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# Key town falls to

ROM 1/1/76  
ROM 1/1/76  
Unita

KINSHASA. — Troops of the Soviet-backed MPLA in Angola had lost Henrique de Carvalho, the main town in the northeast of the country, the Zaire news agency, AZAP, reported in Kinshasa yesterday.

The agency quoted a spokesman for Unita — one of two groups fighting the Luanda-based group.

The number of Cubans fighting in Angola has been swollen to 10 000 men in a rapid troop buildup involving refuelling of Cuban troop transport at an airport in the Portuguese Azores, diplomatic sources said in Lisbon yesterday.

At the same time, the bi-weekly Expresso said it had learned that the MPLA was planning an imminent offensive that would include Soviet-made warplanes for the first time. The planes were based in Brazzaville.

Within the past 10 days several Cuban planes carrying soldiers refuelled in the Portuguese Azores. The planes were Russian-made turboprops. — Sapa-Reuter and AP.

# Guyana opens airfields to Cuban planes

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1/1/76  
RDM  
RDM 1/1/76

GEORGETOWN. — The Guyana Government will allow Cuban planes bound for Angola to use its airport facilities, an informed source said last night.

The source said Cuba had made its request after a protest to Havana by Barbados against such flights and a refusal by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to allow Angola-bound aircraft to use its airports, Sapa Reuter reports.

A Guyana Government statement was expected in the next two days, the source added.

The United States was recently reported to have expressed concern to Guyana that its territory might be used as a staging post for Cuban military supplies.

It was not known if Guyana had replied to the American note.

The government-owned Chronicle newspaper yes-

terday quoted a government spokesman as saying that the government had been approached by an American representative.

The spokesman was quoted as saying this was one example of the pressure being applied by the United States on Third World countries to fall into line with American policy.

The issue surfaced during a visit to Guyana by three senior officials of the MPLA, which is battling in Angola with Soviet and Cuban assistance against two rival movements.

A "Mail" correspondent in Washington reports that a top official of Guyana reportedly landed in Zambia last night on a mystery mission connected with the Angolan civil war.

Top US Government intelligence sources say that Mr Fred Wills, the Foreign Minister of Guyana, left

Georgetown, the capital, on a hastily arranged trip to the conference in Lusaka.

Significantly, Mr Wills' trip to the Zambian capital came after a delegation representing the Soviet-backed MPLA forces in Angola arrived in Guyana from Jamaica on Sunday.

Guyanese officials said Mr Wills would attend the Lusaka conference but could not say exactly who was organising it or what would be discussed.

At the same time, the US State Department filed a formal protest with the Guyanese Government because Cuban aircraft ferrying troops to the Angolan civil war have been refuelling at the capital city's airport.

Guyana is in the north-east corner of South America, south of Venezuela. It is an ideal refuelling base for aircraft from Cuba about to make the long trans-Atlantic hop to the African coast.

# SA ultra-alert as MPLA hit back

Cape Times 1/11/76

Own Correspondent

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**JOHANNESBURG.**—An ultra-alert was declared for South African troops in the "operational area" last night as the predicted escalation of the war in Angola became fact with the MPLA attacks on FNLA and Unita positions.

On the South West Africa - Angola border, South African troops were standing by for the possibility of further terror attacks against the civilian population of Owambo.

Said a Defence Force spokesman last night: "No officer or man in the operational area will relax. It's a 24-hour-day alert. Anything could happen. And we are ready if anything does."

Asked about medical facilities for wounded, Major-General C R Cockcroft, the Surgeon-General of the Defence Force, said: "Everything is under control as far as evacuation and treatment of wounded is concerned."

He added: "We have sufficient blood plasma for any emergency. Surgical and medical care is also geared to any emergency. Medical men, trained soldiers, are on the spot and standing by the whole time."

The reason for the ultra-alert stems from intelligence reports of a military

hardware build-up by MPLA forces. It is known that Russian-made MIG combat aircraft, which have arrived crated recently in Congo, Brazzaville and Luanda, are nearly assembled — and that T-34 tanks and other sophisticated weaponry are in MPLA hands for use by trained Cuban pilots and soldiers.

One on-the-spot assessment last night of Cuban participation in the war was 7 500 officers and men.

## TRANSPORT

It is now patently obvious that the Soviet-backed MPLA plans to widen its hold on the sprawling, oil-rich Angola before the opening of the OAU special meeting on Angola scheduled for January 10.

Further proof of the MPLA military build-up is evidently by intelligence reports of giant Russian AN-22 transports routing by way of Algeria and Guinea — both pro-MPLA nations — under orders to Angola.

In South Africa, the extended call-up system of troops involving Citizen Force and National Service soldiers is under way. Some Citizen Force units are now geared to a three-month training period and all National Servicemen serving on the border are required to serve an additional month.

Full-time and part-time university students who are Citizen Force members can still apply, through their units, for deferment of training — but must submit documentary proof of their status, in the form of a letter from their faculty heads, as soon as possible.

● Sapa-AP reports from Lisbon that the number of Cubans fighting in Angola has been swollen to 10 000 men in a rapid troop build-up involving refuelling of Cuban troop transport at an airport in the Azores, according to diplomatic sources. At the same time, the independent bi-weekly Expresso said it had learnt that the MPLA was planning an imminent offensive that would include Soviet-made warplanes for the first time.

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# Soares warns of 'Vietnam'

11/176 ROM

CARACAS. — The Portuguese Socialist leader, Dr Mario Soares, said in Caracas on Tuesday that the intervention of foreign forces in Angola could turn the former Portuguese colony into an "African Vietnam."

"This is a threat to world peace," Dr Soares told a news conference following his arrival as a guest of the Venezuelan Government.

Meanwhile in Lagos yesterday Nigeria denied a statement by the MPLA that it was planning to send troops to Angola.

Major Henrique, Carvalhos dos Santos, leader of an MPLA mission to the Caribbean, said in Georgetown, Guyana, on Monday that Nigerian troops might already be arriving in his country and that the Congo, Guinea and Guinea-Bissau were ready to send troops.

Nigeria has formally recognised the Luanda-based government of the MPLA, promising every possible assistance and "sympathetic consideration" for any request for military

support, reports Sapa-Reuter.

A cash donation of R16 920 000 was made when MPLA "Prime Minister" Lopo do Nascimento visited Lagos recently, but there has been no Nigerian confirmation of statements by him that this was only one-fifth of the aid pledged.

Mr William E. Schaufele, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, left Cameroon yesterday for the Ivory Coast to continue talks with African leaders on the Angolan crisis, reports UPI.

In a parallel diplomatic action, Washington is urging South Africa to end its involvement in Angola before the OAU summit.

The United States has also revoked a licence authorising the export of two Boeing 707 aircraft bought by the Angolan airline because the aircraft were likely to be used to transport arms or troops, writes Sapa-AP.

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# MPLA lose control of major centre

DD 1/1/76

KINSHASA — The Soviet-backed MPLA has lost control of Henrique de Carvalho, the main town in the northeast of the country, according to Zaire.

A Unita spokesman said the MPLA lost the town after fierce fighting. Troops of Unita and its ally the FNLA.

FNLA-Unita troops had

made considerable gains in Angola's diamond-rich northeast area, the Zaire news agency, Azap said.

In the mid-west there was still fighting around Quibala, a road communications centre linking the port of Novo Redondo — held by the FNLA — and Unita with Malanje to the east and Dondo to the north, the agency said. — SAPA-RNS-AP.

# Resist Reds or pay the price — Vorster

DD 1/1/76

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JOHANNESBURG — No camouflage could cover up the blatant subversion of Angola and its people by the communists, and the choice before Africa and the non-communist world was plain — submit and pay the price, or resist, the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said in his New Year's message last night.

Not only was Angola with its vast potential slowly dying, but thanks to Leftist intrigues and blatant communist intervention, thousands of people have probably been senselessly killed and many more thousands will probably be killed unless this crude attempt by Russia and Cuba to force a Marxist state on a resisting and unwilling people can be stopped, and only a bigger Western involvement not only in the diplomatic but in all other fields, can do this," Mr Vorster said.

"If Africa and the free world allow one African country, and a country of such immense strategic importance too, to be hounded into the communist fold at the point of the bayonet or be ruthlessly liquidated, Africa will pay the price of enslavement far worse than that of the 18th and 19th centuries.

"If they achieve their objective not a single African country will be able to feel safe.

"No camouflage can cover up this blatant subversion of a country and its people, and the choice before Africa and the non-communist world is plain — submit and pay the price, or resist," Mr Vorster said.

The anti-communist leaders and the people of Angola know where South Africa stood in this matter, "and we are prepared to be judged by them."

"Our only involvement is that of the free world and the substantial interest of Owambo in the Kunene scheme, and the protection of the borders for which we are responsible will at all times dictate our actions and policy



MR VORSTER

regardless of the attempts to make us the scapegoat in the matter.

"We have recognised the state of Angola, we have committed no act of aggression or subversion we are in favour of a political settlement and we have no claims on anything in Angola," Mr Vorster said.

"It is not necessary for me to tell you how delicate the matter is and how far-reaching the results may be, but I want to give you the assurance that I and my colleagues are giving it the closest attention day in and day out.

"We have lost men — good men and brave men — I salute them and their comrades in the field. With you all I pray that their families will find comfort in the thought that they died so that men, women and children could live free of the yoke of atheist communist enslavement. For that they were prepared to stand up to be counted at the risk

of death itself," Mr Vorster said.

Mr Vorster said that last year he had said most of the serious world problems were left unsolved in 1974 and were carried over into 1975.

"Now at the beginning of 1976 the International Monetary Fund is no nearer to a solution of international economic problems, inflation is still casting its evil shadow over all countries, the numbers of unemployed are increasing, economic growth as well as peace are in the balance, terrorists are becoming bolder and bolder and the Soviets are increasing their spheres of influence.

"The United Nations, the one organisation which could have been expected to do something about it all has conclusively proved its ineffectiveness. Its puerile and sterile debates have become one big yawn and South Africa did well to stay away and will continue to do so unless things change radically for the better.

"The one ray of light was the effective way in which Ambassador Moynihan of the US has exposed its hypocrisy and double standards."

Mr Vorster said he was gratified by the way South Africans of all walks of life had united in an effort to stem inflation.

"For success, however, there will have to be more exports, less imports, especially of luxuries, better management, more productive and effective work in standard time, and less spending without stifling growth, and above all, every person must live within his or her means. It is time again to buy South African when and wherever possible."

In spite of increased hostile propaganda and other activities, South Africa had managed to make substantial progress to normalise its relations with countries in Africa, South America and elsewhere.

"It can be assumed that further progress will be made in this direction in the coming year."

Referring to the Transkei's independence this year, Mr Vorster said: "The manner in which the negotiations on official and ministerial level were conducted and the spirit of goodwill, co-operation and understanding that existed throughout, spells well for the future and is an object lesson how such matters should be handled."

He added: "Basic relations between white, Coloureds and Indians are satisfactory, and I believe that the appointment of Coloureds and Indians to boards and committees, as well as the establishment of a cabinet council, will ultimately not only prove to be acceptable to the masses of the Coloured and Indian peoples but will also prove to be the solution to this vexing problem of political rights and representation."

SAPA.

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11/76 RDM

# 'Slavery if Reds triumph'

RDM 11/76

Staff Reporter

**R**USSIAN and Cuban involvement in Angola faced Africa with an unavoidable choice — resist or submit to the "yoke of atheist communist enslavement," the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said in a New Year message to the nation last night.

But the communist bid to "force a Marxist state on a resisting and unwilling people" could not be stopped by Africa alone. Only bigger Western involvement could achieve that.

The need for Western assistance in Angola was "not only in the diplomatic field but in all other fields," Mr Vorster said.

If non-communist powers allowed Angola to be "hounded into the communist fold at the point of the bayonet," the price for Africa would be "enslavement far worse than that of the 18th and 19th centuries."

On South Africa's involvement in Angola, Mr Vorster said the anti-communist leaders and people of Angola knew where South Africa stood, and South Africa was prepared to be judged by them.

Mr Vorster said: "Our only involvement is that of the free world and the substantial interest of Swaziland in the Kunene scheme — and the protection of the border for which we are responsible will at all times dictate our actions regarding the attempts to make us the scapegoat in the matter."

### Delicate

"We have recognised the state of Angola; we have committed no act of aggression or subversion, we are in favour of a political settlement and we have no claims on anything in Angola."

"It is not necessary for me to tell you how delicate the matter is and how far-reaching the results may be, but I want to give you the assurance that I and my colleagues are giving it the closest attention day in and day out."

Paying tribute to soldiers killed in the field, Mr Vorster said: "With you all, I pray that their families will find comfort in the thought that they died so that men, women and children could live free from the yoke of atheist communist enslavement."

Before turning to South Africa's relations with the outside world and particularly with Black Africa, Mr Vorster criticised the United Nations for ineffectiveness.

"Its puerile and sterile debates have become a big yawn and South Africa did well to stay away and will continue to do so unless things change radically for the better."

Despite continued hostility at the United Nations, South Africa had made progress in 1975 in normalising relations with Black Africa and countries further afield. Mr Vorster said.

"We have established our bona fides and we have proved beyond doubt that we are as good as our words."

"Channels of communication have been opened, bridges of understanding have been built and a solid foundation has been laid for the future."

"We have blocked many of the attempts of our enemies to drive us out into the wilderness."

The Rhodesian situation illustrated the constructive results which had flowed from South Africa's peace initiative on the African continent, Mr Vorster said.

It had changed from one of "violent confrontation and terror" to "hopeful talks in a much calmer atmosphere" and given

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ASIANIC SOUTH

PAGE 2

### Champs clash

THE Powerboat Grand Prix at Loch Vaal today could become a needle match between world champion Cees van den Velden and South African champion Bill Badsey.

PAGE 3

### Day out

THERE'S plenty to do for those who don't want to sit at home today.

PAGE 3

### Guyana base

THE Guyana Government will allow Cuban planes bound for Angola to use its airport facilities.

PAGE 3

### Donor hanged

A MURDERER was hanged in India yesterday after failing to avert his execution by donating a kidney for a transplant operation.

PAGE 2

IB's change

**Education DD**  
**handover 3/1/76**

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DURBAN — Mr G. Krog, Director of Indian Education, is now directly responsible to the South African Indian Council instead of the Department of Indian Affairs.

Control of Indian education was handed over yesterday to the SAIC when all powers previously held by the Minister of Indian Affairs were delegated to Indians.

— DDC



# Terror chase into Angola

R.D.M.  
3/1/76

By BOB HITCHCOCK  
Military Correspondent

**A hot-pursuit operation into Angola has been launched by South African troops following the killing by terrorists of a British construction worker, whose name has not been released, and his Black maid in eastern Owambo, South West Africa.**

Last night, military sources in Pretoria blamed Swapo terrorists for the attack. Some reports estimated there were 30 men in the terror group.

The dead woman has been named as Miss Salima Ismael.

## Idi buzzes border

LONDON. — President Amin of Uganda has personally been reconnoitring possible routes to South Africa for his air force, Uganda Radio reported yesterday.

A broadcast monitored in London said the president disclosed his air trips along the South African border at a meeting with Libya's acting charge d'affaires in Kampala. He said Uganda's air force controlled central and southern

Africa.

President Amin said he had travelled several times in Central Africa near the border with South Africa to study possible routes for his air force to reach South Africa, the radio said.

Last August, the Uganda army held a mock battle which President Amin said simulated the beginning of a war by African armies against South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

In the same attack, two White men escaped injury or death by lying flat on the floor of their caravan when the terrorists opened rapid fire with Russian-made AK-47 sub-machine guns.

The raid, on the village of Oshandi, took place early on Wednesday.

At the Oshandi Clinic the terrorists forced Mr Elias Ndjaba, husband of the sister in charge, out of bed in his pyjamas and made him accompany them at gun-point. They also broke into and robbed a shop.

Oshandi is just over six km from the border with Angola. The terrorists wore camouflage uniforms and appeared to be well trained. After the raid they made off in the direction of Angola.

By late last night, a number of South African troops normally stationed on the South West African side of the border were taking part in the hot-pursuit operation across the Angola border, after trackers had reported positive signs of escape in the direction by the terrorists. As it was civilians who were murdered, police are doing on-the-spot investigations into the killings. But as the raid occurred in what today is a military area, troops and helicopter crews have taken over the search operation.

An authoritative Pretoria source said last night: "Swapo is currently launching these attacks to keep in the limelight.

"These terrorists usually wear uniform and some of them carry the cards of both MPLA and Unita.

## Pattern

The spokesman added that in these cases the South African authorities regarded the situation as a free-for-all and, as Angola had no recognised government, felt it necessary to launch hot-pursuit operations.

Military analysts agreed last night that Wednesday's attack was part of a pattern of escalation of terror activity in South West Africa.

Troops and police are still searching for the terrorists who shot and killed a White woman and her son in an attack last month on their farm in the Grootfontein area of South West Africa.

The Defence Force told the Rand Daily Mail yesterday that patrolling of the border between South West Africa and Angola was to be intensified so that stricter control could be exercised.

There has been another death in the Operational area.

The Chief of the Army, Lt-General Magnus Malan, announced yesterday that Rifleman M. L. van der Schyff died in a shooting accident in the area on New Year's Eve. He was the son of Mr and Mrs L. H. van der Schyff of Parow North, Cape Town.

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# MPLA's history of Angola banned

R.D.M.  
3/1/76

AN MPLA compiled history of Angola, Historia de Angola, is among 16 publications banned in yesterday's Government Gazette.

Other publications declared undesirable in terms of the Publications Act, are: Guerillas, V. S. Naipaul; Trick or Treat?, Ray Connolly; Cheating Wife, Dean McCoy; Film Review 1975/76, edited by F. Maurice Speed.

Der Spiegel, Nov 1975, Der Spiegel, Hamburg; Witchcraft Ritual Kit, Avalon Hill Company, Baltimore, Maryland; Cinco

Meses Mudaram Portugal, Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho; Os Marxistas, Wright Mills;

Sex Fantasy, Vol one, Number 10, Gadoline Ltd, Surrey; Health and Efficiency, No 942, August 23, 1975, Plant News Ltd, London; Oh Johnny poster, photo: H. J. Peyer; Erotic Zodiac poster, design by House of Ideas; Make Love, Not Fat poster, design by House of Ideas;

Castrol 1976 calendar; Direct Design and Packaging Ltd, Denver, Graphic Ltd, England; The Erogenous Zones, design by House of Ideas.

# Debate on Angola is above party politics

Cape Times 3/11/76 (5)

## Political Survey

**THE NEW YEAR** has begun as it promises to continue, with another terrorist outrage in South West Africa.

By **GERALD SHAW**

Coming after the Grootfontein murders and the assassination of Chief Elifas of Ovamboland, the new attack confirms that South West Africa is in a classic terror versus-counter terror situation. The maintenance of the security of the territory while its constitutional talks proceed is going to make massive demands on South African manpower and resources.

South Africa, in 1976, is going to have its hands full, without getting involved in other people's wars.

What the West asks of us at the present time is to safeguard our frontiers against aggressors and to maintain internal security, while doing everything in our power to remove causes of disaffection in the population.

The Western diplomatic offensive, aimed at next week's OAU meeting, seeks to secure a truce in the Angola civil war on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign troops.

**To expose**  
The Western aim is to expose Russia's imperialistic design in Southern Africa and secure an OAU majority which deplores the Soviet intervention.

The Russians' strongest card is to exploit any indication of South African involvement to legitimize their own presence in Angola and to lend a spurious "respectability" to the blatant Soviet attempt to recolonize Africa.

The official South African attitude is that South Africa is not involved in the civil war but is simply

said that South Africa had little choice but to disengage from involvement in the Angolan civil war as rapidly as possible.

Mr Durr does not address himself to the matter in hand — whether South Africa has any business to be involved in a civil war on foreign soil — but accuses this newspaper of advocating "retreat on all fronts" and "appeasement at all costs," and of seeking to promote the party political interests of the Progressive Reform Party.

But Mr Durr is aware that the advice against involvement in the Angolan civil war has come from all shades of the political spectrum.

Right at the start — before there was any inkling of South African involvement — Mr Durr's own senior UP colleague, Mr Japie Basson, sounded a clear warning against such involvement, saying that South Africa was not an imperialist country, and should not become one and should not seem to be becoming one.

**Protect borders**  
South African public opinion most certainly endorses action to protect our borders against terrorist aggression.

What is questionable is whether public opinion would endorse abandonment of our traditional policy of non-intervention in the affairs of our neighbours. Judging by letters to the Afrikaans press, there are Nationalist Afrikaners who question the wisdom of backing one terrorist faction against another in a civil war on foreign soil.

It is now plain that Washington would welcome South African disengagement from the Angola civil war in whatever degree of involvement there is — and it seems likely that the Republic will do its best to co-operate in the West's diplomatic drive to counter Soviet aggression in sub-Saharan Africa.

There is nothing to be gained in making a party political argument about this: The issues at stake are far too grave for recriminations.

It is a great pity, thus, that a promising but inexperienced young politician, Mr Kent Durr, MP for Constantia, should be stirring up party political animus in the matter.

Mr Durr's letter on this page today, is in response to remarks in this column on December 20, which

qualified for his own uncharitable epithets as an advocate of "retreat" and "appeasement".

Every level-headed South African I have spoken to believes that this country's best interests are served by scrupulous non-intervention in the affairs of its neighbours and by persistence in peace-keeping diplomacy, backed up by massive military power.

The argument in this column that any involvement in the Angolan civil war, on the other hand, is unwise and injudicious in the extreme is castigated by Mr Durr as "shallow nonsense" and "drivel".

**Abusive language**  
When he has been involved in public life a little longer Mr Durr will become aware that abusive language invariably reflects on the user rather than the victim.

In the long run, it is always wiser to address yourself to your antagonist's arguments.

The Cape Times maintains a letters to the Editor feature which seeks to encourage a reasoned exchange of views on matters of public interest.

Why does Mr Durr not tell us why it would be such a good thing for South Africa to abandon a policy of non-intervention which has stood the test of time?

His attempt to introduce divisive party politics into a matter of grave national import is deeply to be regretted.

Does Mr Durr approve of a situation in which this country, for all we know, could be embroiled in a foreign war without the public being told?

Does he approve of South African involvement in the Angolan civil war? If he does not, Mr Durr presumably

# THE CAPE TIMES AND ANGOLA Seeking to promote the growth of PRP

From Mr KENT D DURR, MP for Constantia:

IT WAS with dismay that I read the Political Survey by Mr Gerald Shaw (Cape Times, December 20).

Are there not limits to what people at times like these will do to embarrass this country?

The article carries with it the infecting germ of abdication which has so characterized the approach of the Cape Times to the Angolan problem.

Retreat on all fronts — appease at all costs — is the effective cry of the Cape Times. On this occasion, accompanied by an impassioned, emotional plea on behalf of the parents of South Africa, laced with every treacherous adjective and well-known cliché that can be mustered. Naturally the entire flight from reality contains the customary reference to Egin and Basson in the same breath in a renewed attempt to promote the growth of the



Mr Kent Durr

Progress front which feeds only on the official opposition. Mr Shaw will find that this kind of growth history will show, will mock the meat it feeds on.

Certainly there is "deep unease" among readers of the Cape Times about the Angolan situation and certainly all loyal South Africans are deeply moved by the "picture of the young servicemen handcuffed on display in Lagos". But the unease and concern will not stampede South Africans into the laager of abdication either here or in South West Africa.

It is time for each South African quietly to place his faith in God and "keep the powder dry". It is the time for us to renew our resolve to defend this country unconditionally from outside aggression no matter what the price. It is time that the Cape Times realized that loyal South Africans love this country, wants and all, and will defend her right to act out her own destiny in Africa.

The kind of shallow nonsense which your newspaper trotted out on December 20 is not a credit to it or to South Africa.

I will fight for the Cape

Times's right to continue publishing this kind of drivel but the Cape Times should not abuse its privilege which at times like these particularly carries with it great responsibility.

We must keep things in perspective and not promote panic. The average South African "son" is still more at risk on the roads than at the borders. We shall live in a time of relative peace. The Cape Times must realize that the only guarantee of peaceful achievement is the possession of overwhelming force and the preparedness and will to use that force in defence of, and as the guarantor of, peaceful achievement and progress.

Thus when external aggression threatens we must close the ranks. We must reserve comment only for occasions and forums when we can constructively assist in the national effort to defeat our enemies.

I further trust that at this next session of Parliament we will not again witness the unedifying spectacle of the Progress led by their Boadicea, their message being amplified by the press megaphone, telling us to cut defence expenditure to the bone.

Your attitude to our alleged involvement in Angola is not "venlig". It is "verspot" as regards your complimentary references to the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, when being read in relation to the theme of your article, my advice to him would be "beware the Greeks when they come bearing gifts".

See Political Survey on this page

# US ex-servicemen 'pour into Angola'

R.D.M. 3/1/76

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BOSTON. — Hundreds of American ex-servicemen have been sent to Angola and more have been trained and equipped to go, the Christian Science Monitor says in a report published in Boston yesterday.

"Despite congressional efforts to keep the United States out of the Angolan civil war, the covert American operation is increasing and becoming more organised," the newspaper says.

Quoting sources close to the CIA, the article says the CIA is "indirectly recruiting American ex-servicemen, training them, dispatching them to Angola and contributing toward their pay via funds for Zaire and Angola's two pro-West factions — FNLA and Unita — and providing them with indigenous forces with light and heavy weaponry."

A recruiting programme for 150 helicopter pilots

and mechanics to fly and maintain a squadron of helicopter gunships has started in the US, the report says.

Thirteen helicopter gunships are already on their way from France to Angola, it says.

The picture of an increasing American involvement emerged from contacts with senior mercenary officers both in Angola and the United States, reports Sapa-Reuter.

A CIA spokesman yesterday refused to comment on the report and the White House deputy Press secretary Mr John Carlson said: "The story has no foundation and is not true."

The Monitor article says 800 Americans have left the United States in the past three months and are already operating in Angola.

"A similar number is ready

to go as soon as the CIA can obtain more funds," it says.

Many of the Americans now in Angola are working with Unita.

The ex-servicemen were being paid R850 to R1 275 a month and got a R17 000 life insurance policy when they signed a final contract in Africa.

It is illegal under United States law to recruit American citizens for service in a foreign army.

The Rand Daily Mail's Washington correspondent writes that women mercenaries — "particularly good in intelligence work" — are reportedly being recruited in California.

And a recruiter, Bay of Pigs veteran Mr Jose Prat, claims hundreds of Cuban exiles in Miami are anxious to fight the Cuban communist troops aiding the MPLA. He says he is recruiting for Unita. — Sapa-Reuter.

# REDS SET FOR BIG ANGOLA OFFENSIVE

SUP. 4/1/76

**AS THE rains ease off in Angola, the Cubans get into position and the last of the newly-arrived Russian hardware reaches various launching-off points for the expected big MPLA push in the next few days.**

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit meeting on Angola starts on Saturday and that is a political deadline for the MPLA offensive. The Marxist movement hopes to strengthen its bargaining power by territorial gains before then.

But while the OAU formally starts the process of deciding where it stands on the Angolan war, nearly half of its members have already made up their minds to recognise the MPLA — because they would rather risk the Russians in Angola than the South Africans.

The South African presence in Angola — however big or small and with whatever qualifications — has

RUSSIAN involvement in the Angolan civil war took a new turn yesterday when it was revealed that the Kremlin has offered a R40-million bribe to an African country in exchange for its support of the Marxist MPLA movement.

been so astutely used by Russian propaganda advisers that the main issue is now completely blurred in the minds of many OAU members:

The real issue is simply and starkly whether the Russians, using Cubans as ideological mercenaries can impose whatever government they choose on an African state, writes Anthony Delius.

The question is whether anything could be worse than allying yourself with the propounders of apartheid even if only to save yourself from extinction.

It is not only Africans who get themselves into toils of spiralling sophistry when contemplating the question of who should or should not be involved in Angola.

One finds it in the letter columns of the London Times

News of the massive Soviet bribe attempt was disclosed by a British Foreign Office spokesman in London. The spokesman refused to name the country involved in Russia's new bid to win support on the African continent.

expressed as a "grim gospel" of political realism for latter day Christians by Father Adrian Hastings.

He wants the South Africans and Americans to withdraw from Angola so that the MPLA can achieve a quick victory before the Russians get firmly entrenched.

If apartheid can produce such dangerous and hysterical confusions abroad how much worse does it do that in Africa.

The MPLA are fast becoming impatient with South Africa's military presence in Angola, according to Commander Jose Carvalho, officer in charge of MPLA forces in the Quibala and Cela areas.

He told Tim Clarke in a telephone interview: "The mere fact that they have crossed our borders is an act of aggression."

Commander Carvalho said MPLA representatives attending the OAU conference in Addis Ababa would call on "our African brothers" to help expel South Africa.

"You will see at that conference what the rest of

Africa feels about foreign troops invading us."

It was put to him that foreign Russians and Cubans had also invaded Angolan territory by assisting the MPLA against Unita and the FNLA.

He said: "That is no argument. The Russians and Cubans have always assisted us in the same manner that the Americans and Zaire give support to our enemies."

On the general war scene, Commander Carvalho spoke of a major offensive against Unita and FNLA in the next few days.

## 'Curious' settler dies in terror attack

By ROSEMARY NORTHCOTT

A BRITISH construction worker's curiosity probably cost him his life when he was gunned down outside his caravan in a terrorist attack at Oshandi, 5 km from the Angola border in Owambo-land, early on Wednesday morning.

His maid, Miss Salina Ismael, was also found shot dead nearby.

His two colleagues, a Mr Brasnan and a Mr Hogan, escaped death by lying flat on their caravan floor while bullets from Russian-made AK 47 sub-machine guns missed them by inches.

South African troops have launched a hot pursuit operation into Angola after the terrorists.

Police believe the wanted men also kidnapped a man from the small clinic and stole R1 000 before setting fire to a local supply store.

This is the third terrorist attack in the area since December 20 and four people have lost their lives.

Oshandi is a small trading post consisting of a shop and a clinic. It has no telephones.

Detectives from Oshakati are investigating.

Yesterday Major Ben van Niekerk, district commandant of the area, which falls within Operational Area No. 1, pieced together the happenings of the terror night.

"We think the terrorists

first went to the Oshandi clinic where they confronted Mr Elias Ndjaba, husband of the sister in charge," he said.

"They forced him out of bed and made him accompany them at gun-point. They then moved on to the shop 500 m away.

"They forced the hysterical woman owner of the shop to let them inside. We think it was while they were setting fire to the shop that the British worker, who was killed, decided to investigate the noise."

The dead man's name has been withheld until his next of kin have been notified in Britain.

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# POWs, but perky — Cubans who lost out in Angola

The Sunday Times today publishes the first photographic evidence of Cuba's involvement in the Angolan civil war. Vanquished but not dispirited, this smiling trio are among 16 Cuban POWs being held by Unita/FNLA forces in Huambo. One, Roberto Bellma (centre), a mortarman, lost an arm for his troubles. He and anti-aircraft gunner Carlos Mesa (right), were taken two days before a major battle in which 50 Cubans were killed. The other man, Sergeant Exequiel David Garces Musteller, is an infantry platoon leader.

# MPLA now trying to hide losses

A SOURCE close to the FNLA/Unita forces in Angola said yesterday that the communist-backed MPLA was waging a massive propaganda campaign in an attempt to hide its heavy losses in the civil war, the deteriorating military situation, and a split in the leadership of the movement.

The source also disclosed that the MPLA had retreated to its traditional area of influence, destroying bridges in an attempt to halt the advance of the FNLA/Unita forces.

The source also disclosed that: ● The Cubans who are supporting the MPLA have suffered heavy casualties, and that in one offensive alone — near Quilima on December 14 — 50 Cubans were killed

● Both the Cuban and MPLA forces are desperately short of food, and this is adding to the demoralisation of the troops. ● The Cubans have been shooting MPLA troops who refused to fight. As a result the Cubans are now more feared than the former Portuguese regime. ● There have been clashes between Coloured and Black members of the MPLA forces. ● The FNLA/Unita forces have about 45,000 men, compared with 25,000 — of whom 35 per cent are foreigners — fighting for the MPLA.

These foreigners include 7,500 Cubans, 1,000 Katangese, 500 Portuguese, about 400 Russians and 2,000 Fretilino troops.

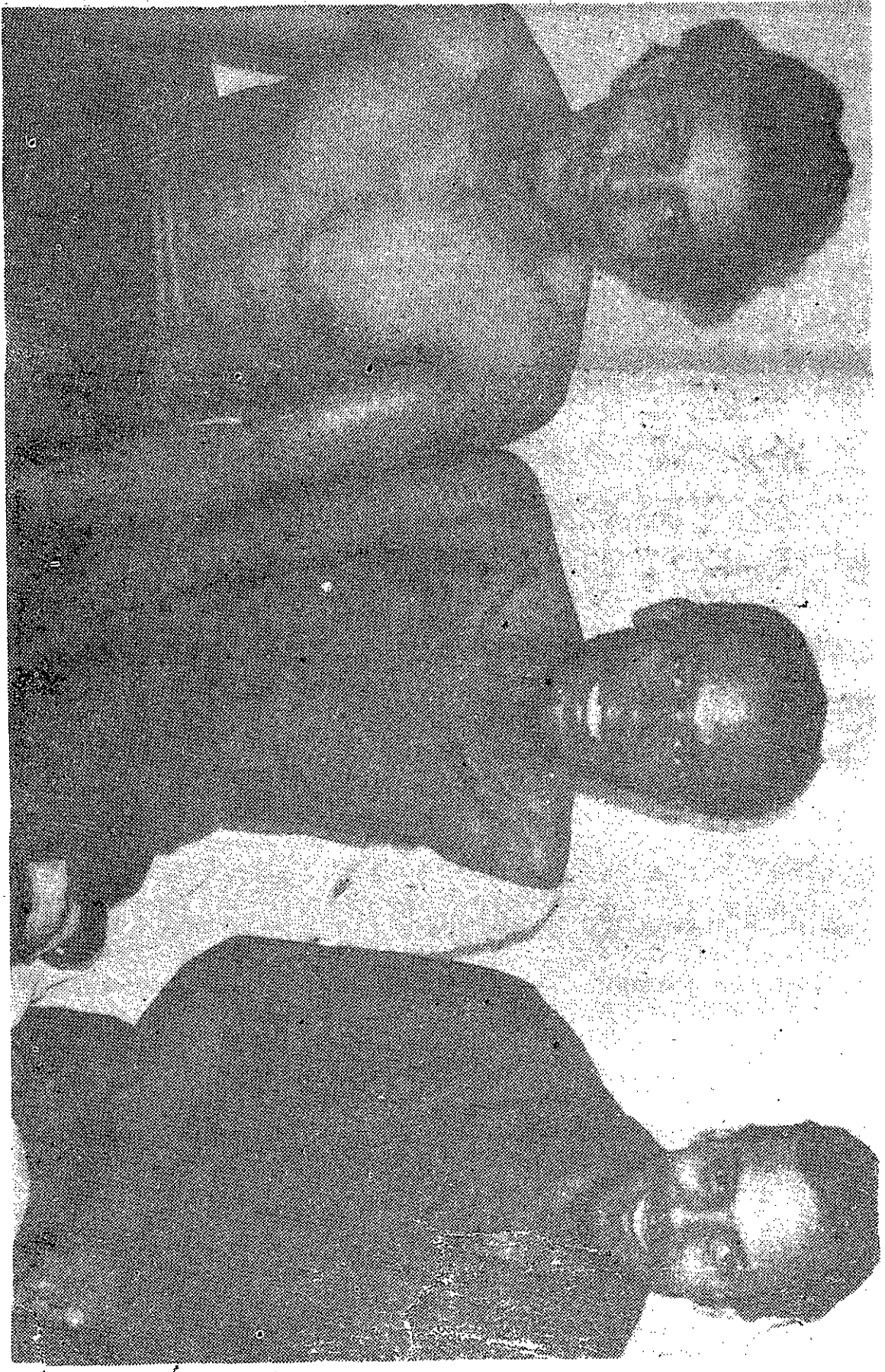
On the FNLA/Unita side there are about 700 foreign advisers, many of them White South Africans, as well as Portuguese and British mercenaries. The source also said that the FNLA/Unita forces had notched several successes in recent weeks, although in northern Angola the MPLA was still holding out against the allied offensive in Luanda.

In the west the allies were threatening Porto Ampoim, Gabela and Quilima after the MPLA had been forced to abandon the Quave river area with heavy losses.

Quilima has the largest concentration of Cuban troops in Angola and is considered vital to the MPLA defence. The fall of Quilima would open the way to Dondo and its hydro-electric scheme, which is vital to the country.

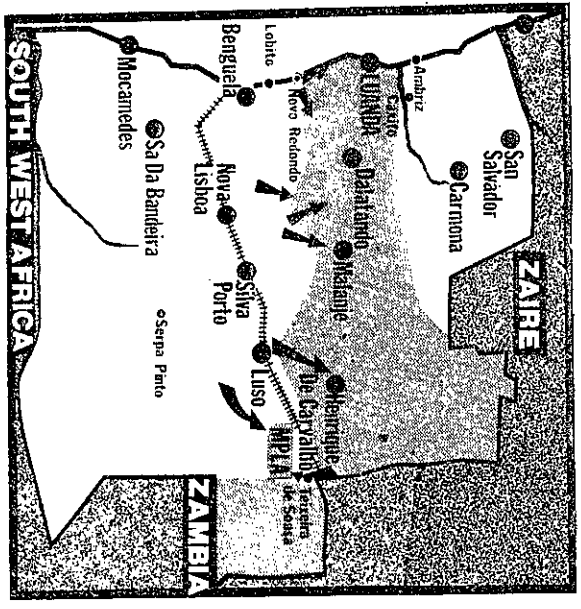
In central Angola the FNLA/Unita troops have taken the Salazar bridge over the Cuanza river south of Malanje, and were now repairing the bridge. The area is strewn with mines left by retreating MPLA forces.

On the eastern front the allied forces are threatening Henrique de Carvalho, but the town has not yet been taken, despite the claims of the Unita leader, Dr Savimba. At present the forces are held up at a bridge blown up by the fleeing MPLA forces. The source said it was not likely that Henrique de Carvalho would fall easily.



SUN. TIMES 4/1/76 (5)

By NEIL HOOPER



The latest war situation in Angola, based on information supplied to the Sunday Times by a source close to the FNLA/Unita forces. The shaded areas are those still held by the communist-supported MPLA troops. The area taken from the MPLA by the allied forces in recent weeks is on the eastern front and includes the towns of Luso, Teixeira de Sousa and Euzengue. A small portion of the Benguela railway line south of Henrique de Carvalho is still in MPLA hands.

# 'Army' in trainings in US

Sunday Times Correspondent ANTI-CASTRO Cubans and refugee remnants of the South Vietnamese forces are being sought to fight in Angola as a 'tough' unit, undercover, army, Washington sources confirmed today. When the influential Christian Science Monitor first put its weight behind allegations that this was happening, Government spokesmen dismissed them as unfounded. Later a White House spokesman changed the picture when he did not deny that the US was training foreigners for action in Angola.

# US funds pour into Angolan war

WASHINGTON — Eyewitness answers from the White House to questions about Angola have given an indication of how American hands are being used in the African conflict.

The US has spent about \$26-million so far to counter Soviet influence in the newly-independent territory, born by fighting between three rival factions, reports Sapa-Reuter.

The money has gone on arms and supplies to the two factions opposing the Soviet and Cuban-backed MPLA, which has set up a Marxist government based in Luanda.

But some of it may also have been channelled to unidentified third countries to help train foreign mercenaries to take part in the fighting.

Government spokesmen responded quickly at the

weekend to a report in the Boston-based Christian Science Monitor newspaper that the US was training American mercenaries to take part in the civil war.

Among others, the Presidential Press secretary, Mr Ron Nessen flatly denied the report, but significantly refused to answer questions asking if this was also the case with non-Americans.

Later, President Ford, in a television interview, went a step further. "The United States is not training foreign mercenaries in Angola," he said, and retorted: "We are not training foreign mercenaries."

But he too then avoided a question which asked, if that was the case, was the US financing the training of foreign mercenaries? "We are working with other countries that feel they have an interest in

giving the Angolans an opportunity to make the decision for themselves," he said.

He did not elaborate, but the clear impression was left that some of the US funds may indeed have been spent that way.

If so, it seems likely that it will raise yet another storm about foreign policy.

## VIETNAM

Congress, stung by the bitter end to two decades of involvement in Vietnam last April, is in no mood to have the country dragged into another foreign war.

FOUNTOPE. — A Wall Street correspondent in Bonn reported yesterday that the West German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher has said that his country, "in agreement with EEC partners" is trying to strengthen the anti-MPLA forces. In a carefully worded reply he said: "West Germany is trying to strengthen those forces in Africa who are seeking to ensure that Angola's problems are settled without foreign interference."

## Russia accused of R42m bribe

LONDON.—The Russians paid a \$42-million bribe to a West African leader to recognise the communist-backed MPLA in Angola, the British Liberal Party leader, Mr Jeremy Thorpe said at the weekend.

"I believe it is the biggest bribe in history," said Mr Thorpe, MP.

**CONSEQUENCES**

He said the Russian motive was to persuade other African countries to follow suit and recognise the MPLA, which would give the Soviet Union its "first permanent bridgehead in Africa."



Talking on a field telephone from a sandbagged observation post at the Calueque Dam site in Angola is Major Martinus Wolmarans. Looking on is Commandant Ernest Nel, 43, officer commanding No 5 sub-area of the No 1 Military Area. The South Africans are protecting the construction forces building the Ruacana Falls and Calueque hydro-electric and irrigation schemes.

## Reds claim African leaders gather to decide on Angola

MOSCOW.—MPLA forces have established full control over the territory of Cabinda, the official Tass News Agency reported from Luanda at the weekend.

Tass gave no further details about the capture of Cabinda, an oil-rich coastal enclave separated from Northern Angola by a strip of Zairean territory.

The report added that American planes were air-lifting modern military equipment to FNLA-Unita areas. — Sapa-Reuter.

NAIROBI.— African heads of state gather in Addis Ababa this week for the first extraordinary summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to try to solve the problem of war-torn Angola.

Potentially one of Africa's richest countries, Angola is a prize worth fighting for, and the international ramifications of what is happening there extend to include the whole question of détente between the US and the Soviet Union, the forthcoming US presidential election and the survival of White rule in Southern Africa.

Basically what the African leaders in Addis Ababa must decide is whether they are to stick by their last decision, taken at the Kampala summit of 1975, to support the idea of a government of national unity between Angola's three rival factions or whether they change this stand in favour of formal recognition of the government set up in Luanda by the MPLA, under its leader, Dr Agostinho Neto.

South Africa's admission that its troops are operating inside Angola appears to have given the pro-MPLA forces the justification they needed to switch the moral indignation over Soviet interference against the FNLA-Unita factions.

But, whatever the politicians decide Dr Neto will continue to hold a dominant military position in Angola with Soviet aid. — Sapa.

R.D.M.  
5/1/76

# Somalia urges Africa to accept MPLA

R.D.M.  
6/1/76  
5

## 'Mail' Africa Bureau

LUSAKA. — Somalia's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Omar Orteh Ghalib, has urged all African states to recognise the pro-Marxist MPLA.

He told a Press conference in Lusaka that Africa should not condemn Russia for supplying arms to the MPLA because this was the decision of the Organisation of African Unity.

Mr Ghalib also said the FNLA and Unita should join the MPLA.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the Russian Embassy in Lusaka, Mr Igor Tikhomirov, said in Livingstone yesterday his country does not support any liberation movement in Angola, but recognises the MPLA.

He also said Africa must come to terms with reality and denounce "forces of aggression on Angolan soil."

In Dar-es-Salaam the Tanzanian Government-owned Daily News said yesterday a government of national unity, grouping all three liberation movements in Angola, was "out of the question."

In a front-page editorial the paper said the pro-Western FNLA and Unita were "traitorous organisations bent on selling not only Angola but the whole of Africa."

Because of this, the communist-backed MPLA, which stood for true independence for Angola, could never work with FNLA and Unita, it said.

The paper declared: "There is ample evidence, given by the leaders of FNLA and Unita themselves, that they are puppets working for someone else's cause."

An editorial in Uhuru, organ of the ruling Tanu Party, yesterday said the Americans wanted a government of national unity "so that there should be some puppets to lead the country."

"To use those puppets the Americans will continue to oppose the true liberation of that country," Uhuru said.

"The people of Africa, Asia and Southern America know the long history of the Americans' interference in other countries' affairs," it said.



# Cuba's Angola force reaches 7 500

R.D.M.  
6/11/76

WASHINGTON. — US intelligence sources estimate that there are now about 7 500 Cuban soldiers fighting against American-backed factions for control of Angola.

The increase suggested the Cuban military commitment in Angola was growing steadily. Last week US officials were using a figure of about 6 000 Cuban troops.

Intelligence sources said three more top Cuban officials had been identified in Angola. They were Mr Fernando Vecimo, a vice-minister in the Cuban Ministry of the Armed Forces, Mr Luis Alfonso Ochoa, a member of the Cuban Communist Party's Central Committee and Mr Jorge Risquel, a member of the party secretariat.

Last month, US intelligence said Brigadier-General Julio Casas was

apparently helping the MPLA to handle military equipment supplied by the Soviet Union. Brig Casas was said to be a close associate of the Cuban Premier, Dr Fidel Castro.

The Russian airlift of weapons and other military supplies to the MPLA was still moving, with more than 40 planeloads delivered so far, intelligence sources said.

The Russian planes, mostly huge AN22 transports, were said to refuel in Algeria and Guinea on their long flight from Russia. The report that the MPLA was using MiG fighters had not been confirmed.

In Moscow, Russian newsmen reported yesterday that the military situation was favourable for the MPLA.

In a dispatch from Luanda, Tass and Pravda

correspondents said MPLA troops were on the offensive.

Recently, they said, the town of Camabatela, 260 km north-east of Luanda, had been "liberated".

The northern front line had moved to from 100-150 km from Luanda, and the northern province of Cabinda had fallen to Luanda troops.

One dispatch quoted local Press reports saying that military equipment was being supplied daily to the airport of Negache via "the air-bridge from the United States."

"Fierce battles are going on on the eastern front," the dispatch said. There, mercenaries and Angolan separatists had lost men and equipment. On the central front, artillery of Luanda forces had destroyed a large amount of equipment and prisoners had been taken.

The dispatch said hundreds of volunteers had shown up at draft stations in Luanda and Angolan towns. Many volunteers had been sent back to factories and farms because they were also needed there.

Tass also reported that a "security board" had been established in Luanda.

"The aim of the new government body is to defend the revolutionary gains of the Angolan people, to strengthen national unity, to defend state borders and to combat economic sabotage and crime," Tass said.

In Boston the Christian Science Monitor said yesterday recruiting and training of American mercenaries to fight in Angola had come to an abrupt halt in the US.

"But the clampdown is not enough to have halted

the operations of the 300 American mercenaries already in Angola," the newspaper said. The story quoted sources close to the Central Intelligence Agency.

The Monitor said the halt appeared to be the result of an article it published last week. The story said CIA-sponsored training of ex-US servicemen for mercenary work had taken place at Fort Benning.

In Algiers the semi-official El Moudjahid said France was engaged in subversive actions aimed at endangering the stability and territorial integrity of Angola.

After President Valery Giscard D'Estaing's visit to Kinshasa last year, it said, Zaire had received tanks and fighter aircraft which subsequently found their way to Angola. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

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# Red advance seen as critical for future

DD 6/1/76

**JOHANNESBURG**—Foreign diplomatic sources in South Africa last night regarded the MPLA's claim to have captured Carmona as the most critical news to have come out of Angola for some weeks.

The fall of Carmona, the FNLA's main stronghold, is expected to have a traumatic effect on the morale of anti-communist troops, and underlines again their urgent need of sophisticated weapons in large numbers, and skilled and battle-seasoned men to operate them.

In military significance, the fall of Carmona to the MPLA could be compared to the capture of Luanda by the FNLA.

Military experts see the simultaneous attacks by

the MPLA on Carmona and Luso to the south as indicative of the accuracy of intelligence reports over the past few weeks claiming the arrival of a mass of new Russian weapons and equipment for the MPLA.

Reports that Nigeria, Congo-Brazzaville, Guinea and Guinea-Bissau are ready to send troops to Angola to fight alongside the MPLA also tie-up with that organisation's apparent military confidence in attacking two anti-communist strongholds at one time.

A fresh batch of Cuban troops is reported to have arrived in Luanda in December.

According to reports

from Lisbon, Soviet planes are in Congo-Brazzaville ready to take part in the MPLA offensive.

The nationality of the pilots was not known.

Diplomatic sources see the MPLA offensive as well-timed from its viewpoint.

The OAU summit meeting on Angola opens in Addis Ababa on Saturday and the MPLA is obviously calculating that a strong and successful offensive between now and then, based on territorial gains, is likely to swing to its favour those member-countries who have not yet made up their minds which of the Angolan factions to back.

Already 17 of the OAU's 44 members recognise the MPLA.

Militarily, experts last night saw the MPLA attack on Luso, if not held by the anti-communist forces, as being the start of a Soviet-supported push towards the extreme south of Angola.

Luso is close to the vital Benguela railroad. A few hundred kilometres south-east of that town is the only other remaining anti-communist stronghold — Huanbo, which is also situated by the railroad.

— DDC.

# MPLA claim big victory in Angola

DD 6/1/76

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LUANDA — Troops of the Marxist MPLA, armed by Russia and stiffened by Cuban mercenaries, claim to have smashed their way into Carmona, headquarters of the rival FNLA, in a bloody offensive which could signal their eventual victory.

The fall of Carmona, now called Uige, could prove a virtually irreversible setback for the Western-backed FNLA of Holden Roberto.

The town, held by seasoned FNLA troops, veterans of ten years of bitter warfare against the Portuguese, was considered impregnable with the FNLA forces allegedly backed by white mercenaries and regular Zaire troops.

Fierce fighting is also reported on the eastern front at Luso where the MPLA forces, FAPLA, have launched an attack on combined FNLA and Unita troops.

An MPLA communique issued yesterday also claims that FAPLA has:

Captured the Negege air-base;

Captured seven northern towns — Carcassala, Cangala, Camabatela, Nambuanguo, Samba Caju, General Freire and Vista Alegre;

Captured "several hundred tons" of war material including armoured cars, transport vehicles and other heavy equipment;

Destroyed two American aircraft at Carmona airfield.

The fall of Negege air-base — formerly the Port-



HOLDEN ROBERTO... a setback.

uguese forces' main air-base in northern Angola — is, with the capture of Carmona, a double blow to the FNLA. The airfield has been the centre for the influx of men and arms flown in from neighbouring Zaire whose Pres Mobutu has backed the FNLA in its bid for power in Angola.

The FAPLA communique quoted Red Cross sources to substantiate its claim that Carmona had fallen. According to FAPLA the Red Cross had reported that FNLA troops had been evacuating the town for four days and falling back towards the Zaire border.

Yesterday's communique, jubilant and emotionally worded, was already referring to Carmona in the past tense:

"Carmona used to be the main political headquarters where the main body of invaders was concentrated under the cloak of the puppet movement FNLA."

The communique gave no details of the fighting but described it as "fierce"

The communique claimed that "generalised popular resistance to imperialist aggression" was gathering momentum.

It also said that on the "centre south front" the situation remained stationary.

The MPLA's claimed military successes coincided with a diplomatic initiative to gain African support.

The MPLA's chief of external relations, Mr Manuel Rui Montero, arrived in Lourenco Marques yesterday to talk with Frelimo which has been one of the MPLA's staunchest supporters.

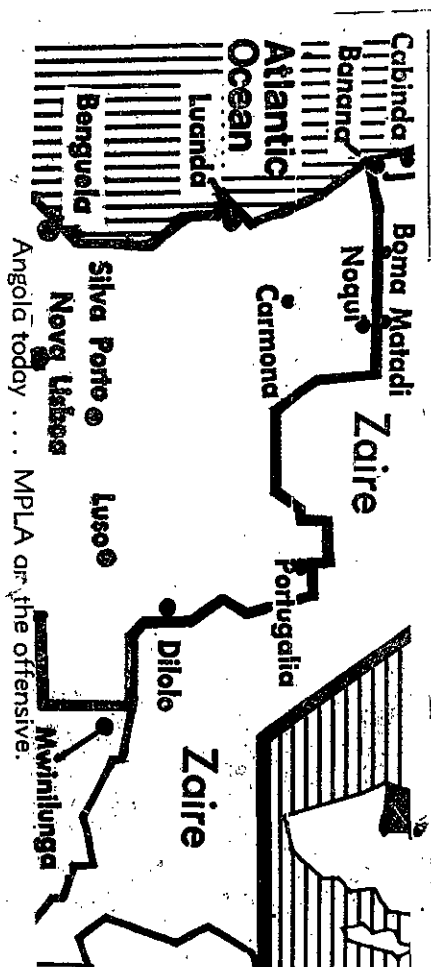
In a ceremony expected to take place in Lourenco Marques today Pres Samora Machel will accept the proceeds of a country-wide collection for the MPLA. — DDC.

# 100 000 Angolans killed in war

# Reds smash into FNLA stronghold

By JOSE RAMALHO  
'Mail' Africa Bureau

**T**ROOPS of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), armed with Soviet equipment and backed by Cuban mercenaries, have smashed their way into Carmona, northern stronghold of the rival National Front, in a bloody offensive which could end the stalemate in the year-long civil war.



More than 100 000 Angolans — most of them "peasants" — were so far known to have been killed in the war, a Zambian journalist in Angola reported yesterday.

His report, in the Times of Zambia, quoted International Red Cross officials in Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa) as the sources of casualty figures and added that undetermined thousands of Angolans were known to have fled from their homes and sought refuge in camps on either side of the war front.

The fall of Carmona, now called Uige, could prove a crushing setback for the Western backed FNLA of Dr Holden Roberto. The town, held by seasoned FNLA troops, veterans of ten years of bitter warfare against the Portuguese, was considered impregnable with the FNLA forces allegedly backed by White mercenaries and regular Zaire troops.

The fall of Carmona — claimed in an MPLA communique — comes on the eve of the crucial Organisation of African Unity (OAU) talks in Addis Ababa which open on January 10, and is likely to sway wavering Black African opinion behind the Soviet-backed MPLA, headed by Dr Agostinho Neto.

## Fierce

And fierce fighting is reported on the eastern front at Lusso, where the MPLA forces, Fapla, have launched an attack on combined FNLA and Unita troops.

The MPLA communique, issued yesterday, also claims that Fapla has:

- Captured the Negege air base.
- Captured seven northern towns — Caracassala, Cangala, Camabatela, Nambuanguongo, Samba Caju, General Freire and Vista Alegre.
- Captured several hundred tonnes of war material, including armoured cars, transport vehicles and other heavy equipment.
- Destroyed two American aircraft at Carmona airfield.

The fall of Negege air base — formerly the Portuguese forces' main airbase in northern Angola — is, with the capture of Carmona, a double blow to the FNLA. The airfield has been the centre for influx of men and arms flown in from neighbouring Zaire whose President Mobutu has backed the FNLA.

The Fapla communique quotes the Red Cross sources to substantiate its claim that Uige has fallen. According to Fapla, the Red Cross reports that FNLA troops have been evacuating the town for four days and falling back towards the Zaire border.

The MPLA's claimed military successes coincide with a diplomatic initiative to gain Black African support.

The MPLA's Chief of External Relations, Mr Manuel Rui Monteiro, arrived in Lourenco Marques yesterday to talk with Frelimo, which has been one of MPLA's staunchest supporters.

In a ceremony planned in Lourenco Marques today President Samora Machel will accept the proceeds of a country-wide collection for the MPLA.

It was also announced in Lourenco Marques yesterday the Moscow-controlled Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation had appealed to all African states to recognise the MPLA.

# New thrust against MPLA

DD 7/1/76

MOSCOW — Pro-Western troops of the FNLA and Unita and mercenaries have launched a major thrust against the strategic Angolan town of Malange, the official Soviet news agency Tass said yesterday.

Tass correspondents reported from Angola that they had spoken to the commissar of the Malange military district who had said "hordes" of troops and mercenaries were "advancing on this important centre from the north and the south."

Malange is in territory held by the Soviet-backed MPLA.

American sources have said in Washington that Unita troops were advancing on Teixeira de Sousa and Henrique de Carvalho, nearly 650km to the east of Malange.

The Tass correspondents with the MPLA forces reported: "Ground marked with shell bursts and burned out crops show that the front line passed through this area recently."

The correspondents said the Malange district commander, Mr Antonio

Nunhes, had shown them mortars, automatic guns and munitions which the FNLA and Unita had received from the United States and other Nato nations and China.

"There are Chinese hieroglyphics, 'US Forces' signs and markings 'Made in Belgium' and 'Made in Britain' on the crates," they said.

The correspondents said the MPLA army was well equipped and armed and was rebuffing the opposition.

Meanwhile, volunteers have been offering their services to both sides.

Students of Nigeria's oldest university in the Western State capital of Ibadan have volunteered to fight for the MPLA.

The president of the Ibadan University Student's Union, Mr Banji Adegboro, has asked the Federal Government to set up a volunteer service force immediately to assist the MPLA, which Nigeria recognises.

He said members of the National Youth Service Corps, would also be willing to enlist.

A Nigerian organisation calling itself the Patriotic Front for Africa also urged the establishment of a volunteer corps to support the MPLA.

In America, a decorated Vietnam veteran said yesterday there was widespread recruiting for mercenaries, and claimed he had agreed to fight for the MPLA.

There have been reports of mercenary recruiting in the United States, but most of those recruits were said to be joining the anti-Soviet forces in Angola.

However, the veteran quoted in the Rome, Georgia, newspaper, said he was recruited by the Soviets. He said he considered himself a professional

mercenary and preferred to fight for the communists because they paid better.

He said most American recruiters were not identifying the groups they represented but were recruiting in the name of M. Holden Roberto, head of the US-backed FNLA. SAPA-RNS-AP.

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# Six more killed in operational area

# 3 SA men feared captured in Angola

(5)

Cape Times 7/11/76

**PRETORIA.** — Six South African soldiers and airmen have been killed in the "operational area" and three soldiers were missing believed captured, Defence Force Headquarters announced last night.

One of the dead is Brigadier J D Potgieter, officer commanding Free State Command.

Brigadier Potgieter was killed when a SAAF light aircraft crashed in the border operational area. Three other Permanent Force men died in the crash. They are the pilot,

Captain F Immelman, Captain C D de Wit and Sergeant G W Kellet.

Two other soldiers died of wounds received in action in the operational area in a separate incident.

They are Second-Lieutenant D Q Brandon and Private P W M Snyman.

The three national ser-

vicemen who are missing are Privates P J Groenewald, L J C Kitshoff and A H Potgieter. They are believed to have been captured by pro-communist forces in Angola, the Defence Force statement said.

## Western Cape

Two of the captured soldiers are from the Western Cape. They are Private Groenewald, who is the son of Mr and Mrs J H Groenewald of Riversonderend, and Private Kitshoff, who is the son of Mr L J C Kitshoff of Moorreesburg.

The third soldier, Private Potgieter, is the son of Mrs C Potgieter of Johannesburg.

Brigadier Potgieter, who was a passenger in the crashed aircraft, leaves a widow, Mrs S J Potgieter of Bloemfontein, and two children.

Captain Immelman, the pilot, leaves a widow, Mrs K Immelman of Wierda Park, Pretoria.

## Widow

Captain Constant "Mac" de Wit, the other Air Force officer on the aircraft, leaves a widow, Mrs Linda de Wit of Sunnyside, Pretoria.

Yesterday Mrs De Wit said: "Mac was not worried about being killed. He was tremendously happy in the Air Force."

The fourth man on the aircraft, Sergeant Kellet, was single. He was the son of Mr P Kellet of Pietersburg.

The two men who died of wounds were both single. Lieutenant Brandon was the son of Mr and Mrs A C Brandon of Glencoe in Natal. Private Snyman was the son of Mr and Mrs W H Snyman of Danville in Pretoria.

# Reporters

RDM 8/1/76  
held in

RDM 8/1/76  
Unita jail

(5)  
Own Correspondent

LUSAKA — Two French journalists are being held in a jail at Silva Porto, the military headquarters of the Unita movement in Angola.

The names of the two men are not known but it is believed they work for the French photographic agency, Gamma.

Mystery still surrounds the reasons for the arrest of the two men, who were produced by mistake when Cuban prisoners taken during the civil war were being presented to a party of foreign journalists.

They were barefooted, wearing ragged clothes and looking extremely dejected. One had a full beard and the other was unshaven.

Unita's leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi has said that following an inquiry the two men would probably be released shortly.

# Unita running short of arms

8/1/76 RDM.

RDM 8/1/76

## SILVA PORTO

**A**NTI-communist forces in Angola desperately need American weapons but do not want US troops or mercenaries, senior nationalist officials said yesterday.

Military officials of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, Unita, said their forces had military supplies for only two months "and we desperately need American weapons."

Unita president Dr Jonas Savimbi told reporters at his headquarters in the central Angolan town of Silva Porto he knew nothing about American mercenaries being recruited in the United States for Angola.

"We have to make this clear," he said. "We do not need American troops and we will not look for American mercenaries. The people of the United States are still too sensitive to this kind of issue after the events of Vietnam."

Unita military officials said they expected the MPLA to strike south against Unita positions but said "we are ready for them".

On Monday, the communist-armed MPLA captured two important northern strongholds of Unita's allies, the FNLA, to score the year-long civil war's biggest gains.

The officials said the MPLA capture of Uige (formerly Carmona) and Negage was timed for maximum impact on the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit meeting on Saturday. They said the MPLA would claim as much territory as possible before the summit to convince the African states it was in de facto control of the former Portuguese territory.

## Setback

Dr Savimbi said the loss of Uige and Negage was a "temporary setback" and that anti-communist forces were rallying to regain the towns.

"The FNLA cannot be defeated totally in the north on ground that is familiar to them," he said.

The bearded Unita leader said the OAU meeting in Addis Ababa "must find a solution to the war, based on a government of national unity." If that was not achieved, Dr Savimbi said he would "broaden the conflict" by recruiting mercenaries "from wherever I can, except the United States."

Russia's recent calls for an end to all foreign involvement in Angola was "a trick," he said, to forestall Western intervention on the side of the pro-Western Unita-FNLA alliance.

He said he was hopeful the United States would reverse its decision not to give further aid to the anti-communists who faced sophisticated Soviet weapons such as tanks, helicopters and rockets.

In Washington, Senator Dick Clark said yesterday his African affairs subcommittee would summon three Administration officials later this month so Congress and the public can learn about American involvement in Angola.

He said Dr Henry Kissinger, the Defence Secretary Mr Donald Rumsfeld and the CIA director, Mr William E. Colby, would be called before the subcommittee for public hearings beginning on January 19, the day Congress returns from recess.

—UPI.

● Cubans in Angola "by mistake" — Page 2



# Jamaica, Guyana may recognise MPLA

8/1/76  
RDM

RDM 8/1/76 (S)

WASHINGTON. — US intelligence sources predict Jamaica and Guyana will soon recognise the Russian-backed MPLA, in Angola.

Brazil already has.

They forecast that such action will follow recognition of the MPLA by the Organisation of African Unity, which convenes later this week in Addis Ababa, reports Sapa-AP.

Sources said a three-man MPLA delegation recently visited both Jamaica and Guyana and received assurances of at least moral support from leaders of both countries.

The sources said the MPLA might have taken Negage, described as a key strongpoint in Northern Angola, from US-supported troops.

Reports reaching Wash-

ington said Russian T34 tanks were used in the attack on Negage, a possible indication that Cuban troops are engaged. Sources said last week there were signs a tank unit of the regular Cuban Army had entered the war.

US intelligence reports tended to support South African Press accounts of an MPLA movement offensive, with the apparent loss of the important north Angolan town of Carmona by the US-backed National Front.

The "Mail" Africa Bureau reports from Lusaka that Presidents Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana fly to Addis Ababa from Lusaka tomorrow to attend the OAU summit.

Sir Seretse and his delegation are expected to arrive in the Zambian capital tomorrow morning. Later the Zambian and Botswana delegations will travel on together to Addis Ababa.

The president of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi, arrived in Lusaka yesterday to make final arrangements for a trip to the OAU summit on Saturday.

Unita's Foreign Secretary and permanent representative to Zambia Mr Jorge Sangumba, flew to the Ethiopian capital yesterday at the head of a six-man delegation to attend the OAU Foreign Ministers conference, which will prepare ground for the summit.

# MPLA backing

RDM 8/1/76 (5)

## part of detente,

RDM 8/1/76

## says Russia

MOSCOW. — Russia, apparently replying to criticism from President Ford and the US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, has strongly defended its involvement in Angola.

A firmly-worded front-page editorial in the government newspaper Izvestia said there were no contradictions between its support for the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola and its backing for detente.

This support was a reaffirmation of detente, it said.

The editorial read to Western analysts like a negative response to hopes the Soviets may scale down their aid to the MPLA.

The newspaper said "absurd" claims by people such as Mr. Daniel Moyni-

han, the American Ambassador to the United Nations, that Russians had landed on the South West African coast, could be dismissed. "But other more responsible Western leaders also made statements on Angola", the newspaper said in what seemed to be a reference to recent criticism by President Ford and Dr Kissinger of Soviet involvement in Angola.

"As far as detente is concerned", Izvestia said, "is it not true that the struggle against racism and apartheid, and protection and respect for the sovereignty of the young independent countries is in reality an investment in detente?"

### REBUFFING

"It is natural that all real friends of the Angolan people who helped it in its liberation struggle should express feelings of solidarity and support and will support the just matter of rebuffing foreign aggression."

The newspaper highlighted the forthcoming Organisation of African Unity summit on Angola and said "the progressive public has the right to expect the OAU will put its investment into the protection of the sovereignty of Angola and thus help to establish it on the road to peace, territorial unity and progress".

One Western analyst said the Izvestia editorial could reflect some differences in the Soviet leadership's attitude on Angola, since it took a hard-line stance as against a softer line in a Pravda editorial last week calling for an end to foreign intervention.

It also seemed to reaffirm the strength of Soviet support to the MPLA.

— UPI.

# The Cape Times

FRIDAY, JANUARY 9, 1976

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## Angola

AT a time when wiser counsels might dictate prudence, the Burger seems intent on provoking petty squabbles with people who do not share its intemperate attitudes on Angola. The target this time is Senator Brian Bamford who wrote a considered letter to the Cape Times this week analysing some of the legal questions involved in border defence. The Burger's response, in an editorial reproduced elsewhere today, is to suggest that the Senator is lacking in good sense and is unwittingly advancing the cause of the forces of darkness. Senator Bamford is able to look after himself. But our contemporary uses this occasion to renew its tiresome vendetta against the Cape Times and so it is necessary yet again to set the record straight. As our contemporary is well aware, this newspaper has argued consistently that South African military intervention in the Angolan civil war would be an act of folly. In so far as South Africa is so involved, we have urged withdrawal. This judgment is being rapidly vindicated by events and we will endure the Burger's invective with our customary fortitude. The matter of the defence of the Calueque pump station just inside the Angolan

border and the question of "hot pursuit" into Angola against Swapo terrorists, which the Burger now revives, are in another category. Suffice it to say that anyone of good sense recognizes that any military infringement of foreign soil is not to be undertaken lightly and must obviously be strictly circumscribed.

We have certainly expressed reservations about movements across borders and will do so again. South African public opinion warmly endorses all necessary action to defend our borders against aggressors. The Minister of Defence will have ample opportunity in the forthcoming session of Parliament to say why a military presence at Calueque and occasional "hot pursuit" tactics are necessary. But involvement in the Angolan civil war is another matter. We have argued that South Africa should withdraw from any such involvement. As we noted in our last exchange with the Burger on December 31, we shall see whose judgment is correct over Angola. Meanwhile, we would endorse Senator Bamford's plea to the authorities to treat the people of South Africa as adults. If the people are given the facts, they will not be found wanting.

# SA wants a free Angola

Cape Times 9/1/76

Cape Times Political Staff

THE Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday that South Africa would like to see Angola as a free and independent country—free from interference on the part of outside forces.

The timing of Mr Botha's statement, coming as it does on the eve of the OAU meeting in Addis Ababa, is highly significant. Yesterday the Cape Times New York Correspondent reported that Britain had added its voice to America's in urging that South Africa should issue a "declaration of intent" to pull its forces out of Angola and to end any involvement there.

As the American campaign to stop the OAU formally recognizing the MPLA as Angola's legitimate government suffered further knocks, it was felt that a firm undertaking from Pretoria was the last best hope for countering lopsided African support for the Soviet-backed faction, the correspondent reported.

Mr Botha's statement reads:

"On many occasions in the past we have emphasized that South Africa has no claim in Angola and that we would like to see Angola as a free and independent country—free from interference on the part of outside forces.

"The only direct interest South Africa has is in the pump stations, waterworks and hydro-electric scheme at Ruacana and Calueque near the Kunene River, for on this development South Africa has spent large amounts of money."

South Africa must see and electricity be provided. "I agree to extend paths and relations who have. "I would like to see Angola as a free and independent country—free from interference on the part of outside forces."

Continued on page 2

# SA captives in Luanda

From page 1

rounding her son's fate last night.

"If only I knew for certain that he had been captured—that would at least mean he is still alive," she said from her Moorreesburg home.

Her son left Grootfontein on December 15. Four days later he wrote her a letter which she received on Tuesday—just hours before the news of his probable capture.

"The only ray of light is that, even if in the hands of captors, he still lives," she said.

Our Washington correspondent reports that President Ford's chief spokesman, Mr Ron Nessen, said on Wednesday that the United States had received no official word that South Africa was pulling its troops out of Angola. Diplomatic man-

oevring was said to have reached a fever pitch and US officials had indicated that a withdrawal had been intimated informally.

Pressed to say whether unofficial word had been given, Mr Nessen replied: "This is not the place to confirm troop movements of a foreign country."

In news of the Angolan struggle from Lisbon yesterday, Sapa-Reuter reported that forces of the two Western-backed liberation movements in Angola were within 18 kilometres of the important town of Malange, 400 kilometres east of Luanda.

Mr Paulo Tjipilica, Lisbon delegate of Unita, told a press conference yesterday that joint forces of Unita and FNLA were also pressing the towns of Henrique de Carvalho and Teixeira de Sousa.

All three are held by the MPLA.

# SA wants a free Angola

From page 1

say that South Africa is thankful that there have been so few casualties.

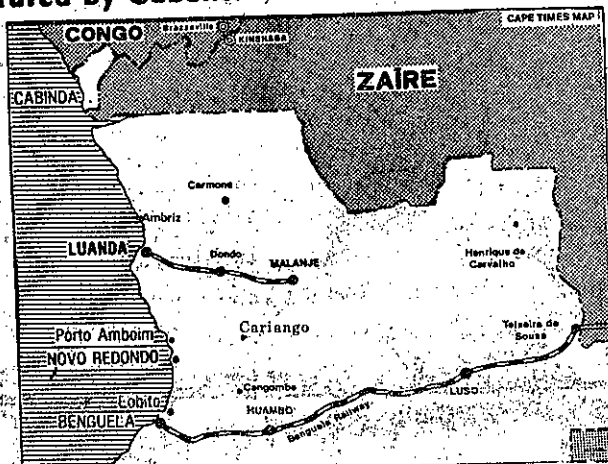
"I would also like to say that I am proud of the contributions which the men of the Permanent Force, the Citizen Force and the Commandos, as well as the National Servicemen, have made and are still prepared to make.

"It must also be emphasized that everyone serving over the border in Angola is doing so on a voluntary basis."

FOOTNOTE: The Minister of Defence yesterday prohibited publication of a Sapa-AP-Reuter dispatch from Washington on the subject of South Africa and Angola. Editor, Cape Times.

Cape Times 9/1/76 Africa Bureau

JOHANNESBURG. — The Soviet-backed MPLA yesterday paraded three more South African soldiers captured in Angola before the press in Luanda. It is believed that they were captured by Cubans.



In a Radio Luanda broadcast, the MPLA claimed that the three men were captured in fighting at the town of Kungo, south of Cariango on the centre front some 300 km south of Luanda (see map).

The broadcast did not name the three men.

The parading of the three South Africans comes as the MPLA following up its military successes against rival movements Unita and the FNLA, is mounting a diplomatic and domestic offensive to sway Black African opinion at the Organization of African Unity summit this weekend.

In Cape Town a tense Mrs L J C Kitshoff mother of Rifleman 'Christo' Kitshoff, missing and believed captured by the MPLA in Angola, 'near breaking point' from the uncertainty sur-

Continued on page 2

# Unita warns OAU: we will fight on

DD 9/1/76

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ADDIS ABABA — Unita's foreign minister, Mr Jorge Sangumbe, flew into Addis Ababa where the OAU meeting on Angola opened yesterday with a warning that if the OAU recognised the Marxist MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola, Unita would fight on.

"We spent more than seven years fighting the Portuguese from the bush and we'll do the same against the MPLA if they are recognised as the government of Angola," he told journalists on his arrival from Angola.

Mr Sangumbe claimed that Unita and the FNLA still controlled three-quarters of Angola and more than three-quarters of the population.

Mr Sangumbe called for an immediate ceasefire, a joint African peacekeeping force, peace talks and a coalition government pending general elections in the country.

He urged Africa not to take sides in the conflict.

"If the OAU takes a unilateral position the conflict will drag on and there will be another Vietnam — this time in Africa. This time America would not be on the wrong side. The Soviet Union would be on the wrong side — the minority side.

"If the OAU fails to solve the problem of Angola, some great powers will solve it against the interests of Africa."

Mr Sangumbe said he

was pleased to hear the reported South African intention of withdrawing its forces from Angola.

"Now we can strongly urge the withdrawal of all foreign forces in Angola," he said.

South Africa was strongly condemned yesterday in a brief public session before African foreign ministers began two days of closed-door discussions. They are preparing for the emergency OAU summit on Angola which begins tomorrow.

The South African issue has led 22 OAU members to recognise the MPLA government. None has recognised the joint Unita-FNLA regime.

While many observers here doubt that resolutions passed at the summit can have much effect on the Angolan fighting, the international jockeying over the vast, mineral-rich territory means the African leaders are under pressure to take some initiative. They fall, however, into two broad groups.

The first group, which may comprise a majority by the weekend, wants OAU recognition of the MPLA.

The second wants a government of national unity formed by all three movements.

This group is likely to call for an end to all foreign intervention.

One OAU source said a likely outcome — in view

of the desire here for compromise — might be a resolution recognising the MPLA on condition that it negotiates with the other two movements.

Meanwhile, in Lisbon, a Unita spokesman said, Unita and FNLA forces were within 18 km of the important town of Malange, 400 km east of Luanda, and were also pressing the towns of Henrique de Carvalho and Teixeira de Sousa. All three are held by the MPLA.

In Luanda, the MPLA yesterday paraded three more South African troops before the press.

Radio Luanda claimed the three men were captured in fighting at the town of Kungo, south of Cariango on the centre front some 300 km south of Luanda. The radio did not name the three men.

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# We've no troops or pilots in Angola—US

WASHINGTON. — The White House said this week no American pilots were flying support missions for anti-Soviet factions in the Angolan civil war and denied the United States was recruiting anyone for such missions.

The White House statements narrowed the range of possible US involvement in the three-way struggle for control of the mineral-rich nation on the southwest coast of Africa.

Just about all that remains is what President Ford called a legitimate covert operation — providing money and, perhaps indirectly, weapons.

The White House has said no American troops

or advisers are in Angola or any of the neighbouring countries involved in the fighting. Dick Clark, Senator-Democrat, chairman of a subcommittee on Africa, and representative of Mr Olin Pike, Democrat-New York, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, have admitted the United States is participating behind the scenes.

The Christian Science Monitor reported last week that US facilities were being used to train mercenaries for the fighting.

Spokesman Mr William Greener said on Tuesday: "The Department of Defense is not now, nor has it in the past trained any one — civilian or military, inside or outside the United States — directly or through a contract with any company or organization for the purpose of being assigned to Angola as a mercenary."

Senator John V. Tunney, Democrat-California, said a source he trusts told him that American pilots were flying arms into Angola from nearby Zaire with American-made planes.

White House Press Secretary Mr Ron Nessen said on Wednesday: "There are no American planes flying support missions in Angola and no American ground crews servicing planes supporting Angolans. No US Government agency has recruited, or is paying anyone to recruit people for such missions."

What is left? The "legitimate covert operation" which sources said is run by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The Pentagon wants military sales allocations for Zaire, whose president is related to the leader of one Angolan faction, increased from about \$2.7 million to about \$4.5 million for 1976.

Deputy Defence Secretary Mr William Clements has testified that the increased money for Zaire might "indirectly support one or the other" factions. — UPI.

# 'No US pressure on SA' in terror plot'

NEW YORK. — The United States has exerted no pressure on South Africa to quit Angola and was in no position to do so, a senior South African official in Washington said yesterday.

The Pentagon wants military sales allocations for Zaire, whose president is related to the leader of one Angolan faction, increased from about \$2.7 million to about \$4.5 million for 1976.

Deputy Defence Secretary Mr William Clements has testified that the increased money for Zaire might "indirectly support one or the other" factions. — UPI.

# Stop the war, Idi says

LONDON. — Uganda Radio yesterday broadcast a call for an Angola ceasefire by midnight tomorrow by President Idi Amin, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity.

The radio, monitored in London, quoted President Amin as saying he wanted hostilities to stop by that hour, in advance of the Addis Ababa meeting of OAU heads of state on Sunday.

President Amin also said he condemned the presence of all foreign troops in Angola.

The President was speaking to some of his ministers on his return from brief visits to Liberia and Nigeria. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Angola challenge to split OAU

ADDIS ABABA. — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) meets in Addis Ababa tomorrow for a special summit meeting on Angola with its 46 member states split sharply into two camps.

The delegations meet after a two-day Foreign Minister's conference, and observers forecast the stormiest debate in the organisation's 12-year history.

Despite frantic negotiations in recent weeks, the delegates arrive in the Ethiopian capital deeply divided.

At least 17 states are publicly committed to supporting S o v i e t MPLA.

Each side has powerful supporters. Predictably all former Portuguese colonies back the MPLA, as do radical states like Guinea, Congo, Algeria, Somalia and Tanzania — and Africa's largest country, Sudan and its most populous, Nigeria.

Against these nations are ranged Zaire, Angola's northern neighbour and most French-speaking West African countries.

There is a good chance that a pro-MPLA majority will be found.

If this is done it will aid the MPLA immeasurably. But the OAU itself could be damaged irreparably — several states are so ideologically opposed to the MPLA that they would disregard a pro-MPLA vote and could conceivably even leave the organisation. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Lisbon's man 'was in terror plot'

HUAMBO. — The MPLA and the former Portuguese revolutionary authorities conspired to launch a terror campaign to drive all Whites out of the country and turn Angola into a communist state, says a letter circulating in the Unita capital of Huambo.

The letter was distributed by Unita as part of a campaign to try and discredit the Marxist MPLA before the international community.

The letter was written in December, 1974, by the then Portuguese high commissioner in Angola, Admiral Antonio Alva Rosa Coutinho, to the MPLA president, Dr Agostinho Neto.

In the letter the two men agreed to launch a campaign for terrorism, mainly against the Whites, killing, looting and burning to make them want to leave Angola.

"Children, women and old men are the soft underbelly of the Whites," it added. "Only by hitting these groups can we put terror into them and make them run."

Once this was achieved, it said, an MPLA-dominated Angola could be used to help topple President Mobutu Sese Seko in neighboring Zaire and take over "that vital country".

Admiral Coutinho was a known supporter of MPLA ambitions in Angola at the time, but was subsequently arrested by the Portuguese Government in Lisbon last November. — UPI.

# Derelict Angolan city

RAYMOND  
WILKINSON:  
Huambo

5

R.D.M. 10/11/76

## lives again

HUAMBO, possible capital city, is returning slowly from the dead.

Most of Huambo's shops are locked and barred, its industries idle. Water supplies are scarce and sporadic and the stench of rotting litter lies heavily in the tropical air. The city's elite, doctors, businessmen, bankers, most of them Portuguese, have fled.

Cannibalised and burned-out cars litter the sidewalks and the city has been defaced by wartime graffiti splashed on churches, windows, homes, businesses and trees.

Conditions here are bad, but they were worse. The anti-communist government of the Democratic Republic of Angola will make this central, Angolan city its capital if it is successful in the war which still rages to the north. Imperceptibly things are beginning to improve for Huambo's 90 000 people.

There are now some petrol supplies in the city. Meat and vegetables are available, though expensive, and electricity supplies are adequate.

In the last few weeks

the government has established a tiny 120-man civilian police force, the mouldering rubbish heaps are sometimes hauled away and the car wrecks are slowly disappearing.

Two banks have reopened and limited beer supplies are again available.

There is no conscription into the army and Huambo is full of idle and bored youth — the Saigon cowboys of another war.

They dress in flashy fashion from Lisbon, lounge on street corners and sip beer. They drive flashy BMW cars and miniature

Honda motorcycles and flash noisily down the cratered and empty streets, tyres screeching. There appears to be no shortage of petrol for them.

Huambo's only link with the outside world is the infrequent visits of a sleek white executive jet put at the disposal of Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, and a propeller-driven Dutch transport plane. Its only visitors are a few journalists and Red Cross officials.

The city is guarded by a rag-tag army of Unita soldiers dressed in an array of jungle camouflage, red jeans, cowboy hats, pith helmets and Portuguese military caps. Their arms are an equally wide range of American-made vintage carbines, Israeli Uzis, Russian AK47 assault rifles and British and Belgian rifles.

The troops receive no pay and exist the best they can, begging the occasional cigarette or a few escudos from a visitor.

But they are courteous and friendly and have an underlying discipline surprising in such "green" African soldiers.

There have been few instances of looting and the local population shows no fear of the troops.

Huambo was formerly the commercial capital for Central Angola, a sleepy town of wide boulevards, compact parks and gardens and a fine blend of Portuguese colonial architecture and modern high-rise apartments and homes.

The Portuguese carved it out of the African bush and 50 000 of them called it home until last year. About 30 000 have fled. Their stores stay locked, their homes deserted.

The airport building is buried under an avalanche of Unita posters, most of them bearing the photograph of Savimbi.

"Savimbi, the exponent of maximum revolution", "Hail Unita, hail Savimbi", "Peace, harmony, fraternity", "Forward together to peace and a socialist Angola".

And, incongruously, a sign in English, splashed on the wall of an undertaker, "Long life to Dr Savimbi".

# Freighter raked by Unita launch

R-D-M-10/1/76

DURBAN — A Portuguese freighter was last month raked by fire from the machineguns of a Unita launch off Angola — and yesterday had more than 400 bullet holes to show for the clash.

The H. Capello has arrived in Durban harbour and her crew have a hair-raising tale to tell of a military launch that sped up to the ship on December 27 and riddled the hull, bridge and superstructure with light machinegun bullets.

The gunfire followed an order for the ship to enter Mocamedes, 700 km south of Luanda. The master refused because the safety of ship and crew were not guaranteed.

The Portuguese captain, who refused to give his name for fear of political repercussions said yesterday his ship was Cape Town bound out of Lisbon when he received instructions from the owners to supply diesel oil to the 12 112-ton Rocadas, which was stranded in Mocamedes.

The H. Capello arrived off Mocamedes late on December 26 and waited at anchor less than a kilometre from the shore. The captain soon realised the Rocadas was under mili-

tary guard. Radio messages were being interfered with by Unita troops.

"But early the next day managed to contact the captain of the Rocadas with a VHF transmitter," he said. "He told me it was unsafe to enter port and that he was waiting for a chance to escape. He did not have enough fuel.

"I started to turn the ship when a launch with Unita troops on board came up and ordered us to go into the port.

"They started shooting as soon as they realised we were turning away. First they started shooting at the rudder, then they started shooting at the bridge and decks.

"Fortunately we had a few seconds' warning when we saw them making ready to fire. Everybody got out of the way. But it was very dangerous up on the bridge. Some bullets went right through the 1,5 cm steel plates.

"They stopped firing only when they ran out of ammunition. We outpaced them at full steam. Nobody was hurt, but we were all very frightened," the captain said.

The H. Capello is due to sail for Mozambique later this week. — Sapa.



(5) 10/1/76. PD.

# SA captives on show

ADDIS ABABA — Three teenage South African riflemen, pale-faced and handcuffed together, were paraded at a press conference given here last night by the Soviet-backed Angolan "People's Republic."

The prisoners, captured in Angola eight days ago, were flown to the Ethiopian capital in an effort by the Marxist MPLA to dramatise their "struggle" against South African "invaders" and to try to break the deadlock at the Organisation of African Unity crisis summit.

The three South Africans, two aged 19 and one aged 18, were presented to the press conference together with two Portuguese whom the MPLA claimed they captured fighting with forces of the Western-backed FNLA movement in September last year.

As the South Africans were shuffled into the crowded press conference by their captors, one was reminded of the tortured scenes on similar occasions during the war in Vietnam.

They looked desperately nervous and drawn. They stood silently, quietly answering the questions put to them by MPLA commissars.

They said they were captured south of Cariango, a major battle zone in the war between Soviet-backed forces and Unita, the Western-backed nationalist movement.

At the bidding of Commandant Jujū, political commissar of the MPLA army, Fapla, they called out their names and numbers: Andries Hendrik Potgieter, 18, from Johannesburg; Lodewyk Johannes Kristoff, 18, of Moorreesburg, and Piet Groenewald, 19, of Caledon.

Their accents were broad South African. Their appearance that of the cream of South African youth. But they looked utterly defeated as the diminutive, Trotsky-looking Cmdt Jujū (he is a

white Angolan, his real name being Julio de Almeida) called out commands to them.

"We could produce many more prisoners," the commissar promised his audience; "Especially many prisoners from the regular army of Zaire, which is attacking us from the north. We do not do so only out of respect for the OAU."

By a touch of irony, sitting in the audience at the press conference was a Cuban delegation that has been here since the start of the OAU conference. Dr Castro's Ambassador to the United Nations, Ricardo Alarcon, grinned with delight as the wretched-looking South Africans were paraded.

It could, of course, have been different, for Unita representatives have threatened to fly Cuban prisoners captured from

the MPLA to Addis Ababa to stage a similar press conference.

Sources close to the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, said last night they were, if necessary, prepared to produce a Russian lieutenant-colonel of the Soviet KGB who was captured in Angola, if it was thought this would serve to alert the OAU to the Kremlin's involvement.

Undergoing interrogation at the press conference, Rfn Potgieter asserted that soldiers who went to Angola from South Africa were not obliged to do so: "We could refuse if we wanted to, but we did not."

Asked if the "People's Republic" would honour the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war, the MPLA spokesmen said Angola was not a signatory, but that it did not

oppose the principles of the convention and was in discussion with the international committee of the Red Cross about them. — DDC.

## Africa powerless on Angola says Kaunda

ADDIS ABABA — Zambia's Pres Kaunda has accused Africa of showing itself powerless to solve the Angolan civil war.

As a visibly distressed Pres. Kaunda left the emergency Organisation of African Unity summit here to fly home, hours before the meeting was due to end, he said:

"We should not indulge in endless recriminations. We must not sink so low as to trade insults amongst ourselves. We have not come here to save face but to save the lives of millions of innocent Angolans.

"Our failure to find a solution here confirms that the OAU has no power to share the destiny of Africa. The power is in the hands of superpowers to whom we are handing over Africa by our failure."

Despite his gloomy appraisal, OAU sources said debate was continuing on ways to end the Angolan civil war and get South Africa, the United States, the Soviet Union and other foreign powers out of the conflict.

OAU members split 22-22 on the two main resolutions, which offered a choice between backing the Marxist MPLA alone, or demanding a coalition of the three warring movements.

Conference sources said the delegates were now discussing a compromise resolution condemning South African "intervention" against the MPLA. This resolution also called for setting up a committee to study the problem further.

Yesterday's session was expected to go on until 2 or 3 a.m. this morning. — DDC-SAPA-RNS-AP.

(5) R.P.M. 10/11/76

# Vaderland stands by Angola report

Staff Reporter

A FULL-SCALE row has developed between the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, and the Johannesburg Afrikaans newspaper Die Vaderland after the newspaper stood by a report which the Minister described as a "blatant untruth".

Yesterday the newspaper gave details of an interview by telephone between an assistant editor, Mr Andries Botha, and the Minister. The Minister denies it took place.

The report said the Minister was asked if there was a possibility that South Africa would change its strategy on its presence in Angola in the light of the summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity.

"Minister Botha's reply was no," the report said. "He did not say it was not for publication. Die Vaderland therefore reported that South African soldiers would stay in Angola."

Mr Botha later issued a statement denying the interview took place and describing the report as untrue.

The newspaper said yesterday it remained convinced that the interview took place and the report reflected the interview correctly.

In another salvo fired this week by the newspaper, a front page comment signed by the editor criticised the Department of Defence for its handling of information it released to the Press.

A spokesman for the Department yesterday refused to comment on the attack.

# SAVIMBI

ONE KEY QUESTION hangs over the attempts being made this weekend by the Organisation of African Unity to produce its own solution for Angola.

It is this: Can any central government based on one group—even a majority group—ever really hope to govern this vast and thinly populated country?

Simply handing the country over to the MPLA and Dr Aghostinho Neto—who certainly are not a majority group—will not end the basic divisions in Angola. I could actually increase them.

Not even the permanent establishment there of four divisions of Cuban troops and 1 000 Russian "advisers" is really going to maintain an effective police government for very long. The Portuguese needed 60 000 troops, and even then had to leave vast zones of the country to the east as "no go" areas.

Their most secure control of the country was based on Luanda, the capital on the coast, and the highland centres of Camo-na (now Uige), Nova Lisboa (now Huambo) and Sa da Bandeira.

The guerrillas of the FNLA got to Carmona, but never really succeeded in making their presence a feature or even a threat to life in Nova Lisboa or Sa da Bandeira. But under an MPLA government these would all be centres of serious disaffection.

Two great blocks of fairly homogeneous peoples surround the territory's two biggest gorges: The Kimbundu bulge out in a great balloon to the east from Luanda, and the biggest tribal group of all, the Umbundu, lie all around Nova Lisboa, now Huambo.

The latter have been roused by Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, to an appreciation of their identity and the possibility of expressing it.

Unlike the mixed heritage of Dr Neto and the semi-exiled Dr Holden Roberto who leads FNLA, Dr Savimbi is a true Black and can claim a mass ethnic loyalty that will not be easily suppressed—if it can be suppressed at all.

