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"PLATFORM FOR PEACE" - THE HISTORY OF THE JOINT MONITORING
COMMISSION FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

(Researched and compiled by the Military Information Bureau,
SADF)

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"PLATFORM FOR PEACE" - THE HISTORY OF THE JOINT MONITORING COMMISSION FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE.

INTRODUCTION

The Joint Monitoring Commission occupies a unique place in the contemporary military and political history of the southern African region. Established by agreement between the Angolan and South African governments in February 1984 to monitor the disengagement of South African forces from southern Angola, the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) was essentially an experiment in peacemaking. The underlying motivation behind its creation was an attempt to create conditions conducive to general peace and stability along the SWA/Angolan border after several years of undeclared war in the region.

The JMCs basic mandate was twofold: firstly, to monitor the disengagement of South African forces from southern Angola; secondly, to ensure that SWAPO and the Cubans did not take advantage of the situation by entering the area vacated by the SA forces. In the event, the Commission succeeded only in the first of its objectives, viz the engineering of a complete withdrawal of SA troops from Angola. For the rest, the JMC failed to prevent SWAPO from exploiting the situation, and hopes that the JMC might lead to an end to the regional conflict and ultimately even to internationally recognized independence for SWA have not materialized.

Nevertheless, the JMC provided a valuable platform for future peace negotiations even if it failed in its immediate objectives. For this reason alone, the temptation to write the JMC experiment off as an exercise in futility should be avoided. It is in fact a subject deserving of serious and urgent analysis by military personnel, strategists, politicians and historians alike, and it is to be hoped that this paper will provide a useful foundation for further, more comprehensive research into a fascinating and unique chapter in southern Africa's history.

THE MILITARY BACKGROUND TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JOINT MONITORING COMMISSION.

In order to place the JMC in its proper perspective and to appreciate its full significance to both the Angolan and South African signatories, it is necessary to briefly describe the military situation existing in the Cunene province of

southern Angola during the period leading up to the establishment of the Commission.

The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO)'s campaign of terror against SWA began as early as 1965, when limited SWAPO infiltration into SWA occurred from bases in Zambia and Angola. At first the level of insurgency was such that the police forces stationed in SWA were able to contain the infiltration, but by the beginning of 1973 the situation had deteriorated to the extent that the South African Defence Force was requested by the Police to assume the major share of the responsibility for the protection of the inhabitants of SWA against SWAPO's terror campaign.

The remainder of the decade saw a build up of SADF forces in SWA commensurate with the escalating threat from SWAPO.

By 1978 SWAPO had abandoned its bases in Zambia as a result of pressure from a Zambian government already heavily committed to the war in Rhodesia and fearful of South African retaliatory strikes. By this stage, too, SWAPO had lost its foothold in south-eastern Angola as a result of the growing dominance over the region by Jonas Savimbi's UNITA movement.

The result was that SWAPO was forced to concentrate its forces and logistic bases in the southern part of Cunene province of Angola, an area populated mainly by the Kuanyama people sympathetic to the Ovambo majority among SWAPO's ranks. It was from this secure base in the Cunene province that SWAPO terrorists began infiltrating the Owambo region of SWA in ever increasing numbers during the late nineteen seventies to commit their acts of murder, arson and sabotage.

By this stage it had become clear to the SADF that the war against SWAPO could never be won by internal operations alone, while SWAPO was allowed to build up its forces and infiltration routes from the safe haven of their bases in Angola. The folly of allowing SWAPO to operate from Angola undisturbed had been vividly illustrated by the example of the war in neighbouring Rhodesia, where the Smith-government realized too late that the war against ZANLA and ZIPRA could not be won unless the security forces were allowed to attack the terrorists' external bases and sources of supply.

The result was a deliberate decision taken by the SADF in 1978, with the full backing of the government, to take the war to SWAPO inside Angola. On 4 May 1978 a SADF strike force launched a combined airborne and ground assault on SWAPO bases in the southern Angolan town of Cassinga and elsewhere with devastating results to the terrorist organization. (OP REINDEER). Further lightning strikes were launched during the course of the following year and a half (Operations SAFFRAAN, REKSTOK and SCEPTIC).

By 1981, however, the tactic of launching lightning strikes against selective SWAPO bases in Angola and then withdrawing was beginning to lose its effectiveness. This was due in part to SWAPO's tactic of dispersing the location and lay-out of their bases, and in part to the increasing integration of the SWAPO terrorists with the Angolan forces, FAPLA.¹

SWAPO's tactic of seeking umbrella protection from the Angolan forces in the Cunene consequently forced the SADF to modify its approach to the cross-border operations. Beginning in August 1981 with OP PROTEA, a new phase of the war against SWAPO was embarked upon by the SADF, involving large-scale conventional attacks on FAPLA-controlled towns like Zangongo and Ongiva. Although the new strategy entailed a drastic escalation in the level of hostilities and an increased risk of direct clashes between the SADF and the Angolan forces, it was in fact the only way in which SWAPO's logistical and communications network inside Angola could be effectively destroyed given the close co-operation between SWAPO and FAPLA. Furthermore, the FAPLA forces were consistently given ample warning of the impending attacks by the SADF so as to enable them to withdraw from the target areas without engaging the SADF assault forces.

OP PROTEA in fact marked a significant turning point in the war against SWAPO. Unlike previous operations, the SADF did not withdraw in toto from the target areas at the conclusion of the operation. Instead, a semi-permanent (albeit clandestine) presence of light, mobile search-and-destroy teams was maintained up to 100 km inside Angola to ensure continued disruption of SWAPO's military capabilities. This semi-permanent occupation of a "buffer zone" in the southern Cunene province was interspersed from time to time by larger operations against SWAPO such as DAISY (October-November 1981) and SUPER (March 1982).

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The last of these major incursions into Angola occurred in December 1983. The primary objective of this operation, code-named OP ASKARI, was to disrupt and prevent the annual rainy-season infiltration into SWA by SWAPO's Special Unit. The broad plan called for an initial phase of isolation and harassment of the SWAPO logistic support-points at the FAPLA controlled towns of Cahama, Mulondo, Cuvelai and Caiundo by conventionally equipped SADF/SWA TF Combat Groups. The intention was to force the SWAPO elements to withdraw from these strong-points without having to actually assault them. This "siege" phase was to be followed by a period of deep area domination by counter-insurgency reaction teams.²

D-Day for the conventional phase of OP ASKARI was 9 December 1983, the date when the Task Forces assembled for the Operation began crossing the border into Angola. By 18 December, after several weather-related delays, all the Combat Groups had reached their objectives. From this point onwards, however, the Operation did not proceed strictly according to plan. The SADF/SWA TF Combat Groups became involved in fierce clashes with FAPLA forces at Cahama, Cuvelai and Caiundo, with the FAPLA forces initiating the fighting despite repeated warnings not to interfere as the Operation was aimed solely at SWAPO. FAPLA's aggressive actions forced the SADF/SWA TF forces to retaliate, and during the last few days of December 1983 it was decided to alter OP ASKARI'S original planning and to launch direct assaults on the FAPLA controlled towns of Techamatete, Cuvelai and Caiundo.

In fact only the first two of these objectives could be captured after several days of hard fighting over the New Year period before political developments forced the SA Government to order a halt to all offensive operations in Angola. In all the SADF/SWA TF lost 21 men killed during the Operation, while SWAPO/FAPLA losses were estimated at well over 500.

The capture of Cuvelai and Techamatete was followed by the withdrawal of the SADF's conventional forces from Angola and a switch-over to the counter-insurgency, area domination phase of OP ASKARI - a process which had been completed by the middle of January 1984. In keeping with the precedent which had been established during OP PROTEA, SADF/SWA TF reaction teams were positioned around the captured towns of Techamatete and Cuvelai to enable them to intercept any SWAPO attempts to re-infiltrate the area. In effect, therefore, OP ASKARI left the SADF in control of a broad swathe of Angolan territory from Techamatete southwards to the SWA border.

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The SADF's strategy of area domination in fact reached fulmination with OP ASKARI. There is little doubt that the SADF's aggressive strategy towards SWAPO, as epitomized by OP ASKARI, had placed the terrorist organization almost totally on the defensive by the beginning of 1984. SWAPO's morale was clearly beginning to crack in the face of the sustained military pressure, mounting losses, and the increased difficulty of penetrating the SADF's protective "buffer zone" in southern Angola.

In brief then, this was the military situation as it had developed in the southern Cunene by January 1984.

Unfortunately, however, the SADF was not, and never had been, free to pursue a purely military strategy towards the war against SWAPO. The political consequences of the SADF's actions in Angola had always to be taken into consideration, and by December 1983 international political pressure over South Africa's actions in Angola had reached alarming proportions. So much so, that the South African Government was forced to sacrifice the SADF's hard-won military advantage in Angola on the altar of purely political considerations.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The Republic of South Africa's growing international isolation during the late 1970's and early 1980's has been well documented and it is not proposed to deal with the subject in detail in this paper.

Suffice is to say that the Republic had to pay a heavy political price for the SADF's periodic incursions into Angola, with few countries prepared to interpret the incursions as the legitimate right of self defence recognized by the Charter of the United Nations.

By 1983, moreover, it had become a more or less accepted fact that South African forces were in semi-permanent control of parts of the Cunene province in southern Angola. As a result, international pressure for the withdrawal of all South African forces from Angola, spurred on by repeated approaches by the MPLA government to the UN Security Council, reached new heights during the course of 1983.

The international political climate had in fact become so adverse towards the RSA by mid 1983 that it affected even the detailed military planning of OP ASKARI. The military staff responsible for the planning of OP ASKARI in August 1983 were instructed by the government that no FAPLA targets could be attacked directly even if they were obviously providing protection to SWAPO elements - hence the unsatisfactory "siege" strategy which was eventually adopted.³

Political constraints were also responsible for a critical one month delay in the launching of OP ASKARI. D-Day for the Operation had initially been set for 9 November to allow enough time for the "siege" strategy to take effect before the onset of the annual rains. As it happened, the extremely delicate international situation vis a vis the RSA during the Minister of Foreign Affairs' tour abroad in November forced postponement of OP ASKARI by one month on the insistence of the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA). The delay was to have serious military consequences, as weather conditions deteriorated markedly towards the end of December, and a large number of National Service troops had to be withdrawn from the Operation on expiry of their period of National Service.⁴

In contrast to the military implications, however, the decision to delay the launching of OP ASKARI was to have little practical effect in stemming the anti-SA campaign in the political forums of the World. On 15 December, even before the full extent of OP ASKARI had become known to the Angolans, the MPLA regime in Luanda called upon the Security Council to convene an urgent meeting to discuss the Angolan situation, complaining that parts of its territory had been "occupied by South Africa since 1981", and that South Africa had consistently violated Angola's territorial integrity and national sovereignty.⁵

Against a background of mounting demands from the international community for punitive measures to be taken against the RSA, the Security Council announced its intention to convene a special meeting on 16 December to debate the Angolan allegations.⁶

The South African government - in particular the Department of Foreign Affairs - received the news of the Security Council debate with justifiable concern. On the eve of the debate, the threat of economic sanctions against the RSA being approved by the Council appeared a distinct possibility. Indications at this stage were that even the Western European countries were unanimous in

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condemning South Africa for its military presence in Angola,⁷ and that the Republic could not rely on a Western power veto to block proposed sanctions legislation. The French government went as far as to declare itself "resolutely" on Angola's side regarding the allegation that SA troops were occupying parts of its territory.⁸

Clearly something had to be done, and done quickly, to prevent economic sanctions being imposed on the Republic.

As it happened, Department of Foreign Affairs plans for a new joint United States - RSA political initiative on the SWA independence question had been progressing independently of the military preparations around OP ASKARI and were well advanced by the middle of December 1983. During his visit to Europe in November and early December Foreign Minister R.F. Botha had met the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, in Vienna to discuss plans aimed at forcing a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola - the major stumbling block to a negotiated SWA settlement.⁹ The key element of the new DFA initiative on SWA/Angola - designed to form part of a general peace initiative for southern Africa as a whole including an Accord with the Frelimo regime in Mozambique - was to be an offer by South Africa to withdraw its forces from Angola if the MPLA would agree to stop giving support to SWAPO guerrilla's rading Namibia.

The South African proposal was initially only to have been announced on 31 December 1983, but on the eve of the Security Council debate the SA government decided to advance its peace initiative in view of the looming threat of sanctions.¹⁰

Accordingly, on 15 December Foreign Minister Botha instructed the South African Ambassador to the UN, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, to deliver the following message to the Secretary-General of the United Nations:

"Your Excellency

Further to my letter of 22 November 1983, and with a view to facilitating the process of achieving a peaceful settlement of the South West Africa/ Namibia issue, the Government of South Africa is prepared to begin a disengagement of forces which from time to time conduct military

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operations against SWAPO in Angola, on 31 January 1983, on the understanding that this gesture would be reciprocated by the Angolan Government which would assure that its own forces, SWAPO and the Cubans would not exploit the resulting situation, in particular with regard to actions which might threaten the security of the inhabitants of South West Africa/Namibia.

The proposed action by South Africa would last initially for 30 days, and could be extended on condition that the provisions of this proposal are adhered to.

The South African Government remains prepared to begin the process of implementing Security Council Resolution 435 upon resolution of the problem of Cuban forces in Angola, as reflected in paragraph 12 of Your Excellency's report of 29 August 1983 (S/15943) to the Security Council. I should be grateful if this letter and my letter of 22 November 1983, referred to above, could be circulated as a document of the Security Council."¹¹

The South African disengagement offer had a considerable impact on the course of the Security Council debate which took place on Friday 16 December and which resumed again on Monday 19 December. Although the disengagement offer was rejected outright by SWAPO and initially condemned by the Angolan Government as a "gesture of calculated cynicism",¹² it enabled the American State Department to defend the move publicly as a "good, positive step"¹³ which "had important potential to contribute to a climate that could facilitate further movement in the Southern African negotiations."¹⁴

The Security Council debate ended on Tuesday 20 December with a resolution censuring SA for its military operations in Angola and endorsing that country's right to "appropriate redress for any material damage it has suffered."¹⁵ The UN resolution, passed unanimously with only the USA abstaining, also demanded that the RSA unconditionally withdraw all its forces from Angola and cease all violations against that country. In something of a victory for the US/SA position, however, no mention was made in the final text of mandatory sanctions against the RSA.

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No sooner had the Security Council debate ended when Angola broke the news of OP ASKARI to the international media. Accusing the RSA of "invading" Angola, Luanda reported a dramatic escalation in the level of hostilities during the last week of December - by which time the full extent of the South African incursion had become apparent.

International reaction to the news, coming as it did so soon after the 16 December debate, was predictably swift and almost universally hostile towards the Republic. France condemned South Africa's action as "completely unjustified",¹⁶ with both West Germany and Great Britain backing France's stand.¹⁷ Even the US expressed its grave concern over the escalation of hostilities and called for restraint from all parties to the conflict. Angola, for its part, called for another emergency Security Council meeting on the Angolan situation.

ANGOLA AND THE RSA SEEK RAPPROCHEMENT WITH EACH OTHER : JANUARY 1984

By the beginning of January 1984, however, it was clear that Angola was beginning to wilt under the sustained pressure of OP ASKARI as the South African forces closed in on the towns of Techamatete, Cuvelai and Cauindo. Thus, on 3 January, even before the Security Council could meet, the Angolans announced that they had reconsidered their earlier outright rejection of the SA disengagement offer and were now prepared to negotiate a resolution to the conflict. In an open letter to the UN Secretary General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, the Angolan President Eduardo do Santos declared that his government would not oppose a 30 day truce beginning on 31 January as proposed by the RSA, on condition that:

- a. SWAPO agreed to the truce
- b. South Africa withdrew all its forces from Angola.
- c. South Africa undertook to implement UN Resolution 435 for Namibian independence within 15 days of the end of the 30 day ceasefire "without extraneous considerations in that context." (a clear reference to US/RSA demands for a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.¹⁸

The change of mind on the part of the Angolans was without doubt the direct result of the military successes achieved by the SADF during OP ASKARI. As one reporter put it, the Angolans were literally "booted back to the negotiating table."¹⁹

The qualified acceptance of the disengagement proposals by the Angolans and the softening of their initial hardline stance towards the Republic went a long way towards creating an atmosphere conducive to the commencement of serious peace negotiations to end the conflict.

This optimistic turn of events was partially disappointed on 6 January by the outcome of the Security Council meeting which had been requested earlier by Luanda. The UN body once again adopted a resolution (by twelve votes to none with the USA and UK abstaining) strongly condemning the RSA for its military strikes into Angola and demanding the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all its forces from that territory.²⁰ In the event, the Security Council Resolution proved no more than a temporary setback to efforts to find some common ground for negotiations between the RSA and Angola. The truth was that the advantages of a negotiated settlement to the hostilities in Angola were becoming more and more apparent to both parties to the conflict. Quite simply, Angola perceived a negotiated settlement as the only means of ensuring an end to the RSA's periodic military adventures on its soil, while the RSA had by now come to accept the fact that a negotiated withdrawal from Angola was the only way to pre-empt the growing calls in the international community for punitive measures against the Republic.

The increasing convergence of interests between Angola and the RSA regarding a negotiated settlement was highlighted on 8 January when the South African Minister of Defence announced that the SADF/SWA TF forces involved in OP ASKARI would begin withdrawing from Angola. A week later the withdrawal of the conventional Combat Groups had been completed despite the extremely difficult weather conditions and terrain.²¹

With both Angola and the RSA demonstrating a willingness to compromise and negotiate, the stage was now set for a concerted diplomatic initiative by the chief mediator of the SWA/Angola dispute, Dr Chester Crocker.

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The American Assistant Secretary of State for Africa wasted little time in attempting to bring all the parties to the SWA/Angola dispute together with a view to arranging a general ceasefire in the region. Unfortunately, however, attempts to get SWAPO to agree to a ceasefire and to participate in the negotiating process foundered when SWAPO issued a provocative statement claiming that the SADF incursion into Angola had been directed exclusively against Angolan forces and that no SWAPO fighters had been killed in the operation. SWAPO's statement, issued on 11 January, was peppered with references to "Namibian puppets" and the "Colonial Governor" of Namibia (the Administrator General), and naturally drew a sharp response from the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs.²²

SWAPO's intransigent attitude during this period contrasted strongly with that of the MPLA government in Luanda, which issued a statement on 17 January to the effect that "the establishment of a trial 30-day ceasefire might be a possibility considering our concern in setting up a climate of peace in southern Africa."²³

In the event, SWAPO's petulant approach to the prospect of a ceasefire did not discourage Dr Crocker from holding exploratory talks with an Angolan delegation in Praia, capital of the Cape Verde Islands, over the period 18-20 January 1984.

The Angolan delegation informed Dr Crocker during these talks that the MPLA government was prepared to give the RSA the assurances required in terms of its declaration of 15 December 1983 - viz that if South African forces were to withdraw completely from Angola, the necessary steps would be taken to control SWAPO and to prevent either SWAPO or Cuban forces from entering the area vacated by the South Africans.²⁴

The assurances given Dr Crocker by the Angolans during the Cape Verde talks represented a dramatic breakthrough by any standards. It was the first time in the entire SWA/Angolan conflict that the MPLA had openly expressed its willingness to restrict SWAPO's freedom of access to Namibia.

The Angolan assurances were conveyed to the SA government by Dr Crocker during talks at Fleur du Cap in the Cape on 27-8 January.²⁵

It was on the basis of the Fleur du Cap talks that Prime Minister Botha was able to announce in Parliament on 31 January 1984 that South Africa would begin the final disengagement of its forces from Angola with effect from that date.²⁶

THE BIRTH OF THE JOINT MONITORING COMMISSION CONCEPT

The final disengagement had barely begun, however, when SADF/SWA TF Headquarters in SWA received a spate of intelligence reports indicating that SWAPO was taking advantage of the prevailing political situation by infiltrating large numbers of terrorists into SWA.

The reports of a large-scale SWAPO infiltration were naturally regarded in an extremely serious light by the SA Government. So much so, that the government ordered a temporary halt to the disengagement process, at the same time informing the US Administration of the reasons for its action.

An unrestricted SWAPO infiltration into SWA at this stage - hot on the heels of the withdrawing South African forces - would have had the effect of completely undoing all that had been achieved during OP ASKARI and the numerous preceding operations.

The South African Government, moreover, was acutely aware of the fact that verbal assurances alone from the Angolans would not result in effective control of SWAPO in southern Angola. However honourable the intentions of the MPLA government might be, in practice there seemed to be little to prevent SWAPO from exploiting the South African withdrawal to its own advantage and rebuilding its power-base in the southern Cunene.

It had in fact become clear to the SA Government by the first week of February that the disengagement process could not be allowed to proceed on the strength of the MPLA's verbal assurances alone. For while the political advantages of disengagement remained attractive, it was becoming equally obvious that the disengagement process would have to take place in such a way that the SADF's hard-won military advantages in Angola would not be squandered.

What was needed, as far as the South African Government was concerned, was some sort of formal framework to monitor the disengagement process with a view to ensuring that SWAPO did not take advantage of the situation.

It was precisely with these considerations in mind that Prime Minister Botha proposed on 6 February that military discussions should be held immediately between Angola, the RSA and the USA to "establish a proper framework for the disengagement of South African forces"²⁷

Although he could not possibly have foreseen all the implications of his proposal at the time, the Prime Minister's statement had established - conceptually at least the basis for the subsequent formation of the Joint Monitoring Commission.

THE MULUNGUSHI MINUTE

Despite SWAPO's evident determination not to become involved in any peace negotiations, the general diplomatic climate in the southern African region was extremely positive and optimistic at the beginning of February 1984. In January the RSA had reached a comprehensive non-aggression pact with the Frelimo Government in Mozambique which was to result in the Nkomati Accord. This dramatic breakthrough in South African - Mozambican relations in turn played a large part in creating the right climate for the commencement of serious negotiations between Angola and the RSA over the disengagement issue. Mr P.W. Botha's call for a meeting between the RSA, USA and Angola consequently found immediate favour with all the parties concerned, and within a few days of his announcement aides from the countries involved had begun making arrangements for a suitable venue and time for the proposed tripartite talks.

In the meantime, on 8 February the South African Government issued instructions to the Chief of the Defence Force that the disengagement process was to be proceeded with and that all SADF/SWA TF troops in Angola were to be south of the border by 15 February with the exception of 300 troops who were to remain behind to "monitor" SWAPO's movements.²⁸ This decision was taken in good faith by the RSA in view of Angola's agreement to hold tripartite discussions.

In the event, on Angola's suggestion it was decided to hold the tripartite meeting at the Mulungushi conference centre in Lusaka, as President Kaunda was only too willing to play host to the conference²⁹ and Lusaka was a conveniently situated neutral venue acceptable and accessible to all the parties involved.

The eventual format agreed upon for the talks, after a period of intensive "shuttle diplomacy" by the Americans, was for an initial meeting to take place over the period 13 - 14 February between five or six representative from the two countries concerned. The purpose of this initial meeting would be to find

sufficient common ground between Angola and the RSA to allow the drawing up of a list of general principles which would govern the disengagement process. In the event of the initial talks being successful, a larger follow-up conference was envisaged a day or two later at which the details of the disengagement process would be worked out in accordance with the general principles already agreed upon.

The initial meeting duly took place at the Mulungushi conference centre during the evening of 13 February. Representing the RSA was the Chief of the Army, Lt Gen J.J. Geldenhuys, and Mr Dave Steward, a Deputy Director of the Department of Foreign Affairs responsible for SWA. The Angolan side was represented by Lt Col Ngongo Monteiro, the FAPLA deputy Chief of Staff, and Lt Col Sabriaho Sequeira, Commander of FAPLA's 5 Military Region (which coincided roughly with the Cunene Province). The American mediator at the talks was Mr Nick Platt of the State Department.

The preliminary discussions at Malungushi proved both lengthy and tough. The Angolan delegation opened the proceedings by adopting a hardline stance in regard to the disengagement question, pressing for a unilateral withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola by the end of February. The South African delegation, on the other hand, proposed that some sort of Joint Monitoring Commission be established to monitor the disengagement process with a view to ensuring that neither SWAPO nor the Cubans exploited the situation. They explained that this is what the South African Prime Minister had had in mind when he had called for the establishment of a "proper framework" for the disengagement of South African forces.

In fact, after some skilful mediation by the American representative and the equally skilful use of "brinkmanship" by Lt Gen Geldenhuys, the Angolans moderated their initial hardline stance and agreed to the South African proposal regarding the establishment of a Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC)³⁰

Nine specific points of agreement between the RSA and Angolan delegations were identified after several hours of extremely hard bargaining. These in turn became known as the "Mulungushi Minute", which basically embodied the principles for the disengagement of the SA forces and which made provision for the exclusion of Cubans and SWAPO from southern Angola and for the establishment of a JMC to oversee the implementation of the agreement. The nine points agreed upon in the Mulungushi Minute were as follows:

1. Both sides agreed that a Joint South African/Angolan Commission will be constituted as soon as possible to monitor the agreement.
2. The first meeting of the Commission will occur in Lusaka on February 16, 1984.
3. The Commission, with a parity of forces from both sides, will be located at Ongiva, a mutually agreeable location within the area in question.
4. The Commission will be empowered to travel in the area in question as necessary at the behest of either or both of the parties.
5. The purpose of the Commission will be to monitor the disengagement process and to detect, investigate and report on any alleged violations.
6. The day on which both sides agree that the Commission is in operation on site, a thirty day period will commence which will conclude with the final withdrawal of all South African forces from the area in question, aside from those attached to the Commission and its joint monitoring teams.
7. Both sides believe that a symbolic American observer presence in the activities of the Commission would be useful.
8. The Angolan side reiterated its firm commitment to restrain SWAPO as the process proceeds, including no SWAPO or Cuban presence in the recovered territory.
9. Both sides agreed that the disengagement process, including the successful operation of the joint Commission, would be an important step in establishing conditions leading to the peaceful resolution of the region including the question of the implementation of UNSC Resolution 435.³¹

The South African delegation came away from the initial Mulungushi meeting justifiably satisfied with the results. The principle of a JMC had been accepted, and this in itself was something of a victory in view of the earlier United Nations resolutions and Angola's initial hardline demands for an unconditional SA troop withdrawal. As for the Angolans, the Mulungushi meeting had formally established the framework of a general and hopefully permanent withdrawal of South African forces from her territory - a state of affairs which on military considerations alone had scarcely seemed a possibility just a few weeks earlier.

All in all, the Mulungushi Minute represented something of a triumph for the negotiating and diplomatic skills of the parties concerned. Of course only time would tell if the principle embodied in the agreement were sound enough in their conception to form the basis of a lasting peace in the region. From the perspective of the moment, however, there was every reason for the parties involved in drawing up the Minute to feel satisfied with the fruits of their exploratory meeting.

RATIFICATION OF THE MULUNGUSHI MINUTE BY THE LUSAKA AGREEMENT : 16 FEBRUARY 1984

The success of the preliminary Mulungushi meeting paved the way for the more substantial follow-up conference in Lusaka which had been envisaged earlier. The establishment of a Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) had only been approved in principle at the first Mulungush meeting, and it was now necessary to discuss the details of the Commission and to make arrangements for its early implementation. As soon as news of the Mulungushi Minute reached the RSA, the Departments of Defence and Foreign Affairs began assembling a large delegation to fly to Lusaka on the afternoon of 15 February.

