told the rally and wider television audience that "Unita representatives will appear before you one day soon to ask for your votes. But we all know that they will infiltrate into our midst armed, in the still of the night, to attack, kill and kidnap our children and steal our goods."

International observers in Luanda say it is in the MPLA's interest to have a long transitional period before the elections, both to allow for many other parties to organise and to create the public impression that they are the party that achieved peace and democracy.

Unita, on the other hand, is perceived to want quick elections to capitalise on the current lack of sophistication of the majority of the Angolan population. Analysts say an early election would polarise the nation into two camps, MPLA or Unita, and this might favour Unita, given the sacrifices and suffering of the Angolan people.

What remains to be settled may well involve the co-operation of the superpowers, such as the formation of an international observer force to monitor a ceasefire and elections and in the cessation of all military support for the two belligerents. In any case this week's changes means that everyone is more optimistic about the chances for peace.
Angola is closer to ending war

WASHINGTON — The leader of Angola’s anti-communist rebels said yesterday that he had reached tentative agreement with Angola’s Marxist government to set a date for free elections and end the country’s 15-year civil war.

The Angolan government and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), held their highest-level meeting on Thursday, with the participation of officials from the Soviet Union, the United States and Portugal, Angola’s former colonial ruler.

“We believe that significant progress has been made, and that the prospects for a successful sixth round of negotiations in Lisbon early next year have been enhanced,” said a communique issued by the participants at the end of the meeting, which lasted more than five hours.

Five-point plan

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi said his organization and the Angolan government, represented by the ruling party’s second-ranking official Lopo do Nascimento, had agreed on a five-point plan for ending the war.

Among the five points is agreement that signing of a ceasefire should be preceded by setting a date for free elections; a ceasefire should be guaranteed by international observers; and outside military assistance will stop once a ceasefire agreement is signed, Savimbi said at a news conference.

The other two points called for a democratic system of government and international monitoring of elections.

The Angolan government official asked for more time to confer with his superiors in Luanda, but all the other participants were ready to sign the five-point plan at Thursday’s session, Savimbi said.

But, he added, “there is no question” that the government will agree in principle, even if it might want to make some changes.

A US official, speaking on condition of anonymity, confirmed the gist of Savimbi’s account of the meeting.

The parties set the next round of negotiations for January in Portugal, Savimbi said.

If the Angolan government approves the five points and proposes a date for elections, the sides can sign a ceasefire at the January session, he added.

Elections could be held within nine months to a year from the ceasefire date, he added.

“If my party nominates me, I’ll run for president,” Savimbi said.

At the outset of the negotiations last year, the Angolan government demanded that Savimbi go into exile but it later dropped that demand.

The US has provided Unita with some $50 million (R125 million) in weapons annually to counter the Soviet aid going to Angolan government forces.

The Soviets, at the height of the fighting, provided Angola’s government $300 million (R2 billion) in weapons annually, US officials say.

Savimbi met with President George Bush on Thursday after holding an unprecedented meeting on Wednesday with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

The US, Soviet and Portuguese participants in the talks held a news conference late on Thursday but declined to cite the areas in which progress was made. They also said the discussion was an exchange of views rather than a negotiating session.

Agreement

Herman Cohen, assistant secretary of state for African affairs, said the “main point of agreement” is that Angola’s leftist government is now willing to implement constitutional changes that will convert the country from a one-party Marxist state to a multi-party democracy. This was agreed to at a party congress last weekend.

The Portuguese representative, Antonio Monteiro, said an “enormous step of confidence” has existed between the two factions but that this problem is being overcome. — Sapa-AP.
Foreign enclaves that leave tatty Angola untouched

In the enclave of Cabinda on the mouth of the Zaire River a large foreign community of technicians extracts the oil wealth that is the lifeblood of the Angolan economy — but whose benefits always seem far from the war-ruled poverty of most of the country, DALE LAUTENBACH reports.

The war in Angola has played at the fringes of the oil operations but not significantly enough to have scared anyone away from this rich resource. In Cabinda, the last significant threat was in 1985 when the RDAF captain Wamandu da Teta was captured there.

An official at the Information Ministry in Luanda laughed: "That is good propaganda for them. A South African plan to blow up an American oil installation." My guide in Cabinda pointed to the place where du Toit was captured: an undistinguished stretch of forest within sight of the Malongo residential camp.

More recently though, this five-year calm ended when an employer of one of Cabinda Gulf's sub-contractors was "kidnapped" outside the camp resulting in tightened security rules for all employees.