# ONLY FOR A UNITED AFRICA

By ANTHONY DELIUS

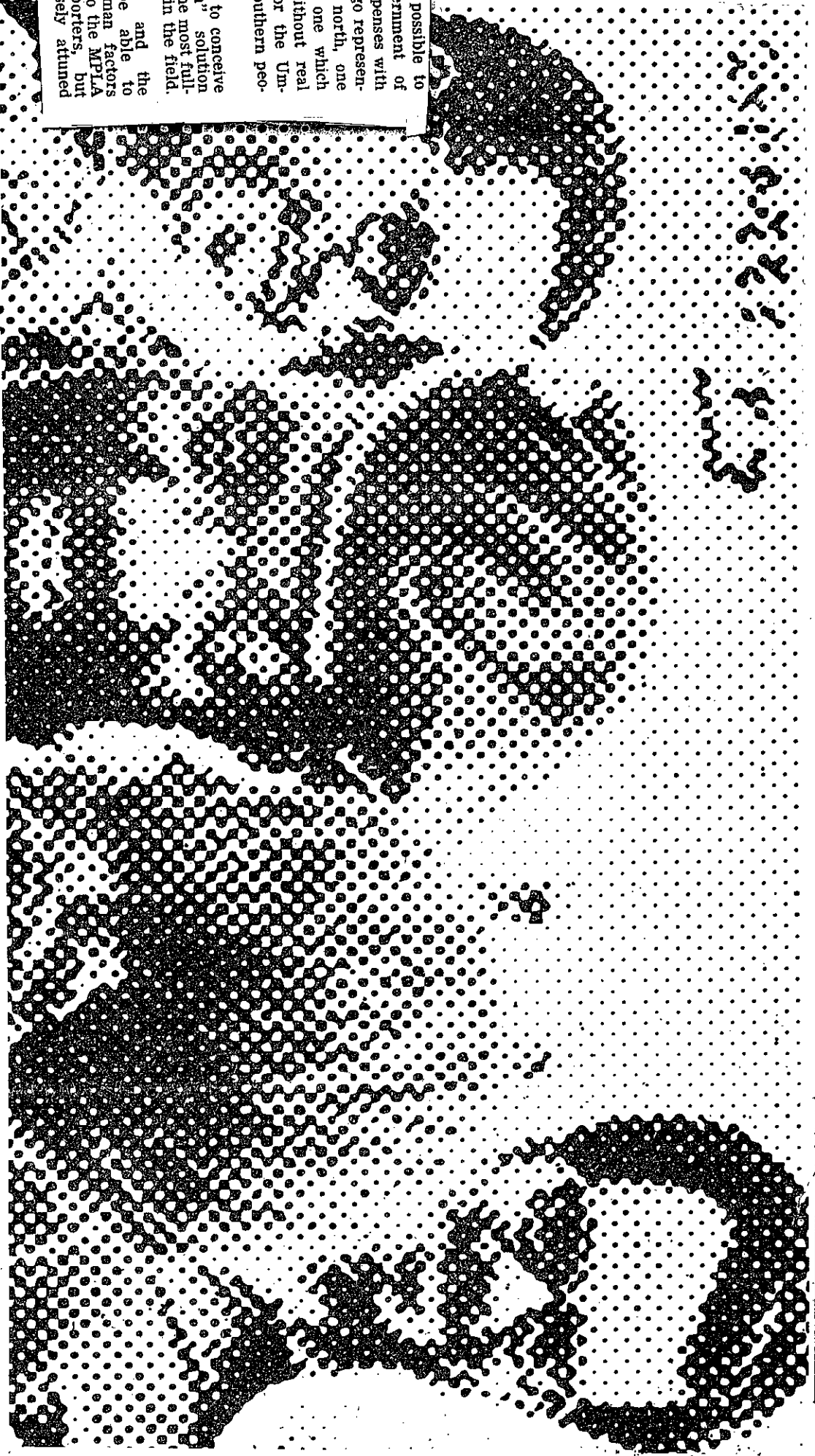
to African subtleties will certainly have their hesitations. The obvious fact to them will be that Angola cannot be governed without some form of coalition, and the most likely one in the end will be not an FNLA-Unita alliance but an MPLA-Unita one—though no doubt an FNLA-Unita-MPLA coalition could be made of all if it could be best of all.

Probably among the Africans states who support recognising the MPLA at least a substantial number hope some combination of the present antagonists is what eventually will emerge in West in their present dithering condition, they see no hope of ending the civil war on any terms more favourable to the eventual emergence of a broad-based government in Angola except by a quick hand-over to the MPLA. This they reason, or have been persuaded to reason, will result in a quick withdrawal of the Russians and Cubans, leaving the MPLA to face the real ques-

tions and pressures of their country. Personally I think this is a naive way of looking at the immediate future, but in the very long run the position may become untenable for the Russians, the Cubans and the then masters of the MPLA.

The South Africans, who may have managed to stop an MPLA walk-over in the beginning at the expense of providing much of Africa with an emotional excuse for dis regarding the expansion of Russian and Cuban intervention, will be left to a sober study of their African options.

Whereas it is possible to envisage a government of Angola which dispenses with any heavy Kikongo representation from the north, one cannot envisage one which tries to rule without real representation for the Umbundu and the southern peoples generally. It is hard also to conceive of an "African" solution which excludes the most full-blooded African in the field. The Russians and the Cubans may be able to ignore such human factors in their advice to the MPLA and their supporters, but those more closely attuned



There is certainly no room now left for South African military excursions into Africa or displays of military muscle. That way only increases the insecurity of both the Africans and the South Africans. A quarter of a century of apartheid has so eroded the Republic's African position that most African states would rather risk having the Russians around for a long stay than the South Africans for a short one.

Secondly, it has so embarrassed South Africa's Western allies that they can't be seen siding with South Africa—even under considerable strategic provocation. South Africa's best possible allies are its own Black citizens, and it depends almost wholly on how far their support is won for internal policies whether reliable external allies are acquired—be it among African or Western states, or both, in this increasingly dangerous world.

Just out in London this week and being considerably reviewed is a book by Guy Arnold, bleakly titled "The Last Bunker". He claims the Whites in the South, whether in Rhodesia or South Africa, will go on acting to protect their privileged and dominant position as they have always done. They have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Mr Arnold confidently predicts that mass guerrilla warfare will be resumed in Rhodesia shortly, and that by 1980 guerrilla warfare will have reached the streets of South African cities. He sees no hope in the Proveys, and perhaps some usefulness in the activities of the more outspoken Bantustan leaders. I don't think he knows very much about the capacity of Whites in South Africa to adapt realistically

when they have to, or even the possibilities of adjustment within the National Party itself. But among the many prophets of ultimate doom for White South Africa, Mr Arnold is the first who has the confidence to put a date to the beginning of the downward fire and flame. Meanwhile, the United Nations council for Namibia under Mr Sean McBride, and the South West African

People's Organisation, under Mr Sam Nujoma, surrounded by 300 assorted lawyers and politicians from 40 different countries at Dakar, Senegal, believe they have produced the answer to Mr Vorster's Windhoek conference. There was considerable nervousness shown by Swapo that this Windhoek constitutional assembly of South Africa's different groups might make inroads on the monopoly Swapo has

in presenting the case for independence before world opinion. Hence yet another big display of international solidarity behind Swapo, this time at Dakar. Perhaps we shall go on witnessing competing conferences until the men in Windhoek realise they will have to talk to one another in the end.

# War may swing

SALISBURY. — As the Rhodesian constitutional talks got off the ground this week, there was concern that settlement prospects could be prejudiced by recent developments in Southern Africa, particularly An-

gola and South West Africa.

One senior member of the Nkomo African National Council told me of his concern that as the civil war in Angola rages, and South Africa suffers casualties both there and against

Swapo fighters in South West Africa, White public opinion might shift in favour of a Rhodesian Government stand against an African majority rule settlement:

"That could lead to an easing of South African Government pressure on Mr Smith," he said, after talks between delegations led by Rhodesian Prime Minister Mr Smith and Mr Nkomo lasted more than five hours.

External events — the war in Angola, economic mismanagement in Zambia, opposition to Frelimo in Mozambique — run in Mr Smith's favour.

In the eyes of the Rhodesians and South African electorates, Mr Smith represents a stable and efficient administration.

There is no shadow government in the wings which could provide an alternative to the Rhodesian Front administration, and by continuing to talk Mr Smith takes the wind out of a White opposition's sails.

Further, despite South African impatience to see a settlement in Rhodesia, Mr Vorster could not risk the power vacuum which might follow the toppling of the Rhodesian Front through increased South African pressure.

The division in the Black nationalist movement grows more bitter by the day.

The second rainy seas-

## Whites behind Smith Govt

SUN EXPRESS  
11/1/76

By PETER STANLEY

on since the Lusaka summit of December 1974 is passing: it's the time when guerrillas are usually at their most active.

But while talks continue the guerrilla army in Mozambique awaits political directives and their hosts — President Nyerere of Tanzania and Machel of Mozambique — are reluctant to allow them on the offensive until talks break down.

Meanwhile, there are reports of dissent in the militant Muzorewa wing of the ANC, which contains most of the pro-war party. The Rev Ndabaningi Sithole, guerrilla leader James Chikerema and Robert Mugabe (based in Mozambique) are jockeying for leadership.

Each month that passes is used to improve security measures — such as land-mining and fencing the eastern border with Mozambique, building airstrips, all-weather roads and bridges.

Nearly every White male between 17 and 50 will be brought into the security network, filling the gap left when the South African Police pulled out of Rhodesia last year.

Were talks not taking place, Rhodesian businessmen, feeling the pinch of

the economic recession, would express criticism of Government and call urgently and publicly for a settlement. But while talks take place, Mr Smith can ask them not to "rock the boat".

And should talks eventually fail, the hoped-for improvement in the economy by the end of 1976 will be that much nearer.

Nevertheless within the Nkomo ANC and among some businessmen there was a mood of cautious optimism at the weekend.

The optimists argue that Mr Smith realises that he is talking to the more moderate of the nationalist factions — and that while Mr Nkomo talks publicly of "majority rule now", it is thought that privately he is prepared to accept a transitional period which could last three years.

Should talks fail, the initiative moves to the militant Muzorewa ANC.

It is also pointed out that the year ahead will be the toughest for the economy since UDI. A settle-

ment would end sanctions, give the Rhodesian manufacturers new markets in Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi in particular, and ease the crippling foreign currency shortage.

It is also essential, say the optimists, for Mr Smith to show an increasingly anxious White electorate (19 000 Whites have emigrated in the past two years, the highest rate since UDI) that an end to political uncertainty and the costly guerrilla war is in sight.

All that adds up, say some observers, to a good reason for Mr Smith to have accepted a conference and to ensure that it lasts as long as possible.

Those sceptical about settlement prospects (and Mr Smith's intentions) also point to the tough Christmas messages from leading Front members.

Party chairman Des Frost announced that there was not one Front MP who would accept a settlement which provided for Black majority rule in the foreseeable future.

And the Minister of Lands, Mark Partridge, told his constituents: "I will not be party to any constitutional changes that give control, in the foreseeable future, to an African majority."

# Why we mustn't leave Angola

THE AMERICANS lost the war in Vietnam not on the battlefields of South-east Asia but in the faculty halls, the editorial columns and the living rooms of the United States itself.

South Africans should understand the communist motives for being in Angola and should stop calling for South Africa's withdrawal from the territory at this stage.

Lacking a framework of what is right or wrong, the critics of SA's Angola policy rely almost entirely on their cerebral processes and come up with the pragmatic conclusion that the country must withdraw from Angola.

They base their conclusions on the assumption that if South Africa now withdraws from Angola, then Cuba and Russia will be placed in the untenable position of having nothing against which to defend the MPLA.

This line of reasoning, while logical, shows a complete naivete about the aims and the methods of expansionist communism. Instinct, apart from reason, dictates that South Africa must remain in Angola until the Organisation of African Unity devises some plan to achieve a truly national government in that

embattled country.

Certainly there is legitimate concern about the information the Press is getting from the Defence Force and we are still waiting for a presentation of conflicting views on radio and television about our involvement there.

In this country of 22-million people it is abundantly clear that the views on this involvement will be many and varied.

These views are being freely expressed in South Africa and while there is loyalty, there is also much doubt about involvement.

Two weeks ago I undertook a car trip of 3 000 km through SA in order to talk to ordinary folk about Angola.

I gave lifts to soldiers; spoke to farmers, storekeepers, bartenders, hotel owners and journalists, to Blacks and to Whites.

The findings surprised me.

By and large the rank and file of Nationalism are hugely uncertain about our reported commitment in Angola. The feeling is that there are too many unanswered questions.

Among them, the following:

- Are we in fact fighting in Angola?

- If so, are our allies in fact Unita and the FNLA, who support Swapo's aims for South West Africa, and



P. W. BOTHA

were until recently also armed by the communist Chinese?

- Will America openly try to prevent a Russian presence in Angola?

- Why are we (considering the assumptions above) hostile to the MPLA while we have reasonable relations with their blood-brothers Frelimo in neighbouring Mozambique, where we have saved the port and the railroad system from collapse?

- Are we prepared to help Savimbi and not Ian Smith?

- Once the important Benguela railroad is made safe from the communists for both Zambia and Zaire will we be able to trust them to assist in the furtherance of detente, or will they succumb to Black anti-South African pressures?

- How lasting a peace is possible in Angola, torn by tribal rivalry? Could the Russians or the South Africans or anyone else keep the peace in the face of determined tribes who want, apart from national unity, their inalienable piece of real estate?

After all, it took Portugal more than a decade and 60 000 troops to realise the futility of a semi-permanent foreign interventionist force.

- Will it really matter if

Russia sets up an African base in this age of inter-continental ballistic missiles?

Certainly the Cape route is important and can be disrupted by such a base, but isn't it a safe bet that the Third World War will begin in any case the moment a Russian submarine interferes with an American tanker anywhere on the high seas?

Mr Botha will answer these questions when Parliament reconvenes soon.

Indeed it is imperative for our own cause that all questions of strategy which do not affect the national security be fully aired so that the nation can throw in its weight behind our defence efforts.

It is also of fundamental importance to realise that questions of detail, like the application of the Defence Act in prohibiting the publication of certain news items, must not be confused with the overall issue of SA's presence in Angola.

It would suit the communists very well if irritating administrative measures could be used against the South African population by its own officials to create a climate of public mistrust and despair. We must guard against this.

Another interesting phenomenon cropped up on this trip. It was the realisation that in this time of crisis Nationalists were looking again to the "strong man" to protect the country.

Without a doubt the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, has been thrust into a position of strength by the conflict.

His "kragdadigheid" is backed by Africa's most efficient armed forces. Not for him the baleful rhetoric against writers and students. The people see him as a straightforward fighter against real communism, the great bugbear of politics in South Africa for the last 30 years.

If it was so that Mr Vorster owed his Premiership to his effective crushing of internal subversion, then P. W. Botha can well owe his to his handling of the menace of Russia on our borders.

His position is immeasurably strengthened by the fact that the Defence Force is not seen as an extension of the governing party, but as a truly South African force, with English-speaking officers in top positions.

True, Mr Botha has had some brushes with the Press. Lately even the Afrikaans Press has been brought into open conflict with him about what Die Vaderland, for instance, regards as poor Defence public relations.

Overriding the detail issue is the realisation that the war in Angola is the thin edge of the wedge of communist determination to wreck Western visions of building up a strong anti-communist bloc in Southern Africa.

Until recently much of the detente effort had been spent on securing Central and Southern Africa for the West. It is naive to think that expansionist communism would allow us, as the premier Southern African power, to pursue this Western aim without hindrance.

Therefore the present conflict, clouded by racial and tribal issues, misunderstood by the OAU, bedevilled by the Dakar decisions on South West Africa and tragically ignored by Americans who are unwilling to stop communist expansion by force of arms, becomes a South African problem.

Insofar as South Africa is an African State built on a strong capitalist base we are a natural target for the communists.

South Africa would be foolish to ignore this.

While the hope remains that the West will come to its senses in this latest communist onslaught on Southern Africa, we have had enough experience to know that South Africa's ultimate salvation depends on our own efforts. Detente is fine, but the powder must also be kept dry.

That is why South Africa is in Angola and that is why we will remain there until the threat to our existence is neutralised.

# Big MPLA offensive launched

Cape Times 15/1/76 (5)

**LUANDA.**—The Russian-backed MPLA was last night reported to be launching a massive offensive on all fronts in the Angolan war.

## Amnesty aid for Cape Town men

Staff Reporter

THE London-based Amnesty International organization has appealed directly to the MPLA's Minister of Justice in connection with the mysterious continuing detention of the two Cape Town men arrested in Luanda on October 29 last year.

An order for the expulsion to Lisbon of the South Africans, Mr Shaikat Bhikoo, 28 and Mr Ismael Solomon, 31, was issued by FAPLA — the military-security wing of the MPLA — more than a month ago.

Mr Chris van der Merwe, 27, a South African freelance journalist who had been held with the men for over a month before being released, claims to have personally seen the expulsion order.

However, the families of the men have not had any word from them.

A letter from Amnesty to a Cape Town firm of attorneys acting for Mr Bhikoo and Mr Solomon says: "We shall make a direct appeal to the MPLA's Minister of Justice, in the hope that this will produce the desired results. At the same time we shall also draw this matter to the attention of such organizations as the Dutch-based Angola Committee, which has close ties with the MPLA."

The letter is dated January 5.

According to Mr K J Hamblin, the South Africans' legal representative, the International Red Cross in Geneva has also reacted to a representation on behalf of his clients by asking that completed "civilian message forms" be sent to it.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs has not yet reacted to an appeal from the families submitted on December 18, according to Mr Hamblin.

The MPLA's Fapla forces are poised for a decisive victory against the allied FNLA-Unita forces in the north. The allies have retreated from the coastal towns of Ambriz and Ambrizete after the fall of their headquarters at Uige (formerly Carmona), according to MPLA military headquarters.

The loss of the two has placed the FNLA-held oil town of San Antonio do Zaire in danger.

Sapa-Reuter reports from Luso that an MPLA armoured column which includes Russians and Cubans is advancing on the rail centre which is held by Unita.

Colonel Smael Chiwali, commander of the Unita forces, said the advancing column included 1 000 MPLA troops, 500 Cubans and some Russians.

### Aircraft

Colonel Chiwali said he was confident his troops could repulse the attack, but one of the fiercest battles of the war is expected in this offensive.

Sapa-Reuter reports that highly informed sources in Luso said transport aircraft and helicopters were supporting the movement of equipment that included medium artillery.

Late last night, Unita sources said fighting was in progress for the port of Porto Amboim and the key communications centre of Quibala.

In Washington, the US Defence Department said yesterday three Soviet ships were now heading out into the Atlantic.

A spokesman said a fourth ship — a Kresta class cruiser — that began moving down the west coast of Africa last week, had been in the port of Conakry, Guinea, since Sunday.

The Pentagon said last week it viewed with concern the presence of Soviet warships apparently heading towards Angola.

The spokesman said that a guided-missile destroyer, an amphibious tank-landing ship and an oiler, reported to be 370 km south of the Ivory Coast, were today farther west in the Atlantic Ocean. (AP)

pa Reuter

CAPE TIMES 15/11/76

## Refugees

wait off

## Walvis

WINDHOEK. — A fleet of 22 fishing vessels and a larger ship of about 400 tons, the Rio Vega, arrived at Walvis Bay yesterday packed with Angolan refugees, port authorities said.

The vessels were anchored outside the harbour and had not received permission to enter.

Reports said the Rio Vega had about 237 refugees on board while about 630 Angolans were crammed into the 22 small fishing trawlers, each built for a complement of nine to 16.

Another refugee ship, the Silver Sky, which arrived at Walvis Bay on Monday night with 1 600 refugees on board after sailing from Mocamedes in southern Angola, was still anchored off Walvis Bay late yesterday, sources said.

There are only 12 toilets in the Silver Sky, a freighter built for a complement of 39. — Sapa

Thursday,  
*Daily Disp*  
January 15, 1976

# DAILY

## Republic bars 1 600 refugees



DR MULDER

**JOHANNESBURG** — South Africa has refused asylum to 1 600 Angolan refugees who have spent six days — including the last three in the Walvis Bay anchorage — cooped up in deteriorating conditions on a ship which only has facilities for a crew of 39.

The 6 900-ton Greek-owned Silver Sky will now either have to embark on a ten-day voyage to Portugal or take the unwanted cargo of men, women and children back to the southern Angolan port of Mocamedes where they boarded her last Saturday.

The ship's master, Capt L. Panagitis, said last night that dysentery had broken out on "the ship that nobody wants."

Conditions are reported to be unhygienic. There are only five toilets.

While the Silver Sky rides at anchor, another 630 refugees in a mini armada of 22 overloaded fishing boats have arrived in the bay after a hazardous voyage from Mocamedes. They were accompanied by the 400-ton Rio Voga, with 237 refugees.

They too have not been allowed to enter the dock area.

If the same government decision is applied to them and they are turned back there must be a real danger that they could be shipwrecked in the treacherous South Atlan-

tic. The Minister of the Interior, Dr Mulder, made the statement in Cape Town that decided the future of the refugees after the first full meeting of the cabinet in 1976. He said no formal request to land had been made, but in any case permission would have been refused.

It had been decided to do everything possible for the refugees in the way of food, medical supplies and other needs.

"We will be as humane as possible and supply them with everything they need but they will not be allowed to land," Dr Mulder said.

He explained that the refugees had boarded the vessel in a non-combat zone where their lives had not been endangered.

If they were allowed to land it would open the door for a whole new chain reaction over the Angola issue.

The government would have reconsidered if their lives were in real danger.

Capt Panagitis believes their lives will be in danger if he sets sail.

He said in Walvis Bay, during a brief landing to contact his owners in Greece, that he believed his heavily laden ship would sink if it sailed out of the anchorage.

The ship is reportedly low in the water. People are crowded on the decks and in the holds, according to eye-witnesses who have flown over it.

Refugees claim that there has been fighting between Unita and FNLA supporters in southern Angola and that was why they fled.

Walvis Bay was a repatriation centre for hundreds of refugees who left Angola in the exodus last year.



# MPLA armour heads for rival centre

15/1/76 DD. (5)

LUSA — An MPLA armoured force including Cubans and Russians is advancing on the rail centre of Luso in an offensive that could spark one of the fiercest battles of Angola's civil war, according to Unita.

Dr Jonas Savimbi, president of the Western-backed Unita, was visiting his frontline troops waiting for the attack by the MPLA yesterday.

Colonel Smuel Chiwali, commander of the Unita armed forces, said here that the columns advancing on Luso from the north included 1 000 MPLA troops, 500 Cubans and a number of Russians.

After returning from an all-night visit to the front lines, the colonel was asked if he felt confident his men could repulse the impending attack.

"There will be no problem," he said simply.

To the east of Luso, Unita forces have advanced along the railway to within 15 km of the border town of Teixeira de Sousa.

On the western front, Unita sources said fighting was in progress for the port of Porto Amboim and the key communications centre of Quibala.

Despite the Unita confidence, the Marxist MPLA appeared to be poised for a decisive

military victory against opposing FNLA forces reported to have retreated from the coastal towns of Ambriz and Ambrizete.

The loss of the two towns by the FNLA has placed the vital FNLA-held oil town of Sao Antonio do Zaire in jeopardy.

Angola's richest offshore oil installations are at Sao Antonio do Zaire, south of the MPLA-occupied oil centre of Cabinda, separated from Angola by a strip of Zaire territory.

It is from the port of Sao Antonio do Zaire that the FNLA has been fueling much of its war effort, and there is certain to be a bloody battle if the MPLA try to take it.

There are now practically only three main strategic towns between the MPLA and the border of Angola with Zaire in the north. These are Sao Antonio do Zaire, Sao Salvador and Maquela do Zombo.

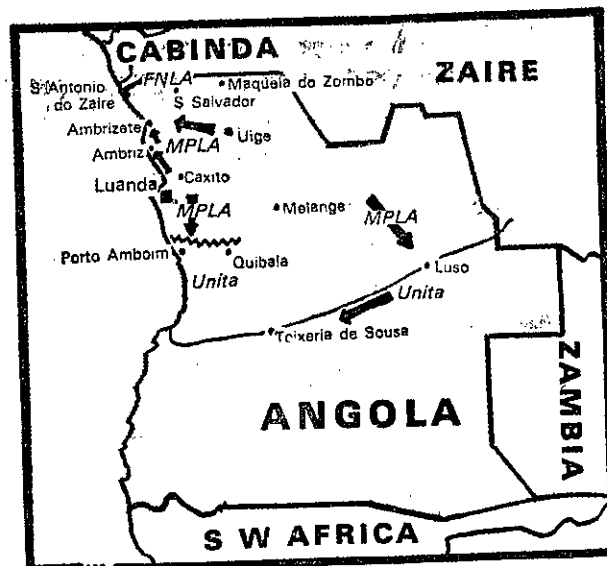
It appears from military reports that the fall of Uige, formerly Cambrona, the FNLA's administrative northern centre, clinched the MPLA capture of Ambriz and Ambrizete.

The FNLA had already claimed that in the entire northern operation they had captured over 2 000 FNLA prisoners, most of them Zairians. — DDC-SAPA-RNS.

pulled out of Ambriz by the time Uige fell to the MPLA. But the MPLA could not move into the town until the sabotaged river bridges had been repaired.

Once in Ambriz, the MPLA moved north towards Ambrizete, at the same time launching a thrust at that port from Uige in the east.

The MPLA military



## Captured soldiers: Red Cross assures parents

JOHANNESBURG — Relatives of the seven South African soldiers captured by the MPLA in Angola were last night assured by the Red Cross in Geneva the chances are good that their men will be accorded normal prisoner of war treatment.

Red Cross officials based their optimism on the fact that the prisoners have been exhibited for MPLA propaganda purposes before the international press.

Authoritative London sources said: "Everything possible is being done for the release of the South Africans. Diplomatic and other channels are being used. There is positive hope of the men being freed eventually. It would be good for the relatives to realise this."

"Their release could take longer if there is an escalation of the war," the sources added. "The MPLA does not recognise the Geneva Convention, but

nevertheless has indicated it supports the convention in spirit."

Meanwhile, the London-based Amnesty International organisation has appealed directly to the MPLA's "Minister of Justice" in connection with the mysterious continuing detention of the two Cape Town men arrested in Luanda on October 29 last year, Mr Shaukat Kapdi, 28, and Mr Ismael Solomon.—DDC.

# Refugee ship: strike threat

16/1/78

DD (5)

**WALVIS BAY — Angry women here have threatened to go on a hunger strike today unless the Government reverses its decision not to allow over 2 000 Angolan refugees to land from the freighter Silver Sky and a flotilla of 23 overcrowded fishing boats moored in the harbour.**

As the Silver Sky's captain adamantly refused to put to sea with his bedraggled human cargo because he believes many of them face certain death in the bad conditions, Mrs Lily Viljoen, wife of the ship's agent here, said she and friends would stop eating as a protest.

"If cattle stand in a railway truck in a siding for a weekend the SPCA and everybody is up in arms, but what is anybody doing for these people," she said.

She had tried to contact Mrs Tini Vorster, wife of the Prime Minister, to intercede as a mother and grandmother on behalf of the refugees, but had not succeeded.

Mrs Viljoen believes the government is not fully aware of conditions on the freighter and the fishing boats.

The refugees — who claim they are fleeing from fighting between Unita and the FNLA in Mocamedes, Southern Angola — have been

aboard the Silver Sky since Saturday.

The 6900-ton Greek-owned, Cyprus-registered vessel has accommodation for a crew of 39. There are five toilets.

Conditions aboard the Rio Vogue, an 886-ton trawler, and the mini armada of fishing vessels is thought to be even worse.

International organisations like the United Nations and the Red Cross may be drawn into the saga of the ship that nobody wants — and possible censure of the South African Government handling of the refugees on humane grounds could follow.

The Minister of Information, Dr Mulder, in turning down permission to land said the people came from a non-combat zone where their lives had not been in danger. If they were allowed to land it would create a precedent for others to flood over the border.

According to SAPA, Dr Mulder said yesterday after consultations with the Portuguese Embassy staff, Portugal had decided to take full responsibility for its citizens among the refugees.

Those who were prepared to go to Portugal would be allowed to land and would be repatriated by air from Windhoek. According to estimates only about 50 people were affected.

Meanwhile, three people from the Silver Sky have been admitted to hospital here. They are an old woman and two boys with broken arms. — DDC/SAPA.

Picture Page 2

## Inside Mail

● LAURENCE GANDAR (below) examines South Africa's three unhappy options in Angola. As the Russians continue their massive build-up, the West averts its gaze and Black African unity splits down the middle.

IN THE 10 weeks since Russian and Cuban involvement in Angola became apparent on a significant scale, the war there has escalated into an issue of the most menacing implications for the world, for Africa and, most of all, for South Africa.

An unduly alarmist view? I think not. Let us examine it on these three levels.

Through the turbulent 30 years since 1945, world peace had depended on two main factors: a restraining balance of strength between the two super-powers and the tacit recognition of spheres of influence within which the interests of one side could be seriously challenged by the other only at the risk of global war.

Africa has been one such sphere of influence, a Western sphere for obvious historical, economic and logistical reasons. But Africa has also had a low priority rating in the overall scale of importance and so the sporadic attempts by Russia and China to establish footholds in Africa have aroused no great concern in the West. Indeed, as these two communist countries are rivals, their efforts have often seemed to be directed as much against each other as anyone else.

This state of affairs, however, has begun to change in a number of ways. America's superiority in nuclear and naval forces, which has hitherto outweighed Russia's superiority in conventional land forces, has been steadily overhauled by the Russians with the result that the overriding balance of power has started to tip dangerously in their favour.

Furthermore, the sudden oil crisis, the development of giant oil tankers too large to use the re-opened Suez Canal, the new strategic interest being shown in the Indian Ocean and the ballooning size of the African bloc vote in the United Nations have combined



LAURENCE GANDAR

to upgrade Africa as a region worthy of attention in the East-West power struggle.

Observing these two developments and sensing that America is in no mood for further foreign adventures, the increasingly confident Russians have shrewdly decided to use Angola as a test of the West's willpower. They must be elated at the outcome so far.

Apart from a flicker of concern from France, which has furnished a negligible amount of military aid to the FNLA-Unita alliance, and apart from some half-hearted diplomatic pressure by Britain on Soviet Russia and South Africa to disengage, the Western European powers have preferred to examine their fingernails and hope for the unpleasantness to pass — and this in spite of the fact that it is their interests, more than anyone else's, which are threatened by the build-up of Russian strength along their main oil supply route.

The United States, although far less dependent on imported oil than Western Europe and in any case drawing a good deal of it from safe sources such as Venezuela, has quickly recognised Russia's Angolan intervention as a direct challenge to the West's interests and has responded accordingly, albeit obliquely.

Or, more correctly, the Administration has so re-

# Angola: nobody wants to be seen helping SA

sponded — a crucial distinction as it turns out, for Congress is showing no disposition to support it and there is little doubt that this reluctance reflects the prevailing attitude of the American people.

It is not so much that, seared by their Vietnam experience, the Americans are turning their backs on the outside world and its problems, although there is a measure of such disenchantment present, to be sure. Rather, they are angry and bitter that the Administration has once again used the same devious, undercover methods in the Angolan situation as it used in drawing America deeper and deeper into the Vietnam morass. Congress is reacting accordingly.

The implications of this hiatus in America and the collapse of will in Western Europe have not been lost on the Russians. Their thrust in Angola has so far succeeded beyond their most daring hopes. It is not hard to imagine what this may mean for the future conduct of international relations, perhaps for world peace itself.

As for Black Africa, the shock waves of Angola will be felt for a long time to come. The fact that the issue split the first emergency session of the OAU right down the middle is not in itself so surprising — African unity is rarely achieved on anything except the most generalised of concerns.

But this time the split has not been on the usual regional, tribal or economic issues. It has been on raw ideological lines, East versus West, or something disconcertingly close to it. Disconcerting because there are now clear signs that colonialism and racism, the twin scourges of the Third World, have become identified in much of the African mind with the

West rather than the East, with the anti-communist rather than the communist countries.

It used to be said that the newly independent States of Africa were too wary to succumb to Russian or Chinese blandishments, to fall into the trap of exchanging one set of colonial masters for another, and indeed many of these States have accepted aid and arms from communist countries without having become their vassals.

But Vietnam has evidently had a greater impact on African thinking than has been suspected heretofore. Again and again in the capitals of Black Africa the communists have been given fulsome praise for helping the North Vietnamese eject American forces from that country.

The fact that this has brought little joy and less freedom to the people of South Vietnam, the neighbouring countries of Laos and Cambodia and many other parts of South-east Asia is largely ignored, as is Soviet Russia's appalling record of oppression in Eastern Europe.

## Ignored

Ignored also are the OAU's own principles of majority rule (no one denies that the MPLA represents only a minority of Angolans) and of non-recognition of splinter groups. Was it not the MPLA which drove its partners in the short-lived provisional government from Luanda and set itself up as the national government without benefit of elections? Documentary proof of a massive Russian bribe to Nigeria's Prime Minister has caused not a ripple of protest.

Such is the strength of the ideological groundswell surging through Black Africa, and even those who have resisted it



GEN v.d. BERGH  
... low-profile  
contact on Angola?

so far have done so with a lack of conviction that augurs ill for the future.

Which leads one to South Africa's role in the affair. How its involvement began, its extent and its nature, are matters about which South Africans have been entrusted with practically no information. Not surprisingly, many of them, like the Americans who have also been presented with something of a fait accompli, are feeling pretty restive about it.

What is one to think about being drawn into a war without having had any chance of making up one's mind about it? There was some strong opposition to South Africa's entry into the Second World War but at least the matter was freely debated and voted on in Parliament beforehand.

A close reading of the news, however, suggests that South Africa — so cautious and so correct in its reactions to the Frelimo takeover in Mozambique — would hardly have gone into Angola without the

foreknowledge and probably even the encouragement of America, and perhaps France as well.

The trouble is that this is not government-to-government stuff. This is the kind of exercise that is conducted by outfits like the CIA and the Bureau for State Security.

It is well known that General Van den Bergh has been the key figure in the secret contacts that have paved the way for Mr Vorster's detente efforts in Black Africa. So it seems more than likely that the CIA, alarmed at the build-up of Russian aid to the MPLA and the arrival of Cuban troops on the scene, assured General Van den Bergh that President Ford and Dr Kissinger would not stand for this and that America would act firmly against these intrusions.

Meanwhile, if South Africa felt able to help the hard-pressed Unita forces in the south — then being pushed back almost to the South West African border — that would be much appreciated by the Administration.

There are also indications that Zambia and Zaire, with whom South Africa has good contacts and who are desperately worried by the Soviet intervention in their part of the continent, pressed hard for South African assistance.

But this is when three grave errors of judgment seem to have occurred.

● First, the strength and determination of Russian and Cuban intervention were under-estimated and,

on the basis of this, false hopes of FNLA-Unita capabilities entertained.

● Secondly, the mood of America was misread to the extent that the possibility of Congress blocking the President's actions was not foreseen.

● Thirdly, the ferocity of Black Africa's reactions to the presence of South African forces inside Angola — and also to America's participation in the conflict — was not sufficiently understood beforehand.

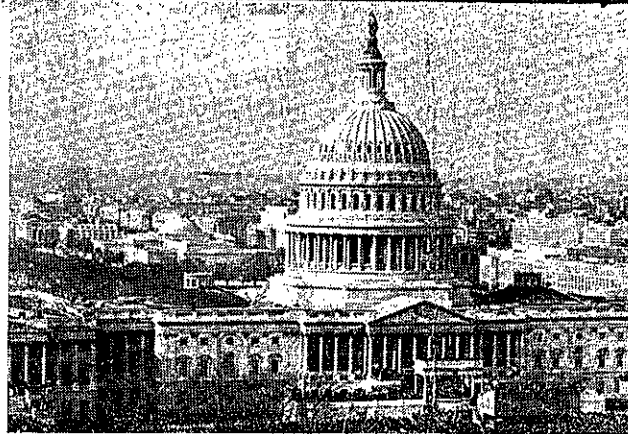
Certainly the prize was a tempting one. To have gambled and won would have been to help establish a broad swathe of well-disposed or at least neutral countries to our north, stretching from Angola's Atlantic coast across to Malawi in the east. Strategically speaking, we would have secured our left flank.

But to have gambled and then to lose? Well, that is a very different matter. We would find ourselves facing a full-blown Marxist State, armed, financed and encouraged by Soviet Russia, intoxicated by its own success and filled with resentment towards us, bearing down on the long, difficult border with South West Africa, with Swapo guerrilla forces given every facility for trouble-making of their own.

With the sophisticated weaponry that the MPLA has at its disposal and the guidance to use it effectively, this could mean the start of the full-blooded Black-White conflagration in Africa which the world has feared for so long.

What to do? With the Americans seemingly determined to stay out of Angola and the Russians equally determined to stay in, South Africa is confronted with three excruciatingly difficult choices.

● With the intensity of the fighting likely to increase now that the OAU Summit has ended in failure and with the FNLA forces in the north in disarray, the Cuban-MPLA forces are likely to turn their attention to the south. On present form it is



The Capitol, Washington, DC... it is likely that the CIA gave an undercover assurance of firm American action in Angola, subsequently scotched by Congress.

doubtful if Unita could withstand a major onslaught for any length of time unless South Africa exchanges her predominantly logistical and advisory role so far for a much more active combat role in support.

This would be war, real war, in which South Africa would be pitting her strength, not inconsiderable as it is, against the limitless resources which Russia and her satellites could pour into the struggle — with, at this moment, no assurance of countervailing assistance from any Western source.

Mr Vorster has said he is prepared for South Africa to be counted in the struggle against communism in Africa but surely not to this extent. Indeed, he has also indicated that South Africa does not intend and does not have the means to carry the can for the West in Angola.

● South Africa could, for a while, maintain her present low-key role with the aim of stiffening Unita's resistance long enough to allow American diplomatic pressures on Russia and further African peace-making attempts a chance to succeed.

Already influential voices are being heard in America and Europe calling for recognition and understanding of South Africa's efforts in Angola, but against this has to be set the continuing damage to our position in that other critical area, South West Africa.

sideration, choice three would seem to be the most prudent, but the signs are that choice two has already been made — for the time being at any rate.

With South Africa still there it does mean that Dr Kissinger has a modest bargaining counter in his efforts to secure a withdrawal of foreign forces on a quid pro quo basis, though with the scent of victory in their nostrils, the Russians will be hard to impress.

For a long while now, South Africa has seen herself as the potential Israel of Africa — a small but modernised and determined country surrounded by vastly superior numbers of far less sophisticated people deploring her policies, if not her presence, but surviving by her superior skill and courage in combat.

There are indeed some parallels but a simple question now needs to be asked and it is this: How long would Israel last without the massive support in armaments and money which she receives from America and from the Jewish Diaspora? Israel can rely on this support continuing for the foreseeable future. Angola has shown that no one wants to be seen to be helping South Africa.

With Western Europe having studiously averted its eyes and with America anxious to pull the blind down because of her own recent hurts, will Russia not feel free to extend her bridgehead in Africa by sponsoring in every way the continent's most popular cause — the struggle against the last strongholds of "racism and colonialism" in Africa? To the extent of more and more direct participation as time goes by? And will the Chinese not feel compelled to compete where they can?

Events in Angola and Addis Ababa signify that Western influence in Africa is on the wane and communist influence on the increase. And the momentum is likely to increase with each new success.

What this means for South Africa and her future needs to be spelled out no further.

# 'We'll starve for refugees'

By DENNIS GORDON  
Mail Africa Bureau

RDM  
16/1/76

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ANGRY women in Walvis Bay threatened to go on a hunger strike today unless the South African Government reverses its decision not to allow more than 2 000 refugees from Angola to land from the freighter Silver Sky and a flotilla of 23 overcrowded fishing boats anchored off the port.

As the Silver Sky's captain adamantly refused to put to sea with his bedraggled human cargo, because he believes many of them face certain death in the bad conditions, Mrs Lily Viljoen said she and friends would stop eating as a protest.

"If cattle stand in a railway truck in a siding for a weekend the SPCA and everybody is up in arms — but what is anybody doing for these people", said the wife of the Silver Sky's Walvis Bay agent.

She had tried to contact Mrs Tini Vorster, wife of the Prime Minister, to intercede as a mother and grandmother on behalf of the refugees but had not succeeded.

Mrs Viljoen believes that the Government is not fully aware of conditions on the freighter and the fishing boats.

Two white babies — both girls — were born as the boats roared at anchor yesterday.

One was on the Silver Sky and the other aboard the trawler Rio Vouga, shipping sources revealed.

The world's newest refugees raised the total of floating fugitives to 2 471.

The refugees — who claim they are fleeing from fighting between Unita and the FNLA in Mocamedes, southern Angola — have been aboard the Silver Sky since Saturday. The 6 900-ton Greek-owned, Cyprus-registered vessel has accommodation for a crew of 39. There are five toilets.

Conditions aboard the Rio Vouga, an 886-ton Angolan-registered trawler, and the mini armada of 22 fishing vessels are thought to be even worse. They made the hazardous trip south along the Skeleton Coast with an average each of 28 people aboard vessels built to carry crews of nine to 13.

International organisations like the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and the Red Cross have been drawn into the saga of "the ship that nobody wants" — and possible censure of the South African Government's handling of the refugees on humane grounds could follow.

Dr Connie Mulder, turning down permission to land, said the people came from a non-combat zone where their lives had not been in danger. If they were allowed to land it would create a precedent

R.D.M. 7/1/76 (5)

Russia  
backed  
its pet  
for 20  
years

# Angolan war may involve Zaire

By HARRY  
HEINZERLING

THE Marxist MPLA, now staging major victories in Angola's civil war has been a pet Soviet movement for two decades.

Supported by massive and sophisticated Russian fire-power and some 7 500 Cuban troops, the movement is now overpowering pro-Western forces who claim the political support of at least 60 per cent of Angola's six-million people.

Soviet intervention in Angola, however, is nothing new. Moscow has backed the Popular Movement ever since it was formed in 1956.

The MPLA was founded in Luanda, by members of the Angolan and Portuguese Communist Parties.

The movement, according to the Soviet magazine International Affairs, stood for "the establishment of a united front of all patriotic forces in Angola engaged in the national liberation struggle" against Portuguese colonial rule.

## EXPULSED

The movement attracted a small following of Black and White urban intellectuals but was expelled from Luanda in 1959 and moved to Conakry, Guinea, then to Kinshasa, Zaire, and finally to Brazzaville, Congo.

The MPLA's current leader, Dr Agostinho Neto, took control in 1962 and has led the movement ever since, first against Portuguese colonial forces and now against two rival movements in a battle for control of Angola.

The 54-year-old Dr Neto is a Lisbon-educated gynaecologist and a revolutionary poet arrested several times by the Portuguese for his radical activities.

From its founding, the MPLA has sought support from all classes and ethnic groups in Angola and particularly the intelligentsia, although, like Angola's other movements, the majority of its support is ethnic.

By JOSE RAMALHO  
Mail Africa Bureau

CUBAN-LED MPLA troops in hot pursuit of fleeing FNLA units in Cabinda and on the northern and eastern fronts of the Angola war may at any moment cross the border and clash with the Zairean regular forces.

In the last two days I have listened to radio communiqués of the MPLA-FAPLA high command. All have strongly suggested that a clash with Zaire is inevitable.

Claiming that "enemy forces" from Zaire had been trounced in Cabinda on January 13, MPLA announced that its forces were in hot pursuit of the invaders.

## EQUALISE

Strong denunciations have been made in MPLA communiqués of alleged air strikes by fighter-bombers flying in from Zaire against Teixeira de Sousa, the eastern terminal of the strategic Benguela railway which carries copper exports from Zambia and Zaire.

The MPLA claims that on January 13 a Zairean fighter bomber bombed and strafed the Teixeira de Sousa railway station killing six civilians and injuring another five.

Further air strikes were reported on January 14 without casualties. Teixeira de Sousa is 5 km from the Zairean town of Dilolo which has reportedly been shelled by Cuban artillery.

Political observers see MPLA claims of air attacks by Zairean aircraft

as an excuse for bringing in the MiG 21s supplied to the Marxist movement by Russia.

According to MPLA's latest claims, the last FNLA stronghold on the northern front, Terreiro, has been captured by the FAPLA troops. This brings the Cuban-led columns within 50 kms of the Zairean border in the north.

In telephone interviews, FNLA spokesman told me that Cubans and Zaireans are eye-to-eye at three flashpoints — Cabinda, the Uige area known as the MPLA's 1st military region, and Teixeira de Sousa on the eastern front. Reports from Kinshasa indicate that a counter-offensive by FNLA will be launched as soon as their troops have regrouped.

The FNLA sources said the fall of their northern strongholds in the rich coffee-growing area of Uige is a "temporary military setback," that can be reversed at a later stage.

What cannot be recouped is the total loss of the coffee crop estimated at over 5 000 tons. FNLA sees as MPLA's biggest gain in the fact that the Marxist movement will be about R9-million richer when they sell the coffee that is now being taken to Luanda on long lorry convoys.

Although badly shaken by a string of defeats, the FNLA leadership is far from desperate, according to a spokesman for the movement. He said that FNLA is confident that the very seriousness of their setbacks will rally to their anti-communist struggle the wavering Western powers.

Dr Neto is a Mbundu, one of several sub-groups making up the Kimbundu tribe, which has traditionally occupied the area roughly between the Dande River in the north and the Cuanza River in the south, extending east from Luanda to Malanje and beyond.

The Mbundu—whose king was known as Ngola, from whom modern Angola took its name—were conquered by the Portuguese in the 17th century.

The long association with the Portuguese has resulted in the Kimbundu, who make up roughly a quarter of Angola's population, being strongly influenced by European values and their emergence as an intelligentsia in the country.

Even now it is widely held that the MPLA has attracted most of the trained urban people who could develop and maintain a modern government bureaucracy.

But the MPLA has suffered perpetual internal conflicts throughout its history and shortly after the coup in Portugal, which brought down Lisbon's African empire, the movement split into three factions.

## MINES

Dr Neto, however, was able to keep the upper hand with support from the Portuguese, although there have been reports of other divisions within the movement since Angola's independence on November 11.

In the early years, Dr Neto travelled to the United States in search of support for his fight against Portuguese rule in Angola, but he was turned away because of his communist background.

So he turned to the Soviet Union which has supported him almost entirely ever since.

Soviet military equipment, including automatic rifles, land mines, mortars, grenades and rockets, has gone to the MPLA since the mid-1960s and MPLA cadres have been trained in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Sapa-AP.

R.D.M., 17/1/76

# Crucial 5 Angola battle looms

LONDON

**IT IS widely expected that a full-scale battle will soon decide the future of Angola.**

Max Hastings, of the London Evening Standard, who flew out of Angola yesterday, reported the expected encounter under the headline "The battle for the carcass of Angola".

**"The anti-communist FNLA appears almost totally to have collapsed before an offensive by the communist-backed MPLA", Hastings reported.**

In the south, forces of Unita "cannot hold out against the MPLA without larger-scale aid," he said.

"Almost every nation in Africa is now enmeshed in the Angolan war," Hastings said, citing transport planes from Zaire and "Rhodesian pilots flying in and out almost daily."

"I glanced at an ammunition truck parked by the roadside and saw printed on a packing case, 'Ministry of Defence, Lusaka, Zambia,'" UPI quotes him as saying.

Zambians were supplying aid to Unita and training Unita officers, though their neighbours, the Tanzanians were backing the MPLA.

The Rand Daily Mail's military correspondent, Bob Hitchcock, writes that Western military attaches stationed in Pretoria and Cape Town said yesterday that it would be disastrous, militarily, for South Africa to pull out of Angola now.

They believe that without the South African contribution in Angola, the Soviet-supported MPLA would today be at the South West Africa border.

These sources also believe that unless the West contributes to the South African military effort, this country will be seriously compromised and may be forced to withdraw from Angola.

## Invasion

This move, the sources predict, could result in the MPLA penetrating to the South West African border.

Observed one foreign military expert: "At the beginning of this war, the MPLA and their Soviet advisers and Cuban fighters were very close to reaching the border. The fact that they didn't succeed was because South African troops were sent in to stem the Red invasion."

South African Defence Force spokesmen last night agreed that this was the situation.

The feeling in diplomatic circles in Pretoria is that the United States Congress will not budge on its decision to refuse further aid to anti-communist forces in Angola.

Commented one military attache: "The flow of unsophisticated weapons from America which have been channelled through Zaire is about the limit to which America in its present state of mind is willing to go."

Militarily, foreign defence experts see South Africa committed to Angola for some months to come.

# Angolan Reds advance

17/1/76 DD.

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**WASHINGTON — Russia is reported to be landing more arms in Angola amid indications that Soviet-backed troops are winning against forces supported by the United States.**

US intelligence sources said yesterday that a Soviet merchant ship carrying military cargo had arrived at Luanda on Wednesday and that a second Russian arms ship was in the Gulf of Guinea bound for a landing probably today.

Resistance against the Soviet-backed forces in northern Angola has all but collapsed, according to a US cable sent to Nato. The cable said MPLA troops supported by Cuban forces were advancing swiftly towards the border of Zaïre and virtually all US-backed FNLA troops and allied soldiers from Zaïre were fleeing before them.

The MPLA forces are spearheaded by Cuban soldiers driving Russian-built tanks and backed by Soviet-supplied artillery.

The situation in other parts of Angola was pictured in less grim terms, but the American cable indicated that Unita troops in the south weren't doing well.

The contents of the cable were revealed by top officials in the State Department.

However, the official State Department spokesman, Mr Robert Funseth, denied the FNLA was collapsing.

He said the military situation in northern Angola was serious, "but resistance is continuing and fighting is going on."

Mr Funseth refused to confirm the existence of the cable the other State Department sources referred to and also declined to assess the likelihood of the FNLA continuing as a viable force.

He said American aid would continue to be sent to the area despite the serious situation.

It was reported from Eastern Angola yesterday that a Unita task force had staged a withdrawal to the central highlands, and that the MPLA and Cubans might be getting ready to stage an assault on Huambo, the capital of the pro-Western factions.

In New York, an FNLA official warned that this movement might resort to international terrorism — including attacks on airlines and embassies if it were defeated.

The official, Mr Paulo Tuba, said: "Congo-Brazzaville and Guinea and others have embassies abroad. They have airlines. The Russians have embassies in Africa. We can find money to pay foreign commandos to attack them."

Meanwhile, the MPLA's three young South African prisoners have been flown to Khartoum for presentation as examples of "South African aggression."

The MPLA claims to hold nine South Africans.  
—SAPA-APRNS-DDC



# MPLA wil nou Unita platvee

Van ANDRIES VAN WYK

WASHINGTON.

**DIE Russiese MPLA, gesteun deur 9 500 Kubaanse troepe en tot die tande gewapen met 'n splinternuwe skeepsvrag Russiese wapens, staan vandeeweek op die punt om af te ruk na die suide van Angola en die grens van Suidwes.**

*Die nuwe offensief word beplan nadat die MPLA in die laaste weke klinkende oorwinnings in die noorde van Angola behaal en daarin geslaag het om die FNLA tot aan en selfs oor die grens van Zaïre plat te vee.*

Alles dui daarop dat hulle mettertyd gaan skoonvee op hul pad suidwaarts. Al wat kan keer, is die magte van Jonas Savimbi se Unita, en hulle staan geen kans teen die oormag nie.

Daar is geen twyfel meer dat die MPLA vandeeweek en in die komende weke op die slagveld gaan regkry wat hy nie op die pas afgelope OAE-beraad kon regkry nie: 'n klinkende oorwinning. Die Amerikaanse pers was vandeeweek vol gerugte van die vordering wat die MPLA magte in die noorde gemaak het.

Carmona, eens die hooftkwartier van Amerika se vriend die FNLA, het geval. Amerikaans-vervaardigde vragvliegtuie en vragte ammunisie is buitgemaak. Die vesting, saam met die vliegveld waar vragte Amerikaanse wapens voorheen afgelaai is, is oorgeneem ná 'n aanval met Russiese tenks en Stalin-orrels. Die Amerikaanse blad Newsweek is rooi van die pyle wat die MPLA en die Kubaanse troepe vandeeweek daar en elders in Angola gemaak het.

## Hoop verby

Die feit dat Savimbi alleen in die suide moet keer, is hoofsaaklik te wyte aan Amerika se onvermoë om met meer as woorde steun aan die pro-Westerse magte in Angola te verleen. Die hoop dat die Amerikaners in die oomblik van groot gevaar sou help, is verby.

Nou is dit swart teen swart en rooi teen swart in Angola.

Die Weste is uit.

Die nuus van die MPLA se seges het einde vandeeweek saamgeval met 'n aankondiging van die Amerikaanse departement van buitelandse sake dat die aantal Kubane in Angola nou aangegroei het tot 9 500 man en dat nog duisend man gereed staan om na Angola te vertrek. Daarby die nuus dat die jongste skeepsvrag moderne wapens pas afgelaai is.

En van Amerika se kant nie eens 'n windbukskoeëltjie nie. Dis die ander tragedie van Angola: Dat Rusland Angola reeds so vol wapentuig en soldate gepomp het dat dit nie veel verskil sou maak as Rusland môre ter wille van die wêreldmening bekend sou maak dat hy alle verdere wapenverskaffing aan die MPLA staak nie.

Rusland en die MPLA se strategie is in hierdie stadium baie duidelik: om met 'n oormag op te ruk, skoon te vee en oor te neem voordat Amerika dalk tot ander insigte kom en voordat te veel diplomatieke en ander skroewe aangedraai kan word. Die wind waai reg, klim in en konfronteer Amerika en die wêreld met 'n gedane saak wanneer daar gepraat moet word.

mer dat Amerika nie kans sien om die Russiese inmening in Angola in die pad te laat staan van 'n suksesvolle SALT-ooreenkoms nie (SALT staan vir Strategic Arms Limitation Talks).

Vir die man wat vra wat die Amerikaners nou insake Angola gaan doen, was Kissinger se antwoord van vandeeweek seker die mees verstommende van almal.

„Vir eers,” sê hy vandeeweek op 'n perskonferensie „het ons nog nooit die beperking van kernwapens, beskou as 'n guns aan Rusland wat aan- en afgeskakel kan word na gelang van die wisselinge in ons daaglikse verhouding nie...”

## Sterkste skroef

Die „wisselinge in die daaglikse verhoudinge” was 'n duidelike verwysing na die gebeurde in Angola. Iets wat op die kort termyn gebeur... nie genoeg rede om op die lang termyn 'n SALT-ooreenkoms te verongeluk nie.

Dreigemente sal 'n SALT-ooreenkoms verongeluk gaan word as die Russe nie padgee uit Angola nie, was die sterkste diplomatieke skroef wat vir die Amerikaners oorgebly het. En nog voordat hy Moskou toe vertrek, draai Kissinger die skroef nek-af.

Wat bly oor om die Russe mee te dreig?

Gee Kissinger dit ter ere: by die korttermyn-wisselinge het hy darem die dreigement gevoeg dat gebeurde soos in Angola op die lange duur sal lei tot toenemende spanning en daarmee saam 'n uitwerking op die SALT-samesprekinge. Eendag.

## Lewensideaal

Sien in daardie stelling die man Kissinger. Aan die een kant is hy die man wat saam met pres. Ford daarvoor veg dat Amerika wapenhulp aan die pro-Westerse magte in Angola moet verleen. Hy besef die belang van 'n sterk Amerikaanse stand in Angola.

Aan die ander kant is hy die man wat 'n lewensideaal

daarvan gemaak het om détente tussen Amerika en Rusland te bewerkstellig. Sy hele beleid, sy hele loopbaan as Amerikaanse minister van buitelandse sake, is daarop ingestel.

Hy dobbel deur Moskou toe te gaan. Dis Rusland wat die laaste SALT-voorstelle verwerp het en daarom was die volgende inisiatief in die hande van Rusland. Klaar ruis die stemme in Amerika dat sy jongste reis net nog

'n bewys is van hoe Amerika besig is om voor Rusland te kniel.

Maar hy gaan, want hy wil sy détente-ideaal red, selfs ten koste van Angola. Dis wat Kissinger vandeeweek aan die wêreld gesê het. Détente, soos vir pres. Ford die graan-transaksie met Rusland, is vir hom belangriker as wat Angola ooit kan wees. Stroom-op.

In die komende weke gaan pres. Ford, aangevuur deur die weerstand wat die anti-Russiese lande vandeeweek by die OAE-beraad gelewer het, probeer om in die Amerikaanse huis van Verteenwoordigers reg te kry wat hy nie in die Senaat kon regkry nie: dat daar gestem word dat Amerika weer hulp in Angola moet verleen.

Dis stroom-op, 'n stryd wat gaan lei tot 'n lang debat wat, indien dit sou slaag, sou lei tot terugverwysing na die Senaat en nog 'n lang debat. En, met Kissinger terug uit Moskou, gaan 'n Senaatskomitee die hele kwessie van Rusland, Amerika en Angola van hoek tot kant sit en uitpluis.

Dis wat die Amerikaners in die komende dae oor Angola gaan doen. Praat, praat, praat.

## Na Moskou

Of daar nog gepraat kan word van diplomatieke skroewe, is hier uit Washington nie meer so duidelik nie. Op 20 Januarie vertrek dr. Kissinger na Moskou om met die Russe te gaan gesels oor wedersydse beperking van kernwapens en dit onder hulle neuse te vryf dat hulle darem nie so kan aangaan in Angola nie.

En saam met sy aankondiging dat hy op pad Moskou toe is, laat Kissinger deurske-

SUNDAY

# EXPRESS

## THE ALTERNATIVES BEFORE US

5

**Y**ES that *was* a setback for the Russians when the OAU failed to recognise the MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola. They had certainly tried hard enough for it. But if they failed to win first prize, they certainly got second.

Prospects of a national government are now more remote than ever, and with the OAU deadlocked the way is wide open for the Russians and Cubans to step up their intervention.

They now have a free hand to go for an outright military victory, and clearly are already doing so. The campaign in the north has been stepped up to the point where the FNLA has been all but routed, and the next step will obviously be a massive offensive against Unita in the south.

This poses for South Africa the agonising question: What should we do now?

Should we stay there, in which case we shall have to step up our involvement to meet the communist assault and will thus find ourselves being drawn, like the Americans in Vietnam, deeper and deeper into a disastrous struggle? Or should we get out, in which case the Russians will triumph and establish themselves just north of us ready to bear down on our long and vulnerable South West African border?

Neither alternative is attractive, but a choice must be made. And the following would seem to be the criteria for making it:

If we reckon we can win, then it may be worth the risk of staying. Likewise if it is simply a matter of holding the line until American or other Western aid is forthcoming. But if neither of these prospects is likely, then getting out is the lesser of the two evils.

Considered thus, it is surely inconceivable that we can win against the Russians with their unlimited resources. They are too deeply committed now to allow that to happen. As for the West, it is showing no signs of entering the conflict — and the longer we are there the less likely it becomes that anyone will join in and be seen as an ally of this pariah country.

By the same token, the more we commit ourselves to the struggle the easier it will be for the Russians to justify increasing their own intervention — thereby enlarging their eventual foothold in the sub-continent.

So everything points to the need for withdrawal. It may be unpleasant, but the bitter lesson is that we should never have got involved in the first place. As this newspaper urged at the time, we should have responded with the same detachment as we did over Mozambique.

# Rapport

Posbus 8422, Johannesburg. Ook gedruk  
in Kaapstad en Bloemfontein

## VALSE HOOP

DAAR is een stuk byna ongelooflike naïwiteit in Amerika se Angola-diplomasie. Dit is die opvatting dat as lande soos Zaïre en Suid-Afrika hulle maar net aan die oorlog sal „onttrek”, die Russe en die Kubane ontmasker sal staan as die enigste buitelandse inmengers en dan gedwing sal kan word om pad te gee.

So 'n opvatting gee die Russe en die Kubane krediet vir 'n ontsag vir die wêreldmening wat in die Kommunistiese gees eenvoudig nie bestaan nie, nog nooit bestaan het nie.

Vra maar vir Hongarye hoeveel die woede van die hele beskaafde wêreld gehelp het toe Rusland in 1956 die opstandige landjie met bloedige geweld weer tot onderhorigheid gedwing het.

Blykbaar weet die Kommunis maar te goed hoe kort die wêreldmening se geheue is.

Voor militêre dreigemente het Rusland wel al geswig, soos laas toe pres. Kennedy hom laat afsien het van sy plan om projektielbasisse op die einste Kuba op te rig. Maar aan mooi-praatjies soos dié waarmee dr. Kissinger nou die Angola-probleem probeer oplos, nog nooit nie.

Byna net so naïef is die opvatting dat as die MPLA die oorlog gewen het, hy spoedig weer ontslae sal kan raak van sy Russiese en Kubaanse base. Mense wat so redeneer, begryp nie dat dié twee lande nie toevallig in die oorlog beland het nie. Wat nou daar gebeur, is stellig die resultaat van beplanning oor 'n lang termyn, en die hoofdoelwit is nie Angola nie.

Tensy iets heel onvoorsienbaars gebeur, kan Suid-Afrika kom maar klaarmaak vir 'n Russies-Kommunistiese aanwesigheid op sy drumpel, met al die gevare wat dit vir ons in ons veërassige land meebring.

Met dit in gedagte sal ons ons binnelandse probleme met nuwe oë moet aankyk, en met nuwe ywer moet aanpak.

# Maar hier worder hulle nie

RAPPORT, 18 Januarie 1976--S

**Deur TIM KRYNANUW**  
**ONDANKS** skouspelagtige MPLA-oorwinings in die noorde van Angola, bly die situasie in Middel-Angola nog tot groot hoogte ten gunste van Unita en die FNLA. Vir die MPLA en sy Kubanese bondgenote is vordering in die hartland van Angola steeds 'n probleem.

Dit lyk in hierdie stadium of Russiese strategie in Angola daarop bereken is om Unita en die FNLA stuksgewys te verslaan. Hiervoor word indrukwekkende konsentrasies wapentuig en vreemde troepe ingespan.

Die FNLA-teenstand in die noorde het reeds heeltemal verkwinnel ná die val van Carmona en die FNLA-vesting Ambrez. Die MPLA bedreig nou die noordelike hawe Antonio do Zaire aan die grens van Zaire.

FNLA-magte voer intussen in guerrilla-oorlog in die gebied. Dit lyk ook of die Russe nou 'n skakelmatposisie in Middel-Angola verkies. Hulle sal waarskynlik met 'n groot-skeepsse offensief in die gebied begin sodra die noorde geheel en al onder MPLA-beheer is.

Maar militêre strategie sê hierdie strategie hou nie rekening daarmee dat FNLA-guerrillawegsers die MPLA kan verplig om 'n groot troepenag in Noord-Angola aan te hou nie. Hul posisie sal kwebaarder word as pres. Mobutu Sese Seko van Zaire sy dreigement uitvoer om oorlog teen die MPLA te verklaar. Zaire het 'n goed opgeleide leër.

In 'n openlike boitsing sal Zaire nie net die MPLA se posisie in die noorde onthoudbaar maak nie, maar ook die lewensbelangrike noordoostelike diamantgebied, wat vir hom maklik bereikbaar is, van die MPLA weghou.

Zaire se toetrede tot die stryd en 'n suksesvolle guerrilla-aksie kan die magte van Unita en die FNLA in Middel-Angola in staat stel om na Luanda op te ruk.

## Weer lol

Die verdediging van die sentrale hartland van Angola is minder problematies as wat MPLA-propaganda dit wil hê. Daar is net een strategiese toegangsweg, die hoofpad tussen Luanda en Nova Lisboa. Die pad is van weë etlike riviere en gebroke terrein maklik verdedigbaar, word

nou gesê. In Oos-Angola beheer die magte van Unita en die FNLA nog die grootste deel van die Benguela-spoortlyn. Daar is wel sprake van 'n MPLA-offensief teen Luso, maar ook hier dreig weersomstandighede, groot riviere, en verswoeste brêe om hul aanslag te verongeluk.

In Middel-Angola, die MPLA se sogenoemde suid-front, ver, die magte van Unita en die FNLA steeds kwaai teen oorwegend Kubanese troepe. Vordering aan albei kante word deur reën belemmer. Die MPLA sukkel om sy moderne wapen-tuig van plek tot plek te ver-voer.

## Moet ingryp

Die Kubanese opmars na Nova Lisboa (nou Huambo) in die sentrale hartland van Angola, het sover geen besondere suksesse opgelewer nie. Dit het nog nie verder as die omgewing van Quibala gevorder nie.

Strategie glo dat hierdie opmars nie veel hoop op sukses het nie. Hulle skryf dit ook toe aan die reënseisoen, moeilike terrein, vasberade magte

van Unita en die FNLA en die vyandige gesindheid van die plaaslike bevolking. Strategie met wie RAPPORT in die naweek geeis het, sê 'n spoedige einde van die oorlog is nie in sig nie. Hulle meen voorts die Weste sal drasties moet ingryp om 'n volkskeeps Kommunistiese aanslag op Suider-Afrika af te weer.

Die gevaar bestaan dat die oorlog steeds kan verskerp. As Zaire byvoortoeid ingryp, kan dit maklik ander Afrika-staats soos Nigerië aanspoor om ook troepe na Angola te stuur.



DD 19/1/76

# Vital Angola decision

JOHANNESBURG — Crucial South African military decisions relating to the worsening Angola situation are expected to be made within the next few days.

South African forces were last night on top alert in the South West Africa-Angola border area as MPLA forces, supported by Cuban units, began their southward drive inside Angola against anti-communist forces.

According to well-informed foreign military sources in South Africa, this country's future military strategy — now being determined in Pretoria and Cape Town — is likely to cater for two basic exigencies.

They are a decision to stay in Angola and continue to strengthen Unita resistance against southerly offensives by MPLA and other communist forces; or a decision to withdraw South African forces to the Angola-South West Africa border.

Either of these political decisions will call for careful and thorough military planning.

An indication of the seriousness of the situation, and the Defence Department's realisation of the dangers, is that one of the most extensive military call-ups in South Africa's history is now taking place.

Military experts point out that withdrawal in Angola today, if not the result of a voluntary decision by the Russians and Cubans to quit at the same time as the South Africans, could be a hazardous operation.

Of the various military options in conventional war situations, withdrawal is acknowledged by most military experts to pose the most frustrations and hazards.

The provision of strong air and ground support is essential to any withdrawal of troops carried out under fire.

The anti-Communist

forces are being out-gunned by the Soviet-backed MPLA and Cuban soldiers. The Russian 122 mm ground-to-ground missile is having a devastating effect on the allied forces, as is the Russian T 54 tank.

Allied forces are desperately in need of anti-tank missiles and a supply of additional helicopter gunships would greatly strengthen their morale.

In Washington, key congressional officials have been told that the United States is not going to push South Africa to withdraw from Angola so long as the present crisis persists.

According to informed sources, the African State Department's Affairs chief, Mr William Schauffele, told the officials at a private gathering: "You can't negotiate when you don't have any players on the board. We are not going to push South Africa to withdraw as long as we have to negotiate.—DDC.

## Special task forces come to Unita's aid

LUSAKA — Support for Western-backed forces in Angola is being increased significantly.

Special task forces were due to go into action last night in major operations designed to retake the initiative in the civil war against the MPLA.

Highly-placed sources said one special armoured task force had been flown into Silva Porto, Unita's military high command, to spearhead a joint assault on the town of Teixeira de Sousa, which is strategically located on the Zaire frontier at the railhead of the British-

owned Benguela Railway. These sources believe that the current phase of the conflict is the most important for Unita since the civil war began.

Tactics employed in the new offensive call for the retaking within a week of Teixeira de Sousa, as well as the reversal of MPLA pushes into the heartland of territory held by Unita.

It is claimed that the MPLA thrust from Henrique de Carvalho toward Luso, the strategic junction town on the Benguela Railway has been halted. Sources say there is no doubt that white soldiers are leading the Unita fightback.

One eye-witness said he had seen a column of eight lorries carrying white combat troops in the Silva Porto area towards the front north of Luso.

Reports from reliable sources indicated that the extent of the buildup in support of Unita in the area north of Luso has effectively stymied, at least for the time being, the offensive launched by an MPLA-armoured column led by nearly 500 Cuban regulars.

Mr. Ir. Sagumba, Unita Foreign Secretary, said in Lusaka he believed the column claimed to be the vanguard of a Marxist thrust designed to smash into the heartland of Unita territory, was stalled more than 320 km north of Luso.

It is also claimed that Unita is being strengthened with new invasions of weaponry and that tons of American weapons stockpiled in Zaire for use by the FNLA in northern Angola, are now being diverted to Unita.—DDC.

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# Reds push for Zaire border

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Russian-armed MPLA forces at Ambrizete were now "poised to strike for the border with Zaire," the London Sunday Telegraph reported yesterday.

It was quoting a dispatch from its correspondent, A. J. McIlroy, who was flown to Angola by Cubans at the weekend.

"The MPLA commander for the region told me that very soon the MPLA would attack the FNLA oil supply town of Santo Antonio

do Zaire, the only real barrier between the MPLA and the Zaire border.

"The officer, Commander Nidozi, 36, added that at the Zaire border MPLA men would stop their advance."

McIlroy quoted Commander Nidozi as saying: "We are ready to attack Santo Antonio as soon as the bridge is repaired. We have met little opposition. The FNLA morale is low and they run away. We did not have to fight to take Ambrizete."

He said that at a dirt landing strip 250 km north of Luanda, cigar-smoking Cubans outnumbered the uniformed Africans guarding an army post still daubed with the slogans of the Western-backed FNLA, now beaten back.

"Troops were everywhere, FNLA prisoners being directed by them to move and clean captured weaponry and ammunition, including anti-aircraft and machine guns, rifles, mortars and ammunition — standard Nato supplies.

There were new crates of American-marked ammunition.

"Doming Salvador, 17, a captured African who had been fighting with the FNLA told me that he had decided after fleeing from Ambrizete and other towns that this time he should stay behind.

"He claimed there were four White mercenaries and some Zairians with the FNLA forces. In their flight from the Ambrizete airstrip the FNLA burned a helicopter rather than leave it in MPLA hands."

22/19/1/76 RDM

Dr K sees  
19 11/76  
RDM  
peace in  
a month  
—report

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WASHINGTON — The US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, has told African nations he believes the civil war in Angola will be ended in a month's time.

The end would probably come by diplomatic means, the Washington Star said yesterday.

The paper, quoting informed sources, said Dr Kissinger predicted the end of the fighting at a private meeting with 37 African diplomats held at the State Department last week.

The State Department had no comment yesterday on the article, reports Sapa-Reuter.

Officials raised the possibility that Dr Kissinger, who leaves this week for strategic arms talks in Moscow, may already have a Soviet commitment to stop its supply of weapons to the MPLA in Angola, the paper said.

The Rand Daily Mail's London correspondent reports that the Soviet Union is ready to consider a compromise — a coalition between the MPLA and Unita.

Before an MPLA-Unita coalition could be achieved, the Soviets would expect Dr Kissinger to persuade South Africa to withdraw all its troops Angola.

Dr Kissinger is ready to do this on condition the Cubans withdraw after the South Africans.

The MPLA would be the senior partner in the coalition.

Unita would first have to sever all ties with foreign powers. And the FNLA would be frozen out.

Meanwhile, Unita forces in Angola have repulsed an attack north of Luso by MPLA forces led by Cuban troops and backed by Soviet tanks and artillery, according to sketchy battle reports yesterday.

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# Airport shelters 6 000 refugees

8/19/1/76

KDM

LISBON. — About 6 000 Angolans and Portuguese have taken refuge in the airport of the southern Angolan town of Sa da Bandeira to escape fighting there between nationalist groups, a Portuguese Government spokesman said at the weekend.

The fighting, both in Sa da Bandeira and the nearby port of Mocamedes, was between the FNLA and Unita, he said.

The spokesman, quoted by the Portuguese Government news agency Anop, said several thousand Portuguese had fled to Zaire to escape the MPLA's advance against the FNLA in the north.

A jumbo jet would begin daily flights next Thursday to repatriate the

Portuguese who have fled to Zaire, the spokesman said. A similar airlift was being planned to bring out those trapped at Sa da Bandeira, but he could not say how this would be done.

The spokesman, an official of the ministry in charge of cooperation with former Portuguese colonies, advised the 300 000 Portuguese repatriated from Angola last year to put off any plans to return.

He said the military position in Angola was deteriorating.

Reports of clashes between Unita and the FNLA in Mocamedes emerged earlier this week when a fleet of boats carrying nearly 2 700 refugees arrived at Walvis Bay. — Sapa-Reuter.



## Politics

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# Attention of MPs on Angola

By  
**BERNARDI WESSELS**  
Political Correspondent

THE Angola crisis and the degree of South Africa's involvement will almost certainly dominate the early part of the 1976 session of Parliament which starts on Friday.

The Government has already indicated that it will lay a heavy stress on patriotism and the security of the State, particularly internally, and that the Angolan situation will be used to motivate the new legislation.

The extension of the Suppression of Communism Act to include public disorder and endangering State security, and the expected permanent internal security commission could both make further inroads into civil liberty.

Also coming under the spotlight in varying degrees once the Angolan situation has been saturated will be the Government's detente policy, Rhodesia, SWA, the country's economy, the urban Black problem and the Transkei's independence.

South Africa's shaky relations with the West and Black Africa, especially in times of need, will also be spotlighted and the opposition parties are bound to point out that the underlying cause is the Government's race policy.

It must have come through clearly to the Government now that much of Africa thinks of South Africa with its apartheid as a greater anathema than communism and Russia.

Except possibly for the Transkei's independence, the Government is in varying degrees of serious trouble on foreign and domestic fronts and lack of progress during this session will almost certainly

hold out far-reaching implications for South Africa.

It is clear that most of the opposition that the Government can expect during the coming session will come from the Progressive-Reform Party, the first session for the new party that merged last July.

It is almost certain that the PRP will closely question the reasoning behind South Africa's involvement in Angola and demand that the whole situation be debated on merit.

Demands for total withdrawal of SA from Angola and that only the SWA border be protected, with possibly concessions towards the principle of hot pursuit, could come from the PRP.

The United Party is bound to try to carry on its philosophy of being a "responsible Opposition" by being soft on the Government on the Angolan issue while making strong attacks on the Government's economic policy.

The continuing internal tension within the United Party is expected to erupt once again when the Government's new security legislation is brought before Parliament.

Although it could not be confirmed, there are indications that divisions are even building up within the party over the Angolan issue but that its hawks will see victory over its doves.

The possibility that the party could experience another split, with some of its Rightwing members hiving off towards the National Party cannot be discounted. The Opposition leader, Sir De Villiers Graaff, may well spend another session holding his party together.

One side aspect of the session will be the battle between the two opposition parties in the face of their confrontation soon in the vital Durban North by-election, following the announcement by Mr Michael Mitchell, MP, that he plans to resign at the end of January.

Throughout, the spotlight will remain on the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, who may yet spring a number of surprises in his strategy of tempering tough action at home with other urgent diplomatic and domestic advances.

(Report by Bernardi Wessels, 77 Berg Street, Cape Town.)

# Unita tensed for decisive Angola battle

## MOTLEY

Unita has only a motley collection of light-to-medium-range mortars, captured heavy machine-guns and recoilless rifles and must rely on its allies for heavier firepower.

Unita troops have had virtually no training in conventional military tactics, shun such elementary precautions as digging foxholes, are often scared by the noise of incoming rockets, but are highly disciplined and motivated to their cause.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi is conscious that the tide of battle has now begun to turn against his forces.

But whatever the outcome of the impending battle, he insists that it will mark only stage one of the war and predicts the conflict will continue for years.

Of the three leaders of Angola's warring factions, Savimbi was the only one who spent the majority of his time inside Angola fighting the Portuguese during colonial times.

He built up an impressive grassroots political organisation in the south and many independent observers said he would have won independence elections had they been held as originally agreed.

Savimbi said he would turn this carefully cultivated support to advantage should the current phase of the war go against him.

"I did not spend all these years fighting the Portuguese to let either Neto (MPLA leader Agostinho Neto) or the Russians drive me out of Angola," he said. "This is my home."

"If the decision goes against us on the battlefield, we will return to the bush and guerilla war," he says. — UPI.

By RAYMOND WILKINSON

LUSO. — The decisive battle of the war is shaping up along a thinly held front line running hundreds of kilometres across the waist of Angola.

The Soviet-backed MPLA is pouring hundreds, perhaps thousands, of extra troops into the area after its recent stunning successes in the north.

Its Cuban and Soviet allies have become more adventurous, too, as they seek a quick knockout victory on the battlefield.

Havana brought up its fighting strength in Angola to around 8 000 men who were increasingly being hurled in large numbers into eyeball-to-eyeball ground fighting with anti-communist forces and their allies.

Russian advisers for the first time also began accompanying their Marxist proteges into dangerous front-line areas the hitherto-cautious Soviets had shunned, according to reports reaching Luso.

As a showdown approached — within a matter of days or weeks, intelligence sources said — the allied war effort also moved into high gear.

Unita, the major anti-communist movement now fighting the MPLA, established 15 training camps in the south, slashed the training period from three months to two weeks for recruits and claimed to be sending as many as 2 000 new soldiers to the front each week.

There are indications of increased support for Unita. Visitors saw increased troop movement along the entire front and there was considerable air activity around the Unita military headquarters at the town of Silva Porto.

Other nations joined the worsening conflict. Zaire diverted some of its support role to the southern front Unita forces after the northern front held

by the FNLA all but collapsed. Military supplies rolled in from neighbouring Zambia.

Nigeria began to channel funds to the MPLA and there were persistent reports it might commit troops to the battle from its standing army of 250 000.

Unita officers predicted a major MPLA offensive at Luso within days or weeks and despite independent assessments predicting a probable Marxist victory an almost serene air of confidence pervaded Unita.

"We know it is coming" Unita military commander Colonel Samuel Chiwale said in an interview, "but we can take anything they can throw at us."

In the first general skirmishing last week, Unita troops, supported by artillery, appeared to be holding their own.

On the two extreme flanks of the southern front, it claimed victories. In the west, Unita said its forces captured the town of Quibala and in the extreme east, White-led troops made "steady progress" in encircling and reducing an MPLA garrison at the vital railhead of Teixeira de Sousa on the Zaire border.

The fighting was fierce in the central sector, where the MPLA concentrated the bulk of its forces, reinforced by Cuban troops.

MPLA troops stormed the outlying defences of this rail town, but were repulsed. The Cubans — "a sea of Cuban faces and not a Black one to be seen," according to one report — enjoyed greater success around the west central town of Cela which appeared on the point of capture.

The conflict itself is an erratic jumble of set-piece conventional battles and small-unit, scrappy and indecisive African guerilla skirmishing.

There are only a few

thousand men on each side to man an 800 km southern front.

This area is a typical "frontline" position. MPLA forces were thrown out of Luso in bloody fighting in December and retreated north toward the diamond rich fields surrounding the town of Henrique de Carvalho which is also a major MPLA supply base.

They blew bridges as they went and a fallen span over the sparkling Lusia River 60 km north of Luso is the symbolic dividing line.

Two hundred metres to the rear, a small company of Unita troops keep watch on a high bluff.

The "enemy" is 10 km to the north, and Unita occasionally sends a patrol to a nearby village to glean information on MPLA movements.

"The villagers are ours," boasts Col Chiwale, "so we know everything MPLA is doing and can make our plans accordingly."

A north-south paved road runs past the Unita outpost and the war travels up and down this tarmac leaving the cornfields and rain forests to the side unscathed.

It is war where only towns, roads, ports and other communications centres are important and where possession of land is often a hindrance to the tightly stretched opposing armies.

Each side has less than 30 000 men and it is impossible to control vast stretches of one of Africa's largest nations.

So the offensive, when it comes, will inevitably be launched once more down this highway.

The Unita front-line troops are a happy, almost carefree lot, though they receive no pay, rely on the goodwill of local villagers for their food and, small arms apart, are heavily outgunned by the MPLA.

The Soviets have poured military hardware worth R140-million into the war and the MPLA now boasts as many as 70 T34 battle tanks, some T54 tanks, 250 Tatra armoured troop carriers, 50 amphibious tanks and Sam 7 missiles and Pods of 122 mm rocket launchers called Stalin organs which so far have proved the most devastating weapon in the war.

## Publicity no good

WASHINGTON. — The vice-chairman of the American Senate's intelligence committee, Senator John Tower, has said America's involvement in the Angolan civil war should not have been publicised, because "the average person is not sophisticated enough in foreign affairs to deal intelligently with it".

Senator Tower said the US participated in covert activities in other countries besides Angola, "but people don't know". He did not name the countries but added that he opposed publication regarding all American covert activities. — Sapa-AP.

## Congressman to urge aid

LUSAKA. — The United States Congressman, Mr David Bowen, said he was returning to the United States determined to urge the US Government to increase its military and financial assistance to the Unita and FNLA movements in Angola.

At the end of a visit to Zaire, South Africa and Zambia, Mr Bowen, a Democrat from Mississippi, told reporters that the two movements badly needed aid to counteract the Soviet-backed MPLA. — Sapa-Reuter.

R.D.M. 5/1/76

# Quit Angola and reform SA, says Sonny Leon

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By PATRICK LAURENCE

SOUTH AFRICA should pull out of Angola and concentrate its energies on reform in South Africa itself, Mr Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party, said yesterday.

Reform in South Africa and not involvement in Angola was the best guarantee against the communist threat posed by Russo-Cuban intervention in Angola, he said.

Mr Leon, whose Labour Party is the majority party in the Coloured Representative Council, was one of several Black leaders to comment on the Angolan situation at the weekend.

"If South Africa becomes involved in Angola, there is the danger that the war will escalate and we may find people not well disposed towards our involvement taking advantage," he said.

"We should clean up our own mess and not allow

the communists to get a grip here. We in the Labour Party would not like to see the communists impose a dictatorship here."

Mr J. N. Reddy, chairman of the executive committee of the Indian Council, said: "I think the people of Angola should be helped to get together to form a government of national unity."

He was in favour of South African withdrawal from Angola, provided either the United Nations or the Organisation of African Unity agreed to guarantee and police South African interests in the Kunene River hydro-electric and irrigation schemes.

Mr J. Naidoo of the Natal Indian Congress said: "The Angolans should be left alone to solve their problems. There should be no outside interference."

Referring to the scheduled Organisation of African Unity meeting on Saturday, Mr Naidoo added: "Ideally, even the OAU should not intervene. But it is too late now. Angola has become an African question which must be solved by Africans."

Mr W. J. Bergins, leader of the minority Federal Party in the Coloured Representative Council, declined to comment until he had studied the situation more fully.

## NEUTRAL

But Mr Richard Maponya, of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council, came out strongly against South African military involvement.

"I think South Africa should not get involved physically, but she should involve herself diplomatically by way of trying to promote peace," he said.

"I am afraid that if South Africa gets involved militarily, Black Africa may form a laager and blow the whole situation up out of all proportion."

"I think our stand should be neutral rather than siding with any of the groups because we could land in a Vietnam."

Mr Maponya went on to talk of the ideal of South African representation in the OAU and a South African contribution to its peace bid in Angola. "We are all Africans and South Africa is part of the African continent," he said.



**AT LEAST 3 000 Black and White Angolan refugees have fled to South West Africa in the wake of South Africa's troop withdrawal with the remaining 1 000 men, women and children expected to cross the crocodile-infested Okavango River by sunrise today.**

Confirming this yesterday, Mr Jannie de Wet, Commissioner-General for the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa, said: "We don't want the refugees and we don't want to be responsible for them, but we can't just leave them out in the bush."

A temporary refugee centre is being established 16 km south of Rundu, the capital of Kavango, near the main road to Grootfontein.

Today the camps at Calai and Cuangar across the Angolan border — protected by South African troops until Saturday's withdrawal — will stand "empty, evacuated, and we will be saddled with about 4 000 refugees," he said.

### Assurances

After repeated appeals to the United Nations and International Red Cross to "accept their responsibility" to the refugees, Mr De Wet said he believed the Government would now approach the MPLA in an attempt to have the refugees repatriated to Angola, with concrete assurances for their safety.

"The refugees are all Angolans and the responsibility of the Angolan Government," he said.

On Saturday, as the last armoured columns left the Caluque-Ruacana dam sites, the Minister of Defence Mr P W Botha, said: "We have done more than our duty. South Africa not only spent millions on the refugees but we protected them. Of course you can't stop people running across the border and if they do, we will deal with them on an ad hoc basis.

"We are not going to erect camps again and attend to them as we did in the past — that is the duty of the international community."

Earlier the Chief of Kavango, Mr Alfons Makavero, said that although he sympathized with the refugees and would not turn them back, the territory did not have the resources to absorb them.

On Friday, when I visited Calai, a stone's throw from Rundu, fear was spreading like an epidemic among the refugees who believed that they would be massacred by MPLA troops once the protection of South Africa was withdrawn.

# SADF denies 'destruction'

Political Staff

**A SENIOR Defence Force spokesman has strongly denied allegations of slaughter and destruction by South African troops in Angola and described them as "a lot of nonsense".**

The allegations were made during the United Nations Security Council debate on South Africa last week by Mr Pascal Luvualu, the Angolan roving ambassador.

He demanded that South Africa pay reparation for the destruction of bridges and factories, accusing the SA forces of "barbaric" behaviour and "slaughter of thousands".

The Defence Force spokesman said yesterday: "It is to be expected that they will start with all sorts of highly exaggerated and incredible stories, but it is all a lot of nonsense.

"Our men, the handful of them that were there, behaved in exemplary fashion." He said the bridges and factories had been destroyed first in clashes between the MPLA and the Unita/FNLA allies and later by the alien Cuban force in their retreat to the north.

"They are the ones who have brought that country to a standstill.

"We never blew up any bridges and were not responsible for destroying a single factory."

He totally dismissed allegations of looting and bad behaviour by the South African forces.

He asked whether the Angolan refugees who had been cared for by SA forces close to the South West African border would have started following them in droves when they pulled back on Saturday if they had had anything to fear from them.

He expected a more formal statement to be made when the Angolan allegations had been studied in full.



South African troops guarding the Caluque dam in Angola prepare to withdraw.

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# SA seeks UN aid for refugees

STAR 23/1/76.

**John Patten,  
Political Correspondent**

**CAPE TOWN —** The South African Government has sought United Nations aid in resolving the problem of non-Portuguese refugees from Angola who have fled to South West Africa.

The Minister of Foreign

Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, announced in a midnight news release the contents of a letter sent yesterday to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr Kurt Waldheim, on the refugee problem.

In the letter, the Minister asked Dr Waldheim to request the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to assist in resolving the growing problem.

### HISTORY

Recalling the history of the refugee problem, which began in August last year, Dr Muller said the South African Government had taken care of 13 000 refugees and spent more than R4,5-million on maintaining refugee camps in South Africa and SWA, and on supplying food, medical services, transportation and other provisions.

At present, he added, South Africa was still providing food, medical ser-

vices and other necessities to more than 2 800 refugees at three places near the Angolan border.

Turning to be most recent wave of refugees into Walvis Bay, Dr Muller told Mr Waldheim 2 200 refugees had sought entry into SWA through Walvis Bay. So far 1 000 had disembarked and were being cared for by South African authorities.

### UNDERTAKING

Recalling that when he raised the refugee issue with Dr Waldheim last September, the Minister was told it was a matter falling into the competence of the Portuguese Government, and that it would be drawn to the Government's attention.

Dr Muller said the Portuguese Government had undertaken to repatriate all Portuguese citizens.

"But this still leaves large numbers who are not citizens of Portugal," the Minister said. "My Government wants to express concern at the plight of those remaining refugees."

## Africa

# Angola now an issue in US contest

WASHINGTON. — The war in Angola is emerging as a major issue in the presidential contest in the United States.

The President, Mr Ford, is coming under increasing attack for his decision to supply American aid to factions fighting against Soviet-backed forces.

President Ford's contention is that Angola exemplifies that the American constitutional system clearly gives him the responsibility for carrying out foreign policy.

### ASSAULT

Presidential hopeful, Mr Ronald Reagan, has assailed the Soviet Union and Cuba for interference in Angola.

But, in an assault on the foreign policy of Mr Ford and the Secretary of State, Dr Kissinger, to pursue the policy of detente with Moscow, Mr Reagan declares that "detente must be a quid pro quo situation. You must get something for what you give".

Mr Reagan would take a hard line toward the Soviets for their intervention in Angola, although he has not yet spelled out precisely what action he would favour.

Senator Robert Byrd, a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination and the assistant leader of the Democratic majority in the Senate, contends that the American people have lost faith in Dr Kissinger and the Ford government "because everywhere in the world we see America in retreat."

He cites detente and Soviet involvement in Angola, saying: "Here we see the Soviet Union playing around in Angola, and spreading its wings all over Africa and in the Indian Ocean — then we talk about detente."

On the other hand, a Black American Democratic congressman describes US involvement in Black Angola as "Kissinger's folly." Congressman Charles Diggs says it may be "the most serious foreign policy miscalculation" the United States has ever made.

Mr Diggs is chairman of the House of Representatives' sub-committee on international resources and a spokesman for the 17-member Black Congressional caucus.

He says: "American intrusion in the Angolan conflict is the biggest blunder in the history of its relations with Africa. Were it not for awesome reverence accorded to Secretary of State Kissinger, this Angolan misadventure may have forced his resignation. Regrettably, President Ford has blindly followed Kissinger's folly."

Senator John Sparkman, the highly-respected chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, says he doubts that both houses of Congress will agree on a ban against any US aid to pro-Western forces in Angola. — Sapa-AP.

## US senator tells of MPLA-Unita contacts

By GUY BERNARD

WASHINGTON. — Contacts are being made between the MPLA and Unita factions in Angola for a possible accommodation on the future government of the war-torn country, says Senator John Tunney of California.

The senator, who was a prime mover in the congressional action halting CIA arms aid for the pro-Western factions, has two members of his staff



Unita soldiers on a makeshift bridge at Gago Coutinho in south-east Angola. The bridge was repaired by local women after it had been destroyed by Fapla, the Soviet-backed MPLA army, which this week has claimed major victories over the allied forces.

## Interpol hunt mercenary

LONDON. — A British mercenary who was photographed at Heathrow Airport, as he left with other men for Angola, is being hunted by Interpol. Derek Barker, a 30-year-old former paratrooper who left England with a party of 20 mercenaries, is wanted by British police in connection with a firearms charge. A warrant has been issued for his arrest.

## Unita to exhibit Cubans

KINSHASA. — Dr Jonas Savimbi, president of Unita, said in Kinshasa yesterday that several Cuban soldiers captured recently in Southern Angola would be displayed in Kinshasa soon.

Dr Savimbi, who conferred earlier with President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire told a Press conference yesterday that none of the 20 Cuban prisoners taken by Unita was White.

He was quoted by the Zaire news

agency Azap as saying: "Fidel Castro is a racist because he only sends Black Cubans to fight Black Angolans in Angola."

Azap meanwhile reported that 700 out of 1 000 Portuguese refugees from Northern Angola had been accepted by reception centres near Kinshasa.

The Portuguese consul here said his government was planning to provide special flights to take the refugees to Lisbon. — Sapa-Reuter.

in Africa reporting back to him.

One is in Kinshasa and the other in Luanda. He has been getting direct telephone calls from them, he said.

His aide in Kinshasa, Mr Bill Coughlin, is to meet Mr Holden Roberto, the FNLA leader, and Dr Jonas Savimbi, of Unita. Mr Mark Moran is to talk to Mr Angostino Neto in Luanda on the MPLA position at the same time.

RDM 23/1/76 (5)

# Botha will see BBC Angolan TV interview

23/1/76

RDM

Deputy Military  
Correspondent

THE Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, will probably make a further statement next week after seeing a videotape recording of last week's controversial BBC TV programme "Panorama", authoritative Cape Town sources said last night.

The recording, specially imported from London by the Rand Daily Mail, will be flown to the Minister later this week.

The in-depth report on the Angolan war, entitled "With a little help from their friends", was supposed to have been made in Angola by London journalist, Max Hastings, and photographer Robin Denslow.

It included clips of the Minister, purportedly filmed at Pereira d'Ecaen in southern Angola, being interviewed by Mr Hastings.

But after seeing the film it is apparent that another journalist did the interviewing and the film was shot at the Ruacana hydroelectric dam construction site.

Mr Hastings appears and his voice is heard during various other interviews.

But during Mr Botha's interview he is not shown and another voice asks the questions.

Immediately before and after the Minister appears, the report shows and commentates on the Ruacana project and the South African military presence there.

Mr Botha denied earlier this week that he was ever interviewed by Mr Hastings or that he had been in Pereira d'Ecaen, and the BBC have admitted the Minister's interview was made by a German TV company.

During the interview Mr Botha said South Africans had been prepared to leave it to the Angolans to sort out their future, but had been forced to take action when Russia intervened. He said South Africans would support any peace-loving government requiring help.

"When they approach us we will consider their case on its merits," he said. "From time to time we have crossed the (Angolan) border in hot pursuit and we will continue to do so in the future... for as long as we find it necessary to do so."



RDM 23/1/76

# Battered are desperate

By BOB HITCHCOCK  
Military Correspondent

**W**HITE forces, retreating with Unita in the face of a powerful MPLA southerly offensive, may be forced to consider withdrawing from the Angola war.

This was the forecast last night of well-informed foreign military sources in South Africa, as the MPLA announced in Luanda that prisoners and large quantities of arms and ammunition had been taken in their drive to the south.

The military sources believe that only the immediate supply of American Cobra helicopter gunships and crows — and the best surface-to-surface missiles — could halt and send into retreat the White-led MPLA forces.

## Vorster

## won't

## talk on

## Angola

By BERNARDI WESSELS  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN.—The Prime Minister last night refused a Progressive Reform Party request to make a full statement on the Angolan situation.

Mr Vorster was reacting to a formal request in writing by the PRP caucus yesterday that he do so to avoid an acrimonious party political debate.

Late yesterday afternoon Mr Vorster's private secretary, Mr Johan Weibach, phoned the private secretary of the PRP, Mrs Joan Fowle, with the Prime Minister's reply.

He said the Prime Minister had no intention whatever of making a statement before the no confidence debate.

The MPLA and the Allies now face each other across the vitally strategic bridge at Caninda, 26 km south of Santa Comba.

The Soviet-backed MPLA, using Cuban troops with some of their better

trained Black soldiers of the MPLA, have swept their way through the "Bloody Triangle".

This is the name being used by foreign military experts to describe the central Angolan towns of Cela, Santa Comba and Amboiva, which formed a strategically vital Unita stronghold before being taken by the MPLA.