While the initial negotiations and liaison with the USA, Angola and the Zambian government leading up to the first Mulungushi meeting had been primarily the responsibility of the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Department of Defence now assumed the major share of the responsibility for the actual implementation and functional control of the proposed JMC.

The SA Defence Force consequently wasted little time in identifying and appointing a command element of officers whose responsibility it would be to get the proposed JMC functioning effectively. The key officers chosen for this historic task were:

Col J.M. Dippenaar :	SSO Operations at 7 SA Infantry Division HQ and OC-designate for the JMC.
Cmdt J. Koen :	SSO Counter Insurgency, GS2, Army HQ.
Cmdt W.J. le Crerar :	S01 Operations, Directorate Operations, GS3, Army HQ
Cmdt P.O. Uys :	Second in Command, SA Army College.

In addition to the above-mentioned JMC appointees, a high-powered Defence contingent headed by Minister Malan was assembled for the Lusaka talks. Included in the contingent was the Chief of the Army Lt Gen Geldenhuys (who had played the key role during the first Mulungushi meeting), the Chief of Staff Intelligence Lt Gen P.W. van der Westhuizen, and Brig A.J.M. "Joep" Joubert, OC Sector 10 of SWA.

The Foreign Affairs contingent of the South African delegation was headed by Minister R.F. Botha and included Dr Brand Fourie and Mr Dave Steward.

Other important members of the delegation were the Administrator-General of SWA, Dr Willem van Niekerk, Dr Niel Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service, and the secretary of the State Security Council, Lt Gen A.J. van Deventer.

The entire South African delegation to the Lusaka talks - which had been assembled at extremely short notice - was flown to the Zambian capital in a SAA Boeing 737 during the afternoon of 15 February.³²

The group arrived in Lusaka just after 1700B. There they had an introductory meeting with officials and representatives of Angola, Zambia and the US, to discuss various procedural aspects, after which the South Africans held their own preparatory discussions.

The next morning the various delegations assembled at the Mulungushi centre for separate although concurrent discussions on the military and political aspects of the proposed JMC.

The military representatives gathered in a separate chamber as had been agreed the previous evening to hold what in effect was the first official meeting of the JMC. The SADF members present were Lt Gens Geldenhuys and Van der Westhuizen, Brig Joubert, and the officers who had been appointed to implement and manage the JMC. The Angolan delegation consisted of Lt Cols Monteiro and Sequeira as well as Maj Jose Maria, security advisor to Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos.

The political aspects of the proposed JMC were discussed in another chamber by Mr Botha, Gen Malan, the Angolan delegation headed by the Minister of the Interior, Lt Col Alexandre (Kito) Rodrigues and Dr Chester Crocker, with President Kaunda in the chair.

The US delegation - which apart from Dr Crocker comprised Mr Robert Frazure of the US Embassy in London; Mr J. Woods, Department of Defence; Col D. Parker, US Military Attaché in South Africa; Ms N. Ely, State Department; and Mr M. Ranneburger, State Department - played the role of mediator and "honest broker" with Mr Frazure shuttling between the two chambers with summaries, conclusions and suggestions.³³

In the light of the hard bargaining and frank exchanges which had been a characteristic of the first Mulungushi meeting, few participants in the 16 February Lusaka meetings expected the talks to proceed either smoothly or quickly.

In actual fact, however, both the military and political discussions took place in an extremely positive and co-operative atmosphere, and general consensus was quickly reached on both the military and political aspects of the JMC.

At the JMC (military) meeting, the operational details and precise functions of the JMC were discussed and defined, agreement was reached on the "area in question" to be subjected to the JMC's operations, and a broad time-table for the JMC's movements was compiled. Lt Gen Geldenhuys again played the leading role in the discussions from the South African side, while Lt Col Monteiro presented the Angolan case.

The decisions arrived at during the first meeting of the JMC were to become known as the "Lusaka Agreement". The various clauses of the "Agreement" in its final form were as follows:

1. It was agreed that a Joint Monitoring Commission should be established to monitor the implementation of the understandings set out in the "Mulungushi Minute" of 14 February 1984.

2. The Commission Headquarters would move southward by steps in accordance with the phased withdrawal of South African forces from Angola. The following places were identified for the location of the Commission:
 1. - Cuvelai
 2. - Mupa
 3. - Evale
 4. - Ngiva
 5. - Oshikango
3. The first meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission in Angola would be held on 25 February 1984 at Cuvelai at 10h00 Angolan time, headed by the Commander of the 5th Military Region on the Angolan side, and by the Commander of Sector 10 on the South African side.
4. It was agreed that the South African delegation would include the Head of the South African component of the Commission, three officers who would be members of the Commission, and an engineering officer who would be nominated by Brig Joubert, the Commander of Sector 10. The Angolan side would notify South Africa of the composition of its delegation through its communication channel with the United States of America while South Africa would use the same channel to notify Angola of the place where the helicopters would land.
5. It was agreed that among the issues which would be discussed during the meeting of 25 February 1984, would be the composition of the Commission's monitoring groups and the immediate removal of the landmines on the Cassinga-Cuvelai road.
6. The Joint Monitoring Commission would commence operations on 1 March 1984 in Cuvelai. The phased withdrawal of South African forces from Angola would commence on that date and would be completed within thirty days. At the end of each week of operation the Commission would move to its next Headquarters location, as set out in paragraph 2 above.
7. It was agreed that the function of the Commission would be to monitor the implementation of the understandings set out in the Mulungushi minute, including responsibility:
 - a. to assure that there would be no South African forces excluding those attached to the JMC to the north of the place where the Joint Monitoring Commission headquarters would be located;

- b. to assure that there would be no Cuban or SWAPO presence in the area in question.
8. The area in question was defined as the imaginary line which joins:

Marienfluss on the Cunene river, the village of Iona, Onconcuá, Otchinjau, a point immediately to the south of Cahama, a point immediately to the south of Mulondo, 10 km to the north of Cassinga along the Bale river and along the Cubango river to the South West Africa border.
9. It was agreed that immediately after the meeting on 25 February 1984 a team of Angolan and South African experts would remove landmines from the Cassinga-Cuvelai road with a view to allowing the Angolan monitoring unit to move safely to the Commission from the Angolan side.
10. The supervision of the implementation of the agreement within the area in question would be carried out to the north of the Commission Headquarters by Angolan patrols and to the south, by South African forces. In the event of any allegation of a violation of the agreement by either or both parties, a joint monitoring team would be formed immediately to proceed to the location of the alleged violation to investigate the allegation.
11. Whenever participation by the United States in any meeting of the Commission is required, the Commission would meet near or on the SWA/Angolan border, at the request of both sides.
12. It was agreed that the Commission could carry out any additional functions which might be assigned to it by the Governments of Angola and South Africa.

While the finer details of the JMC were being worked out in this fashion, the ministerial conference in the adjoining chamber confined itself to a broad discussion of the wider political implications of the JMC.

It soon became apparent that the Angolans regarded the JMC as merely a prelude to the full-scale implementation of UN Resolution 435 leading to the independence of SWA. In other words the Angolans regarded the JMC as only the means to achieve their ultimate aim, which was the independence of SWA. Indeed, it

would appear as if it was this expectation more than anything else which accounted for the extremely co-operative attitude by the Angolans towards the detailed military negotiations on the JMC.

The South African political delegation, on the other hand, naturally did not wish to commit itself to the implementation of UN SCR 435 at the conclusion of the JMC's activities until the contentious issue of the Cuban presence in Angola had been resolved. The South African position on the question remained that free and fair independence elections in SWA were not possible while the Cubans remained on in Angola.

In the event, a compromise position on the question of the longer term political implications was arrived at, and a general statement was prepared for release to the international media at the conclusion of the talks. The tripartite statement read:

"On February 16, 1984 delegations of the people's Republic of Angola, the Republic of South Africa and the United States of America met in Lusaka to discuss steps to further the process of peace in Southern Africa.

The Angolan delegation was headed by Minister of Interior Alexandre Rodrigues, the South African Delegation was headed by Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr R.F. Botha, and the American delegation was led by assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester A. Crocker.

Responding to president Kaunda's assessment that a historic opportunity now exists to make progress, the conference achieved the following results:

- Creation of a joint South African/Angolan Commission to monitor the disengagement process in Southern Angola and to detect, investigate and report any alleged violations of the commitments of the parties.
- The first meeting of the Joint Commission took place in Lusaka on February 16, 1984. Further meetings will be held in other mutually agreed locations at the convenience of the parties.
- It was agreed that a small number of American representatives could participate in the activities of the Joint Commission at the request of the parties:

The delegations agreed that the task of the joint commission in the weeks ahead is to facilitate the successful completion of the disengagement process and to establish an effective cessation of hostilities. The delegations are aware of the many complex and unresolved issues which must still be addressed in the search for solutions to the problems of the region. They agree, however, that the Lusaka meeting constitutes an important and constructive step toward the peaceful resolution of the problems of the region, including the question of the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.

The participants express their deep appreciation to president Kaunda and the government and people of Zambia and for the generous hospitality and excellent arrangements provided in connection with the conference."³⁵

The Lusaka conference ended in the early afternoon of 16 February on a note of high optimism on the part of everyone concerned. The talks had been conducted in an unprecedented spirit of co-operation between Angola and the RSA, and the concensus which had been arrived at - the "Lusaka Agreement" - certainly seemed to auger well for the future peace and stability of the region.

Understandably enough, the basic flaw in the Agreement - namely the fact that neither SWAPO nor UNITA were party to it - was ignored in the euphoria of the moment. But then the South Africans left Lusaka confident that the Angolans had both the capacity and intention to control SWAPO in terms of the Agreement while the Angolans returned home equally confident in their ability to neutralize the threat of UNITA once and for all in the wake of a total South African troop withdrawal from their territory.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JMC AT CUVELAI : 16 FEBRUARY - 21 MARCH 1984

The members of the SADF who had been appointed to command and manage the SA component of the JMC returned to the RSA after the Lusaka talks painfully aware of the fact that the first meeting of the JMC in Angola was due to be held at Cuvelai a little over a week later on 25 February. This left precious little time to make the numerous arrangements which were necessary to get the JMC functioning effectively. To make matters worse, the SADF had accepted responsibility for the securing of Cuvelai and the surrounding area, the establishment of the initial infrastructure, and the installation of the communication links needed to arrange the first meeting.

The SADF members of the JMC had been chosen with care, however, and they soon proved themselves equal to the daunting task which had been assigned to them.

The morning after the Lusaka meeting (17 February) Col Dippenaar drew up his Command Appreciation of the actions which were necessary for the effective implementation of the JMC.³⁶ The Command Appreciation was very necessary in view of the fact that no South African official or military officer then serving had ever had experience of a similar disengagement process, and as Col Dippenaar stated later "there was nothing at all on the ground at that stage, except for the two Mulunghushi minutes."³⁷ Shortly afterwards Col Dippenaar's initial staff - Cmdts le Crerar (Operations representative), Uys (Intelligence) and Koen (Communication-Operations) - began assisting him in drawing up a detailed appreciation of the disengagement plan. The detailed appreciation, a document of formidable size and scope, was completed on 20 February.³⁸

On 21 February the members of the JMC (SA) flew directly from Pretoria to the Air Force Base at Ondangwa in Ovamboland, from where they proceeded to Sector 10 HQ at Oshakati to see to the detailed administrative and logistic planning for the move to Cuvelai. The only exception was Col Dippenaar, who first went to Windhoek for discussions with Maj Gen George Meiring (GOC SWA TF), Brig A.J.M. Joubert (OC Sector 10) and officials of the Department of Water Affairs and SWA Electricity Commission.³⁹

The main topic of their discussions was the barrage and pumping station at Calueque on the Cunene River. Calueque was an integral part of the giant Ruacan Falls hydro-electric scheme which the SWA Administration had begun building before Angola became independent in 1975. Calueque had fallen into South African hands during the occupation of parts of southern Angola in 1981, but it was obviously destined to revert to Angolan control under the overall disengagement plan. It had been decided at the 16 February Lusaka conference, however, that until such time as the withdrawal was completed the JMC (SA) would be responsible for the protection and maintenance of the pumping station.

The decisions reached about Calueque at the Meiring-Dippenaar conference were as follows:

- a. The scheme was to be maintained on a daily basis - the RSA to be responsible for the functioning of the wall plus sluices even though these were in Angola.
- b. Sector 10 to remain responsible for the protection of the scheme.
- c. The removed water pumps to be replaced over the period June-August 1984.
- d. Four technicians to remain permanently on site.
- e. Stronger maintenance teams to be deployed from time to time.
- f. All liaison regarding the scheme to be done via Mr Coetzee (Water Affairs) in Oshakati, Mr Theron (Electricity Commission) in Ruacana, and Brig Joubert (OC Sector 10).

As soon as the discussions had been completed Col Dippenaar proceeded to Oshakati, where on the afternoon of 22 February the JMC (SA) presented its detailed operational plan to Maj Gen Meiring and Brig Joubert. Much to the JMC members' relief, the plan was approved without any major alterations.⁴⁰

The same day (22 February), an advance party of American technical personnel arrived in Windhoek in preparation for the opening of an American office to help monitor the disengagement of South African forces in Angola.⁴¹

Although the Lusaka Agreement had made provision for participation by the Americans in the monitoring process, the Angolans subsequently indicated the US representatives would not be welcome to participate in the JMC while it was on Angolan soil.⁴² The USA had accordingly decided to open a liaison office in Windhoek which would serve as a contact point between the US Government and the JMC. The intention was to station four or five American "observers" in Windhoek for the duration of the disengagement process.⁴³

The final two days before the scheduled opening of the JMC at Cuvelai passed in a haze of briefings and order groups for the JMC members at Oshakati.

By this time, too, preparations to secure Cuvelai for the JMC's activities were well under way. On 19 February Brig Joubert had despatched Major J.P. Snyman of 101 Battalion with about 350 men to Cuvelai with instructions to secure an area north-west of the town itself (which was still occupied by FAPLA troops at this stage), establish the necessary facilities and clear any FAPLA mines in the immediate vicinity.

Major Snyman arrived at Cuvelai on 24 February, having laid a 25m medium girder bridge over a river 16 km north of Mupa en route and having left behind a protective element to guard the same.

For the camp site, Maj Snyman selected an area (WN 846640) just north of the abandoned SWAPO positions which had been overrun during OP ASKARI the previous month.⁴⁴

As soon as Maj Snyman had secured the camp area and erected the necessary facilities, Sector 10 HQ in Oshakati communicated the final arrangements for the first meeting with the FAPLA component of the JMC to the US office in Windhoek. The meeting arrangements - a set of procedures involving recognition markings, landing zone locations, timings and radio frequencies - were in turn communicated to the Angolan government via the American's communication channels.⁴⁵

With all the preparations for the JMC's first Angolan meeting complete, a final working group under the chairmanship of Lt Gen Geldenhuys was held at Sector 10 HQ during the evening of 24 February. The purpose of this last-minute conference was to discuss the finer details of the approach to be adopted by the SA component of the JMC during the historic first meeting as well as the proposed agenda.⁴⁶

At 0830B the following morning the JMC (SA) members and Lt Gen Geldenhuys's group (which included Mr Steward of the DFA) flew to Cuvelai in four Puma helicopters provided by 19 Squadron at AFB Ondangwa, arriving shortly before 1000B.

The FAPLA component of the JMC arrived a few hours later in three Alouette helicopters carrying the correct recognition markings (red cloth streamers tied to their undercarriages). The FAPLA delegation consisted of:

Lt Col Sequiera	- OC 5 Military Region
Major Xavier	- FAPLA's chief of artillery and chairman of the Angolan component of the JMC.
Major Pedro Sebastao	- Political commissar, JMC member.
Major Viera Diaz	- Chief of Air Defence in 5 Military Region and Chief of Staff of Angolan JMC component.
Lt Dos Santos	- JMC member
Mr Stone Carlos	- A civilian interpreter.

A short introductory meeting between the Angolans and Lt Gen Geldenhuys's party followed, with Col Dippenaar acting as chairman of the South African delegation and Lt Col Sequiera as chairman for the Angolans.

The meeting took place in a "very formal but friendly atmosphere, with no apparent hostility from either side"⁴⁷ Both C Army and Mr Steward used the occasion to deliver messages from their respective superiors expressing concern over reports that 4 - 500 SWAPO terrorists were moving through the area-in-question (AIQ) towards the SWA border in contravention of the Lusaka Agreement.⁴⁸

In reply, Lt Col Sequiera assured the South Africans that the Angolan government strongly disapproved of the SWAPO violations, and that the Angolan government would do everything in its power to prevent SWAPO from entering the AIQ.

The introductory meeting ended at 1415B, whereupon the respective side adjourned to enjoy a cold buffet together, which had been prepared on a lavish scale by the South Africans.⁴⁹

After lunch, Lt Gen Geldenhuys's party returned to Oshakati, leaving the JMC proper to hold its first formal session at Cuvelai. Several important issues concerning the JMC and its functions were discussed and decided upon during the meeting.

It was agreed that the primary mission of the JMC would be to:

- a. Monitor the area-in-question in regard to any violations by SWAPO or a Cuban presence forthwith.
- b. Monitor the area-in-question in regard to the phased withdrawal of RSA forces and re-occupation by FAPLA over a period of 30 days.

The precise functions of the JMC were also discussed, and eventually defined as follows:

- a. the planning and execution of monitor actions;
- b. the spreading of the cease-fire message in the area;
- c. effective feedback into the situation to the different principals in the form of:
 - i. daily situation reports (sitreps),
 - ii. weekly reports.
- d. the maintenance of communications with the different HQ's, RSA and FAPLA forces in the area, and monitor teams,
- e. command and control of monitor teams,
- f. recording of all incidents that are investigated according to a pre-planned agreement,
- g. location of all violations,
- h. investigation of all violations,
- i. execution of rectifying actions in the case of a violation,
- j. monitoring of the withdrawal of South African forces according to schedule,
- k. monitoring the gradual re-occupation of the area by FAPLA forces,
- l. planning to get the Calueque water scheme back into operation.

Other points of discussion included the precise definition of the area-in-question, the method of reporting and confirming violations, the location and composition of the monitor teams, and the question of the command and control of the monitor teams. With regard to the composition of the monitor teams, it was agreed that only infantry troops would be used, with each side having a force level of the equivalent of three infantry companies. (FAPLA intended deploying two infantry and one commando company). The monitoring teams were to be equipped with defensive infantry weapons only - this in effect meant that FAPLA was not allowed to deploy AA weapons and armoured personnel carriers as it had intended. As for the issue of command and control, it was decided that the FAPLA and RSA components of the monitoring teams would be commanded separately by their own officers - at no stage was a joint monitoring force to be commanded by officers from one of the two sides only.

Regarding the location and operation of the monitor teams, it was agreed that they would be deployed primarily at the JMC HQ itself, but that the teams could also be spread out across the AIO if necessary. Furthermore, although FAPLA would be in control of the area to the north of the liaison line, the monitor teams would be allowed to monitor the whole area, including the FAPLA controlled part.⁵⁰

The question of the Calueque scheme was also raised on this occasion. Col Dippenaar informed the Angolan delegation of the outcome of the Windhoek meeting on the Calueque scheme, and requested that the JMC involve itself closely in the plans to re-activate and maintain the hydro-electric scheme. In reply, Col Sequiera stated that the Angolan government had appointed an economic commission to liaise with the RSA on the matter.

The first Cuvelai meeting of the JMC ended on a distinctly positive note, with the South Africans, at least, leaving the conference convinced of the sincerity of the FAPLA member's desire to make the JMC work.⁵¹

The FAPLA JMC contingent departed from Cuvelai at 1730 on the afternoon of 25 February with only Maj Diaz and the interpreter Carlos remaining behind at the JMC site.

The plan at this stage was that the FAPLA monitor force convoy itself plus the HQ component would arrive at Cuvelai at last light on 27 February, and that the JMC would begin functioning effectively at approximately midday on 1 March.

In the event, it took the FAPLA monitor convoy much longer than anticipated to reach Cuvelai, primarily due to delays in clearing the roads of mines and repairing bridges. By 27 February the FAPLA convoy had only progressed as far as Jamba, where a further delay occurred when four of the monitoring force were killed in a mine explosion.⁵²

By this stage it had in fact become clear that neither the FAPLA JMC HQ element nor the main monitoring force would arrive in Cuvelai before 1 March 1984, and that the activities of the JMC - indeed the entire schedule for the disengagement process - would have to be delayed accordingly.

The delay in the arrival of the FAPLA contingent in Cuvelai at least provided the South African component of the JMC with an opportunity to organize an effective infra-structure for the challenging task which lay ahead.

The intervening period was accordingly put to good use erecting, equipping and organizing an operations centre, sweeping the surrounding area for mines, honing the communications links with Oshakati, and generally smoothing out the many procedural and personnel problems inevitably associated with an operation completely foreign to the SADF members involved.

By this time the personnel situation at the JMC (SA) had stabilized somewhat after a period of initial fluctuations. By the end of February the JMC (SA) monitoring force based at Cuvelai consisted of the following detachments:

Bravo Company of 5 SAI under Maj Giel van Aarde
Golf Company of 32 Battalion under Capt Mike Bastin
A company of Regiment Paul Kruger under Maj Hannes Maree

In addition to the above, a small element from 101 Battalion under Maj Snyman and elements from 25 Field Squadron (SAEC) and 5 Maintenance Unit were stationed at the JMC to run the administrative and base protection side of the HQ as well as to assist in the mine-clearing and other engineering tasks. For its medical requirements, the JMC (SA) could call upon the services of two SAMS doctors.

As it was planned to maintain two Puma helicopters permanently at the JMC for various transport tasks, the SAAF was also represented at Cuvelai by a small Mobile Air Operations Team (MAOT) under Cmdt Danie Beneke.

The HQ staff of the JMC (SA) had in the meantime also reached full strength with the arrival of Cmdt de Waal (Logistics Officer) and Maj W.H. Kotze (S02 Operations).⁵³

The few days respite before the arrival of the main FAPLA JMC contingent was also used to resolve uncertainties over the whole command and control concept of the JMC" which up to this stage had been "somewhat rickety", to use Cmdt le Crerar's phrase, because the given task was "totally foreign to SA soldiers, and nobody was quite sure under whose command the JMC fell"⁵⁴ Basically there were five possibilities: Sector 10 HQ in Oshakati; GOC SWA TF in

Windhoek; the Chief of the Army; the Chief of the SADF; and the State Security Council. After a few mishaps and misunderstanding, however, it was decided that Chief of the Army would assume overall responsibility for the JMC - all messages and instructions to the JMC from the Cabinet, the Department of Foreign Affairs (which was to retain control over the political aspects of the JMC) and the office of the Chief of the Defence Force were to be transmitted to the JMC via Chief of the Army (C Army). For logistic, administrative and certain operational matters, however, the JMC was to liaise directly with Sector 10.⁵⁵

By 1 March the SA component of the JMC had overcome all the initial teething problems and had achieved a high state of readiness for the arrival of the FAPLA contingent and the commencement of the JMC's activities.

The FAPLA HQ element of the JMC, headed by Major Xavier, eventually arrived at Cuvelai by helicopter late in the afternoon of 1 March.

At 1615B a short meeting of the JMC was convened with Col Dippenaar and Maj Xavier in the chair. The proceedings were not lengthy. Maj Xavier opened by explaining the reasons for the delay, which had resulted in part of his battalion only now coming into camp. He made it clear, however, that his delegation was eager to set the JMC in operation as soon as possible.

Col Dippenaar for his part welcomed the FFAPLA contingent and expressed his component's sympathy with the casualties FAPLA had suffered in the recent mine incident. He then produced a certificate commemorating the occasion, which was duly signed by the two chairmen after they had read the inscription aloud in Afrikaans and Portuguese.

Col Dippenaar then suggested that the RSA and FAPLA troops who were not to work together be formally introduced to one another in the form of a ceremonial parade. Maj Xavier agreed to this suggestion, although adding that he would be able to assemble only a token force at that stage, seeing that not all of his troops had arrived and others were still deployed. It was agreed that the ceremony would take place on the airstrip at Cuvelai at 1100B the following morning, and that Col Dippenaar and Maj Xavier would address their troops on parade.

The ceremonial aspect having been dealt with, Col Dippenaar said he felt that the monitoring teams should be deployed as soon as possible, adding that his own troops were ready to be deployed. He suggested, and Maj Xavier agreed, that the monitoring should start at first light on 3 March.

The two chairmen then agreed on three basic arrangements which were to become a permanent feature of the JMC's subsequent modus operandi:

- a. a specific meeting time (1100B) for the daily meeting was set, to be changed only when circumstances demanded it.
- b. FAPLA would supply an orderly officer who would be stationed in the SA JMC camp for liaison purposes (these FAPLA officers were rotated on a daily basis).
- c. A joint situation report would be drawn up after each daily meeting and would then be transmitted to the two component's principals.⁵⁶

The first full working meeting of the JMC ended at 1700B on 1 March. Six hours later, just before midnight, the main FAPLA monitoring force convoy arrived and set up their base camp at a site which had been earmarked for the purpose a few kilometres away from the South African camp.

Despite the late arrival of the FAPLA contingent, the joint parade between the monitoring forces was duly held at mid morning on 2 March at Cuvelai's airstrip where the tangled remains of FAPLA/SWAPO vehicles at its eastern end knocked out during OP ASKARI "provided a mute but ironic comment on the sudden transition from war to peace."⁵⁷

The parade - the first peacetime meeting between SA and Angolan forces - was by any standards a historic occasion, and both sides had made appropriate arrangements to ensure that the event was fully recorded on film and television.⁵⁸ The SA JMC's Operation officer, Cmdt Le Creer, later described the inaugural parade as follows:

"All the JMC Officers were on parade except Col Dippenaar and Col Oelschig. The parade commander was Col Koen. Our men were marched on to the parade by WO1 J.J. Jacobs, RSM of the Sector 10 HQ Unit, who had been appointed RSM of the JMC HQ Unit.

Symbolically, FAPLA was on the south side of the airstrip and we were on the north. We duly opened the proceedings with a Scripture reading and prayer by our chaplain, Lt M.P. van WYk. The FAPLA people looked on in a non-committal way. Speeches were first made, by Maj Xavier and then by Col Dippenaar. The flags were marched on -- each of the two detachments had the bottom part of a flagpole planted in the ground in front of it, and the idea was that the national flags would be marched on, already attached to the top halves of the flagpoles. Incidentally, we supplied FAPLA with their flag - we found it somewhere in Oshakati. They didn't have one - they claimed it was because this was a peace mission and they didn't carry their flag on a peace initiative, they only carried it in war. So we said the hell with it, we'll supply the flag. It was difficult finding one, but we did. When Col Dippenaar's speech was finished the South African flag was marched on by the company sergeant-major of 5 SAI (Sgt Bruce Webber), and planted in the bottom half of its flagpole. Then FAPLA did the same. Their flag was marched on by a junior officer and two escorts. They goose-stepped Russian fashion to plant their flag and then goose-stepped off again. Then we presented arms. They don't have an equivalent, so they just came to attention. They do it sloppily - they brace up a little and then slouch down again. I noticed that half of their detachment, about two squads, had their AKs slung over their shoulders with the bayonets fixed and in scabbards, while the other two squads carried their AKs cradled in the crooks of their arms, muzzles pointing upwards at a slant. I don't know if this has special significance - different units or what. I noticed that all their equipment and uniforms I saw appeared to be brand new. Then the South African forces marched off and climbed into Buffels and returned to the camp - while the troops were marching off, incidentally, the supernumeraries on both sides introduced themselves to one another. Then the senior SA personnel climbed into the Pumas, which were waiting at the eastern end of the airstrip, where about 25 or 30 mangled FAPLA vehicles from the OP ASKARI fighting still lay around."⁵⁹

The ceremonial parade was followed by another full meeting of the JMC, at which it was decided to begin the immediate deployment of joint monitoring patrols to establish whether SWAPO had indeed vacated the AIQ around Cuvelai so that the JMC could move southwards to Mupa on schedule. Two joint patrols were envisaged. The first, comprising 60 SA members (32 Battalion) and an equivalent number of FAPLA soldiers, would leave at first light the following

day (3 March) and travel by road to a point 10 km east of Cassinga, debus, and patrol on foot to the Bale River and then head south. The patrol was planned to last 14 days on the understanding that it would be recalled immediately if the JMC's move to Mupa went ahead on schedule. The second patrol, consisting of a total of 100 soldiers, would be sent out on 4 March for 10 days. This second patrol would be transported by road to a point approximately 50 km due east of Cuvelai, then debus and patrol southwards along SWAPO's eastern supply route.⁶⁰

The joint monitoring patrol arrangements having been finalized, Maj Xavier then raised an extremely sensitive issue central to the whole disengagement process.