To the south, near Soyo, where the only offshore oilfields are run by Petcon, a Belgian company operating through its Angolan subsidiary, Fina Petroleum, it is not as comfortable. There have been about 15 attacks this year despite the presence of troops of the Angolan government army, Papal. The damage is relatively slight but debilitating for those fields where production is waxing.

Soyo is on the wide mouth of the Zaire River and just below the southern tip of Petsa or Plateau, where the Portuguese first landed in Africa in 1482.The town of Soyo itself is heavy with mango trees and other tropical vegetation, but poor, unlike the sprawling Kwanza Base not far away. Here are the rich but ugly service centers for Fina and for the huge offshore fields whose operators are America's Texaco and France's Elf Aquitaine.

Kwanza Base is the nerve center and accommodation complex for all the operators, their partners like Total and Braemore of Brazil and their busy attendant sub-contractors, a multi-national array of specialists from drilling companies to encoders who serve up a sort of Franco-African mess in the big communal canteen, just about every month imported.

At the backside of Angola's economy, you fill from one multi-million-dollar oil platform to another. However, when you pass through the towns of Soyo and Cabinda where, quite uncannily by the oil dollars, life is much the same as in any other Angolan town — poor, rural, squalid and undeveloped — waiting for a share of the oil wealth that never seems to come their way.

— Star Africa Service
Plenty still to play for in Angolan end-game

Simonsburg

JETRIM

Norman Barbour

in Washington
Angola back with De Beers

LONDON — Angola, a major diamond-producing nation, is re-entering the fold of the De Beers diamond cartel after five years, De Beers said here. Endiama, the Angolan state diamond company, and De Beers Centenary AG have signed an agreement re-establishing their relationship.

Endiama and De Beers will meet again in January to conclude agreements calling for De Beers’s Central Selling Organization to market Angola’s diamonds from its Cuango region.

Roger van Roojen, a De Beers spokesman, said that meant that De Beers would be marketing about three-quarters of Angola’s current annual production of about a million carats.

Angola had been marketing its diamonds independently since 1983 because civil war prompted De Beers to pull out.

Under the agreement, De Beers will also provide Endiama a $50 million loan to be used toward increasing production in the Cuango area. De Beers will also build and lease to Endiama a building in Luanda for the sorting and valuing of diamonds and will spend $50 million over the next five years to develop other diamond sources in Angola.
Relief ban angers Unita

LUANDA — United States-backed Unita rebels expressed dismay yesterday at the Angolan government's partial suspension of United Nations relief operations.

A broadcast by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) on its radio said the government's reasons for the partial ban were "fallacious and based on lies".

Angola said on Friday it was temporarily suspending a UN famine relief operation for up to 1.8 million people in "peace corridors" because of rebel attacks on convoys.

Unita, which has fought a 15-year-old bush war to overthrow the government, said President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was trying to exploit the existence of "peace corridors", where starving people have massed, to obtain a temporary truce.

The six-month programme, which began seven weeks ago and is expected to cost R200 million, is aimed at delivering emergency food to peasants living in areas controlled by both the government and Unita.

Since November 2, the UN has managed to send only three convoys with between 1,200 and 1,500 tons of food. The government says other trips have been stopped because of rebel attacks on bridges and convoys.

— Sapa-Reuters
Angola guns for foreign tax evaders

LUANDA — Angola, in an effort to clamp down on tax evasion, has told all its businesses to deal only with foreign investors who have tax clearance from the government. "All Angolan firms, state, private or mixed, are forbidden to enter into business contracts with foreign firms unless these first show the appropriate Ministry of Finance document proving they have complied with their tax obligations," President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said in an order just issued.

The measure was necessary to improve tax collection and combat tax evasion, he added. Disciplinary action would be taken against companies which ignored the order, he said.

Angola, which has announced plans to abandon its 15-year-old Marxist economic system, is trying to woo foreign investors to revive an economy battered by civil war. — Sapa-Reuters.

10 000 jobs created in Zimbabwe every year

BULAWAYO — An average of 10 000 new jobs were created annually in Zimbabwe in the formal and informal sectors in the past 10 years, according to the Zimbabwe Banking Corporation’s latest economic review.

Ziana national news agency reports the publication as saying faster employment creation was also aided by the Investment Centre’s approval in the past 12 months of $750m worth of new projects which would create a further 10 000 new jobs in the coming year.