Last night MPLA troops were pushing south to Huambo, the last real stronghold of the anti-communist forces in Angola.

Meanwhile, reports from Lusaka indicate that the embattled allied troops, reforming after their defeat at the "Bloody Triangle", are to be reinforced with mercenaries recruited in Africa and Europe—and with supplies of more sophisticated weapons.

A foreign military source in South Africa said last night: "Much could depend now on the quality of the reinforcements, and how quickly they can be got into action."

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The PRP caucus chairman, Senator Brian Bamford, said his caucus had felt that because of the nature of the information it had received about the situation — reports of casualties and the question of refugees coming into South Africa — the whole Angolan question was becoming more urgent by the day.

Furthermore, the caucus believed that the rights and duties of members of the citizen force and national servicemen on many important aspects were by no means clear and it believed there were many parents who were anxious and confused.

Report by Bernardi Wessels, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.

## We will fight West — Swapo

BRAZZAVILLE.—Mr Sam Nujoma, president of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) has pledged to fight Western powers and their allies involved in the Angolan civil war.

Mr Nujoma said in Brazzaville, Congo, yesterday: "We shall from now on fight the whole imperialist camp, the Americans, the West Europeans and their African flunkies who are devastating Angola."

Mr Nujoma heads a delegation which is in Brazzaville to explain the political and military situation in South West Africa to the Congo leaders. He had a two-hour meeting yesterday with President Marien Ngouabi.

The MPLA's victory over its enemies would also be a victory for Swapo, Mr

## Bombers

A spokesman for the MPLA claimed his movement had formed an air force of "supersonic fighter-bombers".

It is known that some MiG 23s are based on a Russian aircraft carrier some 350 km off the Angolan coast in international waters. There have also been reports of MiGs being assembled in Luanda and in Congo Brazzaville.

There was speculation among foreign military experts last night that the anti-communist forces might soon be forced to use combat planes to give air support to their hard-pressed ground forces.

Foreign intelligence reports, and UPI reports, last night indicated that Cuban troops were still pouring into Angola to aid the MPLA in its bid for an all-out military victory.

One assessment of Cuban strength was 10 000 officers and men. With Czech and East German troops, White MPLA forces alone could total 13 000.

The White allied force of Unita is reported to be far smaller.

Foreign military experts believe fighting in recent weeks has shown that the weaponry of Unita and its White allies cannot contain the communist forces which have the backing of an estimated R100-million worth of Soviet arms.

The American Cobra gunship carries air-to-ground rockets, a rapid-fire 40 mm grenade-launcher and machine-guns. It is capable of carrying a few paratroopers.

It has an armoured engine compartment and crew seats are armoured. Another important characteristic is that in silhouette, head-on, it is extremely narrow, thus re-

## Decision on Silver Sky today

By MARK DUFFIELD

'Mail' Man on the Spot  
WALVIS BAY.—South African Railways and Harbours headquarters in Johannesburg will decide today whether to order the refugee ship Silver Sky to be taken off

Walvis Bay. The ship is carrying about 450 refugees. The decision will be made after the arrival of a party of officials from the South African Harbours and Railways Department.

It is understood to have asked harbour officials to take written responsibility for the lives of the people aboard before he would agree to move from the Walvis Bay dockside.

Harbour officials referred the matter to Johannesburg and expected a reply this morning.

The Silver Sky docked on Wednesday for the second time in three days to disembark the last 450 refugees to be accepted by

RDM 23/1/76

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## Hurt Dr K may quit over Angola

ST LOUIS — US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger may resign if he cannot convince the Soviet Union to pull out of Angola, according to former UN Ambassador Mr John Scali.

Mr Scali said Dr Kissinger is considering resigning his post and may make a final decision based on his current trip to Moscow.

"If he succeeds in visibly reinforcing the structure of defence with the Soviet Union, especially if he succeeds in persuading the Russians to abandon their dangerous African adventure in Angola, he can still repair his image, salvage his influence and stay in office with dignity for the remainder of President Ford's term," Mr Scali said.

Speaking to a boy scouts banquet, Mr Scali, now senior correspondent for the American Broadcasting Company said Dr Kissinger is handicapped by suspicion and distrust surrounding him in Congress which has hurt him to the point that he is functioning at less than 50 per cent effectiveness. — UPI.

23/1/76 RDM

## Nonracists praise Kaunda's stand

Mail Africa Bureau  
LUSAKA. — The leader of the Congress for Racial Equality (Core), Mr Roy Innis, yesterday held discussions with Zambia's President Kaunda, believed to centre on the Angolan civil war.

Speaking during a brief introductory ceremony, Mr Innis, whose organisation backs the Western-backed

Unita, said his organisation and other Black people in the United States were impressed by the way President Kaunda was handling the Southern African problem.

Core advocates a government of national unity in Angola and Mr Innis said on arrival earlier this week that it will do anything to help Unita in order to achieve this objective.

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AD 23/1/76

# Vorster No to Angola statement

CAPE TOWN — The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, last night refused to make a comprehensive statement on the Angolan situation.

Mr Vorster had been formally requested to make the statement by the Progressive Reform Party caucus.

But in a telephone call through his private secretary, Mr Vorster told the PRP he had no intention of making such a statement before the no-confidence debate which begins next week.

The PRP had requested the statement because giving the facts on Angola, even if there was no debate immediately, would have gone a long way to preventing the Angolan situation becoming a subject of acrimonious, party political debate in the no-confidence motion next week.

Commenting on Mr Vorster's refusal, the chairman of the PRP's parliamentary caucus, Sen Brian Bamford said: "We are extremely disappointed because the no-confidence debate, which will most obviously be overshadowed by Angola, will be unreal."

Meanwhile, the PRP's

spokesman on defence, Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert, reacted angrily yesterday to a statement by the United Party's Mr. Vause Ra, MP, that he had abused any confidences about the Angolan situation.

The Department of Defence had itself released a statement about the visit of parliamentarians to the operational area and he had simply confirmed it.

"I take extreme exception to the accusation by Mr Raw that I abused any confidence," Dr Slabbert said.

He had made it clear that he was not prepared to discuss any details of the visit "except to say the morale of the troops seemed to be very high and everything was under control."

Dr Slabbert added: "When asked about my own position on the Angolan situation I simply restated the position adopted by the PRP."

"Nothing I have said on the Angolan situation in any way jeopardises or refers to information I have received as a result of my visit to the operational area," he said.—PC-DDC.

# White Angola troops on run?

AD 22/1/76

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**LUSAKA — White forces in Angola were reported to have lost their main strongpoint in the war south-east of Luanda last night and to be retreating from the principal forward base used to supply the Western-backed Unita movement in its battle against the MPLA.**

The strongpoint is a triangle between the towns of Cela, Santa Comba and Amboiva 300 km from Luanda and in the heart of an area which has seen some of the heaviest fighting in the civil war.

A communique broadcast over Luanda Radio said both Cela and Santa Comba had been liberated together with the neighbouring town of Amboiva.

Cmdt Jujú, the diminutive white Angolan who is political commissar of the MPLA's army known as Fapla, said the Soviet-backed forces were maintaining an "irresistible advance," and added that the forces of national liberation were victorious.

Loss of the Cela-Santa Comba-Amboiva complex represents a major breach in the front maintained for the past few weeks by the Western-backed forces, and may be regarded as above all a shattering defeat for white intervention in Angola that is bound to have far-reaching repercussions on the future course of the war.

Since just after Angolan independence last November the white-aided Unita have been building up their supply and logistics camps in Cela and Santa Comba and the area became their main strongpoint in the war against the MPLA.

This followed the dramatic success of the white-led "flying column" which came within striking distance of Luanda.

Though no outsiders were allowed near Cela and Santa Comba, they were generally acknowledged to be the main

focus of white intervention.

Much material belonging to the white troops was concentrated in the area, which was under close guard by their forces, and it was expected that any attack against Luanda itself would be mounted from this point.

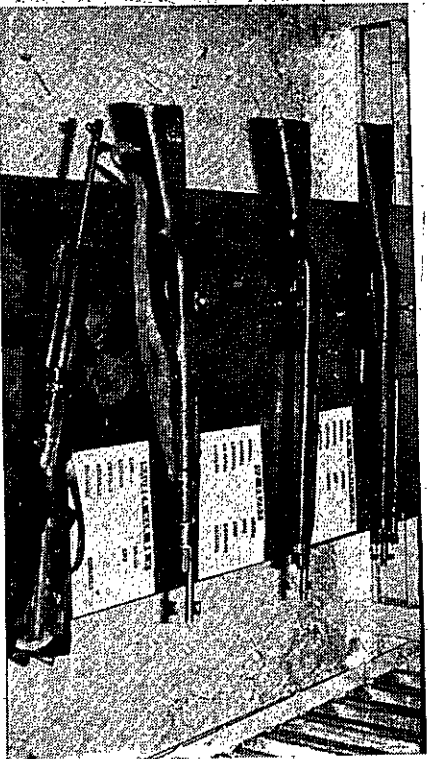
To most military commentators the corollary appears that if the white troops are unable to hold Cela and Santa Comba, their ability to hold out on other fronts must be in serious doubt.

Since their intervention in Angola, much has been said about the white troops' combat strength and prowess, but the hard fact is that beyond talk there is not much other evidence to support assessments that they can command the situation in Angola.

The MPLA's liberation of the two strategic centres must have come as a major shock to Cmdt Jujú himself; for only last week in Addis Ababa he complained to correspondents that the white troops had dug themselves in to such an extent that the Luanda army had become bogged down in the area.

The strategic implications of the retreat from Cela and Santa Comba are that the road south to Huambo (Nova Lisboa), the provisional Unita capital, is now wide open.

Unita supporters are depressed, for their forces appear to be retreating on all fronts despite indications earlier this week that the whites were increasing their deployment in Angola. — DDC.



MPLA small arms, top to bottom: Russian SKS rifle and Mosin Nagant carbine, Czechoslovakian rifle and German carbine.



MR. JOHN BARRATT, director of the SA Institute of International Affairs.

# Big-power imperialism short of nuclear war

DIRK REZELMAN interviews John Barratt

● What is Russia up to in Angola? Will she go as far as war with the United States? What are the dangers to South Africa? These are the nightmarish questions buzz-

ing in South African minds. JOHN BARRATT, expert on communist strategy, gives his view on Russian intentions. DEV MUR-ARKA gives his somewhat nastier version of Russian thinking.

against Russian expansionism.

Asked about Russian intervention in Angola, Barratt said that while Russia had managed to build up a significant presence in Somalia, Guinea, Bissau, Congo-Brazzaville and was trying hard in other African areas, the Angolan intervention was its most risky African adventure.

"The Russians have lost their revolutionary zeal, they are now simply big-power imperialists, no different from the imperialists of past history.

"The fact that they are using Cubans in Angola is because the Cubans are still, with the Chinese, revolutionary about communism.

Russia's expansionism dates from the country's containment by the Western allies after the Second World War, he said.

"The Dulles policy bottled them up, and they reacted against it by trying to break out and establish themselves outside the

intervening in areas where there are local conflicts and where they feel Russian imperial interests can be served.

"They are quite unabashed about this intervention, lacking the hypersensitivity of the Americans in international affairs."

However, this type of interference, even short of a nuclear war, he said, poses serious problems for the United States which uses her own ability to intervene only sparingly.

Recent exceptions to this were the incursions into Cuba with the disastrous Bay of Pigs affair and then into the Dominican Republic.

This type of intervention is understood today by the Russians.

Much of the world has been effectively divided into spheres of interest where one or the other of the super powers dominate.

Western Europe remains the one area where the Americans most guard

RUSSIAN strategy today is simply to take advantage of US political flabbiness and its unwillingness, after Vietnam, to become involved in areas of local conflict.

This is the view of John Barratt, director of the SA Institute of International Affairs, and an acknowledged expert on communist strategy. He came to know the Russians well when he served with the SA mission to the United Nations in the 60s.

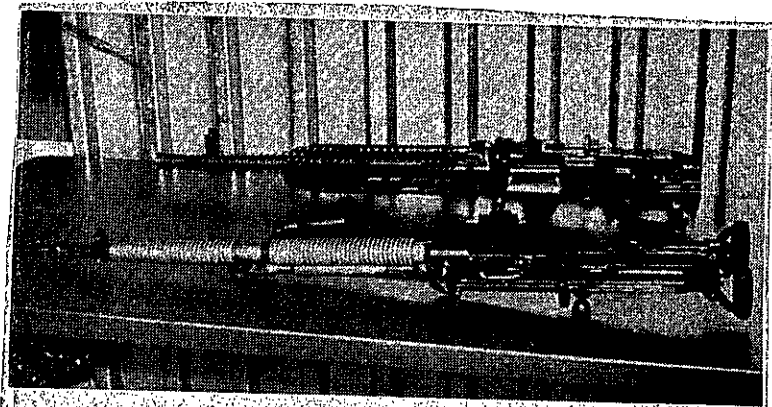
"Russian global aims are based on extending Russian political, military and diplomatic influence everywhere, short of a direct conflict with the United States," he said.

"In this they are only copying the Americans who also wanted worldwide influence.

"They realise that provocation of the United States to the ultimate degree will unleash nuclear war, which no one wants, least of all the Russians.

"This does not stop them

C O N T . . . . .



Infantry support weapons: Russian 12.7 mm machinegun (front) and Czechoslovakian 7.92 mm machinegun. Both used by the MPLA.



LEONID BREZHNEV  
... sensing success.

"They also don't use the task force concept on the high seas.

"The Americans can detach a strong fighting force — a task force — from any of their global fleets to deal with maritime crises.

"The Russians are everywhere at present, especial-

ly in the northern Indian Ocean, but this is because they want to contain China and develop a special relationship with India." A second reason why the Russians are interested in the Indian Ocean is because of their interests in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. "They also keep an eye on the giant American submarines carrying the Poseidon missiles which cruise the oceans."

It has been said that the Russian submarine fleet is large and effective, but the submarines lack the multiple target warheads of the deadly Poseidon missiles, being dependent on single target nuclear warheads.

"They are working on a multiple target warhead, but these things take



HENRY KISSINGER  
... policy in ruins.

time," said Barratt.

"Despite the Strategic Arms Limitation talks (SALT) which have been dragging on for years now, the Russians realise that they are behind the US on the high seas.

"To work at equalising this maritime balance will mean to find resources which Russia simply does not have. It will mean a new arms race, and they simply can't afford that."

In any event, at the first news of a possible Russian expansion of its navy, the Americans will find the means to add to their powerful resources and the Russians cannot compete against this in the long run.

Asked about Russian aims in Africa, Barratt said that what they prob-



FIDEL CASTRO  
... still revolutionary.

ably needed most were refuelling and other bases in Mozambique and Angola.

"We must not forget that both the MPLA and Frelimo are Marxist-oriented.

"Because they were denied arms by Portugal's Nato allies during the fight for independence they turned to the Russians and other communist powers.

"A special relationship was built up, no different in terms of power politics than that which America has also involved herself in other parts of the world."

The Russians were worried about Chinese influence in Africa and would try to oust them. He went on: "Naturally they will also align themselves with radical anti-South African

movements.

"It is difficult for us to deal with the Russians because of the image of our racial policies. They force us to negotiate with anyone with one arm tied behind our backs," he said.

Would the Russians, once in Angola, not try to force ideological changes in Southern Africa?

"Perhaps, but their basic interest is in power, not ideology. They are resentful of American global power and fearful of it, therefore they try to interpose themselves into any promising position where power could flow in their direction, again short of actual war with the United States.

"But it is clearly understood by both the US and Russia that South Africa has interests in this area and as the strongest power, must act to protect these interests.

"After all, the era of regional power politics was initiated by these two powers in modern times and while they might rail about South Africa's presence in Angola, they know full well what the score is."

The danger to South Africa lies now in the fact that America is soft and leaderless, confused after the Vietnam war.

Barratt also warned that South Africa should not overestimate the power of the Soviets over the MPLA.

"There was a time when Russia was virtually running Egypt and today the Egyptians are, while not exactly allies of the West, certainly no longer so friendly with the Russians.

"Significantly Egypt does not support the MPLA in Angola.

"We must not conclude that African nationalist movements who use Soviet aid are of necessity ideological communists. They are Black nationalists first and communists or anything else second," he said.

Russia is wary of occupying any territory not within its "sphere of influence". It could lead to war with the United States. What it wants is global power which will give it "flexibility" to achieve its aims.

It will, as a matter of ultra-realistic power politics challenge America and China where and when it can.

Its presence in Angola now is the confluence of many events and Russian optimism in this area is heightened by the apparent American decline as a world power, its unwillingness to embark on overt pro-capitalist support for Southern African interests, and the call for help from the MPLA.

All of which places the burden of immediate response to the threat of Russian imperialism on South African shoulders, he said.

RDM 21/1/76

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# MPLA won't stop war

21.1.76

R. BTM

## Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — Shunning African efforts to arrange a ceasefire, the MPLA yesterday fell back and regrouped after suffering heavy losses in week-long battles with pro-Western forces.

Allied soldiers defending the 800 km southern front in the Angolan war expected another major offensive once the MPLA replaced its losses in what had been described as the decisive battle of the war, a spokesman for Unita said.

He said the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, arrived in Lusaka yesterday after visiting the war front.

He would have talks with African leaders, possibly including President Kaunda, on the apparent collapse of the latest peace moves.

African nations favouring a government of national unity in Angola have been trying to arrange a rapprochement between the MPLA and Unita to the exclusion of the FNLA, according to diplomatic reports in Lusaka.

But in a newspaper interview published yesterday, the MPLA Information Minister, Mr Joao Filipe Martins, said his Soviet-backed movement would not halt the war until it had completely crushed Unita and the FNLA and "driven South African troops out of Angola".

The only action reported yesterday was in the extreme east of Angola where Black Unita troops, supported by reinforced White soldiers, were said to be still making steady progress in capturing the vital Benguela railroad town of Teixeira de Sousa.

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50 21/11/76

# MPLA victory foreseen

COPENHAGEN — The United States believes the American-backed forces in Angola are heading for almost certain defeat, United States officials said yesterday.

But the officials, accompanying the Secretary of State, Dr Kissinger, to Moscow for arms talks, said the United States was not yet reconciled with the idea of defeat.

In view of the United States Senate's refusal to approve funds for the FNLA and Unita in Angola, the officials said they could see only a remote chance of any other outcome but their defeat by the MPLA.

Dr Kissinger said before his departure from Washington: "I'm going to make it clear to my hosts that the United States cannot accept Soviet intervention in other parts of the world and the continuation of such measures must lead to a deterioration in Soviet-American relations."

But the officials said they had little hope the Soviet Union would abandon its support of the MPLA.

In view of United States inability to continue assisting the MPLA's rivals, the Kremlin had no pressure on it to persuade the MPLA to negotiate, they said.

The officials estimated that the Soviet Union had provided R170 million to the MPLA during the last nine months.

Dr Kissinger, en route to Moscow to seek a breakthrough in arms negotiations, made it clear he would not penalise the Soviet Union for its Angolan actions by delaying the arms talks.

At the United Nations, an angry Zaire protest, accusing Soviet and Cuban forces in Angola of plunder, pillage and intensive bombing across the border,

was circulated as a Security Council document.

But after a day of much diplomatic activity, the rumoured Zaire move to request the council to take up the Angolan issue came to nothing.

Last night the South African Defence Force refused newspapers permission to publish the text of a BBC television interview with the Minister of Defence, Mr Botha, although it appeared in afternoon newspapers yesterday. — SAPA-RNS, DDC.



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says 20/1/76  
MPLA RDM

**HELSINKI.** — Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, foreign affairs spokesman for the MPLA, refused yesterday to give a firm commitment that Cuban troops would leave Angola after an MPLA victory.

Asked at a news conference if the Cubans would be asked to go home after a victory he would only say: "We are an independent sovereign nation and we are willing to establish cooperation with all who are willing."

### REFUSED

Mr Dos Santos, in Helsinki for a meeting of the communist-orientated World Peace Council, said a cease-fire was not possible while South Africa and Zaire kept troops in Angola.

He refused to say how many foreign troops were aiding the MPLA.

"The only possibility for a cease-fire is when the foreign troops leave our soil. There can only be a solution when we can defend our territory," he said.

The World Peace Council passed a resolution declaring the MPLA the legitimate government in Angola — UPI.

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# Now Russia flies in Cubans

20/1/76 RDM

NEW YORK. — Russia last week took over the airlift of Cuban troops to Angola, says Newsweek magazine.

The magazine said long-range Ilyushin-62 airliners were sent to Havana to fly the troops to Luanda after Portugal had barred Cuban planes from refueling in the Azores.

Newsweek also said US

Intelligence sources estimated about 9 000 Cubans were serving in Angola against the factions supported by the United States.

## CASUALTIES

Some diplomats said another 3 000 to 6 000 Cubans might be on their way to the former Portuguese

colony, the report added.

One diplomat estimated the number of dead and wounded Cubans so far at 600.

Newsweek said Moscow sent two cruisers and a destroyer towards Angola last week, bringing to 10 the number of Soviet warships spotted heading for the African territory. — Sapa-Reuters

# Pact in 20/1/76 Angola RDM would (S) exclude FNLA

LUSAKA. — Secret talks are under way among several African states to seek a peaceful compromise between the warring Soviet-backed MPLA and the pro-Western Unita in Angola, say reliable sources.

The plan would involve a pact between the two movements, but exclude Unita's ally of convenience, the FNLA, in northern Angola.

Reliable sources in Lusaka say talks have been going on in several Black African capitals in an attempt to gather support for this last-ditch attempt for peace.

The plan is that the MPLA leader, Dr Agostinho Neto, and the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, should agree to merge their movements, which are involved in bloody clashes in central Angola.

The FNLA leader, Mr Holden Roberto, would be left out of these negotiations after the almost total collapse of his forces in northern Angola.

## AFFINITY

Observers in Lusaka see this as the only possible solution to the civil war which has ravaged the oil and mineral rich former Portuguese colony since August last year.

Zambia, which has all along supported the moderate line and proposed a government of national unity, is believed willing to support such a solution.

Other African states such as Tanzania and Mozambique, which have declared support for the pro-Moscow MPLA, are thought to be willing to sit and watch what success such an approach has. If it succeeds, they would agree to support it.

Although they have been on opposing sides there is a greater affinity between Unita and the MPLA ideologically than there is between the present allied forces of Unita and FNLA.

The first of many peace pacts between the three nationalist movements was signed by Dr Savimbi and Dr Neto in the central Angolan town of Luso 13 months ago. Only later was the FNLA brought

into negotiations in an effort to achieve total unity before the Portuguese pulled out last November and the country became independent.

This diplomatic initiative is in only the initial stages and there is as yet no commitment from the MPLA and Unita. However, previous statements by Dr Savimbi indicate he may be prepared to accept second place to Dr Neto in a united Angolan government. — Sapa-AP.

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RDM 20/1/76

# SA should be in Angola, says NGK

20/1/76 RDM

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The latest edition of Die Kerkbode, official journal of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, carries an editorial which argues the case for South African military presence in Angola.

The editorial refers to the Angolan civil war, to the recent day of prayer and to South African troops in the "Operational Area".

It says the State has a duty to protect lives, property and freedom, with force if necessary. The State, says the journal, also has a task outside its borders to oppose everything which threatens the survival and rights of its citizens.

"There can be times

when there is no alternative left to the State other than to take up the sword, and this does not necessarily apply to defensive wars.

"Circumstances can even develop where an offensive war is necessary and justifiable. In this too, the State is a servant of God with a vocation to fulfil", says the editorial.

It argues that although peace is preferable to war, there can be circumstances where the State has a duty to use "the power of the sword" in war.

In such circumstances, says Die Kerkbode, national defencelessness would be gross neglect on the part of the State, which would end in "disastrous chaos."



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DR SAVIMBI  
confident

DD 20/1/76

## Unita plan new airlift attack

LUSAKA — The Western-backed Unita forces are planning a two-pronged offensive against the Marxist MPLA in the north and south of Angola.

Unita sources said the movement was planning to airlift over 2,000 men to northern Angola where its ally, the FNLA, has been mauled by Cuban troops leading MPLA forces.

The MPLA at present controls a broad strip of land across the centre of the country, dividing the two Western-supported movements.

In the south, Unita has managed to contain the recent MPLA thrusts, but in the north the Russian-supplied tanks, helicopters and ground-to-ground missiles, plus the presence of a round 9,000 Cuban troops, have proved too much for the FNLA.

However, Dr J. Savimbi, the Unita leader, buoyed up by the fact that his forces, in spite of their inferior weapons, have managed to contain the MPLA push in the south, now appears confident enough to stage a counter-attack. By doing this, he hopes to continue dividing the forces of the MPLA between the battlefronts in the north and the south.

Should the FNLA totally collapse in the north of the country, the Marxist movement would be able to turn all its might on Unita in the south.

The main clash, it is believed, will come to the north of the central Angolan town of Luso, which has already changed hands three times since the war began last August. Another battle is already taking place at the northern town of Teixeira de Sousa where the Benguela railway crosses the border into Zaire.

Unita, attacking from the south, is confident it will take the town in the next few days.

Meanwhile, secret talks are reported underway among several African states to seek a peaceful compromise between the MPLA and Unita.

The plan would involve a pact between the two movements, but exclude the FNLA.

It is regarded as the last chance of preventing an all-out war, but there is no great optimism that it will succeed.

Although they have been on opposing sides there is greater affinity between Unita and the MPLA ideologically than there is between the present allied forces of Unita and the FNLA.

There is as yet no commitment from the MPLA and Unita. However, previous statements by Dr Savimbi indicate he may be prepared to accept second place to the MPLA's Dr. Agostinho Neto in a united Angolan government. — DDC.

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# SA case on Reds gets wide audience

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa's involvement in the Angolan civil war was shown to millions of British viewers in the peak-hour Panorama television programme last night.

## Zaire plea to UN on Cubans?

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The Government of Zaire is considering asking for a Security Council meeting on alleged incursions by Cuban troops into Zaire from Angola.

A spokesman for the Zairian mission to the United Nations said yesterday that evidence of "various acts of aggression" against Zaire was now being studied.

"No final decision has been reached, but a call for a Security Council meeting appears to be a likely course at this stage," the spokesman said.

### ROCKET ATTACKS

The reported incursions, along Zaire's north-eastern border with Angola, are understood to have been accompanied by indiscriminate rocket and mortar attacks by Cuban units inside Angola on Zairian border settlements.

A Security Council meeting on Cuban aggression in Angola would

have great political value for the forces in Angola opposed to the Soviet-backed MPLA.

It would finally lift the lid on the extent of Cuban involvement in Angola and would force the Cuban Government to answer extremely damaging accusations before the nations of the world.

Also, some observers think, a number of African and Asian countries now on the verge of recognising the MPLA as the "government" of Angola, might be discouraged from doing so by a debate illustrating the MPLA's virtually total dependence on outside propping up.

### ADVANTAGE

But, while there would be a political advantage in having a Security Council debate, the final voting in the council would probably be as evenly divided between pro-MPLA and anti-MPLA factions as were the Organisation of African Unity summit on Angola and the last UN General Assembly.

At this stage, the members of the council appear to be almost exactly divided between the two camps.

A report on the Angolan situation — by Max Hastings of the Evening Standard — included an interview with the South African Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, and with a number of Cuban soldiers captured by Unita forces.

Mr Botha, who was shown visiting South African forces in southern Angola, accused the Russians of starting "their militaristic imperialism" in Angola because they wanted to control the Cape sea route and to undermine the territory because of its immense wealth.

Questioned on South Africa's alleged support for Unita against the pro-communist MPLA, Mr Botha said South Africa would support any peace-loving government if asked to do so.

However, a Unita leader interviewed on the programme claimed that his movement had never asked for South African help but admitted that they were being supported by "technicians."

### AIRCRAFT

Hastings also alleged that Rhodesians and Britons were flying transport aircraft for Unita, that Bren guns similar to those used by the South African Army were being issued to the Unita soldiers and that Zambia was supplying ammunition and probably arms as well to the Unita soldiers.

Questioned on how far his troops had penetrated, Mr Botha said they had crossed into Angola in hot pursuit only and they would maintain that pursuit "as far as is necessary."

### NOT FORCED

Also interviewed on the programme, which was entitled "A Little Help from their Friends," were three captured Cuban soldiers who said they had been told it was necessary to help the people of Angola who were being attacked by "foreign mercenaries and imperialists."

One said their purpose was to make Angola a free country and that they had come "according to our conscience. We were not forced to go."

Summing up, Hastings said that unless foreigners could be made to leave Angola, "the future looks very bloody indeed."

RAPPORT 25/1/76

# So sjaan Rooies

NADAT die Marxistiese MPLA in die laaste paar weke die FNLA in Noord-Angola verslaan het, word 'n massiewe aanval op Middel-Angola gedoen. Die pyle toon die onderskeie aanvalle.

Heel links is die aanval in die omstreke van die hawe Novo Redondo. Daar word beweer dat Amboiva geveld het.

Onder, middel: Berigte lui dat die MPLA afstuur op Nova Lisboa (Huambo), hoofkwartier van Unita.

Bo: Veral Kubaanse soldate is goed ingegrawe by Quibala en Mussende.

Regs wys die pyl na Luso aan die Benguela-spoorlyn. In Oos-Angola word Teixeira de Sousa bedreig.

Die MPLA met sy Kubaanse vegters en swaar Russiese wapentuig het gister tot tussen 60 en 80 km van Nova Lisboa (Huambo), hoofkwartier van Unita, gevorder, word onderskeidelik beweer deur die Joegoo-Slawiese nuusagentskap Tanjug en Britse koerantmanne by die MPLA-magte. Volgens ander bronne is die afstand 120 km.

Novo Rodondo, 'n sleutelhawe, is deur die MPLA verower, se daardie Britse koerantmanne.

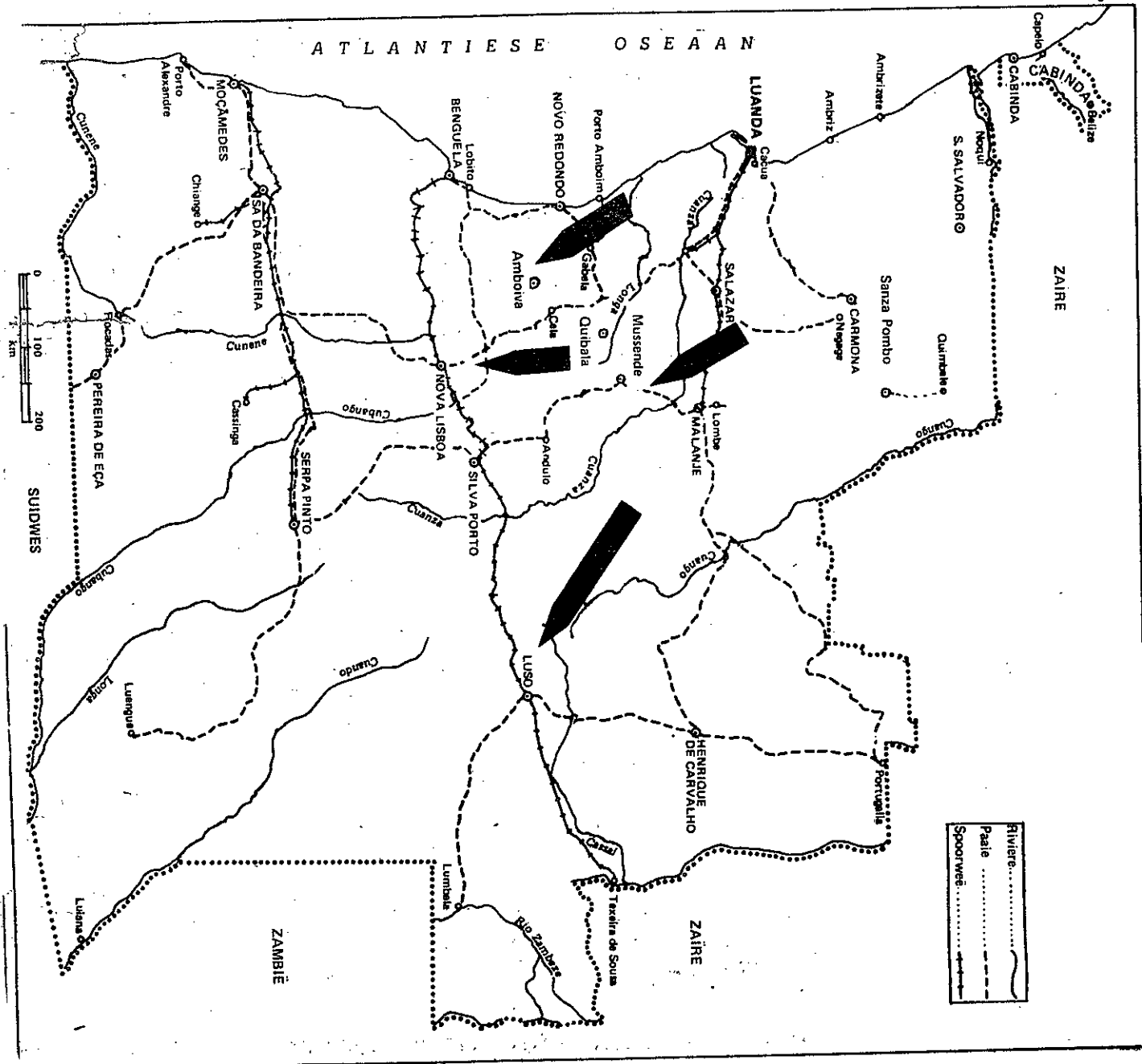
Hierdie verowering sal die pad oopmaak na Angola se vernamste hawe, Lobito, en na Benguela, kus-eindpunt van die Benguela-spoorlyn. Albei is 'n dagmars van Novo Redondo af.

Ook word beweer dat die vernamste natuurlike struikelblok op die pad na Nova Lisboa, die rivier Queve, deur die MPLA oorgesteek is nadat Unita versuim het om die laaste oorblywende padbrug in daardie sektor op te blaas.

Aan Britse koerantmanne het MPLA-woordvoerders gese dat grofskut oor die Queve gebring is, asook 'n sterk pantsermag.

Die mag bedreig Alto Hama, 'n strategiese padkruising in die berge, sowat 80 km van Nova Lisboa af, berig die Britse korrespondente.

Volgens hierdie berigte het die MPLA en hul Rooi vegters 225 km gevorder in 'n suidwaartse blitsopmars van tien dae. In die Noorde, word beweer, bly net opruimingswerk vir die MPLA oor.



# Vorster reveals SA had allies

**CAPE TOWN — Other foreign forces were involved in Angola besides South Africa in the anti-communist drive, the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, revealed yesterday.**

He told Parliament in his reply to the No Confidence debate that South African forces had "chased" the communist forces a "very long way into Angola."

This was the first time it had officially been stated South Africa was not alone in Angola and it was also the first time the Government had admitted being "a long way" into the war-torn country.

At the end of the debate, after losing the No Confidence motion, the United Party supported an amendment by the Prime Minister which "noted" the steps taken to counter the communist aggression in Angola and the threat it posed to South Africa and South West Africa.

Sir De Villiers Graaff had earlier said he was not satisfied with Mr Vorster's reply on Angola and that he had failed to answer vital questions.

However, at a time when national unity was needed, he would support the amendment if the No Confidence motion was lost.

Speaking slowly and deliberately most of the time, Mr Vorster effectively staked his political career on his defence of the Government's actions in Angola and added a touch of emotion at times displaying full trust in the country's youth and commiserating with parents.

He was listened to attentively by diplomats as he said he was "sorry" the Western world had not given the Unita-FNLA forces the tools with which to do the job; that South Africa was prepared to fight on three fronts if necessary to defend itself; that there was the danger of a communist-curtain cutting Africa in two; and he warned that the West would be making a great mistake if it cut its conventional warfare machinery.

outstripping the West in the arms race.

The West would be ploughed under if it neglected its conventional warfare machinery, he said.

Russia was mounting a threat to South Africa through Mozambique, Rhodesia and Angola.

He said South Africa had become involved in Angola when it went to restore order at the Calueque dam and was fired on. The South African forces occupied the dam site and chased the MPLA and Cuban forces "a long way" into Angola.

He revealed then that South Africa had not been alone, but he would not name the other countries involved.

If South Africa had not become involved, he said, the MPLA would have taken over the whole territory. The ports of Lobito and Mocamedes would have been used by them immediately to import arms and they would have had the whole of the Benguela line. They would have told the world that the people of Angola wanted them in power.

The MPLA would have said nothing about the Russian-Cuban involvement which South Africa had exposed.

"Angola would have been used not only for an attack on South West Africa, but also possibly on Zaire and Zambia," he said.

Russia had been active in both of those countries and he had seen the state of emergency coming in Zambia. He had informed African and other countries of his fears.

He said that without South African involvement Tanzania would have been forced to support the Russians and there would have been a communist chain across Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean.



# SA 'had no option on Angola'

R.D.M. 31/1/76

# We chased them a long way — PM

## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

**T**he Prime Minister revealed yesterday that South African troops had chased the MPLA and Cuban forces "a very long way" into Angola from the South West African border.

He had kept the Leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff, informed, but not the Progref leader Mr Colin Eglin, he told the Assembly.

"It is not that I don't trust him, but he and members of his party associate with people whom I don't trust," Mr Vorster said.

**SA was there in September — Dr K**

**BY RICHARD WALKER**  
NEW YORK. — South African military personnel and equipment were first pitched into the Angolan fighting early in September last year, in response to a desperate appeal from Unita, says the American Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger.

Dr Kissinger was launching his campaign on Thursday to win Congress around to approve open military aid for Angola, now it has crushed the CIA-run covert aid programme with massive majorities in both

Mr Vorster, replying to the No-confidence Debate, did not reveal how far South African troops went into Angola but indicated that it was rather difficult when chasing a man, to decide where to stop to ensure that he did not come back.

"I make no bones about it — we chased him a very long way and I take full responsibility for that," Mr Vorster said.

South Africa had had no option but to become involved, but there was no question of South Africa fighting in the civil war. South Africa had not departed from its policy of non-intervention in other states.

South African involvement was also not the cause of Russian and Cuban intervention. "Our involvement was the effect of Russian and Cuban intervention. If they had not entered Angola, if they had not tried to subvert the whole of Angola and suppress its people, South Africa would never have tried to enter Angola at all."

"In early September poorly equipped Unita forces turned in desperation to South Africa for assistance against the MPLA, which was overrunning Unita ethnic areas in the South," he told the senate committee.

"South Africa responded by sending in military equipment and some military personnel without consultation with the United States.

"The Unita forces then launched a successful counter-offensive which swept the MPLA out of the southern and most of the central part of Angola."

It was in October, after the injection of South African support, that the "massive increase of Soviet and Cuban military assistance began to arrive," he further indicated.

## Attack

The communist objective had been to use Angola as a base to attack South West Africa, Zambia and Zaire.

The 30 000 to 40 000 refugees would have made it impossible to defend South West because Swapo members would have infiltrated either as Unita, tribal or Ovambo refugees.

South Africa had a limited objective — to chase the MPLA and the Cubans away from South West Africa's borders and from the dam at Calueque.

The United Party's no confidence motion was defeated by 117 votes to 45.

The Opposition was stunned when Mr Vorster shrewdly moved an emotional "patriotic" amendment.

The wording, noting the steps taken to counter the communist aggression in Angola, was obviously an embarrassment to both the United and Progref parties and members went into huddles to discuss the amendment. Nationalist members could hardly contain their delight.

When Mr Vorster's amendment was put the United Party voted with the Government with the PRP recording its opposition.

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# Angola War — 11 crucial weeks

## Inside Mail

In eleven weeks the war the Portuguese left behind them in Angola has changed from a near-victory for Unita and the FNLA to imminent defeat. How did the change in fortunes happen? ROGER SARGENT of the Mail Africa Bureau pinpoints the crucial dates.

THE ROAD from Luanda to Huambo comes straight down through Catete, Dondo, Quibala and Santa Comba before reaching Nova Lisboa, the town Jonas Savimbi renamed Huambo, capital of his Unita-controlled southern part of Angola.

It is a good road and the approaching tanks should make good time, they and the 122 mm rocket carriers and armoured cars and troop carriers, even if the retreating enemy has left mines, blown bridges and a few holes.

The bridges, the holes — and the dead — reflect the way the war the Portuguese left behind them has gone in the 11 weeks since it moved 600 km from the gates of Luanda to Huambo.

If Huambo is about to fall, and the odds are poor against it NOT happening, you would have to wonder at the speed in the change of fortunes in which Unita, from a position of strength and near victory, now faces imminent defeat.

The key days go back to before November 11, Independence Day, the days when the MPLA claimed that South African regular forces had crossed the border in strength.

Then you could disbelieve it, call it propaganda.

But the MPLA were adamant and South Africa's now undenied presence was to prove a major factor as it swung Black African opinion behind the MPLA and damaged Savimbi's Unita and Holden Roberto's FNLA.

The crucial time was the week of November 28 when two attacks by Unita and the FNLA failed and their chance of defeating the MPLA passed.

The MPLA staged an amphibious attack on the FNLA stronghold at Ambriz but the effort of repulsing it weakened the FNLA's own attack on Quifandongo, site of the city's water supply.

To the south an attack by Unita at Dondo, site of Luanda's electricity supply, was also repulsed.

During that week too there were increasing reports of South African involvement, despite Dr Hilgard Muller's statement in London that South Africa was not participating.

Western and Eastern intelligence sources reported South African involvement and on November 29, OAU chairman Idi Amin warned Savimbi and Roberto that South African support was damaging their credibility in Black Africa.

Savimbi denied the link but the damage was done. South Africa's then still alleged involvement provided the Soviet Union

with all the excuse it needed to rush more Cuban troops in, and in the two weeks immediately after Independence American intelligence estimated their numbers there rose to 7500.

December 3 was a crucial day. Malanje fell to the MPLA, the most important

of their claimed "victories on all fronts". It was the day too when you could distinguish the new confidence in MPLA leader, Dr Agostinho Neto who, having said Luanda would be defended to "the last drop of blood" on November 22, now ruled out a "government of national unity".

By December 8, another crucial day, Huambo was taken peace. Unita was calling for a buffer zone, the demilitarisation of Luanda, elections and a national government.

A few days later and Savimbi was again making claims about South African involvement. On December 10 he said: "We reiterate that we are not being helped by South Africa. And on December 11 he challenged the MPLA to produce "a single mercenary captured in the battle against Unita".

Also on December 11, the US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, told NATO ministers in Brussels that the US could not accept a Soviet presence in Angola and in the US Washington sources reported R46-million in aid to the Unita and the FNLA by way of Zaire.

On December 12, Savimbi, now in Kampala, repeated his claim that he was not being assisted by South Africa and told Idi Amin that SA troops had penetrated 150 kilometres into Angola and his Unita forces were unable to stop them. "Luso fell to the allies" and this was the last real success the so-called "allies" were to have on the battlefield.

December 18 ended all pretence about South African involvement in Angola, and damaged Unita and the FNLA more than any military defeat. Four South African soldiers were captured by the MPLA between Cella and Quibala — 800 km north of the South West African border, that area generally understood by the South African public to be the "operational area" together with the Cunene River protect being defended by South African troops.

The South African defence authorities still did not clarify the situation and Mr P. W. Botha would only say that the four had been sent north to collect an unserviceable vehicle. The significance of December 18 was that it ended further denials of South African involvement even though information about the extent of the involvement and the daily events from the front were subject to censorship. By December 24 the question of South African involvement, although still under official wraps, was apparently accepted to the degree that the Prime Minister, Mr E. J. Vorster, could tell an American magazine: "South African troops cannot counter the Soviet buildup".

And on December 30 the OAU lashed South Africa. During the period between Christmas and the New Year South Africa began to realise that all was not well in Angola and newspaper editorials expressed the disquiet many people were feeling about the now undeniable South African participation. South Africa's presence swung Black Africa opinion — some of it — behind the MPLA and both sides sought to influence the OAU meeting scheduled for Addis Ababa on January 10. But during the week there were two significant events, one military and the other diplomatic.

The first was on January 2 when Unita's annual congress called for "an immediate ceasefire" policed by neutral forces, an initiative hardly likely to inspire confidence in Unita claims of military successes.

Then, on January 4 the MPLA scored its greatest military success of the war as its troops smashing into the FNLA stronghold of Carnona and routing Holden Roberto's FNLA. Carnona had been a thought impregnable, held by veterans of 10 years' guerrilla war against the Portuguese and backed up by Zairean regular troops.

Throughout January 10, 11 and 12 the OAU debated Angola, emerged split down the middle and unified only in its condemnation of South Africa's involvement.

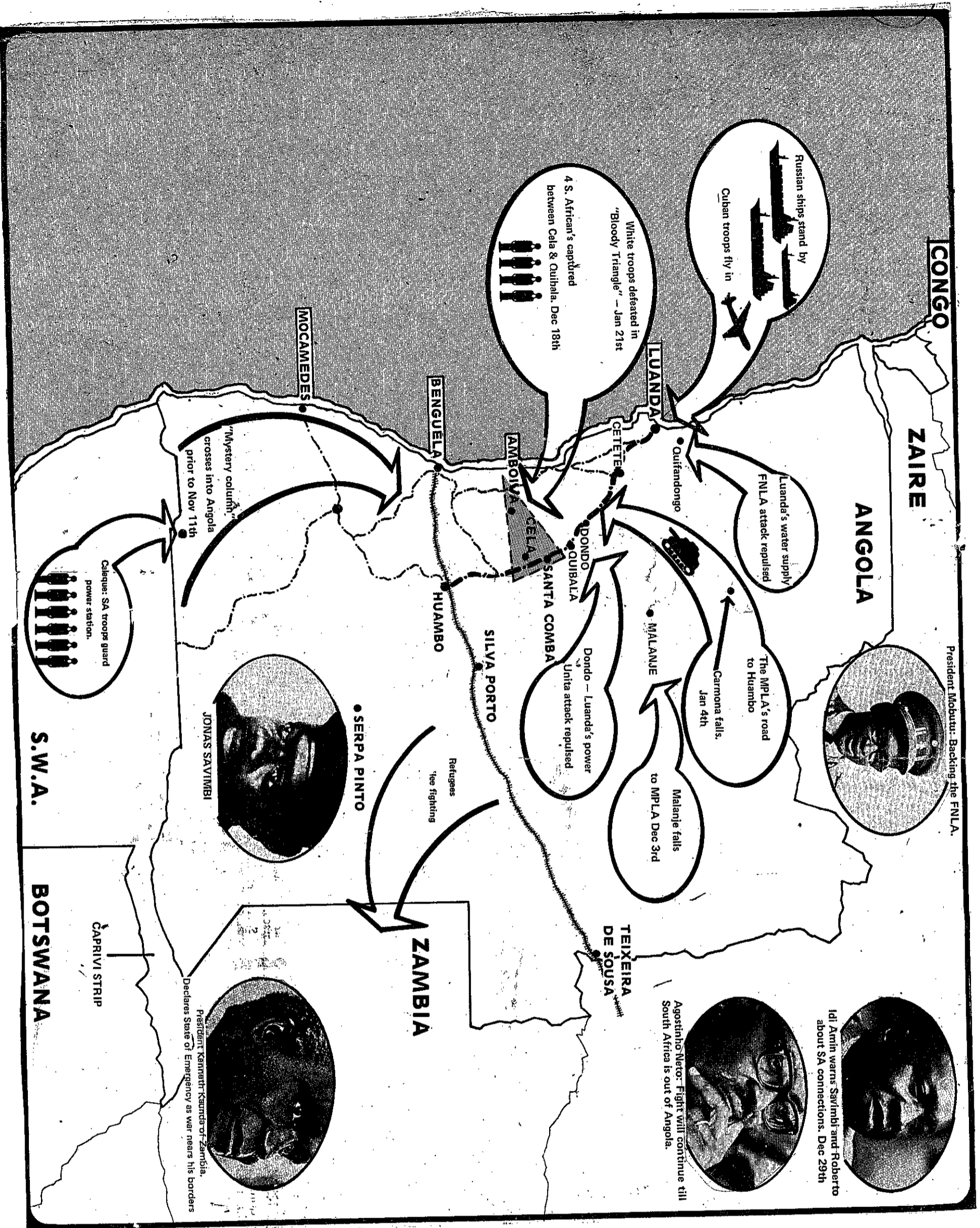
On January 13 Radio Luanda reported the fall of Tolo and, finally, Ambriz, and from the counter-claims and the propaganda a picture was emerging, this being that the MPLA, generally, had usually done what it had said it had done.

The OAU conference was crucial for the Unita/FNLA alliance. It was vital that given the reversals on the battlefield, they needed a heavy score in Addis Ababa, but they did not get it.

Significant too in the ascendancy of the MPLA were the hostilities between the surface of the Unita / FNLA alliance and on January 19, only even further than the 600 km between Luanda and Huambo, down the road where the tanks are rolling. They can hear it in Huambo now.

CONT 200 ->





# SA moved alone on Angola: Kissinger

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Dr Henry Kissinger, the American Secretary of State, has again denied that South Africa consulted the United States when it responded to Unita appeals to intervene in Angola.

## Senate vote 'destroyed US policy'

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The American Secretary of State, Dr Kissinger, has pinpointed the Senate vote against aid for Angola on December 19 as the one event that collapsed his entire political and diplomatic policy on Angola.

His account appeared to dovetail with reports earlier in diplomatic circles here that South Africa had set December 23 as the date for its disengagement from the Angolan conflict, and that it was persuaded to extend the deadline several times only to sustain desperate last-ditch diplomatic efforts that finally failed.

Dr Kissinger told the Senate Sub-Committee on Africa during testimony yesterday that the combined efforts of the Western parties in the conflict had apparently induced the Soviet Union to halt its arms airlift to the MPLA on December 29.

He told the sub-

committee that the airlift resumed on December 24, five days after the Senate vote.

In a strong warning to the Senators, who played a leading part in bringing down his Angola policy, Dr Kissinger said the American failure in Angola would leave other small countries to consider it prudent to fall in with the communist line and persuade the Soviet Union it was free to embark on fresh adventures.

### INTERFERENCE

● "By mid-December we were hopeful that the OAU would provide a framework for eliminating the interference of outside powers by calling for an end to their intervention. At that point, the impact of our domestic debate overwhelmed the possibilities of diplomacy.

● "Friend and foe alike," he said, "cannot fail to contrast the sending of a large Cuban expeditionary force with our apparent inability to provide even indirect financial assistance.

Sapa-AP reported yesterday that Dr Kissinger told Congress the US administration was now considering a request for overt financial aid to anti-Soviet factions in Angola.

Yesterday Dr Kissinger said: "Some charge that we have acted in collusion with South Africa. This is untrue. We had no foreknowledge of South Africa's intentions and in no way co-operated with it militarily.

"Nor do we view South African intervention more benevolently than we do the intervention of other outside powers.

"Indeed, we have formally proposed that the removal of outside forces begin with those of South Africa and have asked — in vain — for an indication of how soon thereafter Soviet and Cuban forces would be withdrawn."

### Warnings

Dr Kissinger gave no indication whether or not he believed that South Africa's forces had been withdrawn but his comments appeared to be in line with warnings from diplomatic sources several weeks ago that the US might, in the end, turn its teeth on South Africa.

American and South African officials have consistently denied that there were consultations or coordination of policies between the US and South Africa over Angola.

Whether the US misled South Africa about its intentions in Angola, or whether South Africa misread the American position, remains about as clear as mud. But some general observations are made by diplomats and officials here:

### No forces

● The Ford Administration has consistently held to the position that it would not put its own forces into Angola, no matter what happened. If the South African Government failed to grasp this point, it has failed to understand the US experience in Vietnam.

● The initial American assessments between January and July last year of Soviet intentions were much more modest than the later assessments. Massive Soviet escalation, according to Dr Kissinger, came only in October, after the South African assistance had enabled Unita to roll back the MPLA forces along the coast.

### Restraints

● Whatever restraints might have operated before December 19, when the American Senate made it clear to the Russians that they had a free hand in Angola, these restraints fell away after that date.

● Finally, the Senate vote took the Ford Administration as much by surprise as anybody else. If South Africa was misled, it was in good company. Possibly nobody appreciated the extent of the collapse of American will until the Senate vote.

CONT...



Unita's "Foreign Minister," Mr George Sangumba, tells a Press conference in London of Soviet bribes to Black Africa.

## Angola 'is a threat to detente'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The whole of Mr Vorster's policy of detente is endangered by what is happening in Angola, Major Patrick Wall, a Conservative MP, said here.

"It was a brilliant policy and looked like succeeding," he told a protest meeting on defence called by the right-wing Monday Club.

"It would not only have stopped the hostility between Black and White, but would have made South Africa respectable in Western eyes."

But much more than that was at stake. The South Africans had always believed that communist influence cut a band across Africa from Zanzibar to Brazzaville, and from there, the influence would spread south to attack South Africa.

Now the line was much closer — from Mozambique to Angola.

In his view, the situation was extremely serious, and was becoming like that of the 1930s.

### LIKE VIETNAM

"You had the reoccupation of the Rhineland, well, let's say that was Vietnam. You had the Austrian Anschluss, well, let's say that is happening in Angola.

"What is the Czechoslovakia? I believe that it will be the assault on South West Africa and the attack on South Africa itself.

"If we lose that battle, as we lost Czechoslovakia, we won't get the chance we got in 1939."

On the broader aspect of defence, he said the Russians' real threat lay in two things — subversion of the will of the West to resist, and the "threat to the flanks" at sea.

Major Wall praised Mrs Margaret Thatcher's recent statement on defence, saying that "at last we have had a clear lead from a Conservative leader, and the response has been magnificent."

## How US saw sequence of war events

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — According to Dr Kissinger, this was the sequence of events in the Angolan War:

Autumn 1974: and the Portuguese Communist Party begin to ship arms and equipment to the MPLA. Requests for help from the US by other factions are turned down.

January 1975: Portugal arranges to so-called "Al-

ver accord" for a joint government at independence, but Russia and the Portuguese communists — then in a position of power in Lisbon — undermine the agreement by stepping up arms supplies to the MPLA. The US gives R220 000 to Holden Roberto, head of the Zaire-based FNLA, to be used for "bicycles and office equipment" to support political activity.

March 1975: Large ship-

ments of Soviet arms arrive, including thousands of infantry weapons, and major violence breaks out, increasing in intensity until full-scale civil war begins in July.

Mid-July 1975: Zaire and Zambia, growing concerned, ask the US for help and President Ford decides to back FNLA and Unita forces through neighbouring Black countries.

August 1975: Intelli-

gence reports show the presence of Soviet advisers and Cuban troops. Cubans claim to have started training programmes as early as June.

Early September 1975: Poorly equipped Unita forces, being overrun by MPLA, turn in desperation to South Africa for assistance. South Africa responds by sending in equipment and some troops. Unita forces now sweep the MPLA out of the southern and most of the central part of Angola and the FNLA makes significant advances in the north.

October 1975: Massive increases occur in Soviet and Cuban aid, including airlift of Cuban troops. The US makes several overtures to Russia and initiates widespread diplomatic action aimed at the OAU summit meeting in January.

October 24: Dr Kissinger issues first public warning to Russia in a speech in Detroit.

December 9: President Ford makes formal proposal to Russia outlining plan for general withdrawal of foreign forces. Russia ceases its arms airlift.

December 19: The Senate, insisting on a quick vote before its recess, forbids the use of funds for Angola.

Late December: The Cubans double their forces, the Russians increase their aid.

January: Patchwork diplomacy and bluff fail despite staunch support by exposed African states at the OAU meeting in Addis Ababa. The American position is collapsed.

STAR 30/1/76.

## Red bribes R87-m says Unita man

LONDON — The Soviet Union has spent more than 100 million dollars (about R87-million) on bribes in at least five African countries to secure recognition of the MPLA, a Unita official has claimed.

"In some countries it was given to certain leaders, in others as a gift to the country," Mr George Sangumba, Unita's "Foreign Minister" said.

Mr Sangumba, starting a European trip to publicise his cause and seek money and material support, told a news conference Unita has evidence of the bribes, which he said were paid in US dollars.

But he refused to name the countries or give further details.

Mr Sangumba also accused Russia of carrying off diamonds from Angol-

an mines to help support their venture in the civil war.

He accused the Reds of exploiting Black African hostility toward South Africa and rivalries between Zaire and Nigeria.

Mr Sansuma said that Cuban soldiers "in our custody" had reported on plans to send Nigerian troops into the conflict,

but Unita did not consider this a significant threat.

About northern Angola, where the FNLA under Mr Holden Roberto has suffered severe losses, Mr Sangumba said: "Roberto is a tough man. He will recover in the north."

Unita is using guerrilla warfare behind MPLA lines as well as conven-

tional warfare, and "we are prepared to fight for 50 years. We are not going to tolerate domination of Soviet imperialism."

The southern faction wanted an immediate ceasefire and was willing to make some concessions to Dr Augustinho Neto of the MPLA, Mr Sangumba said.

He added: "If Dr Neto wants to be president of Angola, let it be, as long as it is the people who determine the government."

Mr Sangumba added that the only South African troops in Angola were near the South West Africa border.

Unita did not want mercenary help, "only funds, equipment and advisers," he said. — Sapa-AP.

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R.D.M. 30/1/76

# 11400 Cubans--and more to come

WASHINGTON. — The US Defence Department has estimated that there are 11400 Cuban soldiers in Angola, nearly 1000 more than a week ago.

The Pentagon said it also estimated that the MPLA had received about R94-million in military equipment from Russia and about R61-million from Cuba.

Government sources last

week said Unita probably would be unable to hold off the Cuban-led MPLA troops in the southern part of the country.

The northern part of the country is largely controlled by the MPLA.

The sources added that there had been no indication of any slackening of Soviet military aid to the MPLA and that the Soviet airlift of Cubans into the

country was continuing.

The Pentagon said there were more than 2800 Russian military personnel in all of Africa. Cuba has 11760 in Africa, including 310 military advisers in Guinea and 50 in Somalia.

Total Soviet military aid over the past five years to all African countries was estimated at R1800-million, of which R1100-million went to Egypt.

The Pentagon estimated total Soviet economic aid to Africa over the past five years at R665-million.

The Pentagon gave the distribution of Soviet military advisers in Africa as: Somalia 1000, Algeria 600, Uganda and Libya 300 each, Egypt 200, Angola 170, Guinea 110, Sudan 80, Nigeria 50, Mali 33 and Mozambique 25. — Sapa-Reuter.

# US Govt in new bid for aid to Angola

R. D. M.

2/1/76-

(5)

WASHINGTON. — The Ford administration, rebuffed once over aid to Angola, is making another appeal to Congress for financial help to be sent to the anti-Soviet forces in the Angolan civil war.

The Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, said this week the administration would begin consultations with Congress soon to see if agreement was possible on an open aid programme.

But the administration's prospects of success seemed bleak. Both the Senate and the House of Representatives voted earlier to forbid military aid being channelled secretly to Angola.

The general feeling in the Senate appeared to be that, despite massive Russian aid to the MPLA in the end the Soviet Union would have little influence in Angola.

The South African Ambassador, Mr Roelof (Pik) Botha, said in the United

Nations yesterday that the US Congress denial of the Ford administration's request for more aid money for Angola was a disappointment to friends of the United States everywhere.

"You have disappointed your African friends and your friends all over the world," he told an American reporter.

"You have simply indicated to them that it would be hard to rely on any American decision because all your decision can be undercut by Congress in no time," he said.

Dr Kissinger, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Sub-committee on Africa, cast the issue of Angolan aid in global terms.

Discussing Russian aid to the MPLA and the 11-000 Cuban troops fighting there, he declared: "Those who have acted so recklessly must be made to see that their conduct is unacceptable."

Dr Kissinger said a demonstration of lack of resolve by the United States could lead the Soviets into a great miscalculation, thereby plunging the US and Russia into a major confrontation neither wanted.

But Democratic Senator Dick Clark argued that if the United States followed a policy of reacting to Soviet moves, "it means that we are indeed the policemen of the world and our policy is not an independent one but rather a reactive one determined by our adversary."

Dr Kissinger said if the United States did maintain its aid to Angola the amount would have to be greater than the R23 800 000 originally planned.

Congress blocked this after learning that the United States had secretly sent R27 200 000 to the FNLA and Unita. The money was sent without the general knowledge of Congress.—Sapa-Reuter.

## Unita 'doesn't need mercenaries'

LONDON. — The Unita foreign affairs spokesman, Dr George Sangumba, said in London yesterday he was seeking money, arms and political and diplomatic support from Britain—but not mercenaries.

Dr Sangumba declined to say exactly why he was in London "but I have had very positive results in terms of diplomatic and political support from British officials," he said.

Britain and other European Common Market countries had not done enough to help Unita in its struggle against the MPLA, he said.

Unita had evidence that at least five African countries had been bribed by Russia to support the MPLA but he declined to name them.

Dr Sangumba, who plans to visit France and Ger-

many before returning home, said: "We would be glad to accept finance, arms and political and diplomatic support from Britain. But we do not need mercenaries. If they are losing they are liable to turn against you."

About 90 British mercenaries flew to Angola earlier this week amid reports they would join the other Angolan guerrilla movement, the FNLA.

Dr Sangumba also said in a television interview that if mercenaries arrived in Angola without permission from Unita they would be turned away.

He said Unita's position in Angola was not desperate "because as long as we have plenty of human material and the local population behind us we can continue the war for many, many years yet." — Sapa-Reuter.

## Flash of gold as Sangumba hits out

By GEOFFREY ALLEN  
LONDON. — Immaculately dressed Dr Jorge Sangumba sat in the newest, and lushest, American-style hotel in London and lashed out at African liberation leaders living in style abroad.

He also fired a heavy broadside at the Western Press, which he claimed reported the Angolan war from bars and wrote stories over pints of beer.

His cuff-links and gold wrist chain flashing in the concealed lighting of the conference room, a buoyant Dr Sangumba, the Unita foreign secretary, pointed to a large scale map showing where Unita was having military success.

He conceded a few reverses, but seemed unconvinced that they meant anything in the overall strategy.

While waiters danced attendance dishing out booze and biscuits as if there were a famine, Dr Sangumba said Unita would insist that any African liberation leaders it supported were in the front line in Africa. "We are not going to tolerate these people lounging around Europe in style," he said.

Warming to the subject, he added: "They swank round Washington and live in luxury hotels in Africa while a few guerillas sit bewildered in the bush."

As I left, British security men closed in to escort Dr Sangumba from the conference room. The tinkling of a piano in the hotel bar and the bored chit-chat of the rich made a bizarre background to the war briefing I had just left.

## Red food to Angola

MOSCOW. — Russia announced yesterday that it would send food to Angola.

The brief Tass announcement said only that Russia "will grant aid to the People's Republic of Angola. Food will be sent to that country."

Tass would not elaborate on the report, saying only that it was an official announcement.

Meanwhile, the Bonn Government yesterday assured the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, that it would give financial aid for refugees in Angola.

West Germany would also continue to provide money for United Nations aid to refugees throughout the world, it was announced in Bonn after the prince had called on the Chancellor, Mr Helmut Schmidt, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher. — Reuter-AP.

## Recruiter to send 700 to Angola

THE HAGUE. — A man recruiting mercenaries for Angola said on Dutch television last night that his British-based company planned to send more than 700 men to fight the MPLA.

Mr Les Aspin, described as a head of Security Advisory Services in London, said 120 former British soldiers had already been sent to fight for the Zaire-backed FNLA.

He said during the interview with the Dutch socialist television network Vara that he planned to send 600 more mercenaries and added he was now recruiting men recently discharged from the armed services in Western Europe.

About 100 British mercenaries left Brussels for Kinshasa on Thursday.

Mr Aspin said pay for the mercenaries, about R262 a week, was being

provided by Zaire's Government. He added that the men were on six-month contracts with paid leave and an airline ticket to anywhere in the world in between.

He said he thought his mercenaries could stop MPLA advances in the north of Angola and added: "Even in the short period we have had 20 men as spearhead. We had a kill rate of 185."

Mr Aspin said he thought the war would prove more cruel than most others.

"Here you have a people who have been suppressed by the Portuguese for a long, long time and all of a sudden you have Russian missiles with Second World War stuff flying around over men who have never even experienced a November 5 rocket going up." — Sapa-Reuter.

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# Shift in Britain's Angola policy

29/1/76

STAR

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Britain now wants to see a government of national reconciliation in Angola. The MPLA will have to play a part, possibly a leading part, but there is a need to involve the other substantial elements in the Angolan population.

## Aid to SA groups disclaimed by UK

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The British Government has disclaimed all responsibility for the unconditional aid given by the Southern Africa solidarity committee of the Labour Party to "liberation" movements in Southern Africa.

Dr. David Ennals, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, was challenged in the Commons to condemn assistance given by this fund to Swapo, the Pan African Congress Zanu and the South African ANC.

He said the Government was not responsible for committee actions of the Labour Party.

He said Government aid to these movements was for humanitarian purposes only for instances scholarships to Swapo not for armaments or to encourage violence.

This new definition of British policy was given to the Commons last night by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, Mr James Callaghan, and marks a significant move from the earlier policy of promoting a government combining all three factions and calling for a withdrawal of all foreign forces.

Mr Callaghan, in a protracted question-time session, revealed that Britain had tried — and failed — to get a public statement of agreed policy on Angola from the EEC, ahead of the OAU summit conference on Angola.

He hinted broadly that this had been because of the resistance of only one of the nine (most probable candidates would be Denmark or Holland).

### Detente

However, he said that private diplomacy was continuing and he expressed confidence in the ultimate ability of African countries to free themselves from outside influence.

He rejected Conservative suggestions that the Helsinki detente policy should be abandoned because of Soviet actions in Angola.

The whole detente exercise was too important to shrug off, he told the shadow chancellor, Mr Maudling. That would be a counsel of despair. The attempt would continue, though the West must keep a wary eye on Soviet actions.

### Naval bases

Mr Christopher Brocklebank-Fowler (Conservative) said the Russians were not interested in a tribal dispute in Africa. They were interested in naval bases, in oil and in influence.

If Britain had asked the Security Council to pass a resolution condemning all foreign interference, Russia would have had to veto it and would have been exposed for the imperialist power which it was.



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DD 29/1/76  
**UK mercenaries fly  
to fight in Angola**

BRUSSELS — About 100 British mercenary soldiers left here yesterday to fight against the Soviet-backed MPLA and its Cuban regular forces.

The men, who arrived here aboard three flights from London, left for Kinshasa on an airliner chartered from the Belgian national carrier, Sabena.

Airport sources said 180 people had been listed to travel on the plane, but only 97 actually left.

They said yesterday's batch was the biggest to pass through Brussels, with at least four other parties of soldiers of fortune touching down here earlier.

One of the men said the party was going to act as "advisers" to the FNLA, which has been facing the onslaught of MPLA and Cuban forces.

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr Callaghan, yesterday denounced the recruitment of mercenaries in Britain.

He called it "highly undesirable" and as deplorable as the use of Cubans in Angola.

Mr Callaghan told the House of Commons in London that Britain had had discussions with the United States and EEC

countries in an attempt to use Western leverage to dissuade the Soviet Union from continuing its involvement in Angola.

Mr Callaghan was urged by Conservative MPs to raise the Angola issue in the United Nations Security Council, but he said he was convinced it would not be "helpful" to do so.

Britain had called for a political settlement in Angola based on a coalition in which all parties would play a part, he said.

The MPLA would be an important — and perhaps leading — element in such a settlement. — DDC

# Pik blasts 'clawing imperialist' Russia

NEW YORK. — South Africa has accused Russia of waging a war of destruction in Angola and challenged the UN Security Council to investigate who is threatening the peace in the area.

"The Russian bear has arrived to claw a festering wound into Africa's side — a wound that can infect the whole of Africa," the South African Ambassador, Mr Pik Botha, said early yesterday (SA time).

In a surprise move, Mr Botha joined the Council's debate on South West Africa for the first time in five years and offered to resume negotiations on the political future of the territory.

Rejecting charges that South Africa was spreading aggression in Angola, he said it was Russia that threatened the African continent as "the greatest imperial power of modern times."

"The 12 000 Cubans now

in Angola and being transported there by Russian aircraft at the rate of 200 a day approach 15 per cent of the whole Cuban army," he said.

"They are being blatantly used to kill, maim, humiliate and intimidate Black Africans, using Russian tanks, artillery, mortar, missiles, machineguns, bombs, landmines and soon, too, fighters and bomber aircraft.

"Massive quantities of lethal Soviet arms are being used to destroy and devastate African villages, towns, roads, bridges, schools and hospitals."

Mr Botha, who had been expected to boycott the Council debate as usual, obviously caught Russia by surprise. Its Ambassador, Mr Malik, was absent and the Soviet delegate in his place, Mr Mikhail Kharlamov, spoke only briefly, leaving a full reply for later.

Mr Kharlamov accused

South Africa of exploiting and enslaving South West Africa. "You are cowards," he said. "You didn't show up in the last session of the General Assembly. You didn't dare to come and be convicted of your crimes."

The Council president, Mr Salim, speaking for Tanzania, said Mr Botha's statement was disappointing and had nothing to offer.

The Council, he said, was not discussing Angola. South Africa was adding insult to injury by trying to give the impression that its operation there was supported by African states.

In a long note to the UN Secretary-General, Dr Waldheim, Mr Botha had explained his government's position on SWA and offered to resume negotiations with the UN and the Organisation of African Unity.

The British Ambassador, Mr Ivor Richard,

warned against a one-sided decision demanding elections in the territory under UN control and supervision.

The people of SWA must choose what was best for them. Neither South Africa nor the UN could choose on their behalf.

"While strict supervision is certainly necessary, we think it would be unrealistic to demand that the South Africans leave the territory before any act of self-determination takes place."

Mr Richard said that was one reason Britain had advocated contacts between South Africa and the UN last year and why she still advocated such contacts.

He repeated the British Government's view that South Africa's continued occupation of the territory was unlawful. It believed she should withdraw as soon as possible. — UPI.

## We've not lost yet, says Dr K

WASHINGTON. — The American Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, says he has not yet conceded victory to the Soviets in Angola, despite Moscow's refusal to curtail its involvement there and the Congress decision to cut off further US aid.

Dr Kissinger also indicated that he was sceptical about friendly overtures the Soviet-backed Angolan faction had reportedly made towards the United States.

"Dumping the Russians when you have 10 000 Cuban military in the country is not such a simple matter," Dr Kissinger said when asked about reports the Soviet-backed MPLA was trying to "warm up"

relations with the United States.

He spoke to reporters on Tuesday after he had testified for two hours before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on his recent trip to Moscow.

He reportedly had no success there in persuading the Russians to curtail their involvement in Angola, and a reporter asked if he thought the United States had "lost its attempt to talk Moscow out of its involvement in the civil war.

"I am not yet prepared to make that judgment," he said, adding that he intended to discuss the Angola issue with a congressional committee today. — UPI.

## Amin condemns Reds

LONDON. — President Amin of Uganda has said that Russia intervened in Angola to colonise the country, Radio Uganda reports.

The radio, monitored in London, said President Amin was talking to radio and television reporters from Zaire.

He told them "Russia has gone to Angola to colonise and kill the innocent people there." The Soviet Union was not there to

help them.

But all foreign forces in Angola would fail, President Amin said, "even if they stayed 10 years or more."

They would be driven out by the people, like the Americans in Indochina.

President Amin said he noted that some African leaders condemned only South African intervention in Angola. He condemned all foreign interference. — Sapa-Reuter.



Soldiers of the Soviet-backed MPLA ride on a Russian-built BM 21 rocket launcher during a triumphal parade through the streets of Luanda, held to celebrate the victory claimed by the MPLA in Southern Angola

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This 10-year-old volunteer is training in a Unita camp near Silva Porto. He is one of the youngsters taking part in a two-week crash training course.

# Unita and FNLA in big clash

RDM  
29/1/76

LUSAKA. — As the communist forces continued their advance on Huambo yesterday, fierce fighting broke out in the town between Unita and 400 men of the allied FNLA.

A Unita spokesman said the FNLA men were renegades who had disobeyed an order to rejoin the war, and began looting shops.

The fighting, in which machineguns and mortars were used, took place

round the FNLA barracks near Huambo airport. It lasted an hour.

The spokesman said that apart from a number who fled the FNLA force was destroyed. He would not give the number of dead or the number who surrendered.

The Unita-FNLA alliance has been marred by repeated skirmishes over tribal and personality issues and by the FNLA's near-collapse as a disciplined fighting force.

Meanwhile, about 100 British mercenaries left Brussels yesterday for Zaire en route to Angola, where they will join in the war against the MPLA.

It was the biggest batch to pass through Brussels. One of the men, wear-

RDM 28/1/76

(5)

# Govt erred on Angola - Emlin

By BERNARDI WESSELS  
Political Correspondent

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY**  
— The Government's decision to get involved in Angola was a serious error of political judgment that had rekindled the spectre of South African militarism among African states.

This was said by the Progressive-Reform Party leader, Mr Colin Emlin, on the second day of the No-Confidence Debate.

He said that by failing to take the people into its confidence, the Government could not rally the whole country in support of a national cause. For the last three months it had acted secretly "beyond its mandate of non-intervention" from the electorate.

Speaking of the South African withdrawal, Mr Emlin asked what had changed. The Russians and the Cubans were still there with their missiles. The MPLA was still Marxist. The conflict still raged with the probability of MPLA control as great as ever before.

In making its error of judgment, Mr Emlin said, it appeared — that the Government:

- Had not taken sufficient account of the fragmentation of authority in the US system of government and had miscalculated the

mood of the American people:

- Had overestimated the Western response to Russian involvement;
  - Had underestimated the extent to which South Africa's involvement could be used in Africa to cloud the issue of Russia's presence; and
  - Anticipated incorrectly the sophisticated weapons the Russians and Cubans would use.
- In three months South Africa had entered an era of militarism in which the effective defence of the country became a new immediate factor.

The answer lay at three levels:

- The Defence Force must be adequate to meet any direct threat;
- The Government must take bold diplomatic initiatives to achieve peaceful coexistence; and
- It had to create conditions at home which both Blacks and Whites believed worth defending and dying for.

In reply, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Muller, said South Africa had never consulted so many African governments before.

Angola was not a confrontation between South Africa and Africa. It was a clash between Black and White together against Russia and Cuba.

# What we have been told about Angola

R.D.M. 28/11/76

CONT...

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A Defence Department picture release — of bullet holes punched through the cdb of a captured "Stalin's Organ" — the rocket launcher that fires 40 projectiles at once.

December 17 — Dr Jonas Savimbi is reported as saying that South African troops were about 150 km into Angola and they had moved about 320 km in hot pursuit. Mr P. W. Botha warned South African journalists on a SADF-organised visit to Caluque to pay attention only to authoritative sources.

December 17 — Radio Luanda announced capture and public interrogation of four South African soldiers: Corporal J. G. Terblanche, Privates R. W. E. Danney, captured near Cella, about 800 km inside Angola.

December 17 — Mr Botha confirmed that four soldiers were missing, be-

lieved captured. "It is presumed they got lost and were captured by MPLA."

December 20 — SADF announced the death in action of Rifleman Dame Anderson.

December 21 — Mr Botha confirmed that South Africa was not prepared to fight alone for the free world. He was reacting to the US Senate

decision to cut off assistance to the pro-Western forces in Angola.

December 21 — Foreign sources said that the South African prisoners might be exchanged for Cuban prisoners of war.

December 22 — A Paris report said that a massive armoured column consisting of 1 500 men, was 1 000 km into Angola. No comment from the SADF.

December 23 — British Minister, James Callaghan, calls on BBC TV for the pull-out of all foreign troops, including South African. Department of Foreign Affairs refused comment.

December 25 — SADF announced the deaths of

Angola.

November 28 — SADF announced that Troopers Gideon Obbes, 20, and Neil Lombard, had been killed in the "Operational Area".

November 29 — Mr Botha replied that he did not know who was advising the different movements in Angola or providing them with logistical support.

December 2 — SADF announced that Second Lieutenant Eric Thompson and K. A. Williamson of the SAAF and Captain Danie Taljaard of the Army were missing in a plane in the "Operational Area".

December 10 — SADF announced the death of Sergeant F. G. Wannenburg, 24, as a result of wounds.

December 10 — Leader of the PRP, Mr Colin Eglin, appealed to the Prime Minister to take the people of South Africa into his confidence by issuing a comprehensive statement on the Angolan situation.

December 16 — SADF announced that Rifleman Dawie Marais, 18, and Sappers Bobby Willemse, 19, and Udo von Schmettau, 19, had been killed in a skirmish in which 61 enemy were killed. Rifleman Waras' father said the SADF had asked him not to discuss the matter with the Press. SADF refused to give details.

November 21 — Russian newspaper Pravda brushed aside South Africa's official denial of military involvement in Angola.

November 22 — Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha replied to Russian allegations: "The Republic of South Africa is not bringing in Cubans to fight against the rights of two movements like the FNLA and Unita in their own country."

November 23 — Captain George Schoeman, 31, announced the SADF died of wounds sustained in the border area on November 11.

November 25 — Sergeant Major Alwyn Benson killed with two others in terrorist action on the border.

November 26 — SADF announced the death of Troopers G. Volgraaf and A. Taljaard in action on the border.

November 28 — Overseas sources report that South African troops are in Angola and supplying "advisers" and logistical support to the pro-Western forces. About 150 troops with armoured cars at Caluque, 39 km inside

Angola.

November 19 — Reply- ing to queries about why Citizen Force units, including the Parabats, had been called up, SADF replied: "There has been such a positive reaction among members of the CF and commando units that they have volunteered to do service over the Christmas period anywhere the SADF wants them. This includes the Parabats. The matter is under consideration by the Defence Force."

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Staff Reporter

WHAT has the Government and the South African Defence Force told the public about Angola? A resume follows:

Last October 14—Trooper Dan le Roux, 20, killed by a landmine explosion in the Caprivi Strip.

November 6 — National Serviceman, Private K. E. Laidlaw, was accidentally shot dead at the border.

November 14 — "White mercenaries" were reported manning an armoured gun column which was spearheading an allied attack on Luanda. No comment from SADF.

November 14 — A London report of ITN reporter, Michael Nicholson's BBC TV film making certain allegations about Southern Angola not cleared for publication by SADF.

November 11 — SADF announced that Private B. J. Venter, 20, had been killed on the border.

November 17 — Lieutenant Christopher Robin's death notice appeared in the "Mail" saying he had been killed while serving on the border. Blank spaces on the "Mail's" front page in protest against SADF news suppression.

November 18 — SADF announces death of Lt Robin, 20, and Privates Christo Retief, 19, and Adam Schonfeldt, 20, in a border skirmish with terrorists.

November 18 — Both opposition parties criticised the Government for their refusal to publish allegations of Angolan developments which appeared in British Sunday newspapers.

November 18 — Dr Jonas Savimbi, of Unita, was quoted as saying: "I need people to fight with armoured cars that we cannot operate. Maybe they are South Africans or Rhodesians, but there are more French."

November 19 — Dr Hilgard Muller told the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London: "It is no secret that South African troops are in Angola to defend labourers at

the Cunene water supply system."

November 19 — Reports from Angola appeared that several hundred troops had been flown in to reinforce FNLA and Unita forces in Nova Lisboa, attacking the MPLA controlled sector.

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## US is not being tested in Angola, says Congress

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The US Congress is not convinced that Russia is using Angola to test American power.

Members of the International Affairs Committee did not appear to think that withdrawal of American aid from Angola would lead to the Soviets seeking other targets to extend the influence of communism.

The Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr William Schauffele, yesterday presented the Ford Administration's views that the United States must continue to pro-

vide support to FNLA and Unita to establish a balance between the three warring factions so that peaceful negotiations could be pursued.

"We seek nothing in Angola," he said. "We seek no confrontation with the Soviet Union in this area."

Asked by Congressman Lee Hamilton if he thought most African countries considered America was being "painted into a corner" as supporting South Africa, Mr Schauffele agreed there was a tendency to equate America with South Africa as soon

as South Africa decided to intervene.

He said the United States had not asked South Africa to withdraw its troops, and had not been in consultation with the Republic.

"We continue to learn after the fact what South African decisions are." It would be to America's political advantage to have the South Africans pull out, he said.

"We do not oppose the MPLA, which we consider a legitimate African unit. We are supporting negotiations among the three groups," he added.

## Unita holds torture men

DAKAR. — An official of Western-backed forces fighting in Angola has asserted that Unita forces now hold 35 Cuban prisoners, including men he described as "torture specialists".

Mr John dos Marques Kakumba, Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Angola, the FNLA-Unita coalition government, also said that Soviet secret documents had been captured showing the Soviet Union's intention to establish a naval base at Lobito.

Mr Kakumba violently attacked the Soviet Union, calling it "a racist state distributing arms throughout Africa for niggers to kill themselves with". — Sapa-AP

## Change or suffer, Idi's man tells SA

By MIKE PITSO

MAIL Africa Bureau MASERU — Colonel Isaac Lumago, the Ugandan High Commissioner to Lesotho, who is Field Marshal Idi Amin's eyes and ears in Southern Africa, has issued a stern warning to South Africa to change its racial policies or face the consequences.

He told students at the Roma campus of the National University of Lesotho on Monday night Ugandans had nothing against White South Africans as people, but hated their ideology.

The colonel said that if there was a way of squeezing out this ideology without hurting people it would be done that way.

But if there was no other way out, "we shall just close our eyes and let the barrel talk," he said.

If the South African Government changed its ideology, White South Africans would be accepted into the fold of friendship by all Africans, Colonel Lumago said.

Black people in South Africa should immediately be given freedom of movement, association and speech. If they were given these freedoms then Africans would fight side by side with White South Africans in the defence of Africa.

He revealed that Uganda's military leaders had a full knowledge of what Pretoria and Johannesburg look like, and that Ugandan soldiers would be so familiar with these towns "that they could do the attack with their eyes closed".

But the colonel tempered his warlike words with some diplomacy. He said Uganda would not take a unilateral decision on South Africa but would act in concert with any stand taken by the Organisation of African Unity.

The Ugandan diplomat said his country was committed to liberate all oppressed people of the world.

TYPE OF FARRI EMPLOYEE - CASUAL

RACE - ASIAN

YEAR - 1972/73

AVERAGE MONTHLY CASH WAGE FOR ALL ECONOMIC REGIONS = R 18.39

DEVIATIONS FROM AVERAGE MONTHLY CASH WAGE BY ECONOMIC REGION

EC REGION DEVIATION	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
EC REGION DEVIATION	.00	-17.83	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
EC REGION DEVIATION	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
EC REGION DEVIATION	-15.7	.00	.00	-9.72	-14.46	.00	.00	.00	4.61	.00	.00	16.34
EC REGION DEVIATION	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
EC REGION DEVIATION	.00	-1.73	.00	.00	.00	12.72	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
EC REGION DEVIATION	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
EC REGION DEVIATION	-1.15	.00	.00	.00	-1.80	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	5.19
EC REGION DEVIATION	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
EC REGION DEVIATION	-1.46	.00	-1.65	.00	-.03	2.63	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
EC REGION DEVIATION	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
EC REGION DEVIATION	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
EC REGION DEVIATION	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
EC REGION DEVIATION	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00

FRIDAY, 27 FEBRUARY 1976

*Hansard*  
*5*  
*col 388*

† Indicates translated version.  
For oral reply:

Civil war in Angola

\*1. Mr. C. W. EGLIN asked the Prime Minister:

- (1) Whether South Africa was involved in the civil war in Angola; if so,
- (2) whether assurances were given to the South African Government by any foreign government prior to such involvement; if so, (a) by which government and (b) what assurances were given;
- (3) whether any representations were made by or on behalf of the leader of any Angolan movement to the

South African Government; if so, (a) which leader and (b) what was the nature of the representations;

- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter.

The PRIME MINISTER:

- (1) South Africa's involvement in Angola as well as the extent, nature and purpose thereof were fully debated in this House from 26 to 30 January 1976.
- (2) (a) and (b) I am not prepared to break sound diplomatic practice by disclosing confidential exchanges between countries.
- (3) (a) and (b) We were informed by leaders of UNITA and FNLA about Cuban and Russian intervention in Angola.
- (4) There is no necessity at this stage to make a statement, save to say that we will act to safeguard South Africa's interests in accordance with the decision of Parliament taken on 30 January 1976, which decision had the support of all but 11 members of this House.

Mr. C. W. EGLIN: Mr. Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon. the Prime Minister, must we accept that his statement in reply to paragraphs (1) and (2) of the question is a repudiation of what Senator Worrall . . .

Mr. SPEAKER: Order! I cannot allow that as a supplementary question.

STAR 28/1/76.

Western analysts say the next two to three weeks will tell whether anti-communist factions in Angola can avoid a crushing battlefield defeat and survive to enter possible peace negotiations with the Soviet-aided MPLA.

In purely military terms, the analysts give few chances to the National Union (Unita) in southern Angola and its apparently demoralised ally, the National Front (FNLA) in northern Angola. They say the MPLA, with nearly 10 000 Cubans in the vanguard of the fighting, may already be preparing a decisive push south into Unita territory.

Intelligence sources say the Soviet Union has in the past year given the MPLA arms worth about R106-million to fight the civil war, more than twice as much as Moscow gave the MPLA during a 14-year struggle against Portuguese colonists. Unita-FNLA have no weapons to counter MPLA jets — reported used for the first time on Sunday — and 122 mm rockets.

Unita troops have reportedly blown up some 100 bridges and have dug in behind rivers in an irregular defence line stretching across Angola north of the vital Benguela railroad, formerly Angola's main transport route. But among the MPLA's Soviet arsenal are nearly 100 amphibious tanks and armoured cars designed to cross rivers.

The next couple of weeks will tell whether Angola's anti-communist factions have any chance of political survival. ANDREW TORCHIA reports from Lusaka.

## Last bid in Angola

Travellers from Angola report that an increasing rate of defections from Unita battalions is beginning to worry Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi. Some 400 men were recently reported to have gone over to the MPLA near Cela, north of Huambo, the Unita capital.

Analysts in Lusaka say Unita's last hope of achieving a military stalemate may have gone with the South Africans, who have just pulled back from frontline positions.

In conversations with western observers, Dr Savimbi conceded that Unita would lose some towns to an MPLA offensive. He said Unita may have to return to the bush and fight the MPLA guerrilla style, as it did the Portuguese.

Unita officials in Lusaka cancelled a flight for reporters to Huambo yesterday, apparently because of uncertain conditions in the area. But travellers from the capital say Dr Savimbi seemed strangely cheerful and confident.

Some observers believe

he may be hoping for diplomatic advantages to make up for Unita's military weakness.

Dr Savimbi may be convinced, analysts say, that the MPLA will be forced to negotiate if Unita can hold out militarily over the next few weeks.

Or he may be looking for results from reported secret African attempts to forge an Angolan coalition with Dr Savimbi as No 2 to MPLA leader Mr Agostinho Neto.

Some analysts believe Neto and Savimbi could be congenial partners in a coalition excluding Holden Roberto, the FNLA leader. But other diplomats believe Savimbi's chances for victory at a conference table are nearly as slim as his military outlook.

Dr Savimbi said over the weekend he would negotiate with Mr Neto if the MPLA came to the discussions without the Soviets and Cubans. But Mr Neto, seemingly set on winning the war, has said repeatedly he will not bargain with Unita.

—Sapa-AP.

## Longing for Africa

"Not this time, maybe next time," an Angolan woman told a 31-year-old Portuguese store manager, who has been waiting a month and a half to return to Angola.

The man was asking whether his name was on the list of those approved to return to Angola. He fled Africa with his wife in September "because it was dangerous" but now, like thousands of Portuguese, he wants to go back despite the continued fighting there.

The Lisbon offices of Angola's rival movements have been swamped with refugees from Angola who are disillusioned with life in Portugal.

They cannot find jobs in this country, where the unemployment rate is already over 13 percent, and they are generally looked on as "intruders" and "colonialists."

Paulo Tjipilica, representative of the western-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), said more than 20 000 people had registered with his movement to go back to Angola.

In Lisbon, they're queuing to go back to Angola, reports a correspondent in Portugal.

The number of registrations has declined recently however, Mr Tjipilica conceded, as the war has moved into Unita's territory in southern Angola.

On the other hand, the office of the Soviet-supported Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is busier than ever, and the number of requests to return is expected to increase following the movement's recent military gains.

It occupies an old three-storey building that used to serve as a centre for Angolan students in colonial days. Here the office functions as a consulate, receiving an average of 20 requests for visas a day.

Some 350 000 fled Angola in the months before independence on November 11, and now they are finding it is not easy to go back.

"Most of them left for racist and political reasons," a member of the

MPLA said in an interview, adding: "They thought the MPLA was too leftist and didn't think we had the capacity to run the country."

The refugees came back to a very difficult economic and political situation in Portugal and felt themselves uprooted and unwanted, and so they want to go back to Angola.

He emphasised everybody who wanted to return to Angola had to be carefully screened, a process that took more than a month.

The screening is done in Angola and the chief criterion is the person's past behavior, according to the MPLA official. He is judged by "people's committees" in his former place of work or by neighbourhood committees in Angola.

The Foreign Ministry in Luanda, the MPLA's capital, makes the final decision and tells the Lisbon office who has been accepted.

MPLA officials could not say how many have been rejected because they receive only lists of approvals. — New York Times News Service.



RDM 28/1/76

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## Unita moves HQ as MPLA pushes towards Huambo

R.D.M. 28/1/76

LUSAKA. — Pro-Western nationalist forces, threatened by Marxist advances on their capital, Huambo, have moved their military headquarters about 160 km to the east, nationalist sources said yesterday.

The sources said Unita headquarters was withdrawn from Huambo and moved to Silva Porto as a precautionary measure.

The MPLA, spearheaded by Russian tanks with jet fighter air cover, has broken through the Unita-held southern front at Cela, about 400 km south of Luanda and is advancing along the paved road to Huambo, capital of the political coalition of Unita

and the FNLA, according to Western news reports from Luanda.

Unita officials in Lusaka said no journalists would be allowed into southern Angola any longer and those still there were evacuated yesterday.

The reporters, who arrived in the Zambian capital early yesterday, said shooting broke out at the Huambo airport when their plane touched down but they managed to take off without apparent damage.

Unita officials said later that the shooting was between their own troops and a splinter group of the FNLA.

Western diplomatic sour-

ces in the Zambian capital said the allied army was slowing down the MPLA advance by shelling the tank-led troops from the hillsides overlooking the Huambo road.

Unita sources said their army was making a stand north of Alto Hama, a road junction controlling access to Huambo, to Lobito on the Atlantic coast and to Silva Porto in the east.

News reports from Luanda said the Marxist forces were about 80 km north of Huambo, but reporters with the pro-Western forces said Unita still controlled the road to Huambo up to 160 km north of the allies' capital.

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LD 28/1/76

# Muller: Angola action didn't jeopardise detente

CAPE TOWN — Far from jeopardising South Africa's detente policy, the Republic's action in Angola had promoted its peace initiative, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilda Muller, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking in the No-Confidence debate, he said the Angolan issue had led to an extension of South Africa's contacts with African and other countries. "Instead of being a reverse for our detente policy, our reaction to intervention with force by a foreign power in Angola has furthered our peace effort."

"It proved our bonafides," Dr Muller said. Dr Muller said the crisis in Angola should not be seen as confrontation between South Africa and the rest of Africa, or as a struggle between white and black.

"It is a struggle between Africans, both white and

black, on the one hand and the Russian and Cuban imperialists on the other."

Dr Muller said South Africa desired a peaceful solution to the Angolan problem.

"Our action was aimed purely at fulfilling our commitments. As an African state we have a commitment towards Africa and as a member of the free world we also have a commitment towards the West. It is not in the general interest to elaborate on this."

"Our limited aim in Angola was to win time for Africa, and especially Angola in the hope that the Angolan people them-

selves could solve the problem without outside interference."

It was also aimed at winning time so that South Africa could make its political and diplomatic contribution towards ending the Russian and Cuban intervention.

"The lesson of Angola must be learnt. The events there provided irrefutable proof of Russia's strategy to exploit problems in other countries in order to achieve its aim of world domination."

In Angola, South Africa had done what was expected of her.

The events in Angola had come as no surprise to the Government, which

had been warning the free world for years that Russia was looking at Africa with covetous eyes.

"The struggle in Angola is not an ordinary civil war. It is also a serious threat for neighbouring states. Nobody can therefore accuse such a neighbouring state of interference and aggression if it takes steps to ward off the threat."

"This is exactly what happened with our action regarding Angola."