He stated that it was internationally recognized that FAPLA had been supporting SWAPO and that FAPLA soldiers would find it extremely difficult to fire on SWAPO members. FAPLA would in fact only fire on SWAPO under extreme circumstances. FAPLA wanted live evidence rather than dead bodies.

Of course the delicate issue raised by Maj Xavier was crucial to the success or otherwise of the entire JMC concept. Col Dippenaar correctly pointed out that the SA troops would feel threatened if they knew the other (FAPLA) members of the patrol would not support them.

After some serious discussion on the subject, it was agreed that, although live evidence would be preferred to dead bodies and every attempt would be made to capture rather than kill any SWAPO members encountered in the AIQ the joint monitor patrols would in fact defend themselves as a group if attacked by SWAPO. It was also agreed that in the event of a JMC force coming into contact with a UNITA force, SA troops should not intervene but should take action only to ensure their own safety, or if the FAPLA component was in danger.⁶¹ Another thorny issue which was raised during the 2 March JMC meeting concerned the question of joint command decisions during patrols. Although it was accepted that the respective SA and FAPLA commanders would retain operational control of their troops, it was decided to appoint the SA commander as "co-ordinator" for the southern patrol and the FAPLA commander as co-ordinator for the northern patrol - the co-ordinator being responsible for purely routine decisions such as the choosing of routes to follow, the siting of base camps etc.

The conference adjourned at 1310B with Col Dippenaar extending an invitation to the FAPLA component to dine with him at 1700B the next day (3 March).

All in all, the 2 March JMC meeting was highly significant in that it dealt in detail for the first time with the hard realities of the operational aspects of the disengagement process.

In the meantime, while the JMC was meeting in Cuvelai, another meeting concerning the JMC was being held in Oshakati on the morning of 2 March between Brig Joubert and a team of aides from Sector 10 HQ, and the American delegation headed by Mr W. Twaddel which had arrived in the interim to man the American liaison office in Windhoek. Included in the American delegation were Col D. Parker (Army Attaché to the Windhoek office), Col J. Osgood (Defence Attaché), Lt-Col R. Caplinger (Naval Attaché) and Mr P. Eicher of the State Department. The purpose of the meeting was to brief and update the Americans with regard to the establishment of the JMC in Angola.⁶²

One of the members of the South African delegation at the Oshakati conference was Mr D. Auret of the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA). Mr Auret had been hastily recalled from the SA Embassy in Bonn and designated as the DFA representative to serve in the South African component of the JMC as an observer - the idea being to keep the DFA directly informed of developments in regard to the JMC by having a permanent representative attached to the JMC. At the conclusion of the Oshakati meeting, Mr Auret was flown to Cuvelai to join Col Dippenaar's staff, arriving at the JMC site shortly before sunset.⁶³

The stage was now set for the commencement of the JMC's monitoring activities proper, and early the following morning the two joint monitoring patrols received their orders to deploy into their designated areas to "locate, confirm and report agreement violations".⁶⁴

In fact, even before the patrols had fully deployed,⁶⁵ it had become obvious to the SA component of the JMC that SWAPO had not vacated the AIQ on FAPLA's instructions as had been stipulated in the Lusaka Agreement. The Intelligence section at Sector 10 HQ in Oshakati reported that a SWAPO group of approximately 50 - 70 was moving between Jaula - Gluma and Calema, and that a large SWAPO presence was still being maintained in the area around Cassinga.

When Col Dippenaar brought the reports of a continued SWAPO presence in the AIQ to the notice of the FAPLA delegation at the daily meeting of the JMC on 3 March, Lt Col Sequeira, who had flown down from Lubango to attend the meeting, replied that although FAPLA had given SWAPO instructions to withdraw from the AIQ, the SWAPO leaders had not yet succeeded in communicating the instructions to withdraw to their forward elements. Lt Col Sequeira stated that the matter was being rectified but that SWAPO would require another week to clear the area. The OC 5 Military Region also stated that he intended taking a senior SWAPO commander from Lubango to Cassinga, where a large number of SWAPO's were concentrated, to ensure that the SWAPO cadres received the order to withdraw. In addition, Lt Col Sequeira informed the SA component that FAPLA intended keeping SWAPO north of a line from the coast south of Namibie past a point 50 km south of Lubango to Jamba and Cuchi.⁶⁶

The SA JMC component accepted Lt Col Sequeira's explanation of SWAPO's tardiness in withdrawing from the AIQ, although the South Africans could not understand FAPLA's difficulty in contacting SWAPO over the withdrawal as the latter possessed field radio's.⁶⁷ Col Dippenaar nevertheless felt compelled to remind the FAPLA component that the JMC would remain at Cuvelai until SWAPO had vacated the AIQ and the withdrawal to Mupa - originally scheduled to take place on 7 March - would consequently have to be delayed.

Concrete evidence of SWAPO's continued presence in the AIQ came to the fore on 4 March when a 32 Battalion patrol (not attached to the monitoring force) operating close to the SWA border near Calueque made contact with a two man SWAPO patrol, killing one of the terrorists in the ensuing fire-fight. The JMC HQ was immediately notified of the contact, and an investigating team, including photographers and TV cameras from both components, was sent to the scene of the clash. The investigating JMC team had no hesitation in recording the incident as the first official violation of the Lusaka Agreement.⁶⁸

Apart from the incontrovertible evidence of SWAPO's continued presence in the AIQ - to the extent that SWAPO was even reported to be openly re-supplying its detachments with arms, ammunition and food from its main logistic base at Jamba - there was another aspect of the disengagement process which was a cause for concern to the SA component of the JMC at this stage. On more than one occasion FAPLA had sent reconnaissance patrols south of the monitor line (ie the line parallel to Cuvelai) without informing the JMC (SA) - this was a clear controvention of the Lusaka Agreement.⁶⁹ Furthermore, by this stage

the FAPLA monitoring force at Cuvelai was still short of one company, a factor which inhibited the JMC's monitoring activities in view of the fact that the monitoring forces had to be deployed in parity.

On the strength of these adverse reports concerning the generally unsatisfactory situation in the AIQ, the SA Government - which had been closely monitoring the progress of the JMC - decided to send a representative (the Chief of the Army Operations Maj Gen Du Plessis) to Cuvelai on 6 March to deliver a message personally to the Angolans expressing the RSA's concern at developments regarding the JMC. The full text of the message read as follows:

"The SA Government is concerned that matters concerning the proceedings of the Joint Monitoring Commission are not effecting the desired progress at the moment. Various incidents in the recent past have forced the SA Government to instruct the SA component of the JMC that until the situation as envisaged in the agreement has stabilized the SA Government considers the present facet of the JMC at Cuvelai as incomplete and the JMC will therefore not move from Cuvelai. The following are regarded as contrary to the terms of the Agreement:

1. FAPLA reconnaissance continues south of the liaison line, and this must cease.
2. The monitoring area, as agreed upon, is still occupied by SWAPO, in fact there are strong indications that SWAPO reinforcements are still moving southwards through the area. This movement must cease.
3. SWAPO activities and logistical resupply in the area south of Cahama, in support of their activities, still continues and must cease.
4. The main SWAPO bases are being resupplied. This must cease.
5. The RSA Government is concerned with the delays in the JMC's activities in terms of the agreement, which are caused by the insufficient deployment of FAPLA forces at the JMC. The RSA Government herewith directs a serious request to the Angolan government to expedite this matter.
6. In conclusion : the envisaged visit by the Chief of the SA Army, Lt Gen J.J. Geldenhuys, which was planned for 21 March 1984 is brought forward to 12 March 1984 in the light of the gravity of the situation.⁷⁰

In reply to the above statement the FAPLA component of the JMC agreed to immediately recall all their reconnaissance patrols south of the monitorline. The Angolans also accepted the fact that the move to Mupa could not take place as planned on 7 March. Instead, the two components agreed provisionally during the daily meeting that the move should take place on 12 March if the situation had improved by that date.

As it happened, instead of improving, the situation in the AIQ steadily deteriorated during the next few days. The two joint monitor patrols soon found first-hand evidence of large SWAPO concentrations in the area to the east of Casinga and Cuvelai, while further to the south another violation occurred when a 101 Battalion patrol (not part of the monitoring force) clashed with a SWAPO group on 7 March, killing two terrorists in the process.⁷¹

By this stage it had become clear that it was only a matter of time before one or the other of the joint monitoring patrols themselves became involved in a serious clash with SWAPO terrorists, even though the function of the patrols was merely to monitor and report and not to engage in combat.

The inevitable clash was indeed not long in coming, for on 8 March news reached the JMC HQ that the most northerly joint monitoring patrol had made contact with a SWAPO group 45 km east of Techamatete which was in the process of transporting supplies in 3 vehicles southwards into the AIQ. In the ensuing clash 4 SWAPO terrorists had been killed by the joint monitoring force without loss to themselves.⁷²

The 8 March incident was highly significant not only for the fact that it demonstrated beyond doubt that SWAPO was deliberately ignoring the FAPLA requests to vacate the AIQ, but also for the manner in which the FAPLA troops in the joint monitoring patrol had actively participated, together with the 32 Bn troops, in the firefight against SWAPO - much to the chagrin of the latter.⁷³

The active participation by FAPLA in the 8 March contact with SWAPO - despite the earlier reservations which Maj Xavier had expressed on this score - did much to convince the SA component of the JMC that FAPLA was indeed sincere in its efforts to get SWAPO to vacate the disengagement area.

The fact remained, however, that SWAPO was not complying with FAPLA's instructions to vacate the area, and that therefore the move to Mupa could not proceed even on 12 March as had provisionally been agreed - Maj Xavier was told as much by Col Dippenaar during the daily meeting of the JMC on 9 March.⁷⁴

The general South African dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the AIQ was even more forcibly conveyed to the Angolan component on 12 March during a visit by Lt Gen. Geldenhuys to the JMC HQ. Gen Geldenhuys informed the Angolans that the move to Mupa could not be undertaken until the following aspects had been resolved:

- a. the SWAPO presence in the AIQ.
- b. the continued re-supply of arms and ammunition to SWAPO forces from the logistic base at Jamba.
- c. the reported introduction of AA weapons into Techamatete by FAPLA in contravention of the earlier undertaking that only infantry would be involved in the re-occupation of the AIQ.⁷⁵

Lt Gen Geldenhuys's entreaties to FAPLA to take active steps to control SWAPO did not appear to have any immediate effect. On the contrary, during the 72 hour period from 11 - 13 March, no less than 4 serious clashes between the northerly monitoring force and SWAPO occurred in the area approximately 20 km NE of Bambi. On 11 March a SWAPO group mortared the JMC patrol 35 km SE of Techamatete, injuring one FAPLA soldier. On 12 March another SWAPO group ambushed the monitoring patrol 50 km SE of Techamatete and in the ensuing firefight one SWAPO terrorist was killed and one 32 Bn soldier was wounded - the FAPLA troops again actively participated in the fighting against SWAPO. The following day SWAPO launched a mortar attack on the same monitor patrol, killing two of the FAPLA soldiers and wounding a further two. SWAPO's losses from the return fire of the monitoring force were two killed and two wounded. Later in the day a SWAPO reconnaissance group inadvertently encountered the joint monitor force and in the ensuing firefight one SWAPO terrorist was killed and one wounded.⁷⁶

Three further violations of the disengagement agreement were reported during the period 14 - 16 March and registered as such at JMC Headquarters.⁷⁷

In total, twelve violations had been registered by 16 March, including one for which the RSA was held responsible (two Impala aircraft from Ondangwa Air Force Base had flown north of the monitor line near Cassinga on 9 March).⁷⁸

The eleven violations for which SWAPO had been responsible by 16 March undoubtedly caused the FAPLA JMC component a great deal of genuine frustration and embarrassment, not to mention anger at the loss of two of their soldiers at the hands of SWAPO. Maj Xavier and his colleagues were only too aware that the disengagement process would remain stalled as long as the high tempo of violations continued and SWAPO refused to vacate the AIQ.

It was this realization which led to redoubled efforts by the FAPLA contingent to bring the recalcitrant SWAPO forces under control.

In fact, directly after Lt Gen Geldenhuys's visit to Cuvelai on 12 March, Maj Xavier had travelled to Lubango post haste to discuss the points which had been raised by the general with the OC of 5 Military Region.⁷⁹

Maj Xavier arrived back at the JMC HQ in Cuvelai on the morning of 16 March. At the daily meeting he reported to the SA component that he and a number of SWAPO commanders from Luanda and Lubango had visited the area north of the monitoring line to inform SWAPO of the position and to enforce their compliance with the terms of the Agreement. He stated that as of the afternoon of Saturday 17 March, SWAPO would have moved out of the AIQ north of the line to which FAPLA had committed itself earlier⁸⁰ - the JMC monitoring teams could move into the area to confirm that this was indeed the case.

Maj Xavier stressed that Angola would not allow SWAPO to jeopardize the agreement between Angola and the RSA, and that he had been present when the SWAPO commanders had issued the orders (by radio) to withdraw to their forward detachments.⁸¹

Maj Xavier's sudden confidence in a SWAPO withdrawal and his generally co-operative approach to all the questions which had been worrying the South Africans (such as the deployment of the AA weapons at Techamatete) made a good impression on the SA component.

The South Africans were in fact by now convinced that FAPLA was doing its utmost to get the disengagement process operating smoothly as soon as possible. During the evening of 16 March the DFA representative Mr Auret signalled his superior Mr Steward in Pretoria as follows:

"It is my considered opinion that the responses represented by Xavier this morning to the problems raised by us in the past represents considerable progress, which will probably be confirmed by the meeting next week.

The co-operation between the two sides is very good and decisions taken here are based on joint agreement."⁸²

The much improved spirit of co-operation between the Angolan and South African members of the JMC was further cemented during the evening of 17 March, when the Angolans were invited over to the South African camp for a dinner - described by the South Africans as "very successful" - which gave both delegations an opportunity to acquaint themselves with each other on a more informal basis.⁸³

In fact the South Africans could have been forgiven a degree of scepticism over FAPLA's assurances that SWAPO would be clear of the AIQ by last light on 17 March, if only because in private conversations some FAPLA members had earlier expressed doubts about their ability to control SWAPO. Nevertheless during the next few days it soon became apparent that FAPLA's assurances accurately reflected the situation on the ground. During the period 17 - 19 March just two violations were reported, only one of which involved physical contact with SWAPO. The joint monitoring patrols, moreover, reported finding several freshly evacuated SWAPO bases with spoor pointing in a northerly direction.⁸⁴

Indeed, by the time Lt Gen Geldenhuys, Mr Steward and the Chief of the Air Force (Lt Gen D.J. Earp) arrived at Cuvelai on 19 March for discussions with the JMC, the overall state of affairs in the AIQ had improved to such an extent that Col Dippenaar et al were able to recommend to Lt Gen Geldenhuys that the "30 day clock" be regarded as having begun on 18 March and that the move to Mupa could take place within 2 or 3 days if the situation remained stable.⁸⁵

After receiving further assurances from the Angolan component of the JMC regarding the provision of logistical supplies to SWAPO, the compliance of SWAPO's "special unit" with the withdrawal instructions, and the question of the AA weapons in Techamatete, the senior South African delegation conceded that the situation was now such that the move to Mupa could take place on 22 March, a date which had been suggested by the JMC (SA) itself.⁸⁶

Lt Gen Geldenhuys's party left Cuvelai with an agreement to meet with a senior Angolan delegation headed by Lt Col Monteiro and Sequiera on 28 March after the move to Mupa to re-evaluate the situation. On his way back to Pretoria the Chief of the Army stopped off in Windhoek to brief Mr Twaddel and Col Parker of the American office in Windhoek in regard to developments concerning the JMC.⁸⁷

In the meantime, the JMC HQ received further confirmation on 20 March from the monitoring patrols that the area around Bambi was clear of SWAPO and that all the latter's bases and logistic points had indeed been evacuated.⁸⁸

The way was now clear for the JMC move to Mupa, and at 0900B on 21 March the joint JMC left Cuvelai by helicopter to reconnoitre the proposed site for the JMC, which had already been prepared by an advance party of engineers and technicians from the JMC (SA) supported by a logistic convoy from Oshakati. Having satisfied themselves regarding the situation in Mupa, the rest of the day was spent by the JMC HQ planning the move to Mupa in detail.⁸⁹

THE MOVE TO MUPA : 22 MARCH - 15 APRIL 1984

The actual move to Mupa - described by Capt Steenkamp as a "little sprawl with battered and deserted houses, their bullet-pocked walls scrawled with graffiti of units which had passed through" - took place as planned on 22 March, although progress by road was extremely slow and difficult owing to the recent heavy rains and swollen rivers.

The first five days of the JMC's sojourn at Mupa (23-27 March) proved to be exceptionally quiet, with no violations reported by any of the various monitor patrols. The South African component accordingly took the opportunity to replace all their monitor troops with three fresh companies from 32 Bn, which reached Mupa on the morning of 24 March.⁹⁰

The FAPLA component, for their part, concentrated on the logistic re-supply of their monitor and re-occupation forces, the re-establishment of some form of civilian administration in all the villages and towns on the road between Cassinga and Mupa, and the deployment of FAPLA contingents in the re-occupation area. By 27 March the deployments of FAPLA re-occupation forces not attached to the JMC had reached the following level:

- a. 1 Battalion at Techamatete
- b. 1 Company at Cassinga
- c. 1 Company at Cuvelai
- d. 1 Company at Mupa protecting the Mupa bridge.⁹¹

Despite the absence of confirmed violations, however, the SA component was far from satisfied that SWAPO had completely vacated the entire AIQ. SADF intelligence reports at this stage indicated that while SWAPO had indeed evacuated the northern parts of the AIQ around Cassinga and Techamatete under considerable FAPLA pressure, there were still many detachments of SWAPO terrorists in the southern areas nearer the SWA border. Specifically, confirmed intelligence reports at the JMC (SA)'s disposal indicated the presence of SWAPO's Alpha Battalion in the Cauindo river area, SWAPO logistic bunkers between Mupa and Nanuno, and a strong SWAPO presence in the Dova-Evale-Mulemba area.⁹² The SA component was also not convinced that FAPLA had used all the available means of communication at their disposal to warn the SWAPO detachments in these southern areas of the AIQ to withdraw.

As far as the South Africans were concerned, the persistent reports of a strong SWAPO presence in the Dova-Evale-Mulemba area in particular meant that an early move of the JMC to Evale was out of the question if the safety of the JMC itself was not to be endangered.

The South African reservations about an early move to Evale were expressed by Lt Gen Geldenhuys to a senior Angolan delegation at the high level conference held as planned at Mupa on 28 March.

The conference, chaired by Maj Xavier and Col Koen in the absence of Col Dippenaar,⁹³ was attended by Lt Gens Geldenhuys and Gleeson, Maj Gen Meiring, Brig Joubert and Mr Steward from the South African side, and Lt Cols Monteiro, Sequiera, Agostino Kalle and Maj Hendrick from the Angolan side.

Lt Gen Geldenhuys pointed out to the Angolans that although the JMC had not detected any violations of the agreement during the previous week this was certainly not an accurate reflection of the whole situation in the area based on SADF intelligence. Firstly, there was an alarming presence of SWAPO in the area, particularly in the regions south of Cahama, near Evale and in the central region just north of the border. Secondly, it was clear that the Angolan government had not used all the means at its disposal to ensure the withdrawal of SWAPO elements from the southern areas of the AIQ. It had not, for example, used radio broadcasts, the distribution of pamphlets or aerial loudspeakers to achieve this purpose. It was also clear from information obtained from SWAPO prisoners that they were in constant radio contact with their regional HQ's. For all these reasons, Lt Gen Geldenhuys stated, the South African delegation could not recommend to the South African government that the JMC be moved to Evale under the prevailing circumstances.

Lt Col Monteiro replied that the South African preoccupations were valid, and that there would have to be renewed contact between his government and the President of SWAPO, particularly with regard to SWAPO activities in the triangles which have their apexes at Techamatete and Cassinga. Lt Col Monteiro declared that Angola was worried about the situation and agreed that the move of the JMC HQ to Evale should not take place until the situation with regard to SWAPO had improved.

Having agreed to postpone the move to Evale, the high level conference turned to a discussion of the mandate of the JMC in terms of the original Lusaka Agreement, about which there appeared to be differing interpretations. In particular, the Angolans stated that they could not accept the last sentence of paragraph 10 of the Agreement as it had been drawn up by the South Africans, which stated that JMC teams could be deployed in the AIQ at the behest of either or both of the parties in order to monitor compliance with the Agreement. According to Lt Col Monteiro, the Angolan side believed that the Lusaka Agreement made provision only for despatching JMC monitor teams to investigate specific allegations of breaches of the Lusaka Agreement and not for general patrols.

The difference in interpretation of the JMC's mandate in terms of the original Lusaka Agreement was of course of vital importance to the JMC's modus operandi, and when consensus could not be reached on the matter, it was decided to refer it to the US delegation which had also been present in Lusaka for clarification.⁹⁴

Other questions covered during the high level conference on 28 March included that status of Angolan POW's in South Africa and SWA, the return of the war material to Angola which had been captured by the SADF in 1981 and 1983-4 (particularly at Xangongo, Ngiva and Cuvelai), and the allegation by the Angolan delegation that South Africa was continuing to support the UNITA "puppets" and "bandits". Lt Gen Geldenhuys pointed out, however, that none of these questions were covered by the Lusaka Agreement and they therefore could not be dealt with within the JMC framework. After some discussion it was agreed that these questions should be dealt with directly at a ministerial level meeting between the governments of Angola and the RSA. Both delegations agreed to approach their respective governments with a suggestion that a confidential meeting between Foreign Ministers R.F. Botha and Kito Rodriques be arranged as soon as possible.⁹⁵

The 28 March Mupa conference ended with consensus that another high level conference be convened in approximately 10 days time to determine whether the situation had improved sufficiently for the JMC move to Evale to take place.

In the meantime, it was decided to continue provisionally with the policy of sending out JMC monitoring patrols even in the absence of confirmed violations despite the Angolan's reservations on this score. Accordingly, five separate JMC monitoring patrols were deployed over the period 27 - 30 March as follows:

- a. from Cassinga in an easterly direction to Chiocu along the Cauindo river towards Chetequera to check for the presence of SWAPO's Alpha Battalion.⁹⁶
- b. from the Calonga bridge south of Techamatete along the Calonga river towards a point south of Cuvelai.
- c. from a point 64 km directly east of Mupa near Chifuaafua towards Mulola.
- d. along the Cuvelai river between Mupa and Evale to determine whether it was safe for the JMC to move to Evale.
- e. in the area north of the Mupa bridge to locate reported SWAPO logistic bunkers.⁹⁷

The South African viewpoint - viz that it was necessary for the JMC monitoring forces to actively patrol the AIQ to establish the extent of SWAPO's presence

rather than to merely wait upon reported violations - was soon justified by events. On 28 March a monitoring patrol discovered 5 SWAPO spoor 15 km north of Dova heading in a SW direction, and the FAPLA component of the JMC accepted the patrol's report as a violation (registered as violation number 15).⁹⁸ On 31 March the monitoring patrol in the Cassinga area discovered ± 15 spoor two days old 10 km SE of the town heading in a northerly direction. As both the SADF and FAPLA patrol commanders agreed that the spoor was SWAPO's, the incident was registered a violation number 16.⁹⁹

On 1 April a much more serious violation occurred when 20 SWAPO terrorists mortared the South African Cape Corps protection element at Calueque with 82 mm mortars (violation number 17).¹⁰⁰

The Calueque incident was followed by several days during which no serious violations of the Agreement were reported by any of the monitor patrols, a situation which led the FAPLA component to request that the JMC proceed forthwith with the move to Evale.

The SA component was still not entirely satisfied that the time was ripe for the move to Evale, however, and during the period 6 - 9 March a further three violations occurred as if to underscore the South African reservations.¹⁰¹ The SA component nevertheless agreed to discuss the possibility of a move to Evale at the follow-up high-level conference which had been agreed to at the 28 March conference and which had in the meantime been arranged for 9 April.

FAPLA's contention that the time had now arrived for the JMC to move to Evale formed the focal point of the discussions at the 9 March meeting at Mupa between a senior South African delegation led by Lt Gen Gleeson and a FAPLA delegation led by Lt Col Monteiro. The upshot of this meeting was an undertaking by Lt Gen Gleeson to provide the Angolans with a definite answer from the SA Government on the question of the move to Evale by the morning of Friday 13 April at the latest.¹⁰²

While the final ruling on the move was being awaited from the SA Government, the JMC busied itself reorganizing its monitor patrols.

The two monitor patrols in the Cassinga and Cuvelai vicinities, which had completed their task in the interim, were trooped back to Mupa for a few days

rest in preparation for re-deployment in a new area. The two patrols north and north-west of Nehone and north and north-east of Evale were left to continue with their task for the time being.¹⁰³

The deployment of monitor teams by road had in fact become all but impossible by this stage owing to the impassable state of the roads and flooded bridges caused by the heaviest rains on record in the region. All the major rivers in the AIQ - namely the Cunene, Calonga, Mui, Cuvelai, Caundu, Bale and Kavango - were by now in flood, and Mupa itself could not be reached by road from the north owing to the flooded bridge 14 km north of the town.¹⁰⁴

As a result of the adverse weather and terrain conditions, the various monitor teams were completely dependent on re-supply by air during this period. The FAPLA component's ability to re-supply their own forces by helicopter, however, was almost non-existent in view of the poor state of serviceability of their M18 helicopters.¹⁰⁵ FAPLA's difficulties in re-supplying their own forces in turn meant that it was no longer possible to deploy the monitoring patrols in parity as the Lusaka Agreement dictated. Accordingly, Col Dippenaar requested, and received, his counterpart's permission to deploy monitoring patrols consisting only of SA troops where FAPLA was unable to logistically support the patrols in question. Over the period 9 - 12 April, therefore, several purely South African monitoring patrols were sent out to the east of Mupa to monitor SWAPO activity along the infiltration route Cassinga - Jaula - Gluma - Chifuafua to Mulola.¹⁰⁶

The adverse weather conditions and FAPLA's logistic difficulties apart, the period 9 - 13 April was characterized by the large numbers of the local population who began taking advantage of the peace and stability offered by the presence of the JMC in the area by returning to their former dwellings in and around Mupa. The FAPLA component, anxious to see a return of civilian administration in Mupa, encouraged this process by organizing hand-outs of food to the returning inhabitants.¹⁰⁷

The return of relatively large numbers of the local population to Mupa also provided the SA component of the JMC with the opportunity to establish better relations with the inhabitants of the area, as well as with a valuable opportunity to propagate the idea of the JMC in general and to point out that it was SWAPO alone which was responsible for the ongoing conflict and problems of the JMC. Col Dippenaar accordingly requested the FAPLA components'

permission to address the local population of Mupa, and on 11 April and again on 13 April the SA members of the JMC (including Mr Auret of the DFA) addressed the local population on various suitable themes. On both occasions gifts and sweets were handed out to the children by the SA members, and on the latter occasion a formal ceremony was arranged at the mission church at which the statue, images and candles which had been removed by SA troops during a previous operation were handed back to the local community. The ceremony, complete with speeches, dancing and singing, proved a resounding success and did much to create an atmosphere of goodwill between the local population and the SA members of the JMC.¹⁰⁸

In the meantime, the SA Government had decided that the move of the JMC to Evale could proceed in view of the absence of reported violations during the period 10 - 12 April, and the JMC was notified accordingly late on the afternoon of 12 April.