Formal sector employment, excluding the agricultural sector, totalled 691 000 in September last year, an increase of 24 300 or 3.4% over the previous September of 1988, it said.

"Employment increased in all sectors but mining and quarrying and finance, including formal sector agricultural employment of 230 300, total wage employment is apparently growing by some 4% or by only 46 000 jobs annually," the review reports.

The creation, in the past decade, of 10 000 new jobs each year, was due partly to the actual 8.8% and estimated 4.8% real gross domestic product (GDP) increases in 1988 and 1989 respectively.

"But even doubling employment creation rates would still leave jobless over half the 200 000 school-leavers annually entering the labour market," it says.

The review says the Investment Centre’s figures suggest a $750 million outlay is required to create each new industrial job.

"In agriculture, where employment rose by 23 600, expanding tobacco and horticultural production could yield better results from the standpoint of increasing both employment and exports."

Meanwhile, in the construction sector, latest figures show that building output in 1988 fell 13% in value and in civil engineering where the public sector accounts for a more dependable two-thirds of production, its output was down to 33%.

Construction sector employment rose to 18% in 1988, but in September 1989 it recovered to 11%.

The Construction Industry Federation estimates its members’ aggregate foreign plant, equipment and transport needs in the next three years at $165m.

According to the review, the annual shortfall of imported material inputs — assumed as 7.5% of total construction values — is estimated at $210m.

Building plans passed in the first 10 months of 1989 totaled $243m which was 58% more than during the same period in 1988.

"So construction sector activity may not slow much further provided import requirements can be met," notes the review.

— Sapa.
Three injured as bomb blasts Luanda airport

LUANDA — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos inspected damage at Luanda's international airport yesterday, hours after a bomb ripped through the passenger terminal causing extensive damage and injuring three people.

Officials blamed the Thursday night blast on Unita, which has been stepping up attacks in and around Luanda.

Last month a Unita raid halted production at an important oil refinery in the capital. Unita has also blown up bridges and attacked Cuban troops guarding approaches to Luanda.

Anonymous caller

However, an anonymous telephone caller to a radio station in Lisbon claimed yesterday that he represented another rebel group which carried out the airport bombing.

The caller said he was from the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA).

Unita made no immediate comment on the bombing.

The bomb damaged the passenger check-in area at the airport and destroyed the VIP lounge.

Officials estimated the cost of repair at $1 million (R2.6 million), state news agency Angop reported.

However, the airport, which lies five kilometres south of central Luanda, remained operational. None of the injured was seriously hurt.

Unita officials are scheduled to meet a government delegation in Portugal next month for peace talks.

The two sides have met five times this year under Portuguese mediation.

Earlier this year Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and high-ranking government officials talked with US, Soviet and Portuguese diplomats in Washington.

The talks raised hopes that a cease-fire in the conflict could be signed at the next round of talks in Portugal.

A congress of the governing party this month agreed to end one-party rule in Angola in preparation for free elections. — Sesa-AP.
Luanda blast could set talks back

LUANDA — A bomb blast that badly damaged Luanda's international airport could jeopardise hopes for an early end to Angola's civil war, diplomats have said.

Angolan authorities blamed Unita rebels for the explosion on Friday in which damage estimated at $1m was caused to the passenger terminal.

A Unita statement issued in Lisbon denied any involvement.

Authorities in Luanda said two people were slightly injured by flying glass when the bomb exploded in the VIP area minutes after more than 100 passengers boarded a French UTA flight for Paris.

Diplomats feared the incident would damage chances for an early agreement in a sixth round of direct peace talks between the government and Unita, due to open in Portugal in late January.

Security sources in Luanda said the bomb was similar to a series of explosions in the Angolan capital earlier this year for which Unita accepted responsibility.

Reports from Portugal said an anonymous phone call to the media there claimed responsibility on behalf of a splinter group of the inactive FNLA movement.

But official Angolan sources and diplomats in Luanda doubted the existence of such a group.

An Angolan armed forces communiqué said its troops had killed four rebels in Cuanza Norte province southeast of the capital on Tuesday.

Military sources said Unita had tried unsuccessfully to take the town of Muhango in central Bio province on December 25, the 15th anniversary of the start of its armed struggle.

Muhango is the birthplace of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, who is presiding over a meeting of senior officials at Unita headquarters in Jamba to discuss negotiations with the government.

Angolan military sources said Unita had shown it was intent on keeping up military pressure on the government before the talks. — Sapa-Reuters.