It should not be forgotten that the Russians and the Cubans had openly advocated for a long time been advocating the use of force against South Africa. Our involvement was

thus not interference or a deviation from our policy of non-interference in the affairs of other states."

"We have no territorial or other ambitions in Angola or any other country," he said.

"We have not and will not try to prescribe to the people of Angola what sort of government they should have. It is not our business. It is their right if they wish to elect a Marxist or a communist government or any other form of government."

"It is, however, a totally different matter if a foreign power intervenes with force."

"Those who support us must make their voices heard, even in Moscow," Dr Muller said.

South Africa wanted a ceasefire in Angola, an end to foreign intervention and the establishment of a government of national unity there, he said. — S.A.P.A.

# Muller backs Angola action

(5)

DD 28/1/76

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's contacts with Africa had increased during the Angolan crisis, Dr Hilgard Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said during the No Confidence debate yesterday.

He was replying to criticisms on the second day of a tense debate dominated by Angola, during which both Mr Colin Eglin, Progressive leader, and Mr Japie Basson, chief UP foreign spokesman charged the Government with having blundered.

Both said the Government's decision to get South Africa involved in the Angolan crisis had been an error of political judgment.

The theme of the debate shifted yesterday from the previous day's criticisms that the public had not been fully informed to considering the wisdom of getting involved.

The most significant factor which emerged was the statement by Dr Muller contradicting claims that the involvement could seriously set back earlier detente efforts and affect existing contacts.

Dr Muller revealed that South Africa had used its contacts in attempts to secure a negotiated settlement in Angola and that there had never been as much communication with Africa than in the past few months.

Attempts to bring about peace in Africa would continue unabated and there was no need to panic, he said, defending the Government's action.

Earlier Mr Eglin had charged the Government with virtually putting the country into a state of war and had said that its denials of involvement had become suspect.

What people wanted to know was why had South Africa abandoned the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of others and if the reasons for getting involved were genuine, what had changed in the still strife-torn country to bring about a pull-back to the border area.

Dr Muller denied there had been any departure from non-intervention. His reply did not satisfy Mr Basson, who still wanted to know the reasons for

the limited withdrawal.

Both he and Mr Eglin said South Africa had not been supported by any other Western powers and that the 22 OAU countries which had opposed Russian-Cuban intervention had also been opposed to the South African presence. This had been no victory for South Africa.

Both said, too, that settling the South West African issue had become a top priority.

Dr Muller, speaking in the presence of a packed diplomatic bay, said the Angolan situation should not be seen as a black-white confrontation, but rather as a confrontation between black and white Africans against Russo-Cuban imperialism.

However, Mr Basson later said he did not accept the Government's stand and added that if the American Senate could spend three days debating Angola, the issue could have been debated in Parliament.

Dr George Morrison, National Party MP for Cradock, said a clear lesson which South Africa should learn from the Angolan situation was that in future, larger amounts would have to be spent on defence.

In the past the emphasis in Africa had been on guerilla-type warfare, but the situation in Angola clearly pointed to a more conventional type of warfare for the future and this would require more sophisticated weapons.

"Our young men in the border operational area have shown that they are capable of using the weapons of conventional warfare very effectively," Dr Morrison said.

In 1975, 18,5 per cent of Government spending had gone to the Defence Force. In Israel, the comparative figure was 37,6 per cent and in Australia, a country which was not threatened by war, 13 per cent. — PC.

We didn't jeopardise detente, Page 9

# A war about to begin

Wulf Nussey, Editor of The Star's Africa News Service and a veteran of Angola reporting, was with the last group of correspondents to visit the Unita-held war zone before the movement barred journalists from the area.

The group flew out yesterday from

Huambo as bullets whistled over the airfield from a nearby battle, apparently between Unita and rebel FNLA troops.

The accompanying reports, filed by Nussey from Lusaka, are the latest account of the situation on the Unita side of the battlefront.



WULF NUSSEY

## Whites—gone but not forgotten

Wulf Nussey

LUSAKA — The presence of South Africans in Angola, which has caused so much rhetorical grief in the OAU and elsewhere, appears to have done only good in Southern Angola where it counts.

The White soldiers backing Unita half way up Angola, which Mr Botha, the Defence Minister, refused to admit are South Africans, have gone but the image they have left has done them no harm.

Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Unita

movement, the Whites were helping, is still cautious about what he says.

"It is not Unita who invited South Africa to come in," he said. "They were in Angola for their own purposes."

South Africa has stated officially that its forces are in Angola to protect the Southern Angolan Curnene power project.

"We realise that the presence of South Africa does big damage to our prestige," said Dr Savimbi, "but we cannot fight South Africa."

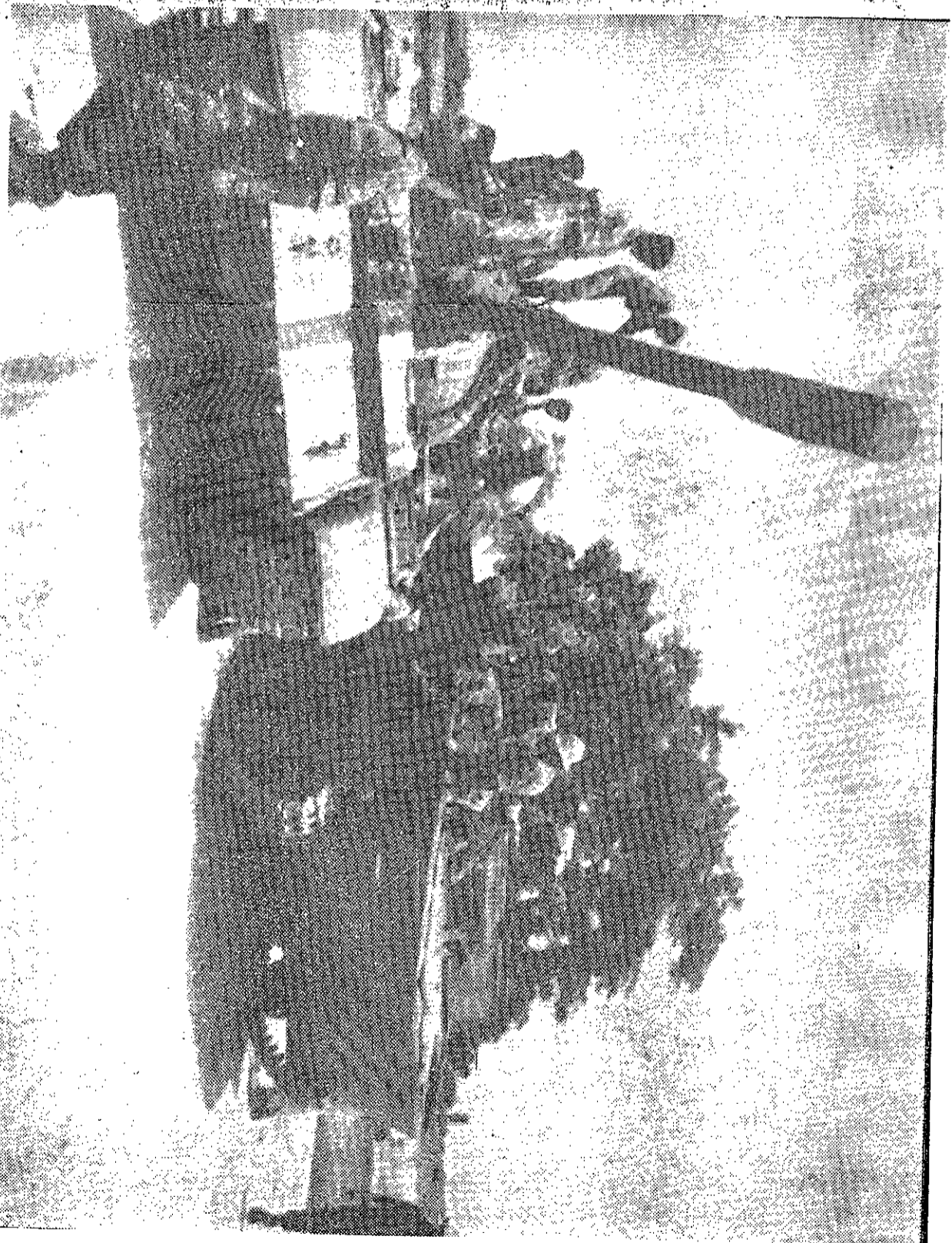
Commander Nzau Puna, the Unita secretary-general, was much franker in his comments on South Africa, speaking personally and not as secretary general.

"South Africans are like us, they are in Africa. They are not Cubans," he said.

"We must convince them to avoid apartheid. But where can they go? We are condemned to build this continent together."

He sharply criticised Mozambique's President Machel for attacking Unita for allegedly getting South African help when Mozambique itself could not survive without that help.

CONT...



# Unita tells of SA's 'price'

R.D.M.  
26/1/76  
RDM 26/1/76  
5

'Mail' Africa Bureau

LUSAKA.

**SOUTH AFRICA** wanted "recognition" from the 22 moderate states which supported Unita at the OAU summit in Addis Ababa as their price for staying in the Angolan war.

This was stated by Unita's Foreign Secretary, Dr Jorge Sangumba at the weekend. Asked why the South Africans were quitting, Dr Sangumba said: "Their price was too high.

"They wanted relations with and acknowledgement by these 22 states as a reward for their help."

"This was too high a price. We could not agree with that. The South Africans are very tricky people," he said.

He denied that any South African pull-out would imply the imminent defeat of Unita. "We will fight on," he said.

"We are now getting better supplies. Some helicopter gunships for us have already arrived in an African country.

Unita had received a very favourable response in the United States and Europe to its request for sophisticated weapons and mercenaries, he told United Press.

On the battlefield, MPLA yesterday claimed important new victories and spokesmen said the war might be over within weeks.

The allies vowed to launch a bloody guerilla war if they were defeated in conventional fighting.

Dr Jonas Savimbi, Unita's leader in Angola, said in an interview with Sapa and SABC TV at his Silva Porto headquarters that the MPLA had tried to capitalise on the South

## SA led advance

SOUTH Africans spearheaded Unita's rapid advance on the Marxist-held capital of Luanda late last year, UPI reports and military observers have now predicted a swift victory for the MPLA as the South Africans withdraw from the conflict.

A statement by Dr Jorge Sangumba, Unita's official spokesman, said the South African troop withdrawal would be completed this week.

Pretoria sent an estimated 1 200 troops to help Unita, mainly in logistical and support roles, he said.

African presence. Any nation had the right to defend its own safety.

"It is known that South Africa acknowledges the Mozambique Government, where there is stability," he said. But where there was not stability, in Angola, South Africa must be expected to defend its own safety.

Asked if he thought the MPLA, with its communist support, would attempt armed aggression against South West Africa, he said Russia aimed to launch aggression against all who did not accept

## Vital

Bob Hitchcock, 'Mail' Military Correspondent, writes that South African forces will continue to defend the giant Calueque-Ruacana hydro-electric plant, a vital part of which is 25km inside Angola from the South West Africa border.

Calueque, it was confirmed last night, is still viewed by the South African authorities as a defence keystone.

South Africa was willing to withdraw its troops from Calueque only on condition that a recognised authority in Angola could guarantee the security of the plant, according to authoritative sources.

This has been stated frequently by the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha.

At the weekend, the Minister reaffirmed this country's stand on Calueque when he said South Africa would defend its borders and interests "with determination".

South Africa has over R160-million invested in the scheme.

Last night, leaders of Unita warned in Lusaka that South West Africa could be the next target for invasion by Soviet-supplied and Cuban-led MPLA troops.

"If they defeat us", a Unita leader told a Daily Telegraph (London) correspondent, "they will not stop at the border with South West Africa."



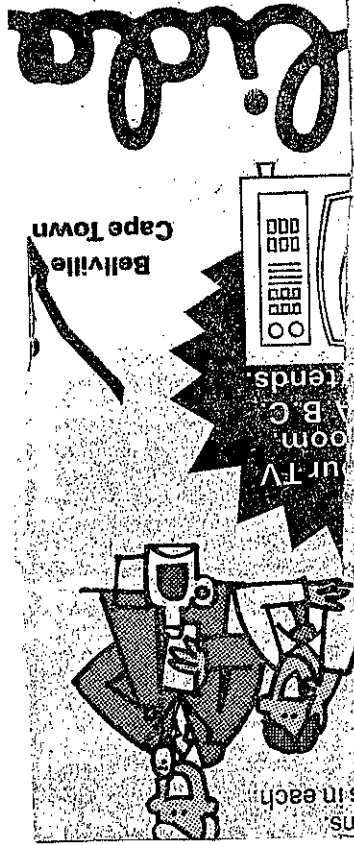
Where were South Africa's "free world" friends when the chips were down in Angola? KEN OWEN (left) of The Star's Washington Bureau takes a hard look at the realities of our foreign relations, and suggests some new starting points.

# Angola: time to face facts

STAR 28/1/76  
STAR 28/1/76

War is the acid test of...

the most accommod...  
ns telephone: Johannesburg 2-1536  
Port Elizabeth 2-1536



from criticism, and then only for so long as it suited them.

While South Africa was helping Unita to hold the southern front, Dr Henry Kissinger and his officials at least muted their criticism, risking some flak from their own Press and from the Congress.

Certainly the Congress was not swayed by arguments about the Cape route, nor about the strategic value of Simonstown and Luanda. Certainly, the American public showed no inclination to thank South Africa for fighting what Mr. P. W. Botha grandly called "the Free World's" battles.

Actually, the "Free World" didn't give a damn.

South Africans will need to draw their own conclusions about the implications. What follows are a couple of suggested starting points for the debate which surely is needed.

The suggestions are based on discussions with officials in Pretoria and in Washington, on a series of lunches and dinners with some first-class American academics, and even a breakfast meeting with Senator John Tunney, on Press conferences given by Dr Henry Kissinger and by Senator Dick Clark, the man who forced the covert Ameri-

can intervention in Angola into the open, and so killed it; on voluminous background reading and finally, on a revealing private interview with Mr William Schaufele, head of the State Department's Africa Bureau.

The suggestions are these:

- South Africa's attempts to identify with the West are futile so long as South Africa cannot gain acceptance from Black Africa, so Black Africa must be the primary target of foreign policy.

The most positive and understanding comments on South African intervention in Angola came not from any of those Americans on whom South Africa has lavished its money and its explanations, but from President Kenneth Kaunda's interview with C. L. Sulzberger, of the New York Times.

And criticism in the US of South Africa's role was dampened only by the OAU veto, which so startled many Americans that they lapsed into a silence which still, blissfully, endures.

- Instead of constantly begging the US to take Simonstown, on the sly if need be, South Africa needs to consider ways to join Black Africa in keeping the major powers and their power struggles out of Africa — an exer-

cise which might start with denying both sides bases, harbours and over-flight rights.

- The Government's greatest miscalculation in the Angolan war was the assumption that the West, particularly the US, was likely to be deeply concerned by a Soviet thrust in Africa. In fact, Europe is rich and powerless, and the US is richer and more confused. Neither has the stomach to continue the cold war.

So there is no security in cuddling up to the Western powers, and there may be new opportunities in striking an independent course. At least, the Angolan war has shown that we share common interests with much of Black Africa and that these interests can be fruitfully built upon

# Why SA went in — Botha

R.D.M. 27/1/76

RDM

27/1/76

Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

**S**OUTH African forces would remain in the Angola border area and if attacked would hit back with greater force, the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, said yesterday.

Replying to the no confidence debate, Mr Botha avoided reference to reports of South Africa's reported withdrawal from Angola.

He also did not reply to specific questions by the Leader of the Opposition Sir De Villiers Graaff, on the reports.

In a partly emotional speech, Mr Botha said South Africa would remain in Angola until genuine guarantees over the borders and interests for which South Africa was responsible, was received.

Among the questions put by Sir De Villiers Graaff were: Had South Africa been involved; is it still involved; was intervention unilateral or at the request or with the tacit approval of any other African or Western country or organisation?

If South Africa was withdrawing, what changed considerations were there which had led to this reversal of tactics, Sir De Villiers asked.

The day was totally dominated by the Angolan issue, with angry demands by both opposition parties for more information and a proper motivation of the reasons for South Africa's involvement. They were not satisfied with Mr Botha's answers.

Declaring that Sir De Villiers had made a responsible speech, Mr Botha listed to a tense and packed house the reasons for South Africa's involvement as the Government saw it.

## Blatant

Mr Botha said once proper order was established and the necessary protection given, South Africa would withdraw immediately.

Mr Botha said both the Owambo and the Kavango Governments had asked the South African Government for Defence Force assistance in the interests of peace and development. But blatant communist attacks had taken place from time to time.

Representations to the Luanda-based Portuguese High Commission for protection for workers at Ruacana and Calueque had not been successful, and on August 9, last year, a platoon of South African soldiers under responsible command had been sent in to ensure order.

Instead they were fired upon, and the result was that they occupied Calueque.

On August 27 it was reported that Black and White workers at Calueque would refuse to work if the South African forces withdrew.

The refugee problem was another reason. To prevent South West Africa from being overrun by refugees, the South Africa Defence Force had established two refugee camps across the border in Angola at Calais and Chitado where clothes, food and medical needs were provided.

If the sluice gates had

## Call-up may be stepped up, says Webster

By BOB HITCHCOCK  
Military Correspondent

THE extended military call-up of South African citizens will continue, Major-General Neil Webster said last night.

The General, who is Director-General Resources of the Defence Force, warned: "The security commitment on our borders is likely to get bigger, not smaller. And this country must stand prepared."

In an interview, General Webster said: "It is highly probable that more Citizen Force units will have to serve for three months in the Angola border area."

Other authoritative sources confirmed last night that South Africa is building up a strong defence line in that area.

This was underlined yesterday by the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, when he told Parliament: "If we are attacked we will retaliate effectively. In the past we have hit back with small forces. If necessary we will retaliate with greater force."

The aim of the defence line, sources said last night, was to counter any threat of invasion of South West Africa by the Soviet-supported and Cuban-

led MPLA who are attempting to drive southward in Angola.

Mr Botha gave as one of the reasons for South Africa's involvement in Angola the fact that MPLA forces had been deployed up to South Africa's borders.

Several ammunition depots had been traced, the Minister said, and a large variety of foreign weapons had been captured.

According to General Webster, although the three month Citizen Force call-up would continue, no more part-time soldiers would be out of the economy at any one time than there are now.

"This situation could change, though," he warned.

A photo-copied letter received by some Citizen Force men in the past few days states categorically that the recipient should hold himself in readiness to do "active service on the border".

It warns that if the recipient is a student, teacher or a one-man business owner he should make immediate arrangements for the period he would be away as exemption was no longer automatic.

## Black SA troops in fighting

THE ASSEMBLY. — The Defence Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, disclosed yesterday that a unit of 190 "non-White" South African soldiers had fought and suffered casualties during the border conflict. Another two units were being trained for border duty.

He gave no details.

Mr Botha, speaking in the no-confidence debate said the whole Angolan issue might go down in history as a lost opportunity for the free world. The West could and must "wake up out of its death sleep."

Mr Botha said South Africa did not want to become the slave of Russia or any other power. — Sapa.

## 'They climbed into a plane, and were gone'

LUSAKA. — Western travellers from Angola said yesterday that South African forces had completed their pull-out from the civil war there.

The Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, was quoted as saying the last South African troops flew south last Friday, two days after Pretoria had ordered its forces to withdraw.

"They took all their equipment with them," one traveller said. "Savimbi told me a South African general came over, shook his hand, climbed into a plane and they were gone."

The entry of an estimated 2 000 South African troops into the war several months ago bolstered Unita forces against the

MPLA and some 10 000 Cuban soldiers.

But South Africa's intervention sparked widespread Black African protest that embarrassed Unita.

Dr Savimbi was quoted as saying the South Africans had mostly fought independently of Unita, although there were about 150 South Africans and 22 armoured cars assigned directly to Unita battalions.

The allied armies have now established a "fight to the death" defence line to block an expected Marxist armoured and aerial offensive against their capital, Huambo.

Dr Savimbi was quoted as saying that though the South Africans had pulled back from the front

itself, they had not Angola completely.

They retreated to border area with West Africa where were still defending vital Cunene Dam.

The travellers said MPLA had now in Cuban-flown Russian fighters into the for the first time, for the first time, could not be confirmed Sapa-AP-UPI.

# Africa

## 'Don't pull troops out'

**Own Correspondent**  
**PARIS.** — Senior military experts in the French capital believe that South African troops should remain in Angola to win time for the West to realise what is at stake and intervene. They said Angola was of major importance to South Africa because of its strategic position and that "if South Africa did not pour in more troops and hold on, the end would come very soon."

They agreed that if South Africa remained alone, it could gain time but would be unable to prevent eventual defeat. This gloomy summary is the first concluded by senior French armed forces officers and conveyed discreetly to military editors.

But French diplomatic sources said there was still leeway for negotiations between Washington and Moscow and between the rival movements in Angola itself.

Military experts said that, for Russia, Angola was "the chance of a century."

They said former Soviet bids to penetrate Black Africa had failed but this time Moscow had succeeded "after 15 months of preparations".

Other points made by the experts were:

- Cuban troops were not buttressing the MPLA forces but were fighting in their own units under their own commands. Russia had sent up to 500 technicians to control air traffic.
- The Kremlin has invented a new way of intervening through a third party on another continent by calling on Cuban troops. It is a manoeuvre completely unforeseen by the West.
- There is no question of Russia leaving Angola. An MPLA-dominated Angolan government would be a spring-board for destroying any prospect of developing racial harmony in Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa.
- A Conservative MP, Mr Richard Luce, said in London yesterday, Sapa reports: "The Times, Mr Luce added his voice to that of the shadow foreign secretary, Mr Reginald Maudling, suggesting that the European Economic Community should develop a common policy to the Angolan crisis, an issue which, he said, "could have very serious implications for Western Europe."
- The development of Soviet defence facilities in Luanda would be an additional threat to the South Atlantic trade routes.
- Mr Luce concluded: "The West must make a stand against Russian expansionism. The European community has a key role to play and Britain must take a lead in this."

## MPLA is favoured

**LISBON.** — Portuguese military leaders focused their attention on Angola yesterday amid mounting pressure in favour of recognising the Soviet-backed faction.

The development followed the announcement by the Foreign Minister, Dr Ernesto Meilo Antunes, that Portugal soon would take an official stand on Angola.

Until now, Lisbon has declined to recognise any of the three factions. "We are convinced there will be an alteration in the current correlation of forces in Angola, which will be favourable to the MPLA," Dr Antunes said in a weekend speech. — UPI.



Dr Savimbi

## We'll fight to the end — Savimbi

**LUSAKA.** — Russia and Cuba would find themselves in a Vietnam-type situation if they tried to take enemy strongholds in the Angolan civil war, the leader of Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi, said yesterday.

Dr Savimbi said it would be impossible for the Soviet-backed MPLA to establish control of southern and central Angola.

If the MPLA and their supporters, the Cubans and Russians, come into the area "we will fight with all the means at our disposal and if necessary it will be guerrilla warfare," he told a Press conference in Silva Porto, Unita's military headquarters. — Sapa-Reuters.

## Kaunda snaps at Russians over Benguela taunt

**LUSAKA.** — Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda has attacked a reported Soviet comment that Zambia will have only itself to blame if it loses access to the Benguela Railway and the Angolan port of Lobitola, the government-owned Zambia Daily News said yesterday.

The railway runs across Angola to the port and was landlocked Zambia's main import-export route until it closed in August when the Angolan civil war began.

The newspaper quoted Dr Kaunda as saying Zambia would not reverse its decision to press for a government of national unity instead of recognising the Luanda-based government set up by the Soviet-backed MPLA.

The paper said Dr Kaunda, speaking to a youth rally at his official residence in Lusaka, also said Zambia would not re-open its border with White minority-ruled Rhodesia.

In a front-page story headlined: "Cheeky Russian blackmails Zambia," the paper said: "Dr Kaunda told the youths he was astonished recently by a Russian national based in Lusaka who told a Zambia that we would have ourselves to blame if the MPLA closed the Lobitola route to us for not recognising their government."

"What cheek for the Russians to say so. Should the MPLA shut the port it will be a pity, but Zambia will not be a puppet of the MPLA and will not be cowed into doing wrong things because of routes."

Dr Kaunda did not name the Russian, but observers said there were very few in Lusaka other than the Soviet Embassy staff.

President Kaunda also said he regretted the involvement of thousands of Cuban Army regulars in Angola on the MPLA's side.

If the MPLA and the Russians decided to attack Zambia because of its principles, the whole world would see what was happening and be free to reach its own conclusions, Dr Kaunda said.

Commenting on a recent call by some members of parliament to re-open the border with Rhodesia, the President said it was "out of the question."

If the Black Rhodesian majority was unable to obtain its independence by peaceful negotiations, it would become necessary to intensify the armed struggle, he added.

Replying to recent severe criticism of himself by Mr Robert Mugabe, a leading Rhodesian nationalist, Dr Kaunda said: "These people have the cheek, the impudence and the idiocy to say that we have not done anything for them."

"Some of them have been slumbering, whining and dining in expensive hotels in foreign capitals while our people die for their freedom. What are they doing, these idiots? Who are they to point their dirty fingers at us?" — Sapa-Reuters.

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RDM. 27/1/76

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## Botha skirts SA 'pull-back'

R.D.M. 27/1/76

### FROM PAGE ONE

been opened, 11 000 refugees would have flooded in, Mr Botha said.

Another reason had been the attacks on the peaceful inhabitants of Owambo from across the border by terrorist gangs who then took refuge in Angola.

On several occasions the Defence Force had pursued the gangs and destroyed their camps.

For the first time the Minister gave the full casualty list in the border confrontation. A total of

20 South Africans had been killed and 14 had died in accidents.

In a carefully worded

reference to other actions, the Minister said: "We were on occasions involved in other fights as well. Most of these went in our favour. It was done to protect Black and White Angolans from extermination by the Russians and Cubans.

Another reason given by the Minister was that the Russians and Cubans were arming the MPLA who were in turn protecting the terrorists.

Captured so far had been 80 tons of small arms, 90 tons of ammunition, 10 recoilless rifles, 120 mortars and other weapons.

Mr Botha strongly rejected allegations that South Africa's image in Africa had been damaged

by its actions in Angola.

The Opposition's chief spokesman on defence, Mr Vause Raw, said the Minister had failed to give proper motivation and justification for South Africa's involvement in Angola.

Mr Raw said the people of South Africa were entitled to know as much as people in other parts of the world were being told about the situation.

The leader of the Progressive Reform Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said it was difficult to motivate South Africa's involvement in Angola when the electorate had not been told what the goal was of the Government and the mandate which it had given the Defence Force.

Report by Bernard Wessels, Press Gallery, House of Assembly.

# Give more details, say UP men

STAR

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27/1/76

## Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's involvement in Angola was the big issue debated on the first day of the no-confidence debate in the Assembly. Opposition speakers complained, however, that important questions had still not been answered by the Government.

The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, who was the main Government speaker yesterday, gave reasons for South Africa's involvement, but made no reference to the reported withdrawal of South African Forces from Angola.



MR RAW

He said South Africa would remain in the Angolan border area until genuine guarantees were received concerning the borders and protection of interests for which South Africa was responsible.

"If we are attacked we will retaliate effectively. In the past we hit back with small forces. If necessary we will retaliate with greater force," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha spoke immediately after the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, who had

called on the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, for the fullest possible disclosure of information on the Angolan situation.

Sir de Villiers had accused the Government of "deliberately and systematically" denying South Africans information.

Questions posed by Sir de Villiers during his address included:

● "How did the young South Africans captured in Angola get to the areas, reported by foreign news media to have been identified by the prisoners themselves, in which they were captured? Under whose command were they?"

● "Were other South African servicemen exposed to similar dangers? If so, what were the strategical objectives that caused involvement in the far-flung areas north of the border?"

● "If South Africa was involved, was it still so involved?"

● "Was such intervention unilateral, or at the request of or with the tacit approval of any other countries or organisations, African or Western?"

## REVERSAL

● "If South Africa was withdrawing, what changed considerations were there that had led to this reversal of tactics?"

Mr Botha said a lot had been made about the so-called "right to know," especially in Press circles. He wanted to know to whom they were responsible.

The Minister said he had no objection to the public's right to know, provided the security of South Africa's Forces was not jeopardised and diplomatic confidences were not blurted out.

The South African public was being kept informed to the extent that was possible.

To his regret, however, certain South African newspaper reporters had broken confidences more than foreign correspondents had done.

## JUSTIFICATION

The next Opposition speaker, Mr Raw, the United Party's chief spokesman on defence, said the Minister had failed to give proper motivation and justification for South Africa's involvement in Angola.

Mr Raw said despite the electoral support and high standing of the Prime Minister, the Government had no blank cheque from the public on the question of armed conflict.

The Minister was speaking in the no-confidence debate.

He referred to occasions when the South African Defence Force had pursued terrorist gangs across the Angolan border following attacks on peaceful inhabitants in Ovambo.

"We were on occasions involved in other fights as well. Most of these fights went in our favour."

"I might mention that we were involved in these fights under our own leadership."

### REMAIN FREE

The Minister then referred to South Africa's aim in these fights to save White and Black Angolans from extermination by Russian and Cuban forces.

"South Africa did not act in a spirit of self-righteousness," Mr Botha said.

The country was involved in Angola because it wished to ensure the maintenance of a free community in Southern Africa.

South Africa had acted with a limited objective and had succeeded.

If the different groups in Angola had been allowed to choose their own Government without interference from outside, South Africa would not have been interested in getting involved.

He said South Africa will not withdraw from the Angolan border area until she receives genuine guarantees concerning the borders and interests for which she is responsible.

She was, however, not prepared to shift her responsibilities in the border area and was prepared to retaliate in force if attacked.

Mr Botha rejected allegations that South Africa's actions in Angola had damaged South Africa's image.

"We are being seen in a different light in Africa," he said.

African s t

# WE WERE SAVING ANGOLANS, says Botha

STAR 27/1/76

## Political Staff

**THE ASSEMBLY** — South Africa became involved in certain fights in Angola "to save White and Black Angolans from extermination by Russian and Cuban forces," Mr P W Botha said.

The Minister of Defence was giving a four-point explanation of South Africa's involvement. The reasons were:

● The protection of workers at Ruacana and Calueque in the Cunene River project who had refused to work without this protection.

● The establishment of two refugee camps in southern Angola to prevent South West Africa being flooded by refugees.

● Attacks on Ovambo inhabitants by terrorists gangs who sought refuge in the chaos across the border, and

● The Russian and Cuban military help which had led to the MPLA being deployed up to South Africa's borders.

realising to an increasing extent that South Africa's immediate neighbours knew that they had nothing to fear from South Africa.

Mr Botha said that on September 18 last year there were about 11 000 refugees in four camps in South West Africa and South Africa.

While South Africa was being slandered overseas, she received little thanks for this work.

Referring to the South African prisoners-of-war the minister said more prisoners were taken on the other side — including Cubans.

At the recent OAU conference in Addis Ababa the Republic's enemies had not succeeded in halting it to the cross.

In the battles that had taken place so far South African units, in limited numbers, had added a proud chapter to South Africa's military history.

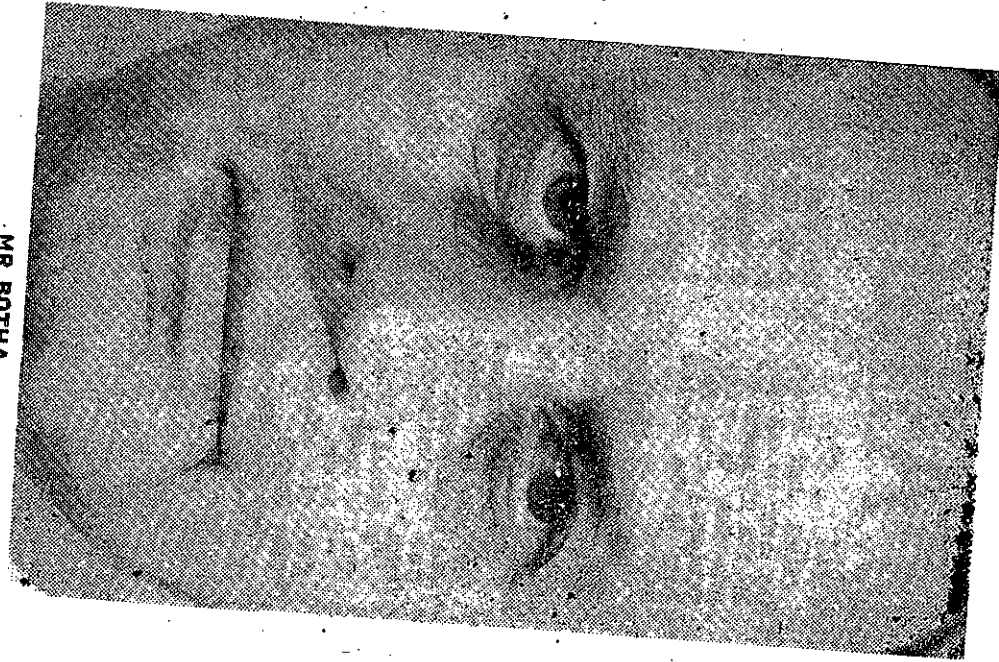
Losses had been relatively small. From July 1975 to January 23 this year South Africa had lost 29 men killed in action. During the same period 14 men died as a result of accidents.

All South Africans had naturally been hurt by the way in which the South African prisoners were paraded in Addis Ababa and elsewhere. He could say, however, that the South African prisoners-of-war had conducted themselves in such a manner they were rather an embarrassment to their captors and a credit to their own country.

Everything possible was being done to get them back safely.

The minister said that if the Cubans should win the struggle in Angola with Russian weapons, it would lead to a "wild stampede" of refugees which had already begun to a certain extent.

MR BOTHA



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# Army aids refugees at Angola camps

RDM 26/1/76 R.D.M. 26/1/76

MORE than 3 000 Angolan refugees of all races are being looked after in emergency camps in Angola by the South African Defence Force.

A Defence Force spokesman said yesterday that the refugees are concentrated mainly in three emergency camps on the Angolan side of the border.

At the tiny village of Calais, which normally has a population of just over 200, there were 1 453 refugees living in South African Army tents or makeshift shelters of their own.

They are mostly FNLA supporters who fled from the MPLA.

The oldest among them

is originally from Russia. He is 95-year-old Mr Kap-tionoff, who fled from Huambo, formerly Nova Lisboa.

A very thankful refugee is a Mr Perreira Large who had left a thriving farm with 2 000 head of cattle and plantations to flee south after the first MPLA aggression.

He stayed some time at Calais but after MPLA forces had been driven northwards he had decided to return to his farm. He went with others who had decided to return to their properties.

Many days later, however, only Mr Large returned to Calais, close to death from hunger and exposure.

He was the only survivor after they had met with MPLA forces on their way. He had walked about 280 km back to the safety of Calais.

After the initial confusion that brought the village virtually to a standstill when civil war broke out it has gradually begun to return to orderly life under the vigilance of the SA Army personnel, the spokesman said.

Further west along the southern border are two other refugee camps, one at Cuangar with 672 refugees and another at Chit-ado with 2 050 refugees.

The latter camp is on the Kunene River near the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme which is one of

the projects protected by South African soldiers at the request of the Portuguese Government.

South Africa's problems with refugees from Angola did not begin only when ship and boatloads of refugees started to arrive at Walvis Bay, but had actually started soon after civil war broke out and particularly when Russians and Cubans poured in military power behind the MPLA, he said.

At one stage there were no less than 7 000 refugees seeking either to return to Portugal, to cross the border and try to make for South Africa or to await the outcome of the civil war.—Sapa.

# MPLA DRIVES ON TO ZAIRE

Express Correspondent  
**LUSAKA.** — Fears of a sharp escalation in the Angolan war grew yesterday with reports that Russian-backed MPLA troops were preparing to carry the battle to Zaire.

While fighting on the southern front continued at a furious pace, a powerful MPLA column of tanks and troops was reported to be driving north towards the Zairean border.

A communique from Santo Antonio do Zaire said FNLA forces had been pushed back almost to this Angolan border town and had suffered heavy losses.

Diplomatic sources believe the MPLA plans to capture Santo Antonio and blockade the Zaire River to halt arms shipments to the principal Zairean port of Matadi.

Zaire has been the major supporter of the FNLA and a large proportion of the armaments going to the allied cause has been channeled through Zaire.

An MPLA blockade of Matadi could start a whole new offensive and involve Zaire directly in the war.

It could also force the war into the air for the first time for Zaire has a wing of combat aircraft but no navy to counter a blockade attempt.

The MPLA is reported to have a force of 12 Russian MiG-21 fighter-bombers standing by at Luanda airport, with mercenary pilots. These supersonic aircraft should prove too strong for the 28 dated French sub-sonic planes of the Zairean Air Force.

However, Zaire has 50 000 men under arms who could be thrown into battle should the MPLA infringe the country's territorial rights.

Down the south of Angola, embattled allied troops launched a counter offensive yesterday in an effort to blunt an MPLA drive which has so far won the Marxist army the strategic towns of Cela, Santa Comba and Amboiva in the so-called "bloody triangle".

In the east, an allied attack on the railhead of Teixeira de Sousa was also progressing steadily and Unita troops were reported to be within 20 km of the town.

Dr Jorge Sangumba, Unita's foreign secretary said Unita forces had regrouped after the "bloody triangle" defeats and had launched their own offensive to capture the neighbouring towns of Colo and Casamba and so trap the MPLA's southern troops in a pincer movement.

## MPLA ESTABLISHES MIG-BACKED FORCE

**MOSCOW.** — The Soviet-backed faction in Angola has established an air force, the Tass news agency said in a report from Luanda.

Tass reports that thousands of people gathered at Luanda's airport to mark National Aviation Day and heard speeches by the MPLA president and defense minister.

No information about the number or type of aircraft was given, but the Soviets are the MPLA's only military suppliers and technicians are said to be assembling sophisticated MiG fighters. — UPI.

## Dossier of lost chances

By HELEN ZILLE

IN its pursuit of detente, South Africa was striving to make the very contacts with Black Africa it had shunned years ago, a leading member of the Rhodesian ANC said this week.

Addressing the annual meeting of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr A. M. Chambati — who has been part of the ANC's negotiating team in recent talks with the Smith Government — gave details of what he called "a dossier of wasted opportunities" on the part of the South African Government.

● In 1958, South Africa refused an invitation to attend the conference of independent African states in Accra.

● In 1962 Dr Verwoerd refused to accept an offer from the then Nigerian Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, to visit the Republic because he saw the Nigerian as "a fanatical extremist".

● In 1964 South Africa spurned President Kaunda's offer to exchange diplomats with Zambia when the country became independent.

● In 1969 South Africa rejected the Lusaka Manifesto in which Black Africa agreed not to interfere with South Africa if she would commit herself to abolishing all forms of race discrimination.

The Angolan war and Rhodesian deadlock were the results of the refusal of White rulers to accept Black Africa's reasonable demands and offers, he said in a later interview.

Nat: SA  
26/1/76  
must stay  
in Angola

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JOHANNESBURG — Mr Otto Krause, the Nationalist journalist, has made a strong plea for continued South African involvement in Angola.

Mr Krause told a meeting of service associations at the weekend that withdrawal was morally, militarily and diplomatically indefensible.

It would see the end of detente and all the promising moves of the past 18 months.

Earlier he joined Mr John Barratt, director of the South African Institute of International Affairs, in calling on the Government to give more detailed information to the public on activities in Angola.

"The credibility of a country's foreign policy depends on the support of the public," Mr Barratt said. "The Government should note the responsible views of the public, but there has not been informed debate and exchange of views in our society because of the lack of information."

Mr Krause said: "It has never been stated but it is obvious that South Africa became involved in Angola, with the assent of Unita, the FNLA, Zambia and Zaire. We are there by invitation."

"The past few weeks have gone badly for our allies, hampered by our indifferent relations with the West, and the reluctance of the West to become involved."

"There has been a choir of calls for withdrawal. This question must be faced by all of us, and if we were better informed about the issues at stake we would have aided the Government in making the decisions."

"There is tremendous pressure in South African society — and not only among opposition forces — to withdraw. The air is thick with talk that the Government will finally make public a major decision."

To withdraw would be wrong on every ground, Mr Krause said. It was clear that South Africa was involved, and was morally obliged to stay. "I don't think it is right to let down our allies," he said.

It was advisable to stay for military reasons as well, because a retreat would put the country in a weak position. — DDC.

# Angola policy shifts likely All on MPLA bandwagon

STAR 26/1/76

The Star's Africa News Service

Significant political realignments are in the wind as the MPLA continues to dominate the battlefield in Angola and South Africa is reportedly disengaging its forces.

There are increasing signs that Zaire is now interested in reaching an accommodation with the MPLA. It may even be ready to drop its support for Unita, according to the Washington Post.

Portuguese authorities are reported to be reviewing their position of neutrality as pressures increase for recognition of MPLA.

And the MPLA, which seems likely to retain control of at least a large part of Angola, is making discreet overtures to the United States.

The message MPLA leaders are trying to get across is that although it now depends heavily on Soviet and Cuban military backing, it will need American and Western help to reconstruct the country when fighting has ended.

Botha due  
to speak  
today

The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, is expected today to make an announcement on South Africa's reported troop withdrawal from Angola.

He is due to comment on the Angola situation during the no-confidence debate in Parliament.

The Star hopes to carry reports of Mr Botha's statement in later editions.

## Policy shift

Zairean leaders, including President Mobutu Sese Seko, have been hinting recently at a shift in official policy towards the Angolan factions in both public statements and private conversations with Western journalists in Kinshasa.

The shift coincides with a radical change in recent weeks in the hard realities facing Zaire.

With its economy and dissent smouldering within its borders Zaire can ill afford to be dragged into outright war.

Senior officials in Kinshasa have said Zaire still supports a compromise among the Angolan factions, but they have not insisted specifically that the FNLA they once openly supported should be included in a coalition government.

## Portugal

In Portugal, the ruling Council of the Revolution is to re-examine the Angolan situation today in the light of a report by a group of military observers who have just returned from there.

The Foreign Minister, Major Ernesto Melo Antunes, said the Government would soon announce an official position on Angola. He indicated it might come out in support of the MPLA.

The MPLA's desire to improve relations with Washington has been illustrated by treatment accorded to Mr Mark Moran, foreign policy adviser to Senator John Tunney, who has been on a fact-finding mission to Luanda.

## Stopped aid

Senator Tunney was author of the amendment in Congress that stopped the supply of American military aid to the MPLA's rivals. The issue is to be considered again soon in Congress.

In Luanda, Mr Moran met all top military leaders of the MPLA except the president, Dr Agostinho Neto.

# Unita tells of SA's 'price'

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26/1/76  
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'Mail' Africa Bureau

LUSAKA.

**SOUTH AFRICA** wanted "recognition" from the 22 moderate states which supported Unita at the OAU summit in Addis Ababa as their price for staying in the Angolan war.

This was stated by Unita's Foreign Secretary, Dr Jorge Sangumba at the weekend. Asked why the South Africans were quitting, Dr Sangumba said: "Their price was too high.

"They wanted relations with and acknowledgement by these 22 states as a reward for their help."

"This was too high a price. We could not agree with that. The South Africans are very tricky people," he said.

He denied that any South African pull-out would imply the imminent defeat of Unita. "We will fight on," he said.

"We are now getting better supplies. Some helicopter gunships for us have already arrived in an African country.

Unita had received a very favourable response in the United States and Europe to its request for sophisticated weapons and mercenaries, he told United Press.

On the battlefield, MPLA yesterday claimed important new victories and spokesmen said the war might be over within weeks.

The allies vowed to launch a bloody guerilla war if they were defeated in conventional fighting.

Dr Jonas Savimbi, Unita's leader in Angola, said in an interview with Sapa and SABC TV at his Silva Porto headquarters that the MPLA had tried to capitalise on the South

## SA led advance

SOUTH Africans spearheaded Unita's rapid advance on the Marxist-held capital of Luanda late last year, UPI reports and military observers have now predicted a swift victory for the MPLA as the South Africans withdraw from the conflict.

A statement by Dr Jorge Sangumba, Unita's official spokesman, said the South African troop withdrawal would be completed this week.

Pretoria sent an estimated 1 200 troops to help Unita, mainly in logistical and support roles, he said.

African presence. Any nation had the right to defend its own safety.

"It is known that South Africa acknowledges the Mozambique Government, where there is stability," he said. But where there was not stability, in Angola, South Africa must be expected to defend its own safety.

Asked if he thought the MPLA, with its communist support, would attempt armed aggression against South West Africa, he said Russia aimed to launch aggression against all who did not accept

## Vital

Bob Hitchcock, 'Mail' Military Correspondent, writes that South African forces will continue to defend the giant Calueque-Ruacana hydro-electric plant, a vital part of which is 25km inside Angola from the South West Africa border.

Calueque, it was confirmed last night, is still viewed by the South African authorities as a defence keystone.

South Africa was willing to withdraw its troops from Calueque only on condition that a recognised authority in Angola could guarantee the security of the plant, according to authoritative sources.

This has been stated frequently by the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha.

At the weekend, the Minister reaffirmed this country's stand on Calueque when he said South Africa would defend its borders and interests "with determination".

South Africa has over R160-million invested in the scheme.

Last night, leaders of Unita warned in Lusaka that South West Africa could be the next target for invasion by Soviet-supplied and Cuban-led MPLA troops.

"If they defeat us", a Unita leader told a Daily Telegraph (London) correspondent, "they will not stop at the border with South West Africa".



# Uitkoms vir 25/1/76 vlugtelingen

RAPPORT

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Van FRANZ KEMP

WALVISBAAI.

DIT lyk of die netelige kwessie van Angolese vlugtlinge wat glo nie as Portugese burgers kwalifiseer nie, sonder die hulp van die VVO opgelos sal word. Binne die volgende paar dae kan 'n heenkome vir almal in Portugal gevind word.

Die eerste aanduiding dat die probleem uitgestryk word,

is gister gegee deur dr. Carlos de Matos Tarquenho, die Portugese gesant uit die Republiek, wat reeds 'n paar maande in Windhoek is om vlugtlinge uit Angola by te staan.

Op 'n vraag oor hoeveel vlugtlinge toegang tot Portugal geweer word en op die vaartuie wat nou in Walvisbaai lê, sal moet agterbly, het dr. Tarquenho geantwoord:

„Wie se daar gaan vlugtlinge op die vaartuie agterbly? Ek is nog nie klaar met my werk nie. Wag tot ek daarmee klaar is en kyk dan.“

Dr. Tarquenho, wat nou deur 'n span van ses amptenare bygestaan word, werk sedert verlede naweek met alle mag om die vlugtlinge se identifikasie en dokumente na te gaan.

Hy se sy werk op Walvisbaai behoort teen Woensdag afgehandel te wees.

Tot dusver is 1 500 vlugtlinge toegelaat om aan wal te gaan. Hulle is per trein na Windhoek gebring, waarvandaan die eerstes Donderdag per vliegtuig na Portugal vertrek het.

Dit is moeilik om te raai hoeveel vlugtlinge nog op vaartuie in die hawe sit. Aanvanklik was die skatting van die totale vlugtelingbevolking 2 600, maar die syfer het met 300 gekrimp toe gevind is dat daar minder op die Silver Sky is as wat gemeen is.

Dr. Tarquenho het gister gesê dat daar nog sowat 300 vlugtlinge op die Silver Sky is. Die twee ander skepe, die Rio Vouga met 257 vlugtlinge en die Bengo met sowat 90, is reeds ontruim.

Onder die 500 vlugtlinge

wat Vrydag aan wal gekom het, was heelparty mense van die 21 kleiner visserskuite.

Dit lyk dus of hoogstens nog 500 vlugtlinge in die hawe wag om aan wal te kom.

Die getal suiwer blankes onder die vlugtlinge is uiters gering. Byna 80 persent is gekleurdes. Tussen hulle is daar verskeie swart Angolese.

Toe Maandag toegelaat is dat die Silver Sky in die hawe vasgemeer word, is verskeie Portugese huursoldate wat saam met die troepe van Unita en die FNLA geveg het, onder die vlugtlinge opgemerk.

Hulle het van die skip af vriende op die kaai gegroet en dié het vertel dat die huursoldate padgegee het omdat daar onmin tussen wit en swart soldate is.

Ene Felicio, die FNLA-leier, wat in die hawe van Mocamedes die Silver Sky gekommandeer het, het in Walvisbaai die vlugtlinge toespreek voordat die eerste 600 Maandag toegelaat is om aan wal te gaan.

Kort daarna het hy self die skip verlaat. Suid-Afrika se Veiligheidspolisie het met hom gesels. Hy is nie toegelaat om persoonderhoude toe te staan nie, en het weer na die skip teruggekeer.

Onder die vlugtlinge was ook 'n klein groepie FNLA-soldate wat met een van die visserskuite na Walvisbaai gevaar het.

Op die Silver Sky en ook op die ander skuite is beslag gelê op 'n groot voorraad wapens en ammunisie.

# SCOTT'S THERAPY AFTER PRINCIPALS GAIN THE

8-10  
257/176

● CONT...

By HUGH MURRAY

**SOUTH AFRICA** is no longer fighting on the Angola battlefield and has started to withdraw her troops from the territory.

This became clear yesterday when the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, agreed to publication of part of an interview with Mr Jorge Sanguamba, foreign affairs secretary of Unita.

South African troops began to leave the territory on orders from Pretoria several days ago. Mr Sanguamba said the withdrawal would be completed by early next week.

"This is what the world wants," he said. "Now it has happened."

"We shall fight on because nothing can change our principles or our will to resist a Russian-backed Cuban invasion of our country on behalf of a Communist movement."

### Alone

Wilf Nussey of the Tribune Africa News Service reported yesterday from Lusaka that Mr Sanguamba said Unita had been fighting alone on the southern battlefield for the past 10 days. He told an interviewer there would be no Whites with Unita next week.

Mr Botha said he would go into the matter fully during the no-confidence debate, though he was not sure when he would be speaking. He is expected to follow the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff,

## MERCY TRAIN IN TROUBLE

Tribune Reporter

ANGOLAN refugees from the Silver Sky traveling to Windhoek from Walvis Bay on the first leg of their journey to Lisbon, have run into more trouble.

The special train taking

# No Whites with Unita in a week, says Savimbi's man

when he introduces his motion of no confidence tomorrow.

Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, the Progressive Reform Party's defence spokesman, who recently visited the operational area, said:

"My first reaction is one of intense relief for our soldiers, who are no longer involved in actual combat. My other feeling is anxiety about the thrust of the MPLA southwards and about the very delicate situation South Africa is in on the South West African border."

### Desperate

"Now there is a desperate need for the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence to take the public into complete confidence to build up morale and trust for the very difficult times that undoubtedly lie ahead."

Mr Vause Raw, the United Party's chief spokesman on defence, said the proper place to deal with the matter would be during the no-confidence debate.

The party's chief spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Japie Basson, said the UP would demand a full explanation.

Sir de Villiers Graaff this week gave notice of his no confidence motion, on the grounds that the Government has failed to provide adequately for national security by failing to:

- Take the public into its confidence and motivate it on actions and objectives in Angola.
- Maintain economic growth and fight inflation

in consistence with increasing defence and other demands.

• Improve race relations and make rapid progress toward a system to unite South Africans of all races in a common loyalty.

In London, the Tribune Bureau reports that British mercenaries, including more than 70 former Royal Marines recruited in Plymouth last week, will fly to Angola in the next few days to be military advisers against the Marxist forces.

The soldiers' departure follows an extraordinary series of manoeuvres in which thousands of dollars have changed hands at London hotels.

The main parties in the deal, reports Tony Geraghty of the London Sunday Times, include the personal military representative of anti-Marxist Holden Roberto, leader of the crumbling FNLA.

### Disgrace

The representative, Norman Mervyn Hall (24), is a former Parachute Regiment soldier dismissed with disgrace in 1972 after the sale of nine weapons to the outlawed Ulster Volunteer Force.

Hall's defending counsel, Leslie Kirk QC, told the 1972 court martial that a psychiatrist's report suggested that punishment would only reinforce Hall's anti-social nature.

A reference in the medical report indicated that if the court martial had been a civilian court, Hall might have been ordered to be detained at Broadmoor. In the event he was freed from prison after a two-year sentence.

Two weeks ago he appeared in London after spending four days in Angola as Roberto's driver. He carried R21 600 in US dollars and a letter of accreditation signed by Roberto.

## SWA FACES REFUGEE RUSH AFTER PULL-OUT

By PETER MASON

A WITHDRAWAL of South African troops from Angola is likely to cause an unmanageable refugee problem.

There are tens of thousands of Portuguese in southern Angola in the area controlled by the anti-Marxist forces of Unita and the FNLA.

A pull-back by White forces may result in panic and a flood of refugees into South Africa and South West Africa.

Walvis Bay, still getting over coping with the 2 700 refugees who arrived two weeks ago on a fleet of cargo and fishing boats, is anxious.

Ship's agent Vernon Viljoen, who has set up an emergency control Q. at his office in Walvis Bay to help co-ordinate relief measures, is dismayed at the thought of a fresh influx.

"We've had enough of a problem, there are still over a thousand refugees sitting out there in the harbour waiting to come ashore."

A senior harbour official warned that the port would be unable to cope with another large influx of refugees.

But he added: "I understand there are very few fishing boats left in the Angolan ports to carry refugees."

OUT OF ANGOLA Page 27

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# Terrified refugees flood into Zaire

R.D.M. 7/1/76

Own Correspondent

KINSHASA. — Zaire is having to cope with a major refugee problem with the arrival of thousands of panic-stricken Angolans in towns and villages 800 km from Kinshasa.

Terrified by reports of MPLA-organised massacres, they escaped across the border ahead of the Cuban tank advance in northern Angola, which led to the deaths of at least 120 British mercenaries fighting for the pro-Western FNLA.

As Angola closed its borders to foreign journalists, makeshift camps for the frightened people were being erected yesterday by Zairois soldiers in Songololo, Moanda, Lukula and Tshela, around Zaire's major port of Matadi in the Bas-Zaïre Province.

## WHIRLPOOLS

Most refugees had to cross the Zaire River which in this area is fast-flowing and dangerous.

They used wooden pirogues — flat-bottomed canoes cut from single tree trunks.

Many of the boats overturned, and it is feared that large numbers of the fleeing population were drowned in the huge whirlpools and rapids that characterise this unpredictable stretch of water.

Anxiety over the plight of the refugees has prompted Mr Antoine Noël, a UN commissioner for refugees, to fly to Zaire to assess the situation.

He was in the area yesterday with representatives of the World Health Organisation to advise on sanitary facilities which are giving rise to concern.

The problem could endanger the Zaire Government's efforts to contain a current cholera outbreak.

# Govt action in Angola illegal

CAP TITLES  
5/3/76  
— BAMFORD

**SENATOR BRIAN BAMFORD** of the Progressive Reform Party said last night that the Government had contrived a "massive cover-up — deliberate, sustained and blatant" for the unlawful and unconstitutional use of the South African Defence Force in Angola.

Speaking to a crowd of about 400 which packed the Rondebosch Town Hall, Senator Bamford said that the SADF was a "statutory creature" whose powers and functions were prescribed by statutory legislation laid down in the Defence Act of 1957.

This Act clearly stated that there were only six situations where the SADF could be lawfully employed. Four of these concerned the outside foreign use of the defence force and they were:

- A war proclaimed by the State President and published in the Government Gazette.
- Fulfilment of treaty obligations with foreign powers.
- Combatting terrorism, and
- Police duties.

"Nowhere does the Defence Act of 1957 allow the government of the day to use the SADF for intervention in civil war," he said. The Government had acted outside of the law and unconstitutionally and the results could have been very serious if persons injured or the relatives of persons killed by such use had taken legal action against the Government.

This use of the SADF as it applied to the recent Angolan situation had

now been legalized and had been made retrospective to August 9, 1975.

Senator Bamford said that he was present when the Prime Minister had launched his detente move and had stated that there were two possibilities of resolving the situation — peace or conflict.

"I find it significant that within one year the Prime Minister sends out

Continued on page 15

## BAMFORD

Continued from page 1

South African forces on a mission of violence," he said.

"When the history is written the military will step out with honour from the Angolan confrontation."

Senator Bamford said the decision to go into Angola was a political one and not a military decision as the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, had said.

The Prime Minister told us that when we went in the Cubans were already there," he said.

"Then he must have gone in knowing that we didn't have the fire power to meet it, or we went in with inadequate intelligence.

"But power corrupts — from being in power too long the corruption has taken on the form of arrogance, the type of arrogance that refused to tell the people of South Africa how many people were killed, injured, missing or prisoners as a result of the Angola operation."

He had asked Mr Botha these questions and had been refused an answer and told that he (Senator Bamford) could deduce the facts from press reports.

The Minister had replied that the answers to these questions and to where South African forces had penetrated were not in the public interest to know.

He had, in fact, refused to give the very basic information that every South African parent and tax-payer was entitled to know — where, who and why their sons were fighting.

"The South African Government treats the people and Parliament with utter contempt," he said.

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# U.S. GLOOMY OVER FUTURE OF SA

13/3/76  
Weekend Argus Bureau

WASHINGTON. — Prominent American conservatives are now writing off Rhodesia and warning that South Africa itself will have to face a combined communist-Black nationalist assault alone.

This pessimism on the right wing comes at a time when liberals and Blacks are mounting a campaign for American support to be thrown into the scales against the White governments in Southern Africa.

Since the right wing pessimism strengthens the claims on the left that the Whites of Africa are finished anyway, the cries of doom from conservative spokesmen are having the perverse effect of weakening resistance to men like Congressman Charles Diggs and Senator Dick Clark who want to aid the total liberation of Africa.

## 'VERY GRAVE'

Mr William Buckley, the conservative writer who has long been sympathetic to the Rhodesians, says now that the future of Southern Africa is 'very grave.'

'It is hard to imagine that there are any realistic prospects for the survival of the White regime in Rhodesia,' he writes.

Crosby Noyes, a more flexible, but otherwise equally conservative writer, who has an important voice in Washington, predicts Cuban attacks on Rhodesia, South West Africa and eventually South Africa itself.

struggle against South Africa itself.

Asking what the U.S. can do about this, Noyes says: 'Virtually nothing.'

While the conservatives go no further than making a gloomy analysis of American impotence — the joke in town is that Cuba is now the only great power in Africa — liberals stand ready with policies fashioned long ago.

Charles Yost, former American Ambassador to the United Nations, says that whatever the United States does, the Black majorities in Rhodesia and Namibia will win self-determination in the relatively near future.

## 'ONLY QUESTION'

'The only questions are whether they win peacefully or bloodily, and whether they win with the sympathy and support of the Western democracies or only of the communists.'

At the same time, American newspapers are giving prominence to reports implying that the communists and their radical Black clients have wrested the upper hand from the moderates.

The overtures by Zaire and Zambia to the Government of the New People's Republic of Angola are seen as responses to the latent threat of the Cuban army.

At the same time the Washington Star reports from Dar-Es-Salaam that Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Rev Ndbaningi Sithole, and Mr James Shikerema have lost control of the Rhodesian guerrilla forces to an 18-man council of more militant figures.

## CUBANS

In a column headlined 'They Won't and We Won't' he urges Dr Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State, to stop threatening Cuba's Fidel Castro.

He argues that since Cuba will not cease its African intervention and the U.S. will not do anything about it, Dr Kissinger is merely advertising American impotence.

The Cubans, with their Russian patrons, have long since made the essential calculation — the United States will not react militarily in Africa (or probably anywhere else) in an election year, he says.

Describing the Cubans as the most effective force between the Sahara and the South African border, Noyes says:

'This force has already pledged its full support to all Black revolutionary movements in their fight against White minority Governments in Southern Africa.'

## RHODESIA

It is almost inconceivable that the Cubans will not become involved in the impending assault on nearby Rhodesia. After that, they can be expected to help the insurrectionary movement in Namibia and eventually to be thrown into a

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② 5

① 5  
② 25 6

from 45,000 point

# Pull-back Welcomed

W/E Angus 13/3/76

**OPPOSITION** MPs to-day welcomed the news of South Africa's further withdrawal from Angola.

Said Mr Denck de Villiers, a United party spokesman for foreign affairs: "We welcome the move and hope that negotiations regarding the safeguarding of South Africa's interests in the Ruacana project can be brought to a satisfactory conclusion."

He said this could lead to a complete withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert, defence spokesman for the South African Progressive Reform Party, said the pull-back was a good thing.

**TENSIONS**

We welcome the withdrawal as this will obviously contribute to decreasing the tensions. One only hopes that in the future it will be possible to negotiate some kind of agreement so that we can withdraw from the Ruacana scheme.

Sapa reported from Grodtonem yesterday that South African forces had withdrawn from Pereira d'Eca into South West Africa, following their successful evacuation from here of Angolan refugees.

The troops effecting the withdrawal were the furthest into Angola — 48 km — of all South African forces.

But South African troops are still guarding the Kunene River hydro-

electric installations at Calaque — 20 km from the South West Africa border — and at Ruacana, where the works actually straddle the border with Angola.

About 6,000 refugees from Southern Angola have been given humanitarian assistance and then moved out of Angola to here and to Windhoek.

**RED CROSS**

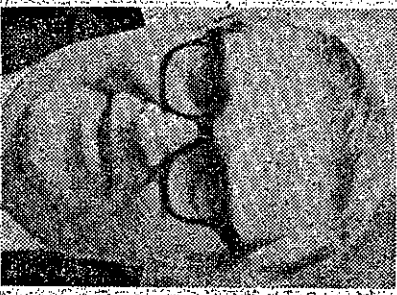
Mr Vause Raw, the United Party's chief spokesman on defence, today welcomed the role of the International Red Cross in playing in Angola.

He said this was in sharp contrast to the Western indifference and undervalued South Africa's standpoint that an unconditional withdrawal could not take place.

Such a withdrawal would have led to the massacre of refugees.

Mr Raw said South Africa's military presence had always been designed to protect life.

It was encouraging to see the Government was following a policy of gradual withdrawal.



Mr Vause Raw

**Botha: 'Elements' still  
at Calueque, Ruacana**

**S.A.**

**TROOPS**

**PULL**

**BACK**

15  
256

In a statement released here, the Minister said:

"All the refugees in southern Angola whom the Portuguese found acceptable for repatriation to Portugal have now been transported out of Angola.

"The remaining refugees who stayed in the four centres, Chitudo, Pereira d'Eca, Cuangar and Calai, are now gathered in Cuangar and Calai, near the South West Africa-Angola border.

"Here the International Red Cross is caring for the refugees while the South African Defence Force is assisting with medical treatment and food supplies.

### Solution

"The International Red Cross is trying to find a solution with regard to these refugees within a couple of weeks.

"With the refugee responsibility in Pereira d'Eca carried out without any interference, the South Africa forces, with the exception of elements at Calueque and Ruacana, now find themselves south of the border.

"RSA forces are still protecting the workers at Calueque and Ruacana and ensuring that the work continues until satisfactory arrangements can be made to maintain order there.

"Obviously, the South African Defence Force is still positioned for the protection of the South West Africa border," the Minister said. — Sapp

CAPE TIMES 13/3/76.

**PRETORIA.** — All of the refugees in southern Angola whom the Portuguese authorities found acceptable for repatriation to Portugal had now left Angola and as a result South African forces had withdrawn from Pereira d'Eca, the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, said last night.



# Russian control in Angola not likely—Barratt

Cape Times 26/2/76

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Chief Reporter

MR JOHN BARRATT, director of the South African Institute of International Affairs, said in Cape Town last night that it should not be assumed that, because of its decisive contribution to the MPLA victory, Russia would control Angola.

"One can be sure that the MPLA will resist actual domination if the Russians should attempt this," he said, "and that Dr. Neto is aware that other African governments will be watching to see if his government is acting freely."

"But in any case the Russians have had bad experiences in Africa when they have tried to dominate and they will presumably not want to run the risk of frightening other African states any more than they already have by their Angolan intervention."

Addressing the Cape Town branch of the SAIIA on the background to the Angolan conflict, Mr Barratt said when the Russians lost their influence in Portugal, with the reaction against the communists, they placed even more emphasis on Angola, so as not to lose their influence there, too.

Angola had offered the Soviet Union an opportunity to increase its influence in a vital part of Africa and to be in a position to challenge the United States in an area where it had for a long time been influential — namely in Zaire.

## SUBVERSION

"Possible attempts to subvert Mobutu's government cannot now be excluded because neither the MPLA nor the Russians have any reason to be fond of him."

Another factor in Soviet motivation, said Mr Barratt, was no doubt the desire to counter Chinese influence which was steadily growing, particularly in East Africa, and it so happened that China was supporting the FNLA and to some extent Unita, as well as Zaire.

"The Soviet Union has

tried to show in Angola that, when the chips are down, it is better to have a friend with real power who can produce the goods — that is, military hardware, that China cannot match."

Another related factor was probably that the Soviet Union saw Southern Africa as an unstable area, particularly since the Portuguese withdrawal, and that it wished to be in a position to influence events from a strong political and military base in the region. There was some reason to believe that it was not satisfied with its position in Mozambique where, in spite of considerable Soviet aid, to Frelimo over the years, China still had strong influence.

## MIXED MOTIVES

"One can say in general, therefore, that the motives of the Russians have been mixed, and in this regard they have been acting like a world power, which they are, seeking special centres of influence wherever they can get them. In Angola they have cause for confidence that they can rely on the MPLA."

Mr Barratt said it would be wrong to regard Cuba simply as a Russian power. Although a close ally of the Soviet Union it did have its own interests, "and a certain revolutionary zeal which even Russia lacks".

"Castro has referred to the Angolan events as an 'extension of the Cuban revolution'. There has also been the suggestion that Cuba wants the use of Angolan ports for its fishing enterprises, and economic links with Angola could probably be of importance to Cuba in various areas."

(5)

# 500 more refugees cross into SWA

*Cape Times*  
26/2/76

**ONDANGUA.**—Five hundred more Angolan war refugees trailed a cloud of dust for several kilometres through green-bushed countryside of Southern Angola yesterday.

They wound their way in a column of more than 150 vehicles, which crossed out of their country into South West Africa.

Four hundred more re-

fugees were airlifted from Pereira D'Eca on four South African Air Force flights yesterday.

In the biggest of the camps, Pereira D'Eca

where they are being cared for and protected by the South African Defence Force, the number of refugees has now been reduced from about 6 000 at the weekend to roughly 4 300 in one of the biggest operations of its kind yet undertaken by South Africa. Other refugees who have left Angola since Monday travelled in the first road convoy on Tuesday from Chitado, in which about 500 people crossed the border here.

There is still no certainty about how many of the 11 000 refugees under South African protection will finally be approved for repatriation to Portugal and allowed to cross into South West Africa on their way to Portugal. — Sapa

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*Cape Times*  
**Refugees**  
26/2/76  
**in Zaire**

**Own Correspondent**

KINSHASA. — Zaire is having to cope with a major refugee problem with the arrival of thousands of panic stricken Angolans in towns and villages 800 km from Kinshasa.

Terrified by reports of MPLA-organized massacres they escaped across the border, ahead of the Cuban tank advance in northern Angola fighting for the pro-Western FNDA.

# South Africans must quit Angola — Cuba <sup>26/2/76 DD</sup> 5

UNITED NATIONS — Cuba, without mentioning its own troops in Angola, said here South Africa should pull out any troops it has in the former Portuguese colony.

In a letter to Dr Waldheim, the Cuban Ambassador, Mr R. Alarcon, charged that South African authorities had "invaded the people's republic of Angola" to extend their "odious system of oppression."

Mr Alarcon also referred to three letters in which the South African Foreign Minister, Dr Hilgard Muller, appealed to Dr Waldheim unsuccessfully for UN help for over 11 000 refugees in southern Angola.

Mr Alarcon accused Dr Muller of "an exercise in cynicism as stupid as it is useless, to confuse public

opinion and cover up the aggressive and totally illegitimate actions that the racist authorities carried out against the people of Angola and Namibia and to mask them with supposed 'humanitarians'."

Mr Alarcon said if Dr Muller had any concern for the well-being of the Angolan people, his government should "put an end, immediately and without conditions, to its criminal aggression and withdraw right now all South African personnel, as well as mercenaries in its service, from every corner of Angolan territory they still occupy."

He said if his concern went farther south, he could suggest that his government respect UN decisions "and abandon, without further delay, all the territory of Namibia

which it occupied illegally."

In his closest approach to mention of Cuban troops, he hailed "the glorious victories of the People's Republic of Angola, the fruit of the selfless struggle of its heroic fighters directed by the MPLA and with the firm solidarity of the socialist community."

Mr Alarcon asked whether the refugees were not perhaps victims of a war unleashed by South Africa.

He advanced two alternative theories — that the South Africans had put them in concentration camps or "strategic villages" like "the United States imperialists" in Vietnam and that their displacement was "linked to the mobilisation of international assassins in the pay of imperialism, destined to impose the slavery of racism and colonialism" on the Angolans.

Mr Alarcon asked Dr Waldheim to circulate his letter as a Security Council document.

Meanwhile, MPLA leader, Dr Agostinho Neto, said yesterday that the Soviet Union had never put strings on the aid it provided the movement.

Dr Neto said the People's Republic of Angola supports the Liberation of South West Africa, Rhodesia and South Africa — SAPA-AP

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*Cape Times 26/2/76*  
**MPLA stops cargo**

LUSAKA — The new authorities in the Angolan People's Republic have suspended the movement of goods destined for Zambia from the Angolan port of Lobito, the Times of Zambia reported yesterday.

The Times quoted informed sources in the Zambian railhead of Ndola as saying that although trains had arrived

in Lobito to take on board goods destined for Zambia, the MPLA authorities had given orders that they should not be loaded.

Zambian imports stranded at Lobito included heavy machinery for the country's copper mines, hydro-electric projects and explosives industry, as well as sulphur, foodstuffs and medicine, the newspaper said. — Sapa-Reuter

January 24, 1976.

NM 24/2/76.

# 3-m carat talks in Angola

LISBON—One of the world's biggest diamond companies has opened talks with the new Angolan Government aimed at handing over its huge mining concessions.

Mr. Carlos Abecassis, chairman of Diamang, said yesterday it would like to surrender the rights but remain as a contractor - partner to operate the mines for the Government.

The Diamang concession mainly covers the north-eastern quarter of war-scarred Angola along the border with Zaire and produces about eight percent of the world's diamonds.

Mr. Abecassis said the company was running at a tremendous and permanent loss and he blamed this on a spectacular drop in productivity "85 percent in the past four months — and a sharp increase in illicit mining and diamond stealing."

and Mr. Abecassis said capacity would have risen to 3 500 000 carats last year in normal circumstances.

"If the smugglers were expelled and the population could be persuaded to work again, we would resume normal production in a couple of months," Mr. Abecassis said.

He said he believed agreement could be reached for the Government to take over the concession and share profits with Diamang. It was the only way to protect Angola's diamond production and make the labourers accept the strict discipline and hard work required to restore

productivity and efficiency, he said.

Thousands of war refugees fleeing Angola carried diamonds into Portugal last year.

Mr. Abecassis said this would stop as soon as Diamang mopped up the stones on the Portuguese market or if it appeared that the scheme was encouraging further thefts.

He said the company, jointly owned by the Portuguese Government and private share holders in Britain, South Africa, the

United States, Belgium and Portugal, had been impeccably treated by the MPLA.

Negotiations with the MPLA Government in Luanda began a month ago, he said.

The new administration was extremely anxious not to give the impression it wanted to nationalise or plunder the company, the second most important in Angola after the U.S.-owned Cabinda Gulf Oil Corporation, he added. — (Sapa-Reuter.)

# Mobutu seeks assurances

*Cape Times*  
5/2/76

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LUSAKA. — Zaire would not consider recognizing Angola's new government unless it received a guarantee against Cuban military interference in Zaire, Zaire's Foreign Minister, Mr Nguza Karl I Bond, was quoted here yesterday as saying.

Zambian newspapers quoted Mr Nguza as telling reporters on his arrival here on Sunday night that Zaire would also need a guarantee that more than one million Angolan refugees in Zaire would be allowed to return home.

The third condition which he said would have to be met was for 6 000 Katangese soldiers who fought on the side of the MPLA to be returned to Zaire.

The soldiers fled from Zaire in the early 1960s after a bloody but unsuccessful war to secure secession of the southern province of Katanga from Zaire.

The United States has no plans to extend diplomatic recognition to the MPLA government, the presidential press secretary, Mr Ron Nessen, said in Washington yesterday.

In Wellington, the New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr Robert Muldoon, said his government would recognize the MPLA government.

Mr Muldoon told newsmen: "New Zealand will follow other countries in recognizing the new regime, but I deplore the methods by which the MPLA achieved power."

"The part played by the Soviet Union was an act of imperialism, but recognizing the new regime is inevitable."

Following suit in Mbabane yesterday the Swaziland government announced that it had recognized the MPLA government. — Sapa-Reuters

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# *Little PoW back with his mum*

*Cape Times 24/2/76*

**JOHANNESBURG.** — South African troops in the operational area in Angola recently captured and disarmed a boy soldier of the MPLA and took him home to his parents.  
The story of the little PoW was told by Brigadier M J du Plessis, the

military area commander at a briefing in Ondangua last week.  
The boy, who was about 12 or 13 years old, was carrying an automatic rifle with an extra magazine and a bandolier of bullets. At his side he carried a case with hand grenades in it.

He was fighting in the Angolan bush with MPLA forces when the South Africans captured him.  
Brigadier Du Plessis said the boy was questioned and it was found that he came from a nearby kraal. A party of South African troops took him home.

His parents said that he had been missing for some time and had no idea where he had gone to. They thanked the South Africans for bringing their son home and were warned to keep an eye on him so that he would not stray again. — Sapa



*Com Times 24/2/76*  
**Refugees-**  
**negotiations** (S)

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Interior, Dr Connie Mulder, said that negotiations were in progress last night with the international Red Cross and it was hoped that eventually they would be able to take over much of the responsibility for the Angolan refugees.

Staff members of the Portuguese diplomatic mission were working in the camps to identify those refugees who were the responsibility of the Portuguese Government.

He stressed that the plight of the refugees was an international problem.

23/2/76

The Argus Bureau

**WINDHOEK.** — The first 400 Angolan refugees being repatriated in a massive aid-bridge between Windhoek and Lisbon, were expected here today.

They are part of the 5 000 refugees being removed from camps in Southern Angola. The first batch were to be flown to Windhoek today.

They were to be taken by bus from the J. G. Strijdom Airport to a refugee centre in the city.

Tomorrow will see the beginning of the air-bridge, organised by the Portuguese airline TAP, which will include about three flights a day until March 1.

About 15 flights in all are scheduled to remove the refugees.

The Portuguese Consul in Windhoek, Dr. C. M. Taquenho, said the first flight would leave Windhoek at 11.30 am tomorrow.

**FIRST BATCH**

The refugees consist of families and include grandmothers and children.

A steady flow of refugees is expected from tomorrow after the first batch are sent on their way, said Dr. Taquenho.

Included in the air-bridge will be the remaining Walvis Bay refugees who fled war-torn Angola about a month ago in an armada of fishing vessels.

They will leave Walvis Bay by train tomorrow to join their flight on Wednesday.

There are believed to be about 130 of these refugees.

Dr. Taquenho said that a Portuguese hospital ship is expected in Walvis Bay early next month to accompany the 34 fishing vessels from Walvis Bay to Portugal.

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# S.A. DECIDES ON ANGOLAN AIRLIFTS

*Natal Mercury 23/2/76* (5)

**PRETORIA**—The Government has decided to organise an airlift to bring refugees from southern Angola to Windhoek and to transport them from there to Portugal in aircraft of the Portuguese airline, the Minister of Information, Dr. C. P. Mulder, said in a statement here yesterday.

The airlift is being organised in co-operation with the Portuguese Government.

Today the South African Air Force, assisted by the Army, will bring refugees from the camps in Southern Angola to Windhoek where they will stay in transit until flown to Portugal in planes of the Portuguese airways says Dr. Mulder.

It is expected that the whole operation will be completed within a week.

The Departments of Defence, the Interior, Social Welfare and Pensions and South African Railways will play a major role.

Meanwhile about 150 refugees have been brought by train from Walvis Bay to Windhoek from where they will be flown to Lisbon on the first available flight.

Medical supplies, food, clothes and tents were supplied by the International Red Cross. Three representatives of the International Red Cross will be at the refugee camps as from today, Dr. Mulder said.

The South African Red Cross has also offered its

assistance, which will be canalised by the international body. The South African Red Cross will also approach the public for contributions.

Dr. Mulder said that the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, was apparently either unable or unwilling to "give any assistance to these helpless victims of the Soviet-controlled and instigated war in Angola."

Speaking of the airlift Dr. Mulder said: "The Government trusts that this step will provide further proof for the international community that South Africa is leaning over backwards to assist the helpless victims of the Cuban and Soviet controlled military war machine in Angola, irrespective of race, faith or nationality."

Dr. Mulder also said that the Department of Information was organising an air trip to Angola for 50 South African and foreign journalists tomorrow to witness the airlift. This was in addition to a number of television teams already in the area. — (Sapa.)

# FNLA has collapsed — US report

RDM 22/2/76

RDM 22/2/76

WASHINGTON.  
**THE FNLA has collapsed, the US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, is reported to have said in a secret cable.**

Members of the 20 000-strong US-backed Angolan liberation group are fleeing for their lives into neighbouring Zaire, Dr Kissinger is quoted as saying.

"All FNLA resistance has collapsed," the Washington bureau of Scripps-Howard Newspapers yesterday quoted Dr Kissinger as saying in a cable to US representatives at Nato.

The collapse of the FNLA would allow the Soviet-backed MPLA and thousands of Cuban troops to concentrate efforts on the remaining pro-West faction Unita.

Dr Kissinger reportedly said in his secret cable on Wednesday that "conservative" US estimates show Russia has poured R180-million in military equipment into Angola in recent weeks.

He said 7 500 to 8 500 Cubans now are involved.

The report did not say how Scripps-Howard obtained the cable.

But it said Dr Kissinger had instructed the US representatives to Nato to put pressure on Western Allies to resist the massive Soviet intervention in Angola and to quietly encourage moderate African states to do the same.

The collapse of the FNLA army began weeks ago as more and more Cuban troops and Soviet arms, including rocket launchers, were brought into battle against it, the report said.

The FNLA capital of Carmona fell last week.

In Silva Porto anti-communist officials said they

## Captured SA men flown to Khartoum

Own Correspondent

ADDIS ABABA. — The MPLA today flew its three young South African prisoners, captured in Angola, from the Ethiopian capital to Khartoum for presentation as examples of "South African aggression".

The teenage riflemen, invariably manacled together, were shown at a news conference in Addis Ababa earlier this week by the MPLA.

It is understood that after Khartoum they will be taken on for presentation in other African capitals.

South African television viewers last night saw one of the prisoners, Private Lodewyk Kitshoff, spell out his name in Afrikaans during questioning at Addis Ababa.

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# Free soon! Our prisoners in Angola war

CRIMINALS  
 SUN TIMES 22/12/76

By PATRICK TAYLOR  
 SOUTHERN AFRICANS  
 held prisoner by the  
 MPLA in Angola may  
 be home soon. The Red  
 Cross said this week  
 that negotiations were  
 well advanced for their  
 release in exchange for  
 Cubans held by the pro-  
 Western forces.

Items to come to a head by  
 about Wednesday, said  
 Mr. J. Louis, national secre-  
 tary of the South African  
 Red Cross.

The success of the ne-  
 gotiations is understood  
 to hinge on South Africa's  
 readiness to withdraw  
 from Angolan territory,  
 not on a straight swap of  
 the seven South African  
 prisoners for an estimated  
 30 Cubans.

The International Com-  
 mittee of the Red Cross is  
 optimistic about the re-  
 sult, said Mr. Roos, who  
 recently returned from a  
 tour of refugee camps in  
 Angola with a senior offi-  
 cial of the International  
 Committee.

All reports until now  
 have indicated that the  
 South Africans have been  
 well cared for by the  
 MPLA which is holding  
 them in Luanda. Four  
 were captured in Decem-  
 ber. Corporal J. G. Ter-  
 blanche and Privates G. E.  
 Danner, R. Wilson and R.  
 H. Wepshah.

"We expect the negotia-

tion to hinge on South Africa's

readiness to withdraw from Angolan territory,

not on a straight swap of the seven South African prisoners for an estimated 30 Cubans.

Two of the men were taken to Lagos before being returned to Luanda, where four of the other prisoners had been put on show.

Since then, little has been heard of the men, they are in prison in Luanda with Unita and FNLA captives.

Early this year the men received short messages from relatives in South Africa through the Red Cross, but so far they have not been allowed to communicate with their families.

① 5  
 ② 256

(1) 5  
(2) ~~20~~  
(3) Capital

# Diamond market 'goes crazy'

R-D.M.  
27/2/76

Own Correspondent

DURBAN, — The market for diamonds has "gone crazy" in Durban because of the Angolan crisis, according to jewellers.

One jeweller estimated that stones worth about R10-million are being taken out of the country every month.

### GUESSED

"Good quality diamonds are unobtainable in Durban. I never guessed that people had the large sums which they are now prepared to offer for these stones", he said.

Diamonds have been bought in parcels worth R10 000 at a time. People were prepared to pay high premiums in order to get some of their capital out of

South Africa.

Similar patterns have developed in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. There has been heavy selling of South African shares overseas due to fears that the current lull in Angola will be short-lived.

A broker said he had received an order in Durban to sell more than R500 000 South African gold shares which were held by one investor whose scrip was in an overseas bank.

The stock market has remained surprisingly firm in the face of events in Angola, Rhodesia and South West Africa but the rush to buy diamonds and dump South African share holdings abroad are signs that a shake-out of investments and people is taking place.

# Castro has talks with militant Black leaders

17/3/76

RDM

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DAKAR. — Three militant African leaders yesterday held a summit meeting in Conakry, capital of the Guinea Republic, with Cuban Premier Fidel Castro to discuss "the unity of progressive forces" against the White minority regimes in Southern Africa, Conakry Radio reported yesterday.

The broadcast, monitored in Dakar, said "complete understanding" emerged at the meeting of Castro, Guinean President Sekou Toure, Guinea-Bissau President Luis Cabral and Angolan President Agostinho Neto.

Pres. Sekou Toure recently launched a call for joint action by the "pro-

gressive" African regimes to put an end to White rule in Rhodesia and South West Africa.

A communique issued at the end of the two-day meeting said Guinea and Guinea-Bissau had agreed to provide President Neto's Cuban-backed regime with all the additional aid necessary to "hasten the total liberation" of Angola, Radio Conakry said.

The communique said the four leaders also discussed the "policies of South Africa in the light of the occupation of a part of Angolan territory" by South African troops. — Sapa-AP

# Quit dam or risk war, Castro warns SA

CAPX TIMES 18/3/76

**HAVANA. — Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba has warned South Africa that continued occupation of Angolan territory around the Cunene Dam could re-ignite the war and extend it to South West Africa and even to South Africa itself.**

"If the Cunene Dam becomes a battlefield, the responsibility will be wholly that of South Africa," he said in a speech in Conakry, Guinea, on Monday and published here yesterday by the official daily Granma.

"If, as a result of the racists' intention to maintain occupation over a part of Angolan territory, the war extends to Namibia (South West Africa), the responsibility will be South Africa's," he said.

"If Black Africa sets up a multi-African army to settle accounts once and for all and forever with apartheid, the responsibility will be wholly South Africa's," declared Dr Castro, whose troops helped the Soviet-backed MPLA to victory over pro-Western forces in the Angolan civil war.

Between 9 000 and 12 000 Cuban troops have been reported with the MPLA in Angola. Guinea and Guinea-Bissau also have soldiers there.

## Returned

Dr Castro returned home on Tuesday after meeting President Agostinho Neto of Angola and President Sekou Toure of Guinea and Chairman Luis Cabral of Guinea-Bissau in Conakry.

"The imperialists would like to know the details of our meeting, but this is the business of the revolutionary," Dr Castro said.

But he added: "Nevertheless, we wish to point out that there are powerful revolutionary forces in the south of Angola, and their fighting elements increase day by day."

The Cuban leader emphasized that President Neto had affirmed that he had no intention of destroying the Cunene Dam or cutting off the electricity supply to South West Africa.

"The South Africans have no right whatsoever to occupy a single inch of Angolan territory," he said.

● The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, last night refused to comment on Dr Castro's statements.

"I'm not replying to Fidel Castro. If he wants to make a statement let him," Mr Botha said. — Sapa-Reuter



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# Kunene Dam is property of Angola — Neto

ARGUS 19/3/76

The Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — The MPLA President, Dr Agostinho Neto, said yesterday that he has nothing to talk to South Africa about and that the Kunene Dam belongs to Angola.

In a speech during his trip to Guinea-Bissau, the MPLA leader said the South Africans state that they need guarantees to leave the country. They want to protect the Kunene Dam. But the dam is ours. It is in Angola and belongs to the Angolan people.

'We have no reply at all to give to the South Africans,' he added.

## NON-ALIGNMENT

President Neto, according to Luanda Radio, also repeated Angola's policy of non-alignment. 'We do not participate in any military alliances with any of the world blocs. And we refuse to accept pressures to change our views.'

Referring to criticism of the Russian and Cuban presence in Angola, he said: 'It is one thing to remain in a country to dominate it, exploit and oppress its people and another to stay in a country to express its solidarity and give its support.'

## MOBUTU

Sapa-Reuters reports Dr Neto as saying the object of his recent meeting with President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire was to restore peace in Angola.

He said he had told President Mobutu that Angolan refugees in Zaire, even former members of the rival FNLA and Unita movements, could come back to help to rebuild the country.

'The only thing we shall demand from them is to obey the law,' he added.

DURBAN, MARCH 21, 1976

# WE QUIT ANGOLA

## Vorster names the day after MPLA assurances

Sunday Tribune

By EUGENE HUGO, Political Correspondent

**PRIME MINISTER** Vorster announced early this morning that South Africa is prepared to withdraw her remaining Angolan troop contingent from the Caluque dam site within a week.

The dramatic statement came after South Africa received — through a third party — assurances that appeared to be acceptable.

The withdrawal, which could defuse the tense situation on the South West African border, will be not later than March 27 if the Government has interpreted the assurances correctly.

Mr Vorster's statement comes

after hours of deliberation by his inner cabinet at Groote Schuur last night.

The announcement was to have been made on Friday night, but was stopped at the last minute when Mr Vorster received information which persuaded him to make the disclosure only at 6am today.

It is not known who the "third party" in the negotiations was, but observers say behind-the-scenes discussions took place in New York between South African Ambassador Mr Roelof "Pik" Botha and Black diplomats.

### SPECULATION

There have also been strong speculations that Mozambique could have figured as a go-between.

Mr Vorster said this morning: "We have during the past few days received, through a third party, assurances

which in general terms appear to be acceptable to us.

"We are checking whether we are interpreting these assurances correctly and, if this is so, South Africa will withdraw its troops from the Caluque area not later than March 27."

The Prime Minister said it would be recalled that on August 9 last year a complete breakdown of law and order in Angola — forced to occupy the Caluque dam site.

This was while Portugal was still legally responsible for Angola and was, in fact, the governing power.

"We did this solely for the purpose of protecting the lives of workers and safeguarding the installations."

The Government immediately informed the Portuguese government of the steps it had taken and urged

them to take over the task, said Mr Vorster.

But the Portuguese could not do so at the time and requested South Africa to continue its protective measures and to remain "in situ" until they (the Portuguese) could assume this responsibility.

### POSITION

Mr Vorster said the Government had on a number of occasions stated its position:

• It was at the dam only for the protection of the workers and the works.

• It would withdraw as soon as assurances were received that no harm would come to the workers, and that the supply of water would be assured.

Mr Vorster referred to a statement he made to the London Sunday Telegraph:

"They asked us to hang on until such time as they could do it. They never came. So it is solely for that reason that we are still there."

"We will withdraw our troops immediately steps are taken to safeguard lives and property. The moment that is done we will get out."

These safeguards have now almost certainly been conveyed to Mr Vorster through an intermediary and, once he is satisfied that they are genuine the last South African troops will be pulled out of Angola.

This withdrawal will place the West in a much stronger position to demand that Russia and Cuba get out of Angola and it is expected to reduce considerable areas of tension still bedevilling Mr Vorster's detente with Black Africa.

The decision by Mr Vorster to pull

South African forces out of Angola dramatically reduces the possibility of direct conflict with the MPLA, Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

An early tip off to the withdrawal came from General Hendrik van den Bergh who told me yesterday there was "a very good" chance that South Africa will come to terms with the MPLA in Angola.

The head of the Bureau for State Security — a man who has played an intimate part in South Africa's detente exercise — spoke in an exclusive interview shortly after he had discussions with the Prime Minister in Cape Town.

General van den Bergh disclosed at the same time that there was no substance to reports that Russian arms and equipment are pouring into Mozambique.

"That is only rumour and speculation," he said in the first official South African comment on the issue.

### HEDGED

Earlier the MPLA Government in Luanda had hedged to safeguard the hydro-electric complex in southern Angola, but demanded an unconditional South African withdrawal.

An MPLA statement said: "To the brother people of Namibia . . . we pledge that nothing will be done which could endanger their development or make more oppressive their conditions of life under racist South African domination."

It did not have to accept any conditions or guarantees demanded by South Africa, but "the installations of the hydro-electric complex at Cunene, whose defence is the sole and entire responsibility of the People's Republic of Angola, will continue to function normally for the benefit of that brother people, with whose legitimate representatives we shall soon establish the necessary agreement."

### DEBATE

A revision of agreements signed by South Africa with Portugal for the use of the Cunene would be a matter for examination after South Africa withdrew from Angola and ended its rule over South West.

The Government decision comes at a time when the UN Security Council is preparing to debate South Africa's intervention in Angola.

There were well-founded fears that the council might be pressured into finding the South African presence a "threat to peace."

It would certainly have led to a face-to-face confrontation between South Africa, the MPLA and Cuba.

LONDON. — The Foreign Office has confirmed that Britain is the 'third party' referred to by the Prime Minister, Mr B. J. Vorster, in his statement that he was prepared to withdraw South African troops from Angola by next Saturday.

This explains the series of meetings between British Ministers and Mr Nikolai Lunkov, the Soviet Ambassador, in London last week.

# SA moves to defuse UN action on Angola

The Argus Political Correspondent

THE Government has tried to defuse attempts at the United Nations to criticise South Africa's 'aggression' in Angola.

The move was made in a weekend statement by the Prime Minister, Mr B. J. Vorster, in which he said South Africa has received assurances on the Calueque Dam site in southern Angola which would probably enable her to pull out entirely from Angola by March 27.

Britain acted as the third party through which the assurances were received.

The statement came on the eve of a Security Council debate called to discuss South Africa's involvement in Angola.

According to reports from New York Mr Vorster's statement has at least created uncertainty at the United Nations about whether the Security Council debate must now take place.

## INTERPRETATION

Mr Vorster said at the weekend that South Africa was checking whether its interpretation of the assurances was correct.

His office said today he had no further comment on the situation at this stage.

Opposition spokesmen today welcomed Mr Vorster's move.

Mr Japie Basson, the United Party's chief spokesman on foreign affairs, said:

'In the coming battles over southern Africa our adversaries will do everything in their power on the diplomatic and propaganda fronts to isolate South Africa completely from the West and from the rest of Africa.

'It is imperative that we try to avoid this, and the sooner we can write "mission completed" behind the Angolan affair as far as our involvement there is concerned and it becomes possible for us to leave the territory, the better South Africa's interests would be served.'

## FORTUNATE

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the South African Progressive Reform Party, said Mr Vorster's announcement was what he and his PRP colleagues had been calling for for the past three months.

'South Africa is fortunate that a third power has intervened and made it possible for South Africa to extricate itself from the difficult position in which it was placed once the Government extended South Africa's involvement in Angola.

'I hope that now that agreement has been reached on the refugee and the dam issues it will be possible for relations between South Africa and Angola to be normalised as soon as possible.

'As long as our forces were across the border we ran the risk of our Government falling into the military and diplomatic trap our enemies had set for us.'

Britain's role was to secure, through Soviet diplomacy, certain assurances from the Angolan MPLA regime about the safety of the Calueque Dam, which South African troops have been guarding.

Whether this exercise was a British initiative or originated from the Soviet side is not clear. But in any case it does help to meet a basic British concept in Southern Africa — that all foreign troops should be withdrawn.

## Not certain

However, it is being emphasised in London that the assurances which Mr Vorster is seeking are still being verified, so it is not yet certain that the South African troops will be withdrawn as intended.

Moreover, says the diplomatic correspondent of The Times (London), the deal concerns only South African troops and does not affect in any way the Cuban forces in Angola.