The JMC HQ, for its part, wasted little time in reacting to the news. On the morning of 13 April a small JMC patrol was sent to Evale to reconnoitre the area for the most suitable site for the JMC HQ.¹⁰⁹ After some deliberation a site approximately 2 km north of the town was selected for the establishment of the base.

The following day a gathering of about 120 local population was addressed by members of the JMC team with a view to enlightening them on the imminent arrival of the JMC and its overall purpose.¹¹⁰ The patrol, consisting mainly of 32 Bn troops, remained on in Evale to safeguard the proposed JMC site for the arrival of the main forces.

On 15 April a team of logistic personnel and technicians was despatched from Mupa to the new site at Evale to prepare the base for occupation by the JMC HQ and attached monitoring forces.¹¹¹

THE JMC AT EVALE : 16 APRIL - 2 MAY 1984

The main JMC monitoring force and HQ moved from Mupa to Evale on 16 April.¹¹²

The JMCs activities during the first few days at Evale centred around attempts to solve the FAPLA contingents' growing logistic difficulties. The flooded state of the roads north of Mupa and the increased distance to Evale had made it all but impossible for FAPLA to re-supply its monitoring forces by road along the Jamba-Cassinga-Cuvelai-Mupa route.

Soon after arriving in Evale, therefore, the FAPLA component requested Col Dippenaar's permission to use the Ongiva airfield for logistic re-supply flights by fixed wing aircraft - the idea being to transport the supplies further north to Evale by road transport from Cahama. Col Dippenaar agreed to the request with the proviso that the airfield be properly reconnoitred by a joint monitoring team as Sector 10 could not guarantee the safety of the airfield against SWAPO or UNITA attacks.¹¹³

A joint SADF/FAPLA reconnaissance team was accordingly sent to inspect the Ongiva airfield on 18 April, and the following day an AN-26 aircraft landed with supplies from Cahama for the FAPLA monitoring forces in Evale.¹¹⁴

The logistic re-supply flights to Ongiva had to be halted after only one additional flight, however, as Sector 10 was simply not in a position to guarantee the safety of the airfield at this stage in view of the reported presence of SWAPO terrorists in the area. The FAPLA contingent consequently decided to have further supplies transported by road to Humbe from Cahama, from where they would be flown by helicopter to Evale - the FAPLA component had in the meantime acquired the temporary use of two MI8 helicopters on loan from Lubango.

Apart from their usefulness in relieving FAPLA's logistic difficulties, the MI8 helicopters enabled the FAPLA component to achieve parity in regard to most of the deployed monitoring patrols for the first time in several days. On 18 April a FAPLA company was trooped out to join the 32 Bn company patrolling the Cholombo/Bambi area 70 km north-east of Cuvelai. Shortly afterwards a FAPLA platoon was trooped in to join the 32 Bn patrols in the Chifuafoa shona 60 km east of Mupa between Mulola and Calema. The remaining two 32 Bn patrols which had been deployed without parity in the Nehone and Evale areas were recalled to Evale on completion of their monitoring missions.¹¹⁵

The JMC HQ itself, meanwhile, was quick to recover from the disruption of the move to Evale. On 17 April the FAPLA second-in-command, Maj Sebastao, rejoined the JMC after an absence of 10 days leave, and on the same day Maj Xavier informed the SA component that the proposed meeting between Minister R.F. Botha and Lt Col Rodriques had been approved by the MPLA Government and could now take place in Lusaka on 24 or 25 April. The following day Major Xavier left for Luanda to assist with preparations for the conference, leaving Maj Sebastao in temporary command of the FAPLA component.¹¹⁶

On 19 April the JMC HQ received news of the first violation of the Agreement since the move to Evale. A contact between a SWA TF (non JMC) patrol and SWAPO terrorists was reported to have taken place 15 km SSW of Techipa, during which three terrorists were killed and one seriously wounded. After the scene of the clash had been investigated by a JMC team, the incident was reported as violation No 21.¹¹⁷

The following day (20 April) Col Dippenaar left the JMC for Pretoria to assist in briefing the SA delegation for the Lusaka ministerial meeting. During the course of the day the FAPLA component notified their South African counterparts that the following members would comprise the Angolan delegation to the Lusaka talks:

Mr Rodriques - Minister for External Relations
Mr De Moure - Vice Minister for External Relations
Lt Col Monteiro - FAPLA deputy Chief of Staff
Maj Xavier - Head of FAPLA JMC
Mr Neto - Member of FAPLA JMC.¹¹⁸

On 21 April a second contact between Sector 10 (non JMC) forces and SWAPO terrorists occurred in the area SSW of Techipa, during which a SWAPO member was wounded and captured. The wounded terrorist was subsequently made available to the JMC for questioning, and the incident registered as violation Nr 22.¹¹⁹

During the daily meeting of the JMC on 22 April, a rather serious disagreement arose between the two components over the interpretation of the Lusaka Agreement. By this stage it had become apparent that Maj Sebastao interpreted the provisions of paragraph 10 of the Agreement differently from Maj Xavier.

The South African component had requested that a monitoring force be deployed in the area between Chicusse and Cahama west of the Cunene river, where SADF intelligence reports pointed to a substantial SWAPO presence. Maj Sebastao, apparently acting on the instructions of his government, objected to the deployment of a patrol in the area, however, claiming that as Cahama was north of the monitoring line (ie of the line parallel to Evale) only FAPLA (non JMC) forces were entitled to patrol the area for violations of the Agreement - only when the FAPLA forces reported a definite violation could JMC teams be called in to confirm the violation on the ground.

The FAPLA position as expounded by Maj Sebastao was in effect similar to the earlier argument by the Angolans that JMC patrols should only be deployed north of the monitoring line to investigate definite violations, implying that it was not their task to generally monitor the area for violations of the Agreement by SWAPO.¹²⁰

In the event, it was decided at the 22 April JMC meeting to refer the dispute to the ministerial conference scheduled to be held in Lusaka on 25 April for a final decision as the continuing dissension over the contentious issue was by now clearly having a negative effect on the activities of the JMC.

The Lusaka meeting on 25 April between the Angolan delegation headed by Kito Rodriques and a senior South African delegation headed by Foreign Minister R.F. Botha, Defence Minister Malan and the AG of SWA, Dr Willie van Niekerk, was hosted by Dr Kaunda, who treated the delegates to a post conference lunch with his "usual, well-known courtesy."¹²¹

The talks themselves were marked by "frank" (ie tough) exchanges on the question of South Africa's alleged support for UNITA, which had first been raised during the 28 March high-level conference in Mupa and which had been thrown into sharp focus by a UNITA ambush of a FAPLA patrol north of Cuvelai the day before. Angola's demands that SA stop supporting UNITA were met by denials from the South African delegation and counter-demands that Angola stop supporting the ANC, resulting in a more or less complete impasse over the issue.

The other items on the conference agenda were resolved rather more successfully. Agreement was reached on the principle of a swap of the POW's (one South African, one Cuban and thirty one FAPLA soldiers) who had been captured during OP ASKARI. It was decided that the details of the exchange should be dealt with at the high level JMC conference which was scheduled to be held in Evale on 29 April. Consensus was also reached over the differing interpretations of paragraph 10 of the Lusaka Agreement, with the South African view that JMC monitoring patrols could be deployed if necessary north of the monitoring line ultimately prevailing.¹²²

The final point of agreement reached during the Lusaka conference concerned the move of the JMC to Ongiva. It was decided that the final decision as to whether the JMC could be moved to Ongiva would be taken at the high-level conference at Evale on the basis of the situation on the ground at that time.

The precise situation on the ground in the AIQ at this stage was in fact not at all easy to determine.

On the one hand the monitoring patrols which had been deployed for nearly 3 weeks to the east of Cuvelai and Mupa were withdrawn on 27 and 28 April after having failed to find any signs of a SWAPO presence in the areas traditionally used by the terrorists as infiltration routes to the south.¹²³ This fact, together with the absence of any reported violations in the AIQ north of the Evale monitoring line during the period between the end of the Lusaka conference and the 29 April meeting at Evale, were used by the Angolan JMC component as evidence to substantiate their contention that the JMC HQ should be moved to Ongiva without further delay.

The South African component, on the other hand, was still convinced of a substantial SWAPO presence in the area to the east and south of Cahama which had not been monitored by any JMC patrols to date. More disturbing still, documents obtained from the SWAPO terrorist who had been captured on 19 April indicated that SWAPO had received explicit instructions from FAPLA to the effect that:

- a. SWAPO should avoid FAPLA deployments in the AIQ.
- b. SWAPO vehicles should avoid moving within the AIQ.

- c. SWAPO need only "lie low" until the end of May (the presumed end of the JMC's activities) when they would be able to proceed as normal with their activities within the AIQ.¹²⁴

In the event, the Angolan and South African delegations to the 29 April high-level conference at Evale, led by Lt Gen Geldenhuys and Vice Minister of External Affairs De Moure respectively, were able to resolve the differences in their perceptions of the actual state of affairs within the AIQ reasonably amicably. After discussions with their respective JMC components, the South African and Angolan delegations agreed that the JMC could move to Ongiva as soon as it was practicable - possibly by 3 May. Agreement was also reached with regard to the exchange of POWs - the International Red Cross would arrange the swap with the assistance of the GOC SWA TF and the JMC.

Among the other issues dealt with during the 29 April conference were:

- a. Sector 10's operation west of the Cunene. It was agreed that Sector 10 would be allowed to complete its operation against SWAPO currently in progress west of the Cunene even though it was north of the east-west monitor line running through Ongiva.
- b. The size of the JMC's monitoring forces. It was decided that the respective monitor forces at the disposal of the JMC could be increased if necessary according to the JMCs requirements..
- c. The duration of the monitor patrols. After hearing complaints by the Angolan delegation regarding the over-lengthy duration of the monitor patrols which in turn caused logistic re-supply problems, the conference decided that the issue should be resolved at JMC level.
- d. The parity of helicopter support. In reaction to the South African complaints that the FAPLA was not providing sufficient helicopter support for the trooping and re-supply of monitor patrols - which in turn adversely affected the timeous deployment of the joint monitor patrols - the Angolan delegation promised to investigate and rectify the situation.

- e. The deployment of a JMC patrol east of Cahama. It was agreed, on the basis of the Lusaka discussions on 25 April, to proceed with the deployment of a JMC patrol in the area to the east of Cahama even though this was north of the monitor line.

From the South African point of view, the results of the 29 April conference were both positive and immediate. At 0400B the following day a FAPLA company left Evale for deployment with 32 Bn troops in parity in the Chicusse area east of Cahama, and later in the day two MI8 helicopters arrived at the JMC for permanent use by the FAPLA component.¹²⁵

At the same time a JMC patrol was sent to Ongiva to reconnoitre and secure the area in view of the imminent move of the JMC HQ. As the town itself was in ruins as a result of years of devastating combat within its environs, a suitable site 6 km south of the town (west of the tar road) was chosen for the establishment of the JMC HQ. As soon as the area had been secured, South African and Angolan logistic teams from Evale arrived to erect the base facilities for the respective JMC components.

On 1 May, while the preparations for the JMC move to Ongiva were being finalized, the JMC HQ element visited Techamatete, where Col Dippenaar had the opportunity to meet the FAPLA commander and civilian commissioner in control of the town and to explain the objectives of the JMC to them. The SA component was also able to confirm that the FAPLA AA weapons had indeed been removed from the town as had been requested earlier.¹²⁶

The HQ element of the JMC moved to Ongiva by helicopter on 2 May, to be followed a day later by the main monitoring force which made the journey by vehicle.

By the afternoon of 3 May, the JMC was already functioning effectively at its new site.

THE JMC STALLS AT ONGIVA AS RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND ANGOLA
DETERIORATE

In view of the inordinate length of the JMCs stay at Ongiva (nearly 12 months) it is not proposed to discuss the JMCs activities at Ongiva in the same detail as the Cuvelai, Mupa and Evale phases of the history in question. The deployment of monitor patrols, the occurrence of violations, and the periodic change over of both HQ and monitor force personnel etc will therefore only be dealt with selectively to illustrate the overall trends of the JMCs history during its stay at Ongiva. (For a more detailed record of the JMC activities during this period, see the attached chronology of the JMC history).

From the South African point of view at least, the overall trends of the JMC's history from the time of its arrival in Ongiva are clearly discernible. The fact is that, after a promising first two months during which the FAPLA component complied with the provisions of the Lusaka Agreement in both spirit and deed, the Angolan attitude towards the JMC changed dramatically for the worse in the wake of the move to Ongiva.

The reasons for this change in attitude are not difficult to establish. With the arrival of the JMC in Ongiva, the Angolan Government had already succeeded in its prime aim - namely the withdrawal of South African forces from the greater part of the Cunene and the re-occupation by FAPLA of the key towns of Techamatete, Cuvelai, Mupa, Evale and Xangongo. The nearer the JMC approached the SWA border, consequently, the less enthusiasm the Angolans displayed in keeping to the provisions of the Agreement - hence the length of the JMCs stay at Ongiva.

Indeed, in the months following the move to Ongiva, it became increasingly evident that FAPLA was not only unable but also unwilling to control SWAPO, with almost daily evidence of collusion between FAPLA forces and SWAPO within the area in question. In other respect too, FAPLA began openly disregarding the spirit if not the letter of the Lusaka Agreement - for instance by building up the level of its (offensive) conventional forces in the AIQ and then trying to conceal this fact from the South Africans.

The end result was an inevitable deterioration in relations between the South African and Angolan components of the JMC to the point that at times it seemed as if the JMC might break up altogether.

An early indication of the hardening Angolan attitude to the JMC came after the JMC had been at Ongiva less than two days. The SA component had invited several senior Angolan officials including Vice Minister De Moure on behalf of Lt Gen Geldenhuys to a meeting at Ongiva during the evening of 4 May to discuss among other issues arrangements for the exchange of the prisoners.

Vice Minister De Moure, however, used the occasion to deliver a hardline political speech highly critical of the RSA. South Africa was accused of "creating" UNITA, and SWAPO was described as a "product" of the Republic's illegal occupation of Namibia. According to De Moure, peace would return to the region only when the RSA had totally withdrawn from Angola - no mention was made at any stage of Angola's responsibilities in respect of SWAPO in terms of the Agreement. Minister De Moure also took the South Africans to task over a recent SABC TV programme on the JMC which had highlighted the joint monitoring actions against SWAPO.¹²⁷

In fairness, it should be pointed out that De Moure's speech did not necessarily reflect the attitude of the Angolan JMC component itself at this stage - indeed the JMC member Mr Neto apologised for the speech to the SA component the following day.¹²⁸

The damage caused to South African/Angolan relations by De Moure's visit to Ongiva was at least partially overcome by a successful visit to Windhoek and Mariental by Col Dippenaar, Majors Xavier and Sebastiao and Mr Stone Carlos during the period 5/6 May to finalize the arrangements for the exchange of prisoners. After the JMC delegation had visited the prisoners and met with representatives of the Red Cross, the following arrangements were agreed upon with regard to the prisoner exchange:

- a. Place of the exchange - Ongiva airfield.
- b. The Angolan POWs to be split into groups of 15 and 16, to be released on separate occasions, with the second release following two days after the first.
- c. The SA prisoner to be exchanged with the first group of FAPLA prisoner's released.
- d. The Cuban to be included in either the first or the second exchange.

The date for the prisoner exchange was initially provisionally set for 14 May, but after various hitches and delays the prisoners were eventually only released on 22 and 24 May.

In the meantime, evidence of a concentrated presence of SWAPO terrorists in the shallow area between the monitor line and the SWA border began to mount steadily. On 11 May a non-JMC SADF patrol clashed with a SWAPO group 22 km NE of Oshikango, killing two SWAPO terrorists in the process. Later in the day another SADF patrol discovered a large cache of SWAPO munitions 15 km SE of Chiede. A few days later, on 16 May, an even larger SWAPO cache was discovered in the same area.¹³⁰

When one considers that the major objective of the entire JMC experiment, as far as the South Africans were concerned, was to prevent SWAPO from using Angolan territory as a springboard to launch its terrorist attacks on SWA, it would have been reasonable to have expected by this stage a gradual decrease in the number of internal terrorist incidents within SWA itself, in view of SWAPO's supposed exclusion from the AIQ. (It was generally accepted that SWAPO did not have the capability of supporting a terrorist campaign inside SWA for any length of time without being able to rely on the logistic support and safe haven of base areas in Angola). In fact, the number of internal incidents was running at an all time high during this period, with over 20 incidents per week reported during May alone. This was proof enough, as far as the SADF and SWA TF were concerned, that SWAPO was still moving to and fro through the AIQ to commit deeds of terror in SWA despite the Lusaka Agreement.¹³¹

The RSAs growing concerns about the effectiveness of the JMC were conveyed to the FAPLA component during a visit by Lt Gen Geldenhuys to Ongiva on 16 May. The Chief of the Army emphasized that the JMC activities had reached a critical point, and that further progress - including the final move of the JMC to Oshikango - was not possible until the AIQ had been totally cleared of a SWAPO or Cuban presence.¹³²

The prospect of the final JMC move to Oshikango on the SWA border was in fact already beginning to concern Lt Gen Geldenhuys and his senior SADF colleagues, as well as the DFA, because no definite arrangements had been made with Angola

as to what was to replace the JMC on its dissolution. The RSA had no guarantee that once the JMC had moved to Oshikango and the last South African troops had left Angola, that the Angolan Government would not renege on the Lusaka Agreement altogether and allow SWAPO a completely free hand to resume full-scale operations against SWA from Angolan territory.

Accordingly, Lt Gen Geldenhuys proposed to the FAPLA component during his visit to Ongiva on 16 May that another ministerial level meeting be convened as soon as possible in Lusaka to discuss the establishment of a "Joint Peacekeeping Commission" to oversee future security arrangements along the border after the completion of the JMCs mandate.¹³³

The Angolan component agreed to convey Lt Gen Geldenhuys's request for a ministerial level meeting to Luanda, and the following day (17 May) the South African component at Ongiva was notified that the Angolan Government had agreed to a ministerial level meeting on 21 May in Lusaka. The Angolan delegation would consist of Minister of the Interior Rodriques, the Angolan Minister of Defence (Col Mario Tonha), the Angolan Ambassador to Zambia, Vice Minister De Moure, Lt Cols Monteiro and Sequiera and the Secretary of Defence in the President's Office Maj Jose Maria.¹³⁴

The Angolan component, acting on the orders of Luanda, in fact made a last minute attempt to get the JMC moved to Oshikango before the 21 May conference in Lusaka, but the South Africans naturally refused to comply with the request on the grounds that the issue of SWAPO violations in the AIQ remained unresolved.¹³⁵

Concrete proposals regarding the establishment of a Joint Peacekeeping Commission (JPC) to replace the JMC, were made by the South African delegation headed by Ministers R.F. Botha and M.A. de M. Malan and Dr van Niekerk, during the 21 May meeting with the Angolan delegation in Lusaka. The South Africans suggested that a JPC be established to control the movement of SWAPO and UNITA across the border by means of a system of joint border patrols, border posts, and the joint investigation of border violations.¹³⁶ The SA delegation further suggested that both States make a declaration undertaking that they would not make their territories available to organizations (ie SWAPO and UNITA) which would carry out crossborder attacks against one another. In addition, Minister Botha suggested the possibility of a treaty on the utilization of the Caluque/Ruacana hydro-electric scheme.

In response, the Angolans indicated that they would find it difficult to control SWAPO by means of a Joint Peacekeeping Commission if that organization was not involved in the peace process¹³⁷ and if steps were not taken towards the early implementation of Resolution 435. The Angolan delegation, however, undertook to refer South Africa's proposals to its Government for consideration.¹³⁸

The South African delegation had travelled to Lusaka in the hope of resolving the problems confronting the JMC, as well as with the intent of clearly mapping out the future of the SWA/Angolan peace initiative. As it happened, the rather inconclusive nature of the 21 May Lusaka conference did little towards improving the situation on the ground as far as the JMC (SA) was concerned.

On the contrary, the number of SWAPO violations of the Agreement increased dramatically in the wake of the conference, with no less than 5 violations being registered during the last 8 days of the month.¹³⁹

The increased tempo of violations, moreover, was accompanied by a marked deterioration in the hitherto reasonably amicable relations between the SA and Angolan components, with several incidents leading to an atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion between the respective sides.

Prior to a JMC visit to Quiteve on 25 May, for example, the SA component received an intelligence report which indicated that 19 Brigade HQ in Mulondo had warned the FAPLA element at Quiteve to hide certain weaponry (including heavy AA cannons) for the duration of the visit and to reduce the FAPLA presence in the town to company strength - a clear indication that FAPLA was being less than honest about the nature and scale of its forces re-occupying the AIQ.¹⁴⁰

The following day the Angolan JMC component informed the South Africans that they now objected to the registration of violations 28 - 31 (despite the evidence of captured SWAPO terrorists) as these had not been properly investigated by JMC teams. To make matters worse, the Angolans dismissed the violations in their own situation report to Luanda with the inflammatory statement "The South African alleged violations are all spectre fabrications so as to delay their retreat."¹⁴¹

The unsatisfactory attitude of the Angolan JMC component (itself probably the result of pressure from higher authority), the continuing violations, and the lack of response by the Angolan Government to the South African proposals which had been made at the Lusaka conference, led Lt Gen Geldenhuys to cancel plans to attend a high-level conference at Ongiva which had been planned for 30 May.¹⁴²

On 31 May, in an apparent fit of pique at Lt Gen Geldenhuys's refusal to attend the proposed high-level conference, the FAPLA component informed Col Hall - who had in the meantime replaced Col Dippenaar as the OC of the SA component - that the SAAF would not be allowed to carry out any further reconnaissance flights over the AIQ as this was not in the Lusaka Agreement (Two flights, whose aim was to detect SWAPO concentrations in the AIQ, had already been authorized up to this point).¹⁴³

The already strained relations between the South African and Angolan components of the JMC were to deteriorate still further during the month of June, reaching virtual breaking point by the end of the month.

As always, SWAPO's continued presence in the AIQ and refusal to comply with the provisions of the Lusaka Agreement lay at the root of the difficulties at the JMC, with no less than 8 violations (No's 33 - 41) recurring during the month.¹⁴⁴

In the opinion of the SA component, the Angolan component was simply not doing enough to ensure SWAPO's compliance with the Agreement - this despite warnings by the South African component that no further progress was possible in respect of the move of the JMC to Oshikango while SWAPO forces continued to occupy the AIQ.

Worse still, several incidents occurred during June to cause the South Africans attached to the JMC to suspect that FAPLA might even have been actively co-operating with SWAPO within the AIQ. On various occasions during the month the JMC (SA) received reports that SWAPO terrorists were wearing FAPLA uniforms, and on 6 June a terrorist wearing a FAPLA jacket was killed in a contact with SADF forces east of Namacunde. On 19 June a report (unconfirmed) was received to the effect that SWAPO members in FAPLA uniform were present at Caluaque, Mongua and even at the JMC in Ongiva itself.¹⁴⁵

The SA component also had reason to believe that FAPLA was on occasion "tipping off" SWAPO in regard to JMC deployments and planning, allowing SWAPO to take evasive action where necessary. A document found on a terrorist killed during one skirmish, for example, contained the following incriminating statement:

"On 19 Junie 1984 four Cadres of our group have been caught by FAPLA for we did not consult them before, anyhow they did not harm them, only warned them to consult each other when we want to approach the area which they are occupying."¹⁴⁶

A marked change in the attitude of the Angolan JMC members also became evident during the course of the month. Whereas initially the Angolan members had been unquestionably co-operative and open in their behaviour at the JMC, from the beginning of June the FAPLA attitude became noticeably more critical and even devious vis a vis their South African counterparts. Examples of this change in attitude include the following:

a. The psychological pressuring of members of 32 Bn.

Early in June it became apparent that FAPLA members were putting undue psychological pressure on the mainly Portuguese-speaking members of 32 Bn who were predominantly of Angolan origin. It was discovered that FAPLA political commissars had been interrogating 32 Bn members at length regarding alleged South African support for UNITA, and other sensitive aspects of the SADF and SWA TF military organization. As several 32 Bn members still had families in Angola and were therefore especially vulnerable to intimidation and blackmail attempts by FAPLA's political commissars, it was decided to replace the 32 Bn companies' attached to the JMC with two companies of 201 (Owambo) Bn and one SACC Company with effect 12 June.¹⁴⁷

b. Continued attempts to disguise the extent of FAPLA's build-up of offensive forces in the re-occupied areas of the AIQ. Although FAPLA had undertaken verbally at the outset of the JMCs activities not to introduce offensive, conventional forces into the AIQ, the build up of FAPLA's forces in the AIQ - complete with heavy AA weapons, cannon and APCs - continued apace during June amid continuing attempts by the Angolan component to disguise the level of this build-up from the South African component of the JMC.

- c. The "politicising" and incitement of members of the local population south of the monitor line. FAPLA developed the habit during the period in question of travelling by vehicle south of the monitor line to places as far afield as Calueque to address overtly political rallies without informing the South African component. This, together with the placing of certain restrictions on the local population, was in clear contravention of the Lusaka Agreement.¹⁴⁸
- d. The appearance of anti-RSA propaganda pamphlets and placards in Ongiva. On 3 June anti South African propaganda placards were discovered in Ongiva itself. These had been distributed with the knowledge if not on the actual instructions of the FAPLA JMC component.¹⁴⁹
- e. Attempts to discredit the SADF monitoring forces. During the course of the month the Angolan component launched what appeared to be a concerted attempt to discredit the SA forces operating south of the monitor line and attached to the JMC by accusing them almost daily of assaulting and robbing members of the local population. These alleged misdemeanours were then cited as examples of South African "violations" of the Agreement.¹⁵⁰

Apart from the above-mentioned factors which combined to place a severe strain on South African/Angolan relations at the JMC, another cause of tension during this period was FAPLA's continued refusal to accept the right of the JMC forces to patrol on a routine basis north of the monitor line, even though this issue had supposedly been resolved in the SA components favour during the ministerial and high-level conferences at the end of April. Thus early in June the FAPLA component of a JMC patrol near Dova was withdrawn when the SA commander decided to follow-up approximately 25 spoor heading in a northerly direction. Again, on 26 June the FAPLA component objected to the deployment of a JMC patrol in the Melunga area on the grounds that it was north of the monitor line.¹⁵¹

The deterioration in the situation at the JMC was naturally a cause for serious concern for the SA Government, as by this stage it seemed as if the Lusaka Agreement itself was in danger. Towards the end of June, consequently, the SA Government approached the Angolan Government with the proposal that

another ministerial level meeting be held in Lusaka to try and resolve the difficulties surrounding the JMC. The Angolan Government agreed to the proposal, and a conference was duly arranged for 2 July in Lusaka.