Southern Africa will be one of the main topics discussed with Mr Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, on his official visit to Britain today.

But the co-operation achieved on the South African withdrawal, which suits both countries would seem to be quite separate from the general problem of foreign intervention.

## Defended

Britain has urged the withdrawal of all foreign troops, whereas Moscow has strongly defended its right to support national liberation movements.

The Foreign Office regards the agreement as something of a diplomatic triumph on the ground, strongly held by Foreign Secretary Mr James Callaghan, that it was South African intervention in Angola, rather than Soviet or Cuban intervention, that was the source of most of the trouble.

The line being taken by the Foreign Office is that the Cubans were invited into Angola and the Russians were long-standing supporters of the MPLA, whereas the South Africans had 'gone in of their own accord'.

Mr Callaghan is awaiting a report from the Commonwealth Secretary General, Mr Shridath Ramphal, who has just returned from a visit to Mozambique. He went on

(Continued on Page 3, col 1)

# Unita crushed by MiGs

The Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement in Angola has disintegrated under a series of attacks by MiG fighter bombers of the MPLA, which has almost brought the civil war to an end.

Unita's remaining forces have fled into the bush or out of Angola from their last base at Gago Coutinho near the Zambian border, and there is

no word about Dr Savimbi's whereabouts. One of Unita's top three military commanders, Smart Chatta, has been killed.

The Unita withdrawal began after a series of MiG-21 attacks on Gago Coutinho and Ninda, 48 km to the south, for five days, forcing all troops and civilians from the area.

The attack apparently took place more than two weeks ago but news is trickling out only now.

Dr Savimbi has been backed by only about 100 troops brought with him from Serpo Pinto in mid-

February. After the MiG attacks, most fled and it is now believed that even if the Unita leader has established a bush camp further south he has little support.

In addition, all supply routes have been cut off since Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda impounded two aircraft in Lusaka last week and a third was shot up in Gago Coutinho by the MiGs.

This would make it impossible for Unita to receive the new arms allegedly negotiated during the recent trip to the U.S. by Unita Foreign Secretary, Mr Jorge Sangumba.

The most recent reports available indicate that the MPLA has taken Gago Coutinho, Ninda and Baixa-Longa, the southernmost town penetrated by the Soviet and Cuban backed forces, about 108 km from the South West African border.

There are now only a few villages and Longa Mavinga national park that have not been taken by the MPLA.

With the fall of the FNLA-held north in mid-February the MPLA has almost cleaned up the small guerilla opposition forces of the two pro-Western factions.

# Angola: Complete pull-out probable

CAPL TIMES

22/3/76

Political Correspondent

**SOUTH AFRICA has received assurances on the Calueque Dam site which will probably enable her to pull out entirely from Angola within the next few days.**

This announcement was made by the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, early yesterday after receiving assurances that appear to be acceptable. A third party relayed the message.

If the assurances had been correctly interpreted, South African troops would withdraw from the Calueque area not later than Saturday March 27, Mr Vorster said.

South Africa's withdrawal from Angola will do much to defuse the tense border situation and reduce pressure on South Africa at this week's United Nations Security Council debate.

It will also greatly strengthen the case for western and African demands for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola as well.

Government sources yesterday refused to reveal the identity of the "third party" but it is possible that either Mozambique or Zambia acted as the go-between in negotiations between South Africa and the MPLA.

Senior opposition spokesmen have welcomed news of the probable withdrawal.

Mr Japie Basson, foreign affairs spokesman for the United Party, said last night that it was clearly in the interest of South Africa to withdraw from Angolan territory as soon as possible.

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Reform Party, who is also the PRP's chief spokesman on foreign affairs, said that he, with hundreds of thousands of South Africans, shared the relief that South African forces were to be pulled back to the South West Africa side of the border.

Mr Vause Raw, the United Party's defence spokesman, said: "Obviously our withdrawal is a matter to which everyone looks forward. It is to be hoped that a setting of a date does not mean that we would endanger innocent lives of refugees."

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# PM's statement on Calueque

CAPK TIMES 22/3/76

THE following is the full text of a statement released yesterday by the Prime Minister, Mr B J Vorster, on South Africa's conditional withdrawal from Calueque and Ruacana in Southern Angola:

## Many want to go back to Angola

By ANTHONY RIDER

SALISBURY. — The International Red Cross is hoping for a reasonable solution to the problem of the 5 000 Angolan refugees remaining in the two camps on the South West Africa border.

South African responsibility for the camps ended on Saturday.

The Red Cross regional representative, Mr Nicholas de Rougement, who is based in Salisbury, said he hoped transfer of responsibility from South Africa to the MPLA could be accomplished as smoothly as possible.

He spent two months in Angola and returned ten days ago.

Ninety percent of the Portuguese refugees in the camps and the refugees who had "assimilated" Portuguese status had already left.

"Now the people in the camps are almost entirely Africans, many of whom have only one desire — to return to their homes as soon as possible. I think that will be the solution."

Mr De Rougement said that, as far as he knew, there was no MPLA presence in the area and that the two camps were still "safe".

The problem was not so much what the MPLA might do but the presence of what he referred to as "uncontrolled elements", in the border no-man's-land.

Mr De Rougement said he had no knowledge of the seven South African soldiers whom the MPLA are holding as prisoners of war.

This was dealt with directly between Luanda and Geneva, the International Red Cross headquarters.

"It will be recalled that on 9 August 1975, while the Portuguese were still legally responsible for and were in fact the governing power in Angola, South Africa was, because of the complete breakdown of law and order, forced to occupy the Calueque dam site. We did this solely for the purpose of protecting the lives of the workers and of safeguarding the installations.

Immediately thereafter the South African Government informed the Portuguese Government of the steps taken and urged them to take over this task. The Portuguese Government could not do so at the time and requested South Africa to continue its protective measures and to remain in situ until such time as they could assume this responsibility.

The South African Government has on a number of occasions stated its position clearly, namely that it was there only for the protection of the workers and the works, and would withdraw from the area as soon as assurances were received that no harm would come to the workers, that the work would continue and that the flow of water to Owambo would be assured.

It will be recalled that the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as myself, clearly stated South Africa's position. As recently as Sunday, 14 March, I outlined our position succinctly in an interview with the London Sunday Telegraph. I stated:

"They asked us to hang on until such time as they could do it. They never came. So it is solely for that reason and not for any ulterior motive that we are still there.

"We will withdraw our troops immediately steps are taken to safeguard lives and property; the moment that is done we will get out.

"We have during the past few days received through a third party, assurances which in general terms appear to be acceptable to us. We are checking whether we are interpreting these assurances correctly, and if this is so, South Africa will withdraw its troops also from the Calueque area not later than 27 March."

## UK in pull-out talks

LONDON. — The British Government has been closely involved in the discussions which led to South Africa's announcement that it was prepared to withdraw its troops from a dam they are guarding in Angola by March 27, a Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday. But the spokesman declined further comment. Informed British sources said that the Foreign Secretary, Mr James Callaghan, had been using his good offices in the matter and last week had two meetings about it with the Soviet ambassador in London, Mr Nikolai Lunkov. — Sapa-Rtr

CAPE

TIMES

22/3/76

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# Warning on Castro threat

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — South African observers of international affairs believe that the threat of war made by Cuba's Dr Fidel Castro this week against South Africa was merely an attempt to justify Cuba's presence in Angola—but they caution against taking the threat complacently.

In Conakry, Guinea, Dr Castro said that South Africa should get right out of Angola. "If the Cunene Dam becomes a battlefield," he said, "the responsibility will be wholly that of South Africa."

Professor Mike Louw of the Department of Strategic Studies at Pretoria University doubted that the threats could be taken seriously: "Neto won't let him (Castro) go so far south, because he is trying to look respectable in the eyes of the world and Africa. Castro foams at the mouth but nothing much comes of it."

Professor Louw added that from a purely military point of view, further conflict against South African troops would present major logistical problems. "They would require heavy involvement, like tanks, and

I don't know how they would get them."

Mr John Barratt, director of the South African Institute of International Affairs, doubted that the Cubans could win a military conflict with South Africa at this stage: "They would probably be defeated and that they couldn't afford."

He felt that Castro's warning should be taken seriously: "Castro is taking political advantage of the Namibian situation and although it might be in Neto's interests to cool it and stop the conflict at this stage, as time goes on pressure will be brought to bear on him by militant African States and Swapo, probably expecting Cuban assistance."

"There is a definite need for South Africa to

find a means of settling the Angolan and South West African issue," he said.

Professor John Dugard of the University of Witwatersrand law faculty and authority on international law, agreed: "All South Africa's problems in Angola stem from the fact that the world does not recognize her claim to South West Africa."

Mr Barratt felt that Dr Castro was trying to draw credit from the Cuban military victories to build himself up as an African leader, putting Cuba in a position as almost an African State.

"He wants to show that he is not just a Russian puppet but has his own interests in Africa."

Cape Times 24/2/76  
**Messages  
for PoWs**

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The seven South African soldiers being held prisoner by the MPLA have received letters and messages from their friends and families through the International Red Cross.

Mr John Roos, secretary of the South African Red Cross, said yesterday that he had received a telegram from the international committee in Geneva saying that the messages and letters had been delivered to the prisoners by Red Cross delegates.

He could not say exactly where the prisoners were being held but added that it was in Angola.

(1) (5)  
(2) 256

# Majority rule in 7 years

*11/15/76*  
DUREAN. — Dr. Byers Naude, director of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, said here last night that he foresaw majority rule in South Africa within the next two years.

"And no attempt to prevent this development will to my mind succeed," he said addressing the annual conference of the Natal Indian Congress in the Orient Hall.

His speech, in which he also claimed that separate development had failed miserably and underlined the need for a national convention to plan South Africa's future, was wildly applauded.

Dr Naude said that the termination of colonial rule in Mozambique and Angola and the establishment of a peoples republic in these two ex-colonies had acted as a tremendous psychological stimulus to the Black, Coloured and Indian communities to increase their demands for a real share in political power.

"The demands can no longer be ignored by the Whites except at their own peril," he said.

(1) (5)

(3) ~~Inter Group Relations~~



# US 'won't help'

CNN TIMES 27/3/76

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG

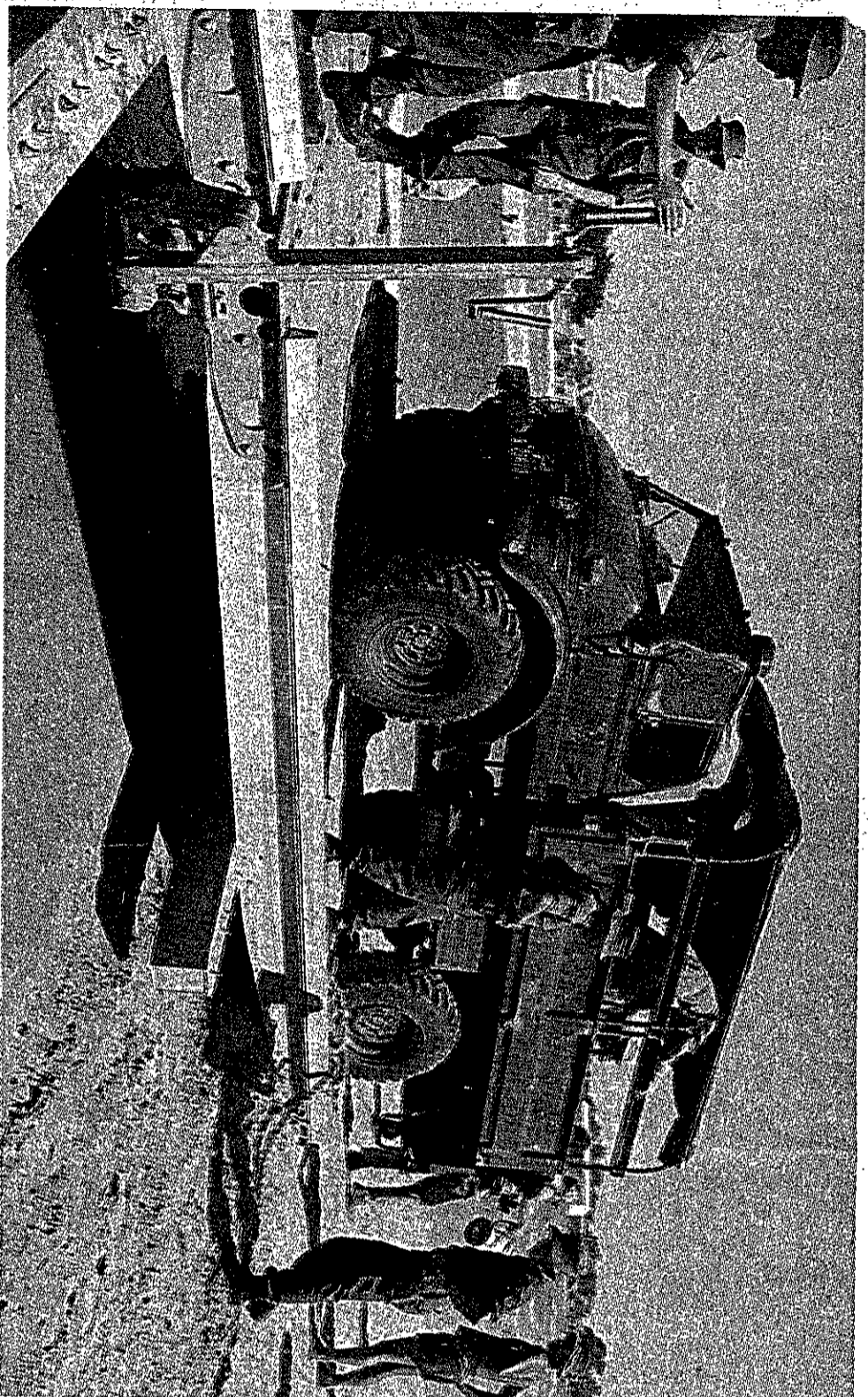
There was never any chance of American armed forces intervening on the side of South Africa in the Angolan conflict, Mr John Chettle, director of the South Africa Foundation for North and South America, said yesterday. Mr Chettle told the general meeting

here that a covert operation to support South Africa would never have been kept secret, so this never had much chance either. Exactly the same situation applied in Rhodesia, and help from the United States should not be expected. Referring to Dr Henry Kissinger's threats against Cuba, he said he was doubtful whether this would be acted upon.

(15)  
8317

C O N T I N U E - D

## More of the last to cross the Kunene



A travel-stained army lorry groans across the great Kunene River . . . and a short, stormy chapter in South Africa's military and political history comes to an end. This was one of the last of the army vehicles to return to South West African soil on Saturday as South African soldiers made their final withdrawal from war-torn Angola.

# Refugees pour in after pull-out

**AT LEAST 3 000 Black and White Angolan refugees have fled to South West Africa in the wake of South Africa's troop withdrawal with the remaining 1 000 men, women and children expected to cross the crocodile-infested Okavango River by sunrise today.**

Confirming this yesterday, Mr Jannie de Wet, Commissioner-General for the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa, said: "We don't want the refugees and we don't want to be responsible for them, but we can't just leave them out in the bush."

A temporary refugee centre is being established 16 km south of Rundu, the capital of Kavango, near the main road to Grootfontein.

Today the camps at Calai and Cuangar across the Angolan border — protected by South African troops until Saturday's withdrawal — will stand "empty, evacuated, and we will be saddled with about 4 000 refugees," he said.

### Assurances

After repeated appeals to the United Nations and International Red Cross to "accept their responsibility" to the refugees, Mr De Wet said he believed the Government would now approach the MPLA in an attempt to have the refugees repatriated to Angola, with concrete assurances for their safety.

"The refugees are all Angolans and the responsibility of the Angolan Government," he said.

On Saturday, as the last armoured columns left the Caluque-Ruacana dam sites, the Minister of Defence Mr P W Botha, said: "We have done more than our duty. South Africa not only spent millions on the refugees but we protected them. Of course you can't stop people running across the border and if they do, we will deal with them on an ad hoc basis.

"We are not going to erect camps again and attend to them as we did in the past — that is the duty of the international community."

Earlier the Chief of Kavango, Mr Alfons Makavero, said that although he sympathized with the refugees and would not turn them back, the territory did not have the resources to absorb them.

On Friday, when I visited Calai, a stone's throw from Rundu, fear was spreading like an epidemic among the refugees who believed that they would be massacred by MPLA troops once the protection of South Africa was withdrawn.

# SADF denies 'destruction'

Political Staff

**A SENIOR Defence Force spokesman has strongly denied allegations of slaughter and destruction by South African troops in Angola and described them as "a lot of nonsense".**

The allegations were made during the United Nations Security Council debate on South Africa last week by Mr Pascal Luvualu, the Angolan roving ambassador.

He demanded that South Africa pay reparation for the destruction of bridges and factories, accusing the SA forces of "barbaric" behaviour and "slaughter of thousands".

The Defence Force spokesman said yesterday: "It is to be expected that they will start with all sorts of highly exaggerated and incredible stories, but it is all a lot of nonsense.

"Our men, the handful of them that were there, behaved in exemplary fashion." He said the bridges and factories had been destroyed first in clashes between the MPLA and the Unita/FNLA allies and later by the alien Cuban force in their retreat to the north.

"They are the ones who have brought that country to a standstill.

"We never blew up any bridges and were not responsible for destroying a single factory."

He totally dismissed allegations of looting and bad behaviour by the South African forces.

He asked whether the Angolan refugees who had been cared for by SA forces close to the South West African border would have started following them in droves when they pulled back on Saturday if they had had anything to fear from them.

He expected a more formal statement to be made when the Angolan allegations had been studied in full.



South African troops guarding the Caluque dam in Angola prepare to withdraw.

# SA swartes se

SAL swartes bereid wees om Suid-Afrika saam met die blankes te help verdedig teen 'n inval uit Angola? Volgens 'n meningspeiling deur die koerant The World is die antwoord oorvloedig: **NEE!**

14 Maart 1975

OM

Altesame 203 van die 244 briewe wat die koerant van sy lesers in 'n briefskryfkompetisie oor die onderwerp ontvang het, het aangedui dat die skrywers gekant is teen 'n uitmansoorlog.

uit te soek nie. Hulle sal mans, vroue en kinders van elke rassegroep doodmaak. Onder die „nee-skrywers“ is die paswette dikwels aangehaal. Een skrywer wou weet hoe dit moontlik sal wees om te veg want indien hy sy pas tuis laat, sal hy in hegtenis geneem word.

Mr. Tshabudira Mlangeni van Phiri het gesê dit kan nie verwag word van „tydelike besoekers“ en „trekarbeiders“ om Suid-Afrika se grense te verdedig nie. „Wat gaan ons verloor indien Suid-Afrika deur die Russe aangeval word? Niks. Waarom moet ons dan hierdie land verde-

dig? Hy wil ook weet hoe swartes sy aan sy met die blankes kan veg terwyl hulle nie toegelaat word om saam te werk nie. Swartes mag snags nie in blanke gebied wees nie — waar

soos die meeste van hulle dit genoem het. Net 41 het laat weet hulle is bereid om te veg.

Die koerant word hoofsaaklik deur swartes in die stedelike gebiede gelees. Die meningspeiling is gedoen na aanleiding van bespiegelinge deur die Progressiewe mnr. Colin Englin, in die Volksraad oor swart hulp in die geval van 'n oorlog in die land.

Die briefskrywers het hul saak skerp gestel. „Die blankes verteenwoordig ons in die Parlement. Se dus aan hulle hulle moet ons in hierdie oorlog ook verteenwoordig“ het een van die skrywers gesê.

Kontantpryse van R25 is gegee aan die skrywers van die twee beste briewe. Mr. Phillip Thuketana van Le-taba, die een pryswanner, het geskryf in die Tweede Wêreldoorlog het swart en wit saam gaan veg. Ná die oorlog het die wittes groot plase, vet, taks en blink motors gekry, terwyl die swartes stewels, oorpakke en tinte ontvang het.

Hy het bygevoeg dat dieselfde nou gebeur op ons grense. „Blanke soldate verdien drie keer meer as hul swart makkers terwyl hulle dieselfde land verdedig en in die dieselfde gevaar verkeer.“

## Patriotties

Hy wil weet of die swartes dan moet veg vir die behoud van toestromingsbeheermaatstels, om apartheid te behou.

1-256  
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# BACK TO ANGOLA DAM IF PAPERS IN ORDER

31/3/76 NM.

Political Correspondent

**CAPE TOWN —** Black and White workers will return to the Calueque Dam in Angola once they have been given proper documents to do so.

But the position at the moment is "very tricky," said the Minister of Water Affairs, Mr. Braam Raubenheimer, in an interview yesterday.

The matter, he said, was being handled by the Department of Foreign Affairs, and at this stage it would not be in the interest of anyone to say anything that could upset the negotiations.

Mr. Raubenheimer said it was already common knowledge that Britain was acting as an intermediary between South Africa and the MPLA through the Russians.

In the meantime, the workers, normally employed at Calueque, were being kept busy by working in the tunnels of the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme on the South West African side of the border.

The contract overseers at Calueque, also now in South West Africa, were mostly Italians and Portuguese. They could, said Mr. Raubenheimer, hardly be expected to return to Calueque without proper documents since this could lead to international complications.

Sapa reports from Windhoek that more than 3 000 refugees who crossed the Kavango River into the Kavango homeland on Monday are to be moved to one central camp, the Commissioner General for the Indigenous People of South West Africa, Mr. Jannie de Wet, said yesterday.

The refugees, who crossed the crocodile-infested river in hundreds of hollowed-out tree trunks called watos, would be transferred from the two transit camps at Katutui and Nkurenkuru — hastily set up for them yesterday — to a temporary camp near Rundu, Kavango's capital, Mr. de Wet said.

"The idea is to avoid having them squatting all over the place."

STAR 1/4/76  
**South Africa stood alone in the world — condemned by every country in the United Nations Security Council, including the Western powers, for her military intervention in Angola.**

By a majority of 9-0, and with five half-hearted abstentions, an African resolution condemning South Africa's involvement and demanding compensation for alleged looting, pillage and plunder in Angola, was adopted just before midnight last night after a tense debate that began last Friday.

China did not take part in the vote and Britain, the United States, France, Italy and Japan recorded abstentions.

But the five nations that obtained delivered an unqualified censure of South Africa's action and made it clear that for the first time — in the Western veto would save South Africa from the wrath of the Third World.

The surprising outcome of the vote raises hitherto unasked questions as to why South Africa intervened, who she consulted and whether she was given any prior undertaking of support in Africa or the West.

**Condemned**

The British Ambassador to the UN, Mr Ivor Richard, thought to be one of the most sympathetic diplomats towards South Africa, told the silent council that Britain associated herself with those countries that had condemned South Africa's intervention.

The presence of foreign troops anywhere in Southern Africa, could only make it more difficult to achieve a solution in Angola and make the White minority regimes in Rhodesia and Namibia (South West Africa), still more stubborn in their resistance to international opinion.

France's Ambassador to the UN, Mr Louis de Guiringaud, was even sharper.

"The trend of South Africa is to consider itself as a sort of gendarme in the region. There is no excuse for this and there is no excuse for others."

**Surprise**

The big surprise came when the United States, which had been criticised in the debate for sending money and military equipment to Angola and for allowing mercenaries to go there, said South Africa was to be censured for her role.

But the United States Ambassador to the UN, Mr William Scranton, also condemned Soviet and Cuban intervention.

"The withdrawal of South Africa from Angola can only serve to highlight for the international community the tragic fact that there remain other, even larger, foreign interventions in Southern Africa," he said.

"The attempt of the Cuban representative to distort the tragic history of foreign intervention in Angola's civil war is a

To Page 3, Col 5

**Blast for SA at UN**

From Page One

self-serving misstatement of the facts.

"The US strongly supports the motivations inherent in the resolution but shall abstain because of that resolution's failure to apply to other continuing interventions.

"Such a blatant disregard of facts, such a double standard, such an exercise in hypocrisy cannot further in our judgment this council's discharge of its own responsibilities," Mr Scranton said.

Cuba then bluntly told the Security Council that the continued presence of its troops in Angola was a matter for the MPLA Government to decide.

The United States said sharply: "The invasion is over. The South African troops are gone. When are the Cubans leaving?"

Cuba then attacked the presence of South African forces "ready for aggression, just over the border."

The Chinese Ambassador, Mr Huang Hua, made only a perfunctory reference to South Africa, but furiously denounced the resolution because, he said, it legitimised Soviet and Cuban intervention.

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# General Bierman

10/4/76

ANYONE who might have been dismissive of the questions and worries expressed in recent weeks by this newspaper and some others about South Africa's involvement in Angola will, we hope, have read the views of Lieutenant-General Nic Bierman.

As a retired Chief of the South African Army, Gen Bierman naturally knows what he is talking about. Yet, freed of the restrictions of army service, his conclusions go directly counter to much of the official spiel to which the country has been subjected.

Coming from a man of his background and stature, they are of the utmost significance.

First, Gen Bierman knocks down the notion, expressed only last week by a defence chief, that one advantage of South Africa's entry into Angola was that it served to alert the West to the dangers of Russian activity in the sub-continent.

As we ourselves have previously said, this is an extremely dubious proposition which in any event depends for validity on South Africa having responded to initial Russian and Cuban penetration. But, as is known, Russia had been helping the MPLA for years and it was only as a result of South Africa's involvement that the Soviet arms buildup started in earnest and Cuban troops were introduced.

Even without this aspect, however, it is only too evident that the few firmer friends South Africa might have made out of its involvement are far outnumbered by the greater numbers in whom fierce anger was aroused.

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Thus, as Gen Bierman notes, South Africa gained absolutely nothing through its involvement — and, instead, “African countries whose attitudes have been reasonable to South Africa have now changed and it will not help saying we are sorry.”

He goes on to challenge still other of the stranger aspects of the Angolan adventure . . . the alleged negotiations with the Western world, the wisdom of investing in the Cunene hydro-electric scheme in the first place, the military action to protect the scheme, and the withdrawal from the north.

All these points starkly underline the questions we have previously and repeatedly put about the nature of the political and military intelligence and analysis that dragged South Africa into the whole sorry debacle.

And on the questioning, too, Gen Bierman is clear, emphatically setting out his right as a citizen to criticise when mistakes were being made.

As for the stonewalling by the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha — that for delicate diplomatic reasons he could not state the causes of South Africa's intervention — Gen Bierman's comment is that he cannot understand why the public was not kept fully informed of the situation.

Why, indeed? That is the crisp point.

“You can fool some people some time, but not all the people all the time,” says the general.

Why the secrecy? What is being hidden?

CAPE TIMES 10/14/76

# Criticism: Botha will not comment

JOHANNESBURG.—The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, yesterday declined to comment on criticism by the former army chief, Lieutenant-General Nic Bierman, of South Africa's involvement in Angola.

Nor would the present and two former chiefs of the Defence Force react to General Bierman's statements, which appeared in the Cape Times recently.

Admiral H H Biermann, the present Chief of the Defence Force, declined to comment.

His predecessor, Commandant-General R C Hiemstra, said yesterday: "I most certainly do not want to comment."

Commandant-General S A Melville, also a former Chief of the Defence Force, said: "I have every confidence in the Defence Force and the Minister—that's putting it in a nutshell."

Lieutenant-General W R A van der Riet, former Chief of Defence Staff, declined to comment.

General Bierman said that he had originally given his statement to the Transvaler.

"I waited two or three days and when nothing appeared in the paper I phoned the reporter," General Bierman said. The reporter said that they would print the report later.

"I waited a few more days and when nothing appeared I phoned their News Editor. He told me that they had referred the story to their Editor-in-Chief who didn't think it was a good thing to publish," said General Bierman.

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# Reluctant workers may lose their jobs

RDM  
13/4/76

By GEOFF DALGLISH  
Mail Africa Bureau

PORTUGUESE contract workers who refused to return to their jobs on the Angolan side of the R225-million Cunene River project are likely to be replaced within the next fortnight.

Mr J. P. Brand, general manager of the South West African electricity commission, said yesterday that he expected the full labour force to be back at work in "a week or two."

The Portuguese workers and their families were moved to temporary accommodation on the SWA side of the border on March 26 — the day be-

fore the last South African troops were withdrawn from Angola — and have not returned to work on the Calueque Dam, about 20 km inside Angola, although some of their compatriots are engaged at Ruacana Dam, a stone's throw from the border.

It is understood that many of the Portuguese — most of whom are artisans and construction foremen — are being replaced, mainly by South Africans.

Although agreement was reached between the South African and MPLA governments last Monday, Mr Brand said there were "organisational problems" which were being steadily overcome.

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# Frightened Calueque workers lose jobs

13/4/76

DD

WINDHOEK — Portuguese contract workers who have refused to

return to their jobs on the Angolan side of the R225-million Cunene River project, are likely to be replaced within the next fortnight.

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from Angola — and have not returned to work on the Calueque Dam, about 20 km inside Angola. Some of their compatriots however, are engaged at Ruacana Dam, a stone's throw from the border.

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Although agreement was reached between the South African and MPLA governments last Monday, Mr Brand said there were organisational problems which were being overcome. — DDC.

# MEN REFUSE TO WORK ON ANGOLA DAM

WM 14/4/76

**WINDHOEK** — Some Portuguese and Angolan workers at the Calueque Dam had refused to return to work on the Angolan side of the border, Mr. J. P. Brand, general manager of the South West Africa Water and Electricity Supply Commission said here yesterday.

Mr. Brand emphasised that the stoppage had nothing to do with the recent MPLA — South African Government agreement on continuation of work on the Cunene hydro-electric

power scheme. Workers would be recruited in South West Africa and in the Republic within the next week or two to replace the Portuguese and Angolans, he said. He did not say how many had refused to return to work.

Mr. Brand said the stoppage would cause delay at Calueque but construction continued as normal on both sides of the border at Ruacana where the scheme straddled the Angola — SWA border.

“These Portuguese and Angolan workers — we have no exact numbers — seem to have personal misgivings about going back to work on the Angolan side of the border. Some of them have indicated that they wished to return to Portugal,” Mr. Brand said.

He said this was more a refugee problem and the S.A. Department of the Interior had been notified. The workers and their families had been living in temporary housing in Owambo.

Relationships across the border were normal and the pumping station at Calueque, which supplied water to Owambo, was operating normally, he said.

Swawek had had problems with a number of Portuguese and Angolan workers since the start of the project.

They had given the assurance at the time that they would return to work in Angola once their safety had been guaranteed.

The MPLA administration had since given firm assurances that work on the Cunene scheme would not be interrupted.

— (Sapa.)

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# 100 hurt in Angola —general

DURBAN — South Africa had accomplished her military plan in Angola in a "brilliant manner," the chief of the air force, Lieutenant General R. H. D. Rogers said here last night.

"Militarily," he added, in opening the national congress of the South African Legion, "our boys in Angola acquitted themselves outstandingly and proved more than a match for anyone they met, including the Cubans."

## RUMOURS

Unfortunately there had been casualties, he said, "but nothing like the numbers quoted in rumours that were once prevalent in the Republic. All told we lost 28 men killed in action and about 100 men wounded."

Dealing with the background to South Africa's role in Angola, General Rogers noted that Cuban troops had been brought into that country last August and added:

"Later the South African Government was approached by certain interested parties, including various African states, for assistance."

After due consideration,

South Africa had agreed to give this assistance "on limited scale."

The military plan had been accomplished in a brilliant manner and the OAU conference in Addis Ababa in January had shown that "half the members present, at the very least" were not against South Africa's actions.

There had also been no resolution condemning South African participation, General Rogers said.

By entering Angola, South Africa had achieved a number of things, the chief of the Air Force said.

Law and order had been established on the South West African-Angolan border. By ensuring the safety of the workers at Ruacana and Calueque, it had been possible for work on the schemes to continue.

South Africa had also given sustenance and sanctuary to tens of thousands of refugees.

"We showed our friends in Africa that we were ready to help, when required, to achieve a common purpose," the general said.

"We demonstrated the mettle and the integrity of the South African military forces and, by causing Russia to overplay her hand, we have shown the world, surely beyond doubt, that Russia has imperialistic aims in Africa."

— Sapa

US  
2/105

# Sebe tells Reds: get out

8/3/76.  
DD

**EAST LONDON — Ciskeians did not look to the "ungodly communists, Cubans or Russians" as liberators, The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Mr L. Sebe, said at the weekend.**

Ciskeians would thank God to see the last of these communists leave Africa, Mr Sebe said in Welkom.

At the opening of a R45 000 residence for the Ciskei government's urban representative in the Free State he said communists had established their base in Africa and were unlikely to be diverted from their ultimate goal of "making a determined grab for the riches of Southern Africa" unless they were opposed by the united forces of Southern Africa and the Western world.

"Throughout the course of the Angolan action the Western world sat back and watched the communist Cuban and Russian forces establish an MPLA puppet government in Angola," Mr Sebe said.

There had been no evidence of any unity of purpose between Southern Africa and the Western world.

"What caused the Western world to forsake Southern Africa, an area so obviously allied to the Western way of life?" he asked.

He said the answer lay in the words of Prof G. Olivier of the University of Pretoria's political science department, who said recently that many blacks felt the Cubans and Russians were potential liberators and their presence was a lesser evil than a continuation of the status quo in South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa.

"To the Western and Communist nations alike the 'status quo' implies the rallying battle-cry of 'apartheid'. Their solution is its eradication and the entrenchment of the dignity of all human beings, irrespective of colour or creed in one national state of South Africa.

"To the Ciskeians and to other African nations in Southern Africa who desire to retain their own national identity it has a similar meaning, but a different solution — still the eradication of all forms of racial discrimination and the entrenchment of the dignity of all men, but within the framework of national homelands, ultimately growing to independent nationhood," Mr Sebe said.

He said this policy of homeland development was still viewed with great suspicion and ridiculed by African countries north of the Zambezi, but the Ciskeians wanted their nationhood and therefore welcomed the homeland policy.

"But if this policy is eventually to be accepted world-wide and not seen as a guise for maintaining the 'status quo' in South Africa, far more positive, energetic, sincere and dedicated action will need to be instigated as a

dustrial development, education and health service improvement was needed in the homelands.

"What is holding up this programme? What are the difficulties encountered in changing the physical status quo in the Ciskei?" Mr Sebe asked.

Instead of the central government in Pretoria rising to the challenge and showing the world their sincerity as the benefactors and sponsors of new nations, they were continually arguing that there was "no money, no staff, no this and no that."

"It seems to me some revision of priorities is long overdue in regard to finding capital for homeland development. Further development in South Africa could well afford to mark time while basic requirements in the homelands are catered for," Mr Sebe said.

"Professor Olivier said: 'Now we must try to put right in a few decades what went wrong over many generations.'"

"He has pinpointed the vital issue confronting South Africa today and I personally don't believe we have as much time as a few decades in which to raise the standard of living in the homelands to an acceptable if not compatible level with that of the republic," Mr Sebe said. — DDR.

family and friends line the route as the Highlanders march through Adderley Street, Cape Town.

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# Rousing welcome

CAPE TIMES

By MIGNONNE CROZIER

18/3/76

RESTORED with toilet paper and graffiti, the Cape Town Highlanders' Angola Express rolled into the Cape Town railway station yesterday. And the welcome given to the 500 cheering men on board proved once and for all that they belonged to Cape Town's darling

monial platform was the town clerk, Mr H G Heugh, the commanding officer of the Cape Town Highlanders, Commandant Bud O'Brien, the commanding officer of the 71 Motorized Brigade, Colonel W G Thomas, and Second Lieutenant K Been. Finally, looking weary and exhausted, the men were dismissed at the Castle and reunited with the families and friends who had waited so patiently.

# Angola: The dimensions of blunder

IN SPITE of all the rhetoric, censored news and incomplete official statements, the people of South Africa are beginning to get the measure of Angola.

As the oratory and evasions recede and the dust begins to settle, it is plain to most people that the South African expedition into Angola was a blunder of monumental proportions — a political blunder and an error of judgment which has undermined South Africa's security and its diplomatic viability.

We have achieved no worthwhile military objective but find ourselves still about 50 km into Angola, where our continued presence provides a propaganda pretext for the Cubans and Russians to stay on in Angola and do their worst.

## The pretext

Indeed most of the world believes that it was our precipitate entry into the territory, as far back as September, which provided the pretext for the Russians to mobilize the Cubans on the side of the MPLA. Most of the world believes that it was South Africa that was the aggressor and that the Russian and Cuban intervention was a chivalrous response, a riding-to-the-rescue of the fair damsel of Angola from the villainous South African fascists! There is no denying the effectiveness of the Soviet propaganda machine, once given an opening.

The true chronology of events will probably never be known, obscured as the issue has become by clouds of propaganda and counter-propaganda.

South African troops have been withdrawn to the South West African border, but some are still as much as 50 km into Angola. Mr P W Botha tells the Washington Post. (He did not tell Parliament!)

Our aim was to prevent

the MPLA from becoming the government of Angola; and so we intervened on the side of Unita. But it seems pretty obvious that the MPLA is going to become the government of Angola, or at least the dominant factor in the government.

Unita has been militarily hammered and we have withdrawn from the fray, faced with well-equipped Cuban troops who were poised for a drive to the south. We could have poured more troops in, of course, and escalated the civil war into an air battle, bringing Mirage jets to bear. But this would have compounded the initial error into a crazy gesture which no level-headed general could have endorsed.

For South Africa is simply not equipped to slug it out with a super-power like Russia, even by proxy.

That is the big league, not ours. The interesting question remains how we could have allowed ourselves to get into such a situation. The suggestion is made that we were given assurances — from the White House? The State Department? — that our initiative would be supported by the United States of America.

## Congress's say

Even if such assurances were given, however, any informed observer of the Washington scene would know that the Congress also has a big say in foreign policy and that even an amateur reading of Congressional sentiment would have suggested that there was little chance of sustained US aid for Unita-FNLA, let alone military intervention.

Anyway, we involved ourselves in the Angolan civil war — on the side of Unita — and promptly tipped the propaganda scales in favour of the Russians, who then became extraordinarily arrogant about their African initiative, exploiting to the

## Political survey

By GERALD SHAW

hilt the heaven-sent gift of South African intervention.

It remains a mystery how South Africa could have so misread American and African opinion and so totally misjudged the whole affair.

Much else remains a mystery — because of the official policy of telling the people of South Africa as little as possible about defence matters, no matter how much the outside world can be told by the Minister of Defence!

The Angola affair has done little to enhance the political reputation of the Minister, who reacts in hyper-sensitive fashion to the most reasoned, objective criticism and does indeed seem unsuited in temperament to be Minister of Defence, as Mr Colin Eglin suggested this week. Ideally, the Minister of Defence should be a man with a non-partisan, non-political image and his department should be kept well clear of political controversy.

## Extravagance

Unhappily, Mr Botha is the most political of Cabinet ministers, liable to fly off the political handle at any time and given to "boerehaat" extravagance at by-election time, as in the Oudtshoorn campaign of unhappy memory.

South Africans who do not have access to the overseas press might be interested to note that newspapers and journals such as the Times and the Economist of London and Le Monde, Paris, regard South Africa's direct intervention in the Angola civil war as our most serious foreign policy blunder for many years.

Nicholas Ashford, who covers Southern Africa for the Times, says quite bluntly that the intervention is creating the very prospect which Mr Vorster said in his celebrated "détente" speech was "too ghastly too contemplate".

Ashford noted that the MPLA will almost certainly give active support

to the South West Africa People's Organization (Swapo), which will mean that the Republic will have to maintain a large and costly defence force along the South West African border to combat guerilla incursions.

Ashford foresees the danger of an Israeli-type situation with an increasing amount of the national budget going on defence.

As Ashford notes, there will now be an openly hostile regime in Angola which might otherwise have been prepared, like Mozambique, to co-exist with South Africa, but now regards South Africa as an aggressor.

And Ashford concludes:

The South Africans, by brandishing the red flag of Soviet imperialism in Africa, clearly expected to receive greater support from the United States and Western Europe. But not only do they appear to have misjudged the mood of America's elected representatives, but they also failed to realize that with a population of 30 million blacks the United States could hardly allow itself to become openly involved on the side of South Africa. As for Western Europe, African wars are part of colonial history and few if any countries would want to be seen in alliance, however tenuous, with Pretoria. South

Africa is regarded by its northern neighbours with a mixture of fear and hatred. Rightly or wrongly, their belief that South Africa is expansionist has, in their eyes, been proved in Angola.

The reason for quoting this extract is to indicate how a sober representative of a sober, conservative journal of opinion in the Western world has assessed Angola and the consequences of South African involvement. Because of our Defence Act censorship, the import of Angola has taken time to sink in. As more and more South Africans are now realizing, Angola has been a dreadful setback to our hopes for peace in Southern Africa.

In consequence, we are going to have to get used to living in an Israeli-type situation. We are going to have to get used to a new status as one of the world's number one trouble spots.

What this means in terms of domestic policy is obvious. We will have to pay up cheerfully for a massively increased defence budget. But military preparedness, vital as it is, will not be enough. Unless South Africa can be sure of the loyalty and support of ALL its population groups in the face of external aggression, our situation will rapidly become untenable.

# No gain for SA in Angola affairs

CAPE TIMES 14/4/76

In a further contribution to the debate on South African intervention in Angola, a former Chief of the South African Army has declared that the Republic gained absolutely nothing by getting involved in the territory.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL Nic Bierman, SSA, SM, CBE, former Chief of the South African Army, said in an interview at Potchefstroom the country had gained absolutely nothing by military intervention in Angola — instead, it had lost some very good friends in Africa. He said: "African countries whose attitudes have been reasonable to South Africa have now changed and it will not help saying we are sorry."

General Bierman said he found it difficult to be satisfied with a statement by Mr. P. W. Botha, Minister of Defence, that for delicate diplomatic reasons he could not stipulate the causes of South Africa's intervention in Angola.

He could not understand why the public was not fully informed of the situation in Angola. It was bound to come out some time.

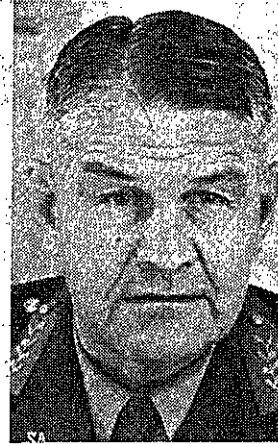
"You can fool some people some time, but not all the people all the time," the general said.

General Bierman, who was Chief of the South African Army from 1967 to 1969, said he was not against the Government, but as a South African citizen it was his right to criticize when mistakes were being made.

So-called negotiations now being spoken of between the Government and the MPLA were no guarantee for the future.

Such negotiations could only have taken place with the Western world and yet when South Africa was accused at the United Nations of being the only aggressor in Angola none of the Western powers used the veto against a resolution. When it came to voting they abstained.

General Bierman said he would like to know what would happen if water supplies were cut off from the people in the northern areas of South West Africa. "I am actually made to believe that we are negotiating



Lieut-Gen J. N. Bierman

with forces we originally tried to push out of Angola."

He said that in view of Africa's situation it had not been wise of the Government to invest in the hydro-electric scheme in the first place.

When the bloody struggle started between the MPLA, FNLA and Unita the Government had thought it wise to protect the scheme — probably without considering international political repercussions.

It was quite obvious the South African forces had been trying to push the MPLA and Cubans back. This was proved by the imprisonment by the MPLA of South African military trainees.

"Keeping all this in mind it would probably have been better if the South African forces had kept on advancing until the FNLA and Unita could form a government. Internationally, there had been enough pressure already."

On developments in Rhodesia the general said South Africa could be confronted by a situation similar to that in Angola at any time in the near future. It could cause a dispute if the Government then reacted differently.



# How we beat the Cubans—on TV tonight

Defence Reporter  
TONIGHT at 8.30 televi-  
sion viewers can see a full-  
scale SABC-TV re-enact-  
ment in colour of "the  
Battle for Bridge 14", a  
hitherto secret clash in  
Angola late last year at  
which South African sol-  
diers routed a much larger  
force of Cubans.

The Cubans broke and  
ran as the South Africans  
assaulted their positions,  
leaving between 150 and  
200 dead and large quanti-  
ties of weapons and equip-  
ment, including the "Red-  
eye" lorry-borne multiple  
rocket-launcher which was  
on display in Cape Town  
earlier this year.

Four South Africans  
were killed in the battle,  
which has often been rum-  
oured but never before  
officially confirmed or  
described by the Depart-  
ment of Defence.

Tonight's re-enactment,  
filmed "on location" in  
terrain similar to the  
scene of the battle, will  
feature many of the men  
who participated in the en-  
counter at Bridge 14. The  
battle's location has never  
been revealed.

Full details of the  
battle have not been re-  
vealed, but in broad terms  
the Army's version is this:  
A South African combat  
group, which is a self-con-  
tained force of infantry  
supported by a troop of  
armoured cars, a troop of  
25-pounder guns, a troop  
of 5.5 guns and engineers,  
came under heavy artillery  
and rocket fire from a  
larger force of Cubans who  
were in strong positions  
across a river as they had  
destroyed the only bridge.  
A fierce artillery battle  
followed.

The South African gun-  
ners had to contend with  
rockets launched by Stalin  
organs.

In co-operation with the  
observation posts, the gun-  
ners leapt into slit trench-  
es alongside their guns  
when warned that rockets  
had been launched.

The rockets, clearly

visible to the South Afri-  
cans, were nicknamed  
"Redeyes" because of a  
red ring painted around  
their nose.

As soon as the rockets  
had exploded, the gunners  
would return to their guns,  
re-align them according to  
the new bearings given  
and knock out the Cuban  
launchers.

During the artillery bat-  
tle, South African engin-  
eers repaired the bridge  
across the river, using tree  
trunks.

When the South African  
armoured cars crossed the  
bridge and with infantry  
support launched the final  
assault, the Cubans' resis-  
tance broke.

# Soldiers may be decorated for bravery

ARBUS 30/4/76 (5)

The Argus Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICAN soldiers who fought in the battle which is to feature tonight on television may soon receive decorations for courage.

The Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, indicated this today in an interview in which he gave his views of the film which would for the first time disclose part of the role which South African soldiers played in Angola.

Mr Botha said he would possibly make a statement about decorations when his budget comes up for discussion in Parliament.

He said the officers who feature in the film were people of a high calibre and he thought they gave a very true reflection of what had happened in Angola.

'It is a story of courage and exceptional leadership initiative,' he said.

In an interview on TV last night, the Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General Magnus Malan, said the enemy in Angola

had been given bloody noses by the South African forces. In many operations the South Africans had ended up as the victors. 'Our forces had whipped away and demolished the enemy,' he said.

Tonight's TV film will show a battle which later became known as 'The Battle of Bridge 14' in which a small South African force defeated a powerful enemy force.

Between 150 and 200 Cubans are claimed to have died in the battle while the South African force had only four casualties.

## NAMES

A spokesman for the Defence Force said today the names of the four South African soldiers would not be announced.

The time and the place at which the battle took place are also not expected to be announced.

## Opposition angry

The Argus Political Staff  
THERE was angry reaction today in Opposition ranks to the timing of the release today of details of a South African troop victory over a superior Cuban force during the Angola war.

While spokesmen registered their support and appreciation of the quality of the South African Defence Force, they have seriously questioned the timing of disclosures in

the Press and in tonight's television programme, of facts which have been kept secret from the public for the past six months.

The disclosures today, and the mock-up of the battle in a television programme tonight, now come within a week of the Defence Vote being debated in Parliament, and within days of the closely-fought Durban North by-election.

(5)

# SA army 30/4/76 'always STAR routed enemy'

Defence Correspondent

The South African Army "destroyed" the enemy in Angola in every action it fought, said Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General Magnus Malan.

Interviewed on SABC-TV, General Malan said the army had "succeeded very well" in Angola. "We fought them off, we destroyed them in every action in which we were involved," he said.

Asked why the South African Army had been involved in Angola, General Malan replied:

"Any country, in order to achieve its objectives, has certain political and diplomatic requirements, and the instrument it uses to achieve these requirements is the defence force — in other words its assurance policy."

#### EXPERIENCE

The South African forces had gained "valuable experience" from the war, and had emerged as winners in every engagement.

Tonight the SABC is to screen a reconstruction of one of the battles, believed to be the largest engagement of South African ground forces since the Italian campaign of World War 2.

The SABC film was made in the operation area of northern South West Africa, using many of the soldiers who fought in the battle.

It is understood that the majority of South African soldiers in the battle — details of which were released for the first time today — were national servicemen under the age of 20.

#### CUBANS

In the engagement, known as the "battle for Bridge 14," the South Africans routed a numerically far superior force of Cubans, killing between 150 and 200 men for the loss of four South Africans.

The South Africans captured large amounts of sophisticated Russian arms and ammunition, as well as vehicles.

The Army's version of the battle, Sapa reports, is as follows:

A South African combat group, consisting of infantry, armoured cars, 25-pounder guns, 5.5 guns and engineers, came under heavy fire from a larger force of Cubans.

The South Africans decided to attack, and a heavy artillery battle followed, with direct hits being scored on the Cubans' positions and vehicles.

At the same time South African engineers repaired the bridge across the flooded river with tree-trunks. The South African armoured cars crossed, and with infantry support launched the final assault.

After the two-week battle many Cubans fled, leaving behind one vehicle-mounted Stalin Organ shown in Cape Town later — 30 tons of equipment, a convoy of vehicles, and large numbers of machine-guns, mortars and light arms.

# Attack took Cuban force by surprise

1/5/76  
Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Defence headquarters today released a detailed account of the 'Battle for Bridge 14' which took place somewhere in Angola in December last year.

## Battle of Bridge 14 is lost by SA Television

By HENRIE GEYSER  
(Defence Correspondent)

THOUSANDS of television viewers throughout

the country last night watched a mock-up of one of the biggest battles the South African soldiers were involved

in during the Angolan war — and many of them were probably sadly disappointed.

For the finished product lacked authenticity and resembled little more than an Army training film.

It featured disappointingly few of the men who were actually there (and they were mostly officers). A single young National Serviceman telling it the way it really was would have given it much more impact.

### IN ACTION

Certainly, it showed convoys moving in, infantry soldiers on the attack, gunners and mortar crews in action, our Eland cars rolling in through the smoke, and the engineers building the bridge.

But what about the real anguish of battle... the fear? It showed smooth casualty evacuation operations, but what about men who suffered shell shock, or who were injured? Commandant George Kruis, the officer who led the South African forces, appeared briefly. He, too, could have been given much more effective viewing time.

### WHERE...?

The real battle lasted 11 days, leaving behind four dead South African soldiers. More than 30 tons of equipment was captured. Where were the interviews with the families of the dead men, or pictures of were the captured guns, trucks, ammunition, rifles, or the pilots, doctors, armoured car crews, gunners? Their story was one we wanted to hear and see.

### IN AFRIKAANS

And why was the entire battle fought in Afrikaans, and all those featured Afrikaans-speaking? It might have been an hour's skiet-skop entertainment, but few of the men who were there and who lived through the hell of Bridge 14 would have recognised last night's reconstructed version.

An account is given of acts of great daring and heroism by South African troops in the frontline.

According to a message intercepted by South African forces soon after the battle 400 Cuban and 'Black marxists' troops were reported dead or missing. This did not include the 67 enemy troops confirmed killed in the first two days of the eight days of active fighting at the bridge.

When the decision was taken to flush the enemy from the precincts of the bridge, it required three days of careful reconnaissance to fix their positions, as South African air reconnaissance was unable to penetrate their camouflage.

### NO CASUALTIES

Before the South African advance could start on the third day the Cubans launched a mortar attack, but South African artillery was able to knock out the mortar positions and no South African casualties were suffered.

The advance to the bridge next day, met no resistance and the engineers immediately started to reconstruct the bridge with tree trunks. But later in the afternoon the Cubans launched a surprise attack, killing two engineers and wounding four.

The ensuing artillery battle lasted till that evening and throughout the fifth day. Although the South African forces suffered no further casualties several troops were evacuated suffering from shell shock.

### BY SURPRISE

The 'red eyes' — rockets of the 'Stalin's organ' — caused the South Africans particular trouble because of its mobility but eventually, because it followed a fixed pattern and by cross-observation, the South African artillerymen were able to 'fix' it.

At 2 am next morning the order came from Colonel Blackie Swart: 'Take the enemy position in the koppies today.'

The battle started at 6 am and took the enemy completely by surprise. By 7 am South African armoured cars were rolling over the bridge.

Without firing a single shot at the bridge the enemy took to their vehicles in an attempt to flee. But one of the South African heavy guns blocked their escape route.

Equipment taken by the South African forces, included a Stalin's organ, fourteen 120 mm mortars, six 76 mm cannons and a light anti-aircraft battery.

In command of the battle was Commandant (now Colonel) G. H. P. Kruis.

## SA lieutenant killed 11 Cubans with his pistol

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A young South African Lieutenant shot and killed 11 Cubans with his pistol after his armoured car ran out of ammunition in the operational area, defence headquarters has disclosed.

The incident happened on the last day of the 'Battle for Bridge 14' last year. The man is Lieutenant Louw van Vuuren of 1 Special Services Battalion, Bloemfontein.

After Lieutenant van Vuuren had shot the 11 Cubans, the driver of his armoured car killed two more by driving over them — while they were firing on the South Africans.

Lieutenant van Vuuren was in command of an armoured car force supporting an attack on Cuban lines. While they were standing by on a tar road, a truckload of Cuban soldiers approached from behind.

### SALUTE

The Cubans passed 5 m from the armoured cars and gave the Marxist salute. Lieutenant van Vuuren saluted back, but a Cuban levelled his Russian-made machine gun at him. Before the Cuban could shoot, one of his comrades knocked his gun down — at the same time as Lieutenant van

Vuuren's gunner fired at the truck at a range of only 10 m.

Leaving the destroyed truck, Lieutenant van Vuuren drove down a side road and surprised a group of Cubans standing at a Land-Rover loaded with fuel and ammunition.

One shell killed eight of the Cubans, and Lieutenant van Vuuren then destroyed the Land-Rover and more soldiers with his last explosive shell. The recoil of the gun injured his right hand, and he realised his machine guns were also empty.

### LEFT HAND

The Cubans stormed the armoured car — and Lieutenant van Vuuren opened fire with his 9 mm pistol — using his left hand.

After several shots he switched over to his injured right hand. 'I gunned down 11 soldiers, and the last two were killed when my driver rode them down while they were firing on us,' the lieutenant said in the Defence Force statement.

# CONFLICTING PICTURE OF U.S. ROLE IN BLOODY ANGOLA CIVIL WAR

Weekend Argus Bureau

**NEW YORK** — A conflicting picture of the United States' role in Angola has emerged from the

Senators report this week on intelligence activities, giving rise to suggestions that the U.S. may have been directly involved in secret para-military combat operations there.

Up to now, the official position has been that American involvement in the war was limited to a supply of money and advice to the anti-MPLA forces through the Central Intelligence Agency.

But in many respects the Senate report appears to contradict this and to include the U.S. Defence Department in covert U.S. operations in Angola.

Vital passages in the report have given rise to the confusion and to questions about the course of the war and the blame which has been heaped on South Africa for intervening directly in Angola.

Under the heading 'paramilitary operations,' the report reveals the fascinating background

to U.S. involvement in covert operations throughout the world and deals explicitly with Angola.

It says:

'Covert paramilitary operations are a special, extreme form of covert action. These operations most often consist of covert military assistance and training but occasionally have involved actual combat activities by American advisors.'

'Because military assistance involves foreign policy commitments, it is, with one exception, authorised by the Congress. That exception is covert military assistance which is channelled through the CIA without

being authorised or approved by the Congress as a whole.

'Covert U.S. paramilitary combat operations frequently amount to making war, but do not come under the War Powers Act since they usually do not involve uniformed U.S. military officers.'

'American military officers engaged in CIA-sponsored paramilitary operations are "sheep dipped" for paramilitary duty — that is, they appear to resign from the military yet preserve their place for reactivation once their tour as civilians in paramilitary operations has ended. The committee finds

that major paramilitary operations have often failed to achieve their intended objective. Most have eventually been exposed. Operations, as in Angola, recently and Indonesia in the late 1950s are examples of such paramilitary failures.

'Paramilitary operations often have evolved into large-scale programs with a high risk of exposure (and thus embarrassment and/or failure). In some cases the CIA has been used to undertake paramilitary operations simply because the agency is less accountable to the public for highly visible "secret" military operations.

Some observers, after having read the report, feel it is sufficiently un-specific and confusing to cast doubt on the generally accepted view of the American involvement in Angola.

Recently, however —

apart from Angola — United States paramilitary activities have been at a very low level. The capability of these activities, residing jointly in the CIA and the Department of Defence, consists of a cadre of trained officers, stockpiles of military equipment, logistic networks and small collections of air and maritime assets,' the report says.

### CONFUSING

Some observers, after having read the report, feel it is sufficiently un-specific and confusing to cast doubt on the generally accepted view of the American involvement in Angola.

Others feel that the wording of the report and the whole gist of its specific references to covert paramilitary combat and Angola is sufficiently deliberate and persuasive to support the outright claim that there was a direct U.S. combat role.

Did South Africa go it alone in Angola, when she first intervened and was there any reason to believe that the U.S. disapproved of direct South African intervention at the time?

Could the nature of the U.S. involvement not have encouraged South Africa's intervention? Evidence before the Senate investigating com-

mission by the CIA showed that the South African authorities kept the CIA informed of events in Angola on a detailed day-to-day basis throughout the war.

### AGGRESSION

Yet it was only when the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. William Scranton, criticised South Africa's intervention and abstained from voting on a resolution in the Security Council condemning South African aggression that there was a firm public pronouncement of the U.S. attitude.

That came months after the initial South African intervention, about which the U.S. was kept fully informed, and was followed by an accusation by South Africa's Ambassador to the U.S. and the UN, Mr. R. F. Botha, of U.S. hypocrisy on Angola.

# US recognition for Angola <sup>(5)</sup> if Cubans go

CAPE TIMES 11/5/76

MONROVIA. — A senior United States official said yesterday that the US would be willing to recognize the new government in Angola if the 15 000 Cuban troops that helped it win the civil war returned home.

The official, who arrived here on the plane that carried the Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, for an overnight visit on his tour of Black African states, said the presence of the Cubans was the sole obstacle to a normalization of relations.

Dr Kissinger, in a speech prepared for delivery at a dinner here last night, said: "We are willing in principle to open discussions with the Angolan authorities with a view to normalizing our relations and seeking means of co-operation, including economic development."

Dr Kissinger declared: "We wish Angola well as a unified and independent state. But before we can go far down that road we want to know Angola's intentions with respect to the presence of foreign troops on its soil."

After he had arrived in Monrovia, Dr Kissinger dismissed as "totally irresponsible" any suggestion that his pledge to promote Black rule in Rhodesia could serve to encourage violence in that country.

Dr Kissinger said he was trying to provide a

platform for negotiations between Black liberationists and the Government of Mr Ian Smith.

"In my view it is the only hope of avoiding a massacre," Dr Kissinger told reporters.

An American senior official said yesterday the United States believed Rhodesia would not be overrun by nationalist forces even if they were joined in the battle by the Black African "confrontation states" — Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique and Botswana.

In Accra, yesterday, a Ghanaian newspaper suggested that, while Dr Kissinger was telling Africans one thing, the White House in Washington was saying another.

The Daily Graphic, quoted by the Ghana news agency, was commenting on reports of arms shipments from Israel to Rhodesia.

It noted that the US, as the main supplier of arms to Israel, had demonstrated that "it could effectively tell Israel what to do and what not to do with those arms."

"Some of those arms are now going to Ian Smith, obviously not unknown to the US and exactly at a time when President Ford was declaring that his Government would not give any arms aid to the Zimbabwe (Rhodesian) nationalists," the newspaper said. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

TV last night

# Damp squib

UNLESS there are camera men on the spot to record events as there were in World War 2, no-one these days should attempt any phoney recreation of battles.

Shell bursts that are no more fearsome than Guy Fawkes thunder crackers and machinegun fire that sounds like a drummer in a pop band are simply not good enough.

Last night's TV creation of the "Battle for Bridge 14" in Angola must have been an embarrassment to those who were there. I don't believe that a magnificent Defence Force such as ours could possibly have been flattered by this display of damp squibs, tomato sauce and good South Africans disguised with Fidel Castro beards.

Whose idea was this? Why did the SABC have to go to such ridiculous lengths to prove what everyone knows namely, that our boys are a match for anyone when it comes to the crunch.

Was it good TV? I must confess that after the World at War, Chopra One, and Shane it was rather feeble.

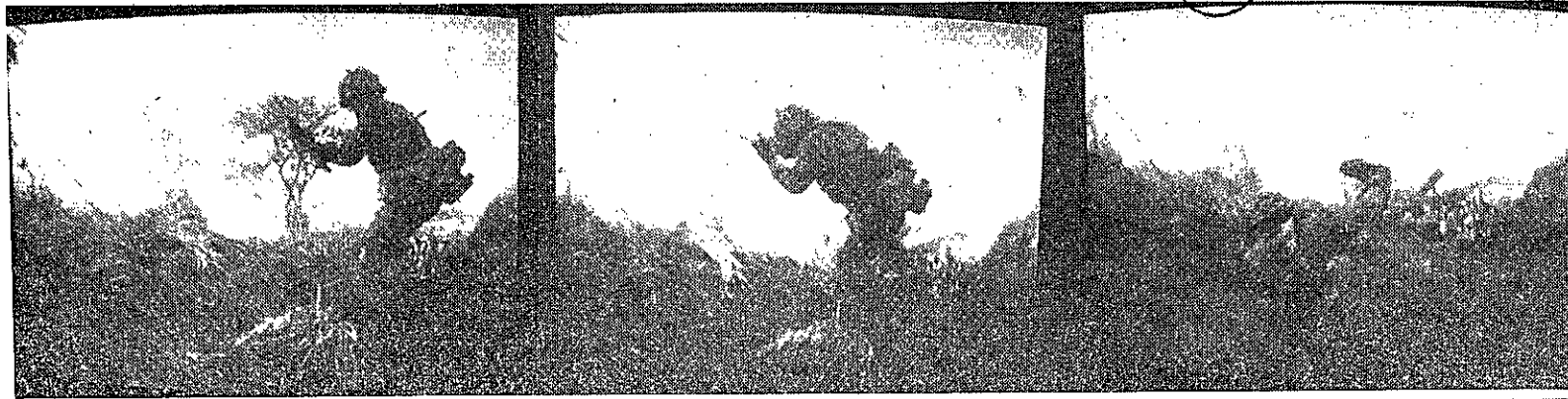
But not entirely. If only the producers of this programme had allowed the officers and men to speak more freely for themselves, it could have been a winner.

If only the brilliant officer commanding the operation, Colonel Kruijs had been allowed to proceed with his graphic description and appreciation of the battle situation, the whole effect would have been sincere and even inspiring.

But every gimmick including the dominees, psalms and prayers, was used to persuade viewers that this was something like the real thing. I wasn't. I'm sure it wasn't remotely like the real thing.

And since the pretence was so blatantly obvious why did the SABC proceed with it? On TV there is no place for sham matters as serious as this.

Brian Barrow



The attack begins — and a soldier falls, struck down by a mortar-bomb as he charges forward; a poignant moment from last night's film.

## How S African troops smashed the Cubans

By WILLEM STEENKAMP  
TV-WATCHERS all over South Africa sat glued to their sets last night for the "Battle of Bridge 14" — a re-enactment of how South African soldiers smashed a Cuban force somewhere in the operational area late last December and killed more than 150 of them.

Filmed in co-operation with the South African Defence Force — and employing many of those who had actually participated in the battle — it gave viewers their first glimpse of what a modern African battle is like.

It was also the first substantial breach in the dense veil of secrecy which has cloaked the activities of the Republic's soldiers since the first men crossed the Angolan border in August last year.

The film made it clear that, on this occasion at least, there was a straight toe-to-toe encounter between Cubans and South Africans, with the various Black Angolan movements' soldiers either absent or merely in the role of bystanders.

Among other things it also revealed how Lieutenant Lou van Vuuren, a young armoured-car officer, killed 11 Cubans with his service pistol in one brief but hard-fought encounter.

Lieutenant Van Vuuren was in command of an armoured car troop of four vehicles. During the last day's fighting at Bridge 14, his troop was sent in to relieve another armoured car unit.

While engaging 75 mm recoilless guns, Lieutenant Van Vuuren noticed a Russian vehicle approaching from behind which he at first thought was a captured vehicle driven by South Africans. "But when it got closer I saw it was overflowing with Cubans," he said.

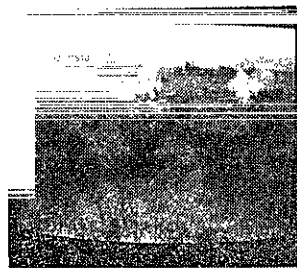
They engaged the Cubans and drove down a side road where another eight Cubans were shot. They used their last shell to destroy an enemy vehicle. By that time the machineguns on the armoured car were out of action. A Cuban patrol then attacked them.

"By then all I had was

my 9 mm pistol," said Lieutenant Van Vuuren. As the Cubans clambered on to the armoured car, he shot at them killing 11. The remaining two Cubans were crushed by the armoured car as they fired at it.

The film also gave glimpses — not all of them comprehensible to those without military knowledge — of the elements of such a battle: The artillery observers perched on a high point, relaying information to the guns; the armoured cars dashing in like the fast-moving lancers of the cavalry days to exploit the enemy's weak points and moments of panic; the engineers, harassed by enemy fire, struggling to rebuild the vital bridge.

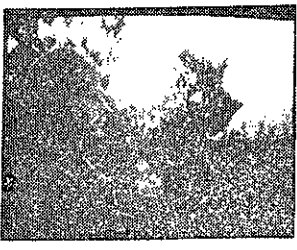
Most impressive of all, probably, were the guns themselves: the 25-rounders — "Dan's Planos", as World War 2 gunners called them in honour of their greatest exponent, General Dan Pienaar — and the great "five-fives", the 5.5 inch guns of the same vintage which were the kings of the Angolan battlefields.



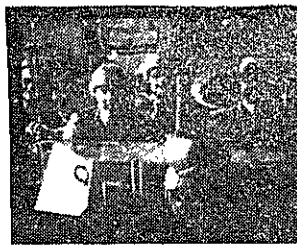
CUBAN SHELLS BURST NEAR SOUTH AFRICAN GUN POSITIONS DURING THE FIRST DAY OF BATTLE



SOUTH AFRICAN GUNNERS PREPARE TO LOAD A 5.5-INCH MEDIUM GUN



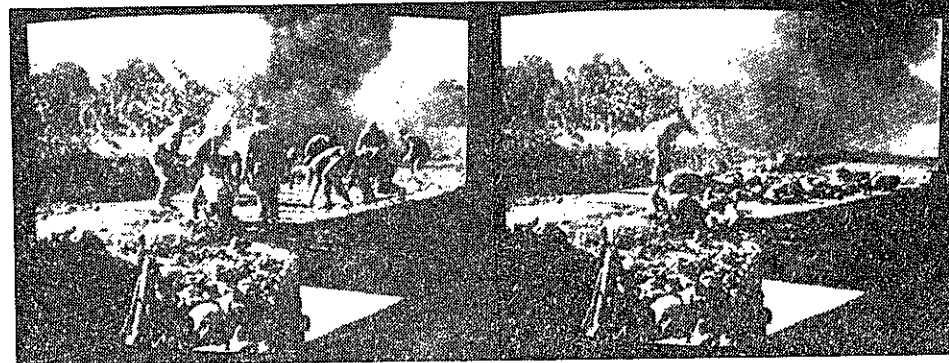
DAWN BREAKS ON THE DAY OF THE FINAL ASSAULT — AND A SOLDIER WAITS FOR HIS TURN TO GO IN



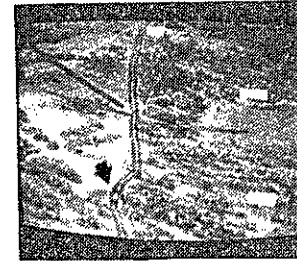
SEVERAL ARMOURD-CARS, THEIR TURRETS FILLED WITH HELMETED TROOPERS, ROLL TOWARDS THE FRONT LINE



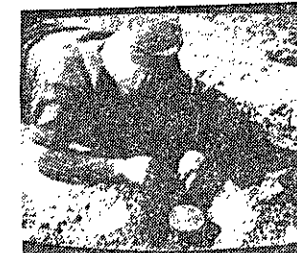
A TRUSTY 25-POUNDER, 35 YEARS OLD BUT STILL A FIRST-LINE WEAPON, READY TO FIRE



The unsung heroes of the battle for Bridge 14 — the engineers who rebuilt it with logs and metal gratings so that the fighting-men could get to grips with the enemy. Here (left) they bring forward the gratings and (right) take cover.



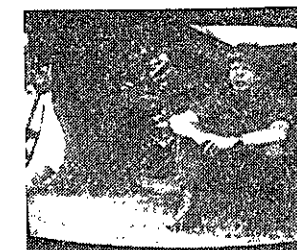
THE BATTLEFIELD, AS RECONSTRUCTED ON A RELIEF MODEL. THE ARROW SHOWS WHERE THE BRIDGE IS LOCATED



WHILE EVERYONE ELSE STANDS CLEAR, AN ENGINEER CAREFULLY REMOVES AN ANTI-PERSONNEL MINE



COLONEL C. H. P. KRUIJS WHO, AS A COMMANDANT MASTER-MINDED THE BATTLE FOR BRIDGE 14



LIEUTENANT LOU VAN VUUREN, THE ARMOURD-CAR OFFICER WHO DESPATCHED 11 CUBANS WITH HIS PISTOL



BULLS-EYE! A GUNNER'S EYE VIEW OF HOW LIEUTENANT VAN VUUREN "BREWED UP" A CUBAN LORRY

# Cuban prisoners a 'delicate matter' (5)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The subject of Cuban prisoners captured by South African troops in Angola is considered "a delicate matter" by the Department of Defence and no further information about them will be disclosed.

The Defence Department admitted that South African troops had captured a number of Cuban soldiers last Friday when, in two separate scenes of the television documentary "Bridge 14", South African troops were seen to capture a number of Cubans.

Spokesmen for the Defence Force have admitted that the incidents depicted in the film were true to life.

It was not disclosed how many Cubans were captured, where they were held or what had become of them. Asked to comment, the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, said: "I do not want to say much about captives because South Africa would like to have a few of our prisoners returned. This is a subject being handled at a very high level and as such, is extremely delicate."



# US kept SA out of Luanda

5

By BERNARDI WESSELS  
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

**THE United States stopped South African forces from entering Luanda in the Angolan war.**

This was dramatically revealed in Parliament yesterday during a heated clash between the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, and Mr Harry Schwarz (PRP, Yeoville).

## Cuban PoWs were returned — Botha

Political Correspondent

**THE ASSEMBLY.** — The Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, admitted yesterday that South African forces had taken Cuban prisoners in the recent Angola war.

Speaking in the Defence Vote, in reply to Mr Vause Raw (UP Durban Point) who referred to the question of prisoners as a "delicate matter", the Minister said the Cubans had been handed to "the Government" in southern Angola at the time.

Other Cubans, who had been wounded were given the very best medical treatment by South Africans.

Mr Botha did not refer

to the Unita forces of Dr Joseph Savimbi, but it is presumed that this was "the Government" which took charge of them. Mr Botha did not say whether Cubans who were wounded were still being held by South Africa.

The fact that South Africa took Cuban prisoners was first disclosed in the SABC television film "Brug 14" shown last week.

Mr Raw said he was unimpressed by the film and hoped it would not be distributed overseas. Mr Botha, however, described it as "a successful" film. South Africa, he added, did not lose one single battle. "It was a heroic chapter in our history", said Mr Botha.

The Minister said Mr Schwarz had said, during a visit to the Angola-South West Africa border area, that South African forces should have swept in to Luanda.

"I indicated," replied Mr Schwarz, "that we should not have gone into Angola except to secure the position of the dam. I also said that if you go further then don't make a half job of it . . . take the airports and ports to stop the Russian imperialists."

"I asked: Why did you stop? And I will not give the answer because it was confidential."

Mr Botha: "Do so, do so."

Mr Schwarz: "You told me the Americans told us to stop. Typical . . . you break your own rules of secrecy."

"He knows the discussions were confidential and he has no right to break a confidence. Things that I consider to be in the national interest I am not prepared to broadcast, but he has no difficulty in revealing a confidential secret, and then he doesn't tell the whole story."

Mr Botha interjected that the discussion took place at a social function with Army men and that

### Creeping

The Minister praised Mr Schwarz's "positive" speech made at the start of the debate and then challenged him to repudiate the "new type of gogga" creeping into South African life.

The Minister was referring to a pamphlet drawn up by Mr N. D. Ross — national director of the PRP who was behind the party's victories in Sea Point, Pinelands and Durban North—which he said belittled the Army and aimed to spread confusion. The contents of the pamphlet dealing with Angola, were, said Mr Botha, "a blatant lie."

As an honourable man, said Mr Botha, Mr Schwarz should stop this sort of thing and sweep "these cockroaches" out of his house.

Mr Schwarz later charged that the Minister was making a political football of the Defence Force by trying to single him out and suggesting he was better than other members of the PRP.

"Everyone is just as patriotic", said Mr Schwarz amid Nationalist jeers — and a few from the United Party as well.

The Minister, he said, had misquoted the pamphlet.

RDY  
7/5/76

5

# Angola: SA didn't run — Botha

## Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — South African forces did not "run" from Angola, the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, has told the Assembly, adding the decision to withdraw was taken by SADF planners after SA troops had already secured certain strategic objectives.

He also denied that the pullback was done on American instructions, as stated by Mr Harry Schwarz (PRP-Yeoville).

South Africa, said Mr Botha, had not taken instructions from anybody but at the same time it had had been left in the lurch by certain countries which had aroused expectations which could not be fulfilled.

## EXPERIENCE

Speaking on the Defence Vote in the continued Budget debate, Mr Botha said the Angolan venture provided South African forces with experience, it had proved that what it had done on a small scale could be repeated even more capably on a larger scale, and it had won friends for the country.

He described the US Congress decision to cut off aid to anti-MPLA factions as "disastrous" and said many African countries now doubted whether the United States was still capable of handling its responsibilities.

South Africa went into Angola with a limited number of men and limited objectives. But it was not prepared to "fight

to the last South African" against communism on behalf of the West.

Certain countries which condemned Russia and Cuba at a UN Security Council meeting in fact knew at the time that South Africa was also involved and tacitly approved by their silence.

Mr Botha said captured Cuban soldiers were not returned to the MPLA, as had been reported in the Press.

Mr Botha said: "The healthy ones we handed over to the provisional government which was established in southern Angola."

: WE'RE ONLY INTERESTED IN PEACE BUT...

NM 10/5/76

# South Africa has nuclear capability

U.S. Government speak for itself. I am sure you will appreciate that I cannot violate the confidentiality of government to government communications. But if you are making the statement, I won't call you a liar. 10/5/76

Mr. Borchgrave also asked if it would be accurate to say the Prime Minister received a green light from Dr. Kissinger for a military operation in Angola and that at least six moderate Black African presidents had given you their blessings for the same operation.

Mr. Vorster: "If you say that of your own accord I will not call you a liar." NM

Mr. Borchgrave: "Were you, in other words, ditched in midstream by the U.S. administration?"

Mr. Vorster: "I am not prepared to discuss it, but remember that your own Congress was also involved in the ditching of pro-Western Africans — FNLA and Unita."

Mr. Borchgrave: "Today, if Black moderates are seen to be co-operating on a gradualist approach, they will quickly be denounced by Marxists as 'imperialist stooges,' who have sold out for something less than the 'total liberation' of Africa and the eradication of White supremacy. How could moderates honour any compromise agreement as long as Marxists are in command of the guerillas' present 'privileged sanctuaries?'"

Vorster: "Nkomo, for example, was told in no uncertain terms by his Black opponents: 'We will give you a chance to work out a settlement with the Smith Government and if you can pull it off you will be the recognised leader and the others will become irrelevant.'"

"But if you can't pull it off, you will become irrelevant and the hard-lining Marxists relevant."

"Even if Nkomo had succeeded, it would not have meant the end of terrorism because the terrorists would have ignored him and gone on. But you would have had a tenable policy — and a war that could be won."

Mercury Correspondent  
**JOHANNESBURG** — The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, has admitted implicitly that the American Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, gave the green light to the Angolan military action, and that South Africa has a nuclear capability.

This was revealed in an interview Mr. Vorster held with American journalist Arnaud de Borchgrave of Newsweek magazine.

The interview was conducted in the Prime Minister's parliamentary offices last week.

Asked whether he received a green light from Dr. Kissinger for a military operation in Angola which had the blessing of at least six moderate Black African Presidents, Mr. Vorster said he could not violate Government to Government confidentiality, "but if you say that of your own accord, I will not call you a liar."

Asked if Russia would be more cautious of South Africa realising that the Republic had a nuclear capability, Mr. Vorster said: "We are only interested in the peaceful applications of nuclear power. But we can enrich uranium, and we have the capability. And we did not sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty."

Referring to the Rhodesian talks, Mr. Vorster said: "If Nkomo had succeeded, it would not have meant the end of terrorism because the terrorists would have ignored him and gone on. But you would have had a tenable policy — and a war that could be won."

The Government did not expect the terrorist war to spread into South Africa proper, he said.

Segregation measures in South Africa were designed to avoid friction, Mr. Vorster said, and would be abolished "when they no longer served that purpose."

Mr. Vorster was critical of Dr. Kissinger's failure to come to southern African States during his African tour, and agreed that the U.S. was trying to compete with Russia for the "liberation" of southern Africa — but the U.S. would lose.

"He is putting the U.S. on a no-win course because, in fact, he is now sitting down to sup with the devil and he should know that his spoon isn't long enough to do that."

"The time is past for superficial platitudes. That's what the Lusaka speech was all about and when he really comes to the point I don't think he has satisfied anybody."

Mr. Borchgrave asked if it would be accurate to say that the U.S. solicited South Africa's help to turn the tide against the Soviet and Cuban-backed MPLA in Angola last winter.

"I do not want to comment on that," Mr. Vorster replied. "The

TURN TO PAGE 2

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# Reds gave MPLA R350m in arms aid

12/5/76  
RDV

WASHINGTON. — The Soviet Union and Cuba gave nearly R350-million in military aid to the MPLA during the past year, more than half it since January, informed US Government sources say.

There was no indication that the estimated 14 500 Cuban troops which helped the MPLA take over Angola in February would be pulling out soon.

But the sources noted that Angolan President Agostinho Neto said last week the country would soon be able to defend itself and no foreign forces would be needed.

According to US Intelligence reports, communist aid surged to about R90-million in January, when many Soviet MIG jet fighters and tanks were delivered, and totalled an estimated R100-million in the February-March period.

Reports also showed that Soviet and Cuban

military aid to the MPLA from March to December 1975 totalled R158-million.

More MIG fighters had been brought into Angola in the last few months.

On the political scene, many of the leaders of the MPLA were Coloureds of mixed Portuguese and Black ancestry.

Led by Dr Agostinho Neto, they appeared to favour the gradual withdrawal of Cuban troops and the re-opening of Angola to Western Commerce.

A more militant leftist faction, made up mostly of pure Blacks, was opposed to this group, and favoured still stronger ties with Cuba and the Soviet Union, the sources said.

According to intelligence assessments, the Cubans would be expected to support the more militant faction in any show-down over the withdrawal of foreign forces. — Sapa-Reuter.

# SA Angola 25/5/76 venture backed by US: Castro

Hugh Robertson

**NEW YORK** — At a time when the State Department has boldly challenged claims that the United States encouraged South African intervention in Angola, a strange and probably unwitting ally has come to South Africa's defence — the Cuban leader, Dr Fidel Castro.

In a recent speech in Havana he said Dr Kissinger had ignored the advice of "his closest collaborators" and insisted on carrying out covert operations against the MPLA with the support of White mercenaries, Zaire and South Africa.

"Instigated by the United States regular troops from Zaire entered Angolan territory in the summer of that same year while South African military forces occupied the Cunene area in August and sent arms and instructors to the Unita bands," Dr Castro is quoted as having said.

## 'LYING'

"Ford and Kissinger lie to the people of the US and especially to the Black population of that country when they hide the fact that the fascist and racist troops of South Africa criminally invaded Angolan territory long before Cuba sent any regular unit of soldiers there.

"Ford and Kissinger lie when they seek to blame the Congress of the US for the defeat of the interventionists in Angola because the Congress failed to authorize new funds for the FNLA and Unita counter-revolutionary groups.

"Congress made those decisions on December 16, 18 and 19. By that time the CIA had already supplied large amounts in arms, Zairean troops had been repulsed in Luanda, Cabinda had been saved, the South Africans were contained and demoralised on the banks of the Queve River and no shipment of arms by the CIA would have changed the already inexorable course of events," Dr Castro said.

## WITHDRAWALS

Dr Castro has told the United States via Sweden that Cuban troops are being withdrawn from Angola at the rate of 200 a week.

By the end of the year, the Cuban leader said in a letter to Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme his forces in Angola would be reduced "drastically." The letter, delivered by special messenger to Mr Palme a few days ago, specified the number being pulled out each week. But the number was not revealed by the Government here.

According to Swedish officials, Dr Castro wrote that the Cubans were not going to be the "20th century Crusaders". He said he had no intention of sending troops elsewhere, either in Africa or Latin America.

# Angola: aid sought for 700 000

STAR

25/5/76

LUANDA — The Angolan Government has appealed to the international community for assistance in dealing with 700 000 refugees.

The main concern is the threat of famine facing hundreds of thousands of Angolan peasants because of the destruction of crops during the civil war and the nearly total breakdown of the entire marketing system due to the massive flight of the Portuguese from the country.

Moreover, it is expected to get considerably worse in the coming months because the fighting disrupted the normal planting season and it is now too late to put in new crops.

United Nations relief officials say the problem of helping the officially estimated 250 000 Angolans listed as "displaced persons" is extremely complicated because there is an acute shortage of trucks to haul food and other relief supplies.

The Angolan Govern-

ment has provided the following estimates to the UN agencies: 445 000 refugees outside Angola, including 400 000 in Zaire and 35 000 in Zambia; 250 000 displaced persons from the civil war inside the country and 35 000 refugees from former Portuguese strategic hamlets.  
— Washington Post News Service.

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# Girl reporter's ordeal in Angola

Argus Africa News Service

**LSBON.** — Secret Police of the MPLA Government in Angola tried to force Miss Robin Wright, an Argus Africa News Service staff correspondent, to bargain for her freedom by giving evidence for the State at the show trial of 13 mercenaries which begins today.

Miss Wright, interviewed in her hotel room after being deported from Luanda late on Wednesday night, was in a state of semi-exhaustion after 28 hours in a windowless basement office of the secret police.

She was assigned to Luanda to cover the mercenary trial by the Argus Africa News Service and was also a part-time correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor and the Washington Post.

Miss Wright said her arrest by the Directorate of Information and Security in Angola (Disa — the secret police) was followed by four days and three long interviews with the State Prosecutor, Mr

Rui Monteiro, in which he demanded she testify against the mercenaries.

Miss Wright had been covering activities of the FNLA and their mercenaries in northern Angola in February this year after five weeks of reporting from the MPLA side.

'It gives special credibility to the evidence to hear from Western journalists who saw them in action,' Monteiro told her.

She refused on the grounds that she was an observer, not a participant, and that all she knew had already been published.

On Tuesday night about 10 pm a Disa guard called her at Luanda's Hotel Tropico to come to the manager's office.

## Imprisoned

'Two officials with pistols on their hips immediately told me I was to be imprisoned,' she said.

They forced her out of a hotel back door to a lanthover where a number of men she believes were troops of the

MPLA army, FAPLA, stood about with Kalashnikov automatic rifles.

Only one of several journalists who followed her protectively when she was first called, and who pretended to stay with her as an interpreter, saw her blindfolded and bundled into the back of the lanthover.

'They took me to the Disa headquarters and locked me in a small basement room with no windows — and I'm a terrible claustrophobic.'

She had no toilet or bathroom, her possessions were taken away and she was given a foam rubber mattress on the floor.

Fourteen hours later, a senior Disa officer 'grilled' her for four hours, charging that she was a link between the FNLA mercenaries and 'imperialist' forces, that she was an enemy of the MPLA Government, and that she was an American intelligence agent.

He then said she could bargain for her freedom by testifying at the trial. He also said I would be released if I agreed to be an agent for the MPLA Government in the United States and in Southern African countries I cover.

He demanded explanations for every note, piece of paper and other document in her possession, alleging she had lists of CIA contacts.

All these papers, except her receipts, and all her Angolan money were seized. The officer offered to make the State evidence in today's trial available to her if she would verify it.

When she refused and denied his allegations, he abruptly walked out.

## 'Terrifying'

Later Miss Wright was brought a meal from the Tropico, for which she had to pay and allowed by her guard officer to telephone her parents in Boston to reassure them.

For her last eight hours in solitary confinement, she played solitaire on the floor with cards made from scraps of newspaper.

Then, about 1 am yesterday morning, she was blindfolded and taken to the airport to be deported. Today, she described her detention as 'terrifying'.



Reporter Robin Wright

# Death demanded at Luanda trial in

Georgiou was charged with murdering other mercenaries as well as Angolan civilians.

A live radio relay from the courtroom at 9.35 am said all the mercenaries were present and looked 'at ease and relaxed.'

The chairman of the five-man court was named as Teixeira da Silva. The announcer said court sessions would last from 10 am to 1 pm and 4 pm to 7 pm SA time daily.

There seems to be little question that the 13 mercenaries will be found guilty.

There is no appeal, but President Neto has the power to commute death sentences.

Georgiou and one or two others are expected to get the death sentence and the first long terms of imprisonment, with the Americans getting the

highest sentences because of their brief stay in the north.

At least five television cameras are in court providing live coverage for the local television station and for the Cuban television service.

**LUANDA.** — The trial of 13 White mercenaries opened here today and Angolan authorities demanded the death sentence for the accused men. Cyprus-born Costas Georgiou (alias Colonel Callan) was said to have committed the worst crimes.

## Two languages

Two languages are used — Portuguese and English. But the court's 300-odd seats are wired for immediate interpretation also in Russian, French and Spanish.

The accused men sat low stools in a specially made dock surrounded by a low, U-shaped wooden screen in a converted modern conference room at the Palace of Commerce.

The Argus London Bureau reports that two British barristers — one of them the son of a Tory MP — flew to Angola today at their own expense to defend five of the British mercenaries.

They are Mr Raymond Fraser, 29, from Edinburgh and Mr Clive Stanbrook, 28, from London.

## South African

A desperate last-ditch attempt by South African-born Mr John Fortuin to attend the trial of his mercenary brother Carl, in Angola, has failed.

Last night Mr Fortuin telephoned the Angolan Justice Minister, Dr Diogenes Boavida, to ask for his Government's assistance so that he could attend the trial.

'I was given a sympathetic hearing but he told me that financial assistance was out of the question,' said Mr Fortuin. — Sapa-Reuters.

# Angola trial men face death by firing squad

The Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — The death sentence — by firing squad in Angola — has been asked for all 13 British and American mercenaries by the Government investigators who compiled evidence on their participation with the FNLA, according to the American lawyer who will defend two of the American soldiers of fortune.

But after seeing the charges and interviewing his clients for the first time, attorney Mr Robert E. Cesner jun said he did not believe all of the men would be executed after the trial, now scheduled to begin on Friday.

The five judges on the tribunal will make the final decision about sentencing and Angolan President Neto has the right to commute sentences.

Several observers here see the sentencing as an issue that could be used for political ends.

The two Americans Mr Cesner will defend — Gary Acker and Daniel Gearhart — face the lightest charges in the trial — basically of being mercenaries who transgressed illegally into Angola with intent to kill and hinder the cause of popular power.

## No atrocities

They are not charged with committing any atrocities against Africans and told their lawyer today that they did not fire a shot.

Dan Gearhart was captured on a reconnaissance patrol three days after his entry into northern Angola in early February, according to Mr Cesner.

Gary Acker was taken prisoner the next day when a second patrol went out looking for the first group.

He was the only survivor in his six-man patrol and was injured in the leg before Cuban troops captured him.

Mr Cesner said the third American, Gustavo Grillo, is still in the military hospital here recovering from wounds suffered when he was captured four months ago.

## Aid is sought for SA PoWs in Angola

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Red Cross said today it was urging the International Red Cross to help to provide legal aid for seven South African soldiers being held prisoner in Angola.

The Angolan Director of Information, Dr Luis de Almeida, announced in Luanda that the men, captured during the civil war, would be tried after the tribunal judgment on 13 British and American mercenaries.

He said the South Africans were not considered as mercenaries, nor as prisoners of war as South Africa had not formally declared war. They were simply 'prisoners', he said.

Mr Kelsy Stuart, a vice president of the South African Red Cross, said he was appalled to hear the seven South Africans would be tried.

### DIRECT DEALING

He said it was up to the International Red Cross to deal directly with the Angolan authorities to see adequate aid was given to the South Africans.

There was a possibility the International Commission of Jurists would

be approached for help, Mr Stuart said.

The South African Red Cross had not given up hope of a possible exchange of prisoners between Angola and South Africa, he added.

### PROFESSOR'S VIEW

Professor M. P. Vorster, Professor of International Law at the University of Pretoria, said the South African soldiers could not be tried as mercenaries.

The professor expressed the view in an SABC television news interview last night.

He said that although the exact legal position of the South African prisoners was not clear, the fact that they were uniformed and part of the South African Army operating in the area meant that as far as he was concerned there was no question of their being put on trial as mercenaries. — Sapa

### Denied status

He has denied his American status and has asked to be called an Argentine, since he was born in Buenos Aires.

All the other mercenaries are being held in St Paul's prison in Luanda, where the lawyer says seven South Africans and several Portuguese prisoners of war are also being held.

Mr Cesner said his clients appear to be well-treated with diets consisting of mainly rice with occasional servings of meat and fish. They are dressed in shorts and unboots. Russian military

### No discrimination

'It isn't the Ritz,' Mr Cesner said, 'but considering the shortages here I think they feel they are not being discriminated against.'

All the prisoners are being held in two-man cells and have little contact with each other.

In spite of the four months of imprisonment, Mr Cesner said the morale of his clients appeared to be good.

At this stage, he said he will probably defend only the two Americans and that three Angolan attorneys will defend the remaining 11.

His case will be based on three questions:

- The definition of a mercenary, which centres on his intentions.
- The applicability of the Geneva Convention, which Angolan authorities have so far not brought into the case.
- The facts behind the participation.



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# SA soldiers to be tried as 'prisoners'

ARGUS 7/6/76  
The Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA — The seven South African soldiers captured during South Africa's involvement in the Angolan civil war will be tried after the current tribunal judging the fate of 13 British and American mercenaries, Angolan director of information, Dr Luis de Almeida, announced on Saturday night.

Dr Almeida said, however, that the South Africans were not considered to be either prisoners of war or mercenaries.

They were not prisoners of war since no war was declared, but they were not mercenaries either, he said.

He explained that the seven men, disclosed, were simply considered prisoners.

Dr Almeida gave no details on when the South Africans would be tried or on what basis and he discounted reports that the men would be exchanged for any Cubans being held by South Africa.

The seven soldiers are: Corporal J. G. Terblanche, of Pretoria; Rifleman R. Wilson of Welkom; G. E. Danney of Krugersdorp and R. H. Wiehahn of Cape Town who were captured in December.

#### UNSPECIFIED

Riflemen P. J. Groenewald of Riviersonderend, J. C. Kitshoff of Moorreesburg and A. Potgieter of Johannesburg were caught by the MPLA early this year.

The men were put on show in several African capitals during their imprisonment.

He also said that there are many Portuguese who participated with both the FNLA and Unita who will also be tried at an unspecified date. They will be tried on the same basis as the mercenaries.

In the first trial — delayed for several days — to give the American lawyer more time to prepare his case — the information director said the real defendants would be the British and American Governments who allowed this situation to happen.

Dr Almeida told a group of journalists that all 13 were guilty and that the Angolan prosecutor held evidence that they were guilty of killing and that the more important focus of the trial would be the commission of inquiry into the 'mercenary phenomenon.'

By Rashid Seria

BIZARRE accounts of torture and sadism in MPLA prisons and Luanda streets were told this week by two Cape Town Muslim men released recently after nearly seven months' imprisonment in Angola.

Looking pale and lean after their harrowing experiences, the two men, Mr Shaukat Bhikoo and Mr Ismail Solomon, told of a naked FNL soldier being beaten under a cold shower till the blood poured from his nose and mouth and of cleaning the blood-spattered walls and floor where another man accused of being an FNL supporter had been tortured.

# TORTURE, SADISM IN MPLA PRISON

## Disclosures in an exclusive interview

### City men's horrifying account of life in Angola



SOUVENIRS from an Angolan prison. Ismail Solomon with two wooden teasing combs carved in prison by a Unita soldier.

The men, released on Friday, May 21, after nearly seven months' imprisonment, spent a week in Luanda before flying to Lisbon and then to Cape Town.

They also said in an exclusive interview with Weekend Argus that:

● A four-year-old, Mall child was locked up in a cell with his parents for a week for no apparent reason.

● In February they were promised they would be released, but the security chief changed his mind at the last minute after disclosing they had smuggled out letters to President Agostinho Neto. As a result, they were not allowed any visitors till their release last month.

● A guard threatened to shoot them after discovering a piece of glass in his food.

● And they had seen a bald-headed Belgian chief engineer of a petroleum company coming out of a torture room with burn marks and bruises all over his head.

● Luanda, they said, was a city in economic chaos with hungry people. It rained in the streets for ahead and the ruins of the war aftermath still very evident.

● Only a few days before their departure, scenes broke up a Portuguese beating up a Portuguese shopkeeper in the street or trucks carrying heavy



MR. SHAUKAT BHIKOO clutching his two-year-old daughter Farzaana soon after his arrival in Cape Town after seven months' captivity in Luanda.

Russian arms, shipped in by Cuban or Russian freighters wrecked them.

No one dared question soldiers for fear of being dragged off to prison.

Said Mr. Bhikoo, 'The people are scared stiff. Some say they were helped off under Portuguese rule. At least there was food and work. Independent

vidence had brought them misery, starvation, and unemployment.

Most of the big factories and businesses are closed because the white owners have either fled the country or are being held in prison.

There's a severe shortage of food. People have

made out, they're not leaving.

We certainly didn't see any of them leaving. The last we heard there was about 60 000 of them in Angola. One thing about them, they're always clean and neat. They're well disciplined and smile and greet the people.

Essential services like electricity, water and sewage are available but there are many incomplete building projects, shops with smashed windows, piles of rubble and bombed buildings.

There's little evidence of picking up the pieces. Although we didn't witness any, there are still many reports of guerrilla fighting. A medical practitioner working for the MPLA — we met him at the hotel — told us there was heavy fighting in the Cabinda district.

### UPRISING

In Luanda, the only riot we heard of was at a dreary where the workers staged an uprising for more money.

Generally speaking, the people are fed-up. How can they be pleased with no food or work? Mr Solomon said they did not believe the guard when he came to tell them they were going to be released.

We had heard that story so often before we didn't take any notice. We thought they were going to transfer us to another prison. But we were knocked out with surprise when they drove us to the hotel.

We told the security man we didn't have any money but he gave us the assurance they would pay the bill. I thought we were going to be deported.

being free but not able to get out.

Anyway, we managed to make a loan from a friend, we're not giving his name because he may get into trouble. In Luanda if the security has the slightest suspicion, they'll throw you in jail.

Mr Bhikoo said he had gone to Angola in October last year to have an air ticket on a friend's name transferred to his name. His step-brother, Mr Nazir Kapdi, had bought the ticket in Luanda while he was there with a pop group called Oswelle.

Mr Kapdi had not been allowed to take his money out of Angola and had bought four air tickets instead. He (Mr Bhikoo) had been given a ticket for a European trip and, because it was in someone else's name, had gone to have it transferred.

Mr Kapdi said he was on holiday at the time and had decided to accompany Mr Bhikoo. The Portuguese consul had told them it would be safe to go and had given them visas.

We didn't expect any trouble. We aren't spies or mixed up in politics. We didn't want to smuggle money out of Angola. But a few hours after we arrived there, we were picked up by the MPLA, for what reason we don't know. They didn't even know.

### JOURNALISTS

We were taken to a boarding school which had been converted into a prison and spent 35 days there before they interrogated us. Can you believe it, 35 days before we were questioned.

They questioned us separately for about an hour. They didn't get anything. There was nothing they could pin against us. But in spite of this they kept us. When we arrived at the prison there were

three Zaire pilots in custody. They had weals on their bodies from cuts they had been given. This really frightened us, but there was worse to come.

We were later joined by two South African journalists, Roger Sargeant and Chris van der Merwe. Sargeant was released after 10 days and Chris after 35 days.

Describing some of their most horrifying experiences in prison, Mr Solomon said he had been picked on to clean up a room where a man accused of being an FNLA supporter had been tortured.

### BLOOD

There was blood on the walls and the floor. I don't think the security chief wanted us to do the cleaning job. The guard was ordered to do it because they didn't want us to see the blood.

But the guard told me and another prisoner to clean up the mess. Early that day we had been told not to leave our

rooms. I suppose they wanted to dispose of the chap's body.

They tortured the poor fellow in a room about four metres from ours. We could hear his agonising screams.

Then there was the story of another FNLA soldier being beaten naked with batons and bullets of guns under a cold shower. We saw them carry him out, the blood gushing out of his ears, nose and mouth.

We were very lucky because we made sure we kept out of trouble. They abused us because we were South Africans but we were not locked in the cells but kept in rooms with other prisoners. However, the chief threatened to lock us up after we wrote to Di Neto.

Back in Cape Town the two men want to forget about their experiences and spend as much time as possible with their families.

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to queue for bread and top a la carte hotels serve stale rolls and jam for breakfast and soup and fish for lunch.

### CUBAN BRANDS

Cigarettes can only be bought on Fridays, and then there's only certain national and Cuban brands.

We lost all our luggage, about R800 worth of things, and only had a pair of pants and a shirt each. We spent all that time in prison in the same clothes. When we got out the first thing we did was to look for a shop to buy shocks and underpants. We gave up after a week, we couldn't find any.

But there's one thing they're not short of up there — Cubans. They've settled with their families and as far as we

# WEST TO GO ON TRIAL

6/16  
Argus Africa News Service

LEWANDA.—The mercenary trial to begin here on Wednesday or later in the week will judge far more than the 13 British, American and Irish soldiers of fortune who fought with the FNLA in Northern Angola.

The real defendant at the trial will be the agents (governments) who were responsible for organising, training and preparing mercenary forces, says the journal do Angola.

The MPLA Director of Information, Dr Luis de Almeida, has confirmed that the trial will be a political one.

A leading article in the journal said that this is not simply a case of condemning certain individuals for their acts. It is not a campaign against isolated and defeated individuals and defeated individuals.

It is fundamental to point out who are the ones truly responsible and to condemn energetically and practically the policy of organising, training and preparing mercenary troops with the single objective of destroying, assassinating and liquidating popular and new movements.

The article went on: "Now in Angola we will judge mercenaries, a phenomenon and its agents, its causes and its consequences."

It said Angola represented the end of the myth of the invincibility of mercenary troops who had been used by imperialistic forces to liquidate the progressive movements of Africa.

Observers here said the MPLA wants to make clear

to the Western powers that outside intervention through their own troops or mercenaries will not be tolerated.

It is expected that the Angolan State prosecutor Mr Manuel Rui Monteiro will accuse Western interests, particularly the CIA of backing the brief and ineffectual mercenary effort.

Meanwhile, preparations for the trial, which will be conducted by a panel of

five judges, are in their final stages.

A representative of the British Foreign Office, Mr Hugh Byatt, will be allowed to attend the trial as an observer.

The first member of the international commission of inquiry made up of 30 foreign observers, has arrived here. He is Mr Derek Roebuck, a professor of law at the University of Tasmania in Hobart.

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Two moods of the 13 mercenaries on trial in Luanda. Top they are in a laughing mood during the opening stages of the trial, but at bottom they are dejected and thoughtful. The prosecution is demanding the death penalty at the trial.

UPI Cablecast

## UK blamed for mercenaries' plight

**Own Correspondent**  
LONDON. — Mr Stephen Sedley, a London barrister who has been observing the Angola mercenary trial flew back to London last night and accused the British Government of irresponsibility.

At Heathrow he said: "I want to say as a matter of

urgency that it has become clear that the British Government bears a major share of the responsibility for the situation of the 10 British defendants.

"A few months ago it stood by and did nothing while men were enlisted for large sums of money to fight in a war in which neither they nor this

country had any legitimate interest.

"There is also disturbing evidence that people in positions of authority actively helped the movements of mercenaries. No effort seems to have been made to stop journalists and newspapers from acting as channels of recruitment.

"If the court should con-

vict and pass death sentences on any or all of the defendants no appeal by the British Government for clemency will have any impact in Angola unless the Government has meanwhile — which means this week — demonstrated it is taking steps to put a stop once and for all to traffic in mercenaries."

# Mercenary network link

Own Correspondent

LUANDA — Preparations for the trial of 13 British and American mercenaries on Friday, have thrown new light on the involvement of foreign troops fighting for Rhodesia.

In Luanda's Natural History Museum there is a display of weapons, photographs and documents taken from dead or captured mercenaries in the war.

From these documents a "Rhodesian connection" has emerged in the shape of a confidential circular, allegedly sent to former American soldiers, outlining the prospects of service with the Rhodesian armed forces.

The document is said to have been found on a captured American mercenary. Headed "Mercenary Forces Group" and addressed from California, it purports to be a recruiting circular for American mercenaries wishing to fight abroad.

The relevant part of the text refers specifically to the Rhodesian guerilla war and reads: "Presently there exists a long-term contract in Rhodesia. The information on this contract is somewhat sketchy and incomplete."

"Apparently there are at least four military groups which mercenaries can get into (in the Rhodesian forces). The groups are SAS (Special Air Services), the regular army and the depot police. The fourth group is currently unidentified."

"The regular army is their standard service. We understand that you are taken in at the rank you were discharged from the US armed forces."

The document says a sergeant earned about R570, which was "not bad" since a bottle of Coke cost about five cents

and a cinema ticket about 35 cents.

It continues: "The depot police has police which go into the bush occasionally on BMW motorcycles. We understand that you can only get into the fourth group, currently unidentified, after having served in the SAS."

"It is understood that the length of these contracts can range up to five years. A mercenary

can work only part of his contract if he wishes . . .

if you are interested, you can contact Major Lamprecht at Army Headquarters, Salisbury Rhodesia."

The unidentified military group it refers to is probably the Selous Scouts, the elite tracker unit which ranges deep into Mozambique carrying out intelligence and infiltration missions against guerilla forces.

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Sunday Express 13/6/76

# I take all the blame — 'Callan'

LUANDA — An unrepentant "Colonel" Tony Callan — the soldier accused of ordering the massacre of 14 Britons under his command — accepted responsibility for all charges against the other nine Britons in Angola's mercenary show trial, then refused to answer further questions.

"Once they were in Angola they were under my orders. Anything they are charged with was my responsibility. Okay?" he told the court. "I don't want to answer no more questions. I have made my statement."

Callan, a Greek Cypriot whose real name is Costas Georgiou, made his remark after reluctantly giving the names of his parents, but refusing to say what he did in the British Army.

The five judges in the popular revolutionary tribunal accepted his assertion of responsibility and allowed him to stand down after only 10 minutes of testimony.

Andrew McKenzie, who lost his left leg in the final days of the war last February, was next wheeled into the courtroom in a wheelchair to testify.

Fellow mercenaries on trial have said Callan killed one Briton for cowardice, ordered McKenzie to kill another, and a third man, Sam Copeland, to machinegun 12 others. The incident occurred after 18 Britons, including four now on trial, demanded to be

taken back to Britain. Callan was called to testify on the second day of the trial after two Britons told the court they were forced to remain in Angola until captured out of fear of Callan.

A third, 21-year-old Californian Gary Acker, told the judges he never fired a shot.

Callan and McKenzie head the list of 13 American and British mercenaries indicted for murder, destruction and other war crimes and recommended for death by firing squad.

Acker told the court he went to Angola "for personal problems."

He had received a general discharge from the US Marines because of mental complaints, had made three suicide attempts, paid his own airfare to Angola and had been there only four days when he was captured.

Shortly before Acker took the stand, State prosecutor Rui Monteiro said the Government had received two telegrams from a Californian mercenary recruiter pleading for Acker and Daniel Gearhart, 34, a Vietnam veteran with a wife and four children.

The telegram said the two joined to fight in the civil war just like the Cuban soldiers who fought on the side of the MPLA and suggested they be released in a prisoner exchange. — UPI

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ST/AL916/76  
**Angola call-up**  
The Star's Africa News  
Service  
LUANDA — All Angolan military troops have been ordered to report to their barracks by Thursday, according to a front-page article in *Journal do Angola* yesterday.  
The call-up of all army, air force and national marines by the general staff is connected with the reorganisation of the Angolan military — and preparations for the celebration of Army Day on August 1.



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An Angolan Government delegation is at the moment in Kinshasa discussing the situation with the Zairean Government following talks that took place recently in Luanda, Mr. do Nascimento said.

He added: "We are aware that it is necessary to increase both our military and our political actions to face the situation."

Large numbers of soldiers carrying new weapons have been captured in northern Angola, according to Mr. do Nascimento, who claimed that his Government is getting ready to meet the onslaught.

He side-stepped questions on a reported increase in guerrilla warfare in southern Angola carried out by Unita troops led personally by Dr. Jonas Savimbi.

The Angolan Prime Minister gave the impression that the MPLA Government is far more concerned with the threat posed by the FNLA activities than with the Unita actions.

In an ambiguous statement that has been interpreted as a glimmer of hope for the mercenaries sentenced to death in Luanda, Mr. do Nascimento said: "Our people acknowledge that the tribunal represented its interests and now we will have to see that the sentences are carried out."

But he qualified his statement by saying that of course such long-term sentences may be reviewed and be replaced by different solutions.

Meanwhile, Sapa-Reuters reports from London that the Angolan Government yesterday ordered striking workers to return to their jobs immediately in the country's only coffee sack factory.

Luanda Radio monitored here, broadcast a message from the Angolan Labour Ministry branding the 10-day-old strike as "counter-revolutionary."

The message also threatened prosecution of the workers even if they did return to the Siga Company of Angola factory.

# ANGOLA BLAMES Dr K FOR FNLA UPRISING

2/7/76  
NM

Mercury Africa Bureau

**JOHANNESBURG** — Dr. Kissinger was to blame for large concentrations of FNLA troops in northern Angola and for stepped-up warfare against the MPLA, the Angolan Prime Minister, Mr. Lopo do Nascimento, said in Maputo yesterday.

Mr. do Nascimento stopped briefly in Maputo on his way from Luanda to Mauritius where he will be deputising for Angola's President Dr. Agostinho Neto at the OAU's summit meeting.

During a Press conference in the Mozambique capital he confirmed Portuguese and French reports that FNLA troops were regrouping in northern Angola to launch an offensive against the MPLA regime.

The Prime Minister said: "We know that there are large concentrations of troops in several points of the northern border both on the Angolan and on the Zairean side."

He claimed that anti-MPLA activity in northern Angola "has been greatly stepped up since Dr. Kissinger's recent visit to Zaire."

Mr. do Nascimento said: "We have proof that increased activity of gangs of bandits is a result of Dr. Kissinger's visit."

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# Neto pledges Cuba pact

28/6/76 N.M.

**LUANDA —** Angola intends to build up its friendship with Cuba in spite of the United Nations veto on Angola's admission to the United Nations because Cuban troops are in the country, President Agostinho Neto has said.

Making Angola's first official response to the U.S. veto cast in the UN Security Council last week, the President told police cadets at a graduation ceremony yesterday "We will not cut our relations with Cuba because of American demands. On the contrary, we will reinforce our relations of friendship with Cuba."

President Neto attacked the U.S. as "a reactionary country and an imperialist international gangster" which had acted in complicity with China.

China abstained in the Security Council vote.

The President said the former Portuguese colony was surrounded by enemies.

"In neighbouring territories, military forces are in movement and armed men leave from them to enter our country," he said. "Perhaps this fact will help us to understand certain demands orchestrated in Washington."

The Cuban troops helped install President Neto's People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in power earlier this year after a bloody civil war with rival independence groups.—(Sapa-Reuter.)

# FOUR TO FACE FIRING SQUAD

29/6/76  
NM.

**LUANDA - An Angolan tribunal yesterday sentenced British mercenaries Costas Georgiou (Colonel Callan), Andrew McKenzie and John Derek Barker to death by firing squad.**

## Complicity

Britain and the United States were accused in the verdict of complicity in recruiting "private armies" to bring down Black Africa's revolutionary governments. The Court regarded the individual mercenaries "as instruments in this political orchestration."

The CIA was declared guilty of financing the mercenary recruitment programmes in Britain and the U.S. as part of "Dr. Kissinger's new look in foreign policy after Vietnam, which meant changing the colour of the corpses."

The FBI, the people's tribunal ruled, "had precise knowledge of this traffic in war prostitutes and did nothing to disturb it."

## Orgy

Although only Georgiou and McKenzie were accused directly by witnesses of murder, all 13 were said in the verdict to have engaged in plunder, blowing up bridges, sacking, raping and "unwarranted killing."

"They left a trail of wide-eyes, dead bodies, charred bodies, stomachs cut open in an orgy of contempt," the Judge said. No direct testimony to any of these incidents was presented during the nine-day trial.

After the presiding Judge completed his 30 minute verdict, Georgiou turned to talk animatedly with those behind him seated on wooden stools in the dock.

Barker looked stunned and ashen-faced and remained silent. Gearhart supported his head with his left hand at the side of the dock.

A British lawyer, Mr. Peter Warburton Jones, told reporters he and two other British lawyers "are going to petition President Neto for mercy."

## Quickly

"There is a possibility that the sentences may be carried out in 48 hours. Therefore we are acting as quickly as possible," he said.

Britain's Prime Minister, Mr. James Callaghan, was also sending a message to President Neto asking for clemency, a British spokesman said in London.

In Washington, the State Department said the death sentence passed on Gearhart was not justified under international law. — (Sapa-Reuter-AP.)

Also sentenced to die was American Daniel Gearhart.

A British lawyer who defended one of the mercenaries said the death penalties might be carried out in 48 hours.

All the death penalties must be confirmed by Angola's President, Dr. Agostinho Neto.

All 13 of the foreign mercenaries captured in the dying days of the Angolan civil war were found guilty of the general charge of being mercenaries.

The nine mercenaries not sentenced to death were given prison terms of varying length from 30 years to 18, according to ages and specific charges against them.

## Stunned

All the prisoners stood in stunned silence as Presiding Judge Ernesto da Silva read the verdict.

Gearhart and Barker in particular seemed shocked and wilted at hearing the death penalty pronounced since no testimony had been given or prosecution witnesses produced to accuse them of murdering anyone.

Costas Georgiou, who admitted ordering the massacre of 14 British mercenaries, for refusing to fight, was handcuffed.

Georgiou, who wore a head set, made no outward sign of having understood what was being read. But his sister, at the back of the courtroom, burst into tears.



COSTAS GEORGIU,  
alias Colonel Callan.



DANIEL FRANCIS  
GEARHART



ANDREW GORDON  
MCKENZIE

July 17 1976

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# South Angola: Food low Gunpoint rule by Cubans

STAR.

Ray Whitaker,  
Defence Correspondent

Cuban and MPLA troops in southern Angola, cut off from northern strongpoints, are seizing food and clothing from reluctant villagers at gunpoint, say well-informed Owambo

sources.

Angolans crossing the border report that the soldiers are starved of supplies.

At least two mission stations — one at Namaunde, on the tarred road only a few kilometres north of the Oshikango border post — have been raided for supplies.

Two women from the Shangalala mission said MPLA soldiers had taken all their food. The two, Helena Lukas and a woman known only as Maria, walked to Vila Rocadas, where troops then robbed them of their money and clothing.

## Coffee crop

Angolan members of the Kwamyama tribe, which straddles the border, have confirmed reports that Cuban soldiers are rounding up people from the south and sending them north to harvest the coffee crop.

It is plain that the Cubans will not hesitate to use force to get in the coffee crop, according to informed sources. The crop is seen as vital in bolstering Angola's ravaged economy.

This evidence of grim conditions in the southern half of Angola confirms earlier reports that the local population is passively resisting the MPLA and the Cubans.

Large numbers of people appear to be heeding the call of Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, to leave their farms untended and take their cattle into the bush, depriving the opposing forces of provisions.

This, coupled with rumours of UNITA attacks in areas further north, seems to be giving MPLA and Cuban troops in the far south the feeling that their position is precarious.

## Frustrated

The Cubans are also reported to be frustrated because their superiors have not kept promises to get supplies to them.

It is rumoured that in some instances Cuban forces have refused to move from the larger towns in the south.

The Star's Africa News Service, quoting Radio Mozambique, says Frelimo troops are organising armed militia units among the people in Chicualacuala (formerly Malvernia) and Mapai.

The militia will be used to defend Mozambique against attacks from Rhodesia, the radio said.

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# 'TERROR WAR' FEARED BY NETO

nm 14/7/76

**LUANDA** — Angola's leaders are voicing serious concern about military threats from their opponents, who, they say, are helped by neighbouring enemy countries.

country, the puppets who carry out acts of banditry. We have to carry out operations to eliminate them completely from the political scene."

The leaders of the Left-wing Angolan Government have apparently been referring to the losing forces in the civil war which ended earlier this year — Unita operating mainly in the south east, the FNLA operating mainly in the north, and the Liberation Front for the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC).

Little direct information is available here, but reliable sources say small Unita groups are operating in the south and east, hitting locomotives on the strategic Benguela Railway and killing Cuban and Government troops.

These sources say the Government, backed by hundreds of Cuban troops and a contingent from Guinea, is in control of all cities and towns in the south and east.

But the sources say the Government is not in full control of regions away from the roads — and that the roads are not safe at night.

Cuban soldiers have been among the targets and many Cuban coffins were loaded on to a ship in Lobito last month. — (Sapa-Reuter.)

These worries may be shared by the leaders of Cuba, who have sent at least 12 000 troops to help the Left-wing Government here, according to American estimates.

President Agostinho Neto said recently that "our frontiers are still surrounded by the enemy."

"In neighbouring countries, military forces are moving and from them come armed men to enter our country, men who are going to form bandit groups to massacre people and destroy property," he declared.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Lopo de Nascimento, said: "We are witnessing a big concentration of troops on Angola's border with Zaire."

They are a mixture of reactionary Angolan elements and regular Zaire troops."

Mr. Lucio Lara, Secretary of the Political Bureau of the MPLA commented: "Infiltrations into our territory from Zaire are making us believe a new military aggression against us is imminent."

At a ceremony appointing new commissioners for provinces in the south and east, President Neto said: "We still have to act against the enemies of our

## Border raid

by SA *Cape Times*  
denied 12/17/76  
(S)

JOHANNESBURG — A Defence Force spokesman last night denied an East German news agency (ADN) report that last week South African troops had allegedly crossed into Angola and razed three villages.

Brigadier Cyrus Smith, director of public relations for the Defence Force, said Defence Force Headquarters doubted the allegations, and there was absolutely no truth in the report.

According to the East German news agency, the Angolan President, Dr Agostino Neto, allegedly spoke of constant violation of his borders, and the laying waste of three villages by South Africans.

Defence Headquarters, according to Brigadier Smith, strongly doubted that President Neto of Angola ever made such a statement.

— Sapa

# 4 mercenaries shot: Outcry against Angola

Cape Times

12/7/76

(5)

LUANDA — Dr Agostinho Neto's Angolan Government has been heavily criticized for executing four White mercenaries by firing squad here.

On Saturday afternoon a military police squad shot Cyprus-born Costas Georgiou, 25, a former British Army paratrooper known as "Colonel Callan", his fellow Britons Andrew McKenzie, 23, and John Derek Barker, 35, and American Daniel Gearhart, 34.

The executions took place within 24 hours of President Neto's decision to confirm the death sentences.

He ignored appeals for clemency from Britain's Queen Elizabeth, the International Commission of Jurists, the British and United States Governments and others.

The four men were sentenced to death by an Angolan People's Tribunal on June 28. Nine other mercenaries were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 16 to 30 years.

## Bodies

After the executions, the Angolan authorities announced they would allow eight days for relatives to claim the bodies.

President Ford said the execution was "unjustified and unwarranted".

In a statement issued in Newport, where he dined with Queen Elizabeth aboard the royal yacht Britannia on Saturday night, the United States President said:

"This execution, carried out in defiance of worldwide pleas for a humane commutation of Mr Gearhart's sentence, will make even more difficult any steps

toward the normalization of relations between Angola and the United States."

In Washington Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger said he was deeply shocked by Gearhart's execution. The action was a deliberately hostile act toward the United States, he said.

He had made a vain last-minute appeal for clemency to the Angolan Government.

He said there was "absolutely no basis in national or international law for the action now taken by the Angolan authorities".

In London the British Prime Minister, Mr James Callaghan, said his government was appalled by the reports of the executions.

"The British Government can find no justification for such extreme severity," he said.

Andrew McKenzie's family received a letter written in the death cell by their son after he knew he was going to die.

The letter said in part: "I never once killed any civilians. I hope you believe me, as it is true."

(5)

# Cubans are a 2/8/76 STAR violent risk in Africa—Dr K

BOSTON — The Secretary of State, Dr Kissinger, yesterday warned both Blacks and Whites of Southern Africa that the continuing presence of Cuban troops in Angola had increased the risk of violence in their region.

In a speech to the National Urban League convention here, Dr Kissinger called on the White population of Rhodesia to negotiate a transition to Black-majority rule while there was still time.

He also urged rival Rhodesian Black nationalists to submerge their differences and outline a future of racial co-existence "in an independent Zimbabwe" — using the name Black Rhodesians have given to the breakaway British colony.

Dr Kissinger appealed to South Africa to heed the warning signals of the recent riots in Black urban townships and Black universities, describing them as "a vivid expression of the frustration of Black South Africans toward a system that denies them status, dignity or political rights."

## INTENSIFYING

"With thousands of foreign troops north of the Namibian (South West Africa) border and with intensifying warfare in Rhodesia, a far more volatile climate for violence exists in Southern Africa," he said.

"The risks of confrontation mount. Time is running out."

Dr Kissinger did not directly say, however, that the 13,000 to 15,000 Cuban troops estimated to be stationed in Angola might take part in a confrontation.

## APPEAL

He coupled his warning about a possible confrontation in Southern Africa with a four-part appeal directed to Black and White Rhodesians, the Republic of South Africa, Black African nations and the former colonial powers of Europe.

"We appeal to the current Rhodesian authorities to begin urgent talks for an independent Zimbabwe while the future of the White population can still be negotiated peacefully and guarantees are yet attainable."



From LEON MELLETT  
Mercury, man-on-the-spot

ONDANGWA — In an all out offensive against Unita and its non-communist supporters, combined MPLA and Swapo forces led by Cubans are systematically sweeping south through Angola, massacring hundreds of villagers and Unita soldiers.

The villages are burnt, crops plundered and thousands of refugees are streaming into Owambo. During the past two weeks almost 3 000 people, mostly women and children, have sought refuge in South West Africa.

Two thousand fled into Kavongo and another estimated 800 are grouped together in Owambo where they are being cared for by the Owambo Government and South African troops.

They tell frightening stories of how communist forces swooped on their villages and opened fire in cold blood.

Yesterday a former foreign secretary of Swapo, Mr. Lucky Shupala, told a Press conference in Ondangwa of an agreement made in March between Swapo, the MPLA and the Cuban units in Angola.

The plan was for a joint invasion of South West Africa, but it led to a split in the Swapo leadership.

He said about half of Swapo's leaders, himself included, wanted nothing to do with the plan.

Mr. Shupala also disclosed that an attempt was made in March to kill the Swapo leader, Mr. Sam Nujoma, but that the would-be assassin — one of Mr. Shupala's group — had been arrested.

He said that after this affair Zambian soldiers had arrested all discontented Swapo leaders and had thrown them in gaol.

When he was handed over to the Owambo Government his former colleagues believed he would be executed, but instead he is now accepted by the Owambo Government and is working with them.

(5)

# Angolan invasion of SWA feared

2/10/76  
AM

A refugee who escaped from a prison in Sa Da Bandeira three weeks ago, the Rev. G. Balambala, a Roman Catholic priest, said he was imprisoned by the MPLA in February because he is non-communist.

He said churches were being destroyed and people who were anti-communist were being massacred.

He said many Whites were among the 450 being held in the prison at Sa Da Bandeira.

Another refugee, a young Unita soldier called Paulus Haihambo, claimed that MPLA and Swapo soldiers sacked his village and killed 134 men, women and children, although the Unita soldiers at the village surrendered.

He said people were being shot in cold blood in what he described as "an all-out effort to eradicate Unita and all non-communist supporters."

He described conditions in southern Angola as chaotic.

The party of Pressmen was flown in helicopters to an area about three kilometres from the Angolan border where 401 refugees are being cared for by the Owambo Government and the Defence Force.

Most are women and children, and many of the little ones were orphaned during the past week.

Mr. Jannie de Wet, Commissioner-General of the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa, said that most of the refugees fled into South West Africa during the past two weeks.

He could not say whether they would be repatriated.

"At the moment they will not go back under any circumstances," he said.

Mr. de Wet would not comment on the planned invasion of South West Africa but said: "You have heard what these refugees have said. You can arrive at your own conclusions."

But Pastor K. Ndjoba, Chief Minister of Owambo, said that the communist southward drive does not appear to be only for the southern section of Angola which they wish to conquer.

"They want to go much further than that," he said.

# SA Press sees Cuban POWs



## Troops fired on from Angola

Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South African troops in the South West Africa operational area have come under fire several times from the other side of the Angola border in the past two weeks, the Defence Force said today.

THREE Cuban prisoners of war were introduced to the South African Press at Defence Headquarters in Pretoria today. They are, from left, Sergeant Esequiel Mustelier, 24, Private Carlos Maru Mesa, 25, and Private Roberto Bellma, 23. At right is Brigadier Ben Roos, director of operations of the South African Army.

CONT

Brigadier Ben Roos, Director of Operations for the South African army, said the purpose of these incidents might have been to cause an international confrontation on the Ovamboland-Angola border.

This might have embarrassed the South African Government at a time when Dr Kissinger's peace initiative was taking place in Pretoria.

#### SOLDIER KILLED

In the past two weeks, he said, the security forces had killed three terrorists for the loss of one South African — Rifleman C. F. Ehlers. Another soldier was lightly wounded in a mine explosion.

Shots had been fired from across the Angolan border on five occasions, said Brigadier Roos. He added: "The security forces handled these incidents with the greatest self-control."

A week ago a teacher and a number of schoolchildren were abducted by terrorists and taken to Angola.

# 3 HELD IN PRETORIA W/K ARGUS 25/9/76 WANT TO GO HOME

Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** —  
Three Cubans taken prisoner during the Angolan war met the South African Press at Defence Headquarters in Pretoria today.

The three men — Sergeant Esequiel David Garces Mustelier, 24, Private Carlos Maru Mesa, 25, and Private Roberto Bellma, 23 — said they wanted to meet the Press because they had heard nothing from their relatives in Cuba.

Brigadier Ben Roos, army Director of Operations, said before the meeting that questions about the time or circumstances in which the men were taken prisoner, or questions about their political beliefs were ruled out.

#### AS GUESTS

He said the South African Government was prepared to invite one relative of each of the men to visit them and see that they were well looked after. They could come as guests of the Minister of Defence and the Chief of the Defence Force if they could not afford the fare.

But later, through an interpreter, the men said they were not inclined to accept the offer. Private Mesa, who acted as their spokesman, said: "As far as I am concerned I have no problems here and my wife has family commitments in Cuba."

None of the three men wanted political asylum in South Africa. "All we want is to be able to go home as soon as possible," said Private Mesa, the only married man of the three.

#### ALL WOUNDED

Brigadier Roos said the three men had been brought to South Africa because they needed medical attention which could not be given in the operational area. Private Bellma lost an arm and was also wounded in the leg. Sergeant Mustelier was

wounded in the leg and Private Mesa in both legs and the left arm and shoulder.

Private Mesa, a textile factory worker in civilian life, said the South African authorities had shown great concern for their health. They had been regularly visited by a doctor after their treatment was completed.

Private Bellma said he had been measured for an artificial arm which was to be provided soon. "I suppose it is better than having no arm at all," he said.

#### A GARDEN

The men said they had asked to be given something to do during their captivity and the Defence Force had given them a garden in which they grew vegetables.

They spend their day working in the garden until 11 am and again until 3 pm after lunch. After 5 pm they studied English and mathematics.

Brigadier Roos said the men were being paid a salary in accordance with the Geneva Convention. Also under the convention they had been given identity documents and received regular visits from the International Red Cross.

The men — who are being held in Pretoria — have been allowed to buy civilian clothes and wear them during their captivity.

The Cubans said they had written five or six

times to their families without receiving any reply. They hoped the Press coverage would enable their families to learn that they were still alive.

"When the idea of a Press conference came up as a means of contacting our families, we took to it willingly," said Private Mesa.

He said the manner of their treatment by the South Africans had not been a surprise. "I was aware of the provisions of the Geneva Convention and I am happy they have strictly adhered to it."

All three men said they thought the Cuban Government would care for their families while they were in captivity.

Asked if they wanted to send messages to their families, Private Mesa said: "Just tell my wife I am well." He said he and his wife, Mercedes Rosa (25), had been married 21 months. They lived in Havana. They had no children.

Private Bellma, like Private Mesa a mortar gunner, wanted to send his regards to his fiancée, Paola Chomat Gomez. The private also lived in Havana and worked for a transport firm.

Brigadier Roos emphasized that all the other Cuban prisoners in South African hands had been handed over to the Angolan movement several months ago.

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# Cuban prisoners want letters from home

PRETORIA. — Three Cubans who were taken prisoner-of-war earlier this year were yesterday, at their own request, introduced to South African news media at a press conference at Defence Force Headquarters.

The three men, aged 24, 23 and 25, in good health and obviously in good spirits with ready smiles, were introduced by Brigadier Ben Roos, Director of Operations, South African Army, who said they were brought to the Republic purely because they needed medical treatment which could not be given to them in the operational area.

"The reason they asked to meet representatives of the press is because they have written a number of letters to their relatives in Cuba but have not had replies since their capture. By speaking to the press they hope their relatives will learn about their whereabouts and how they are faring," Brigadier Roos said.

## Convention

"The men are being treated strictly in accordance with the requirements of the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners-of-war," the Brigadier said.

"By introducing them to the press, we are therefore in no way parading them to the world. This is strictly prohibited by the convention. They are here today because they have asked for it and are anxious that their next-of-kin

know what their circumstances are.

This was confirmed by the three men when questions were put to them.

They are Esequiel David Garces Mustelier, 24 and single, from Los Negros de Zaire, Oriente, Cuba, who holds the rank of sergeant; Carlos Alberto Maru Mesa, 25 and married with no children, from Delicias 629 Entre San Francisco Concepcion Lawton, Habana, Cuba; and Roberto Morales Bellma, 23 and single, from Linea 1210 Entre 18 y 20, Vedado, Habana, Cuba both privates.

## Lost an arm

Roberto Morales lost an arm. He is in the process of being provided with an artificial arm. He was also wounded in the leg.

Carlos Mesa had bullet wounds in both legs and his upper left arm, while Esequiel Mustelier was wounded in the leg.

None of them is a professional soldier: Mustelier is a farmer, Mesa works for a textile factory while Bellma works for a transport company.

Questions were put to them and replies translated by a Spanish interpreter provided by the SABC.

Carlos Mes said about their treatment: "Since we were captured we have had no reason to complain about the treatment by the South Africans."

Brigadier Roos said the South African authorities were prepared to invite one of each of the three men's next-of-kin to visit them to see for

themselves how they were faring.

Asked if they would like their next-of-kin to visit them, Carlos Mesa said they would not mind but he would much rather like to go back to his wife.

Brigadier Roos said the International Red Cross had full access to the men and was also responsible for their mail.

— Sapa

# Nigerian court ordered SA POW freed, says friend's letter

By PIERRE CLAASSEN

A NIGERIAN COURT ordered the return to South Africa of one of the seven prisoners of the Angolan war, Robert Wiehahn, in April this year, the missing soldier's father learnt yesterday.

The news that his son was still alive and well in a Nigerian jail in April came in a letter Mr. Claude Wiehahn received at his Brackenfell home yesterday from a Nigerian who had befriended his son in a Lagos prison.

Joseph Hachina wrote to the Wiehahns after he was discharged from prison and

## says friend's letter

addressed the letter to their son as he expected him to be back home. Mr. Wiehahn, senior, replied to tell him his son had not returned from his capture by the MPLA and yesterday received a distressed answer from his son's friend.

Mr. Kachina had last seen young Wiehahn, who recently turned 21 in captivity, in April when a court ruled that his South African friend be returned home.

"It is embarrassing to me to understand your son's fate," ran Kachina's letter in broken English.

In March, he said, their friendship started over a mosquito net which Robert Wiehahn needed in jail and which Joseph supplied. "Nothing goes for nothing in the prison in Nigeria," Joseph wrote to his friend's father. "His (Wiehahn's) health was alright but he lacked sleeping material like a mosquito net.

I helped him to secure one. There our friendship started. "In the prison yard tailoring is the trade I learnt so his dresses were mended for him as he needed.

"Before April ending Nigeria court decided to return him to South Africa. Then we saw last Wiehahn but before he left he left he promised to be in good relationship with me and gave me two addresses. Joseph was in the Nigerian army but had been discharged after prison and had taken up the trade of tailoring with a Nigerian firm. Robert Wiehahn was taken prisoner in December last year.

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# Angola signs Red treaty

## Technology

President Agostinho Neto's visit to Moscow was prefaced last week by talks with Cuba's Defence Minister, Mr Raoul Castro. It is assumed that they discussed what should be done if either the Rhodesian terrorists or Swapo were to ask for help from the Cubans.

The news of the Russian-Angolan treaty was announced in Moscow yesterday during the second day of President Agostinho Neto's visit to the Soviet Union.

The treaty provides for wider co-operation in economic, technological and scientific fields, trade and culture.

It also commits the two countries to co-operate "with each other and with other peace-loving states in supporting the just struggle of the peoples for their sovereignty, freedom, independence and social progress."

The accord also declares that the two countries will continue to develop co-operation in the military field "in the interests of strengthening their defence potential."

The accord calls for general and complete disarmament and the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations — a Soviet proposal currently before the United Nations General Assembly in New York. — The Star's Bureau and Sapa-Reuter.

## Moscow

Angola and Russia have concluded a 20-year friendship treaty, Moscow's first with a state in the southern half of Africa, pledging continued military co-operation and support for peoples' independence struggles.

The news of the treaty has set Western analysts speculating whether Angola is to allow the Russians to establish military bases in the country.

They point that it was done by Somalia, the only other African country with whom the Soviet Union has a formal treaty.

The Russians may appear to be soliciting President Neto's support for their campaign to wreck the Geneva conference on Rhodesia.

At a banquet in honour of the Angolan leader, Mr Leonid Brezhnev, Russian leader, said the West was trying to preserve its position in Southern Africa and supporting South Africa — "this tottering bastion of racialism."

The Cabinet decided South Africa should play for the highest stakes. The gamble has back-fired. There is only one way the damage can be repaired

# The Angolan adventure

Whether or not to send an armoured column deep into Angola last year to back up Unita-FNLA must have been an agonising dilemma for Minister of Defence Piet Botha and the Cabinet. By crossing the Cunene, South Africa crossed its Rubicon. Nothing could ever be the same again.

While sympathising with Mr Botha we cannot, in retrospect, escape the conclusion that our involvement has been both a military miscalculation and a diplomatic disaster for which the country may have to pay a very high price indeed. The fact that even now, with reports of a partial South African withdrawal coming in, he is avoiding giving Parliament unambiguous answers to basic questions about South Africa's role in the civil war helps confirm this unhappy conclusion and to heighten our feeling of anxiety.

Presumably he and the Cabinet (and their military and security advisers) believed that, with help in the field from South Africa, Unita-FNLA would be able quickly to checkmate the MPLA and force it to agree to the formation of a government of national unity which would include representatives of the two Western-backed movements. Or to so hem in the MPLA forces that Angola would eventually have to be divided into two or more separate jurisdictions, with Dr Savimbi's Unita holding the southern region (serving as a buffer zone for South West Africa) and controlling the vital east-west rail link between Lobito and the Copperbelt.

Presumably, too, the Cabinet were led to believe that the US would level-peg with the Russians and Cubans in terms of money and *matériel* via Zaire and so ensure that Unita-FNLA, with South African know-how in the field, would be able to mount at least equivalent firepower.

Precisely what commitment Dr Kissinger and the CIA gave nobody knows. But it has clearly turned out to be anything but cast iron. And Pretoria, badly advised it would seem by Ambassador Pik Botha, completely misunderstood both the political process in America (equating Mr Ford's authority with Mr Vorster's) and the mood of Congress.

Inexorably the balance of fire-power swung in favour of the MPLA and South Africa had to decide either to escalate its

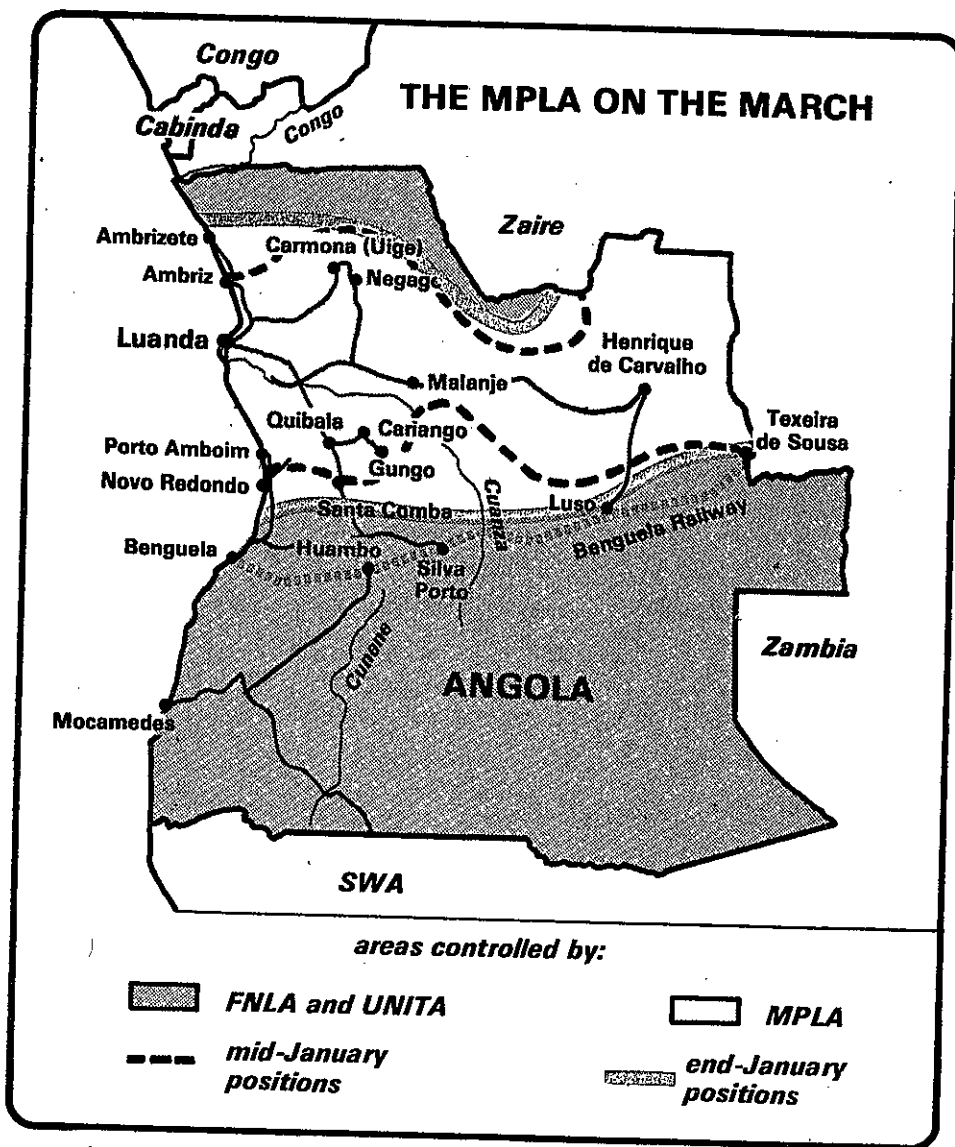
forces itself in step with whatever the Russians and Cubans would field — or withdraw. What a more determined, more heavily armoured thrust, backed by air support might have achieved last year became impossible once the MPLA were allowed time to gather behind them sophisticated Russian weaponry operated by thousands of battle-trained Cubans.

Now it would seem we — and the Americans — are to leave Unita-FNLA to their fate. Many gallant South Africans have lost their lives or been

wounded in the process; and the country has suffered a diplomatic and political set-back the long-term consequences of which are alarming to contemplate.

For one thing, the decision to involve South Africa militarily has cost the country the major plank in its foreign policy: that of non-intervention. The policy that served us so well in Mozambique has been sacrificed in Angola. Not only that. We've been seen to use arms not for defence, but to launch attacks within another country.

If Minister Botha were to retort that



In Angola by day only

# Workers

STAR 28/3/76

# move out

Clive Cowley,

South West Africa Bureau

5

Windhoek

Workers on the Cunene hydro-electric project had asked permission to move with their families from Angola to South West Africa, said Mr Jannie de Wet, Commissioner General for Indigenous Peoples, from Oshakati today.

They feared they would not be safe when the South African troops withdrew from Calueque and Ruacana.

As a temporary measure about 1 000 people would be housed in tent and caravan camps on the South West Africa side of the border.

Mr de Wet said the workers would go to Angola in the mornings, and return to South West at night.

The workers wanted to stay in South West with their families until they felt safe to return to Angola.

It was also reported in Windhoek today that 200 to 300 Portuguese refugees from the Calai and Cuangar camps in Angola had crossed the Okavango River into South West on Wednesday.

Some of them were to be repatriated to Portugal, while the rest were expected to obtain work permits in South Africa and South West.

## Asylum plea

Gerald L'Ange of The Star's Africa News Service reports from Rundu that a committee of refugees at the Cuangar and Calai camps have appealed for political asylum in South Africa.

The group, the Angolan Commission for Refugees, said it would return to Angola as soon as the political and military position had normalised.

The letter was sent to the Government through the Chief Minister of Kavango, Mr E Alphonse Majabero, who was also asked to intervene on the refugees' behalf.

The appeal was reinforced today by a demonstration at the Calai camp. About 200 refugees carrying a number of banners stood at the fence of the South African army posts in the camp.

On banner read: "We will follow behind South African forces on 27 3 76."

To Page 3, Col 6



# Withdrawal from Angola —and State security

Cape Times 27/3/76

THERE WERE two events this week of considerable importance in internal and external politics.

Internally, the United Party's decision to hold firm in the matter of civil liberties was an encouraging development.

Externally, the South African Government's decision to withdraw completely from military involvement in Angola was likewise heartening.

Today—the 100th birthday of the Cape Times—there is no longer a South African military presence in Angola, a consummation which this newspaper has been urging since the first inkling of such an involvement.

There is a wry kind of satisfaction in the coincidence of dates—the Angola withdrawal and the Cape Times centenary falling on the same day.

On this day, the Cape Times is celebrating a proud tradition of public

## Political survey

By GERALD SHAW

information and forthright editorial comment.

In the matter of Angola, our endeavour to keep the public informed was obstructed by officialdom at every turn. And it is a matter of some pride among Cape Times men that it was this newspaper, standing almost alone in the South African press, at first, which demanded that the Government tell the people what was happening.

And it was this newspaper, in editorial after editorial, which urged disengagement from the Angola civil war and withdrawal of South African troops from foreign soil.

It was argued that it was wrong in principle for a government to take a

nation to war without telling the citizens what was being undertaken in their name. As I mentioned, the Cape Times was for weeks almost a lone voice in demanding a South African disengagement from Angola—in the national interest.

But the newspaper, right from the start, had unmistakable evidence that it was voicing the genuine concerns of its readers—and, in fact, expressing an authentic voice of public opinion.

### Frightful error

Involvement in Angola, it is now plain to almost everyone, was a frightful error of judgment—which made it possible for the Russian-Cuban intervention in Southern Africa to be given a spurious respectability as a gallant defence of Angola from South African invasion.

But the Cape Times was vilified and abused by cheap politicians who had the temerity to question the "patriotism" of this newspaper.

The shrill voices of the super-patriots have now fallen silent. And the cause of peace and stability in Southern Africa has been well served by the professionals in diplomacy in the Department of Foreign Affairs and elsewhere who have now secured South Africa's interests in a manner which is satisfactory to all.

The Southern African situation remains menacing and the prospects of peace and stability in the subcontinent are hardly rosy.

But South Africa has side-stepped mortal danger in avoiding a Vietnam-style involvement in Angola. And it is now a challenge to Mr Vorster's peace-making skills to achieve the same result on our restless northern and north-eastern frontiers.

For years now it has been plain that over-extension of South African forces beyond our borders would be a fatal option. It is a great blessing that this did not happen in Angola.

Our armed forces will have their hands full in defending our far-flung borders. There can be no profit in sending expeditionary forces beyond these borders. In any event, withdrawal from Angola has saved South Africa from complete isolation at the United Nations—our continued presence there was simply not defensible by our Western friends.

Perhaps there is now some scope for a rebuilding of the delicate struc-

ture of détente. But Rhodesia remains an unknown quantity. Surely the Rhodesians would be advised to accept the great benefits of a restoration of legality and a return to British protection? In a sub-continent which is menaced by the Soviet Union and Cuba, the White Rhodesians cannot go it alone against a communist super-power backing African nationalists.

The hopeful element in all this is what appears to be a new round of skilful diplomatic activity by Britain, which seems to have used its good offices in resolving the Angola impasse and, let us hope, can also play a constructive role in preventing bloodshed in Rhodesia and securing a dispensation which can do justice to all.

If only the White Rhodesians can see that British protection provides their best chance of security. Anyway, the Southern African scene is now slightly less gloomy than it has been for some weeks.

In South African domestic politics, no one should underrate the importance of the United Party's refusal to co-operate in Mr Vorster's permanent security commission.

If there is anything that can save South Africa from bloodshed and inter-group strife, it is forthright and continuous talking between all sections of the population. But this kind of national debate is impossible if civil liberties have been destroyed and there is no freedom of speech and discussion.

### To stifle debate

Mr Vorster's security commission is tailor-made to stifle inter-group contacts and inter-group debate. It is tailor-made to create a situation where, slowly but surely, the talking and anguing dries up and the vicious circle of violence and counter-violence unwinds.

All credit to the United Party for their refusal to be a party to an inquisitorial, McCarthy-style permanent "security" commission.

Here too, the Cape Times can rightfully claim a measure of credit—in giving voice to the groundswell of opinion which sees great danger in abandonment of traditional standards of civil liberty and freedom of expression.

In so doing, the Cape Times is being true to the standards and values of F Y St Leger and, hence, is being true to its readers.

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312-90

# Cubans at Kunene as SWA work goes on

The Argus Bureau

WINDHOEK. — An advance force of MPLA and Cuban troops was today positioned around construction works on the Angola side of the Kunene hydro-electric project.

They were encamped at the Calueque Dam and Ruacana diversion weir, near the South West Africa border, 10 days after South African forces had withdrawn from Angola.

On this side of the border South African troops guarded the sites of a surge headbay and power station.

The project manager, Mr Jim Thompson, said from Ruacana that the work position was 'unchanged,' which meant construction was continuing in South West Africa but not in Angola.

He declined to say if any contacts had taken place between the South African authorities and the MPLA force.

He said 'if anything needs to be said it will be released through Sapa.'

## CONFIRMED

Defence Headquarters in Pretoria confirmed that the MPLA and Cuban force had arrived.

Workers from the Angolan section of the project moved to camps inside South West Africa when the South African troops withdrew. Their employers said they would not return to work until a military or civil authority replaced the South Africans.

Further MPLA and Cuban troops were expected at Calueque and Ruacana.

With the works again protected, it was expected that negotiations would

take place, aimed at an early resumption of work.

The Commissioner General for Indigenous Peoples in SWA, Mr J. M. de Wet, was not available for comment.

A Defence Force spokesman said he did not know the strength of the MPLA force. They are understood to have appeared on the Angolan side of the border at the weekend.

It is believed that their arrival follows a tour of the area by an MPLA mission to ensure that South African forces had definitely withdrawn.

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# Angola

# and SA

CAPE TIMES  
make 6/4/76

# contact

# at dam

(5)

THE MINISTER of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Müller, yesterday confirmed that there had been contacts between the Angolan and South African Governments to ensure continued operations on the Cunene River project.

Construction work on the Angolan side at Ruacana and Calueque should be resumed today, he said in Cape Town, after being approached for details.

"The stage has been reached where engineers and officials visited the construction sites in Angola on April 5 and operations are expected to be resumed today," he told Sapa.

"The power to Calueque is being switched on and will mean that pumping of water from Calueque to Owambo will probably be resumed within a day or two."

Dr Müller said the contacts had first been made on April 2 at the sites and had been followed up during the weekend.

## "LIMITED"

He recalled that assurances had been received from the Government of the Peoples Republic of Angola that the Calueque-Ruacana hydro-electric project would not be damaged, or the workers on the project endangered.

The Angolan Government had also indicated that South West Africa would not be deprived of water or electricity.

In Pretoria yesterday, the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, confirmed that "a limited force" of MPLA troops had arrived at the South West African border at the weekend.

He added that "preliminary diplomatic contact" had been made between South Africa and the MPLA and further discussions were expected to follow.

**WINDHOEK.** — The agreement for the protection of the Kunene hydro-electric project was concluded yesterday after top-secret talks inside Angola between South African and MPLA officials.

Work resumed fully today on the project which straddles the border between South West Africa and Angola. It had been suspended on the Angolan side since the withdrawal of South African forces 10 days ago.

Portuguese and Angolan workers crossed the border from camps in SWA and resumed construction work in Angola under the protection of MPLA troops.

The pump station at the Calueque Dam was put back into operation and water once again flowed into canals in neighbouring Ovamboland.

The Commissioner General of the Indigenous Peoples in South West Africa, Mr. J. M. de Wet, gave details of the successful negotiations for the first time in an exclusive interview in Oshakati with The Argus South West Africa Bureau.

### Guarantees

It had been agreed that the MPLA would guarantee the security of workers, construction sites and machinery at the Calueque Dam and pump station and the Ruacana diversion weir and pressure tunnel, all situated inside Angola.

The international border between Angola and South West Africa would be respected.

Two checkpoints would be established on the border where the police on both sides would exercise control over workers as they moved back and forth.

Mr. de Wet said workers would meanwhile continue to live in camps on the South West Africa side and cross into Angola each morning to do their jobs.

He said the negotiations between South Africa and MPLA officials had taken place just across the Angolan border in a disused police post.

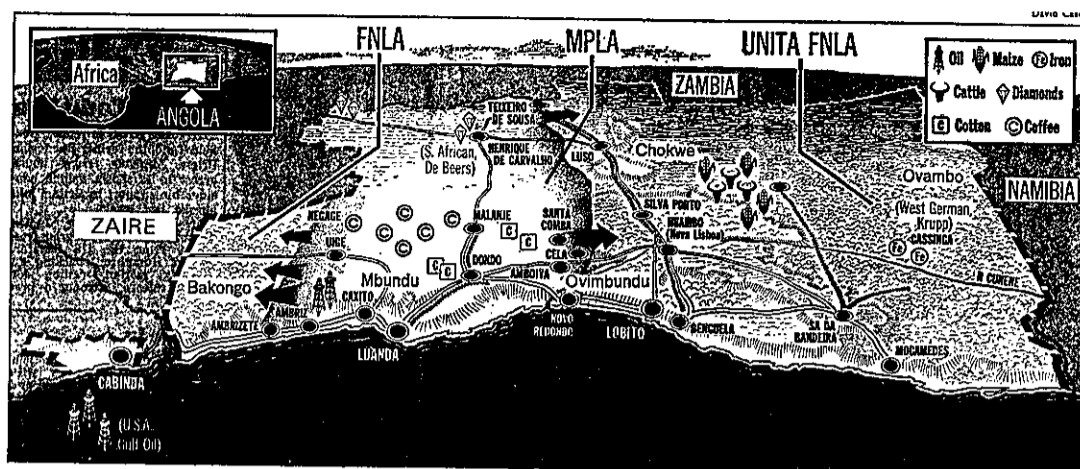
### Officials

On the South African side were senior officials of the South West Africa Water and Electricity Commission, the Department of Water Affairs, senior officers of the army and police, and himself.

Spokesmen for the MPLA Government were a political commissar from Luanda and a military commander from the Calueque Dam site.

Mr. de Wet said the political commissar had declared that he came from Luanda with full authority to negotiate on behalf of President Agostinho Neto and the People's Republic of Angola.

Mr. de Wet said negotiations took place in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere.



# South Africa's stake in Angola

by Graeme Bloch

South Africa, like America in Vietnam, has no interests in Angola beyond the freedom and security of the majority of the country's people. Or so we are told. Yet, our concern for majority rule sounds eminently unreal and a closer examination of the facts reveals substantial economic links between S.A. and Angola, and sizeable economic interests within the latter country. This article lists the major South African interests in Angola at the time of independence and provides a neglected perspective of the Angolan war.

## TRADE:

- Individual trade figures for African states are no longer given. Yet between 1964 and 1968, the value of trade with Angola doubled. Still, 1968 exports to Angola amounted to only R5½m. (0,4% of S.A.'s exports, 2,5% of Angola's total imports) and imports amounted to R3,4m. In 1972, S.A. was the 7th leading supplier to Angola.
- Angola was the largest supplier of coffee to S.A. Now that these sources have been cut, large price rises for coffee beans are expected.
- The Industrial Development Corporation (state corporation) has helped provide export finance to enable Angola to buy S.A. capital goods. The first export credit facility was in respect of a R4m, contract for supply and installation of a pipeline at Luanda.
- Angola imports from S.A.: fresh fruit, iron and steel products, and manufactured goods.
- S.A. also imports timber and cement from Angola.
- In 1969, SAFTO (S.A. Foreign Trade Organisation) organised a "floating trade exhibition" aboard a freighter to Angola. In 1970, SAFTO held a day-long seminar on trade opportunities in Angola.
- A 1969 Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut economic commission found Angola a favourable country for S.A. exports.

## MIGRATORY LABOUR:

- The supply of migratory labour to S.A. is minimal. However, some 40% of contract labourers in SWA/Namibia are Angolan. S.A. has crucial interests in SWA/Namibia.

## DIAMONDS:

- Exports of diamonds (R57,6m. a year) and oil make up 86% of Angola's foreign exchange earnings. Since 1921, diamond mining has been virtually controlled by Diamang Corporation. De Beers (in which Anglo-American has a 26% interest) holds a substantial interest in Diamang, and acts as consultant.
- An associate company, Consortio Mineiro de Diamantes, in which De Beers has a 45% stake, has undertaken vast explorations particularly in the Cuango Basin area. Anglo-American acts as consulting geologists to De Beers and provides geological services.
- An associated cutting and polishing company, Dialap, is controlled by De Beers Central Selling Organisation.
- Diamang's diamonds are marketed through De Beers Central Selling Organisation in London.
- De Beers have stopped geological services since the war and pulled out geologists and staff. Only a "prospecting presence" is maintained. Although prospecting has ceased, Diamang has continued to mine diamonds.

## PETROLEUM:

- (From Financial Mail Supplement, Oct. 5 1973) "Ansa Petroleum, a consortium of S.A. companies led by General Mining, . . . has a 25% interest in the Cuanza oil concession in the Luanda area of Angola. Exploration rights expire in 1976 and production rights are conferred for about 50 years. "Up to now, exploration has been confined mainly to the onshore areas, but negotiations are underway to farm out the offshore area to a consortium of 3 U.S. companies, which will undertake seismic and drilling work in return for a 50% interest.
- "Four economic discoveries have been made onshore, the largest of which is the Quenguela North field about 30 km. south of Luanda, where 53 development wells have been drilled. Of the other 3, two were made to the north . . . at the end of 1972. They have yet to be developed. The fourth field, Mulemos, north-east of Quenguela North, is fully developed, but comparatively small.
- "Cuanza production has, until recently, been sold in toto to the Luanda refinery. With total crude oil production increasing in Angola, however, an exportable surplus is now available to Ansa. A small tonnage will go to Brazil

this year and large tonnages will probably be offered (next year).

- "Nett income from the sale of crude has matched all exploration and development costs over the past two years, but previous expenditure by the consortium (about R9,2m) has yet to be recovered. Nevertheless, with increasing oil prices, with one substantial field developed, and with the possibility of further discoveries, Ansa could still do well".
- Shares in Ansa are held by General Mining, Federale Mynbou, and Sentrust (34%) Anglo-American and De Beers (24%), Sanlam (21%) and the remainder shared between Rand Mines, Unicorp and JCI.
- In 1974, General Mining group's interests in Angola were worth about R2,5m.

## OTHER MINING:

- Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co. (JCI) has carried out extensive explorations over 3 years for base minerals. The head of their geological department reports "tremendous mineral potential". JCI has withdrawn from headquarters at Sa de Bandeira, but maintains an office in Luanda. "We have been prospecting for virtually all minerals other than precious stones and oil. Our concession covered uranium, of which there are indications and copper, lead and zinc among other minerals . . . we shall continue to hold our rights with a view to returning later".
- The S.A. Industrial Development Corporation and Union Corporation will put up 51% of the development capital to use the vast reserves of lower grade iron ore in the Cassinga area. The project will cost some R56m.
- General Mining and Finance has joined a consortium with foreign firms (Comp. Minería do Huambo and Nuclear Energy Board) to explore for uranium ores and other radio-active minerals in Angola's central region.

## FINANCE, INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

- In 1971, Barclays acquired holdings in the subsidiary of Banco Portugues do Atlantico. Further negotiations with General Mining resulted in the formation of the Bank of Lisbon and South Africa, with branches throughout Angola.
- With a Portuguese bank, Standard Bank set up Banco Totta Standard de Angola, with some 38 branches in Angola.
- AE & CI (chemicals) has total interests in Angola and Mozambique of R310 000.
- Peter le Riche, a SWA rancher who lives in Cape Town, invested some R5m. in the inshore fishing industry at Cacuco, 18 km. north of Luanda. His company owns some 9 trawlers and charter boats, and recently increased the capacity of their fishmeal reduction plant to 55 tons per hour at a cost of R1,5m. Most of the machinery was imported from S.A.
- Anglo-American has substantial share-holdings in Tanganyika Concessions, which in turn owns 90% of the Benguela Railway. The Benguela line traverses Angola and connects the rail systems of Zaire and Zambia with the Angola port of Lobito.
- S.A. interests have expanded into livestock, utilising their know-how and breeding-stock. Incentives offered by the Portuguese and the low cost of land, made this an attractive field for investment.

## HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER:

- Some R125m. has already been spent on the Kunene hydro-electric scheme, with generators on the Ruacana Falls and the water reticulation scheme at Calueque. The scheme will provide vital power and water for the future growth of the industries and mines of SWA/Namibia (the major power-lines by-pass Owambo). The water reticulation scheme to provide irrigation for Owambo, is expected to cost R6m. above the estimated total cost of R225,4m. for the whole scheme. A major contractor for the scheme is LTA Construction, an Anglo-American subsidiary.

South Africa's economic interests in Angola are not vast when compared either with the overall S.A. economy or Angola's potential. S.A. intervention in Angola cannot be seen in terms of protecting present investments; strategic and political goals are also important.

Nonetheless, when the vast untapped potential of Angola is taken into account, its possibility of emerging as another economic giant in Africa, one can understand South African concern at maintaining a government in Luanda not hostile to present S.A. interests or the possibility of future involvement in exploiting the country's resources.

In November 1972, an economist of the Standard Bank commented:

"Earlier this year the Governor General stated that Angola will become the most prosperous and the most powerful territory of the Portuguese nation. This view is shared by many who have seen the apple waiting to be picked."

# The Cape Times

THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1976

## Credibility chasm

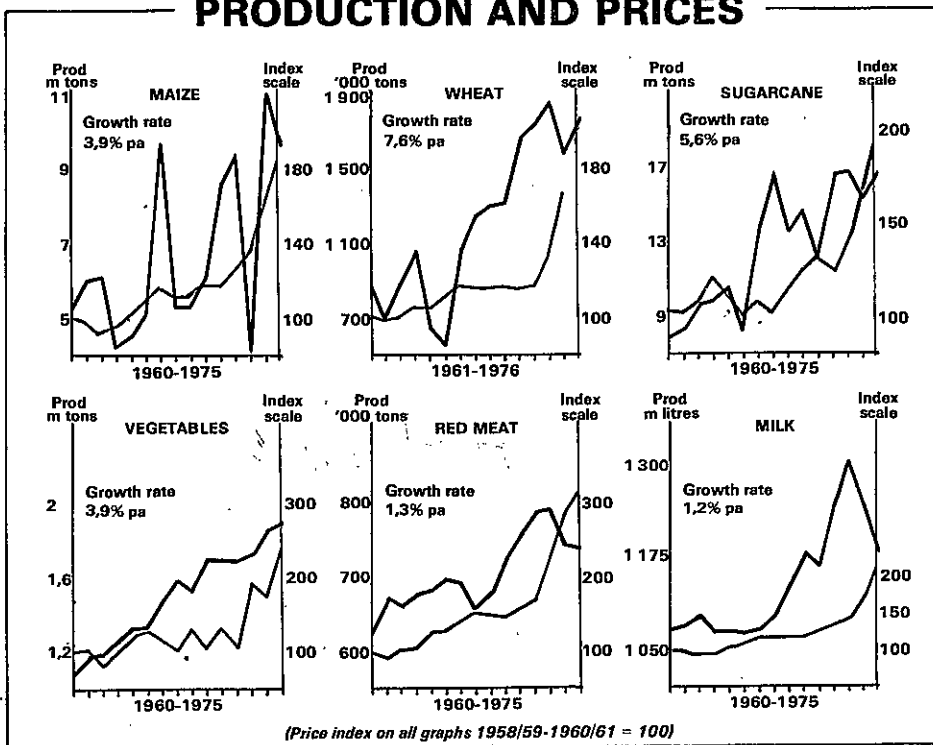
A SERIOUS credibility problem has developed over South African involvement in Angola which must be cleared up quickly. There are two simple issues: the extent of involvement and alleged collusion by the West.

1. South African involvement. Pretty well the whole world except South Africa is of the view that the Republic was in there fighting with Unita against the MPLA and Cubans in the civil war. The recent Security Council discussions and resolution reflected the outside world's thinking. And even locally there have from time to time been inspired-looking leaks and statements from official and semi-official quarters which strengthened this view — the latest being a speech by General Rogers of the Air Force which referred to requests for assistance from certain interested parties and various African states, and went as far as revealing engagements with Cubans. Yet the South African Government maintains, at the same time, that the country was NOT involved in the civil war. The sooner this is clarified the better.

2. Alleged collusion. South Africa has hinted that her involvement was undertaken with the knowledge and support, tacit or explicit, of Western nations including the United States. This is the reasonable conclusion to be drawn from published South African statements. Yet the United States has repeatedly denied collusion. Who

then, if not the leader of the West? Added salt in the wound is the vehement Western condemnation at the UN of South African involvement which, even if it is to be seen cynically as a propaganda ritual, will cause deep hurt assuming such arrangements did, in fact, exist between South Africa and Western countries. In the wake of Western condemnation, Mr P W Botha took the debate a stage further by threatening to tell the "whole story". And, on Monday night he repeated that the South African operation was "part of the action of the free world, and more countries of the free world knew about it and had no objections". It would be to everyone's advantage (not the least the cause of truth, the first casualty in war) were the "whole story" to be told. In addition to dealing fully with the matter of alleged collusion, Mr Botha should fill out the record on questions of numbers of troops, distances covered, the nature and extent of engagements, etc, so that citizens do not have to await the next issue of a relatively obscure Defence journal or a speech by a general to obtain the latest trickle of Delphic information. This way of dealing with the public on matters as important as warfare amounts to contempt of the people, and probably also of Parliament. The right course is for the Government to give a full and convincing explanation to Parliament, say in a White Paper. Yes, Mr Botha should tell the whole story.

## PRODUCTION AND PRICES



tion, although there is now a training centre at Potchefstroom.

But there is still a long way to go. Schoeman claims it's possible to harvest 60 bags of maize a hectare, not 30, and the wheat yield should average 25 bags/ha (16,7 at present). With costs rising sharply, incentive prices, he stresses, are essential if production is to be increased. Indeed, the relation between the two shows clearly on the graphs.

Eventually, however, a day must come when optimum production on White farms will have been achieved. This leaves the Homelands. These have excel-

lent agricultural potential, estimated at 23% of the Republic's total. About 76% of the areas get more than 500 mm of rain.

Despite gallant efforts by some dedicated civil servants, farming in the Homelands remains very backward (mostly subsistence) and 90% of their requirements are still "imported".

Some progress has been made but it is pitifully slow. The gross value of agricultural production in all the Homelands was: 1968—R49,6m; 1969—R58,2m; 1970—R54,0m; 1971—R66,0m; 1972—R74,3m; and 1973—R84,3m. Grain

(maize, wheat and sorghum) production rose from R5,9m in 1968 to R13,1m in 1973; vegetables from R3,6m to R7,5m.

Partly, the problem is a cultural one. Traditionally, farming is women's work, and many experts believe the tribal system of land tenure — as opposed to individual ownership — may also be a disincentive.

The Department of Bantu Administration relies on the Verwoerdian theory of working through the existing tribal customs. As a spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration put it: "We don't think of land reform, but of optimum utilisation of the land." It is felt that the situation can best be alleviated by developing the land itself, and giving financial assistance.

In KwaZulu, however, a committee is investigating the system of land tenure. But, if small farms have become uneconomic in White areas, would they ultimately be economic in the Homelands? And where are the farmers to run them? There is a growing awareness in agricultural circles of the magnitude of this problem. Clearly, since the present system is not succeeding fast enough, a new approach will have to be found.

Perhaps the most constructive suggestion so far comes from Anson Lloyd, chairman of the SA Sugar Association, who recently advocated a food planning and development council to co-ordinate the efforts of all population groups through regional food production committees. The sugar industry has already pioneered a scheme with the KwaZulu government (*FM* last week).

The Homeland governments would need to play a big part but it is difficult to see any meaningful development coming about without a massive injection of White skills, organisation and capital.

## GETTING SWEET ON BEET

**Sugar Association** Chairman Anson Lloyd has warned that at the present rate of consumption the entire sugar crop will disappear into the local market in a decade, leaving no balance for exports. Unless, of course, production can be raised.

But the industry is reasonably efficient, which reduces the scope for productivity gains; and higher yielding cane types yield a limited increase.

At the same time canelands are shrinking. Housing estates (Phoenix), industry (Prospecton), roads, public works (La Mercy Airport) are being built on land previously under cane, which will only grow on the sub-tropical belt stretching from the Natal South Coast to the E Transvaal lowveld.

The Sugar Association, has, however, been busy in a search for alternatives. It has almost completed the first

phase of a three-year programme to assess the yield and quality potential of sugar beet in the Natal Midlands. "Some sample yields have been very good," says chief research officer Tony Donovan of the sugar experiment station, "but we've also encountered some unexpected difficulties and



**Sugar Association's Anson Lloyd**  
... none for export soon

it would be unwise to draw any firm conclusions yet."

If beet could be grown successfully it would not be tied to such a relatively small land area and, unlike cane, it is a crop where full mechanisation is possible. An advantage not to be overlooked by an industry where farm labour has been a growing problem.

There is not much to choose between beet and cane in processing plant costs, but overseas experience is that 30 000 ha-40 000 ha under beet within a 30 km-50 km radius of the mill is economic.

"Beet," says Donovan, "is unlikely to be more efficient than cane in manufacturing sucrose, but it does have two important by-products to add to its economic value. The tops and pulp left over from processing has appreciable value as an animal feed."

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# Congo talks for Mobutu and Neto

W/E ARGUS

28/2/76

**KINSHASA.** — The leaders of Zaire and the MPLA are both scheduled to visit the central West African Republic of Congo today for talks with the Congolese President.

Their separate visits are seen by observers here as a serious diplomatic attempt to resolve differences between Zaire and the MPLA.

But it is not clear whether any meeting will be arranged between the two leaders.

Zaire announced yesterday that President Mobutu Sese Seko would fly to Brazzaville today for talks with President Arien Nguabi on bilateral relations and Angola.

### ARRIVED

Meanwhile Luanda Radio announced that the President of the MPLA Dr Agostino Neto had arrived in Brazzaville.

Zaire is one of the few African nations who has so far failed to recognise the MPLA.

But since the recent MPLA victories in Angola, Zaire has made it clear it would like to normalise relations.

Zaire backed the pro-Western Unita-FNLA alliance in the Angolan war but now accepts that the MPLA forces have won a convincing military victory.

It wants the MPLA to agree to the return to Angola of more than one million Angolan refugees living in southern Zaire.

It also wants to know MPLA intentions on the future of 6 000 Zaire mercenaries fighting alongside the MPLA which oppose the Zaire Government. — Sapa-AP.



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# HORROR FROM ANGOLA

NM 28/2/76

PEREIRA DECA—White Angolan war refugees in this southern Angolan town have many horror stories to tell of murder, assault and robbery by armed Angolan soldiers as they fled before the tide of war during the past weeks.

The refugees, gathered here under protection of South African military forces who are caring for them until they can be evacuated, or their protection is taken over by international bodies, have identified their persecutors not only as MPLA soldiers but as members of the Unita and FNLA forces.

At the time of the murders and assaults, the heavily armed and largely

leaderless FNLA and Unita bands were, themselves, fleeing before advancing Cuban troops spearheading the MPLA march to the south.

In the confusion of war it would appear that all three opposing Angolan factions were guilty of committing atrocities.

There are stories of people being shot behind the steering wheels of their vehicles and the vehicles stolen, of people being bayoneted to death. There are tales of looting and resistance which meant death.

South African military sources here this week confirmed that they had knowledge of attacks and assaults on the refugees.—(Sapa.)

105  
2 222

# No US <sup>STAR</sup> aid for <sup>10/9/76</sup> Machel, Angola

WASHINGTON — US senators have reached tentative agreement to strip all funds for Mozambique and Angola from a pending R4 590-million foreign aid appropriation Bill.

The agreement, which also reduces other aid funds requested by the Ford administration for Southern Africa, cleared the way for final action on the Bill today.

The chairman, Senator Daniel Inouye, of the Senate Appropriations Subcom-

mittee on Foreign Operations, announced the "consensus" in a statement with Senator James Allen who had threatened a filibuster, or delaying debate.

Senator Inouye offered a compromise amendment, striking R2.9-million from the Bill for Mozambique, earmarking R17-million each for Zambia and Zaire and allocating R3.5-million for Botswana and R3.4-million for agricultural, educational and technical training in the Southern Africa region.

Votes on the Inouye amendment and final passage of the Bill were set for today when Senator Inouye assured Senator Allen that adoption of the amendment would leave nothing in the Bill that could be used directly or indirectly in Mozambique and Angola.

## SYMBOL

A senate staff report issued yesterday called for US aid for Black Southern African countries as a symbol of American support for moderate policies.

It called the needs of Southern Africa vastly in excess of the US aid currently under consideration.

"This assistance would provide, however, a visible demonstration of US support for those African countries whose economies have suffered from their support for majority rule in Rhodesia." — Sapa-  
Reuter.

29/9/76  
**Angolans  
run from  
Cuban-led  
terror**

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 1 000 refugees have streamed into Owambo from Angola since Monday and several thousand more can be expected in the next few days, according to a SABC radio news report last night.

The newscast quoted an interview by Radio Owambo with Mr Gabriel Matoewi, a headman of the Ondira area of southern Angola who fled across the border to Owambo with 235 children. Reports said their parents, for the most part, had been murdered by Cubans, MPLA and Swapo.

Whole villages had been wiped out by the joint action of Cuban and MPLA soldiers and Swapo "gangsters", refugees reported. It was alleged that more than 500 men, women and children had been murdered since the weekend.

Mr Katoewi said in the interview that the MPLA and Swapo had joined forces and were being led by Cuban soldiers. He claimed that one of the reasons for the pillage was that Cubans in the south of Angola had not received any pay or supplies. — Sapa

225  
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# Kavango wants refugees to leave

STAR

15/10/76

The Star's Africa News Service

**WINDHOEK** — Pretoria is to be asked to negotiate with Luanda for the return of 4 700 refugees who crossed into Kavango from

Angola.

Official talks about the refugees, who have steadily increased in number over the months, took place in Rundu yesterday.

And afterwards, the Commissioner General for Indigenous Peoples in South West Africa, Mr. J. M. de Wet, said the Kavango Government refused to accept responsibility for the refugees.

It was felt the refugees could not be settled permanently in Kavango because of a shortage of jobs there.

The Kavango Government would, therefore, ask Pretoria to open negotiations with Luanda.

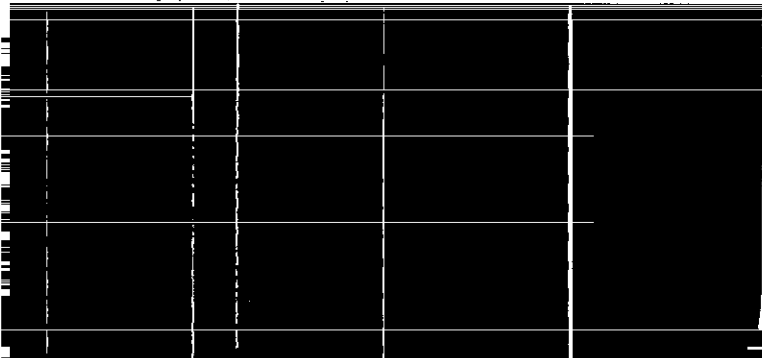
Should the negotiations fail, said Mr. De Wet, the refugees might be placed temporarily on agricultural land where they could provide for themselves.

#### REFUSAL

Meanwhile, 600 migrant workers from Angola who have been working in South West Africa have been refused permission by Luanda to return home.

The Chief Minister of Owambo, Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, said his government would allow them to continue working in the territory.

Pastor Ndjoba added that 500 refugees from MPLA and Cuban attacks on Unita and its sympathisers would be settled on agricultural land in the homeland.



# MPLA hold R3m SA machinery

The Cape Times, Wednesday, October 27, 1976 3

## Africa Bureau

**WINDHOEK.** — Heavy construction machinery valued at about R3m is being held by the MPLA authorities at Caluque, Angola, the general manager of Swawek, Mr. J. P. Brand, confirmed yesterday.

Caluque, a regulating dam, is part of the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme and also stores water to be pumped for irrigation in Owanbo.

Work stopped the morning of September 10 following a request from the Luanda Government.

Mr. Brand said there had been no

further contact with the Luanda Government since "negotiations" on that morning.

However, there was contact and even co-operation on the site. Water was still being pumped from Caluque to Owanbo and the canal was being fed at full rate.

Mr. Brand said the machinery being held by the MPLA authorities consisted mainly of heavy bulldozing equipment. The machines were guarded by MPLA soldiers.

Mr. Brand would not comment on a New York report which said the MPLA

was holding this machinery as part payment to a "war debt" of South Africa.

The 320 megawatt Ruacana power station could not operate at full capacity unless the regulating point at Caluque was in operation and at the disposal of Ruacana.

Mr. Brand agreed that the output of the turbines would be affected but said in the meantime work was in full swing at Ruacana to complete the R225m station.

He added that President Neto of Angola had recently returned from overseas and that new contacts would probably be made soon.

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# Thousands flee heavy fighting in Angola

Argus. 8/11/76

The Argus Africa News Service

**WINDHOEK.** — More than 2 000 Angolan refugees fled across the border into Ovamboland at the weekend to escape fierce fighting after MPLA and Cuban troops attacked Unita forces in southern Angola.

The refugees reported that the war had escalated sharply.

The Chief Minister of Ovamboland, Pastor Cornelius Njoba, said today about 2 200 refugees — mainly children — had arrived at the weekend.

Their arrival brought the total since last weekend to about 2 500 and since the Angola troubles began to about 6 000.

Pastor Njoba said: 'As in the past we will allow the refugees to stay here. We will care for them.'

He said the newcomers were mainly children with some women and men. Many men had been killed in Angola. A few of the newcomers were wounded.

### COUNTER ATTACK

The joint MPLA-Cuban-Swapo onslaught appears to be a reaction to a sudden offensive by Unita the week before last which sent a few hundred refugees across the South West African border.

Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita force, operating chiefly from bush bases near the Zambian border, have been trying to smash a ring which the MPLA and its allies threw around southern Angola recently, including positions along the South West African Border, to block off Unita from the world outside.

South African forces along the border were able to see Cubans through binoculars taking over small towns and villages on the other side.

However, Unita is understood to have virtually complete control of the huge southern and central Angolan bush regions, which contained nearly half the country's population and its main agricultural production before independence.

Ⓢ Sapa reports from Osakati that at Omungwelum, South African security forces are caring for more than 3 000 Angolans.

## Botha denies shelling

The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, today denied claims that South African forces have been shelling Southern Angola in the past few days.

The claim has been made by an Angolan Government spokesman who alleged the South Africans had been shooting "in the hope of hitting guerilla camps."

Referring to the flood of refugees from Angola in recent weeks, Mr Botha said: "It should be noted that refugees are crossing the border from southern Angola to South West Africa — and not the other way around.

"There is no aggression from our side," he said, adding that people did not usually flee to the side from which aggression was coming.

The Angolan Government spokesman denied South African reports of fighting in southern Angola between Unita and what the reports described as "MPLA-Cuba-Swapo combined forces."

The spokesman described the reports of the fighting as "lies and intoxication, only to be expected from the South African regime a few days before Angola celebrates the first anniversary of its independence."

# Angola — threat to S W A

9/11/76 STAR

### Red dependence

Swapo participation in the drive against Unita and its sympathisers is regarded in Owambo as part of a deal which will guarantee its guerillas based in Southern Angola and military support from MPLA.

Unita forces had harassed Swapo in its operations from Angolan bases. With Swapo involved in the drive against Unita, its raids into Owambo have practically come to a standstill.

The deal between Swapo and the MPLA became known at a time when observers in SWA considered it a strong possibility that Swapo would allow Russia to establish a base in SWA after "liberation."

Swapo is becoming increasingly dependent on Russia and other communist countries for military hardware.

### Celebrations

Mr de Wet said refugees arriving in Owambo from Angola claimed that Luanda had ordered the joint forces to "clean up" Southern Angola before November 20 when national celebrations were to take place.

The international community had a definite responsibility in the massacre taking place in Southern Angola, Mr de Wet told Sapa in Oshakati.

"Where violence is used you never get peace and order," he added. "Social services come to a standstill and the economy comes to a halt. There are no more work opportunities but, what is most important, the killing never stops."

Clive Cowley,  
The Star's Africa News Service

Windhoek

MPLA, Cuban and Swapo forces maintain their relentless drive against Unita rebels in Southern Angola today amid fears that the campaign was a prelude to a joint onslaught against South West Africa.

A Radio Luanda broadcast monitored in Owambo declared that the MPLA would help Swapo to "liberate Namibia" once Unita had been crushed.

The Commissioner General for Indigenous Peoples in SWA, Mr J M de Wet, said from Oshakati that the broadcast made it clear that, with Unita defeated, Swapo and the MPLA would be able to move unhindered against SWA.

Swapo was allied to Unita until the Angolan civil war, but changed sides to the MPLA when it became clear the Cuban-backed movement would seize power.

225 (5)

# Swapo fighting Unita because of SA collaboration

CT: 10/11/76

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — The South West Africa Peoples' Organization (Swapo) is fighting against its former ally Unita because of the Angolan nationalist movement's collaboration last year with South African forces.

Southern Angola to flush out Unita underground groups. "Before the Angola war we were allies with Unita," Mr. Tjongarero said, "but during the conflict Unita collaborated with the South African forces and that made us change our minds."

an Ovambo language, beamed at Ovambo told the people that Namibia would be freed by forces from Angola once Unita had been driven out of the border area.

He said the local population took a lot of notice of this scare campaign on the radio waves. "They want guarantees from South Africa that it will not withdraw its security forces. Otherwise they fear the same sort of chaos and breakdown in services will occur here too," Mr De Wet said.

financed with South African money. About three thousand people, mostly old men, women and children have fled over the "no go zone" along the Angola-South West Africa border since the latest purge began a week ago. Mr Jannie de Wet, Commissioner-General for the Indigenous Peoples of SWA, told me yesterday from Oshakati that the refugees had to cross the depopulated border to reach protection from the MPLA-Swapo forces. "They say that if they don't run the gauntlet they

will be shot on the other side so they take a chance that we won't shoot them and will take them in. "There are more than 3 000 of these people now at Omungulume, near Oshikango. The people in control of the depopulated zone can see they are refugees, mainly women and children, and they treat them sympathetically," he said. South African troops are responsible for the protection of the border area. Mr De Wet said that continuous broadcasts in Afrikaans and Kwanyama,

crossed into Angola in September last year and with support from Unita occupied a number of towns in the south and posted units to protect the Ruacana and Calueque water schemes

Swapo's information secretary, Mr Daniel Tjongarero, confirmed in Windhoek yesterday that Swapo terrorists were fighting on the side of the MPLA and Cuban soldiers in



# Unita short of salt, medicine

The Argus Bureau

LONDON. — The Unita guerrillas commanded by Dr Jonas Savimbi who are fighting MPLA and Cuban forces in Angola are short of salt and medicines, according to Mr Dominique de Roux, a French reporter, who claims to be the only journalist to have witnessed the fighting.

There are very few anaesthetics, so when somebody is wounded they have to cut off the arm or leg, he said in BBC radio interview.

But Mr de Roux, speaking from New York, added the guerrillas' morale was excellent and they had plenty of ammunition and armaments.

### HERO

He recalled that when the guerrillas passed through a village Dr Savimbi was received like a hero, and the villagers gave them chickens and other food.

Dr Savimbi lived with his men just like any other guerrilla.

How many men were involved in the fighting?

'As you know,' said Mr de Roux, 'on the Cuban side there are about 20 000 Cubans. He alleged Cuban were reaching Angola through Rome. If you go to Rome you can see groups of Cubans taking Alitalia flights.'

### 'ATROCITIES'

He estimated there were about 5 000 men fighting troops involved in the fighting. On the guerrilla side, there were about 5 000 men fighting in the south.

There had been many atrocities on the Cuban / MPLA side, he said. 'As you know, the MPLA soldiers have no discipline. . . . People were fleeing across the border because they were frightened of the Cubans and MPLA soldiers.'

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# Luanda snubs visiting Danish envoy

7/11/72

The Argus Correspondent  
COPENHAGEN. — The  
first Foreign Minister  
from a Western country  
to make an official visit  
to Angola is sitting in  
Luanda, all dressed up  
and with no place to go.  
His hosts have no time  
to spare to meet him, and  
have not even bothered to  
prepare a programme for

the five days he is to  
spend there, it is reported  
here.  
Before the Danish  
Foreign Minister, Mr. K.  
B. Andersen, arrived in  
Luanda on Sunday, the  
official visit was hailed as  
a triumph for Denmark's  
policy towards New Afri-  
can states.  
By helping the MPLA

with grants long before  
independence was in  
sight, a solid foothold for  
Danish businessmen had  
been established in what  
is potentially one of the  
richest states in Africa, it  
was said.  
Two days after his ar-  
rival, the visit is being  
called an inept embarrass-  
ment.

According to the semi-  
official Danish News  
Agency, Ritzu, Mr. Ander-  
sen was not met by his  
close friend, President  
Agostinho Neto when he  
flew in. He was not even  
greeted by his counter-  
part, Foreign Minister  
Jose Eduardo dos Santos,  
as diplomatic protocol ex-  
pects.

Instead, a low-ranking  
MPLA party member, Jus-  
tice Minister Diogenes de  
Assis Boavida, unknown to  
all members of the Danish  
party, including the Dan-  
ish Ambassador, appeared  
as the official welcomer.  
The Danish Ambassador,  
Mr. H. A. Biering, tried  
unsuccessfully all day  
Sunday and Monday to

contact the Foreign Minis-  
ter about an official pro-  
gramme.  
It was indicated that  
the Foreign Minister was  
meeting President Neto  
about preparations for the  
first anniversary of An-  
golan independence in Nov-  
ember 12, the last day of  
Mr. Andersen's visit.

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# Unita will beat Cuban 'colonisers' — Savimbi

ET. 10/11/76

LONDON.—Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, who claims to have marched more than 800 km through the plains of central Angola since June, launching attacks against the MPLA and its Cuban supporters — whom he calls 'an occupying army', says Unita will succeed because the Cubans are in Angola as colonisers.

But he claims Unita is not looking to eventual victory.

'Our aim is not to be beaten,' he said. 'The people want to taste freedom in peace. For that they need a democratic Government, elected and representing the three liberation movements, MPLA, FNLA, and Unita.'

Dr Savimbi was interviewed in his camp deep in the bush by Mr Dominique de Roux, of the French Gamma News Agency.

The camp consisted of a few huts with a table hewn out of logs in the centre. His wife and daughter are in another camp eight days' walk away.

### VICIOUS CIRCLE

'The Cubans are an occupying army who think guerrilla warfare is against their law and who do not respect the customs of war,' Dr Savimbi said. 'They kill prisoners. It is a vicious circle: the arrest of suspects hardens resistance. And, besides, they are afraid of the forest and do not go far from their cars, or get out of their helicopters.'

The bearded Unita leader said the building of African socialism could not be the same as the Castro model. 'We have our past, our customs. Let



Dr Jonas Savimbi

Dr Savimbi said six churches, both Roman catholic and Protestant, had been burnt down in July by MPLA soldiers and their Cuban advisers. The leaders of the churches had been arrested. — The London Times News Service.

### BIG CUBA FORCE

He had 6,000 men at his disposal. According to Unita's information, there were still 15,000 Cuban soldiers in Angola with a further 4,000 administrative cadres who were also assigned to local defence duties. More than 1,000 Cuban families had arrived in Angola as settlers.

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71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
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# Is this the end for Savimbi?

WILLEM STEENKAMP, Defence Reporter, on the blood-letting in southern Angola



Dr Jonas Savimbi . . . written off before

HAS the crunch finally come for that wily Angolan politician-terrorist, Dr Jonas Savimbi? The past month or two has seen a steadily escalating campaign mounted against him by his archrival, Marxist dictator Dr Agostinho Neto.

At first glance things do not look too good for Dr Savimbi, head of the Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (Unita), who managed to escape annihilation at the hands of Dr Neto's forces during the pitched-battle phase of the Angolan civil war in late 1975 and has since been prosecuting a guerilla campaign against his old enemy.

A combined force composed of Dr Neto's MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) troops, his Cuban allies and Dr Savimbi's erstwhile friends of the South West Africa People's Organization (Swapo) are engaged in the latest of a series of sweeps through southern Angola which are designed to wipe out the widespread Unita military presence and its tribal grass-roots support.

### 'Final solution'

Even if generous allowances are made for the "lie-factor" it seems clear that the Neto forces are engaged in implementing a simple, brutal "final solution" involving some military operations but also large-scale genocide aimed at tribesmen who support Dr Savimbi. Indeed, persistent reports have it that the Neto forces have been executing all males above the age of 10.

What makes it worse for Dr Savimbi is that at least one of Swapo's several

factions has joined the Neto forces after years of being closely linked with Unita for both ethnic and practical reasons.

The real reasons for this move are somewhat obscure. At various times Swapo spokesmen have said the switch came about because Unita soldiers were being trained in South West Africa and killing Swapo supporters; and also that it was because of Unita's alliance with South Africa during the Angolan civil war late last year and earlier this year. But these are not necessarily the correct explanations.

In the next few days, no doubt, various allegedly knowledgeable observers will proceed to write off both Dr Savimbi and Unita. This might be a little premature, however, since Dr Savimbi

has been written off at least twice earlier this year but has refused to oblige the self-proclaimed experts by fading away.

In point of fact, most of his moves since the beginning of the year have shown some evidence of forethought based on accepted and well-tested principles of guerilla/terrorist warfare.

The first time Dr Savimbi's end was heralded was in February this year, when he had been soundly trounced along with his sometime ally, Holden Roberto of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), by Dr Neto's larger, better-armed Cuban-backed forces.

Dr Savimbi then proceeded to do the best thing in the circumstances — he pulled his troops out of the various towns, villages

and other geographical locations that they had captured, abandoned his territorial gains and fell back into the fastnesses of the southern and central hinterland to regroup for a guerilla campaign.