The 2 July ministerial conference was attended by delegations headed by the South African Minister of Defence and Lt Col Kito Rodriques (the Angolan Minister of the Interior). The South Africans confronted the Angolan delegation with the increasing number of violations by SWAPO of the Lusaka Agreement in recent weeks, which in turn had caused a deterioration in relations at the JMC and increasing doubts on the part of the RSA of Angola's ability and willingness to control SWAPO. Minister Malan also enquired about Angola's response to the proposals which had been put forward by the RSA at the previous ministerial meeting in Lusaka on 21 May regarding the establishment of a Joint Peacekeeping Commission. (JPC)

In response, Minister Rodriques admitted that the number of violations had increased and that Angola had experienced difficulties in controlling SWAPO. This was so, he explained, because SWAPO was not officially involved in the peace process. With regard to the South African proposals concerning the establishment of a JPC, Rodriques replied that Angola accepted the idea of a permanent JPC to replace the JMC in principle, but that the details of such a commission would still have to be worked out by the respective parties - preferably at a high level conference held at the JMC itself. Likewise, the question of a general treaty governing the utilization of the Ruacana/Calueque hydro-electric scheme was accepted in principle.¹⁵³

The Angolan delegation's viewpoints on the crucial issues of SWAPO's inclusion in the peace process, the establishment of a JPC, and a treaty on the Calueque scheme were sufficiently encouraging for the RSA to launch a concerted diplomatic effort during the remainder of July aimed at resolving the impasse on all three questions.

The diplomatic initiative on SWAPO was accorded priority, as the SA Government was of course only too aware that the current difficulties surrounding the JMC and the peace process in general could be resolved in the long term only if SWAPO could be effectively involved in the peace negotiations. Accordingly, a few days after the 2 July Lusaka meeting, the SA Government despatched Lt Gen P.W. van der Westhuizen to Lusaka for a highly sensitive follow up meeting

with Kito Rodriques on the question of negotiations with SWAPO. The Angolan Minister was told that the RSA had no objections to talks between SWAPO and the Administrator General (AG) of SWA on any questions affecting the political future of SWA, and secondly that the RSA was investigating the possibility of a statement by SA and SWAPO on the cessation of hostilities.¹⁵⁴

Lt Gen van der Westhuizen's meeting with Kito Rodriques paved the way for direct discussions between SWAPO and the AG of SWA on the Cape Verde Islands on 24 July. The RSA had agreed to the discussions after stressing that:

- a. There could be no possibility of any discussion of the implementation of Resolution 435 without a firm commitment on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

The Administrator-General and SWAPO could discuss, firstly the statements which both sides would convey to the Secretary-General concerning the cessation of hostilities and secondly SWAPO's peaceful participation in the democratic political process of South West Africa.

- The AG duly proceeded to Cape Verde on 25 July 1984 and held talks lasting two hours with SWAPO's President Sam Nujoma. However, Nujoma claimed that SWAPO had not been informed of the AG's conditions and indicated that SWAPO would be prepared to cease hostilities only if both sides agreed to send messages to the Secretary-General of the UN requesting the immediate implementation of Resolution 435.

Under these circumstances there was no possibility of progress being made, and both President dos Santos of Angola and President Perreira of Cape Verde expressed their disappointment at SWAPO's obstinate stand during talks with Nujoma in Luanda on 30 July.¹⁵⁵

A few days after the Cape Verde meeting, the SA Government prepared a draft statement on a ceasefire for despatch to the UN Secretary-General in a last-ditch attempt to get SWAPO to commit itself to a cessation of hostilities.¹⁵⁶ This initiative too, however, foundered on the bedrock of SWAPO intransigence.

As fate would have it, the failure of the South African attempts to include SWAPO in the peace negotiations was mirrored by the lack of any real progress on the two other main issues which had been raised during the 2 July ministerial conference in Lusaka - namely South Africa's proposals regarding the JPC and the proposed Ruacana/Calueque treaty. Whereas the negotiations with SWAPO had broken down owing to the organization's intransigence, however, the initiatives on the JPC and Calueque stalled primarily as a result of Angola's indecisiveness and prevarication on the issue.

The question of a suitable permanent peace treaty to govern Angolan/South African relations once the JMC had moved to the border was the main topic of discussions at a high level conference held at the JMC HQ in Ongiva on 11 July. The South African delegation on this occasion comprised Lt Gens Geldenhuys, Gleeson and Earp (C Army, CS OPS and CAF respectively), while the Angolan delegation was headed by Lt Cols Monteiro and Sequiera.¹⁵⁷

It was agreed that a committee representative of both countries should be established within the framework of the JMC to work out a concept peace and security agreement - in effect similar to the RSA's initial proposals on the establishment of a JPC - to replace the JMC on the expiry of the latter's mandate. (The South African members of the Committee were to be the OC of Sector 10, Brig A.J.M. Joubert, the OC of the JMC (SA), Col Hall and Mr J. van Rensburg, the DFA representative at the JMC who had replaced Mr Auret in the interim). It was also agreed that the JMC should not move to Oshikango before the draft Agreement on the proposed JPC had been submitted to the respective governments and approved by the same.

The first meeting of the joint Committee tasked with drawing up draft proposals for a JPC was scheduled to meet on 25 or 28 July. As the date drew nearer, however, Angola prevaricated on the issue and requested a postponement of the talks, probably while they awaited the outcome of the initiative concerning the cessation of hostilities, and while they reinforced their forces in the AIQ. (The talks in fact eventually took place on 25 August at the JMC without any final decision on the establishment of a JPC being taken.)¹⁵⁸

The day after the high level conference at Ongiva on 11 July, Lt Col Monteiro's Angolan delegation was flown to Ruacana to discuss the hydro-electric and water-supply scheme with the AG of SWA, Dr W. van Niekerk. The latter presented the Angolan delegation with a draft Agreement regulating the future joint operation of the scheme. Once again, however, the Angolans displayed a reluctance to commit themselves to anything definite, and like the JPC proposals the draft Agreement remained just that.¹⁵⁹

The corollary of the disappointing outcome of South Africa's three-pronged diplomatic initiative on the JMC during July was of course a continuing stalemate at the JMC itself.

Although the succession of ministerial and high-level meetings did succeed to a certain extent in improving relations between the SA and Angolan components at the JMC, the JMC was in fact no closer to moving to Oshikango at the end of July than it had been at the beginning of the month.

Altogether 9 violations of the Agreement (no's 42 - 49) were registered during July, for which SWAPO was responsible for 8 and the RSA 1 (On 28 July a light SAAF aircraft, presumably a Bosbok, had flown over Xangongo).

The violations by SWAPO occurred both north as well as south of the monitor line, providing further proof, if any was needed, that SWAPO was continuing to deliberately ignore the provisions of the Lusaka Agreement.¹⁶⁰

The SA component, for its part, could do little more than repeatedly express its concern over the continuing SWAPO violations to its Angolan counterpart at the daily meetings of the JMC. On 4 August, for example, the OC of the SA component Col J.L. Jordaan (who had in the meantime relieved Col Hall) requested his FAPLA counterpart (Maj Xavier) to hold further discussions with SWAPO's leaders in an attempt to persuade them to leave the AIQ.¹⁶¹

The entreaties by the SA component appeared to have little effect, however, as by 12 August a further 7 violations (no's 50 - 56) had been registered. Sector 10 intelligence also reported at this time that a large group of 119 terrorists was moving southwards through the AIQ along SWAPO's traditional infiltration route towards the SWA border.¹⁶²

The undiminished level of the SWAPO threat was in fact not the only aspect of the Lusaka Agreement of major concern to the RSA at this stage. By the beginning of August SADF intelligence quarters had gained information from various sources to the effect that FAPLA was proceeding with the clandestine build-up of its offensive conventional forces in the re-occupied areas of the AIQ to a level out of keeping with the requirements of the situation and the earlier undertaking to keep the SA component informed of FAPLA deployments and force levels within the AIQ. Included in the sophisticated military hardware reported to have been deployed by FAPLA in centres such as Techamatete were AA weapons and missiles, radar systems and T55 tanks.

The RSA - and specifically the SADF - was naturally sensitive to the security implications for SWA of any major build-up of offensive conventional forces within the AIQ. Accordingly, Lt Gens Geldenhuys and Earp authorized a SADF photo-reconnaissance (photo-recce) flight on 12 August to establish the accuracy of the reports indicating the presence of tanks, radar etc at Xangongo, Cuvelai, Mulondo and Techamatete.¹⁶³

The SAAF photo-recce flight succeeded in obtaining dozens of photographs confirming the presence of FAPLA radar and missile systems as well as T55 tanks within the AIQ - particularly at Techamatete.

The 12 August photo-recce flight, however, caused a furore among FAPLA ranks. The acting OC of the Angolan component of the JMC at the time, Maj Sebastiao, insisted on having the recce flight registered as a violation of the Agreement (Violation no 57) - which of course technically it was, as the aircraft involved had flown north of the monitoring line.¹⁶⁴

During the next few days, the Angolans displayed an increasingly hysterical attitude towards the question of alleged SAAF violations, with almost daily reports of overflights of the AIQ by SAAF aircraft - this despite the fact that in reality no further SAAF photo-recce missions were undertaken north of the SWA border.

The Angolan allegations regarding SAAF violations of the Agreement was one of the major points of discussion at the ministerial meeting between R.F. Botha and Kito Rodrigues which had in the meantime been arranged for 17 August in Lusaka with a view to following up the issues of the proposed JPC, Ruacana and SWAPO violations.

In fact little real progress was made on the afore-mentioned issues, chiefly because the Angolan delegation concentrated on the question of the alleged SAAF violation(s) of the Agreement. In response, Minister Botha admitted to the SAAF photo-recce mission of 12 August, but denied that any further such missions had taken place. With regard to the 12 August mission, Minister Botha made the following statement to the Angolans:

"The South African action had been necessary to investigate reports obtained from SWAPO prisoners of substantial SWAPO activities in the area in question as well as information that the MPLA was in the process of building up its forces in contravention of the spirit of the Lusaka Agreement and the assurances which the United States gave South Africa in January 1984, that Angola would not take advantage of the disengagement process to the detriment of the security of South West Africa. Because of the importance of these allegations for mutual confidence and the continuation of the Lusaka Agreement it was considered imperative to investigate these reports.

The South African Government has been shocked to learn that Angola had indeed deployed modern armaments in the area which cannot possibly be used against UNITA and which must therefore be construed as encouragement of and protection for SWAPO's designs to increase its violence against South West Africa and to return to Angola with impunity. South Africa has also learned to its dismay that a major southward movement of SWAPO terrorists through the area in question is at present under way."¹⁶⁶

Minister Botha's explanation of the SAAF photo-recce flight of 12 August did little to calm the almost neurotic Angolan attitude to the issue, and two days after the Lusaka meeting the SA JMC component was confronted by allegations from Maj Dias, during the course of an extraordinary JMC meeting called by the latter, to the effect that no less than 83 SAAF flights had been observed over the period 17/18 August as far north as Lubango! The South Africans were informed by Maj Dias that the Angolan Minister of Defence himself was extremely worried about the SAAF violations and the affect these were having on the mutual trust between the two parties to the Lusaka Agreement.¹⁶⁷

Further Angolan allegations regarding SAAF violations were brought up at the JMC meetings during the course of the next few days. On 20 August the Angolan component alleged that SAAF aircraft had been observed to fly within 20 km of Lubango the previous day, and on 23 August the Angolans claimed that SAAF aircraft had overflowed the AIQ along the route Lubango - Cela - Vierei - Xangango - Techamatete. The Angolans insisted on registering the two allegations as violations for their own records (the South Africans naturally refused to accept the registration of the violations). Col Jordaan, for his part, warned the Angolan component that the increasingly wild Angolan allegations were seriously affecting relations between the two components.¹⁶⁸

By the end of August it had in fact become all too apparent to the SA component that the Angolans were engaged in a repeat of the tactics they had employed in June and July, when persistent allegations of brutality by SA troops against the local population had been used to divert attention from the high level of SWAPO violations. The only difference was that alleged SAAF violations were now being used to draw attention away from the real source of violations of the Agreement, namely SWAPO. (By the end of August a further 5 violations by SWAPO had been registered).

The Angolan allegations of SAAF violations had reached such ludicrous proportions by the month end that Lt Gen Geldenhuys felt compelled to call for the convening of a high-level conference at Ongiva on 2 September to discuss the whole future of the JMC with the Angolans.

The 2 September high-level conference between delegation headed by Lt Gen Geldenhuys and Lt Col Monteiro was the scene of some very frank and tough exchanges on the alleged SAAF violations in particular and the question of violations in general.

After calling into question both the accuracy and the methods used by the Angolans to report the so-called SAAF violations, Lt Gen Geldenhuys denied categorically that any South African aircraft had overflowed Angolan territory apart from the single photo-recce flight of 12 August, which had in fact revealed the presence of offensive FAPLA weapons in the AIQ including tanks. With regard to the question of violations in general, the Chief of the Army pointed out that to date there had been 63 registered violations of the Lusaka Agreement, of which 3 had been the responsibility of the SA Government and the

other 60 the responsibility of SWAPO (ie the Angolan Government). Lt Gen Geldenhuys informed the Angolans that the RSA was not at all convinced of Angola's willingness to control SWAPO or sincerity in making the Lusaka Agreement work. To illustrate his point the general produced a series of graphs which depicted a rising trend in the number of both internal and external violations in recent months.

Not surprisingly, Lt Col Monteiro was placed on the defensive by the tough line adopted by Lt Gen Geldenhuys on the subject of violations of the Agreement. The Fapla chief of staff admitted the increasing number of SWAPO violations but stated that Angola had been trying its best to control SWAPO within the AIQ. FAPLA's efforts in this regard, however, had been hampered by the internal war against UNITA which had prevented FAPLA from being able to deploy sufficient forces to restrict SWAPO from the AIQ.

After a further frank exchange of views on the relative merits/demerits of each other's cases, the conference concluded with agreement that another meeting along the lines of the original Lusaka conference should be convened with a view to discussing the move of the JMC to the border, the termination of the Lusaka Agreement, and the creation of a Joint Peacekeeping Commission.¹⁶⁹

Like all the previous high-level and ministerial meetings, the 2 September meeting was to have little visible effect on the situation within the AIQ, with the high level of SWAPO violations continuing throughout the months of September and October. Nine further violations by SWAPO (No's 64 - 72) were recorded in September after the high-level conference, and a further nine were registered in October (No's 73 - 81).¹⁷⁰

The forceful manner in which the RSA had stated its case at the 2 September high-level conference did at least result, however, in an improved atmosphere of co-operation at the JMC itself. For one thing, the Angolan component desisted from making the almost daily allegations of SAAF violations which had been a feature of the JMC meetings in August. In fact the SAAF was accused of overflying the AIQ only once during the entire September-October period - on 19 September the Angolan component alleged that SAAF aircraft had overflown Cuvelai.¹⁷¹

The Angolan component also demonstrated a welcome change of heart in the wake of the 2 September conference with regard to the question of deploying JMC monitoring forces in parity north of the monitor line. On 9 September for example, the Angolan component agreed to the deployment of a monitoring patrol in parity in the Cuamato, Mupa, Evale and Dova box to investigate reports (from a captured terrorist) of SWAPO concentrations in the region. Later in the month JMC patrols were deployed in parity as far north as Cuvelai.¹⁷²

At the level of the troops themselves, meanwhile, the inordinate length of the JMCs stay at Ongiva was beginning to cause a few difficulties, with the fatigue of the troops regularly sent out on patrol matched only by the boredom of the personnel confined to the routine logistic and administrative tasks around the base. The negative effects on the personnel of the length of the JMCs stay at Ongiva was overcome to a certain extent, however, by the periodic change-over of troops and regular sporting and social diversions such as soccer and volley-ball matches, film shows etc.

The Angolans, for their part, did not seem to be overly concerned by the prolonged stay of the JMC in Ongiva. (Originally scheduled to be in Ongiva for 7 days, by the end of October the JMC had been stalled in the town for precisely six months). On the contrary, the Angolan component conspicuously neglected to press for any follow-up high-level or ministerial conference after that of 2 September. Neither did they mention at any stage during this period (September-October 1984) the possibility or even the desirability of the final JMC move to Oshikango.

Indeed, the lack of Angolan interest in the final move of the JMC during the period in question was such that the South African component began to harbour suspicions that the continued JMC presence in Ongiva actually suited the Angolan government. With the JMC stalled at Ongiva, the Angolans had a perfect excuse to keep the Cubans on in Angola on the pretext that South Africa had not completed the withdrawal of its troops. Furthermore, while the JMC remained on Angolan soil the threat of renewed major South African incursions into Angola (ie a return to the status quo existing before the formation of the JMC) was minimal. This in turn allowed the bulk of the FAPLA forces to operate freely against UNITA.

Whatever the case may have been, the lack of urgency displayed by the Angolans re the move of the JMC from Angola during this period was highly ironic in view of their insistence at the beginning of the exercise that the JMC HQ move southwards strictly on schedule.

As it was, the lackadaisical Angolan attitude to the JMC during the period in question was not shared by the South Africans - for several reasons.

For one thing, the RSA was by this stage becoming more than a little frustrated at the lack of progress in resolving the outstanding problems preventing the JMC from moving to Oshikango.

For another thing, the RSA was subjected to considerable pressure from the USA during September/October to finalize the whole JMC process. The American Administration - in particular Dr Crocker - had in fact come under extremely hostile criticism from the frontline states during September for "deliberately delaying" the South African withdrawal from Angola.¹⁷³

The upshot of this combined pressure on the South African and American Governments to finalize the JMC process was a meeting between representatives from both countries at the Cape Verde Islands on 31 October/1 November. Dr Crocker informed the South African delegation that the MPLA government and Cuba had accepted the idea of a Cuban withdrawal from Angola in principle, and that therefore the last major remaining obstacle to the final withdrawal of South African troops (ie the JMC) from Angola had been removed. In response, the SA delegation, mainly comprising DFA representatives, informed the Americans that direct follow-up negotiations with the Angolan Government would be organized as soon as possible with a view to completing the withdrawal process and finalizing the JMCs activities. The decision was subsequently made public in the form of a DFA statement to the media late on 1 November.¹⁷⁴

THE COMPLETION OF THE DISENGAGEMENT PROCESS AND THE DISBANDMENT OF THE JMC : 1 NOVEMBER 1984 - 16 MAY 1985

A high-level conference with the Angolans was accordingly organized for 19 November at Ongiva with a view to discussing the final withdrawal of the JMC to Oshikango.

As it happened, the 19 November high-level meeting between delegations headed by Lt Gen Geldenhuys and Lt Col Monteiro failed - as so often before - to produce any definite conclusions regarding the future of the JMC. The Angolan delegation proposed merely that a ministerial meeting be arranged as soon as possible to discuss the final date for the move of the JMC to the border. As for the other matters on the Agenda - namely the lack of progress on the proposed JPC and the technical discussions on the Calueque/Ruacana scheme, and the continuing SWAPO activities in the AIQ - the Angolan delegation proved equally evasive. Lt Col Monteiro contested Lt Gen Geldenhuys's assertion that the number of SWAPO violations had increased significantly during the last few weeks and that SWAPO was poised to launch another major rainy season offensive to SWA from Angola. With regard to the proposals regarding the JPC and the Calueque-Ruacana scheme, the Angolans suggested that these issues be discussed at ministerial level.¹⁷⁵

In view of the fact that the expectations of the media and public had been aroused concerning the outcome of the meeting on account of the earlier statement on 1 November by the DFA, it was decided to release the following joint statement to the media at the conclusion of the 19 November conference:

"Delegations from South African and Angola led respectively by Gen J. Geldenhuys, Chief of the Army, and Lt Col Ngongo Monteiro, Deputy Chief of Staff of FAPLA, met at the Joint Monitoring Commission Headquarters at Ongiva on 19 November 1984. They discussed the final move of the JMC to the SWA/Angolan border in terms of the Lusaka Agreement.

It was decided that a ministerial meeting between South Africa and Angola should be held as soon as possible to set a final date for the move of the JMC HQ to the border and to reach an agreement which would ensure peace and stability along the SWA/Angolan border after the completion of the JMC's functions. It was also decided that technical experts from Angola and SWA/Namibia should meet as soon as possible to discuss matters affecting the Ruacana/Calueque scheme."¹⁷⁶

The envisaged ministerial meeting between SA and Angola in fact failed to materialize. It had been agreed during the 19 November conference that Angola would be responsible for proposing a definite date for the ministerial meeting

to finalize the affairs of the JMC. During the months which followed, however, the RSA waited in vain for the Angolans to propose a date for the proposed ministerial talks.

Whether by design or sheer lack of interest in the JMC, the Angolan government appeared to place the JMC on the "back-burner" during the period November 1984 - March 1985, with no diplomatic activity of any consequence taking place in respect of the JMC.

The diplomatic impasse regarding its future did not significantly affect the activities of the JMC itself, however, and during November and December 1984 the JMC settled into a routine relatively undisturbed by the acrimony and disagreements which had been a feature of the period June - October. The more relaxed atmosphere at the JMC HQ was reflected by the absence of quarrelling over the investigation and registration of violations. Although 10 violations of the Agreement by SWAPO (no's 82 - 91)¹⁷⁷ occurred during November and a further 7 during December,¹⁷⁸ all the violations were accepted by the Angolan component without reservation and registered as such. By this stage, too, a compromise regarding the deployment of JMC patrols in strict parity had been reached by the JMC. Although the general principle of deploying JMC patrols in parity was adhered to, on certain occasions purely FAPLA JMC patrols were allowed to deploy north of the monitor line in search of UNITA, while conversely purely South African JMC patrols were given permission to deploy south of the monitor line against SWAPO. The relaxation of the principle of deployment in strict parity removed at a stroke one of the major causes of friction between the components to date.

For the rest, the relatively low number of violations in December provided both components with the opportunity to relieve personnel in need of a well-deserved rest.

The tempo of violations of the Agreement increased significantly in January, however, as SWAPO launched its annual rainy season offensive. A total of 21 violations (no's 99 - 120) were registered in January, with an all-time high of 16 violations occurring during the ten day period from 21 to 31 January alone. No less than 19 SWAPO terrorists were killed by 101 and 201 Battalion reaction force teams (sometimes operating under the control of Sector 10) within the AIQ during the ten day period in question.¹⁷⁹

The high number of violations resulting from SWAPO infiltrating its terrorist into SWA through the AIQ during January tapered off somewhat in February, with 9 violations (no's 121 - 129) being registered during the course of the month.¹⁸⁰ Nevertheless, the damage had already been done, and FAPLA's continued inability to prevent SWAPO from using the AIQ as a springboard to launch attacks against SWA remained a source of extreme concern to the South African component and the military and diplomatic hierarchy in Pretoria Responsible for the JMC.

In fact by the beginning of March 1985 the RSA was becoming more than a little disillusioned with the JMC. Not only was the prospect of completely removing SWAPO from the AIQ becoming increasingly unrealistic by this stage, but Angola's failure to respond to any of the suggestions which had been made by the Republic at the 19 November 1984 high-level conference was disheartening in the extreme. Equally frustrating was the fact that it was not possible in the absence of any high-level contact with the Angolans to determine the MPLA's real intentions regarding the future of the JMC.

In the event, the SA Government determined to make a last-ditch attempt in March to become involved in high-level discussions with its Angolan counterpart with a view to reaching some sort of finality on the JMC question.

As it happened, the opportunity to get the stalled high-level negotiations with the Angolans re-started presented itself on 7 March, when the Angolan component of the JMC approached the South African OC of the JMC, Col J.O. van der Merwe, with a request to allow FAPLA to increase the size of its non-JMC forces in the Ongiva area, and to allow the same to operate south of the monitor line against UNITA - according to the Angolan component, UNITA was operating against FAPLA's logistic routes from two bases SW of Ongiva to such effect that FAPLA's logistic route had been completely severed by UNITA ambushes near Mongua.¹⁸¹ The Angolan request was subsequently discussed in more detail at a meeting at Ongiva between the OC of Sector 10, Brig Joubert, and Lt Col Kianda on 13 March.¹⁸²

The Angolan request was duly referred by the SA component to the Chief of the Army. After consulting his DFA counterpart, Mr D. Steward, Lt Gen Geldenhuys in turn instructed the SA component to inform the Angolan component that the

request involved a major deviation from the Lusaka Agreement and therefore could only be discussed at an appropriate high-level conference, which was in any case necessary as various other issues concerning the JMC needed to be resolved.¹⁸³

A high-level conference was accordingly arranged for 31 March at Ongiva. The conference was chaired by Col van der Merwe on the SA side and Capt Tony Azevedo from the Angolans, with Lt Gen Geldenhuys and Lt Col Monteiro heading the South African and Angolan delegations respectively.

The major point of discussion was of course the FAPLA request to be allowed to deploy non - JMC forces south of the monitor line against UNITA. After an involved discussion of the technical difficulties involved, Lt Gen Geldenhuys agreed to the FAPLA request on condition that the SA component be kept informed of the precise nature and location of the deployments so as to prevent the possibility of clashes with SA troops. Lt Gen Geldenhuys also obtained a concession from Lt Col Monteiro in return - viz that SA troops attached to the JMC be allowed to deploy north of the monitor line as often as was necessary.

With the issue of the deployment of non-JMC forces north and south of the monitoring line resolved to both parties' satisfaction, Lt Gen Geldenhuys and Mr Steward seized the opportunity, as planned, to press the Angolans for a definite decision regarding South Africa's earlier proposals on the JPC and a treaty on the Ruacana/Calueque scheme. Predictably, however, Lt Col Monteiro replied evasively, stating merely that the Angolan Government would convey its sentiments on the two issues to the British Ambassador or the USA Administration in due course.¹⁸⁴

The evasive Angolan response to the queries regarding the future of the JMC confirmed once again a growing suspicion in both the military and Foreign Affairs circles in the Republic that the Angolan Government was really not interested in continuing to co-operate with the RSA at government level on the JMC.

In many ways, the 31 March conference was a watershed as far as the South African attitude to the JMC was concerned.

The fact of the matter is that the inconclusive outcome of the conference and the unco-operative attitude of the Angolan Government forced the RSA - in particular the SADF and DFA - to drastically review their attitude to the JMC.

By this stage, indeed, it had become all too apparent to both the SADF and DFA that the JMC had outlived its usefulness. Even the military advantages of continuing with the JMC were by no means as self evident as they had appeared at the outset of the exercise. True, the JMC entitled the RSA to maintain troops on Angolan soil, legally; it had proved a useful source of intelligence to the SADF; and the JMC's activities had undoubtedly restricted SWAPO's freedom of movement in the AIQ to a certain extent. On the other hand, however, the JMC had palpably failed to prevent SWAPO from operating from the AIQ against SWA. The high number of violations by SWAPO in March (12 - no's 130 - 141) in fact demonstrated conclusively that FAPLA was no closer to succeeding in its stated intention of controlling SWAPO than at any previous stage. The JMC had failed, moreover, to prevent SWAPO's annual rainy season incursion into SWA, where the number of internal incidents was at least as high as in previous years.

If the military advantages of persisting with the JMC were becoming increasingly dubious, however, the political disadvantages and risks of maintaining South African troops on Angolan soil were obvious. As long as SA troops remained in Angola, the Republic would be branded the aggressor in the regional conflict by the less discerning members of the international community. The continued presence of SA troops in Angola, moreover, exposed both the RSA Government and the USA Administration to almost daily attacks at the Un and other international forums for deliberately delaying and frustrating the search for regional peace.

In the light of all these considerations the South African Cabinet, acting in the advice of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, decided in mid April to seize the diplomatic initiative from the Angolans vis a vis the JMC by unilaterally withdrawing all SA troops from Angola and terminating the JMC's activities.¹⁸⁶

The South African decision to withdraw from Angola was deliberately kept a secret from the Angolans and the media to achieve maximum publicity and impact.¹⁸⁷ Thus although the decision to withdraw had been taken at Cabinet level on 12 - 13 April, the Angolans were only informed of the development at

the daily JMC meeting at Ongiva on 15 April, when the following prepared statement was read to the Angolan component by Col van der Merwe.

"The RSA Government has finally decided to disengage from Angola. The SA forces at present north of the SWA border except for the troops at Calueque including the SA contingent at the JMC will commence disengagement with immediate effect. The disengagement will be completed on 17 April 1985."¹⁸⁸

Later during the day letters concerning the South African decision were conveyed to the UN Secretary-General and to President Kaunda of Zambia, and the following statement was released to the media by the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

"On 1 November 1984 the Department of Foreign Affairs announced that the Joint Monitoring Commission would soon meet to discuss the completion of the disengagement process. At the envisaged JMC meeting on 19 November 1984 it was decided that a Ministerial meeting between the Republic of South Africa and Angola should be held as soon as possible to set a final date for the move of the JMC Headquarters to the border and to reach an agreement which would ensure peace and stability along the SWA/Angolan border after the completion of the JMC's functions. Those talks have not yet taken place but South Africa continues to be prepared to hold Ministerial discussions with Angola on the maintenance of peace and stability in the region and also with regard to the utilisation by the peoples of Angola and SWA/Namibia of the Ruacana/Calueque project.

The main factor which has delayed the final move to the border in recent months has been SWAPO's annual rainy season offensive. The rainy season is now drawing to a close and although SWAPO has not abandoned its terrorist activities against the people of SWA/Namibia, its main infiltration attempt has been repulsed and it has suffered heavy losses. Despite SWAPO's continuing activities, the South African Government has given instructions for the disengagement of the South African forces in the area-in-question from southern Angola to commence as soon as possible and to be completed this week. The security of the people of SWA/Namibia will, if necessary, be assured from SWA/Namibia. The Security forces will not hesitate to take whatever action may be necessary, should SWAPO step up its cross-border violence.

South Africa trusts that its decision to complete the disengagement process will enhance the prospects for peace in the region and will, in particular, be conducive to the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola. Such a development would open the way to the realisation of one of the Lusaka Agreement's main objectives, namely the peaceful resolution of the problems of the region, including the question of the independence of South West Africa/Namibia.

Over the past 16 months South Africa has established a useful working relationship with the MPLA-government, including no fewer than five bilateral Ministerial meetings. It hopes that this relationship will serve as the basis for growing dialogue aimed at the peaceful resolution of the problems of the region."

As it happened, both the Angolan component of the JMC and the Angolan Government itself were caught completely unawares by the unilateral South African decision to withdraw its JMC contingent to the SWA border at Oshikango. The extent of the Angolan's astonishment at the unexpected turn of events became evident at a specially convened meeting at the JMC HQ in Ongiva on 16 April between Maj-Gen Meiring (GOC SWA) and Lt Col Sequeira, the OC of FAPLA's 5th Military Region - the purpose of which was to discuss the implications of the South African decision to withdraw and the situation along the SWA/Angolan border in the wake of the disbandment of the JMC. The following important issues were discussed at the Ongiva meeting:

- a. The date for the finale disbandment of the JMC. Gen Meiring indicated South Africa's willingness to have the activities of the JMC terminated immediately upon reaching Oshikango, but at the FAPLA delegation's request it was agreed that the SA Government be approached with a view to authorizing the functioning of the JMC at Oshikango for a further 30 days as had been stipulated by the Lusaka Agreement.
- b. The situation at Calueque. Maj Gen Meiring informed the Angolan delegation that South Africa was still prepared to enter into a formal Agreement with Angola regarding the Calueque scheme, but until such time that a treaty was concluded, the RSA intended keeping a small detachment of troops (approximately 60 in total) at Calueque to safeguard the hydro-electric scheme. The GOC SWA TF requested that these troops be given free road and air access to the area.

- c. SWAPO's presence in the AIQ. The GOC SWA TF repeated the warning contained in the statement released by Minister Botha the previous day to the effect that the SADF would continue to protect the inhabitants of SWA to the best of its ability, and would therefore not hesitate to strike into Angola once again if the FAPLA forces failed to control SWAPO in the AIQ. Lt Col Sequiera, for his part, promised to relay the warning to his Government.
- d. Border control and future contact between the RSA and Angola. It was agreed that until a formal structure could be negotiated to replace the JMC to regulate the security situation along the border, the five border posts manned permanently by Sector 10 troops could be used (pending permission from the respective governments) for regular contacts between Sector 10 security forces and FAPLA's 5th Military Brigade.
- e. The need for a ministerial conference between the RSA and Angola. The SA delegation pointed out that Angola had undertaken to arrange a date and venue for a follow-up ministerial conference as long ago as the 19 November 1984 conference at Ongiva, and that the need for such a meeting was now more urgent than ever before in view of the imminent disbandment of the JMC. In response, Lt Col Sequiera promised to follow up the matter with the Angolan Government.¹⁸⁹

The 16 April conference at Ongiva - the last JMC meeting on Angolan soil - was followed by a retreat ceremony by the SA contingent, at which the SA flag was lowered at the JMC HQ for the last time. The flag lowering ceremony was in turn followed by a lavish banquet organized by the SA component at which the FAPLA HQ contingent were presented with momento's of the occasion. Immediately afterwards the SA forces began dismantling the base at Ongiva, which had been their home for nearly a year, in preparation for the next days move to Oshikango.¹⁹⁰

At 1030B the following day, 17 April 1985, the first of approximately 450 SA soldiers who had been attached to the JMC began marching across the border into the SADF base at Oshikango to the tune of "Sarie Marais" played by a SADF band. The march past at the base which followed was attended by a large

contingent of local and international media representatives who had been flown to Oshikango via Ondangwa Air Force Base especially for the occasion. The Chief of the SA Defence Force, Gen C.C. Viljoen, took the salute before delivering a short address to the troops.¹⁹¹

At the short press conference held after the parade, Gen Viljoen described SA's formal troop withdrawal as a "sign of hope" for the future of the region, and expressed his sincere hope that no further cross-border operations would be necessary. C SADF admitted that by withdrawing from Angola "we do have to give up a certain amount of military advantage." However, the Defence Force could not stand divorced from the diplomatic and political efforts aimed at achieving a permanent peace for the region. The withdrawal, the Gen explained, had created a "new opportunity in the area to further negotiations and not shooting."¹⁹²

The unilateral South African decision to withdraw from Angola was unquestionably a major publicity coup for the Republic, as it demonstrated beyond doubt that the RSA was sincerely interested in achieving a lasting peace settlement for the region. The SA action, furthermore, threw into sharp contrast the intransigent SWAPO attitude to the regional peace effort, and placed renewed pressure in the Angolan Government to compromise on the issue of a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

The JMC itself, meanwhile, continued to function at Oshikango for a further 30 days. The Angolan JMC HQ component, which had remained behind at Ongiva during the SA component's withdrawal to Oshikango, was granted permission by its superiors on 20 April to set up camp at Santa Clara on the border near Oshikango for the remainder of the JMC's existence. From 22 April JMC meetings at the SADF camp at Oshikango resumed on a daily basis. (The SA JMC component actually used Evale as its main HQ during the period in question - Oshikango was merely used as a tactical HQ during the day).¹⁹³

With the withdrawal of the JMC monitoring force from the AIQ, it was naturally no longer possible to investigate and register violations of the Agreement, and consequently no further violations were registered after 21 April when the Angolan component agreed to register the discovery of a cache at Mucope by members of 201 Bn on 12 April as violation no 149.¹⁹⁴ (This meant that together with the 7 violations which were registered at Ongiva in April before the move of the JMC (SA) to Oshikango, a total of 127 violations had been registered during the JMC's stay at Ongiva).

The Angolan Government itself took several days to recover from its initial astonishment at the news of the South African withdrawal. On 19 April, however, the Angolan Government suggested to the RSA via its JMC component that a ministerial conference be held in Maputo on 9 May to discuss the "disengagement" of the SA troops from southern Angola, as well as the Ruacana/Calueque scheme. The South African Government, which had been waiting for the Angolans to arrange a time and venue for the meeting since November 1984, was of course only too pleased to accede to the proposal.

In the event, the 9 May meeting in Maputo was little short of a fiasco. The RSA despatched a high powered delegation to Maputo headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs R.F. Botha as was customary, but in an apparent last minute about-face, the Angolan Government decided to downgrade its delegation to the Maputo talks and send a delegation headed by Vice-Minister Van Dunem in the place of Minister of the Interior Kito Rodriques (who had handled the negotiations up to this point). The Angolan action represented a serious diplomatic snub to the RSA, and to make matters worse, when Minister Botha eventually agreed to meet with Van Dunem, the latter informed him curtly that Angola was not interested in continuing with the JMC or any formal replacement security arrangement and that furthermore the MPLA government was not prepared to enter into any technical agreement or treaty with the RSA over Ruacana/Calueque. Van Dunem also indicated that Angola itself was responsible for the protection of the Calueque scheme, and that therefore the presence of SA troops at Calueque was no longer necessary.¹⁹⁵

The inexplicably hardline position adopted by the MPLA delegation at the Maputo talks left the RSA with little option other than to disband the JMC entirely with effect 16 May 1985.¹⁹⁶

ANGOLAN/SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS IN THE POST JMC PERIOD

The disbandment of the JMC on 16 May 1985 brought a unique era in South African/Angolan relations to an end. During its 14 months existence, the JMC had provided a direct and effective channel of communication between the governments of South Africa and Angola. The abrupt termination of the JMC's activities on 16 May represented in effect a severance of this channel of communication in view of the fact that no agreement had been reached on the Joint Peacemaking Commission which was supposed to have replaced the JMC.

The breakdown of government to government contacts between Angola and the RSA in the wake of the JMC's disbandment, however, did not mean the total termination of contacts between the security forces of SWA and FAPLA. On the contrary, one of the more positive legacies of the JMC was the maintenance of contact between Sector 10- forces and FAPLA's 5th Military Region by means of a series of border posts especially designated for the purpose.

During the last week of April it had been agreed during a series of JMC meetings that the SADF and FAPLA commanders responsible for the border posts at Oshikango and Calueque would contact each other daily either by radio or physical meetings to keep each other up to date on matters affecting the security situation along the border as well as to discuss various other aspects of mutual interest such as patrol deployments, artillery fire plans and exercises, comparison of movement statistics and the like. It was also agreed that the number of such border posts should be gradually expanded, with the construction of a border post at Beacon 5 1/2 near Ruacana being accorded priority.¹⁹⁷

The result of these initial discussions was that when the JMC was finally disbanded on 16 May, contact between the local SA and FAPLA commanders was already taking place at the border posts at Oshikango (Alpha Tower) and Beacon 5 1/2.

The daily contacts between the SWA security forces and FAPLA at the border posts were to prove extremely valuable to both parties concerned, and undoubtably contributed to the remarkably relaxed atmosphere along the SWA/Angolan border in the post JMC period.

For one thing, the daily meetings at the border posts were used on occasion to establish contact and meetings between the respective OC's of Sector 10 and FAPLA's 5th Military Region. On 22 May, for example, a meeting was arranged at Calueque between Brig Joubert and Mr Coetzee of the SWA Water Affairs Department on the one hand and Lt Col Sequiera and various FAPLA officers on the other to discuss among other issues the technical aspects of the Calueque scheme and the final withdrawal of SA troops from Calueque. It was agreed that the exact date of the SA troop withdrawal from Calueque and future security arrangements by FAPLA for the scheme should be finalized at a ministerial

meeting between R.F. Botha and Kito Rodriques (which had in the meantime been proposed by the Angolan Government in the wake of the unsuccessful meeting in Maputo with a view to improving relations between the two governments).

As fate would have it, the proposed ministerial meeting between Kito Rodriques and R.F. Botha never took place, as on the very same day that Brig Joubert and Lt Col Sequiera met at Calueque, the "Cabinda incident" (the capture by FAPLA of a SADF Reconnaissance Commando in Cabinda) burst like a bombshell onto the newsfronts of the world, destroying at a stroke any prospect of further meetings between the governments of South Africa and Angola for the foreseeable future.

In view of the almost total freeze-over of relations between the South African and Angolan Governments as a result of the unfortunate Cabinda incident, the SA Government decided unilaterally to withdraw the SADF contingent which had remained on at Calueque with effect 4 June 1985.

Remarkably enough, however, the contact between SWA Security Forces and FAPLA at the series of border posts continued virtually unaffected by the Cabinda crisis. Formal meetings continued to take place on a daily basis at the designated border posts, and relations between the local commanders on the ground remained extremely positive despite the frigid atmosphere at government level.

The degree of mutual trust and co-operation between the SADF/SWA Security Forces and FAPLA's 5th Military Region resulting from the daily contact at the border posts was perfectly illustrated at the end of June 1985, when SWA TF elements crossed the border into Angola for the first time since the formal withdrawal in April in hot pursuit of a large group of SWAPO terrorists. Just prior to the hot pursuit Operation which took place over the period 28 - 30 June, the local FAPLA commander at Santa Clara was briefed regarding the scale and nature of the Operation, and requested to co-operate by not involving FAPLA forces in the fighting. The FAPLA commander had no hesitation in agreeing and the SADF Operation against SWAPO (codenamed OP BOSWILGER) was consequently allowed to proceed without the threat of interference by FAPLA forces. A total of 61 SWAPO terrorists were killed during the course of the two-day operation in which SA forces penetrated some 10-15 km into Angola.¹⁹⁹

In retrospect, it is clear that the establishment of regular contact between Angolan and SA/SWA forces along the SWA/Angolan border was one of the most significant by-products of the entire J.C experiment, in that a communications lifeline - however tenuous - was kept open between two adversary states during a particularly difficult period in their relationship. Quite conceivably, too, the border post contact points could be the medium through which renewed official contact between the governments of Angola and the RSA is initiated in the not too distant future.

SUCCESS OR FAILURE? THE JMC IN RETROSPECT

The overwhelming weight of opinion in diplomatic, military and academic circles in the Republic of South Africa today is that the JMC experiment was a failure from which the RSA has derived little or no lasting advantage.

Judged by its own criteria, certainly, the JMC must be termed a failure. Fatally flawed from the start by the absence of SWAPO and UNITA as signatories to the agreement and hampered throughout by mutual mistrust, misperception and misunderstanding, the JMC cannot be said to have succeeded in its prime aim. True, the Commission presided for 14 months over the disengagement of the SADF/SWA TF forces from Angola without itself breaking up - no mean achievement given the extremely difficult circumstances under which it operated. Nevertheless, in spite of the initial euphoria and high expectations, peace and stability has not returned to the SWA/Angolan border, and the war between the SADF and SWAPO continues unabated.

From the point of view of the SADF and SWA Territorial Forces, the JMC experiment in fact achieved little more than to afford SWAPO a valuable breathing space to rebuild the morale and strength of their forces shattered by successive cross border operations and years of sustained South African military pressure in southern Angola. In retrospect, only the first of the JMC's twin objectives - the monitoring of the disengagement of SA troops from Angola and the implementation of active measures to ensure that Cuban and SWAPO forces did not exploit the situation - can be said to have been achieved. SWAPO ignored the Lusaka Agreement from the outset, and Angola's attempts to enforce the provisions of the Agreement were half-hearted and

ineffectual to say the least. Although the JMC undoubtedly created practical (mainly logistic) problems for SWAPO and also caused some initial friction between SWAPO and FAPLA, the tempo of SWAPO's infiltration into SWA and the number of terrorist incidents inside SWA did not demonstrate a significant decline during the 14 months of the JMC's existence as might reasonably have been expected.

The JMC provided Angola's military forces, moreover, with the opportunity to re-occupy the AIQ at little cost with conventional forces far more powerful and sophisticated than those which had occupied the area prior to the escalation of the conflict in the region in 1981. In addition, the SA withdrawal enabled FAPLA to re-deploy a larger percentage of its forces against UNITA than had previously been the case.

In sum, from a military point of view, the SADF and SWA TF could be forgiven for feeling a sense of betrayal, for in the wake of the disbandment of the JMC in April 1985 the balance of military advantage deriving from the whole affair clearly seems to lie with the Angolans and SWAPO.

Even from a political point of view, the JMC cannot be said to have been an unqualified success as far as the Republic of South Africa was concerned. The Republic's relations with the MPLA authorities in Luanda were if anything worse at the end of the JMC exercise than they had been before, while the JMC palpably failed to contribute towards a lasting settlement for the region as a whole - least of all to the intractable problem of independence for SWA.

All things considered, therefore, the JMC experiment was on balance a failure as far as the RSA was concerned in that it did not fulfill the military and political expectations associated with it at the outset of the exercise.

For all this, seen from a somewhat wider perspective, there were positive aspects to the Lusaka Agreement and the JMC even from the South African point of view.

For one thing, it should not be overlooked that the Republic of South Africa was allowed to maintain a military presence in Angola in terms of the JMC's mandate for some 16 months after the adoption of Security Council Resolution 546 in January 1984, which demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola. The continued presence of SA forces in Angola (albeit attached to the JMC) in turn allowed the SADF to maintain an early warning intelligence system to monitor SWAPO movement within the AIQ, and the JMC's activities certainly disrupted SWAPO's logistic lines of communication.

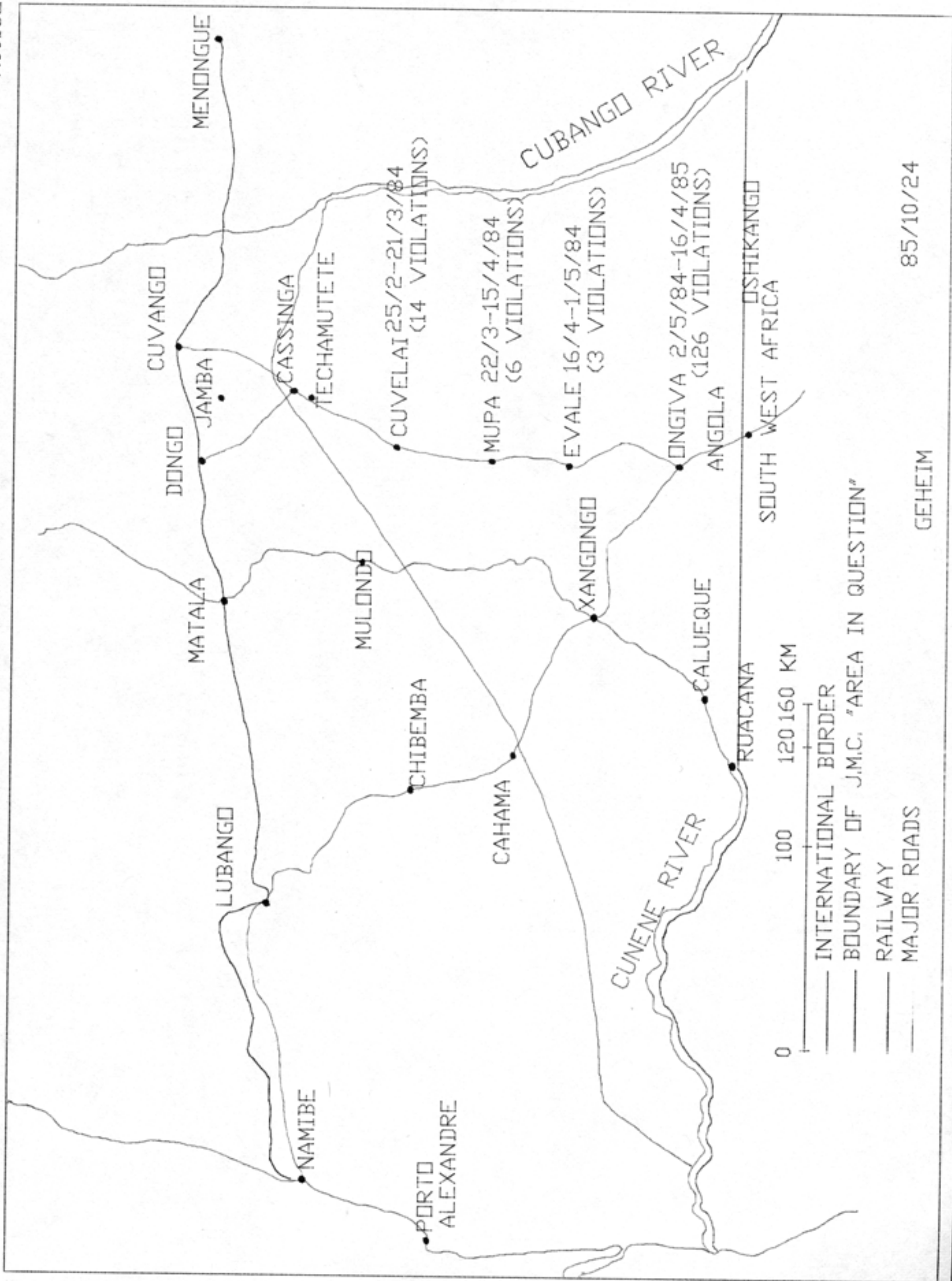
From the point of view of South Africa's international image, moreover, the JMC did much to foster the perception of South Africa as a country sincerely desirous of achieving peaceful accommodation with its neighbours. Together with the Nkomati Accord, the Lusaka Agreement and JMC succeeded in effectively countering the growing campaign against alleged South African destabilization of the region. In short, the JMC opened various diplomatic doors for the RSA with the Frontline States and the West which had been firmly shut up to this point.

Perhaps most important of all, however, the JMC provided a direct means of communication between the South African and Angolan Governments which had not existed before. Indeed, the essence of the JMC concept had to do with communication, and the JMC undoubtedly established an extremely valuable channel of communication between two adversary states previously unofficially at war with each other. And even if the termination of the JMC effectively broke this channel of communication at the level of the respective governments, the continued contact between South African and Angolan forces at the border posts bears testimony to the durability of the communication links established during the JMC's existence.

At the end of the day, both the South African and Angolan delegations came away from their involvement in the JMC with a more profound insight into each other's unique problems and capabilities as well as a deeper understanding of each other's point of view. In the ultimate analysis, if one accepts Churchill's dictum that "jaw-jaw" is always better than "war-war", the JMC experiment might well come to be viewed in a more favourable light by future generations of historians than is the case at the present time.

AREA OF ACTIVITY OF THE JOINT MONITORING COMMISSION

A00182



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GEHEIM

NOTES, SOURCES AND REFERENCES TO THE HISTORY OF THE JOINT MONITORING COMMISSION

1. In return for its logistical support for and protection of SWAPO forces inside Angola, FAPLA demanded assistance from SWAPO in its campaign against Savimbi's UNITA forces.
2. For a detailed account of the planning behind OP ASKARI, as well as the course of the operation itself, see the report on the Operation compiled by the SADF's military Information Bureau. (Classified).
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Articles entitled "SWAPO No to SA Offer" in the Pretoria News, 16 December 1983, and "SA Offer" in the Citizen, 17 December 1983.
6. Ibid.
7. See the article entitled "Western Europe unanimous in condemning SA" in The Star, 31 December 1983.
8. Article entitled "France sides 'resolutely' with Angola over raids " in The Star, 31 December 1983.
9. The background negotiations leading up to the new political initiative by the DFA in SWA are discussed in an illuminating article by Brian Pottinger in the 18 December 1983 edition of The Star.
10. Ibid.
11. As quoted in an article in The Star, 17 December 1983.
12. See the article "SWAPO rejection puts the ball in US court" in The Rand Daily Mail, 19 December 1983.
13. Op cit. Brian Pottinger in the 18 December 1983 edition of The Star.

14. Article entitled "US welcomes SA offer to stop raids into Angola" in The Citizen, 19 December 1983.
15. Article entitled "UN demands that SA quits Angola" in the Pretoria News, 21 December 1983.
16. See the article "French slate SA's Angolan operation" in The Citizen, 28 December 1983.
17. See the article entitled "West Europe unanimous in condemning SA" in The Star, 31 December 1983.
18. As quoted in the editorial "A great chance" in the 4 January 1984 edition of the Pretoria News.
20. See the article "Security Council condemns SA" in the Pretoria News, 7 January 1984.
21. For a concise summary of the withdrawal of the OP ASKARI forces, see the article by Arnold Kirkby "Coming home!" in the 14 January 1984 edition of The Star.
22. See the article by Arrie Rossouw in the 12 January 1984 edition of the Beeld, as well as the article "Pik slams SWAPO 'propaganda'" in The Citizen, 12 January 1984.
23. As quoted in the article "Angola offers peace plan" in the 19 January edition of The Citizen.
24. DFA minute on the JMC dd 7 September 1984 (Classified).
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.

28. SADF Archival source (Classified). File Sector 10/309/1 OP FLAMINGO. Vol 1. Encs 10 and 32.
29. Zambia of course stood to benefit greatly from a general lessening of tension in the southern African region, as its economy had been devastated by years of bitter conflict in the territories of her immediate neighbours. President Kaunda, for his part, viewed the talks as a golden opportunity to enhance his prestige and credibility as a key Frontline leader and statesman of international stature.
30. The details of the first Mulungushi meeting as presented here are based on an interview granted the author by Mr Dave Steward of the DFA in the Union Buildings on 26 August 1985.
31. As listed in the account (classified) of the JMC written by Mr Willem Steenkamp - a Cape based journalist and military correspondent attached to the Citizen Force regiment, the Cape Town Highlanders. Capt W.P. Steenkamp spent six weeks at JMC Headquarters during the crucial period of March/April 1984 with the specific task of recording the JMCs activities on behalf of the Public Relations Directorate of the SADF. Capt Steenkamp's detailed narrative on the JMC has subsequently been registered as an official document in the SADF Archive.
32. The haste with which the delegation departed from Jan Smuts to Lusaka was later vividly described by Cmdt Le Crerar, who recounted that "we were hustled through the VIP lounge - there were no passport formalities or anything like that - and into a Boeing 737 which was waiting on the tarmac. It started taxi-ing before we had even strapped ourselves in." (Op cit. Steenkamp narrative, p 1).
33. Op cit. Steenkamp narrative, p 2.
34. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Encs 143-6.
35. Annexure B to DFA minute (unclassified) entitled Joint Monitoring Commission: Background Information.

36. SADF Archival Source. File Sector 10/309/1/OP FLAMINGO. Vol 1. Enc 22.
37. Op cit. Steenkamp narrative, p 16.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid, p 17.
40. Ibid, p 19.
41. Article entitled "US personnel arrive in SWA to monitor SA pullback" in 23 February 1984 edition of The Citizen.
42. DFA minute (classified) in JMC dd 7 September 1984.
43. In fact the Americans were to play a minimal role in the activities of the JMC. Despite this, the Americans maintained their office in Windhoek for over a year, leading to suspicions in various SWA, SADF and DFA quarters that the Americans were in reality maintaining their office to "spy" on political developments in SWA in general. Indeed, it would appear as if at least one CIA member was stationed in Windhoek for the entire period that the office was maintained.
44. Neither Maj Snyman nor anyone else realized that in fact the site selected for the JMC headquarters was an area which had been extensively mined by FAPLA, and in the ensuing days this was to lead to several narrow escapes, unpleasant surprises and one serious injury. (For more details, see the Steenkamp narrative).
45. Op cit. Steenkamp narrative, p.20.
46. Op cit. For details of this conference, see the Steenkamp narrative, pp 22 - 31.
47. Ibid, p 35.
48. See the editorial "Threat to peace" in the 25 February edition of The Citizen.