His terrorist campaign has had a good deal of success and has achieved one of its primary purposes: preventing a resumption of traffic on the east-west Benguela railway, which by rights should be a major money-earner for Angola's impoverished and war-shattered economy. In addition he has inflicted some losses on the MPLA/Cuban security forces.

The present frantic attempts to destroy Unita in Dr Savimbi's southern Angolan stamping-grounds provide strong evidence of just how much he is hurting Dr Neto.

What needs to be evaluated is the question of whether the Neto forces' efforts in southern Angola will succeed in eliminating the Savimbi thorn from Dr Neto's side.

### Seeks to disrupt

It is not as cut and dried as some people might think. It is a fact of military life that guerillas cannot be wiped out by the deployment of armoured cars, tanks, aircraft and lorried infantry. The guerilla does not seek to capture and hold territory because then the opposing force's military might can be concentrated on him.

He seeks to damage, to disrupt — and ultimately to wear out his opponent both physically and mentally. He is the agile boxer facing the lumbering heavyweight,

eternally dodging and bobbing under and around the great round-house swings.

Moreover, one of his weapons is time; and time is the enemy of a large-scale security force operation. The only real way to fight a guerilla is to use the enemy's tactics against him and back them up with a vigorous socio-economic programme to prove that he is better off with you than with the other side. It is a long slow grind, but given the proper approach and organization it can succeed.

The latter aspect of the classic formula might well work in Dr Savimbi's favour. By all accounts the Neto forces' orgy of blood-letting, while providing a form of therapy for their frustrations, cannot be considered a good "hearts and minds" tactic. Taken in context with old tribal animosities, it might well harden civilian passive resistance to the Neto regime and thus provide a fertile breeding-ground for Unita.

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APR 25  
11/11/76

# GUNFIRE RINGS IN MPLA'S 1st YEAR

OSHAKATI — The MPLA today celebrates the first year of Angolan independence amid reports of continued but more isolated fighting in the south-eastern part of the country.

Sapa reports that the fighting by MPLA, Cuban and Swapo troops against the Unita movement which in the past few days has been confined to Angola's southern border area with South West Africa, now appears to be moving further away from Ovambo.

All reports indicate that Unita is moving deep into the south east to regroup there.

The large-scale fighting has resulted in thousands of Black refugees crossing the border into Ovambo.

About 3 000 found refuge in camps erected by the South African security forces. There are about 8 000 refugees in both Ovambo and Kavanga in northern South West Africa.

### MADE CLEAR

According to the refugees, Swapo soldiers in the south of Angola had made it clear that all Kwanyamas would be 'shot like dogs.'

During the fighting this week villages were burned down, crops destroyed, and tribesmen's livestock slaughtered.

There were also reports of boys aged 10 being shot before their parents because the MPLA and Cubans felt that they, too, could take up arms against them.

The last Roman Catholic mission station, Enolankoto, near Ocgode, in the south of the country, was plundered and then set alight.

● SABC Radio has reported that there is a critical shortage of children's clothes, baby food, soap, blankets and other essential items among the approximately 8 000 refugees in Northern Ovambo.

The Red Cross in Windhoek has made an urgent appeal to the public to give the required items and money.

# Unita flees Cuban forces

10/11/76 STAR

Heavy fighting goes on as the government forces pound the rebels on the eve of Angola's first anniversary of independence tomorrow.

### Stronghold

Here and there Unita bands confronted the combined forces in rearguard actions but faced almost certain defeat if they could not retreat to safer country.

Reliable sources in Owambo said the rebels appeared to be moving east towards thick bush near the Caprivi Strip and Zambian borders.

Unita's main stronghold lies in a vast, sparsely inhabited bush area in south-eastern Angola, broken by the upper catchment streams of the Okavango and Zambezi rivers.

There they will be far more difficult to seek and destroy.

### Reinforcements

Troop reinforcements were sent from Luanda in a determined bid to encircle and destroy Unita bands before they could reach the south-eastern bush.

Black refugees said the combined forces were using scorched-earth tactics, destroying crops, livestock and kraals in a wide area of southern Angola where the population is traditionally sympathetic to Unita.

The combined forces had practically sealed off the border to stop the civilian exodus into Owambo yesterday and only 15 refugees crossed.

Refugees alleged that people trying to flee to Owambo were being driven from the border, being shot and buried in mass graves.

Clive Cowley,  
The Star's Africa News Service

Windhoek

Unita rebels were desperately trying to escape to the safety of the bush country today in south-east Angola as MPLA, Cuban and Swapo forces sought to crush them along the South West African border north of Owambo.

In open country Unita has found it impossible to resist the armour and artillery ranged against it according to observers on the South West African side.

Sources in Windhoek state that with supply lines cut and no prospect of replacing ammunition, Unita rebels were in dire straits. Meanwhile, the forces combined against them have ready access to war material.

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# Angolan refugees tell of mass burials

DD 10/11/76

DURBAN — Dramatic details of the massacre and mass burials of hundreds of Angolans in a renewed effort by combined MPLA, Cuban and Swapo forces to eradicate the Unita movement were released yesterday by Mr J. de Wet, Commissioner General of South West Africa.

In a telephone interview from Oshakati, Mr De Wet told how a cordon had apparently been thrown along the South West African border by the raiding forces to prevent refugees from escaping to Owambo. But 3 000 refugees have succeeded in reaching the safety of Owambo during the past few days.

He said according to the refugees the Communist forces had embarked on another campaign to wipe out the Unita movement before November 20 —

the first anniversary of the independence of Angola.

"The refugees tell almost unbelievable tales of how the forces are systematically sweeping through the southern areas of Angola killing off just about everyone particularly men and boys.

"Children have watched their parents being gunned down and their villages razed while crops and livestock are being rounded up to feed the raiding forces.

"Many were shot dead as they tried to cross the border and some tell of trucks carting away bodies to mass graves to wipe out traces of the massacres.

"The refugees who have crossed into Owambo during the past few days have arrived here with virtually nothing apart from the

bits of clothing on their bodies. Some of the children are completely naked.

"The rest of the world can no longer turn a blind eye to what is happening in Angola. Our security forces are caring for the refugees as best they can and we have received much help from the Red Cross with a promise of assistance from the International Red Cross," he said.

Mr De Wet said although he had not seen any of the activities across the border, security forces close to the border had reported hearing and actually witnessing some of the killings through binoculars.

The eradication of Unita appears to be a prelude to a planned joint onslaught against South West Africa.

It is no longer a secret

that Swapo has secured the aid of the MPLA Government and its Cuban and Russian allies

A spokesman for Defence Headquarters in Pretoria said yesterday the Defence Force had taken note of the situation in southern Angola and the flood of refugees across the border, but it was not involved in any way apart from giving aid to the refugees where possible.

The Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, denied a claim that South African forces had been shelling southern Angola over the past few days.

"There is no aggression from our side," he said, adding that people did not usually flee to the side from which aggression was coming. — DDC-SAPA.

Why Swapo backs MPLA, page 9.

# Swapo explains switch of support to MPLA

10/11/76

5/225 -

**WINDHOEK** — The South West Africa Peoples' Organisation is fighting against its former ally, Unita, because of the Angolan nationalist movement's collaboration last year with South African forces.

Swapo's information secretary, Mr D. Tjongarero, confirmed here yesterday that Swapo guerillas were fighting on the side of the MPLA and Cuban soldiers in southern Angola to flush out Unita underground groups.

"Before the Angola war we were allies with Unita," Mr Tjongarero said, "but during the conflict, Unita collaborated with the South African forces and that made us change our minds."

South African soldiers crossed into Angola in September last year and with support from Unita occupied a number of towns in the south and posted units to protect the Ruacana and Calueque water schemes financed by South Africa.

Over 3,000 people, mostly old men, women and children have fled over the "no-go zone" along the Angola-South West Africa border since the latest

purge began a week ago.

Mr J. de Wet, Commissioner General for South West Africa said in Oshakati yesterday the refugees had to cross the depopulated border zone to reach protection from the MPLA-Swapo forces.

"There are more than 3,000 of these people now at Omungulume, near Oshikango. The people in control of the depopulated zone can see they are refugees, mainly women and children, and they treat them sympathetically," he said.

South African troops are responsible for the protection of the border area.

Mr De Wet said that continuous broadcasts beamed at Owambo told the people that Namibia would be freed by forces

from Angola once Unita had been routed.

"We take this seriously," he said. "They have sent in guerillas before and some time or another they will come in again."

He said the local population took a lot of notice of this scare campaign.

"They want guarantees from South Africa that it will not withdraw its security forces. Otherwise they fear the same sort of chaos and breakdown in services will occur here too," Mr De Wet said.

He said no armed men from Unita had asked for asylum. There was little guerilla activity in Owambo because it was the dry season with shortages of food and water for people forced to live off the land. — DDC.



# Reports of indiscriminate firing

# Refugees shot in

# bid to reach SWA

CI. 10/11/76.

OSHAKATI. — The flow of refugees from war-torn Angola came to a near halt today as Cuban, MPLA and Swapo forces fired indiscriminately on Kwanyamas trying to cross the border into neighbouring South West Africa.

According to refugees who had escaped, many refugees had been shot and killed in their bid to reach safety. Some had been killed while trying to scale the border fence, and buried in a nearby mass grave in Angola.

There appears to be an all-out drive to stop the flow of refugees into Ovamboland.

Meanwhile, the fighting between Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement and the three opposing forces continued today and firing could once again be heard in the distance across the border.

Villages and homes are reported being destroyed by the forces of the Angolan President, Dr Agostinho Neto, and tribesmen's livestock was being slaughtered.

## By tomorrow

President Neto has ordered Unita to be crushed before tomorrow, but so far there appears to be no sign of Unita wavering or giving up the fight.

According to reports reaching Windhoek, Unita has found it impossible to resist the armour and artillery ranged against it in open country.

Usually reliable sources in Ovamboland said the rebels appeared to be moving east towards thick bush near the Caprivi Strip and Zambian borders.

## Bush area

Unita's main stronghold lies in a vast, sparsely inhabited bush area in south-eastern Angola seamed with the upper catchment streams of the Okavango and Zambesi Rivers.

There they will be far more difficult to seek and to destroy.

Troop reinforcements were sent from Luanda in a determined bid to encircle and destroy Unita bands before they could reach the south-eastern bush.

Black refugees said the combined forces were using scorched earth tactics, destroying crops, livestock and kraals in a wide area of Southern Angola where the population is traditionally sympathetic to Unita.

## Refugees

About 3 000 refugees — 2 500 of them women and children — reached Ovamboland before the border was sealed.

Radio Luanda admitted in a broadcast yesterday for the first time that a year after the MPLA seized power, it still faced resistance from Unita in the south, the FNLA along the northern border with Zaire, and from FLEC in the Cabinda enclave to the north.

Swapo terrorist action has virtually ceased in recent weeks but an upsurge is expected if and when the combined forces can eliminate Unita from the border regions.

A spokesman for Swapo in Lusaka vigorously denied that Swapo would offer Russia a military base in South West Africa 'when Swapo conquered the territory.'

He confirmed that Russian, Cuba and other countries were aiding Swapo.

In New York Mr Dominique de Rouz, a French reporter who claims to be the only journalist to have witnessed the Southern Angola fighting, said that Unita forces were short of salt and medicines.

## Shortages

There were so few anaesthetics that when someone was wounded arms or legs had to be amputated without them, he told the BBC.

But he said Unita had plenty of ammunition and morale was strong.

Sapa-Reuter reports from London that the present situation in Angola is marked by a serious deficit in the balance of payments, a shortage of commodities and a steady rise in the cost of living.

According to the politburo of Angola's ruling MPLA, quoted by Radio Luanda and monitored in London, many problems would be eliminated by austerity measures. — Argus Africa News Service and Sapa.

25.

# Reporter says MPLA lack discipline

Own Correspondent  
LONDON — A French  
journalist, the only reporter  
who has covered the recent  
operations of UNITA in  
Angola, has accused the  
Cuban-led MPLA forces of  
atrocities, looting, and a lack  
of discipline.

Dominic de Roux told the  
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evidence of rape and pillage  
by Cubans and the Launda-  
based MPLA forces in  
southern Angola.

"There have been a lot of  
atrocities on the Cuban  
side," he said. But he said  
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He said the strength of the  
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Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A French journalist, the only reporter who has covered the recent operations of Unita in Angola, has accused the Cuban-led MPLA forces of atrocities, looting, and a lack of discipline.

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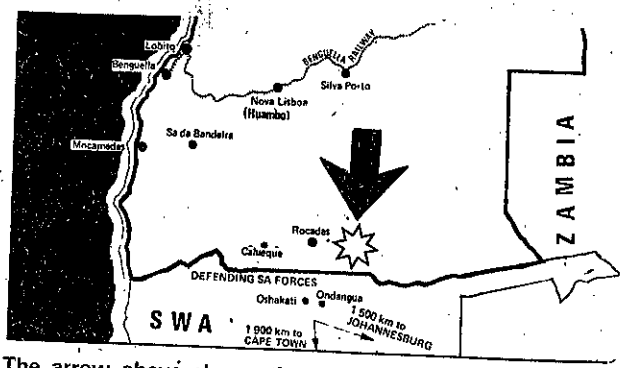
"There have been a lot of atrocities on the Cuban side," he said. But he said captured Cubans — and three deserters now in New York — had told of great unhappiness about the fighting among members of the largely conscripted Cuban army.

He said the strength of the Cuban forces had swelled to 20 000, with men flying to Angola by way of Lisbon and Rome. But he predicted that within a month or so the unhappiness of the Cuban soldiers would be reflected in an increase in desertions.

He said the MPLA had about 30 000 men in the field but they were "undisciplined" and responsible for many atrocities. He said he had witnessed the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, being welcomed like "a hero" in one Angolan village and that his 5 000 guerillas had ample supplies of weapons and ammunition to continue the fight.

# 3 000 seek SWA refuge

11/11/76  
of



The arrow above shows the approximate area of southern Angola in which combined MPLA-Cuban-Swapo forces are fighting the Unita forces of Dr Jonas Savimbi, so close to the border with South West Africa that observers in Owambo have seen some of the fighting.

From DENNIS GORDON, Africa Bureau

**WINDHOEK.** — As fierce fighting continued in southern Angola, South West African officials were yesterday attempting to contact MPLA leaders across the border to solve the worsening refugee crisis in Owambo caused by Angola's bloody civil war.

Mr Jannie de Wet, Commissioner General for the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa, told me from Oshakati yesterday that "any means possible" would be used to get the message to the MPLA government in Luanda so that refugees could be repatriated.

"We have to negotiate with the MPLA," he said, "to solve the refugee problem that becomes more critical every day. We will be trying to get these people back across the border."

Mr De Wet said, however, that the flow of refugees across the border had slowed considerably and had almost stopped.

By late yesterday the fighting was reported to be moving steadily north, away from the border area.

The MPLA, Cuban and Swapo soldiers had orders to destroy the Unita forces before today, the first anniversary of the MPLA's rule in Angola.

But the Unita forces appear to be continuing their resistance.

### War machine grinds on

Mr De Wet said attempts to bring the urgency of the refugee situation to Luanda would be made through the International Red Cross, and even engineers at the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme may be used as go-betweens to contact MPLA officials there.

"The local MPLA people cannot make the decision about what to do with the refugees but we want them to contact Luanda so we can get guarantees from there."

Owambo people in the Kwanyama area had already absorbed 800 refugees from a previous wave of violence.

"But what can we do with 3 000?" asked Mr De Wet.

Fierce fighting in southern Angola is continuing, according to sources in Owambo as the MPLA-Cuban-Swapo war machine grinds through Unita rebel strongholds in the bush near the border.

Caught up in the slaughter are women, children and old men.

### Scaled border fence

Three thousand of them are now in Owambo having run the gauntlet through the no-go depopulated zone inside Owambo.

South African troops on the border, who are a buffer against Swapo guerilla infiltration into South West Africa, were performing a mission of mercy, Mr De Wet said.

"If it was not for them we couldn't handle the situation," he said. Transport, food, protection and medical supplies had all been provided by the Army.

"They have been wonderful," Mr De Wet said. Sapa reports that refugees who had escaped the carnage said many of their number had been shot and killed in their bid to reach safety.

Some had been killed while trying to scale the border fence and had been buried in a nearby mass grave in Angola.

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# Angola, a year after independence

11/11/76  
A

ANGOLA today celebrates the first anniversary of its independence.

In Northern Angola, the FNLA continues to infiltrate from neighbouring Zaïre, on limited mining and ambush sorties, largely against civilians with the apparent aim of disrupting agricultural production, particularly in the large coffee plantations, writes Jane Bergerol, of the Financial Times.

The northern infiltration is happening despite President Mobutu's recognition of the Angola Government and continuing talks between the two countries on normalising their relations.

While the United States has lifted its embargo on gulf oil operations on Cabinda — the embargo cost the country 45 percent of its crude oil production this year — it has maintained its veto in the UN Security Council against Angola's UN candidacy.

On the other hand, Cuba, while continuing its programmed troop withdrawal scheme, still has troops on the ground in Angola plus a growing number of technical staff. The Soviet Union, though it has few technical experts in the country, has kept its weaponry at Angola's disposal.

Nobody among the MPLA leadership claims that the young Marxist-Leninist state's troubles are over.

On the contrary, the message frequently

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**IN 12 months, the skeleton of a state-owned sector has emerged in both agricultural and industrial production, as has the framework for a people's democracy.**

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drummed home is of a continual and even growing threat from 'imperialist forces' as the government takes clear measures to build a people's democracy.

In 12 months, the skeleton of a state-owned sector has emerged in both agricultural and industrial production, as has the first basic framework for a people's democracy with

elections for ward committees in Luanda.

The co-operative sector of the economy has equally started to grow in the embryonic form of 'peasant associations' in the countryside.

On the domestic front, there are still food queues and appalling inter-regional transport difficulties (120 bridges were blown up during the war,

12 000 trucks were driven out of the country, and there is a lack of qualified railway staff).

There are also falls in production and productivity and chronic labour shortages still hamper the plantations.

The problem of feeding, helping to house and providing seeds and tools for an estimated 1-million displaced peasants has still to be fully resolved — though agencies are trying to help with attempts to raise 35-million dollars in international aid during the coming year.

But the extraordinary thing is that despite the instability of Angola's northern and southern frontiers, despite the continuing war-related problems inherent in national reconstruction and the acute shortage of manpower, nobody visiting Angola can have any doubt that the People's Republic is here to stay.

One clue to foreign confidence is that after the

first wave of Western businessmen seeking short-term and lucrative sales and engineering contracts, a second stream of potential investors — from Italy, Sweden, Holland and France — is beginning to fill up Luanda hotels.

But the question that remains is that of the MPLA's capacity to build the socialist state defined so clearly by October Central Committee documents published a few days before the anniversary celebrations and the 20th birthday of the liberation movement.

The main tasks, the central committee said, were 'energy and efficiency.'

The government itself has been most concerned with health, education, and getting production organised in field and factory. In this drive towards reconstruction of normal life, politics has often taken a back seat.

One of the principal objectives in the coming year will be an increase in political agitation and education, particularly among the urban working class which has been singled out as Angola's new leadership class in accordance with Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

# Lull in fighting on South West border

11/11/76  
DD

OSHAKATI — The border area of southern Angola, where there has been bloody fighting during the past few days, appeared quiet last night with the fighting reported to be moving steadily north.

MPLA, Cuban and Swapo soldiers have been involved in heavy fighting with the Unita movement of Dr Jonas Savimbi, which they had orders to destroy before today, the first anniversary of the MPLA's rule in Angola.

Reports that Unita was retreating to regroup elsewhere could not be confirmed.

Earlier, indiscriminate

shooting by the MPLA drastically cut the number of refugees trying to cross into South West Africa.

Nearly 8 000 refugees have fled to South West Africa.

However, reports of atrocities, including the rape of young girls, were still being received.

Meanwhile, a second crisis point in the Turnhalle conference will be reached tomorrow when the white delegation presents its outline proposals for a three-tier interim government for South West Africa.

Sources revealed after secret discussions of the constitutional committee yesterday, that a major confrontation was expected because the white delegation was likely to press for the continuation of the separate development policy as the second and most important tier up to, and after independence.

White delegation leader, Mr A. H. du Plessis, verbally outlined the white proposal yesterday — but the constitutional committee will be presented with a written version of the white plan tomorrow.

When Mr Du Plessis spoke in the constitutional committee yesterday, he blamed the problems of independent black Africa on the fact that new governments had ignored tribal and ethnic differences, a source said.

But at a congress of the South West Africa Federal Party here yesterday, Tswana and Damara delegates to the Turnhalle said a strong central government would be sufficient to protect minority rights. Both said their ethnic identities could be preserved quite naturally without legislation.

A member of the Coloured delegation said he wished his identity as a South West African to have priority over his ethnic identity.

This was the first time black leaders addressed a congress of a white party in the territory. — DDC-SAPA.

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# SA not helping Unita — Botha

ONDANGWA, Owambo. — Allegations that the South African Defence Force was aiding Unita in its fight against the MPLA, Cuban and Swapo forces in Angola were strongly denied by the Minister of Defence, Mr P.W. Botha, here yesterday.

In an interview, Mr Botha said the allegations were nothing but a smokescreen on the part of Swapo to try to hide their own crimes. The refugee camp at Omungwelume was proof of their deeds.

"We have repeatedly asked for more proof of these allegations, but so far there has been none," Mr Botha said.

Asked to comment on a Radio Luanda report that the MPLA intended to help Swapo liberate South West Africa after Unita had been crushed, the Minister said he sincerely hoped this was not the plan.

If this happened, however, South Africa would hit back hard and with the biggest force at its disposal.

The fighting, which in the past few days has been confined to Angola's southern border area with South West Africa, now appears to be moving further away from Owambo.

All reports indicate that Unita is moving deep into the south-east to regroup there. — Sapa

Star 12/11/76 5/225

# Angola fighting ends

**OSHAKATI** — The fighting in southern Angola appears to have ended, according to reports reaching Owambo.

The bloody clashes of the past week between combined MPLA, Cuban and Swapo forces and soldiers of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement have quietened with the apparent withdrawal of Unita troops to the South-eastern parts of the country.

For many others — about 8 000 black Angolan refugees in the northern homelands of Owambo and Kavango in South West Africa — the agony has just begun.

These people, who fled the pillaging and carnage in their country, are unaided and an embarrassment to their present hosts.

The Chief Minister of Owambo, Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, says he will not

force the more than 3 000 refugees in his country to return across the border.

But his Government does not have money to maintain the refugee camp at Mungwelmo.

The situation in the camp is one of despair. Hundreds of Kwanyamas, the majority of them old

men, women and children — some orphans — queue daily for food provided by the South African Defence Force.

At the camp's clinic, army doctors and black nursing staff attend a never-ending queue of patients, including babies and pregnant women.

Refugees bath themselves in the open, many having to wash out of tins no larger than beer cans.

To these people there is no tomorrow. To return home to southern Angola where their families have lived for generations, might mean certain death

at the hands of MPLA, Cuban and Swapo soldiers.

Their homes and villages have been destroyed, their lands devastated and their cattle slaughtered.

And this on Angola Day today — the first anniversary of the MPLA gaining power. — Sapa.

## SA 'not aiding Unita'

**WINDHOEK** — Allegations that the South African Defence Force was aiding Unita in its fight against the MPLA, Cuban and Swapo forces in Angola have been strongly denied by the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, in Ondangwa.

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Asked to comment on a Radio Luanda report that it was the aim of the MPLA to help Swapo liberate South West Africa after Unita had been crushed, the Minister said he hoped this was not the plan.

If this happened, however, South Africa would hit back hard and with the biggest force at its disposal.

The Minister said he wished to make it clear that the South African Government would not allow murder, chaos and disorder to spread to this peaceful part of the world.

Asked if he expected a resurgence of terrorist activity on South West Africa's borders, he said

isolated cases would occur, "but we are prepared for it."

He was unable to give the exact position in regard to refugees, but expressed the hope that their numbers would not increase as he did not think Owambo would be able to bear the burden.

The Minister denied a report that refugees were fleeing from Angola because of shelling by South African forces from the South West African side. — Sapa.



# NO SADEF aid to Unita says Botha

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—(Sapa.)

# Angola won't invade — Neto

CT-13/11/76

LONDON. — Angola said yesterday it had no intention of sending its forces into neighbouring South West Africa.

But President Agostinho Neto, in saying this in Luanda, at the same time accused South Africa of violating Angolan territory and of planning new guerilla raids into Angola.

President Neto was replying to reports that Angolan and Cuban forces were preparing to invade SWA.

## SA "confused"

His remarks to foreign visitors at Angola's independence anniversary celebrations on Thursday night were carried by Luanda Radio and monitored here.

President Neto said South Africa was confused by Angola's support for South West Africans through Swapo.

Only South West African nationalists were fighting in the territory and the MPLA had no intention of operating its forces outside Angola's borders, President Neto said.

— Sapa-Reuter

DD  
18/11/76  
**Angola  
denies  
attack  
plan**

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He said South Africa was confused by Angola's support for South West Africans through Swapo.

Only South West African nationalists were fighting in the territory and the MPLA had no intention of operating its forces outside Angola's borders.

In Johannesburg Progres MP, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said a combined Swapo-communist bloc onslaught on South West Africa would lead to a siege situation in both SWA and South Africa.

If the plans of Swapo as reported are accurate and they are implemented, they leave those intent on peaceful and gradual change no other choice but to fight.

— SAPA-RNS-DDC

5/225



Little Julia Phillipus, 8: "I don't know why they shot my father."

# I saw my daddy die

13/11/76  
DD

**JOHANNESBURG** — While fighting back the tears, eight-year-old Julia Phillipus said yesterday: "My father was killed by the comrades, but I cannot tell you why they should have shot him. I was frightened and ran away."

It was an uncomplicated statement coming from a little girl whose mind had not concerned itself with the wrenching and often cruel twists that politics so easily inflicts on a society.

Yet, in its simplicity, it summed up for nearly 9 000 Angolans their reasons for fleeing.

The flow of refugees is continuing and yesterday, while a party of foreign and South African journalists were visiting the area, a further 121 crossed from Angola.

One of the first Angolans to cross the border was Gabriel Mamkomo, 35. He said the MPLA forces had attacked his village without giving any prior warning.

"They first set fire to our huts and then they shot 20 men, women and children right in front of

me. I just ran away. I did not have arms so what else could I do?" he said.

There was a happy reunion for Jerononinium Himbasha and his young wife and child at the Omungwelumo camp yesterday. They managed to escape, but became separated during the terrifying dash through the bush towards the border.

"The MPLA sealed off the border and began to carefully search the area for refugees who were trying to get out. I hid in the bush for two days until the soldiers had left the area and then I slipped away," he said.

When he arrived at the refugee camp yesterday, he suddenly heard his wife's voice shouting his name.

This is how Shimkongo Kambata, 68, saw the fighting: "The blood of everybody flowed at Ongode (the village where he lived).

"My wife and my four children — they are all dead." — DDC

# Refugees captured

DD  
13/11/76

**OMUNGWELUME** (South West Africa) — Angolan and Cuban troops crossed into South West Africa and took back a group of refugees, South African Police said here yesterday.

The local police commander, Lt Eric Winter, said the incident happened 10 days ago. That was soon after Cuban-aided government troops launched a major offensive against Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces.

Lt Winter said the group of 20 or 30 refugees were pursued more than 200 m across the border

and taken back into Angola at gunpoint.

South African forces were not at the scene, but were told of the incident by other refugees later. The fate of the captured refugees was not disclosed.

South African authorities declined to say if they had taken any action over the border violation. — SAPA-RNS.

# Angolans chased refugees into SWA

13/11/76  
Cape  
Times

**OMUNGWELUME, South West Africa.** — Angolan and Cuban troops had crossed into South West Africa and taken back a group of refugees who had fled the fighting in Southern Angola, South African police said here yesterday.

The local police commander, Lieutenant Eric Winter, told reporters at this remote village near the Angolan border that the incident happened 10 days ago. That was soon after Cuban-aided government troops launched a major offensive against Dr. Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces.

Lieutenant Winter said the group of 20 or 30 refugees was pursued more than 200 metres across the border and taken back into Angola at gunpoint.

South African forces were not at the scene but were told of the incident by other refugees later. The fate of the captured refugees was not disclosed.

South African authorities declined to say if they had

5/225  
NEW YORK. — Recent fighting in southern Angola had caused about 2 700 people to flee into Owambo this week, the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, told the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim yesterday. In a letter to Dr Waldheim, Dr Muller said the number of refugees was increasing daily and asked him to authorize assistance by the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees. — Sapa

→ taken any action over the border violation.

The captured refugees were in the vanguard of nearly 3 000 who have fled across the border in the past two weeks. The flood reached a peak last weekend.

→ Refugees said Angolan Government and Cuban troops, aided by Swapo terrorists, were killing the generally pro-Unita Kwanyama tribesmen and burning their kraals.

Most of the refugees are housed in a compound at this village and crowd inside the concrete tribal office — a combined meeting place, clinic and post office for the Kwanyama tribe; which straddles the Angola border region — and under canvas canopies outside.

Children run and play but the adults sit sullenly and

Continued on page 9

# Cubans chase refugees

Continued from page 1  
wait for food provided by the South African Army.

Last night the total number of refugees at the camp stood at 2 926 and more were trickling across the border in groups of about 20. A further 5 000 refugees who fled during the Angolan civil war which ended early this year, are housed at Rundu, further east.

Lieutenant Winter said many refugees had been shot by pro-Angola Government troops. Only yesterday, a newly-arrived refugee had told him that six of his friends had been shot dead within sight of the border fence.

"The refugees are still coming, but they have to elude intensive patrols by armoured cars on the Angolan side.

"The refugees are walking like lines of cattle."

Once across the border — a wire stock fence which has plenty of gaps in it — the refugees are collected by the

South African Army and brought here by truck.

Two truckloads arrived as a group of pressmen, South African and foreign, was visiting the refugee camp.

yesterday on a trip organized by the Government and the army.

Of the 44 refugees, only eight were men. The rest were women, young and old, with children or babies.

Sporting gaudy umbrellas against the fierce sun, the refugees looked frightened and bewildered as they tumbled from the trucks.

One of the new arrivals, Mrs Naukalemo Ngolowa, barefoot, dusty and weary, said more than 20 people had been shot dead in her village, Onagwe. She said they included women and children.

"Government and Cuban troops arrived in trucks and began killing and burning," she said.

Before the raid, there had been more than 200 Unita troops in the village. She did not know what had hap-

pened to them. She did not know where her husband was.

Sub-Chief Nicodemus Shekunjenge, elderly headman of Mpapo village, who has been at the camp for five days, said many people had been killed in his area. He fled with his eight wives and 17 of his children and said he saw many burning villages on his way south.

Farmer Teofles Kalenga, 38, from Ongonde village, said he personally saw Cubans shoot six men who were running away.

But many of the other refugees who spoke of massacres admitted under questioning that much of their information was second or third-hand and that they had actually witnessed few if any killings.

Mr Andre Burger, head of Information for the Owambo homeland, told reporters he had heard that the Angolan Government forces, the Cubans and Swapo were "killing or carting away" all males over the age of 12.

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15/11/76 J.  
**Cuba denies reports of fighting in Angola**

HAYANA. — The Cuban news agency Prensa Latina yesterday denied reports of large-scale fighting on the South West African border between Cuban-backed Angolan forces and the Unita guerilla movement.

The agency accused the press of inventing such reports in a systematic campaign against Cuba and Angola.

It also denied reports that thousands of refugees had fled to South West Africa to escape atrocities by Cuban and Angolan troops and that guerrillas of the South West African People's Organization (Swapo) were fighting alongside Angolan troops.

It dismissed reports that the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (Unita), defeated by Cuban and Angolan troops earlier this year, posed a serious threat to the Angolan government by controlling wide areas in the south.

The cartoon was aimed at attacking genocide committed by South Africa in southern Africa.

# TODAY: Focus on the crisis zone...

## Cubans help Swapo clear ground for attack

**AFRICAN** countries at the United Nations see the MPLA-Cuban-Swapo campaign against Unita forces in southern Angola as the prelude to a major Swapo offensive in South West Africa.

What is more, the overwhelming majority of African governments seem to support the drive, as well as Swapo's military intentions in South West Africa.

Those who might have reservations have apparently not voiced them so far in the African caucus at the UN. Most feel it is a domestic Angolan concern in which they should not interfere.

They believe repeated Unita raids on government installations in southern Angola and endemic clashes between Unita and Swapo forces have led to the drive.

African diplomats who were briefed privately by Angolan officials in New York this week, claim that it was becoming impossible for Swapo forces to

**By HUGH ROBERTSON in NEW YORK**

operate in southern Angola.

Unita forces had effectively isolated Swapo bases and had intimidated Swapo sympathizers to such an extent that incursions into South West Africa had all but come to a halt.

The Angolan authorities are said to have regarded the situation as critical and because of this and the continuing provocation by Unita forces against government installations, decided to fight a "final war" to eradicate Unita.

An African ambassador commented: "Until Unita is destroyed, Swapo will not be able to operate effectively against the South African occupation of South West Africa."

"To some extent foreign intervention in South West Africa has begun. The Cubans are making southern Angola safe for Swapo and, perhaps, for them-

selves."

Once Unita had been crushed, Swapo would — almost certainly with Cuban backing — launch a major offensive into South West Africa.

Most African countries which opposed the Mpla during the Angolan civil war — exactly half were at one stage supporting Unita and the Fula at the UN — now appear to have accepted the inevitability of a permanent Mpla government in Angola.

Indeed, some of the countries which were most vehement in their condemnation of the Mpla and Cuban intervention in Angola have done an about-face and are now outspoken campaigners in favour of Angola's admission to the UN.

Africa also appears to be far less sensitive about the Cuban presence in Angola than was the case when Cuban troops were still a worrying novelty a year ago.

## Turnhalle settlement even more urgent

**THE COMBINED** sweep by Angolan government troops with Cubans and Swapo units may have far-reaching regional and international implications for Angola and South West Africa.

According to Mr Peter Vale, a South African research associate attached to the Institute of Strategic Studies here, the present fighting indicates the urgent need by the Mpla forces to "mop-up" the anti-government Unita forces in the southern region.

● The fighting may also be a ploy to divert attention away from the signs of divisions within the leadership of the Mpla.

● Operations in the southern region will also keep the large number of Cuban soldiers stationed in Angola occupied.

Yet, at the same time, the Unita successes in southern Angola are making

**By RORY LYNISKY in London**

the Mpla increasingly dependent on the Cubans and Russia and less responsive to what they may see as their interests in Angola," he said.

But the continued fighting should not be seen as the prelude to a Soviet-inspired invasion.

"I don't think there is any danger of Cubans in Windhoek, but the situation does indicate the urgency of getting a settlement at the Turnhalle talks," said Mr Vale.

"I don't think the Soviets will upset the present line," he said.

He said Dr Savimbi's forces were obviously still strong along the line of the Benguela Railway between the Zambian border and the Atlantic Ocean — and the continued closure of the line had serious economic implications for both Zambia and Zaire.

"I do not think Zambia can give its tacit support for Unita for much longer." He said from the point of view of the South African Government, there was the danger that any new conflict in the region would lead to further unrest within the country.

While the refugees were an embarrassment to the government, paradoxically it might allow them to show the Turnhalle delegates the dangers facing them across the border — and pressure them to find a settlement in Windhoek. "Nevertheless it is obviously still important for them to come to a settlement with Swapo," he said.

The long-term danger was that Swapo would follow the lead of the guerrillas in Guinea-Bissau and set up a government-in-exile.

"This might, eventually, give them enough leverage to allow the Cubans to come to their assistance," Mr Vale concluded.



## Compromise

But while the constitution committee struggles for a compromise which would protect minorities as well as the national interest, support for Swapo is growing fast because the talks face a crisis of credibility. Its evolution into an effective alliance of moderate parties is painfully slow. In the long run only such an alliance can stave off revolutionary rule in South West.

Verligte Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Turnhalle and a vice-chairman of the National Party, sought to restore black and brown confidence in the whites, in Kamanjab, when he made a controversial speech a week ago. He urged the party to break its links with the South African party as soon as possible. He suggested the Immorality Act and Mixed Marriages Act should be scrapped in the territory.

Even the Marxist South West African National Union was moved, grudgingly, to praise Mr Mudge for his courage and realism. Nonetheless it rebuke from Nat leader Mr A. H. du Plessis. Mr du Plessis said he would be prepared to ac-

# Turnhalle go-slow is a boost for Swapo

WINDHOEK: It will be a tense summer for South West.

Already in the past week:

- The constitution committee gingerly resumed its work in the Turnhalle amid fears that black and brown delegations were headed for another confrontation with the whites.

- Verligtes and verkrampes in the National Party hierarchy are barely able to conceal their fundamental difference on political change.

- The opposition Federal Party moved to outbid the Nats for support from black and brown moderates, when its congress proposed a multi-party alliance and opened membership to all races.

- Black refugees poured in to escape the war in Angola with horror tales which hardened divisions in populous Owambo.

- Radio Luanda threatened that the Cuban-backed MPLA would help Swapo to "liberate Namibia" once the Unita rebels had been defeated in Southern Angola.

The constitution committee is pledged to produce a constitutional plan for an interim government of all ethnic groups by early next year.

The interim government will rule the territory until independence in late 1978.

The conflict in the Turnhalle is over where the power will really lie.

A majority of black and brown delegates want extensive powers for the central government, but the whites are holding out for maximum decentralisation to second tier ethnic governments.

The verkrampte vice-chairman of the National Party, Mr Eben van Zijl, goes so far as to talk of the "white" economy

By CLIVE COWLEY,  
Tribune Africa  
News Service

cept such changes in the interest of a peaceful solution, but he was clearly in no hurry and growled that policy-making bodies in the party were the proper place for such talk.

Mr Mudge was unrepentant. His role as peacemaker in the Turnhalle is far from finished. Meanwhile the Federal

Party, formerly known as the United Party, went multiracial at long last. In a bid to come in from the cold, in fact the wilderness, it also offered to forge an alliance with other parties.

The offer is unlikely to get many takers unless the Turnhalle collapses. Even in such an event, the spin-off will probably go to Swapo.

Nearly all political parties and groups — the FP is a rare exception — currently fall under three "umbrella" organisations.

The most important are the multi-ethnic Turnhalle and the Namibia National Convention, an uneasy coalition of Swapo and three other movements.

Like the Turnhalle, the NNC is troubled. Swapo is flexing its muscles to such

an extent that its partners fear they will be gobbled up.

Swapo is also helping the MPLA and Cubans in their campaign to wipe out Unita rebels in Angola and the principal targets are Owambo-speaking tribes traditionally sympathetic to Unita.

This means Swapo is waging war on its own people, where its grassroots support mainly lies, on a scale much larger than its earlier raids into Owambo.

The Chief Minister of Owambo, Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba could be right when he predicts that Swapo support will suffer as a result.

On the other hand, a stubborn reluctance to believe ill of Swapo persists in Owambo and elsewhere, despite recent events.

The military assault on white rule, from bases in Angola, will certainly be resumed, probably escalated with communist help, when Unita has been taken care of.

With the South African forces on the border, though, Swapo and its allies are not about to enter Windhoek. In fact a conventional invasion, as an alternative to guerilla warfare, could prove a costly mistake.

By WILF NUSSEY, Editor,  
Tribune Africa News Service

THROUGH the mud and blood of rhetoric and war which spilled out of Angola this week three facts of extreme importance to South Africans emerged.

One is that President Agostinho Neto of the MPLA movement, which grabbed power before independence a year ago, is still by no means in control of the country.

The second is that he would lose almost all he does control were it not for the help of the Kremlin and thousands of Cuban troops.

The third is that if he ever manages to get total control, South West Africa will be in for a very hot time from the South West African People's Organisation guerrillas Neto supports.

Main threat to MPLA control is Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement. Dr Savimbi undoubtedly has the greatest popular support in Angola, although not a clear majority.

His area of support lies across central and south-eastern Angola, a third or more of its 1.25 million square kilometres, and includes that densely populated central plateau through which the important Benguela railway runs and which is the main agricultural zone.

In the past week or so Unita troops, who held sway clean down to the South West African border were driven back by a massed onslaught of Cuban and MPLA troops using armour, rockets, apparently MIG 17 jet planes and a scorched earth policy.

The comparatively open, flat country north of South West Africa's Ovambo suits such warfare and Unita were forced to flee east and north into the denser bush of the "Fim do Mundo" (end of the world) seamed by streams and swamps—a major catchment area for the Okavango Zambezi and other rivers.

From there, and in equally rough country reaching right up north of the Benguela railway, Unita can still base guerrilla attacks with relative impunity—except from air strikes whose effectiveness against small, elusive guerrilla groups is doubtful.

It is difficult for impartial journalists to enter Angola now and virtually impossible for them to get a full view of the internal strife.

# CAULDRON OF DEATH

## Neto fights on three fronts as Angola's rebels rally in the bush

14/11/76

But reports from various sources support the Unita claim that they are successfully hitting back at the Cubans and the MPLA using elementary guerrilla tactics and weapons.

The Cubans, say these sources, tend to stick to towns and villages they have taken and to move out reluctantly, and then with armoured cars and tanks along the few main routes.

When they move they

are excellent targets for guerrilla land mines and anti-tank rockets backed up by light but powerful automatic weapons.

The Cubans have apparently not yet learned the Portuguese tactics of the pre-independence war of fighting guerrillas with guerrillas.

Unita top officers, like Commander Smart Chata, speak well of the Cubans as conventional soldiers and say they would not like to meet them head-on with armoured cars and tanks.

But they say Unita easily has the upper hand against Cubans fighting on foreign soil among people they know very little of, whose language they do not understand and who give them no help.

Dr Savimbi has two basic problems. One is that once he moves out of cen-



Home for hundreds of refugees from Angola has become a small patch of concrete on the floor of the large hall at West Kwanayama tribal centre. During the day 1 000 sweltering bodies lie on it to escape the heat outside

As long as this rebellion persists, Dr Neto cannot dispense with his Cuban props, for the MPLA alone would very likely be vanquished.

It has been suggested that the Cubans will soon join Swapo in their attack on South West Africa. This seems unlikely because she is apparently not in a position to spare many more people for a war in distant Africa which could become Cuba's version of Vietnam.

But it can, and undoubtedly will, help train the Nujoma-wing men to use the arms Russia pours in—which alone spells greater danger to South West African peace prospects than ever before.

reports state that there, too, the Cubans cannot move out of many towns and villages without coming under attack.

The most surprising admission by Radio Luanda is that it is still being attacked in the Cabinda enclave, detached from the north of Angola by the Congo River and a thin strip of Zaire.

The attack there is by Flec, the small but locally influential movement which wants independence for the oil-rich enclave and its population of 80 000.

So the MPLA faces rebellion on at least three fronts and its claim to rule Angola is somewhat precariously based on undoubted control of the capital, Luanda, and most towns and cities.

give them much freer access, to step up their own terrorist campaign in the territory.

However, within the Nujoma faction there is an element of unknown size which wants to retain links with Unita in preference to the MPLA, further complicating an exotic ideological mess.

Apart from Unita, the MPLA now has to combat a renewed attack from the FNLA movement, led by Mr Holden Roberto, which the MPLA routed across the northern border into Zaire just before independence.

Radio Luanda, the MPLA mouthpiece, admitted this week that it was facing a fresh onslaught in the north.

Its extent is not known but unconfirmed

and the bulk of its present force has probably been recruited and trained only in the past year.

Unita is believed to also get support from the anti-Sam Nujoma wing of Swapo. Swapo split sharply in recent months between President Nujoma and the faction nominally headed by Information Secretary Andreas Shipanga, now incarcerated in Tanzania.

The Shipanga faction would accept a peaceful solution in South West Africa and feels that developments at the Turnhalle constitutional conference are leaving them out in the cold.

The Nujoma faction are aiding the MPLA to clear Unita from the South West African border because this will

tral and south-eastern Angola he is in politically hostile territory.

His other is supplies. He claims to have enough arms and ammunition to fight for another year or two and he gets some supplies by air drops from light and medium aircraft flying mainly at night because of the MIG threat.

If the Cubans—said to number from 13 000 to 20 000—can ever be persuaded to resort to full, on-foot guerrilla attacks, Unita could land in serious trouble.

They do not particularly fear the MPLA which, while fairly effective some years ago against the Portuguese, are now no match for the Unita men as guerrillas.

The MPLA is heavily based in urban areas seething with anti-colonial dissatisfaction

# Grim reflections of a

PEOPLE have been writing finis to the career of Jonas Savimbi almost since he broke away from Holden Roberto and the group that was to become the depressingly inefficient National Front or FNLA.

I remember when he announced that breakaway to a number of journalists on a houseboat on the Nile in 1964, a number of us wondered what such an attractive, pleasant-spoken, clean-limbed young man thought he could achieve against a nasty and ruthless character like Holden Roberto.

Eventually he led his men in the field in the guerrilla

## AFRICA

Anthony Delius

campaign for six years, something neither Holden Roberto nor the present President of Angola, Aghostino Neto, ever did.

And in the end he drew far greater popular support than either of them ever was able to.

Jonas Savimbi is, in fact, as fine a patriot as there ever was in any country in Africa. If, somehow, he manages to go on surviving, he could very well become the man who makes Russia and the Cubans bitterly regret the day they became involved in what could prove

to be their African Vietnam.

If that day ever comes, I do not think Savimbi will forget how other African states allowed men from another continent to go on butchering Black Angolans without a murmur of protest that one could hear.

But one African leader above all others I would not want to be if Savimbi ever finally triumphs. That is Sam Nujoma of Swapo, should he by then have realised his long dream to become the President of the Republic of Namibia.

Once Unita guerrillas

were helpful to the guerrillas of Swapo. But now, if all reports are true — or only half of them are, Swapo is helping in the attempted destruction of Unita.

One of the reasons for this alleged change-about is the alleged reliance by Unita on South Africa for some supplies and for some training bases in Namibia and the Caprivi strip. If Swapo's leadership has done this in the hope of future favours from President Neto, the Cubans and the Russians, the memory of it in the future may be more costly than any present gains are likely to be worth.

Some say all this slaughter in the southern bush has

# great patriot

5/14/176  
S.P. RES

been done to make a Roman holiday in Luanda celebrating the first anniversary of Angola's so-called liberation from Portugal.

Savimbi's grim reflections on the past year, as he sits in his hideout, will not be made any more pleasant for realising that President Neto relies more heavily now on Cubans and Russians than he did a year ago — even to deal with Unita.

THERE HAS been a slight change in the tide of opinion which so far has been running for the Black leaders at the Geneva conference. Their negotiating antics around Ian Smith's frozen stance have begun to evoke

quite loud murmurs of misgiving in Africa and elsewhere. Newspapers in Kenya and Zambia, which survive by never straying too far from official thinking, have begun to ask what Messrs Nkomo, Mugabe and so on think they are playing at.

Why make such a play about getting independence in 12 months if it is going to be dropped into their laps in two years. Is it worth going back to more slaughter along the border and a possibility of 10 more years' misery for everybody just on the off-chance of making the final rulers of Zimbabwe look more heroic. Patience with Smith for even a year

longer seems a small price to pay for a less tumultuous and impoverishing take-over for majority rule.

This seems a commonsense question. And yet one wonders whether guerrilla romanticism or nationalist machismo is totally defeating any political intelligence or negotiating ability among the delegations.

This desertion of commonsense may be because some of the negotiators feel the need to demonstrate a sublime Marxist or racial purity by allowing no American or even White influences to be involved openly in the coming of majority rule.

Some say all this slaughter in the southern bush has

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# Savimbi

Sunday Express 14/11/78

# man on mission to SA

**DR JONAS SAVIMBI'S right-hand man flew into Jan Smuts Airport this week.**

He was met on the tarmac by two White men.

It is believed this top aide of the Unita leader,

**By CLARE STERN**

named George Sangumba, may have come to South Africa to seek help for the hard-pressed Angolan guerrilla movement which a combination of MPLA, Cuban and Swapo forces is trying to stamp out in a massive operation throughout

southern Angola. However, both Defence Headquarters and the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria deny any knowledge of his presence in SA. Confirmation of Mr Sangumba's visit could be political dynamite because of the international furore

that was aroused by SA's military intervention in Angola last year in support of Unita's struggle against the MPLA and Cuban forces.

His arrival at Jan Smuts was disclosed to the Sunday Express by a Zambian businessman who travelled in the same aircraft.

The businessman, who knows Mr Sangumba well, said the Unita man left

• To Page 2

Sunday Express 14/11/76

# Savimbi man in SA

• From Page One

Lusaka last Sunday morning on a scheduled Zambia Airways flight to Francistown.

At Francistown he switched to an Air Botswana flight to Jan Smuts.

When the plane landed at Jan Smuts, the businessman saw two White men meet Mr Sangumba on the tarmac.

Mr Sangumba has been Dr Savimbi's right-hand man — with the title of Unita's Minister of Foreign Affairs — for ten years.

He played a key role, shuttling back and forth between many capitals, during Unita's bid for world support against the Russian-backed MPLA this time last year.

He also acted as a go-between in helping to arrange SA's military intervention in Angola.

And it was Mr Sangumba who announced SA's withdrawal from Angola last January. He gave logistical details of the withdrawal of our forces — and his statements were approved for publication here by the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha.

Since that withdrawal and the MPLA triumph, Dr Savimbi has taken refuge in southern Angola — where he has almost total support in an area roughly between the 1 600 km Benguela Railway and the SWA border — and has continued his guerrilla struggle from there.

Now the MPLA Government is trying to stamp him out. Aided by Cuban and Swapo forces, they are raging through this area butchering thousands of villagers and trying to subjugate the population.

It is this operation which is causing thousands of wretched refugees to scale the border fences into SWA.

As the operation intensifies, Dr Savimbi is reported to be becoming desperate for some kind of logistic support.

He can no longer turn to Zambia, where President Kaunda once supported him. Since Dr Agostinho Neto's MPLA became the recognised Government in Launda, Dr Kaunda has reluctantly accepted it and dealt with Neto at meetings of the "front-line" Presidents on the Rhodesian issue.

This has left Dr Savimbi with no one to turn to as his situation becomes more desperate.

Which may account for his top aide's arrival here.

5/225



# Brazen MPLA cross borders of SWA

Sunday  
Express  
14/11/76

By DESMOND BLOW  
Military Correspondent

**THE MPLA, under Cuban officers, have become so brazen that they cross the border from Angola into South West Africa in pursuit of fleeing refugees.**

A young Kwanyama cuddles her new-born baby whose missing father has never seen her. Picture by DESMOND BLOW.

This week they grabbed between 10 and 20 shrieking women and children who believed they were safe after climbing the one metre-high border fence and struggling with their few belongings 3 km into SWA.

When South African troops reached the spot the communist forces had already returned across the border with the refugees.

This was disclosed to a group of South African and overseas newsmen on Friday by Lieutenant Eric Winter of the South African Police at Omungwelume refugee camp in north west Owambo.

Lieutenant Winter, who is in charge of the camp where about 3 000 refugees have arrived during the past week, said there had been no clashes between SA security forces and the Angolans.

But, he said, the SA forces would resist any invasion of the Owambo territory by Angolan troops.

Once refugees have crossed the fence which marks the border, the SA forces will give them protection.

"We can do no less on humanitarian grounds," he said.

He added that based on information gleaned from refugees and "other sources" it was believed that Swapo would launch their biggest offensive yet into SWA with the start of the rainy season within the next few weeks.

Terrorist activity had been increasing steadily over the past two years.

Things were quiet at present only because it was the dry season.

Lieutenant Winter said Swapo's co-operation with MPLA forces was, in return, to have MPLA aid and a launching pad for their own big offensive into SWA.

He said it was a principle of guerrilla warfare that they should operate from territory whose population was friendly towards them.

"This is why it is important to crush the people who support the Unita guerrillas. Once this is done, Swapo will feel in a stronger position for its incursions into SWA."

There is not much the terrorists can do during the dry season. Their tracks are easily discernible and they can be chased by vehicles on land and easily spotted from the air.

But in the rainy season the tracks are soon washed away and visibility from the air is poor.

However, the lieutenant discounted recent reports that MPLA and Cuban forces would join Swapo in a conventional war against SA forces in SWA.

On Friday, 121 exhausted Kwanyamas, mostly women and children arrived at Omungwelume camp, swelling the number of refugees at the camp to about 3 000.

They arrived in SA army trucks looking bewildered and haggard. Many of the women said they did not know what had become of their husbands.

They said MPLA-Swapo forces had come hunting their men who had fled into the bush.



225 (5)

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15/11/76

# Unita plans PoW swop of 90 Cubans

DAKAR — Unita has captured 90 Cuban soldiers and plans to exchange them for Unita prisoners held by Government forces, a spokesman for the organisation said in Dakar.

Mr Jorge Sangumba, external affairs secretary of Unita told Reuters that Unita forces had also captured hundreds of soldiers from the ruling MPLA in Angola.

He was speaking after three days of talks with Senegalese leaders during which he briefed President Leopold Senghor on the guerilla war Unita is waging against the Cuban-backed MPLA.

### CLOSE LINKS

Senegal has not recognised the government formed last year by MPLA leader Mr Agostinho Neto. It has always maintained close links with Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi and favours the formation of a national-unity government.

Mr Sangumba said Unita was operating in two-thirds of Angola down to the southern border of the country. "Our immediate objective is to paralyse the economy by blocking all means of communication," he added.

### LINE DISRUPTED

Unita was ready to negotiate with the MPLA on condition that Cuban troops were withdrawn from Angola.

"Our goal is to find a political solution in Angola by the installation of a national-unity government," Mr Sangumba added.

He pointed out that Unita had stopped the 1600 km Benguela Lobito-Teixeira de Souza railway line from functioning. — Sapa-Reuter.

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# Unita claims capture of 90 Cubans

*apus* 15/11/76

DAKAR. — The Angolan guerrilla force Unita has captured 90 Cuban soldiers and plans to exchange them for Unita prisoners held by MPLA forces, a Unita spokesman said here.

Mr Georges Sangumba, External Affairs Secretary of Unita (Union for the total independence of Angola) told Reuters Unita forces had also captured hundreds of soldiers from the ruling popular movement (MPLA).

He was speaking after three days of talks with Senegalese leaders during

which he briefed President Leopold Senghor on the guerrilla war. Unita is waging against the Cuban-backed MPLA.

Mr Sangumba said Unita was operating in two-thirds of the territory of Angola down to the southern border of the country.

Our immediate objective is to paralyse the economy by blocking all means of communication, he said.

Mr Sangumba said Unita was ready to negotiate with the MPLA on condition that Cuban troops were withdrawn from Angola. — Sapa-  
Reuter.



12/5

# 115 flee Angola

The Star's Africa  
News Service

GABORONE — About 115 refugees have fled from fighting in southern Angola to Shakawe in north-eastern Botswana near the Caprivi Strip, according to reports reaching Gaborone.

The officer commanding the area, Mr A. Mabutho, said the refugees will probably be transported to the Etsha refugee settlement camp to ease conditions at Shakawe.

About 2 000 Angolans fled to Etsha north-east Botswana in 1969. They became Botswana citizens.

Star 16/11/76

# Emergency supplies on way

Star 16/11/76

# Goods for refugees

Defence Correspondent

Transport has been laid on to move about six tons of emergency supplies for Angolan refugees from Windhoek to the border area.

Two heavy trucks have been sent from Rundu by the Kavango Government Service to pick up the supplies in Windhoek. The trucks are expected to load up late today, and to arrive in Rundu by Thursday evening.

A spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration said in Pretoria: "We had difficulty finding transport to move the supplies, but we are happy the problem has now been solved."

Earlier Red Cross officials in Windhoek complained that no Government official seemed willing to accept responsibility for transport.

The goods, which include four to five tons of clothing, half a ton of baby food and powdered milk for babies and 500 kg of bread flour, soaps, toiletries, and other goods were donated following an appeal by the Red Cross.

## Tents

Four small tents and R2 000 in cash will be sent to the border area to buy further supplies.

The regional secretary for the South African Red Cross in Windhoek, Mrs Ruth Kiwi, said she had first asked for transport last week.

The Commissioner General for the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa, the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Defence Force had all promised to let her know, but she had heard nothing.

## Fighting

About 3 000 refugees have fled into Owambo and Kavango in recent weeks to escape the fighting between MPLA-Cuban-Swapo forces and Unita guerrillas.

Tribesmen are reported to have been slaughtered by the Angolan Government forces and their allies. Most of the refugees have arrived in South West Africa with nothing.

18/11/76 Natal Mercury  
Neto's soldiers 'still firing on refugees'

5/225

# THE ANGOLA WAR GOES RAGING ON

**OSHAKATI** — Fighting between MPLA, Cuban and Swapo forces and soldiers of Dr. Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement is continuing unabated in Angola, say refugees crossing into Owambo.

Refugees arriving at Omungwelumbe where more than 4 000 people — mainly old men, women and children — were being cared for by the South African Defence Force, said the fighting had moved to north-eastern Angola, reports Sapa.

Refugees were still being fired on by Angolan President Agostinho Neto's soldiers in an attempt to stop the steady flow to South West Africa.

## Undecided

Now the future of more than 9 000 Kwanyama refugees in Kavango and Owambo remains undecided.

According to officials here, attempts were being made to contact the MPLA Government in Luanda about the refugees.

Our Lusaka correspondent says a large flow of Angolan refugees has arrived in Zambia's western province because of the heavy fighting in southern Angola.

Zambia's Home Affairs Minister, Mr. Aaron Milner, said the Angolan refugees were flocking into Zambia at a higher rate than ever before.

## Expected

The Minister, who could not estimate the number of refugees trekking into the country, said several hundred entered Zambia at the weekend.

He said many more were expected to enter Zambia as long as the fighting continued in southern Angola.

The Minister said more than 14 000 Angolan refugees were in refugee camps.

## UN team

A spokesman for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees said officials flew from Lusaka yesterday to Sesheke district in Zambia's western province bordering Zambia, Angola and South West Africa, where the refugees were crossing into Zambia.

He said the UN officials would be making transport and other settlement arrangements for refugees.

# Angola battles go on

16/11/16

OSHAKATI — Fighting between MPEA, Cuban and Swapo forces and soldiers of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement was continuing unabated in Angola, according to refugees crossing the border into Owambo in northern South West Africa.

Refugees arriving at Omungwelimo where more than 4 000 people — mainly old men, women and children — were being cared for by the South African Defence Force, said the fighting had now moved to the north eastern parts of Angola. Our correspondent in Lusaka yesterday reported a large influx of Angolan refugees into Zambia's western province. — Sapa

5/225

# 'My father was killed by the comrades'

16/11/76. C-T.

**Own Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG.**

Fighting back tears, Julia Filippus, 8, said: "My father was killed by the comrades, but I cannot tell you why they should have shot him. I was frightened and ran away."

This simple statement summed up for nearly 9,000 Angolans their reasons for fleeing across the border into Owambo and Kavango last week.

Most of the refugees are members of the Kwanyama people, who live in an area stretching across northern Owambo into southern Angola. They support the Injia movement.

Last week, the area in Southern Angola where the Kwanyama people live, became the scene of bloody clashes between combined MPLA, Cuban and Swapo forces against guerrillas

## Movement

### Shelled

Villages were shelled and set fire to and tribesmen were shot out of hand by the combined MPLA forces, refugees at a camp, at Omurgwelumo, about 46 km north of Oshakati in Owambo, said.

"We do not know whether the men were exterminated by the MPLA or whether they moved off into the bush with Injia guerrillas," Lieutenant Eric Winter, the policeman in charge of the camp which houses 2,829 refugees said.

He said the refugees had started to cross the border from Angola a fortnight ago after a day when "we could hear explosions like mortars and see huts burning".

The flow of refugees has continued since then at the

foreign and South African pressmen were visiting the area, a further 121 crossed from Angola.

Lieutenant Winter said the fighting close to the border appeared to have stopped for the time being.

### No warning

One of the first Angolans to cross the border as a refugee was Gabriel Mankono, 35. He said the MPLA forces had attacked his village without giving any warning.

"They first set fire to our huts and then they shot 20 men, women and children right in front of me. I just ran away. I did not have arms so what else could I do?" he said.

He crossed the border with five members of his village. "I now want to stay here to help my own people," he said.

for Jeronimum Himbasha and his young wife and child at the Omungwelumo camp at the weekend. They managed to escape an MPLA terror attack on their village in Angola on Sunday a week ago, but became separated during a terrifying dash through the bush towards the South West African border.

### Hid in bush

"The MPLA sealed off the border and began carefully to search the area for refugees who were trying to get out. I hid in the bush for two days until the soldiers had left the area and then I slipped away," he said.

When he arrived at the refugee camp on Saturday, he suddenly heard his wife's voice, shouting his name. He had only been in Angola one month after returning from a job in Tsumeb in South West Africa when the fighting broke out.

This is how 68-year-old Shimkongo Kambata saw the fighting: "The blood of everybody flowed at Ongode" — the village where he lived.

"My wife and my four children — they are all dead."

Lieutenant Winter said that MPLA soldiers had crossed the border from Angola into Owambo on November 2 to force a group of between 20 and 30 refugees to return to their side.

"They moved about 300 metres into Owambo territory to reach the refugees and then forced them to return. We do not know their

The South African authorities had taken no action in this incident because they did not witness it, Lieutenant Winter said.

5) 329

# Angola's try for UN to be revived

Richard Walker

NEW YORK — Angola's application for UN membership was revived yesterday with the three African members of the Security Council calling for an urgent meeting.

The council is expected to take it up today or tomorrow with the outcome once again dependent on the United States.

As with Vietnam — vetoed again by the U.S. on Monday — the 14 other States on the council accept the Luanda Government's right to become the 146th member of the world body.

The U.S. vetoed Angola in June, saying its only objection was the presence of Cuban troops there.

In fact, the Ford administration was also anxious not to give ammunition to Ronald Reagan, then challenging for the Republican presidential nomination.

5/225.

83  
17/11  
-26

## Refugee supplies delayed

### WINDHOEK

Emergency supplies for black Angolan refugees in the Owambo and Kavango homelands — delayed here because of apparent red tape in the transporting of the goods — are expected to be moved to the refugee centres in northern South West Africa either today or tomorrow.

A report from Pretoria said that two trucks had been sent from Rundu in Kavango to collect six tonnes of the goods for the refugees.

According to a spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, the trucks were expected to arrive in Windhoek yesterday and should arrive back in Rundu tonight, from where goods would be distributed to the refugees. — SAPA.

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CT 17/11/76

## Angolan refugees' supplies delayed

### WINDHOEK

Emergency supplies for Black Angolan refugees in the Owambo and Kavango homelands — delayed here because of apparent red tape in the transporting of the goods — are expected to be moved to the refugee centres in northern South West Africa either today or tomorrow.

According to the Red Cross regional secretary in Windhoek, Mrs. Ruth Kiwi, the supplies most badly needed were baby milk, food and clothing.

The supplies were all ready for transport in Windhoek but due to hitches were delayed.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the Department of Finance of the Chief Minister of Owambo, Pastor Cornelius Ndjaba, said they had no knowledge of the supplies having arrived in Windhoek.

A late report from Pretoria said that two trucks had been sent from Rundu in Kavango to collect six tonnes of the goods for the refugees.

Sapa reports that according to official sources in Lusaka, several hundred refugees are estimated to have crossed the border into Zambia from southern Angola.



# Angola to make second UN bid

*Star 1/31/74*

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Angola is to make a second bid for membership of the United Nations tomorrow but the country's application is expected to be vetoed by the United States in the Security Council.

Earlier this year, Angola's first application for UN membership was vetoed by the US on the grounds that the presence of large numbers of Cuban troops in the former Portuguese colony raised doubts about the sovereignty of the MPLA Government.

The US indicated at the time that until there was a significant reduction of Cuban forces in Angola, the US would not support Angola's application for membership of the world organisation.

Despite roundabout un-

dertakings given to the US by the former Swedish Government on behalf of the Cuban Government that there would be a steady reduction of troops, most observers agree that the number of Cubans now in Angola is roughly the same as during the height of the Angolan civil war.

Recent fighting in southern Angola has ser-

ved to accentuate the presence of Cuban forces.

Since the fighting has been heralded at the UN as a prelude to a major Swapo offensive in South West Africa, some western countries are concerned that current US efforts to bring about a peaceful solution to the South West Africa dispute might be threatened.

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# US 'not involved' in Angola fighting

WASHINGTON. — Dr Henry Kissinger has confirmed that a guerilla war is blazing in Angola and that President Agostinho Neto's Government in Luanda is far from being in full control of the country. But he insisted on Tuesday night that the United States was not supporting the resistance movement which is headed by Dr Jonas Savimbi.

"We are aware of what is going on but we are not involved," he told a group of Nato parliamentarians at Williamsburg, Virginia.

"It seems to reflect the inability of the authorities in Luanda to establish control even with the support of 13 000 Cuban troops."

The Russians had exploited the situation by injecting the Cuban forces to prevent a "peaceful evolution", he said.

As for Russia's present role, he added drily: "They are still certainly not co-operating with us."

Asked about the stalled Rhodesian

negotiations in Geneva, Dr Kissinger responded: "These negotiations are enormously complex but we believe they are going forward. Each participant has to make statements that are really addressed to their own constituents, but we believe progress has already been made and (the talks) can be pushed forward towards the establishment of a majority government."

Senator Abraham Ribicoff, among other prominent Democrats, has urged Mr Carter to retain the services of Dr Kissinger as a special envoy for Middle East peacemaking. There is talk here that he may be asked to play a similar role in Africa.

12/11/76 Natal Merc  
**Neto in trouble  
says Dr K**

Mercury Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Dr. Henry Kissinger has confirmed that a war is blazing in Angola and that President Agostinho Neto's Government in Luanda is far from being in full control of the country.

But he insisted that the United States was not supporting the resistance movement which is headed by Dr. Jonas Savimbi.

"We are aware of what is going on but we are not involved," he told a group of Nato parliamentarians at Williamsburg, Virginia.

"It seems to reflect the

inability of the authorities in Luanda to establish control even with the support of 13 000 Cuban troops."

Dr. Kissinger blamed the last Democrat-controlled Congress for sabotaging the efforts the Ford Administration had made to get moderate elements into power in Angola so as to head off the extremists.

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by injecting the Cuban forces to prevent a "peaceful evolution," he said.

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Asked about the Rhodesian negotiations in Geneva, Dr. Kissinger responded: "These negotiations are enormously complex, but we believe they are going forward."

# Help for 18th/17th Angolan NM refugees

Mercury Correspondent  
LUSAKA — Refugee authorities here yesterday approved emergency plans to airlift food and medicine supplies for the hundreds of Angolan refugees who have crossed into Zambia and are now temporarily settled at a remote border camp in Zambia's western province.

According to a spokesman for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, the emergency meeting held here yesterday and attended by Zambian Government officials, also endorsed plans for the immediate re-settlement of the new influx of Angolan refugees.

The spokesman said that before plans were effected to transport the Angolan refugees from the remote temporary camp, food and medicine supplies would first have to be flown there, as roads leading to the Imusho border post in Sechcke district, west of Zambia, were impassable.

The spokesman said the Zambian defence forces would be responsible for air-lifting food and medical supplies for the refugees at the Imusho centre.

225/5

But a problem was

# Unita bases in SWA— Swapo claim

225  
CTimes  
19/11/76

LUSAKA. — Unita forces fighting communist-backed government troops in Southern Angola were now operating from bases in South West Africa, Swapo claimed here on Wednesday.

Swapo's information secretary, Mr Peter Katjavivi, said Unita had established base camps near the border.

A strategic base had been set up at Rundu and Unita cadres were under training at Grootfontein, said Mr Katjavivi.

Dispatches from Swapo military commanders in southern Angola, Mr Katjavivi said, showed that arms, including mines and explosives, had been seized after clashes between Cuban-backed government troops and Unita insurgents.

He said South Africa expected Unita to penetrate Swapo bases in southern

Angola. "By this manoeuvring Unita has discredited itself in the eyes of Africa."

Unita had declared Swapo its enemy because of Swapo's links with the ruling government in Angola, Mr Katjavivi added.

He claimed that the South African Government had used refugees who had crossed the border into South West Africa after intensified fighting in southern Angola to "discredit" Swapo.

Refugee elements claiming to be Swapo were intimidating South West African Blacks, he said.

"South Africa is intent on confrontation in Namibia. We will intensify our resistance to the irrelevant Turnhalle talks and if South Africa wants to hear bombs in Windhoek they shall hear them," he said. —Sapa

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3-29

### Angola admitted to UN <sup>20/11/76</sup>

NEW YORK. — Angola was being admitted into the United Nations last night after the United States suddenly signalled it was dropping its objections.

The US change of heart was made known only an hour before the start of what was expected to be another angry Security Council meeting.

Over the past week there had been indications in Washington that the US had resolved to use its veto again -- as it did in June.

Angola will be the 146th member of the world body, and brings the African bloc's strength up to 50.

5/225.

# Flight from Angolan fighting goes on

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Fierce fighting continued unabated in southern Angola yesterday and hundreds of Black Angolans were still crossing the border into South West Africa.

Heavy artillery and rifle fire could be heard again yesterday.

Angolan dwellings that had been set alight could be clearly seen from observation posts in South West Africa and observers could also see soldiers tossing hand grenades into houses.

By late yesterday afternoon about 3 000 refugees had assembled at Omungwelumbe in Owambo, and there were 5 000 in Koyango.

Refugees said Unita was engaged in a life or death struggle with combined MPLA, Cuban and Swapo forces. Hundreds of civilians had died in the fighting.

It was reported that aircraft, armoured vehicles and artillery were being used against the Unita soldiers.

Our correspondent reports that opposing Swapo factions are fighting for either Unita or MPLA.

Sources say that guerillas from Sam Nujoma's faction are fighting alongside Russian-backed MPLA and Cuban troops in the massive operation to drive Unita elements out of southern Angola.

Another Swapo faction, supporters of Andrias Shipanga, are said to be assisting Unita forces to resist the MPLA sweep.

It is not yet known whether Russian advisers are involved in the latest MPLA offensive. — Sapa and OC.

5/329

# Angola: U.S. China hit at Cubans

The Argus Bureau

NEW YORK. — The United States and China have denounced the presence of Cuban troops in Angola, alleging at the United Nations that the Cubans have committed atrocities in an attempt to subdue the population.

But the U.S. and China did not oppose Angola's second application for UN membership approved by the Security Council after a 23-speech debate, with the U.S. abstaining in the final vote and China refusing to participate — a procedural device tantamount to an abstention.

Explaining the U.S. abstention, Mr. William Scranton, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations said: 'Our decision to abstain rather than to oppose this application was made out of respect for the sentiments expressed by our African friends.'

### DOUBTS

'We still have serious doubts about the true independence of the current Angolan Government. It is hard to reconcile the presence of a massive contingent of Cuban troops with the claim that Angola enjoys truly independent status.'

'The Angolan Government exercises only tenuous control over much of Angola that still resists domination by the regime in Luanda.'

Mr. Scranton said the fact that the MPLA Government depended heavily on Cuban forces for the maintenance of its security casted doubt on the degree of popular support which it could command within the country.

### ATTACKS

It is clear that the Cuban army, a foreign, non-African force, is waging a bloody and difficult guerrilla war in three separate areas of Angola.

'We have heard disturbing reports that these

Cuban occupational forces have been carrying out military assaults on undefended villages and towns in Angola. These reported attacks include the execution of men and boys, the burning of villages and the slaughter of the people's main source of food and livelihood, their cattle.

Reportedly, several thousand Angolans have fled from this recent onslaught across the border into Namibia.

'The real victims of this policy are the people of Angola, who have borne the weight of 14 years of colonial war and now almost two years of civil war with no end in sight. Even now there are an estimated 700,000 Angolan refugees and displaced persons,' Mr. Scranton said.

Earlier this year, the U.S. vetoed Angola's first application for UN membership.

### APPEASE

According to African and American diplomats, one of the reasons the U.S. agreed to allow Angola's second application to be accepted was to appease President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.



5/225.

## Refugees stream in as fight continues

OSHAKATI, Owambo — Refugees were yesterday reported to be streaming into Owambo as fierce fighting continued in southern Angola where MPLA, Cuban and Swapo troops were engaged in battle with soldiers of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

Since the weekend, the number of refugees at Omungwelumo was reported to have swollen by at least 300, but the figure could be higher. An exact figure could not be obtained yesterday.

The Commissioner-General for the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa, Mr Jannie de Wet, told Sapa yesterday he would visit Omungwelumo to assess the new situation.

Fighting has been going on in southern Angola for more than three weeks.

Refugees crossing the border into northern South West Africa have told stories of massacres, rape and pillaging of the homes of members of the Kwanyama tribe in southern Angola.

Last week Swapo terrorists killed a blind senior chief of eastern Kwanyama. Four of his daughters were kidnapped. — Sapa

5/329

# UN may help Angola refugees

CT  
26/11/76

NEW YORK. — The United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, replying to a South African Government appeal, has suggested that UN aid be channelled to Angolan refugees in South West Africa through the Red Cross.

In a letter to the South African Foreign Minister, Dr Hilgard Müller, published yesterday, he said that as South Africa had no legal standing in the territory, it was not a competent authority with which the UN could deal.

The secretary-general's letter indicated to some observers a more responsive attitude to the plight of the refugees than earlier communications, though it was not the first time he had suggested using the International Red Cross aid channel.

South Africa has said that thousands of refugees poured into Owambo, bordering Angola, following political clashes in Angola.

Dr Müller informed Dr Waldheim that South Africa could not cope with the influx of refugees and needed outside humanitarian assistance for them.

The Foreign Minister first raised the question of aid with the secretary-general last January, when South African troops were in Angola.

Dr Müller said then that UN help was needed for refugees in southern Angolan camps and SWA. In the secretary-general rejected the appeal on the ground that as the camps were on Angolan territory

the UN could not respond to a South African Government request.

In his latest communication, the secretary-general said he was most concerned to learn of the plight of the latest group of refugees who crossed from Angola into South West Africa in the first week of November, according to Dr Müller's letter.

"I have noted your request that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees be authorized to lend his active assistance in the matter," Dr Waldheim told the South African official.

"It must, however, be appreciated that in accordance with the decision of the United Nations General Assembly, South Africa does not have legal standing in the territory of Namibia and is therefore not a competent authority with which the United Nations can deal in the resolution of the problem."

## Border talks fail

# Angola holds R13m in gear

Africa Bureau

**WINDHOEK.** — Two South African officials this week crossed into Angola for earnest — but fruitless — negotiations with officers of the Marxist Angolan government about the return of dam-building equipment worth R13m at the Calueque pumping station 40 km inside Angola, which has been idle since work at the site was closed down by the Angolans a few months ago.

The South African officials — Mr J P Brand, head of the South West Africa Water and Electricity Commission (Swawek) and Mr C T Truebody, the Regional Director of Water Affairs — spent some time conferring with two uniformed officers of the ruling MPLA regime under a tree at Santa Clara, the Angolan half of the Oshikango border post.

The meeting, Mr Brand said afterwards, was “most cordial” — but it achieved nothing.

### MPLA ‘commissioner’

One of the MPLA representatives, whose title was “Commissioner for Southern Angola”, told Mr Brand that the Luanda Government would decide the fate of the electrical motors and switchgear. Swawek had to leave it behind at Calueque when the MPLA stopped work on the barrage there several months ago.

Mr Brand’s attempt at negotiations came about as a result of his anxiety about the Swawek machinery. The dry season is coming to an end and he is worried about the damage the torrential Angolan summer rains might cause.

There have been reports that the Angolan government intends to hold the Swawek equipment it confiscated at Calueque — where a regulating water barrage designed to regulate the flow of water to the huge Ruacana project downstream has been partly built — as so-called “war reparations”.

Inexplicably, however, the second of Calueque’s two main functions — pumping vitally necessary supplies of Cunene River water down to parched Owambo — has not been stopped by the Angolans, even though they are totally opposed to the South African-supported government of Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba.

Although construction work stopped in September, the MPLA has not in any way prevented water from still being pumped to the one pipeline and one canal to Owambo.

The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, said last night that he did not regard the confiscation of the equipment as a military matter. It was a matter for the Department of Water Affairs.

### Cuban tanks

Meanwhile, the Commissioner-General for the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa, Mr Jan-  
nie de Wet, said from Oshakati in Owambo yesterday that he had no knowledge of a report in a Windhoek Afrikaans newspaper yesterday that any Russian and Cuban tanks or armoured cars or troop-carriers had crossed into South West Africa from Angola.

“The only people who cross the first border fence into South West, as far as I am aware, are terrorists and Angolan refugees,” he said.

“For all practical purposes the old border fence still remains the international border between Angola and South West.”

Defence headquarters said in Pretoria yesterday that it wanted to emphasize that it was not aware of any border violations by Russian tanks or armoured cars manned by Cubans in the north of South West Africa. The newspaper report was “not substantiated by the facts”.

27/4/76 JT

## Refugee decision made 'in principle'

WINDHOEK. — The fate of almost 4 000 refugees sheltering at the refugee camp at Omumgwelume in Owambo was decided "in principle" on Sunday afternoon at a funeral.

Members of the Owambo cabinet and officials met to discuss the refugee problem at the funeral of a blind headman, Mr Ueyulu, who was murdered recently by terrorists.

The problem becomes more serious each week as more refugees continue to cross the Angolan border to escape the fighting there.

It was decided in principle to approach

headmen in the area to ask them if they could and would be willing to absorb refugees into their areas," Mr Jannie de Wet, Commissioner General of the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa said yesterday.

The refugees would then be able to return to Angola when fighting eventually stopped there.

Of the 3 360 refugees presently at Omumgwelume, 1 700 were children and 600 of these were orphans, Mr De Wet said.

Up to eight babies a week are being born at the refugee camp.

Later this week a final decision is expected on the refugees when the headmen have given their decision on whether they are able to accommodate the refugees on their land.

Meanwhile the Red Cross offices in Windhoek have said the transportation of food and clothing to the refugees is operating smoothly, with large supplies being donated by the public and business organizations.

The army is helping to transport the goods to the north. — Sapa

# Africa background

## Angola still leans on Soviet, Cuba

C.T. 6/2/76

Angola, now a member of the United Nations in the face of American disapproval, shows few signs of wanting to break out of its Russo-Cuban dependence, writes ANTHONY DELIUS.

LONDON. — Excited war talk by army men and politicians in South Africa over possible moves from Angola to make a future independent Namibia into a "Marxist" state did not prevent that official guardian of the world's peace, the UN, from accepting Angola as its 146th member.

America abstained from voting, as she has done in the Security Council a few days before. And Angola's Foreign Minister, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos (now first deputy premier), celebrated the occasion by attacking the Americans in his first speech for "insulting the international community" by vetoing the first attempt by Angola to join the world body. The Americans probably bit back the retort courteous of wondering whether Angola's presence in the UN was not an even greater insult to the international community.

### US scepticism

America's attitude quite undisguisedly remains one of complete scepticism about Angola's fitness to be a member of a gathering of what are supposedly free and independent nations. Washington now abstains from blocking the Angolan membership at the request of other African states. The American reasoning is, presumably, that if other Black states can accept that a government brought to power by Soviet supplies and 15 000 Cuban troops represents an independent state, then there seems no point in forcing another view of sovereignty on them. Angola, as the USA has pointed out several times, is largely Africa's business, and if Africa sees no objection to having the country as a free and equal partner in the UN, so be it.

Western aid and technical assistance than by Marxist methods, to the benefit of its trading partners as well as the Angolan people.

The Luanda Government spokesmen have repeatedly said, and Mr Dos Santos said it once again, that the Cubans were only called in because of the intervention in the civil war by South African forces. Perhaps a majority of African states now accept this explanation.

### Guerilla war

Nevertheless there have not been many signs that the Angolan Government wants to break out of its Russo-Cuban independence. Practically the first act of the President, Dr Agostinho Neto, on coming to power was to go over to Cuba with a large party to thank Cuba for its aid, and to ask for more, both military and civil. He has concluded probably the firmest and most far-reaching pact with Russia of any country on the African continent. He is drawing heavily on Soviet advice and supplies and on Cuban soldiers in his efforts to end the nagging guerilla war in the south, kept up this nine months by his Unita rivals, led by Dr Jonas Savimbi. The savage treatment of local peoples, largely loyal to Unita, is to some degree excused by the Government on the grounds that Unita is simply being kept alive by South Africa, which has some thousands of troops guarding the Angola-SWA border.

A recent reshuffle of the Angolan Government shows the regime setting up an administration which draws heavily on Soviet models. There is the party central committee in real control, a national political commissar for the army, a council of the revolution, three deputy prime ministers, and so on and so forth.

One constant accusation made against the Luanda government is that it is heavily overweighted with people of mixed race, the mulattoes, to the disadvantage of the blacker Africans. The reshuffle may have done little to alter this imbalance, if it exists.

### Greater chance

To some extent it is believed that the persistent loyalty claimed by Dr Savimbi among the majority of the Blacks rests on suspicion of this mulatto dominance of the Government. Mulatto elements would have been naturally better able to take advantage of education and job opportunities under the old *assimilado* system of the Portuguese colonial system than the Black Africans. This would later have given them greater chances of advancement in the city-based government party, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

Other African states no more object to this than they do to the fact that the Kikuyu achieved a great advantage over other ethnic groups in Kenya by their long start in education under colonial rule.

There have been constant denials by the Luanda government and its friends that it can only be maintained in office by Cuban troops and communist bloc advisers and money. Numbers of voices in the Western world have said that by developing economic links with Angola under its present regime the free world will make it possible for Angola to become more independent of its Cuban and Soviet mentors, as one considerable faction within the ruling party is said to want it to do. Potentially one of the richest countries in Africa, it can be more rapidly developed by

# US opens door to Angola at UN

20/11/76 STAR

Hugh Robertson

NEW YORK — The United States is understood to have tacitly agreed to Angola's membership of the United Nations in exchange for African co-operation in the Southern Africa peace initiative.

African representatives at the UN say that the Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, ordered the about-face in US policy after discussions with President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

In the Security Council yesterday, Tanzania was one of three sponsors of Angola's second application for UN membership. The first, earlier this year, was vetoed by the US.

The application was referred to the Security Council's membership committee where, say African and American sources, the US indicated that it would not stand in the way

of Angola becoming a UN member.

It is believed that the US will either abstain or be absent when the issue is voted on next Monday.

This would enable Angola to acquire UN membership without the US having to formally recognise the MPLA Government in Luanda.

Africans, at the UN say

that President Nyerere told Dr Kissinger earlier this year that it was difficult to get Mozambique and Angola to agree to co-operate in a Southern Africa peace initiative so long as the US prevented Angola from acquiring UN membership.

## INFLUENCE

President Nyerere, it is said, was asked to use his influence with Mozambique's marxist leaders to put pressure on Rhodesia guerilla leaders in Mozambique to agree to the US peace plan.

It is also claimed that President Nyerere was asked to persuade the Angolan leaders to be receptive to US-supported initiatives to end the South West African dispute.

When Angola first applied for UN membership, the reason given for the US veto was that the presence of large numbers of Cuban troops in Angola raised doubts about the sovereignty of the MPLA government.

# 'CIA hired Angolan mercenaries in UK'

26/11/76 STAR

CHICAGO — The American Central Intelligence Agency is said to have spent up to R700 000 in Britain to recruit mercenaries for Angola.

The claim is made in an article prepared for Oui magazine by former CIA agent Philip Agee, who has been ordered to leave Britain.

Agee names two officials of the American Embassy in London as being involved directly in distributing some of the money.

His article, written with journalist Steve Weissman, is to be published in the January issue of Oui.

It says the CIA budgeted R44-million in 1975 in a campaign to support anti-communist forces in Angola.

The article cites three different sources in the British mercenary community as saying that the recruiters got several thousand dollars directly from two US Embassy officials, neither of whom appeared to be a full-time CIA agent.

"But for all the money and effort that went into the Angolan mercenary operation — and so far we've heard that as much as R700 000 was spent in Britain alone—only 200 or so British mercenaries actually turned out and most of them seemed a sorry lot," the article says.

More than 60 of the mercenaries were reported to have been killed in action and the rest came home "bitter and disillusioned."—Sapa-Reuter.

# Vietnam's troops join the MPLA

2/12/76

mm

**JOHANNESBURG**—Vietnam has sent a contingent of soldiers to Angola where they are already assisting MPLA forces in the country's southern regions and close to the border with South West Africa.

Sources said yesterday that the Vietnamese were actively supporting the MPLA although mostly in an advisory capacity.

The sources did not say how many Vietnamese had been committed to the civil war in Angola, nor how long they had been in the country. But their presence adds a new dimension to the situation in Angola where MPLA, Unita and FNLA rival factions are still locked in a bloody civil war.

The Vietnamese are almost certainly veterans of the recent war in Vietnam and their commitment to Angola comes at a time when Cuba is reportedly in the process of reevaluating its presence in the former Portuguese territory because of severe financial problems.

Meanwhile, the blitz launched by combined MPLA, Cuban and Swapo forces against Unita in southern Angola is reported to have quietened down.

According to the source, FNLA is still operating against the MPLA from its main base of Kikuzu Baz near Matadi, about 200km south of the Zairian capital of Kinshasa.

Zaire does not openly support Holden Roberto's FNLA forces although its members are still allowed to operate out of Zairian territory.

According to latest reports, FNLA forces recently attacked the MPLA-held town of Ambrizete in northern Angola. And it is claimed that the MPLA and Cubans are no longer willing to operate away from the garrisoned towns in northern Angola.

All traffic along country roads now travels in convoy with strong air support.

In southern Angola Unita has attacked MPLA and Cuban forces near the strategic town of Huambo, but has otherwise kept a low profile.



6/12/77

## Plans to oppose MPLA

**Own Correspondent**  
NAIROBI — Defeated Angolan nationalist movements are holding discussions on the formation of a united front which would group all anti-government factions under a single political and military leadership.

Dr George Sangumba, foreign affairs spokesman for Unita, said here that his movement had instigated the talks which were at present being conducted on an informal basis. But if broad agreement could be reached a congress would be arranged to establish the front formally and elect its leaders.

Dr Sangumba said the groups in the discussion were all opposed to the continued Soviet-Cuban presence in the former Portuguese colony. They were also opposed to the representative and dictatorial methods of the MPLA Government.

He mentioned his own movement, the FNLA, the FLEC (Front for the Liberation of the Cabindan Enclave) and The Active Revolt, a splinter group of the ruling MPLA.

# Moves to unite all opposition in Angola

The Argus Correspondent

NAIROBI. — Angolan nationalist movements, defeated during the civil war, are holding discussions on the formation of a united front which would group all anti-government factions under a single political and military leadership.

Dr. George Sangumba, Foreign Affairs spokesman for Unita, said here his movement had instigated the talks which were at present being conducted on an informal basis. But if broad agreement could be reached, a congress would be arranged to establish the front formally and elect its leaders.

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#### MOVEMENTS

He mentioned his own movement, the FNLA, the FLEC (Front for the Liberation of the Cabindan Enclave) and the Active Revolt, a splinter group of the ruling MPLA, the FNLA, and Unita, two of three Angolan nationalist movements represented in the colony's short-lived transitional government, were defeated early this year when Cuban troops were flown to Angola to support the MPLA.

According to Dr Sangumba, the idea of a common front representing these diverse groups comes from Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, who is leading his guerrilla forces in Southern Angola.

Meanwhile Angola yesterday accused neigh-



Mr George Sangumba

bouring Zaire of deliberately delaying the reopening of the Benguela railway destroyed during Angola's civil war, Sapa-AP reports.

The accusation was made by Angola's roving ambassador and member of the central committee, Mr Pascal Luvuala, who is in Lusaka to deliver a special message to President Kenneth Kaunda from Dr Agostinho Neto, the Angolan leader.

Mr Luvuala said: "We have repaired all our bridges on the line and we have asked the Zaire government to repair their part of the damage but we have not yet got anything from them."

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# Journalist flees RDM

## Angola on foot 9/12/76

VIENNA.—Fritz Sitte, an Austrian writer and journalist, who had been missing in Angola for 19 weeks, has arrived in South Africa after walking some 2,500 km to reach Zambia in a daredevil escape, Austrian newspapers reported yesterday.  
Sitte went to Angola

earlier this year at the invitation of leaders of the pro-Western Unita Movement.

His wife, who lives at Villach, last heard of him on August 10. She said her husband phoned her from Pretoria yesterday, saying he was safe.

He had earlier reached Angola on foot across the border from Zambia, but as the Unita forces fought a losing battle, he was forced to take a clandestine roundabout route of 2,500 km to reach Zambia again.

He was due to return to his hometown today. — Sapa-AP.

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**Angola aid**  
GENEVA. — The United Nations high commission for refugees has raised about R6-million and 26 000 tons of food to help displaced people in Angola. — Sapa-Reuter.

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KDM 10/12/76  
**Just reserves — Castro**  
HAVANA. — More than half the Cuban troops who fought for the MPLA during the Angolan war were from reserve ranks, the Cuban president, Dr Fidel Castro, said yesterday. He said only a small part of his expeditionary force to Angola fought in the war's major battles. The Cubans were still crossing to Africa when the crucial battles were fought, he said. Cuba is believed to have sent about 12,000 troops to help the MPLA. Dr. Castro said Cuba had eight men in reserve for every regular in its army. — Sapa-Reuter.

Bulfan

Baron de Hinzsch  
" Edouard de Rothschild

W 22C ENARY

# ENARY HIDEAWAY PROBE

10/5

Tribune Reporter  
9/12/76  
S. G. S.

LONDON: Police have been probing the goings-on at a secret hideaway run by the former Angolan mercenary-recruiter John Banks.

They were called in after it was suspected a commando-style training course was being carried out in a former wildlife park in Devon.

Villagers near Okehampton are reported to have seen men wearing battle-dress taking part in exercises, bathing in icy streams and tracking each other through the woodland.

One villager said: "The men seem to be very tough and train like soldiers. We see them running through the woods on exercises with orders being shouted at them."

Banks (33), recruiter of the Angolan mercenaries including the notorious and late Colonel Callan, has taken over the running of the park, Foley Gate, although its new owner is reported to be a

## Recruiter John Banks puzzles villagers

Mr Gary van Dyk of Chelsea.

Earlier in the week police visited Foley Gate to investigate a report that firearms had been seen in the area.

They interviewed Mr Banks. A police spokesman said: "We know these people are at Foley Gate. We have seen them in the course of routine inquiries."

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F. Jones

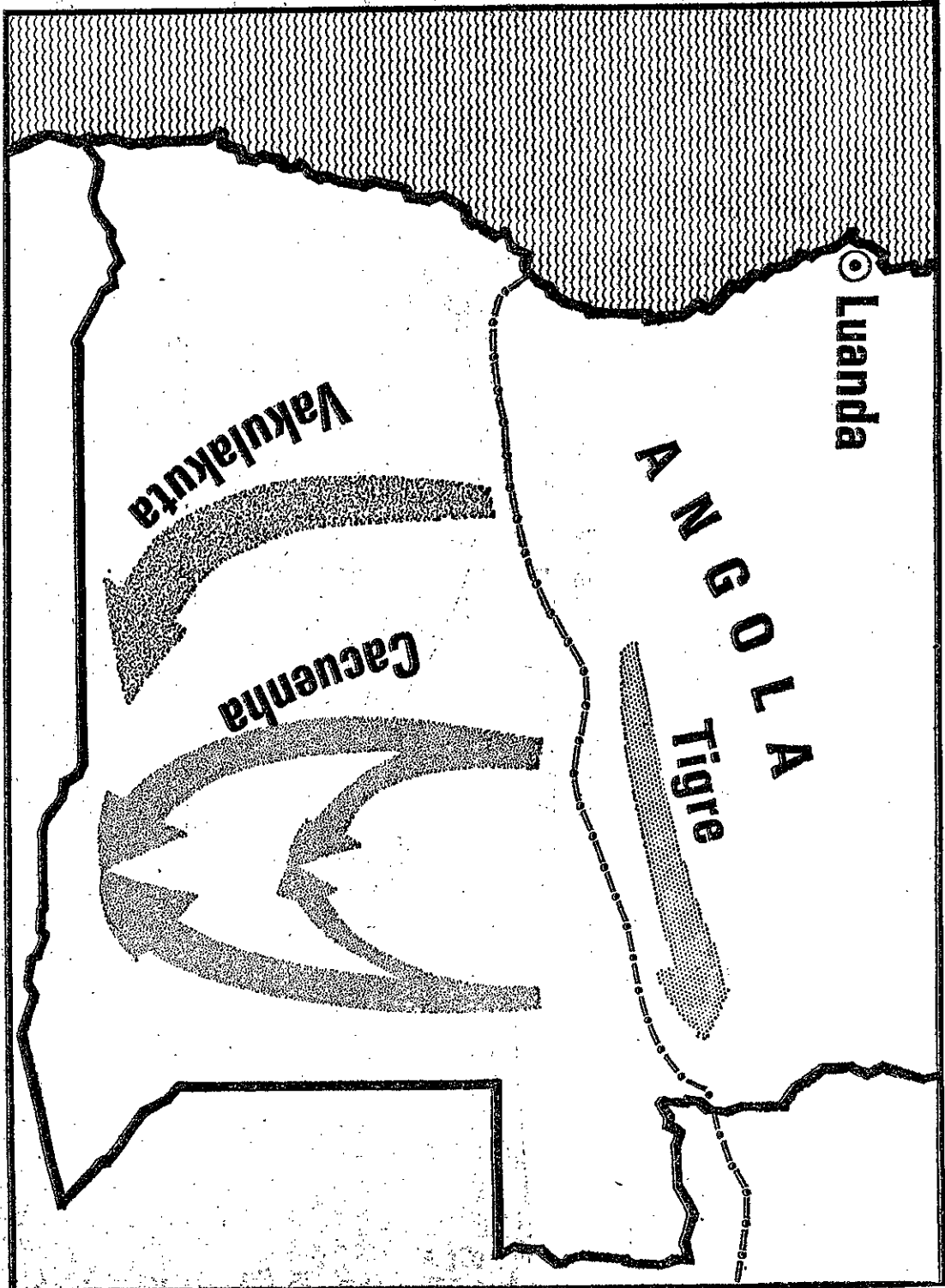
THE STAR'S AFRICA NEWS SERVICE REVEALS THE FIRST DETAILED EVIDENCE TO COME FROM THE FRONT IN A YEAR

The Star Wednesday Dec 22 1976

# Angola... the inside story

JKS

22/12/76



How they went . . . the Cuban-MPLA thrusts against Unita in Operations Tigre, Cacuenha, Vakulakuta.