49. The South Africans naturally intended to extract maximum "propaganda" mileage from the JMC by demonstrating to the Angolans the high quality of their food, facilities, equipment and the like. The projection of a desirable image of the SADF to the Angolan component, local population and FAPLA troops was the specific responsibility of the Communication-Operations officer attached to the JMC.
50. In the event, although this point was agreed to at the first JMC meeting, the Angolans were later to dispute the right of the JMC monitor teams to operate in the area already under FAPLA's control.
51. Cmdt le Crerar was later to remark "I think one can say that with that meeting as a basis, the JMC (SA) has gradually formed the opinion that the FAPLA elements we are working with, are genuine in their desire to make this agreement work. I think the basis was laid at the first meeting." (See the Steenkamp narrative, p 35).
52. Op cit. Steenkamp narrative, p 54.
53. For a nominal roll of the SA members attached to the JMC at this stage, see the Steenkamp narrative.)
54. Op cit. Steenkamp narrative, p 1/4.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., p 1/3.
57. As quoted from the text of the Steenkamp narrative, p 2/1.
58. The SA component had at its disposal a TV team from SWA TF to record the parade and general JMC activities on video and film. The team consisted of Commander Dolf D' Assonville, Cpl Vorster (TV cameraman) and L/Cpl Boshoff (still photographer). In addition, the SADF's Directorate of Public Relations was in the process of calling up the CF members, Capt W.P. Steenkamp and Sgt T.J. Steenkamp to write a day-by-day record of the JMC and to take television films respectively. The latter arrived in Cuvelai on 3 March 1984.

59. Op cit. Steenkamp narrative, pp 2/2 and 2/3.
60. Ibid, p 2/6.
61. Ibid, p 2/16.
62. Ibid, pp 2/10 - 2/15.
63. Ibid, p 2/17. For a letter of appreciation from D.W. Auret to Lt Gen Earp regarding the proficiency of the SAAF helicopter pilots, see Appendix G.
64. Ibid
65. The actual deployment of the patrols eventually only got under way on 5 March owing to FAPLA's logistical problems. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 40.
66. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 45.
67. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 46.
68. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 37.
69. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. VCol 1. Enc 63.
70. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 102.
71. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 56.
72. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 63.
73. For more details on the 8 March contact, see the Steenkamp narrative. Although Cmdt Le Crerar formally congratulated the Angolan component on the performance of their soldiers during the contact, the 32 Bn members of the patrol under Capt Mike Bastin were anything but impressed by the quality and standard of training of the FAPLA soldiers. Indeed, Capt Bastin reported on returning from this first patrol that the morale of the FAPLA troops in the joint patrol was very low, and that many of them had indicated that they wanted to join the SADF!

74. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 59.
75. For more details on the 12 March visit by Lt Gen Geldenhuys to Cuvelai, see the Steenkamp narrative.
76. For more details see the Steenkamp narrative.
77. SADF Archival Source. C Army documentation - chronological summary of JMC violations.
78. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 57.
79. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 163.
80. See footnote 66.
81. SADF Archival Source. ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 124.
82. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 123.
83. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 163. The informal social exchanges which occurred during the dinners and other social gatherings which were arranged from time to time between the respective components did much to establish good personal relations between the South African and FAPLA members of the JMC at the leadership level. At the lower levels too there was already occurring a measure of social mixing between the respective monitoring force troops, with a to-and-fro flow of literature (pamphlets, magazines and Portuguese-language Bibles); refreshments (the Angolans were to prove very moderate drinkers, but all were keen consumers of Coca-Cola, Sprite and Apple-Juice, and Maj Diaz's insatiable appetite for chocolate bars of any description became proverbial); food (the FAPLA-issue tinned sardines and tuna were popular among the South Africans, while the Angolans relished SADF ration packs; and entertainment (the South Africans treated the Angolans to videotapes of Department of Information films and such features as "The Magnificent Seven", "First Blood", "The Gods must be Crazy" - a very popular choice - and "Flashdance". The Angolans reciprocated with videotapes of Donna Summer, Peter Tosh and other popular singers).

84. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 130.
85. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 163.
86. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 147.
87. Ibid.
88. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 160.
89. Ibid.
90. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Encs 162, 165, 177.
91. Ibid.
92. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 162.
93. Col Dippenaar had in the meantime returned to the Republic for a few days leave to sort out various personal matters.
94. For the US reaction to the arbitration request, see SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Encs 62-4.
95. For the complete minutes of the conference, see SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Encs 169-70 and 179-188.
96. The deployment of this monitoring patrol appears to have been deliberately delayed by the FAPLA commander - on the pretense of having toothache - with a view to giving SWAPO's Alpha Bn an opportunity to withdraw from the area. (See the Steenkamp narrative).
97. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Encs 161-6, 171 and 177.
98. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 167.
99. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 173.

100. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Encs 174-5.
101. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Encs 196,199,200.
102. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 200.
103. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 1. Enc 3.
104. In Mupa itself the sudden rise in the level of the Cuvelai river forced the SA component to move the site of the SA JMC camp a km further away from the river.
105. According to the SAAF Puma Pilots attached to the JMC, the MI8 helicopters were in such a poor state of serviceability that they would never have been allowed to fly if they had been o the SAAF's strength. These observations were made after the Puma pilots were given the opportunity to fly in the MI8 helicopters. (See Appendix D for further details on the MI8 Helicopters).
106. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 55. The deviation from the principle of deploying patrols in strict parity was in fact welcomed by the SA component, who were convinced that the patrols would operate much more effectively and react much more quickly without the presence of FAPLA. Experience had already proved that the FAPLA troops were far less fit, were able to carry less, and were less well equipped than their 32 Bn counterparts. The FAPLA troops were, for instance, only able to carry rations sufficient for 3 - 4 days and were only issued with one waterbottle. Maj G. van Aarde's comment after a patrol with FAPLA troops during the last week of March epitomized the discrepancy between the standard of fitness and back-up facilities of the FAPLA troops and the SA troops. "Six of their fellows (ie FAPLA) were taken out on Sat - walking barefoot. We asked for more boots but they didn't have them. The last three days they didn't have rations. Yesterday they were eating wild mushrooms. We let them try, but they couldn't pick up our packs, which weighed 80 kg. When we went away from the Shona we rested more than we walked because they only had one waterbottle..." (Steenkamp narrative.)

107. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 22.
108. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Encs 5, 16, 21-2, 55.
(For more details of the visit to the Mupa Mission, see Appendix C).
109. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 4.
110. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 21.
111. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 7.
112. For more details on the move to Evale, as well as on the general JMC activities during this period, see Robin Parker's account of the JMC in the SADF Archives.
113. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 19.
114. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 26.
115. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 48.
116. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 18.
117. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Encs 27, 32.
118. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 37.
119. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 43.
120. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Encs 39, 41, 43.
121. See the report on the visit to Lusaka in the 26 April edition of the Rand Daily Mail.
122. DFA minute (classified) on the JMC dd 7 September 1984.
123. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Encs 69, 73.

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124. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 69.
125. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 76.
126. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 78.
127. De Moure's objections to the TV programme was a clear indicatio that the Angolan Government had in fact been highly embarrassed by the incidents on 8 and 13 March in which FAPLA monitoring forces had actively participated in the clashes with SWAPO.
128. During the following weeks the hardline stance of the more senior Angolan military and political officials in Lubango and Luanda was in turn to adversely affect relations between the South African and Angolan members of the JMC - which up to this point had been remarably good.
129. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 90.
130. For a complete SADF intelligence picture of the situation in the AIQ as of 15 May, see the relevant SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Encs 120 - 21.
131. See the SA Army report on the JMC dd 16 August 1984 entitled "Ontwikkeling van die Oorlog in SWA/Angola sedert die totstandkoming van die GMK." (Classified).
132. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Encs 100, 103.
133. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 103.
134. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 102.
135. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 110.
136. For the details of the South African proposals concerning the establishment of a JPC, see File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Encs 203-4.

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137. SWAPO and the SWA Multi Party Conference (MPC) had met in Lusaka a week earlier (11 - 13 May) to try and resolve their differences and agree on a basis for the implementation of the independence programme for SWA, but the talks had ended in deadlock.
138. DFA minute (classified) on the JMC dd 7 September 1984.
139. Only one of the five violations was in fact recognized by the Angolan component.
140. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Encs 152, 161 - 3.
141. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 165.
142. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Encs 168, 175.
143. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 178.
144. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Encs 179, 183, 187, 188, 189, 226, 243, 248, 20, 255.
145. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 245.
146. Op cit. SA Army report on the JMC dd 16 August 1984. (Classified).
147. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 192. (For an example of the type of psychological pressure to which Portuguese speaking members of the SADF were subjected by FAPLA, see Sgt Vieira's debrief of 15 March 1984 - Appendix E).
148. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 2. Enc 232.
149. Ibid.
150. Ibid.
151. Op cit. SA Army report on the JMC dd 16 August 1984. (Classified)

152. Ibid.
153. DFA Minute (Classified) on JMC dd 7 September 1984.
154. Ibid.
155. Ibid.
156. For the full text of the ceasefire statement, see the DFA Minute (Classified) on the JMC dd 7 September 1984.
157. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 1. Enc 3.
158. Op cit. DFA Minute. See also File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 1. Enc 99.
159. This information was gained during the course of an interview with Mrt Steward by the author in the Union Buildings on 26 August 1985.
160. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SCLERA. Vol 3. Encs 16, 26, 31. Also file ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 1. Encs 4, 7, 13, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25.
161. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 1. Enc 33.
162. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 1. Enc 71.
163. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 1. Enc 64.
165. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 1. Enc 68. The FAPLA refusal to accept violations 28 - 31, and the South African refusal to accept the alleged 13 August flight as a violation, meant in effect that the two components were at this stage keeping two different sets of records of the violations.
166. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 1. Encs 92 - 3.
167. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 1. Encs 75 - 6.

168. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 1. Encs 82, 84.
169. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 1. Encs 116 - 33.
170. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 1. Encs 154 - 7, 161, 163, 165, 166, 169 -73, 176, 184 - 5, 189, 191, 203, 211, 217, 218, 219, 221, 229.
171. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 1. Enc 174.
172. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 1. Enc 164.
173. On 3 September Dr Kaunda had expressed his doubts about Mr P.W. Botha's sincerity on the question of giving independence to SWA during talks with Dr Crocker, and on 5 September the Frontline states issued a declaration after the Arusha conference in Tanzania blaming the USA for the delay in the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola and the granting of independence to SWA.
174. DFA Minute (unclassified) entitled Joint Monitoring Commission : Background Information.
175. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 2. Encs 16, 17, 27 - 34.
176. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 2. Enc 26.
177. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 2. Encs 3, 23-4, 40, 50, 52, 66.
178. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 2. Encs 91, 109, 112, 114, 116, 137, 145 - 6.
179. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 2. Encs 164, 176, 193 283.
180. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 3. Encs 17, 27, 33, 36, 48 - 9, 56, 60, 63 - 77.

181. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 3. Encs 134 - 6.
182. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 3. Enc 137.
183. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 3. Enc 139.
184. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 4. Encs 110 - 120.
185. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 3. Encs 98, 99, 100, 131, 132, 144, 152, 163, 181-5, 195, 230-32.
186. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 4. Encs 45, 46.
187. The announcement on the withdrawal was also carefully timed to coincide with a major speech by Secretary of State Schulz on 16 April in Washington.
188. SADF Archival Source. File S/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 4. Enc 57.
189. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 4. Encs 121 - 4.
190. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 4. Encs 46, 57.
191. For a description of the report, see K. McGowan's report in the 21 April 1985 edition of The Sunday Tribune.
192. See the article "Hope in Angolan pullout" in the 18 April edition of The Cape Times.
193. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 4. Encs 69, 70, 81 - 4.
194. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 4. Enc 73.
195. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 4. Enc 172.

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196. Ibid. The reasoning behind the sudden hardline approach adopted by the MPLA government is not clear, although with the SA troop withdrawal from Angola finally a fait accompli, the necessity for the Angolans to co-operate with th RSA no longer existed.
197. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 4. Encs 69, 81, 129.
198. SADF Archival Source. File ST/309/1/SEDUKO. Vol 4. Encs 199 - 201.
199. See the reports on the hot pursuit operation in the 1 July 1985 editions of the Beeld and Citizen.

APPENDIX A TO
HISTORY OF THE JMC

CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS CONCERNING THE JMC

1983

- 9 Dec Commencement of OP ASKARI
- 15 Dec The RSA offers to disengage its forces from southern Angola on certain conditions: offer made in a letter from Minister R.F. Botha to the Secretary-General of the UN
- 16 Dec Special UN Security Council debate on South Africa's military incursions into Angola.
- 20 Dec Security Council passes unanimous resolution condemning the RSA for its military operations in Angola.

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- 3 Jan Angola announces that it is prepared to consider the South African disengagement offer.
- 6 Jan Security Council again passes resolution condemning the RSA for its military incursions into Angola and demands immediate, unconditional withdrawal of SA forces.
- 8 Jan South African Minister of Defence announces commencement of withdrawal of OP ASKARI forces from Angola.
- 18-20 Jan Exploratory talks between Dr Crocker and Angolan delegation in Praia (Cape Verde Islands) to discuss SA disengagement proposal.
- 27-28 Jan Fleur du Cap talks between P.W. Botha and Dr Crocker
- 31 Jan Prime Minister Botha announces in Parliament that South Africa is to begin final disengagement of its forces from Angola
- 6 Feb Prime Minister Botha proposes that military discussions be held between Angola, the RSA and USA to "establish a proper framework for the disengagement of SA forces"

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- 13 Feb First Mulungushi meeting in Lusaka between Lt Gen Geldenhuys and Angola's deputy Chief of Staff. Agreement reached on proposals regarding the formation of a Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) to monitor disengagement of SA forces from Angola. (Mulungushi Minute)
- 16 Feb Second Mulungushi meeting between ministerial delegation from South Africa and Angola. Ratification of Mulungushi Minute by Lusaka Agreement. First meeting of the JMC.
- 16-24 Feb Appointment of Col J.M. Dippenaar as the first OC of the JMC (SA), and preparations for the establishment of the JMC at Cuvelai.
- 22 Feb Advance party of American technicians arrives in Windhoek to open a liaison office for USA team.
- 25 Feb South African and Angolan JMC components meet at Cuvelai.
- 1 Mar Angolan HQ element of the JMC arrives in Cuvelai, followed by FAPLA monitoring forces.
- 2 Mar Joint parade held at Cuvelai airstrip and monitoring forces formally introduced to each other.
- 4 Mar Deployment of first JMC patrols
- 4 Mar Violation 1 : 32 Bn patrol clashes with two SWAPO terrorists at XM 060780, killing one terrorist and capturing the other.
- 6 Mar Maj Gen Du Plessis visits JMC to deliver message from SA Government to Angolan component.
- 9 Mar Violation 2: Combined JMC patrol clashes with SWAPO element 45 km east of Techamatete. 4 SWAPO terrorists killed.
- Violation 3: 101 Bn Patrol ambushed by SWAPO group 15 km NE of Oshikango. 2 SWAPO terrorists killed.

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- 9 Mar Violation 4: Two SAAF Impala's overfly area north of monitor line owing to a navigational error.
- 10 - 11 Mar Violation 5: SWAPO vehicle tracks and freshly evacuated camp discovered 30 km SE of Techamatete by JMC patrol.
- Violation 6: JMC patrol mortared by a SWAPO group 35 km SE of Techamatete. One FAPLA soldier injured with shrapnel wounds.
- 12 Mar Violation 7: SWAPO ambushes JMC patrol 50 km SE of Techamatete. One SWAPO killed, one 32 Bn troop wounded.
- 13 Mar Violation 8: SWAPO group attacks JMC patrol 55 km NE of Cuvelai with mortars and small arms fire. FAPLA troops actively participate in firefight against SWAPO. Two SWAPO terrorists killed and two wounded, for the loss of two FAPLA troops killed and two wounded.
- Violation 9: SWAPO recce team ambushed by JMC patrol 55 km NE of Cuvelai. One SWAPO killed, one wounded.
- 15 Mar Violation 10: Eight SWAPO terrorists observed from a distance 50 km E of Cuvelai.
- 16 Mar Violation 11: SADF patrol clashes with SWAPO group of approximately thirty - 10 km NE of Nehone. Two SWAPO killed.
- Violation 12: 6 SWAPO spoor discovered by JMC patrol 7 km W of Gluma.
- 17 Mar Violation 13: Freshly evacuated SWAPO logistic base found 46 km SE of Techamatete.
- 19 Mar Violation 14: Contact with SWAPO group 20 km E of Techamatete. No casualties.

High level conference at Cuvelai between delegations headed by Lt Gen Geldenhuys and Lt Col Monteiro. Decision taken to move JMC to Mupa within 2 - 3 days.

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- 22 Mar The JMC moves its Headquarters to Mupa.
- 28 Mar High level conference at Mupa between delegations headed by Lt Gen Geldenhuys and Lt Col Monteiro.
- 28 Mar Violation 15: JMC patrol discovers fresh SWAPO spoor 15 km N of Dova.
- 31 Mar Violation 16: JMC patrol discovers 15 fresh SWAPO spoor 10 km SE of Cassinga.
- 1 Apr Violation 17: Twenty SWAPO terrorists attack SADF protection element at Calueque with mortars.
- 6 Apr Violation 18: SWAPO boat discovered 14 km north of Chipeque.
- 7 Apr Violation 19: SADF patrol clashes with SWAPO group 20 km south of Xangongo. Two SWAPO killed.
- 10 Apr Violation 20: SADF patrol discovers 6 SWAPO spoor 10 km NW of Nehone. One terrorist killed in follow-up action.
- 16 Apr JMC moves its Headquarters to Evale.
- 19 Apr Violation 21: SADF patrol clashes with SWAPO group 15 km SSW of Techipa. Four terrorists killed and one wounded.
- 25 Apr Ministerial meeting in Lusaka between Angolan and South African delegations headed by Kito Rodriques and R.F. Botha respectively. Agreement reached on POW swop and differing interpretations of Lusaka Agreement.
- 29 Apr High level conference at Evale between delegations led by Lt Gen Geldenhuys and the Angolan Vice Minister of External Affairs (De Moure). Agreement reached on details of POW swop and possible date for JMC move to Ongiva.

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- 2 May The JMC moves its Headquarters to Ongiva.
- 5/6 May JMC visit to Windhoek and Mariental to see Angolan POWs.
- 6 May Violation 23: SADF patrol intercepts SWAPO group 4 km SW of Chiede and kills one terrorist.
- 11 May Violation 24: SADF patrol makes contact with SWAPO 22 km NE of Oshikango. Two SWAPO killed.
- 11 May Violation 25: SADF patrol finds Cache and SWAPO body 15 km SE of Chiede.
- 16 May Lt Gen Geldenhuys visits JMC to propose that another ministerial meeting be held in Lusaka to discuss the establishment of a Joint Peacekeeping Commission (JPC) to replace JMC.
- 16 May Col Dippenaar relieved as OC of SA component by Col Hall.
- Violation 26: Large SWAPO cache discovered S of Chiede.
- 19 May Violation 27: SADF patrol kills two SWAPO terrorists 11 km N of Etale.
- 21 May Ministerial meeting in Lusaka. Proposals regarding JPC and draft treaty in Ruacana/Calueque discussed.
- 22 May POW exchange takes place at Ongiva airfield.
- Violation 28: SADF patrol clashes with four SWAPO terrorists. One terrorist wounded and captured.
- 23 May Balance of POWs exchanged at Ongiva airfield.
- 25 May Violation 29: Incident on 19 May when SWAPO suspect was captured West of Mucape confirmed and registered as violation.

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- 25 May Violation 30: Incident on 16 May when SWAPO suspect was captured in the Catale area confirmed and registered as violation.
- 26 May Violation 31: SADF patrol captures SWAPO terrorist in the area of the Calonga river.
- JMC HQ visits Calueque for talks with SWA Water Affairs and Electricity Commission officials.
- 29 May Violation 32: LP provides information of 2 SWAPO terrorists in the area 23 km NE of Nualila. Angolan component refuses to register incident as a violation.
- 1 Jun Violation 33: Thirty SWAPO spoor discovered 22 km SE of Dova.
- 3 Jun Violation 34: SADF patrol intercepts SWAPO group 10 km SW of Cuamato and kills one terrorist.
- 5 Jun Violation 35: SWAPO cache pointed out by SWAPO prisoner 20 km SE of Cuamato.
- 6 Jun Violation 36: SADF patrol tracks down SWAPO spoor 4 km E of Namacunde. Two terrorists killed and one captured in ensuing clash.
- 7 Jun Violation 37: Two SWAPO spoor followed by SADF patrol 20 km S of Cuamato and one terrorist killed and one captured in ensuing clash.
- 8 Jun JMC visits Calueque.
- 8 Jun JMC (SA) component decides to withdraw 32 Bn troops from JMC monitor forces as a result of psychological pressure exerted on members by FAPLA political commISSArs.
- 19 Jun Violation 38: Four SWAPO spoor approximately 15 hours old discovered in the Nehone area.

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- 19 Jun Violation 39: SADF patrol kills one SWAPO terrorist in a contact 26 km E of Namacunde.
- 22 Jun Violation 40: SADF patrol kills two SWAPO terrorists and captures one in a contact 38 km ESE of Nualila.
- 24 Jun Violation 41: JMC patrol clashes with SWAPO 7 km W of Cuamato. Three JMC members wounded by a rifle grenade and one terrorist killed.
- 2 Jul Ministerial meeting held in Lusaka between delegations headed by SA Minister of Defence and Kito Rodriques to discuss deteriorating relations at the JMC and SWAPO's refusal to comply with the Lusaka Agreement and vacate the AIQ.
- 7 Jul Lt Gen P.W. van der Westhuizen meets Kito Rodriques in Lusaka to discuss question of negotiations between the AG of SWA and SWAPO.
- 9 Jul Violation 42: SADF (JMC) patrol kills two SWAPO terrorists in a contact 30 km SW of Cuamato.
- 12 Jul Angolan and SA delegations meet at Ruacana to discuss the development and exploitation of Cunene river resources.
- 13 Jul Violation 43: JMC patrol discovers SWAPO spoor 10 km NW of Evale, and three SWAPO terrorists (one wearing a FAPLA uniform) killed in the ensuing follow-up operations.
- 17 Jul Violation 44: SADF patrol kills two SWAPO terrorists in a contact 18 km SE of Chiede.
- 18 Jul Col J.L. Jordaan relieves Col Hall as OC of SA component.
- 21 Jul Violation 45: SADF patrol kills one SWAPO terrorist and wounds another 17 km SSE of Chiede.
- Violation 46: 201 Bn patrol attached to the JMC clashes with SWAPO terrorists in a kraal 10 km N of Anhanca, killing two terrorists.

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- 25 Jul AG SWA (Dr van Niekerk) meets Sam Nujoma on Cape Verde Islands for unsuccessful talks on a possible ceasefire.
- 26 Jul Violation 47: SADF patrol kills one SWAPO terrorist in a contact 10 km W of Cuamato.
- 27 Jul Violation 48: SADF patrol kills one terrorist and captures another 13 km NE of Naulila
- 28 Jul Violation 49: SAAF Bosbok overflys Xangongo north of the monitor line.
- 2 Aug Violation 50: SADF patrol kills a SWAPO terrorist in the area 20 km E of Ongiva.
- 3 Aug Violation 51: SADF patrol intercepts SWAPO group 10 km SE of Chiede and kills two terrorists.
- Violation 52: Two SADF reaction patrols kill three SWAPO terrorists in a series of contacts during a follow-up operation 35 km N of Beacon 22.
- 4 Aug Violation 53: SADF reaction patrol kills one SWAPO member 8 km N of Beacon 22.
- 8 Aug Violation 54: SADF patrol kills four SWAPO terrorists 21 km NNE of Beacon 7.
- Violation 55: SADF patrol kills one SWAPO terrorist 18 km NNW of Beacon 10.
- 12 Aug Violation 56: Two SWAPO terrorists killed and one wounded in a contact with SADF patrol 18 km S of Cuamato.
- 12 Aug Violation 57: SAAF photo-recce aircraft overflys AIQ north of monitor line.

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- 15 Aug Violation 58: JMC patrol clashes with SWAPO group in a kraal 14 km N of Ongiva. Four SWAPO killed for own forces wounded. LP woman killed in the crossfire.
- 17 Aug Ministerial meeting in Lusaka between R.F. Botha and Kito Rodriques. SAAF violation(s), JPC, Ruacana/Calueque and continuing SWAPO violations discussed.
- 18 Aug Violation 59: SADF patrol kills a SWAPO terrorist 36 km E of Mulemba.
- 22 Aug Violation 60: One SWAPO terrorist killed by SADF patrol 16 km N of Beacon 30.
- 23 Aug Violation 61: SADF JMC patrol deployed between 17 and 23 August in the area Nehone, Evale and Anhanca without parity with FAPLA forces.
- 26 Aug Violation 62: SADF patrol kills four SWAPO terrorists 26 km NNW of Beacon 25.
- 28 Aug Violation 63: SWAPO POW informs JMC conference of SWAPO presence at Enuche, Evale and Chibambo.
- 2 Sep High level conference at Ongiva between delegations led by Lt Gen Geldenhuys and Lt Col Monteiro. RSA delegation proposes Lusaka Agreement be terminated and be replaced by a permanent JPC.
- 13 Sep Violation 64: SADF JMC patrol kills a SWAPO terrorist 27 km NW of Dova.
- 16 Sep Violation 65: SADF patrol kills three SWAPO terrorists in a contact 19 km SE of Ongiva. Three own forces wounded.
- 18 Sep Violation 66: SWAPO member who surrendered to SADF at Beacon 28 1/2 on 2 September is interrogated and confirmed as a terrorist during daily JMC conference.

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- 18 Sep Violation 67: SWAPO member Makarof, captured 15 km W of Eenhana on 5 September, confesses to having operated in the Jamba area since the Lusaka Agreement.
- 19 Sep Violation 68: Incident on 30 August when SWAPO terrorist was caught 7 km NE of Oshikango registered as a violation.
- 20 Sep Violation 69: SWAPO terrorist captured on 18 Sep informs JMC conference of a SWAPO base in the Bambi area 43 km NE of Cuvelai.
- 24 Sep Violation 70: 101 Bn patrol makes contact with two terrorists 25 km NE of Chiede and kill one SWAPO terrorist.
- 26 Sep Violation 71: 201 Bn patrol makes contact with four enemy 26 km SE of Cuvelai, killing one terrorist.
- 28 Sep Violation 72: Four fresh SWAPO spoor discovered by JMC patrol 10 km NE of Nehone.
- 2 Oct Violation 73: Eight SACC members injured in a landmine incident 15 km SE of Calueque.
- 3 Oct Violation 74: 201 Bn patrol makes contact with five SWAPO terrorists 2 km W of Mulemba, killing three in the ensuing firefight.
- 4 Ocxt Violation 75: FAPLA deserter captured on 26 September by SACC patrol informs JMC that on 20 September six SWAPO terrorists were present at his kraal 24 km NE of Naulila.
- 17 Oct Violation 76: SWAPO cache found 37 km N of Beacon 21.
- 19 Oct Violation 77: A SADF Caspir vehicle detonates a landmine 3 km S of Namacunde, injuring three own forces.
- 22 Oct Violation 78: Two SWAPO terrorists captured within the AIQ and interrogated by JMC representatives.

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- 22 Oct Violation 79: Two SWAPO terrorists wounded and captured within AIQ.
- 23 Oct Violation 80: A SADF Caspir detonates a TMA-3 mine 30 km E of Namacunde. Two own forces wounded.
- 25 Oct Violation 81: 101 Bn members surprise a terrorist on a bike armed with six B10 rockets 5 km SW of Cuamato. SWAPO member evades capture.
- 31 Oct/1 Nov Talks between Dr Crocker and a South African delegation on the Cape Verde Islands. Dr Crocker informs the SA delegation that Angola has accepted the idea of a Cuban withdrawal from Angola in principle, and that the way is now clear for the completion of the disengagement process.
- 1 Nov Violation 82: A 101 Bn patrol kills one SWAPO terrorist in a contact 12 km ENE of Namacunde
- 1 Nov Col C.J. Prinsloo relieves Col J.L. Jordaan as OC RSA component.
- 4 Nov Violation 83: SADF reaction force from 101 Bn makes contact with four SWAPO terrorists 10 km N of Beacon 24, capturing three terrorists in the process.
- 7 Nov Violation 84: JMC patrol discovers a SWAPO ammunition cache 12 km E of Namacunde.
- Violation 85: A LP youth points a TM 57 mine out in a ploughed land 12 km E of Namacunde.
- 8 Nov Violation 86: A LP youth points a AK47 plus SWAPO uniform out to members of a 101 Bn patrol.
- 19 Nov High level conference takes place at JMC HQ at Ongiva between delegations led by Lt Gen Geldenhuys and Lt Col Monteiro. Agreement reached that Angola would be responsible for proposing date and venue for a follow-up ministerial meeting to discuss the completion of the disengagement process.

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- 21 Nov Violation 87: LP report the presence of two SWAPO terrorists in a kraal 20 km W of Evale.
- Violation 88: Three SWAPO spoor found by a SADF patrol 20 km N of Cuamato.
- 23 Nov Violation 81: 102 Bn patrol clashes with a SWAPO group 13 km N of Fredericks gate, killing three terrorists.
- 27 Nov Violation 90: JMC patrol discovers a SWAPO base plus 100 spoor heading northwards in the area 60 km NE of Cahama.
- 30 Nov Violation 91: SWAPO terrorist captured on 7 November interrogated by JMC team and confesses to having operated within the AIQ between July and November.
- 7 Dec Conference at Ongiva between OC Sector 10 and OC FAPLA 5 Military Region.
- 12 Dec Violation 92: A SADF Buffel vehicle detonates a TM46 mine 15 km NW of Nehone, injuring one own forces
- 16 Dec Violation 93: SADF reaction teams kill one SWAPO terrorist at 9178 WL south of the monitor line.
- 17 Dec Violation 94: 201 Bn patrol discovers a SWAPO cache at 9403 WM south of the monitor line.
- 18 Dec Violation 95: SADF patrol makes contact with a SWAPO group 17 km NE of Namacunde and kills two terrorists.
- 23 Dec Violation 96: 201 Bn reaction force patrol discovers nine SWAPO spoor at 2815 XM near Chiede south of the monitor line, and in the ensuing follow up operation two terrorists are killed.
- 28 Dec Violation 97: 101 Bn patrol kills a SWAPO terrorist hiding in a tree at 1700 XM near Chiede south of the Monitor line.

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- 29 Dec Violation 98: Capture of SWAPO terrorist on 21 December in the Chiede - Namacunde area registered as a violation.
- 1985
- 1 Jan Col A.J. Moore takes over as OC JMC (SA) from Col C.J. Prinsloo.
- 4 Jan Violation 99: 101 Bn patrol makes contact with SWAPO group at 9401 WM and kills one terrorist, wounds another and captures a third.
- 8 Jan Violation 100: One SWAPO terrorist killed by a SADF patrol at 8593 XL.
- 13 Jan Violation 101: A SADF reaction force team discovers two enemy spoor at 5911 XM and kills the two terrorists in th follow-up operation.
- Violation 102: A 101 Bn Reaction force team clashes with five SWAPO terrorists at 9487 WL, killing one terrorist in the process.
- 17 Jan Violation 103: A 101 Bn Reaction force team kills two SWAPO terrorists at 9205 WN
- Violation 104: A 201 Bn Reaction force team clashes with a SWAPO group at 5383 XL and kills one SWAPO terrorist.
- 20 Jan Violation 105: A Reaction force team from 201 Bn kills two SWAPO terrorists at 0385 XL.
- 22 Jan Violation 106: A 101 Bn Reaction force team discovers five SWAPO spoor and one terrorist is killed at 8893WL during the follow-up operation.
- Violation 107: SADF Reaction force team kills two SWAPO terrorists at 3505 XM.

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22 Jan Violation 108: One SWAPO spoor discovered 8 km west of 7803 WM, and the terrorist is killed by a 201 Bn Reaction force team during a follow-up operation.

Violation 109: 201 Bn Reaction force teams kill one SWAPO terrorist at 3489 XL.

23 Jan Violation 110: One barefoot SWAPO terrorist killed by Reaction force team (201 Bn) at 1890 XL.

Violation 111: 201 Bn Reaction force team kills one SWAPO terrorist at 2005 XM.

Violation 112: One terrorist killed by a Reaction force team south of the monitor line.

Violation 113: One terrorist killed and one wounded by a Reaction force team south of the monitor line.

25 Jan Violation 114: One SWAPO terrorist wounded and one own force wounded in a clash south of the monitor line.

28 Jan Violation 115: One SWAPO terrorist killed and two own forces wounded in a clash at 3321 VM.

Violation 116: SADF Reaction force team kills three SWAPO terrorists for one own forces wounded in a clash at 8903 VM.

Violation 117: SADF Reaction orce team kills one SWAPO terrorist at 3097 WL after receiving information from LP.

29 Jan Violation 119: SADF Reaction force team kills three SWAPO terrorists and captures another during a contact at 2289 XL.

3 Feb Violation 120: Three SWAPO spoor discovered by SADF Reaction force team at 2000 WM, and equipment of two of the terrorists captured during follow-up operation.

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- 6 Feb Violation 121: An SADF patrol clashes with seven SWAPO terrorists at a LP kraal at 1392 XL. Two terrorists and one own forces killed in the firefight.
- 7 Feb Violation 122: One SWAPO terrorist killed by a SADF patrol at 9998 XL.
- 12 Feb Violation 123: SWAPO terrorist captured south of the border admits having moved through the AIQ to infiltrate SWA.
- 14 Feb Violation 124: On 7 February three FAPLA soldiers arrested in the Techipa area and transported to Sector 10 by mistake. At the insistence of the Angolan JMC component, the incident is registered as a violation against the RSA.
- 20 Feb Violation 125: SADF Caspir detonates a mine at 5478 VL, and sappers find a further 4 mines and 19 TNT blocks upon investigation.
- Violation 126: SADF patrol discovers a SWAPO cache at 0385 WL after receiving a tip-off from LP.
- 21 Feb Violation 127: SADF Reaction force team makes contact with SWAPO group at 0104 XM and kills two terrorists for the loss of one own forces wounded.
- Violation 128: SWAPO cache discovered by SADFD patrol at 9989 VL (25 km SW of Cuamato).
- 28 Feb Violation 129: SADF Reaction force team follows a SWAPO spoor to a kraal at 2492 WL and kills the terrorist in the ensuing follow-up action.
- 8 Mar Violation 130: SADF Reaction force team travelling in a Buffel detonates a mine at 942421 WN. Eight own forces injured.
- 13 Mar Brig A.J.M. Joubert meets Lt Col Kianda of 5 Military Region to discuss a FAPLA request to be allowed to deploy non-JMC FAPLA forces against UNITA south of the monitor line.

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15 Mar JMC HQ components visit Quiteve to confirm removal of AA weapons from the town by FAPLA.

Violation 131: SADF patrol kills two SWAPO terrorists in a contact at 3296 XL 20 km ESE of Chiede.

16 Mar Violation 132: A cache of 88 x 82 mm mortar bombs discovered by a 54 Bn patrol at XM 6894 (55 km ESE of Chiede)

17 Mar Violation 133: A 101 Bn patrol discovers SWAPO arms cache under a tree at XL 1879 18 km ESE of Chiede.

21 Mar Violation 134: A 101 Bn patrol discovers an arms cache at WL 9693 7 km NE of Nohakundi after a tip-off from a LP source.

22 Mar Violation 135: A 101 Bn Reaction force patrol discovers an AK47 with spare magazines in a tree at XL 0493 9 km SE of Chiede after receiving information from a local source.

Violation 136: A 101 Bn patrol discovers an AK47 rifle in a hole in the ground at WM 8706, 3 km NE of Omapanda after receiving information from a local source.

Violation 137: Clash between a 201 Bn patrol and a SWAPO group at 243110 WM 15 km SW of Cuamato. No casualties.

Violation 138: 101 Bn patrol discovers two AK47 rifles hidden in a tree at 9691 WL 15 km SW of Chiede after receiving information from a local source.

29 Mar Violation 139: SADF patrol discovers two SWAPO arms caches 25 km SE of Cuamato.

Violation 140: Elements of 101 Bn and 201 Bn working in parity with FAPLA locate a SWAPO FCP base 6 km NW of Mapunde and in the ensuing clash four SWAPO were killed and one captured. Arms and logistic caches lifted in the area.

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- 31 Mar High level conference held at JMC HQ at Ongiva. Enquiries made by the SA delegation iro Ruacana/Calueque project and proposed JPC. FAPLA request to deploy non-JMC forces south of the monitor line also discussed.
- 1 Apr Violation 141: 101 Bn Reaction force patrol detonates two TMA-57 mines in a Casspir vehicle at 0911WM 4 km W of Cuamato. No serious injuries.
- 2 Apr Violation 142: JMC monitor patrol discovers a SWAPO arms and equipment cache at 705065 VM 8 km NE of Naulila.
- 8 Apr Violation 143: SADF Reaction force team discovers and follows five SWAPO spoor at 8877 WL 11 km NE of Beacon 19. Reaction force and helicopter gunship kill five terrorists for the loss of one own forces (tracker)
- 9 Apr Violation 144: SADF Reaction force team make contact with seven SWAPO terrorists at 8585 WL 4 km W of Namacunde, killing three SWAPO in the ensuing firefight.
- 11 Apr Violation 145: SADF Reaction force patrol kills one SWAPO terrorist and captures another in a contact at 0787 WL 20 km SE of Cuamato.
- 13 Apr Violation 146: One terrorist killed in a contact with a SADF patrol at 8480 XL 63 km SSE of Mulemba.
- 14 Apr Violation 147: One terrorist killed and one own forces wounded in a contact at 8254 WM 12 km S of Evale.
- 15 Apr SA Government announces unilateral decision to disengage all its forces from Angola and to move its JMC component to Oshikango with immediate effect. The disengagement process to be completed on 17 April.
- 16 Apr Final parade and banquet held at JMC HQ (SA) in Ongiva.

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- 17 Apr Withdrawal of all JMC and non-JMC forces from Angola (with exception of protection element at Calueque). Formal parade attended by media held at Oshikango, with C SADF taking the salute.
- 19 Apr Violation 148: Capture of SWAPO member on 9 April registered as a violation.
- 21 Apr JMC begins functioning on a formal basis at Oshikango.
- 21 Apr Violation 149: Cache discovered by 201 Bn patrol at 7484 VM on 12 April registered as a violation.
- 9 May Ministerial meeting in Maputo between South African and Angolan delegations headed by Minister R.F. Botha and Vice Minister Van Dunem respectively. The latter informs the SA delegation that Angola is not interested in continuing with the JMC.
- 16 May The JMC is formally disbanded.
- 22 May Brig Joubert and Lt Col Sequiera meet at Calueque to discuss future of the hydro-electric scheme.
- 4 Jun SADF protection element at Caluque withdrawn on the instructions of the SA Government.

JMC : PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS BY CAPT W.P. STEENKAMP (ATTACHED TO THE JMC DURING MARCH 1984)

General routine in the SA JMC camp varied according to the circumstances, but an ordinary sort of day went more or less as follows:

- a. Reveille (strictly informal).
- b. Coffee and rusks, usually taken outside at a table unless it was raining.
- c. Daily O Gp in the ops tent, opened with a prayer by the padre. Usually the S02 Int would give a short briefing if there was anything new, and then routine administrative and other matters were discussed. Members of the HQ would then be dismissed, and the commanding officer would hold a planning session with members of the JMC component if this was considered necessary.
- d. Breakfast would be eaten.
- e. The Angolan JMC component would arrive for the morning's conference. Depending on the matters to be discussed, this conference would last from 20 minutes to considerably longer. The venue for the conference varied. At Cuvelai it consisted of a large tent with the Angolan flag north of the entrance and the SA Flag south of the entrance.

At Mupa the conferences were held at first in one room of an abandoned but fairly intact house by the side of the "white road" (main road from the south). This room was used for most of our time at Mupa, both when the SA camp lay next to the river and later, when rising water forced us to move the camp to the "white road", right next to the abandoned house.

For the last few days before the JMC HQ shifted to Mupa, the camp was moved several kilometres down the road because Col Dippenaar believed the white road site to be unhealthy, since there were several rubbish dumps in the vicinity. The new site was located in dense bush just east of the white road, and the conference tent with its two flags erected just over the road.

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In every case the conference room/tent was sparsely furnished with standard metal folding tables set out in a U-form and covered with sheets; and one or two maps of the AIQ.

Generally speaking, the heads of the two components sat at the crossbar of the U, with their respective components ranged along the legs of the U. Behind the heads of component sat two interpreters, usually Mr Stone Carlos (Angola) and Col Oelschig at first but later usually Sgt Tony Vieira of 1 Recce Regt (ours).

As secretary of the JMC I sat close to the heads of component because I had to take the minutes and there was often considerable background noise from helicopters, passing vehicles and the like.

The procedure with the interpreters was as follows: Each side used its own interpreter when making a point, and the other side would then reply through its own interpreter. Sometimes this routine varied. For instance, at one of the early meetings (7 March 1984) Col Oelshig was absent and Carlos interpreted for both sides, although our second-string interpreter, Fernando, was standing by.

The interpreters were very necessary, as no SA JMC officer could speak Portuguese except Col Oelshig. On the FAPLA side, Maj Helder Diaz spoke enough English to get by, Maj Zavier also spoke a little English, and we suspected that Capt Gouveia da Costa could speak English as well but was concealing this from us.

A noticeable feature of each conference was the courtesy and deference shown by both sides, with jokes being cracked back and forth on occasion. There were frequent references to both sides determination to do their utmost to bring peace, and as far as I could tell this was quite genuine, although obviously each side also had to deal with background developments which it could not discuss in or out of conference.

In our case, for example, Forester was frequently discussed, although we left the handling of this factor to Sector 10 HQ, as per instructions; and on the FAPLA side their continuing relationship with SWAPO must have preoccupied their attentions.

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After each conference (occasionally these were held in the afternoon, in place of or in addition to the morning conference, but these were exceptions) the two Ops officers (Maj Helder Diaz or his substitute, and our SO2 Ops) would remain behind for a few minutes to draw up a joint sitreps for transmission to the HQ at Lubango and Oshakati.

While this was going on, the rest of us would stand around outside, smoking and chatting, or adjourn to the mess for a cool drink. It was noticeable that the Angolan officers tended to be temperate in their drinking habits, preferring cool drinks (Coca-Cola and Sprite were favourites) much of the time, although some also drank beer and, in the evening, stronger waters.

Maj Helder Diaz was fanatically fond of chocolate, and we kept him supplied with Tex Bars and the like from the canteen. At Cuvelai the padre also gave him a Portuguese-language Bible, which (he said) he always carried around together with his chocolate in his leather map-case.

The Angolans also liked to read any newspapers we got hold of, the Sunday Times being a firm favourite with Maj Helder Diaz.

After the conference the SA JMC members usually got out of uniform and into more comfortable clothes like T-shirts and gym shorts, and carried on with their routine duties till suppertime, after which they usually went to bed fairly early.

On occasion, this routine was interrupted. A suspected violation meant that some members of both components would take off in two helicopters to visit the scene, where they would discuss the violation, decide if it was one, collect the evidence and then inform their HQs.

At other times inspection trips would be made to places like Cassinga and Calueque. Sometimes these could be nervy; once a Puma carrying members of both components was returning from (I think) Calueque, and the pilot automatically laid a straight course for Cuvelai which took him right over a clearly visible Forester encampment at Ongiva.

Fortunately an awkward moment was averted because the FAPLA component happened to be facing out of the other door.

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At intervals, too, there would be a high-level special meeting, with the C Army and a gaggle of rank including his PA, Col Sonnekus, Lt Gen Earp, Lt Gen Meiring (OC SWA TF) and Brig Joubert flying in from our side, and Lt Col Monteiro and Lt Col Siquiero and their entourage coming in from Lubango.

On such occasions there would usually be a strategy meeting on our side before or during a break.

These special conferences sometimes had a potential for becoming heated, with the Angolans making fairly fiery speeches obviously meant for posterity.

C Army, however, was a truly consummate diplomat on these occasions and managed to keep things cool while not yielding ground to any degree. On at least one occasion his place was taken by Lt Gen Gleeson, who proved to be a good negotiator in his own right.

On Sundays the padre would hold a church parade, but in other respects this was pretty much a working day. Generally speaking there was a fairly relaxed atmosphere around the camp, but no-one ever forgot that it was an operational camp and that there was at least a chance we might come under a stand-off stonk by SWAPO. Consequently the camp area was always secured and slit trenches were dug.

A popular recreation was watching videos on a TV set which was brought in. Everybody would gather around and watch a wide variety of entertainment. Among the films I can remember were "First Blood", "Flashdance", "Caravans", and "The Gods must be Crazy".

The Angolans particularly liked "The Gods must be Crazy". A couple of them also showed signs of amazement during the showing of "First Blood" because all the South Africans were firmly behind the crazy Vietnam veteran Rambo and cheered every time he gunned down a policeman.

We also had videos of pop groups which we swapped with the Angolans. In return they loaned us good decadent videos featuring Peter Tosh and Donna Summer (one Peter Tosh was pretty raunchy, and inter alia came the nearest to showing actual fornication on the screen that I have yet seen. This says something for the laid-back brand of Marxism practised in Angola).

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For the rest entertainment tended to be scarce. For a while at Cuvelai we had a 32 Bn officer, Lt Fred Turner, who had been lightly wounded in the leg by shrapnel in one of the early clashes, and every morning when the MO, Lt Jonathan Fabian, changed his dressings there would be a line of interested parties peering through the tent windows, enjoying Fred's grimaces (he was a good soldier, but rather "kleinserig"). This went on till Jonathan got tired of show business and banned the rubbernecks.

We also swapped rations with the Angolans. They loved our ration packs, and we enjoyed their sardines and other tinned fish, of which they were heartily sick. We stayed away from their locally canned rations after one of their tins of pork and beans was opened during a monitoring patrol and was found to include a complete pig's teat.

Our pilots and the Angolans' whooped it up a few times and became very friendly - so much so that almost all our pilots managed to put in some time flying the Angolans' Mi-8 helicopters (they did not fly ours, however).

All of us flew in the Mi-8s from time to time, and Cndt Beneke had his int corporal and ourselves take numerous photographs, particularly of the armament. This "international" flying stopped after my time, however, when according to what I heard, one of the Angolan pilots put his Mi-8s tail-rotor into a tree, which was hardly surprising, since they were inclined to be slapdash by SAAF standards. C SAAF then banned our own forces from the Mi-8s in case of a disaster.

Their helicopters did not seem to be in very good shape and were frequently withdrawn to Lubango for repairs. The rest of their back-up was not very good either, and at one stage the white landrover in which they usually arrived for conferences broke down. Our tiffies removed the radiator, had it repaired in Oshakati and then re-installed it.

They used Mi-8s almost exclusively, although occasionally they would have a Alouette II.

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At least in the early stages there was a considerable amount of visiting between SA and Angolan JMC HQs, and at intervals we would invite them over to our camp for a joint meal. These were always very cordial and jovial; the Angolans did not reciprocate because (as they told us frankly) they did not have the facilities, but as a gesture of good faith they always brought along some wine or other delicacies.

We always took care not to offend their sensibilities, seeing we were so much better equipped and organised, and they took it in good part.

For the first part of the JMC operation the Angolans always had an orderly officer sleeping in our camp in case of emergencies.

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APPENDIX C TO
HISTORY OF THE JMC

VISIT TO MUPA MISSION

Report written by Capt W.P. Steenkamp

Background:

On the afternoon of 12 April 1984 Col Dippenaar, Cmdt Potgieter, myself and Sgt T.J. Steenkamp (TV cameraman) went to the mission station a little to the north of Mupa. Cmdt Potgieter was acting as 2/c because Col Koen had gone on leave on 11 Apr 84.

Col Dippenaar had two reasons for making the visit. Firstly, he wished to introduce the JMC operation to the local population, and secondly, he wished to return to the mission some items which had been looted from it by SADF or SWA TF personnel during the Operation Askari fighting (I was told they were Air Force personnel, but cannot confirm this).

The items were taken from the altar in the church and included a painted statuette of the Mother Mary, a bowl and a chalice. These had been recovered from the looters and sent up to the SA JMC HQ for return to the mission.

In due course we arrived at the mission, which consisted of a complex of schoolrooms and other buildings and a large, high-roofed, somewhat dilapidated church of distinctly Iberian style, with a vaulted roof, many buttresses and a cross on the roof.

There was no priest to greet us, the incumbent having fled during the fighting, and we were given to understand that FAPLA did not particularly want him back - probably because, being Marxists, they wanted to wean the locals away from the religion.

Capt Samukango (FAPLA JMC component) explained that "he ran away when they bombed the church's water-pump", adding that "it will depend on the Bishop in Lubango" whether he came back.

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Instead we were met by the chief political commissar of the region and one of his underlings, who was able to speak the local language (the chief commissar was a northerner and could not). Like most of the commissars we encountered, they were full-blooded blacks, not mestizos like most of our opposite numbers.

Our arrival at the mission marked the start of an experience which was at once sad, joyous, ludicrous and moving. Under and around a large shade-tree in front of the church was gathered a crowd of about 300 people of every conceivable age and sex, from rheymy-eyed greybeards to pregnant women and hordes of children - evidently a poverty-stricken lot, to judge by the worn appearance of clothes, and with not a fat or even plump one among them.

What struck me forcibly was the number of children who were coughing or had inflamed eyes, and the comparative scarcity of young men of military age - although whether they had been conscripted by FAPLA, recruited by UNITA, were working or had absconded I cannot say. Two platoons of soldiers, one drawn from the ordinary FAPLA forces and the other wearing the green berets of the Commandos, were drawn up to ne side.

The meeting started, and what was so incongruous was the fact that it had been organised as a straightforward Marxist rally.

Once Col Dippenaar, Mr Auret and Cmdt Potgieter had been seated (surrounded on three sides by a sea of curious faces which included a substantial choir), the rally started. The crowd was warmed up by a speech in Portuguese from the chief political commissar, a neat man wearing a short beard (which most of them did not understand too well, I gathered, being Kwanyama-speakers). However, they gave him a good ovation, clapping in unison in the communist fashion.

The junior commissar then introduced "Coronel Camerada Dipna" and "Commandante Camerade Potgitta". Alerted by a "please clap" gesture from the commissar, the crown gave each of them a good rhythmic hand. Col Dippenaar and Cmdt Potgieter rose to the occasion in royal fashion, standing up and waving in the restrained fashion favoured by the State President at the Opening of Parliament.

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Col Dippenaar then made his speech, which was translated into Portuguese by our interpreter, Sgt Tony Vieira, and into Kwanyama by the commissar, which meant that it took some little while, although it was characteristically brief and to the point.

Amount other things he said: "We have come here to show you that we are here to bring a normal life back to you. We are sorry that we have to talk to you the long way around, through this person here and that one there (pointing to the commissar and Sgt Vieira) but we would like to be sure that you understand what is happening. On the way here I looked at the country and at the cattle. They are fat and look good, but I realise the population has suffered a great deal because of the war. We are here together with the Angolan soldiers. We are working together, operating in the whole area to make sure that we can bring back peace and a normal life. The two governments have agreed that together we will work to get the SWAPO fighters out of the area. If there are SWAPO soldiers and they leave their arms, we will not fight with them."

"We just don't want more fighting, for the fighting to carry on. We would prefer everybody to talk and to understand, and this is what we are doing at the moment. South African and Angolan soldiers have a good understanding, (and) because of this we could get together today, and I am very glad to see so many of you here today. I understand the children are going to sing, and I really appreciate it, because when people sing they are happy, and that is how we would like to see the people of this area."

"I hope the cattle will get fatter, that you will get enough rain, that the mahangu will grow well, and that there will be enough food for everyone in this area."

After the obligatory syncopated applause, the chief commissar then replied at some length in Portuguese, the junior commissar translating into Kwanyama as before. The two platoons sang and mimed what was obviously a standard revolutionary song, with much saluting and hoisting of an imaginary "Rossa Bandeira" or Red Flag. Russian though it was by origin, Africa intruded itself in the shape of several women who ululated in the traditional way at intervals.

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Col Dippenaar and Cmdt Potgieter took all this with great urbanity, although no doubt they were well aware of the fact that they were probably the first SADF officers (and possibly the last) to be guests of honour at a full-scale communist rally.

After the soldiers a large children's choir serenaded the guests, singing and clapping their hands under the guidance of an old man, who was obviously the local "voorsanger". By the end of their song the locals had thoroughly entered into the spirit of what was obviously their first entertainment in many a long day, and were laughing and chattering.

After this we went into the church, a cavernous building smelling of damp and neglect, for the second task of the visit. It had obviously seen hard times. The vestry had a sad, neglected look to it (a large pigeon-hole desk had all its drawers gaping open and was surrounded by a snowdrift of papers; and the altar, a simple erection of stones with the cement in between painted yellow, had had the stone slab on the top ripped off - by whom I could not discover.

The statuette and other looted items, covered in a sheet, had been placed on the altar, and after suitable speeches had been made (translated as before by Sgt Vieira and the junior commissar) the sheet was lifted off to reveal them. The church was packed with congregants, and they responded in most moving fashion.

That evening Col Dippenaar flew down to Oshakati and returned with Mr Auret the next day, and we paid another visit to the mission, accompanied by five Buffels full of 32 Bn troops, who had been armed with numerous large bags of sweets for distribution to the LP children.

The sweets were duly handed out; at first the children were slightly hesitant - possibly because 32 Bn's ferocious reputation had preceded it - but they soon got into the spirit of things and the troops did a roaring trade.

We were also taken on a tour of the Church grounds - a sad business, because everything had gone wild and was beginning to disintegrate.

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The nunnery was empty and sported various bullet-pocks on one wall, and what had obviously been a large and lively garden and patio was now a desert of empty ponds and overgrown rockeries. I think we were all glad to get out of there - even Tony Vieira, who confided to me that he had been christened in that very church.