Luanda . . . at a time when the Portuguese were in power.

DD 25 IR 176

# Angolan history is in 100 concrete panels

LUANDA — Half an hour's leisurely walk past 100 painted concrete panels gives the newcomer to Luanda a crash course on the struggle which brought independence to the former Portuguese colony of Angola last year.

The panels, each six metres by two, form the fence round Luanda's hilltop military hospital and simultaneously serve as a vivid guide to the 14-year struggle for independence as seen by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

They portray scenes already part of the folklore of Luanda's 600 000 people. They show Portuguese prison cells, the arrest and silencing of Nationalist leaders, colonial methods of punishment, soldiers disembowelling children, the battle for independence, the part played by women and youth, and the current struggle to develop the economy and end illiteracy.

The paintings and patriotic slogans, whose brilliant colours match the scarlet leaves of Luanda's flame trees, give only a thumbnail sketch of the tragic complexities of the war for Angolan independence.

Tens of thousands of people died in guerilla fighting and civil war across the 1 250 000 square kilometres of what is potentially one of the richest countries in Africa. Fourteen years of colonial war and a revolution at home wore down the Portuguese will to hold Angola.

At first it seemed that the quarter-million whites in Angola would declare independence unilaterally if the Lisbon Government decided to pull out. They reckoned that, with Angola's wealth in oil and other resources, they had a good chance of "doing a Smith" like the Rhodesians.

But at the last moment their nerve seemed to have failed them. Portugal laid down its mandate, the army pulled out, and the settlers flooded back to the homeland, carrying with them their money, their jewels, and everything else that could be packed into a plane or a ship.

Many of those settlers returned to disillusionment and unemployment in a Portugal whose economy could not support them in their former lifestyle. A trickle of whites is now coming back to Angola. But the Government here is being selective in accepting them back.

The economic paralysis that followed the flight of the white businessmen and technicians was only one of two major problems that faced the MPLA under Dr Agostinho Neto, Angola's first president.

The other was the bid for power by two rival guerilla groups, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) thrusting down from the north, and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) driving up from the south.

On the eve of independence a plane flew low over Luanda dropping FNLA leaflets that read: "Stay indoors tomorrow — we are coming." The next day, as the new Angola flag was unfurled, mortar bombs fell in the outskirts of the capital and FNLA troops were within a few kilometres of the city. But at the last moment an MPLA counter-attack hurled them back.

For the first few months of independence the MPLA Government had to fight not only the FNLA and Unita, but also a movement seeking the independence of the Cabinda enclave north of the Congo River.

Students of the Angolan independence story had to memorise a whole battery of initials of rival groups and organisations. In addition to the MPLA, FNLA, and

Unita, there were Fapla, Flec, Boss, PIDE, DGS, FRA, Esina, ELP, CIA, OAU, CRM, EMPA, Unita, DOM, Cepa, JMPLA, OPA, ODP, OMA, RPA, DIR and lots more.

You do not need to decode all these names to grasp the extent to which Angola became a battleground for conflicting ideologies and economic rivalries. South African troops backed the Unita offensives while Zaire gave base camp facilities to FNLA. Both groups had money and weapons from the United States and the FNLA recruited Western mercenaries, of whom four were executed last July after a much-publicised trial here.

The Government is willing to discuss the "Cuban connection" — the presence of thousands of Cuban troops who helped them to victory in the civil war. The MPLA repudiates Western suggestions that they are Cuban-dominated or Marxist-Leninist. They say that it was of their own free choice that they asked the Cubans, the Russians, and other left-wing countries to help them against the FNLA and Unita.

President Neto has said "No ideological orientation was ever imposed on us . . . we decided that the best and quickest means of achieving our new objective was to construct a Socialist fatherland."

The Government is equally frank in admitting the country's current economic plight, the many shortages, the lack of essential services, and the unlikelihood of any quick solutions.

They blame the war and economic sabotage by the Portuguese who, they say, wantonly damaged vehicles and equipment they could not ship home. As a result two years' coffee crop lay in store for lack of trucks to carry it to Angola's seaports. Four out of five buses in Luanda were off the road. Intercity transport was at a standstill.

Now things are beginning to improve. Yugoslavia has sent about 100 buses to Luanda and the bus queues in the sun opposite the domed marble building of the Bank of Angola are much shorter.

Even if there isn't enough beer and cigarettes to go round and some foodstuffs and spare parts are in short supply, the vital oil has started to flow again, earning Angola foreign exchange with which to buy essential goods abroad. A new offshore well is expected to go on stream shortly in Northern Angola.

The authorities do not conceal the fact that there is still a security problem. One minister said: "In a vast country like Angola there is ample opportunity for bush warfare. After all no one knows this better than the MPLA after our 14 years guerilla activity against the Portuguese.

"There are also hit-and-run attacks by South African-backed Unita groups, who used helicopters in one instance to come in and massacre villagers to create terror."

But the minister added: "The support of our people for the MPLA government is solid. We do have the help of the Cuban army — ours was, after all a maquis (guerilla movement) and you cannot form a national army overnight. But we shall build it.

"We are also committed to give help to our brothers in Namibia (South West Africa) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) to achieve independence."

Asked about recent reports from South Africa of heavy fighting between Government troops and Unita guerillas in Southern Angola and of the flight of refugees into South West Africa, officials say: "It is pointless wasting time in denying complete lies. We are busy building our nation." — SAPA-RNS.



# Angola horror drive

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\* 22/12/76  
The Star's Africa News Service.

**WINDHOEK** — The combined MPLA, Cuban and Swapo forces have turned on the civilian population living close to the Angola-Owambo border.

In a determined bid to clear a 3 km strip — the so-called Castro Corridor — along the border, the joint forces are shooting on sight, looting and burning kraals.

Stories of the fresh wave of horror were told by refugees reaching Owambo at Christmas.

The refugees — 700 in all — are being housed in the Omungwelu camp, 8 km from the border. They are mostly women and children.

The new influx brings the total of Angolan refugees in Owambo to nearly 5,000.

#### COST

Earlier refugees have been resettled in various headmen's wards in the black homeland.

Speaking from Oshakati today, the Chief Minister of Owambo, Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, said that the Christmas refugees would be resettled after a period in quarantine during which they would be vaccinated against various diseases.

He was reluctant to discuss the cost to the Owambo Government, but said the South West Africa Administration had offered his government financial assistance.

● Up to now the operation in Southern Angola was aimed at stamping out Unita resistance. This is believed to be the first time non-partisan tribesmen are being shot at random.

355  
# 28 / 12 / 78

# Cubans not defecting, says Zambia

The Star's Africa  
News Service

harbour groups of persons  
fighting another legal  
member state.

LUSAKA — The Zambian Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Aaron Milner, has denied reports that 120 Cuban soldiers defected from Angola to Zambia.

Asked to comment on the reports that the Cuban troops had crossed the border into Zambia and were seeking political asylum in the United States, Mr Milner said: "It is news to us."

There are strong rumours in Lusaka of the defections, but no concrete evidence at this stage.

Fighting in southern Angola between MPLA-Cuban-Swapo forces and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement have sent thousands of refugees into Zambia and South West Africa.

## REFUGEES

Mr Milner said Angolan refugees were pouring into Zambia at the rate of about 800 a week. "There are now about 16 000 Angolan refugees in Zambia.

"The country has appealed to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to take a more prominent role in helping the refugees because the Zambian Government can no longer shoulder the responsibility because of economic problems," Mr Milner said.

Zambia has now ordered all officials of Unita to leave the country.

Mr Milner said this was in accordance with the OAU charter which forbids member states to

# ANGOLA... THE INSIDE STORY—2

The Star's Africa News Service has obtained a tape-recording made in a southern Angolan village when a Unita patrol came on it a few hours after it had been hit.

This is the second in a series giving the first detailed accounts to come from the Angola front in more than a year.

**'They don't ask questions —they just shoot...'**

29/12/76  
\*  
An aged, white-haired headman, eyes glazed with shock, stumbled on to an armed Unita patrol north of the Owambo border. His village had just been wiped out by MPLA-Cuban-Swapo raiders, he said.

The raiding party had hit the village, about 60 km north-east of Pereira d'Eca, six hours before, the old man said. A contact of The Star's Africa News Service was with the patrol, and tape-recorded interviews with the old man and the only other survivor there at the time, a 12-year-old boy named Tiago.

Moving into the village, the 25-man Unita patrol found about 20 thatched huts burnt to the ground and still smouldering.

### We know them

Twenty-four bodies, all with either gunshot or shrapnel wounds, were lying on the ground, most of them in the appearance of having been hit while running away. Pots of mealie meal still sat in the warm cookfires.

The raiding party came

early in the morning driving "those iron trucks which are called armoured cars," Tiago said.

"They were track cars. As soon as they got into the village they started shooting. I ran into the bush," he said.

Asked how he knew the raiders were MPLA, Cubans and Swapo, Tiago said: "We know the MPLA quite well. As for Swapo, we know they are Swapo because they have different uniforms, and our elders have pointed them out to us. The Cubans are whites."

Tiago was hit by what appeared to be grenade fragments. His left eye was patched with a blood-soaked, fly-covered bandage.

The old headman, who gave his name as Mohepa, described through an interpreter what happened. "MPLA and Cubans and Swapo came into the village, and as soon as the people came out of the huts they started shooting."

Many people fell down, and others ran away. "I do not know how I survived," Mohepa said.

The village was home to about 180 people, and he

thought as many as 90 were either dead or badly wounded.

When the Unita patrol arrived it was deserted except for Tiago and Mohepa.

The old headman said the raiding parties had come to other villages in the area and done the same thing.

"They arrive, and they do not ask questions. They start shooting people. They steal cattle, they beat up people and they shoot people. They do not even talk to us, they just start shooting," he said.

### The Cubans

Mohepa said he knew the MPLA troops well because they passed through the area regularly. The Cubans were easy to identify because they were either white or mulatto, their uniforms were different and they were in command.

He knew Swapo because "they say they are Swapo and they say they are going to South West Africa."

Mohepa said he knew where South West Africa was and that people had run away to there, but it was too far away and "to die is the same here or on the other side of the border."

"If I have to live I will live here, and if I have to die I will die here," he said fatalistically.

As headman he intended to take his people and what remained of their herd of about 300 cattle and move further into the bush.

### Typical

Unita claims the MPLA-Cuban forces do not venture off the tracks where they can drive, and so villagers simply drift further back into the bush and are relatively safe.

The people of the area, about 80 km north of the South West African border, are closely related to the Kavango and Owambo people of South West Africa.

The raid stumbled on by the Unita patrol was typical of what was happening along the border, according to The Star's Africa News Service contact.

It was incidents such as this one, he said, which had precipitated the exodus of more than 4000 tribesfolk into South West Africa in October and November.

Tiago said he intended to join Unita.

"I am sure my parents are dead, and I will never see them again. I will go with Unita," he said.

(C) Argus Co., 1976.



These Unita guerillas were part of a patrol which came on a village in Southern Angola which had been wiped out by what two survivors said were MPLA, Cuban and Swapo troops.

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# Unita says 142 Cubans defected

ROM

30/12/76

NEW YORK — A spokesman for Unita said yesterday that at least 142 Cuban soldiers had defected to Zambia in recent weeks.

The Zambian government has officially denied the defection of any Cuban soldiers, but Unita spokesman, Mr Jeremiah Chitunda, said in New York the denial had been made by an official opposed to Unita.

He said Unita members in Lusaka had checked reports of the defections with government officials who had confirmed them and said most of the Cubans had been whisked to a secret place by the Zambian authorities to determine if they should be re-

turned to Angola or detained.

He claims the defectors requested asylum from the US embassy in Lusaka. The American, Cuban and Angolan embassies deny the reports.

Mr Chitunda said there were also reports that between 90 and 100 Cubans had also defected to Zaire from Angola.

Mr Chitunda said guerrilla warfare had caused the problems which led to the defections. "The Cubans often find themselves stranded during fighting in hostile territory."

Factionalism within the MPLA-run government also contributed to the defections. — Sapa-AP.

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# Africa

## Unita is fighting on, say refugees

Mail Africa Bureau

LUSAKA.—Angolan refugees fleeing to Zambia say there is still heavy fighting between MPLA government forces and Unita guerillas in the former Portuguese colony.

About 200 refugees at a Lusaka camp said there were constant skirmishes between the two forces, especially in the rural areas where Unita, led by Dr Jonas Savimbi, had resorted to guerilla warfare.

A student, Hudson Petepeet, 21, said "We had to flee because fighting is still going on in our country and many people are

still dying."

He said both sides were using sophisticated weapons although the MPLA forces backed by Cuban soldiers were using "superior weapons such as tanks and machine guns".

The refugees camped at Makeni, south of Lusaka, include women and children who travelled on foot from various parts of Angola to Zambia through the Western Province.

They were moved from the Western Province on the border with Angola in government trucks and will finally be camped at Maheba refugee camp in

the North-western Province.

The Zambian Government has also dispatched a fleet of trucks to collect about 800 more Angolan refugees who have just crossed into Zambia. They are all Unita followers.

With the latest arrivals the number of Angolan refugees in Zambia has risen to 16 000, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Aaron Milner confirmed yesterday.

The Minister has warned that, if the refugee influx continued at this rate, Zambia would be faced with "a very serious refugee problem."

30/12/78

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# Refugees tell of battles

nm  
30/12/76

Mercury Correspondent

**LUSAKA—**Hundreds of Angolan refugees trekking to Zambia have said heavy fighting was still raging between the MPLA Government forces and Unita.

The refugees, numbering about 200 at a camp near here, said they had fled Angola to seek refuge in Zambia because of the fierce fighting.

They mentioned constant skirmishes between the two forces, especially in the rural areas where Unita, led by Dr. Jonas Savimbi, has resorted to guerrilla warfare.

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## Tanks

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They were moved from the Western Province on the border with Angola in Government trucks and will finally be camped at Maheba refugee camp in the North Western Province.

## Trucks

The Zambian Government has also sent a fleet of trucks to transport about 800 more Angolan refugees who have just crossed into Zambia. They are all Unita followers.

With the latest arrivals, the number of Angolan refugees in Zambia has risen to 18,000, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Aaron Milner, confirmed here yesterday.

The Minister has warned that if the refugee influx continued at this rate, Zambia would be faced with "a very serious refugee problem."

5. Star 30/12/76  
Cubans 'free' prisoners

# Escapes by Unita claimed

## Angolan escapes claimed

From Page 1

each other. They were white men with long hair. They were poorly clothed and had obviously been through a rough time. Some were wrapped in rugs. Some had no shoes. They were dirty and hungry and very tired.

"We thought at first that they might have been Portuguese refugees, but we confirmed that this was not so," the official added.

A police spokesman in Solwezi, when telephoned from Johannesburg today, refused to confirm or deny the report that Cubans had passed through the town.

The Zambian Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Aaron Milner, has denied any knowledge of the alleged defection of Cuban soldiers into Zambia. So has the Cuban embassy in Lusaka.

A spokesman at the United States embassy in Lusaka has denied reports that the Cubans requested political asylum in the US.

## 'Disappeared'

Despite denials by the Zambian Government in Lusaka this week they insist that a total of 128 Cuban troops have deserted and entered Zambia during December to seek political asylum.

A senior Unita official said that on December 10 a truckload of 42 Cubans left Angola at the border town of Mwinilunga in Angola's north-western province.

They went to Solwezi, where they were seen and spoken to by local people, and then "disappeared." The official said it was believed they were being held at a Zambian air force base at Mwambwa.

## Long hair

He claimed that on December 17 a further 86 Cuban troops left Angola in trucks by the same route. Three different Zambian sources, he said, had confirmed that they entered Zambia and that they were definitely Cuban troops.

They spoke Spanish to

To Page 3, Col 6

From a Special Correspondent of  
The Star's Africa News Service.

Nairobi

Unita troops captured by the MPLA have made mass escapes from Angola prisons with the help of dissatisfied Cubans and MPLA soldiers, according to a Unita spokesman.

The spokesman said that in the past weeks 680 Unita soldiers had escaped from prisons and detention camps in Luanda, Lobito, Nova Lisboa and Silva Porto and had rejoined Unita guerilla forces in the bush.

They include one of Unita's top leaders, George Valentin, who was captured during the fall to Cuban forces of Nova Lisboa, now renamed Huambo.

Unita officials here claim the escapes reflect the growing disenchantment of Cuban troops at their role in Angola.

CAPE TIMES 28/4/76

# Angola: South Africa's Bay of Pigs

From Brigadier J G WIL-  
LERS, SM, DFC (US),  
SA Air Force (Ret) (PO  
Box 35, Stoffberg,  
Transvaal):

ALLOW ME to add my misgivings about the Angola affair to those of my former chief, General J N Bierman, but perhaps for some what different reasons.

It is unnecessary to try and expand on what has already been said and written about the consequences of our misguided involvement in Angola. President Kaunda's announcement (April 20) that he can now only see a military solution to the Rhodesian question and is taking steps in collaboration with Mozambique and Tanzania to co-ordinate terrorist training and operations to achieve this aim, is but the latest of a long list of unfavourable consequences resulting from the Angolan adventure. What could be said, however, is that *none of these consequences are so mysterious or so deeply hidden that they could not have been foreseen in the event of failure.*

## Justification

I believe that a large measure of justification existed for South Africa's intervention in Angola — the fact that a hostile communist force of divisional strength, equipped with heavy modern weapons, is now sitting on our doorstep and is playing hell with inter-state relations and the timetable for political development in Southern Africa is proof of this.

What concerns me is the way the "involvement" was conducted — not so far as the tactical operations themselves were concerned, but on the higher military-political front.

Firstly there is the strategic aim of the whole operation. The myth that military operations by South African forces northwards towards Luanda were merely an extension of the guarding operations at Calueque and Ruacana, is still being spread up and down the country. No reasonably well informed person believes this any more.

It is clear to me that the primary aim of the operation was to prevent the Portuguese from handing over the government of the territory to the MPLA and to give the FNLA/Unita coalition a chance to stabilize in order to form a government. Later, when the operation was checked by

## Letters

stiffening MPLA and Cuban resistance, a secondary aim was adopted: to try and hold Southern Angola by stabilizing the front along the Benguela railway line. Still later, when it became clear that assistance by America and other Western countries could not be expected, and in the face of mounting Cuban attacks with sophisticated Russian heavy weapons, the relatively small South African forces were withdrawn.

The implications are far-reaching. It means that South African troops went into Angola with an aim other than merely guarding the border of the Calueque/Ruacana installations probably before, and certainly not later than November 11, 1975, the date on which the Portuguese pulled out. They embarked on a military operation outside our borders in what proved to be insufficient strength, without the knowledge of either the country or of Parliament.

For those of us with longer memories, the operation looks for all the world like some of the military operations in the Congo or the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in the early 1960s, all CIA-inspired and all ending in disaster — except that in this case the troops were not mercenaries, but young South Africans in the uniform of the SA Defence Force. By all accounts they acquitted themselves extremely well within the limitations of the weapons available to them. But the fact remains that, *in spite of local tactical successes, units of the South African Defence Force were forced to withdraw in the face of the enemy — a strategic defeat, through no fault of their own.*

Angola may well be

regarded as South Africa's Bay of Pigs!

We may well ask: Why did we go in in insufficient strength? Surely Custer's dictum that "he who wins the battle is he who gets there firstest with the mostest", is just as valid today as when he first spoke it. On the probable date that South African forces first went in there were certainly only a handful of Cubans in Angola. *If we were not prepared to commit forces strong enough to secure, on our own, the military objectives required to achieve our strategic aim, we should have stayed out of Angola.*

The consequences of failure, through committing inadequate military forces, should have been foreseen, in spite of problematical support expected from other Western countries. Through what channels was this support promised and how was it evaluated? In the light of what happened it would seem as if a major miscalculation was made by either our Intelligence or diplomatic agencies or by both. In this respect the Russians and the Cubans evaluated much more accurately what the possible reactions of the Americans would be during a presidential election year and in the aftermath of Vietnam.

## Stand and fight

At the present time most White South Africans seem to regard our withdrawal from Angola as a diplomatic rather than a military defeat — that we pulled back because the expected Western support failed to materialize. The interpretation of our withdrawal in certain quarters outside our borders is rather different, however, and under present circumstances it would appear that nothing short of a miracle would prevent a situation where we would feel compelled to stand and fight. Miracles do happen, however, and I sincerely hope I am wrong, but if our moment of truth should come I also hope, just as sincerely, that politico/military leadership is available which would inspire greater confidence than is at present the case in the aftermath of Angola.

Our two opposition parties have not exactly distinguished themselves so far during the present session by taking the Government to task for the way the Angola affair was conducted. We may well ask "Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?" — who guard the guards?

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② 256



# SA supremacy

CAPE TIMES  
29/4/76  
now

# doubtful

—D P de Villiers

Staff Reporter

**ASSUMPTIONS** made before the Angola war that South Africa's armed forces could make "mincemeat" of any threat on its borders were now open to doubt, Mr D P de Villiers SC, chairman of Nasionale Pers. said in Cape Town last night.

Addressing a meeting of the Institute of International Affairs, he said a disturbing question remained hovering over the whole region of Southern Africa concerning the possibility of Russian and Cuban intervention such as that in Angola.

He doubted whether any conclusive, concrete answer was possible and the disturbing aspects of the question could not be denied.

"Earlier assumptions that South African military strength can make mincemeat of anything likely to arise around our borders, become open to doubt," Mr De Villiers said.

Dr Kissinger had warned that further Cuban military interventions would not be tolerated but after the Angolan events there was scepticism as to whether the United States would receive Congressional backing to put such warnings into effect.

The prospects of a clash between big powers on Southern African soil, with all the attendant risks of escalation, were not attractive.

"It is perhaps this danger, above all, which underscores the desirability to proceed, not in panicky haste, but certain-



Mr D P de Villiers

ly with all deliberate speed along the lines that are known to be necessary for achieving equilibrium

and peace in Africa," Mr De Villiers said.

Earlier in his address, he said that a balance had to be struck in South Africa between maintaining security and effecting reforms where necessary.

"To my mind the answer still lies in building on present foundations and, in increasing measure, drawing all sectors of the population, through duly elected representatives, into processes of consultation, decision-making and shaping of the future.

"Together with sustained economic growth, there can be no better anti-insurgency base," Mr De Villiers said.

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Cape Times  
29/4/76

# Intervention criticized

**Chief Reporter**  
TWO of South Africa's most distinguished service chiefs, Lieutenant-General Nic Bierman and Brigadier J G Willers, have strongly criticized the Republic's military intervention in Angola.

General Bierman is a former Chief of the Army and Brigadier Willers was at one time Chief Commandant of the SA Air Force's Maritime Group. Both are now living in retirement in the Transvaal.

General Bierman, who like Brigadier Willers has

a distinguished war record, made his views known in an interview at his home in Potchefstroom earlier this month and Brigadier Willers wrote to the Cape Times from his home in Stoffberg to add his misgivings to those of his former chief. His letter was published in the Cape Times in full yesterday.

The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, and a number of serving

and retired service chiefs declined to comment on General Bierman's criticism, which he said was originally contained in a statement given to the Transvaal, in Johannesburg. The Transvaal, however, had refused to publish it.

General Bierman in the interview he subsequently gave at Potchefstroom said South Africa had gained absolutely nothing by its military in-

tervention in Angola. Instead, he said, this country had lost some "very good friends" in Africa.

"African countries whose attitudes have been reasonable to South Africa have now changed, and it will not help saying we are sorry," Brigadier Willers, in his letter to the Cape Times, said what concerned him was the way the "involvement" was conducted

— "not as far as the tactical operations themselves were concerned but on the higher military-political front."

He added: "If we were not prepared to commit forces strong enough to secure, on our own, the military objectives required to achieve our strategic aim, we should have stayed out of Angola."

Brigadier Willers also criticized both Opposition parties in Parliament for not taking the Government to task for its handling of the Angola affair.

# Angola death: Father claims money

CAPE TIMES 4/5/76

Own Correspondent

KLERKSDORP. — A retired Western Transvaal farmer is claiming R500 000 from the South African Defence Force for the death of his only son in Angola.

Mr M. P. Theunissen said yesterday: "My child was sent to a strange country to fight against people who had not attacked South Africa."

He disclosed that he had already received a letter referring him to amended legislation.

According to the letter his son was legally in Angola and the Defence Force cannot be held responsible for his death.

Gunner Mathys ("Pekkie") Theunissen, 18, was killed in action with Gunner Glenn Muller, 18, of Potchefstroom, on November 23 after having been on border duty for a month.

Mr and Mrs Theunissen were told of their son's death on Christmas Eve.

In Mr Theunissen's claim he said his son was called up for training at the Potchefstroom military base and not for war in Angola.

He was illegally "abducted" by the Defence Force and the Department of Defence from the camp.

"Under the instructions of the Minister and the Chief of the Defence Force, he took part in a war without my permission as father of the mentioned underaged," Mr Theunissen claimed.

He said the letter which he had received had been given to his lawyer and further steps are to be taken concerning the matter.

The claim for his son's death was collected at his home by a brigadier. Before this he was visited by Mr Amie Venter, MP for Klerksdorp, and a Defence Force chaplain.

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# 'Five questions' on Angola

PORT ELIZABETH.

The following statement is issued on behalf of the National Congress of the South African Society of Journalists, representing almost 700 newsmen and women on the daily and weekly press:

"Several months after the Angola war has ended South Africans still do not know the full facts of their military involvement. The government has subverted the press in its role as watchdog of the public interest and the honesty and integrity of the press has been brought into question. Angola may be just the start.

"We as pressmen must make our voice heard now, for journalists have a duty to speak in defence of the public's right to know.

"Censorship of the press has affected this right mainly in three ways:

"Under the Defence Act all reports on a war situation have to be cleared by military censors;

"An agreement exists between the Minister of Defence and newspaper managements which gives

the minister the right to demand as a "friendly request" that we do not publish certain information."

"The press has been intimidated over the years to accept a compliant role. Defiance, if considered, involves heavy penalties which could well put newspapers out of business while journalists themselves have to take a personal risk of going to jail.

"As a result, vague information, rumour and distorted facts were common.

"We accept that, in a war situation, military censorship may be necessary if it relates to strategic information. However, South Africans still want full answers to five simple questions:

"Who went into Angola?

"What happened in the war?

"When did South Africa go to war?

"Why did South Africa go to war?

"How did she fare in the war?

"The who, where, when, why and how are

the five keys to our craft as journalists.

"We protest against the way in which the South African press was abused by the State in that only information satisfactory to the government was released to "accredited journalists," turning the press into a propaganda machine.

"We protest against the way in which the South African Broadcasting Corporation was on many occasions given preferential treatment over other sections of the South African press."

"We protest against the way in which on occasions foreign pressmen were given information not available to South African journalists.

"We protest against the way in which South African pressmen were precluded from movement in the war area — a civil liberty which ensures the free flow of information.

"In Vietnam the press played a vital role in keeping the American public informed about every aspect of a war in which they had major political, economic and social commitments.

"As journalists we insist on the right to public enquiry and public debate on the Angola war and we demand to know the facts. South Africans have committed their lives and their wealth to this war and have still to debate the morality and merits of their involvements.

"We also note that journalists and the newspapers for which they work have become unwilling victims of a conspiracy of silence.

"This society has accordingly resolved to undertake a study in conjunction with a South African university into press censorship during the Angola war and to report on the implications of press censorship," the statement adds. — Sapa

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RDM 4/2/76

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# Zaire slaps ban on mercenaries for Angolan war

KINSHASA — President Mobutu Sese Seko has banned the use of Zaire territory for the transit of mercenaries bound for the Angola civil war, the Zaire news agency Azap, said yesterday.

Mercenaries recruited to fight alongside the two Western-backed liberation movements against the MPLA have flown from Europe to Angola via Kinshasa.

The President's decision was announced at a Press conference in Kinshasa given by Unita chief Dr Jonas Savimbi after talks with General Mobutu.

The decision was taken after foreign Press reports that 80 British mercenaries had passed through Kinshasa last week on their way to Angola.

Dr Savimbi told the Press conference that Cuban-piloted Soviet MiG fighters had bombed a Catholic mission in Unita-held territory, killing three nuns, Azap said.

It quoted Dr Savimbi as alleging that Cuban mercenaries had raped pregnant women and young girls.

Meanwhile the Soviet leader, Mr Leonid Brezhnev has issued a new expression of Kremlin solidarity with the MPLA.

At the same time 40 Dutch mercenaries were reported ready to join the two factions fight the MPLA with hundreds more being recruited.

There were also reports that the MPLA was considering nationalisation of the Cabinda oil field if Gulf Oil of the United States did not resume pro-

duction soon. But these were denied by the Luanda Foreign Ministry and a London Daily Telegraph correspondent, Mr A. J. McIlroy, was expelled from Luanda, reports the Rand Daily Mail's London correspondent.

The Amsterdam daily De Telegraaf reported that 40 mercenaries would leave this week to help the combined FNLA-Unita force.

The contingent was among hundreds of West European mercenaries being recruited by a British organisation, Security Advisory Services, De Telegraaf said.

In other developments, Tanzania's Daily News said Sierra Leone's recent recognition of the MPLA as the government of Angola cleared the way for MPLA membership in the Organisation of African Unity as it raised to 24 the number of OAU member states recognising the MPLA, breaking a deadlock on the membership issue.—Sapa-Reuters-AP.

# Angola atrocities denied

LONDON — British mercenary leader John Banks yesterday denied reports of atrocities committed by his soldiers of fortune in the Angolan civil war.

Ex-RAF Sgt Tom Chambers, who flew out last week with 150 mercenaries, has claimed that prisoners taken by the group in action against MPLA forces were lined up and shot in the back.

It has also been claimed that the men used World War II vintage guns and were given no training by the mercenary agents who fly out the soldiers.

But yesterday Mr Banks — now a major in the FNLA — said Mr Chambers had never gone to the front at all.

"I went out with this group of 91 last Wednesday. When we got to Zaire this man and four others suddenly decided it was a real war — and not for them.

"I've been to the front myself and the only executions carried out are of thieves and rapists — as in any other war.

"We're using brand-new automatic rifles, machineguns, grenades and rocket launchers — taken straight from the packing cases.

The US Department of defence denied in Washington last night that it had trained any mercenaries to fight in Angola.

Meanwhile, the Zaire news agency, Azap, said yesterday Pres Mobutu Sese Seko had banned the use of Zaire territory for the transit of mercenaries.

Pres Mobutu's decision was announced at a press conference in Kinshasa given by the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Dr Savimbi told the conference that Cuban-piloted MiG fighters had bombed a Catholic mission in Unita-held territory, killing three nuns and causing considerable damage.

Dr Savimbi alleged that Cuban mercenaries had raped pregnant women and young girls.

He claimed that in one incident a 12-year-old girl and her mother had been raped by 50 Cuban soldiers and that the girl had died as a result. — DDC-SAPA

# Angola 'on Soviet map for power expansion'

STAR 4/2/76.

(S)

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A top Pentagon official told a Senate Committee yesterday that the Soviet Union had used bases in Somalia and Guinea to project its naval and air power into new areas, and could be expected to use Angola for further expansion of its military reach.

Mr Robert Ellsworth, Deputy Secretary of Defence and a member of the Forty Committee that controls US covert actions, also said that it would require a large force of trained combat troops to balance communist military forces there.

He told Senator Dick Clark's Africa subcommittee that the Marxist MPLA faction now had overwhelming conventional forces at its disposal and could, if it chose, achieve a victory within weeks.

He said the R25-million worth of military aid which the Senate prevented the Ford Administration from sending to Angola would be completely inadequate to establish a military balance or stalemate in Angola now, whatever it might have achieved in December.

The Secretary of State, Dr Kissinger, had testified that the aid was intended primarily to sustain a diplomatic offensive by creating uncertainty about US intentions.

Mr Ellsworth said immediate US strategic interests in Angola were relatively limited, "when compared with those in many other areas of the world."

## Ports closed

However, he said, the US would hope for military overflight and landing rights for aircraft and port facilities for occasional naval visits. US policy rejected the use of South African ports and Tanzania and the Malagasy Republic had closed their harbours to the American Navy.

While the Suez Canal was now being used to rotate destroyers between the Mediterranean and Pacific fleets, the Cape Route would acquire importance again if Suez was closed.

Mr Ellsworth said, too, that the US would want to ensure that potential enemies did not obtain exclusive use of Angola for military purposes.

## Objectives

Referring to Soviet intentions, he said: "We suspect that the Soviets have objectives in Angola well beyond their announced support for the MPLA."

Mr Ellsworth said the military significance of a permanent Soviet or Cuban presence in Angola was not to be taken lightly. It would offer excellent opportunities to disrupt the ocean traffic 480 miles off the coast which included oil deliveries to Europe and the US.

## US left to stage anti-SA protests

The Star Bureau  
NEW YORK — A weekend of demonstrations against South Africa's involvement in the war in Angola is to begin this Friday here and in three other major cities.

Behind the move is the newly formed MPLA Solidarity Committee, composed largely of left-wing academics and churchmen which has been campaigning for United States recognition of the MPLA as the "government" of Angola.

## RALLY

In New York, a march is scheduled to take place on Saturday from the Columbia University campus to the Fifth Avenue offices of South African Airways, some 65 city blocks away. It will be followed by a rally on Times Square, traditional centre of protests in New York.

Similar marches and rallies are to take place on Friday and Saturday in Chicago, the second largest city in the US, and Philadelphia, the "Bicentennial City" where tens of thousands of tourists have already begun visiting historical sites. A rally is also planned for Boston on Saturday.

Where South African organisations, such as SAA, have no offices, the demonstrations will focus on offices of the Gulf Oil Corporation which has been ordered by the US Government to temporarily stop its oil operations in Cabinda.

# US fears for Southern Africa

STAR 4/27/76

## The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A Soviet presence in Angola could support insurgencies in Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa according to the Russian policy of aiding "wars of liberation." Mr Ellsworth told the Senate Africa sub-committee.

He drew a gloomy picture of the prospects for Angola's neighbours and said the Pentagon was "deeply concerned" about the impact of a sustained Soviet or Cuban presence on security and stability in Southern Africa.

Soviet-supported insurgencies could overthrow the American policy of supporting "peaceful

progress towards majority rule in Rhodesia, self-determination in Namibia (South West Africa) and an ending of apartheid in South Africa."

Zaire and Zambia could also be exposed to the dangers of active Soviet-supported insurgency as a consequence of their assistance to the FNLA/Unita forces.

Mr Ellsworth said Angola occupied a key position astride both the South Atlantic shipping lanes and the transport routes for exports of copper from Zaire and Zambia. Any prolonged disruption of the export routes through Lobito would "generate unstable

security conditions in both countries."

The two young liberals on the committee, Senator Dick Clark of Iowa and Senator Joseph Biden of Delaware, sought to minimize the consequences of an MPLA victory, at times coming close to suggesting that a communist victory was the best possible outcome.

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# MPLA 'put mercenary column to flight'

STAR 4/27/76

LUANDA—A column of White mercenaries attempting to thrust southwards into Angola from a point near the Zaire border has been beaten by MPLA forces, according to a military spokesman here.

The thrust was reportedly repulsed as the column advanced down the road from Mwuela do Zomba, a town to which FNLA troops had retreated after the MPLA had smashed through the FNLA lines last month.

Commandant Julio Almeida, the political commissar of the MPLA army, who is also known as Commandante Juju, said the mercenary force had retreated after suffering a number of casualties.

He did not say how many men were in the mercenary column or what equipment they had.

Commandant Juju said he had information that between 600 and 700 newly-recruited White mercenaries were operating on the southern front.

## SLOWED

The advance of the MPLA on this front has apparently been slowed by the arrival of the mercenaries and by the blowing of several river bridges.

According to Commandant Juju, MPLA troops have used rubber boats to cross rivers at points about 15 kilometres south of Cela and south of the coastal town of Novo Redondo.

President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire has announced a ban on travel by mercenaries through his country on the way to fight in Angola.

Observers in Kinshasa and Lusaka have expressed doubt, however, that the ban will seriously be imposed.

## BAN ON TRAVEL

President Mobutu has privately backed the FNLA and Unita against the MPLA and is known to be strongly opposed to a leftist regime gaining power in Angola as this could threaten his own position in Zaire.

The Unita leader, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, told reporters he was unconcerned about the ban. — Sapa-Reuters-AP.

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# Inside Mail

# The deadly flying tanks

● **BOB HITCHCOCK, Military Correspondent, reports on a new arrival on the Angolan war scene: the helicopter gunship.**

SO into the news come helicopter gunships, as the warring factions in Angola begin throwing in all they have into the crucial round of that foreign-sponsored conflict.

Unita and MPLA both claim they have been supplied with these flying tanks — as they have been called — as well as Whites to fly them.

And as the mid-intensity conventional war heats up and, in some areas, sophisticated guerrilla warfare tactics are introduced, so the gunships will increasingly come into their own.

What is a gunship? Anti-communist forces in Angola have for some time been using ordinary military helicopters armed with machineguns against the Soviet-backed MPLA.

But the real gunship is something else. Parts of its body are protected with armour. And it bristles with the latest of deadly weapons.

Sophisticated gunships are new to the war scene in Africa. But they are familiar to the Americans who used them with fair success in Vietnam, to the Soviets.

One of the best-known American gunships is the Cobra, an assault helicopter for which anti-communist forces in Angola are vying out. The Cobra is partly armour-plated, including the engine compartment

and the crew seats. It is armed with air-to-ground rockets, a rapid-fire 40 mm grenade launcher and a machinegun.

The Russians have the versatile M-24 Hind. A 23 mm cannon is mounted in the nose turret, the wings stores carry several Sagger anti-tank missiles and conventional rockets — and the helicopter is designed to carry a squad of combat-equipped troops or an artillery piece.

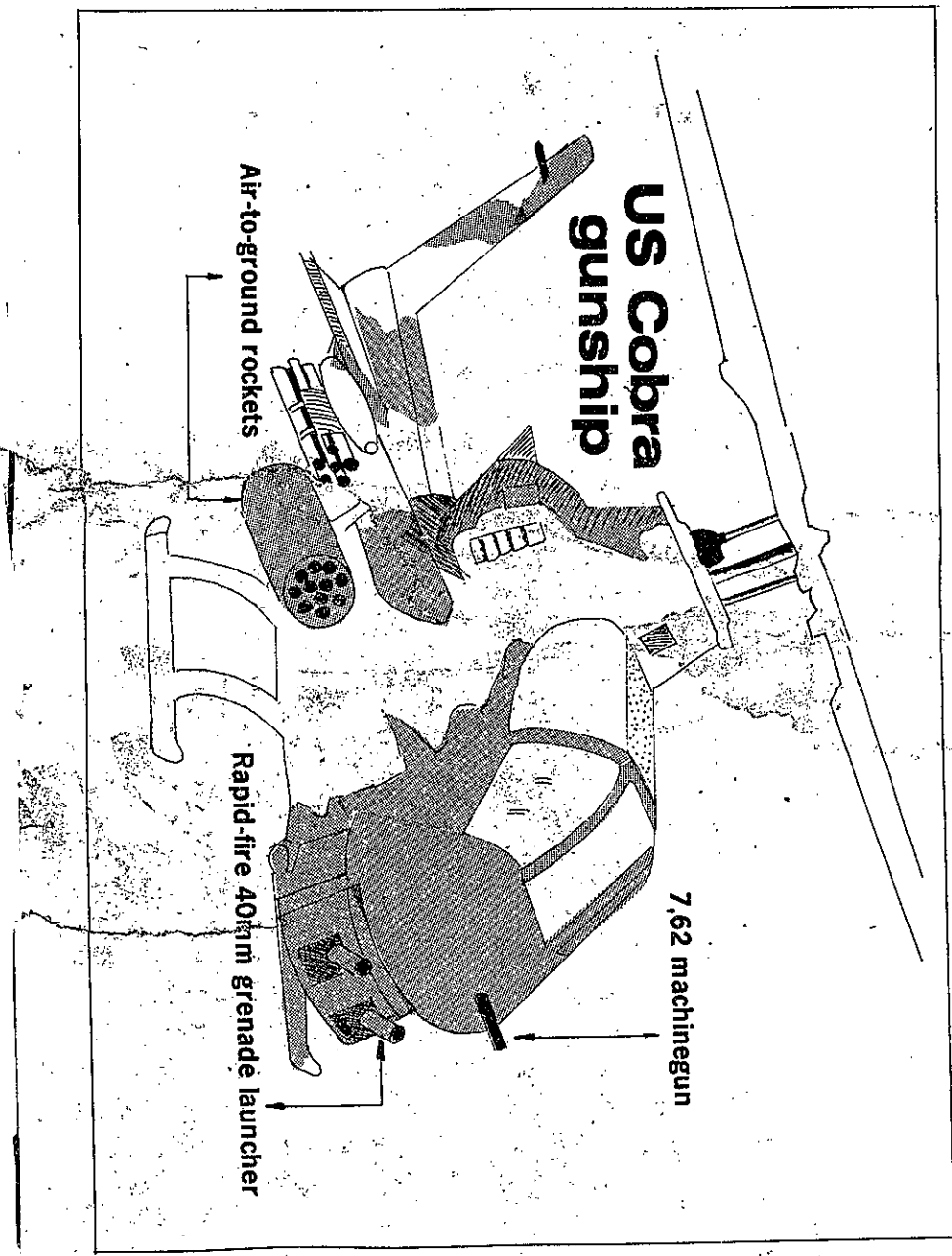
A gunship is essentially an assault helicopter. It is ideal for conducting raids behind enemy lines. It is capable of augmenting the anti-tank capabilities of thinly screened areas. It can be used to knock out troops and military hardware.

It is particularly useful against small concentrations of troops, or guerrillas, in jungle or tree and scrub country.

In Angola there is far more opportunity to use gunships than jet fighters and bombers. And they are less costly.

If they are used by both sides to any considerable extent, a new situation is likely to develop — aerial combat between helicopter gunships.

This would be a tremendous test of skill for the pilots, for helicopters are tricky enough to fly without the added complications of combat in the air.



R.D.M.  
3/2/76

# Border war will escalate —general

R.D.M.  
3/2/76

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By BOB HITCHCOCK  
Military Correspondent

**S**OUTH AFRICAN military experts expect the present low-intensity war on the country's borders to escalate to a war of mid-intensity, which would mean a state of war midway between guerilla skirmishes and full-scale conventional warfare.

Disclosing this last night, Major-General Neil Webster, Director-General of Resources, warned: "South Africans, like the Israelis, must get used to the idea of living with a warlike situation for some years to come."

Long term, he believed, a peaceful political solution would be found with the help of Black neighbouring states.

In an exclusive interview in Johannesburg, Gen Webster said that although the South African public reacted well when the chips were down, "years of having it so good have tended to lull people into a false sense of security."

White South Africans would have to adopt the Israeli philosophy of expecting life to be on the tough side most of the time.

Gen Webster, answering questions on South Africa's military involvement in Angola and on the South West African border, made these points:

● An announcement about gallantry awards would be made shortly. National servicemen would be prominent on the list of these awards, he said.

## Casualties

● The casualty rate was relatively low because of the Israeli-style system of casualty evacuation used by the South African Medical Corps.

● Experience gained in the "Operational Area" had been invaluable to the Army and Air Force because an operational situation was the finest training ground.

● Recent experiences had been particularly beneficial to logistical and operational sections of the armed forces.

● National servicemen and their Permanent Force leaders in the "Operational Area" had proved that the youth of South Africa was top-rate.

"I personally will draw swords with anyone who suggests that youth is softer today than it was in the Second World War. It's just not true. Our young men in the operational area are upstanding, tough, humane," Gen. Webster said.

## 'Patriotic' motion tore Schwarz's heart out

Political Correspondent

**THE ASSEMBLY.** — Two leading Progressive Reform Party MPs said yesterday they would have supported the Prime Minister's contentious "Patriotic" motion last Friday had it been presented under different circumstances.

Both Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Mr Harry Schwarz said the amending motion during the no-confidence debate was acceptable but attacked Mr Vorster for "playing political games."

The PRP recorded their opposition to the motion when the vote was taken and both the PRP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, and Mrs Helen Suzman dismissed it as a procedural device and confidence trick.

Mr Schwarz also explained the thunderous look he displayed during the voting procedure and the battle he experienced with his conscience. He had no quarrel with the motion, he said.

"What was tearing my heart out, and this is what

worried me on these benches on Friday, is that I knew this was a game. I make no excuse for it — that there is something that I can agree with and I can't vote for it," Mr Schwarz said.

He suggested that the Prime Minister should move the motion on a different occasion and he would see "that we are in agreement. Instead he indulges in political games."

Dr Slabbert said that had Mr Vorster's motion been introduced before the no-confidence debate he would have voted for it. But he hoped his hand would "shrivel up and die before me" before he would vote for such an amendment.

The motion "noted" what had already been done to halt aggression in Angola by Russia and Cuba and directed the Government to take all reasonable steps to foil the aggression and safeguard the country.

The motion caught both opposition parties by surprise.

## Wheelchair soldier

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — A 30-year-old paraplegic, Mr Hans Perkins, who has had both his legs amputated, has been granted permission by the Minister of Defence to join the Commando in Bloemfontein as an affiliated member.

Mr Perkins, who has been issued with full military uniform and a rifle, said that even if he had to work in an office he felt he could still serve his country on a military basis. He said he was prepared to fight at any time

as long as he had his wheelchair and his rifle.

Mr Perkins contracted polio when he was a baby. He has never walked and has had altogether 34 operations. In 1967 six steel pins were inserted in his back to prevent it from collapsing.

He represented his school team for two years at target shooting and could place four bullets so close to the bull that they could be covered by a 50 cents piece. — Sapa.

DA 3/2/76

# General: war will escalate

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JOHANNESBURG — South African military experts expect the present low-intensity war on this country's borders to escalate to a war of mid-intensity.

## Kissinger wrong — Botha

CAPE TOWN—The Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, has accused the American Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, of not being "fully informed" about the situation in Angola.

He was commenting on statements by Dr Kissinger concerning South Africa's involvement in Angola and apparent contradictions with what Mr Botha and the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, have said.

Dr Kissinger was reported recently as saying that the "massive increase of Soviet and Cuban military assistance" began in October after an injection of South African support for Unita.

"If he has been accurately reported, then I can only say that he appears not to be fully informed," Mr Botha said.

"All I can do is refer him to the November report of Conflict Studies, published by the Institute of Strategic Studies in London."

The report said the MPLA had started to receive "large scale" arms deliveries from Russian-controlled sources as early as March. Up to then they had been minor.

Mr Botha told Parliament last week that "in April, 1975, alone, 100 tons of weapons were delivered to the MPLA."

He said also: "On April 29, a Yugoslav ship loaded with missiles and vehicles delivered its cargo."

Large-scale deliveries had continued in various ways ever since.

Mr Vorster told Parliament that South Africa's involvement was the "effect" of Russian intervention which contrasts with Dr Kissinger's statement. — PC.

Defence Bill debate, Page 2.

This means a state of war midway between guerilla warfare and a full-scale conventional war.

Disclosing this last night, Maj-Gen Neil Webster warned: "South Africans, like the Israelis, must get used to the idea of living with a warlike situation for some years to come."

Long term, he believed, a peaceful political solution would be found with the help of black neighbouring states.

Gen Webster, Director-General (Resources) of the Defence Force, said that although the South African public reacted well when the chips were down, "years of having it so good have tended to lull people into a false sense of security."

White South Africans would have to adopt the Israeli philosophy of expecting life to be on the tough side most of the time.

Gen Webster, answering questions on South Africa's military involvement in Angola and on the South West African border, made these points:

An announcement about gallantry awards would be made shortly. National servicemen would be prominent on the list of these awards.

The casualty rate was relatively low because of the Israeli-style system of casualty evacuation used by the South African Medical Corps.

The part played by the South African Air Force in casualty evacuation operations was outstanding.

Experience gained in the operational area had been invaluable to the army and air force because an operational situation was the finest training ground.

Recent experiences had been particularly beneficial to logistical and operational sections of the armed forces.

National servicemen and their permanent force leaders in the operational area had proved that the youth of South Africa was top-rate.

"I personally, will draw swords with anyone who suggests that youth is softer today than it was in World War II. It's just not true. Our young men in the operational area were upstanding, tough, humane," he added. — DDC.

## 500 more UK mercenaries for Angola

LONDON — Plans to send a further 500 British mercenaries to fight against the MPLA in Angola are being finalised by Security Advisory Services of Camberley, Surrey, which has sent out 128 men.

The firm has been swamped with applications from would-be mercenaries since the first party flew out two weeks ago.

Inquiries were continuing to pour in yesterday despite reports that the mercenaries have already suffered casualties.

Less than a month ago many of the men were drawing unemployment benefit. Now they are being paid R250 a week to fight with the FNLA.

The two directors of Security Advisory Services, Mr L. Aspin and Mr F. Perren, are "working round the clock" sifting and screening applications.

Reports of the mercenaries' involvement in the Angola fighting are confused and lacking precise detail.

One report claimed that in a daring attack on a Cuban Army camp they had wiped out 120 Cubans. Another report describing the same incident mentioned "80 Cuban dead."

It is confirmed that at least one of the British mercenaries has been wounded and is in hospital in Zaire, where the mercenaries are believed to have their base camp.

Unconfirmed reports from Portuguese sources in Kinshasa say however, that the 128 mercenaries recruited from Britain and Europe have been involved in a disastrous first action against the MPLA in northern Angola.

The reports claim that two were killed, two defected to the MPLA and the rest retreated in disorder.

There is no role for South African mercenaries in the Angola conflict, according to Col Mike Hoare, leader of the largely South African mercenary forces which fought in the Congo in the sixties.

Angrily reacting to reports that he had recruited 1500 men in South Africa and Rhodesia to fight in Angola, Col Hoare said: "Recently I suggested a force of politically motivated volunteers, not mercenaries, should be raised to fight for Western ideals against the communists in Angola. These men should come from any other country, but not South Africa," Col Hoare said emphatically.

The Durban accountant, whose Fifth Commando was involved in daring exploits in the Congo against pro-communist forces, has said several times recently that he sees a role for mercenaries in Angola.

"But," he said yesterday, "I know nothing of re-



COL HOARE

cruting 1500 men for Angola. I am not concerned in any way."

Reports from journalists recently back from the FNLA headquarters on San Salvador, in northern Angola near the Congo River, say that Holden Roberto's forces are regrouping for a counter-attack against the MPLA.

The force will be spearheaded by white Angolans led by the highly decorated former Portuguese Army officer, Col Santos E. Castro. — DDC.

## Reds send in more tanks

LUANDA — More Russian tanks have arrived in Luanda. There are also more Cuban soldiers on the streets of the city.

Twenty Russian tanks were lined up on the Luanda docks yesterday.

They are expected to be part of a spectacular parade of MPLA military might tomorrow, the highlight of celebrations to mark the 15th anniversary of the first shot fired by the MPLA in revolt against Portuguese colonial rule.

Until only last week,

the MPLA had continually denied the presence of tanks in Luanda since independence day last November. Now there are Russian T-34 and newer T-54 tanks to be seen in the city.

The MPLA admitted last week that 56 tanks were being used in the southern offensive against Unita.

Western sources have claimed at least 250 Russian-provided tanks are in operation on the southern front alone, but this has been denied by the MPLA. — DDC.

## Wounded terrorist held

DURBAN — A wounded Swapo terrorist is being held by security forces following a shoot-out on Saturday night between Ovambo villagers and 30 insurgents, police in Oshakati said last night.

Chief Timoteus Muuda, of Ehenana Kraal, 7 km from the Angola-Ovambo border, was sitting in a shop with two friends at 8.30 on Saturday night when a tribesman reported an armed gang approaching the store.

The three men grabbed 303 rifles they had with them and opened up on the terrorists who by that stage had surrounded the store.

"Although the terrorists — at least 30 of them — were armed with Russian

AK 47 assault rifles they fled after an eight-minute battle.

"In that time the three Ovambo defenders must have fired scores of rounds. So complete was their rout that the terrorists left four of their Russian rifles when they fled.

"One of their number who was wounded in the engagement is being held in custody," a police spokesman added.

The spokesman said he was "pretty sure" the insurgents had been Swapo guerrillas although only about half the men had been wearing uniforms.

They had entered South West Africa less than half an hour before the clash and had fled back to Angola immediately after. — DDC.

# weeks in the Angolan war

DD 3/2/76

ROGER SARGENT, Daily Dispatch correspondent who spent some time in an MPLA prison in Luanda, looks at the way Angola has changed in the last three months.

involvement made itself apparent.

The key days go back to before November 11, Independence Day, the days when the MPLA claimed that South African forces had crossed the border in strength. Then you could disbelieve it, call it propaganda. But the MPLA were adamant and South Africa's now undenied presence was to prove a major factor as it swung black African opinion behind the MPLA and damaged Savimbi's Unita and Holden Roberto's FNLA.

Despite the major battles which have been fought since, the crucial time was the week November 22-29 when two attacks by Unita and the FNLA were held by the sorely pressed MPLA.

The MPLA staged an amphibious attack on the FNLA stronghold at Ambriz but the effort of repulsing it weakened the FNLA's own attack on Quifandongo, site of the city's water supply. And to the south an attack by Unita at Dondo, site of Luanda's electricity supply, was also repulsed and, with the failure of the two offensives the Unita-FNLA coalition's chance of defeating the MPLA passed. It was not immediately recognised because it looked still to be only a matter of time before the city fell... but it was to prove vital.

During that week, too, there was increasing reports of South African involvement, despite Dr Hilgard Muller's statement in London that South Africa was not participating. Western and Eastern intelligence sources reported South African involvement and on November 29, OAU chairman Idi Amin warned Savimbi and Roberto that South African support was damaging their credibility in black Africa.

Savimbi denied the link but the damage was done and after he fought a diplomatic battle with black Africa over his South African connections, South Africa's then still alleged involvement provided the Soviet Union with all the excuse it needed to rush Cuban troops in, and in the two weeks immediately after independence American intelligence estimated their numbers there rose to 7 500. The Quifandongo and Dondo failures would prove costly.

December 3 was a crucial day. Malanje fell to the MPLA, the most important of their claimed "victories on all fronts". It was the day, too, when you could distinguish the new confidence in Neto who, having said Luanda would be defended to "the last drop of blood" on November 22 now ruled out a "government of national unity".

By December 8, another crucial day, Huambo was talking peace. Unita was calling for a buffer zone, the demilitarisation of Luanda, elections and a national government. Despite claims of military victories it was always Unita making peace overtures.

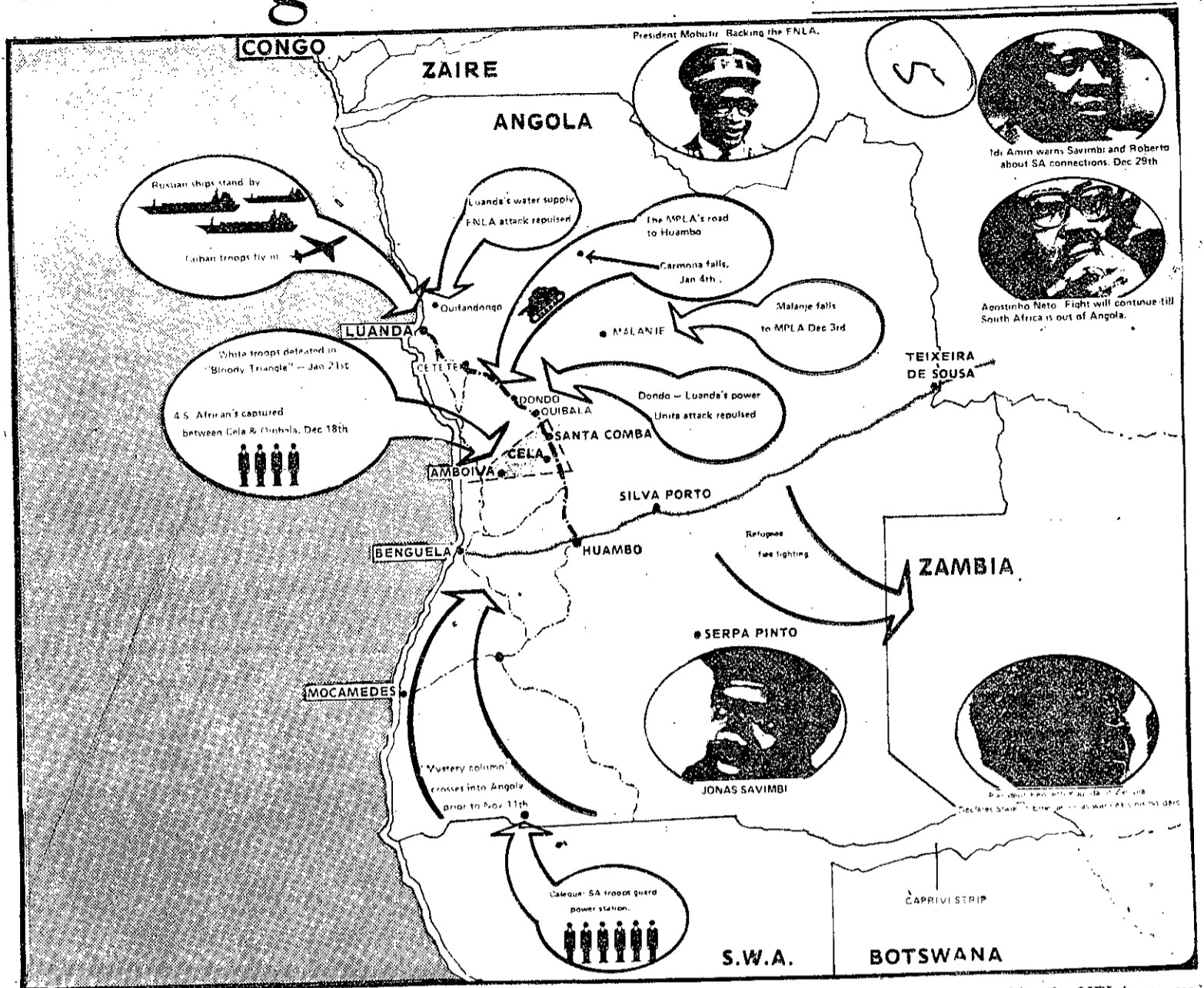
On December 10 and 11 Savimbi was again making claims about South African involvement, claims which, eventually, were to damn him. On December 10 he said: "We reiterate that we are not being helped by South Africa." And on December 11 he challenged the MPLA to produce "a single mercenary captured in the battle against Unita."

Also on December 11, the US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, told Nato ministers in Brussels that the USA could not accept a Soviet presence in Angola and in Washington sources reported R46 million in aid to the Unita and the FNLA by way of Zaire.

On December 12 Savimbi, now in Kampala, repeats his claim that he is not being assisted by South Africa and tells Amin that SA troops had "penetrated" 150 kilometres into Angola and his Unita forces were unable to stop them. Luso falls to the allies and this was the last real success the "allies" — as they were now being called — were to have on the battlefield.

December 18 ended all pretence about South African involvement in Angola and damaged Unita and the FNLA more roundly than any military defeat. Four South African soldiers were captured by the MPLA between Cela and Quibala — 800 kilometres north of the South West African border, the area generally understood by the South African public to be the "operational area" together with the Kanune River project admittedly being defended by South African troops. The South African defence authorities however did not, still, clarify the situation and Mr P. W. Botha would only say that the four had been sent north to collect "an unserviceable vehicle".

The significance of December 18 was that it ended further denials of South African involvement even though information about the extent of the involvement



and the daily events from the front were subject to censorship.

By December 24 the question of South African involvement, although still under official wraps, was apparently accepted to the degree that the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, could tell an American magazine: "South African alone cannot counter the Soviet buildup." And on December 30 the OAU lashes South African involvement in Angola.

And South Africa's presence swung black African opinion — some of it — behind the MPLA. Precisely when South Africa's "alleged" involvement became actual is not clear but it emerged from this period when its significance became apparent as black Africa roared its protests. It was not admitted in Pretoria but neither was it denied. But it was a subtlety that escaped no-one.

The first week of the new year was one of intensive propaganda as both sides sought to influence the OAU meeting scheduled for Addis Ababa on January 10. But during that week there were two significant events, one military and the other diplomatic.

The first was January 2 when Unita's annual congress called for "an immediate ceasefire policed by neutral forces", an initiative hardly likely to inspire confidence in Unita claims of military successes. Then, on January 4 the MPLA scores its greatest military success of the war, its troops smashing into the FNLA stronghold of Carmona routing Holden Roberto's FNLA. Carmona had been thought impregnable, held by seasoned fighters, veterans of ten years guerilla war against the Portuguese and backed up by Zairean regular troops supplied by President Mobutu, brother-in-law to Roberto. Its falling was blow enough but the apparent ease with which the MPLA took it underlined the growing supremacy of the MPLA and its Soviet-armed Cubans.

Throughout January 10, 11 and 12, the OAU debated Angola, emerged split down the middle and only unified in its condemnation of South Africa's involvement.

On January 13 Radio Luanda reported the fall of Toto and, finally, Ambriz and from the counter-claims and the propaganda a picture was emerging — that the MPLA, generally, had usually done what it had said it had done and since the fall of Carmona a clearer picture of the military situation had emerged.

The OAU conference was crucial for the Unita-FNLA alliance. It was vital that,

given the reversals on the battlefield, they needed a heavy score in Addis Ababa. But they did not get it.

Significant, too, in the ascendancy of the MPLA was the hostilities beneath the surface of the Unita-FNLA alliance.

On January 20 the MPLA confidence was evident when, shunning moves by moderate African states to arrange a ceasefire, Neto said fighting would continue until Unita and the FNLA were destroyed and South Africa driven out of Angola. On the same day Dr Kissinger arrived in Moscow.

January 21 saw an MPLA victory which, if less spectacular than its Carmona success, was perhaps more significant. White troops manning the "Bloody Triangle" of Cela, Santa Comba and Am-

boiva, were defeated by the MPLA now using tanks and increasingly sophisticated Soviet armoury. No-one has said the white troops were South African... and no-one has denied it.

On Sunday newspapers in South Africa headlined: "South Africa Pulls Out of Angola" as, with obvious pressures mounting round the world for their withdrawal, South African troops began to pull back. And somewhere along the way, hidden in the midst of all the conflicting reports, communiques, claims and counter-claims, is that moment when the denials they were there stopped.

The war has come a long way in the 11 weeks since November 11... even further than the 500 kilometres between Luanda and Huambo, down the road where the tanks are rolling.

## 11 crucial

The road from Luanda to Huambo is straight — straight as roads go — and it comes down through Catete, Dondo, Quibala and Santa Comba before reaching Nova Lisboa, the town Jonas Savimbi renamed Huambo, capital of his Unita-controlled southern part of Angola.

It is a good road and the Russian T54 tanks will make good time along it, they and the 122 mm rocket carriers and armoured cars and troop carriers, even if the retreating enemy has left mines, blown bridges and a few holes. The bridges, the holes and the dead — how many dead no-one can truthfully say — reflect the way that the war the Portuguese have left behind them has gone in the 11 weeks since it moved from the gates of Luanda to Huambo, 600 kilometres away.

If Huambo is about to fall, and a betting man would give you poor odds against it not happening, you would have to wonder at the speed in the change of fortunes in which Unita, from a position of strength and near victory, now faces imminent defeat. Only the most optimistic of men could predict a comeback... but then, nothing is impossible.

It all looked very different just 11 weeks ago but, if you look back, you can see when the situation changed: when the emphasis went from defence to attack; the subtleties; the things said; the things done; the day a line held; the day a line fell; and the way to the reality of South African in-

# PM blundered over Angola, says Eglin

L-D-M.  
2/2/76

## Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, had made a serious error of judgment in involving South Africa in Angola, Mr Colin Eglin, the leader of the Progressive Reform Party said in Durban at the weekend.

Mr Eglin, who was addressing PRP workers in the Durban North by-election campaign, said South Africa's involvement was a mistake because:

- It had strengthened the position of the Russians and the Marxists in Angola.
- It had weakened South Africa's position in Africa by abandoning the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other countries.
- It had made a political solution to the problems of South West Africa even more difficult.

"For Mr Vorster to have got us involved in the civil war in Angola is bad enough. To have done so without having told the people or Parliament is unforgivable", Mr Eglin said.

"The fact is that Mr Vorster has still not told the whole truth about South African involvement in Angola.

"One day the truth will come out. Until then the National Party lives under a cloud of mistrust as far as the people of South Africa are concerned," Mr Eglin said.

In an interview, Mr Eglin referred to an attack made on him by the Prime Minister during the no-confidence debate.

Mr Vorster said he was not prepared to take Mr Eglin into his confidence, as he had done with Sir De Villiers Graaff, because "I do not trust the

people with whom he walks".

Mr Eglin said: "I find it offensive and reject the innuendo with the contempt it deserves.

"It is a slur on the hundreds of thousands of PRP voters and the tens of thousands of young servicemen who accept the

leadership of the PRP at this time.

"The matter will be raised again in Parliament."

He rejected the proposed new Security Commission Bill which was published on Saturday as "totally unacceptable" to the PRP.

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1976 FEB 22 11:30 AM

Angola poised for bloodiest phase

# MERCENARIES

# BACK BIG

# ALLIED

# ASSAULT

5

S EXP.

1/2/76

Express Correspondent

**LUSAKA.** — The Angolan war is poised to enter its bloodiest stage yet as allied troops backed by White mercenaries prepare to throw everything into a massive counter offensive against the MPLA.

More than 1000 battle-hardened White troops are massing behind the FNLA and Unita to form what could be the biggest mercenary force in Africa since the Congo crisis.

# MERCENARIES BACK BIG

● From Page 1

and Durban to leave for the Angolan front at three days' notice.

A report yesterday from Kinshasa said FNLA troops, after being routed in the north in recent battles, were regrouping with a large force of Unita soldiers and mercenaries to open up a second front in the war and recapture lost territory.

Unita recently announced it was transferring several battalions, numbering thousands of troops, from the southern front to aid the FNLA.

Both allied armies say their troops are now prepared to resort to guerrilla tactics which could last for years if the new counter-offensive fails to halt the MPLA advances.

Unita claims its commandos have already launched hit-and-run operations behind MPLA lines and, in radio broadcasts from Luanda the MPLA yesterday said Angola was subject to danger.

ous acts of provocation in the east and by a fresh dispatch of mercenaries from all latitudes."

Rosemary Northcott reports that the mercenaries who have been recruited in South Africa are mostly members of Colonel Mike Hoare's Wild Geese Club.

These men have been ready for the last five weeks to join mercenaries from all over the world in an attempt to counter the Russian presence in Angola.

This week, too, about 150 British mercenaries — thought to have been recruited through an agency called Southern Placement Services in London — arrived in Kinshasa, the clearing house for allied mercenaries.

An undisclosed number of Vietnam veterans are also making their way from the United States to Angola.

## ALLIED ASSAULT

According to a senior American mercenary officer, mercenary base camps are already well established in Zaire and Zambia and stocked mainly with US weaponry.

In Johannesburg yesterday a Wild Geese Club organiser said the departure of the local group of mercenaries for Angola would depend on negotiations at present in progress. One matter being discussed was a contract between the allied army and the mercenaries.

The organiser hinted that Angolan mercenaries were being offered between R1 000 and R1 200 a month and a R20 000 life insurance policy.

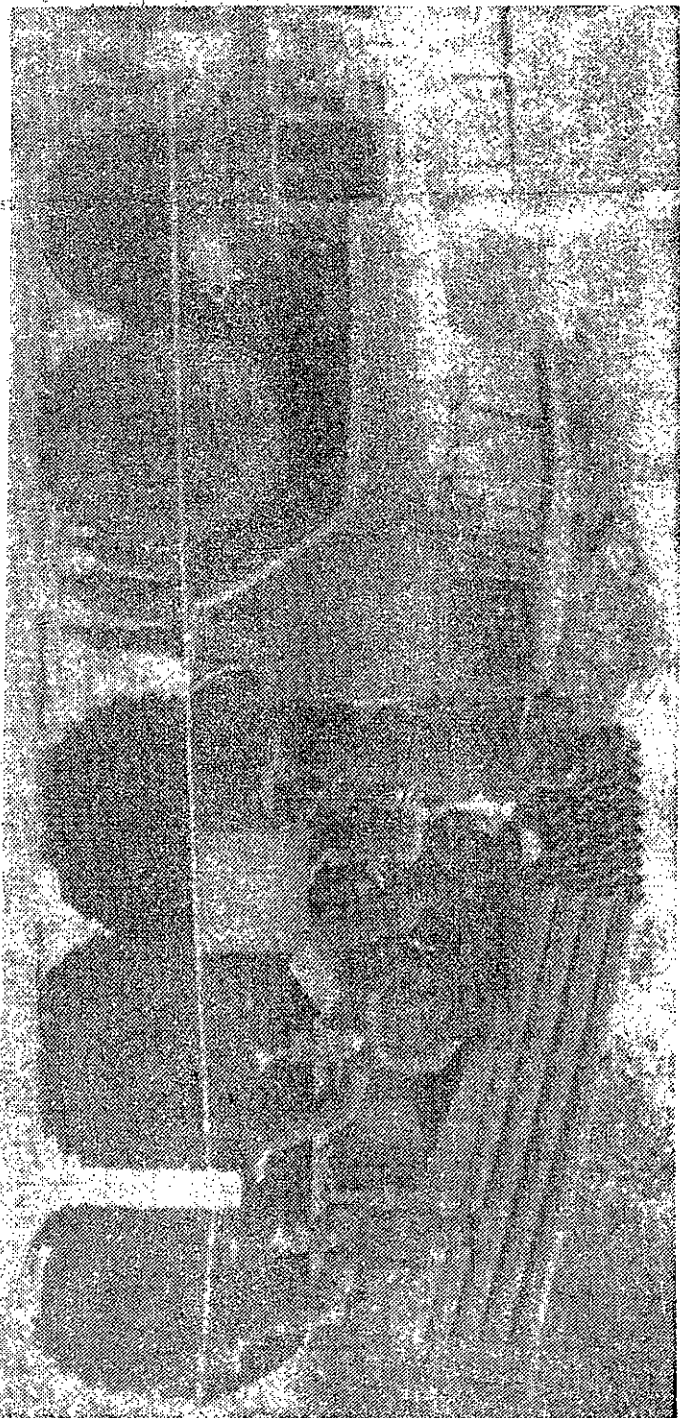
At least one other underground organisation is known to be recruiting mercenaries in the Republic.



# The weapons the Reds are pumping into Angola...



The formidable Russian T54 tank. Fifteen are believed to be with the MPLA



The 40 rocket-launching tubes of the Stalin Organ aim skyward at an MPLA camp outside Luanda

## BY PAT FARLEY

ANGOLA'S Unitas Frelimo allied armies are being forced to their knees by the most awesome array of deadly Russian-made weaponry ever employed in hostilities on the African continent.

While South Africa's pull-out from the war-devastated territory has nothing to do with the weapons they would have to face in any confrontation with the Soviet-backed MPLA, Mr. Vorster himself conceded recently that some of the weapons were "beyond our limits" to counter.

### Details

Among them are:  
• The BM 21 vehicle-mounted rocket launcher, appropriately named the Stalin Organ, capable of firing a battery of 40 122-millimetre high explosive rockets inside 15 seconds.

The SADF disclosed details of the rocket launcher this week when a bullet-riddled unit

taken in operations was shown to the Press.

The rockets, which can be also fired individually, have a range of 20 kilometres. The unit is operated by a six-man crew who fire the rockets either by cable controls or by remote control. They are used to soften up difficult areas and to dislodge dug-in troops.

### Launcher

• The B-10 82-millimetre recoilless gun, a short-range weapon with a maximum hitting distance of 4 400 metres but under 400 metres for attacking. It fires about seven rounds a minute.

• RPG-2 anti-tank grenade launcher, which fires four to six rounds a minute and can penetrate armour up to 18 centimetres thick.

• Vladimirov KPV 14.5-millimetre heavy machinegun on tripod

mounted on wheels.

• Degtarev DShK-38 and 38/46 12.7-millimetre machinegun mounted on wheels. It fires 575 rounds a minute with a range of 2 000 metres.

• Goryunov 7.62-millimetre SGM heavy machinegun, which fires 650 rounds a minute with a range of 1 000 metres.

• Anti-tank mines — TMM 36, TMD-B, PAM, PMS, POMZ-2, BRDM-2 amphibious armoured reconnaissance vehicle, with a crew of four, weighs seven tons, and is one of the latest such war vehicles manufactured by the USSR.

• PTR-152 armoured personnel carrier, with two crew, weighs 8.95 tons and carries 17 troops.

• Unconfirmed reports from MPLA and UNITA sides of the front saw the MPLA has

also been supplied with as many as 15 Russian T54 and T34 tanks.

• Unconfirmed reports indicate that the Russian MiG, a short-range fighter capable of speeds up to 1 500 knots or twice the speed of sound, is being used in Angola.

### Bush war

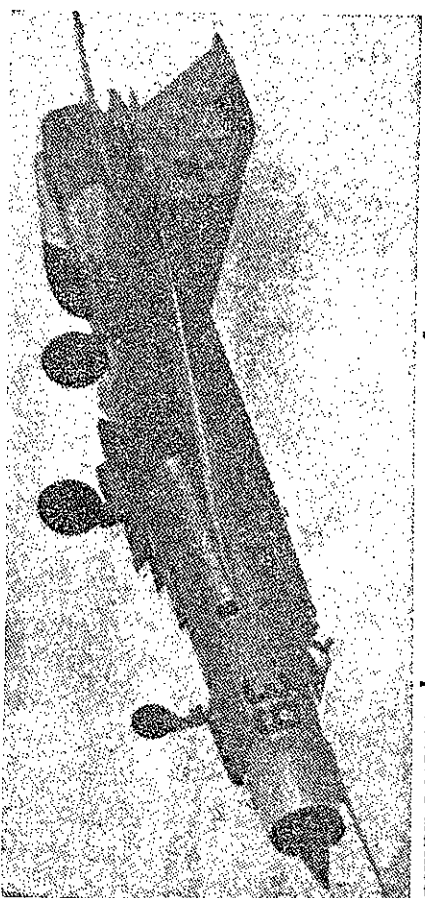
Speculation is that the aircraft could be MiG 21Fs, but some observers believe it is impractical that such sophisticated aircraft would be used in essentially a bush war.

Defence Force Headquarters in Pretoria said it had no definite information about the tanks or the aircraft.

Col. Joe Keyter, a Defence Force senior PRO, said the aircraft could possibly be of the older MiG 19 series. They could even be the slower Fiat jets let behind by the Portuguese after independence.

Col. Keyter disclosed these details to the SUNDAY TRIBUNE

# The Red Bear's claws



The MiG 21 series Russian short-range fighter

this week and said the weapons and other war equipment named had either been captured by South African troops or had been positively identified as part of the weaponry in the hands of the MPLA.

The USSR is also supplying the MPLA with tons of grenades, mortars, rifles and ammunition.

This week the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, gave de-

tails of some of the sophisticated weaponry captured by South African forces in hot-pursuit action against terrorists infiltrating from Angola.

Among the weapons taken:  
• 1 000 rifles, still in

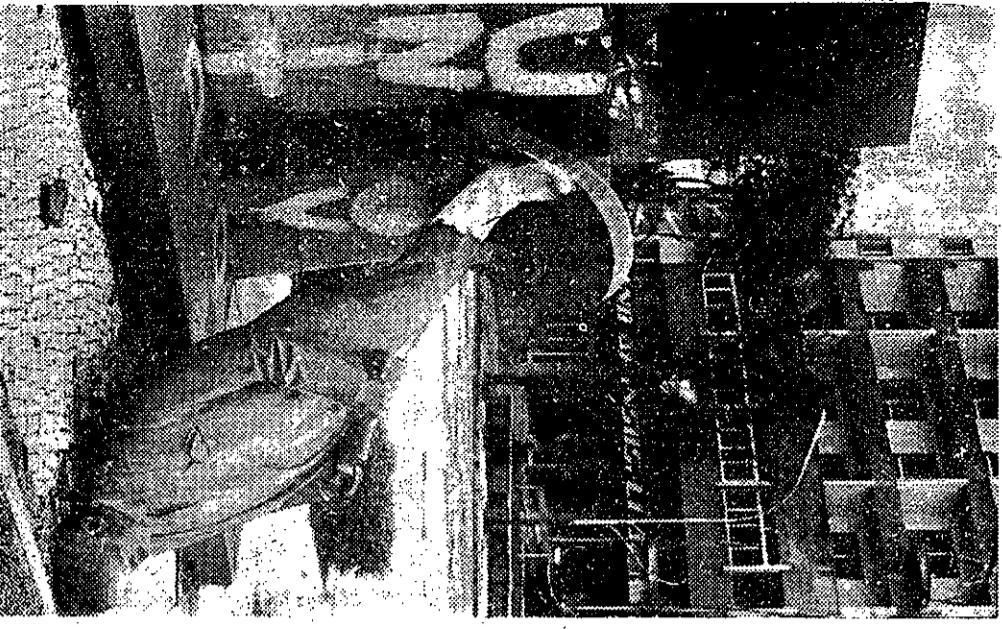
packing cases.  
• 80 tons of small arms.  
• 90 tons of ammunition.  
• 10 recoilless cannons.  
• Six missile launchers and 60 missiles.

# DIS VERRAAD IN ANGOOLA

## Chaos kom al hoe nader

**D**ie suidelike Angolese front wat nog deels in die hande van die pro-Westerse magte is, het nou 'n kookpot van chaos, onmin en verraad geword. Opleidingsekerwe vir swart rekrute is so power dat deskundiges 'n haastige MPLA-oorwinning voorspel indien behoefte hulp aan die geallieerdes nie dadelik werklikheid word nie.

*Daar is sterk sprake van goed gewapende huursoldate wat onderweg na die vaag omskrewe front is, maar die groot vraag is of hulle betyds slaggereed gaan wees om die MPLA se felle opanas te staat. Hulle kan nie die terrein nie en hulle swart raadgevers is oorbluf deur die MPLA se militêre voorsprong. Boonop het benedus uit die leiers gedros. Hulle woer nou indidituele skrikbewende in die gebied.*



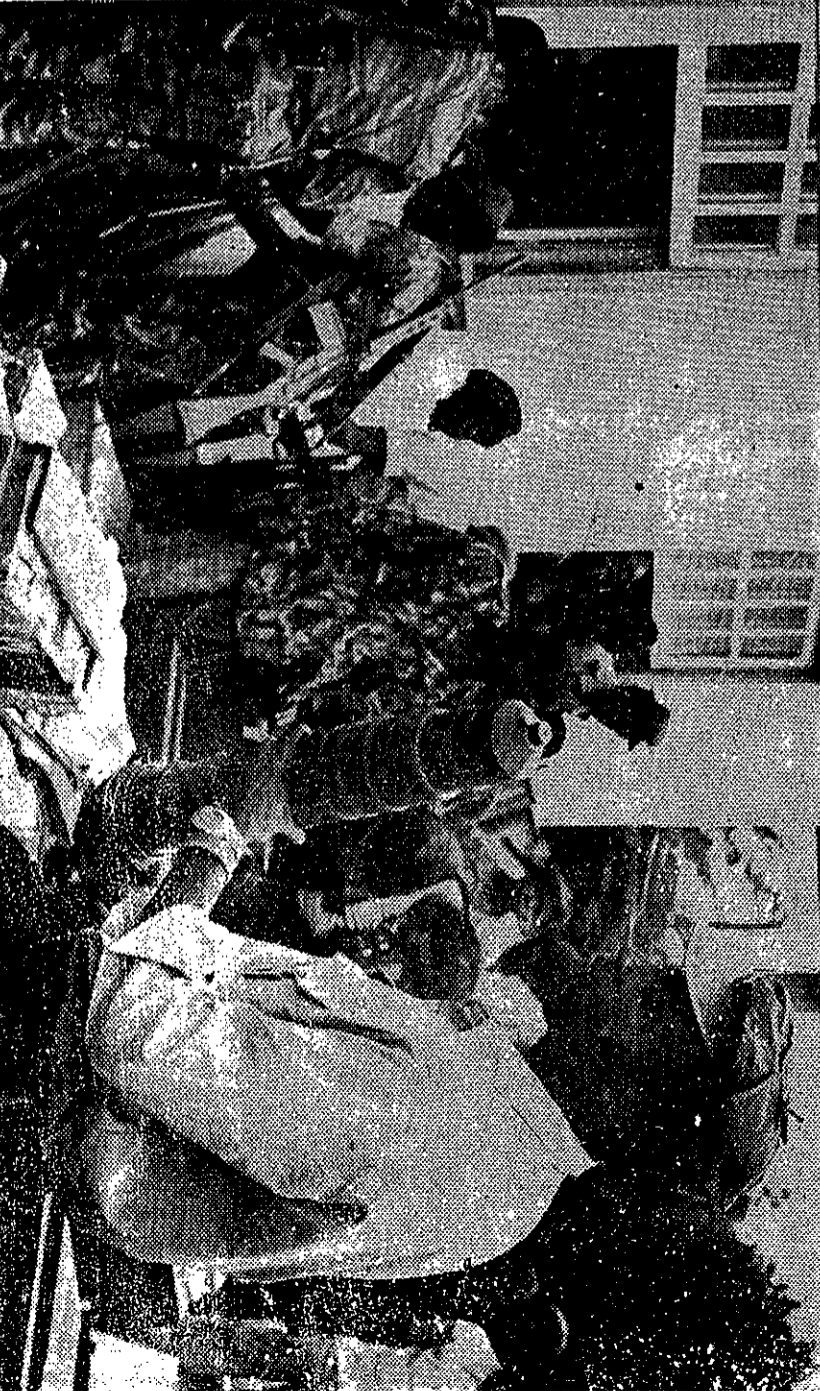
SO, HET DIE koloniale helde geval. Met sy een been potseflik wit geverf, is die standbeeld van 'n Portugese pionier kop in die grond in Huambo, voorheen Nova Lisboa, die nuwe Lissabon. Op die voetstuk is geverf: Unita en Povo — die volk. Die gebou oorkant die straat het ook goed deurgeloopt. Huambo is 'n spookdorp wat van die buitewêreld afgesny is.

**CHRIS VERMAAK**  
Deur  
Foto's:  
**AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE**

Onder hulle is ook woe-stelling van SWAPO wat vroeër aan die MPLA se kant geveg het, en wit avonturiers. So ver hulle opruk versprei die MPLA onder die nog groterendeels primêre inboorlinge die storie dat lende van Unita en die FNLA se kos op is en dat hulle nou kinders eet. Die kinders word glo aan home ongethang en gedroog.

Die bevolking word wys-gemaak dat die pro-Westse bondgenote, wat dit deesdae al moeiliker vind om saam te werk, met Suid-Afrika heul om „Angola van die volk af te neem”. RAPPOORT het vandeeweek met mense gesels wat pas van die fronte af teruggekeer het. As 'n mens al die strydige berigte en inligtinge behoortlik sif, lyk dit of die lot van die anti-Kommunistiese versetbewegings in die volgende paar dae in die hande gaan wees van 'n 31-jarige swart Unita-kolonel wat oral gate

probeer toestop met bitter-min kundigheid en toernsting. Hy is Samuel Chivala, lank en lomp, wat in 1965 saam met sy bebaarde leier, dr. Jonas Savimbi, nege maande lank in 'n militêre akademie in Nankin, Rooi China, in die kunsies van guerrilla-oorgrooing opgelei is. Terwyl sy leier tans in Kinshasa samesprekings voer, is dit aan Chivale oorgeleat om 'n soort woordeboek te verrig.



**DIE OPTIMISTIESE** kol. Samuel Chivala, opperbevelvoerder der van Unita se magte in die suide. Hy en sy manne lyk hier na Rooi wapens wat van die MPLA gebuig is. Chivala het 'n Sowjet-mortierbuis in sy hand. Hy en sy leier, dr. Jonas Savimbi, is in 1965 in Rooi China opgelei. „As die Russe en Kubane hulle onttrek, sou die oorlog binne 'n dag verby wees,” sê hy.

Honderde motors is deur Portugese vliegtuige in die strate en by die lughawe agtergelaat, maar met galgenuur het hulle die sentrals in hul sakke gestee. Nou ry lede van die regering en selfs dertienjarige met motors rond waaraan die drade gekoppel is. Dit wil sê, wanneer daar 'n bietjie brandstof is.

Die gevoel van naderende onheil, van onverbidde-lyke verbrokkeling, is nog verder verhoog toe regeringslids, soos mnr. NZau Puna, eertydse sekretaris-generaal van Unita, half gelate gesê het dat hulle geen

CONT...

het die MPLA vier brê van die Benguela-spoortlyn opgehaas. Maar dis nie 'n probleem nie. Ons kan die skade binne 21 dae herstel.”

Op Gago Coutinho het die dorp se 150 blankes tot net ses gekrimp.

Die helfte van die dorp lê in puin en oop elektriese drade swaai dokant gebreke vensters in die wind.

Die onderwyser onder die groepie staan voor sy skooltjie en sê: „Die ander het na Suid-Afrika en Brasilië gevlug. Hulle was bang dat hulle dooedgemaak sou word. Ons het gebly. Ons het vertrou in Unita...”

### Plunderaars

En op Capolo is nie een moderne wapen gesien nie. Slegs een skopvrye 106 mm kanon, 81- en 60 mm-mortiere en een M30-mortier, AK-47-aanvalsgewere van Chinese en Russiese oorsprong en honderde ou gewere van Amerikaanse, Belgiese en Portugese oorsprong. En 'n paar M52-granaat-lanseerders.

Chiwale was baie verbiterd oor die verdeeldheid in die geleedere. Die verraaiers en renegate, soos hy hulle noem, wat bestaan uit 'n veeltalige mengsel van wit en swart huursoldate en voormalige lede van die MPLA, FNLA en selfs Swapo, het in die laaste paar weke etlike dorpieë in die suide van Angola op horings geneem. Hulle roof, moor, skiet en plunder, so ver hulle gaan. Op Nova Lisboa, nou Huambo, hoofkwartier van die Unita-FNLA-bondgenootskap wat deur MPLA-magte bedreig word, het die plunderaars banke van meer as R1,5 miljoen beroof.

Dit herinner sterk aan die onderduimse bedrywighede van sommige huursoldate in die destydse Kongo.

Hierdie muiters — in ons oë is hulle nou gewone misdadigers — is omtrent al duisend man sterk en beweeg in groepe. Hulle het voorheen saam met die uitgeslae Daniel Chipenda geveg. Ons weet nie of hy iets met die misdadigheid te doen het nie. 'n Groep van driehonderd het byvoorbeeld 'n week gelede op Gago Coutinho, aan die Zambiese grens, toegesak, die inwoners geterroriseer en beroof en hulle verbied om langer tot Unita te behoort.

### Wankelrig

Nie eens die hospitaal is ontsien nie. Etlke pasiënte is uit hul beddens gesleep en mortierbomme het groot gate uit die dak geruk. Ons vermoed dat hulle nou op Mavinga, tussen Serpo Pinto en Gago Coutinho, saamgetrek is. Ons het hulle van hul basis in Cazombo, suid van Teixeira de Sousa, afgesny.

„Ons veg dus nou teen 'n spul misdadigers en die MPLA.”

Daniel Chipenda, een van die bekwaamste leiers in die Angolese oorlog, was aanvanklik 'n leier in die MPLA voordat hy hom einde 1974, ná 'n mislukte leierskapstryd teen dr. Agostinho Neto, aan die kant van die FNLA geskaar het. Van die beste MPLA-soldate het saam met hom padgegee.

Dit was uit die staanspoor 'n wankelrige verbintenis en Chipenda het later sy eie onafhanklike gevegsgroep in die suide gestig. Berigte is verwar-

rend, maar dit lyk of Chipenda nou op pad is om hom by die rebelle aan te sluit.

Meer as honderd soldate het in Huambo, omgekomen nadat die rebelle met magte van Unita slaags geraak het. Hulle was ook verantwoordelik vir die moeilikheid op Mocamedes en Sa da Bandeira wat tot die haastige uittoeg van vlugtelinge met die skip Silver Sky na Suidwes gelei het.

### Speokdorp

„Dis 'n baie ongelukkige wending in die oorlog,” se Chiwale. „Ek ken Chipenda goed. Hy het my vroeg in 1965 genader om my by hom aan te sluit. Daardie tyd was hy egter, soos dr. Agostinho Neto, 'n slaaf van Moskou en ek het geweier. Dit was destyds al my standpunt dat ons nie kan toelaat dat Angola 'n Russiese kolonie word nie.”

Huambo, setel van die Demokratiese Volksregering van Angola, is lank nie meer die eertydse kleurryke koloniale stad van Nova Lisboa nie. Van die 75 000 blankes wat eens daar gewoon het, is nou net 'n paar honderd oor wat wag vir die einde van 'n oorlog wat nooit aanbreek nie. Dis 'n speokdorp en snags is die stilte neerdrukkend.

Die paar winkels wat nog oop is, het niks of min om te verkoop. Een winkeltjie het net toiletpapier oor. Daar is egter nog geen teken van hongersnood in hierdie eens vooruitstrewende landboustreke nie. Daar is volop eiers, melk, vleis en meel.

Sowat 95 persent van die plaaslike nywerhede is nog gesluit sedert die verbrekking van die Benguela-spoorverbinding wat so 'n verlamme uitwerking op die Zambiese ekonomie het. Sowat 800 Zambiese spoorwegtrokke het „iewers” langs dié spoorlyn verlore geraak.

Huambo het vandeeweek nie na 'n regeringsetel gelyk nie. Ná die nuus dat die MPLA met sy Kubaanse voorhoede sowat 160 km van die stad af is, het daar 'n nare voorgevoel oor die leë koloniale villas en die ontserde standbeelde van Portugese pioniers gehang.

Boonop is die dorp van die buitewêreld afgesny. Elektrisiteit is daar nie. Water is volop, maar die krane is droeg. Die enigste kontak met die buitewêreld is 'n leër-radiowerbinding met Silva Porto, Unita se militêre hoofkwartier, sowat 150 km verder oos.

### Gevaarlik

„Ons is bereid om hulp te aanvaar van elke land wat dit goed bedoel met ons volk. Ons is selfs bereid om saam met die diuwel aan tafel te sit. Maar in die soort imperialisme wat nou hier deur Rusland bedryf word, stel ons hoegenaamd nie belang nie.

„As die Russe en Kubane hulle onttrek, sou die oorlog binne 'n dag oor wees. Alleen sal die MPLA nie langer as twee weke kan uithou nie. Hy het eenvoudig nie die steun van die bevolking nie. Dis ons gebied hierdie en ons ken die terrein. Met die nodige toerusting kan ons binne 'n week 'n miljoen soldate beskikbaar hê, omdat ons deur 4½ miljoen mense uit 'n bevolking van 6 miljoen gesteun word.

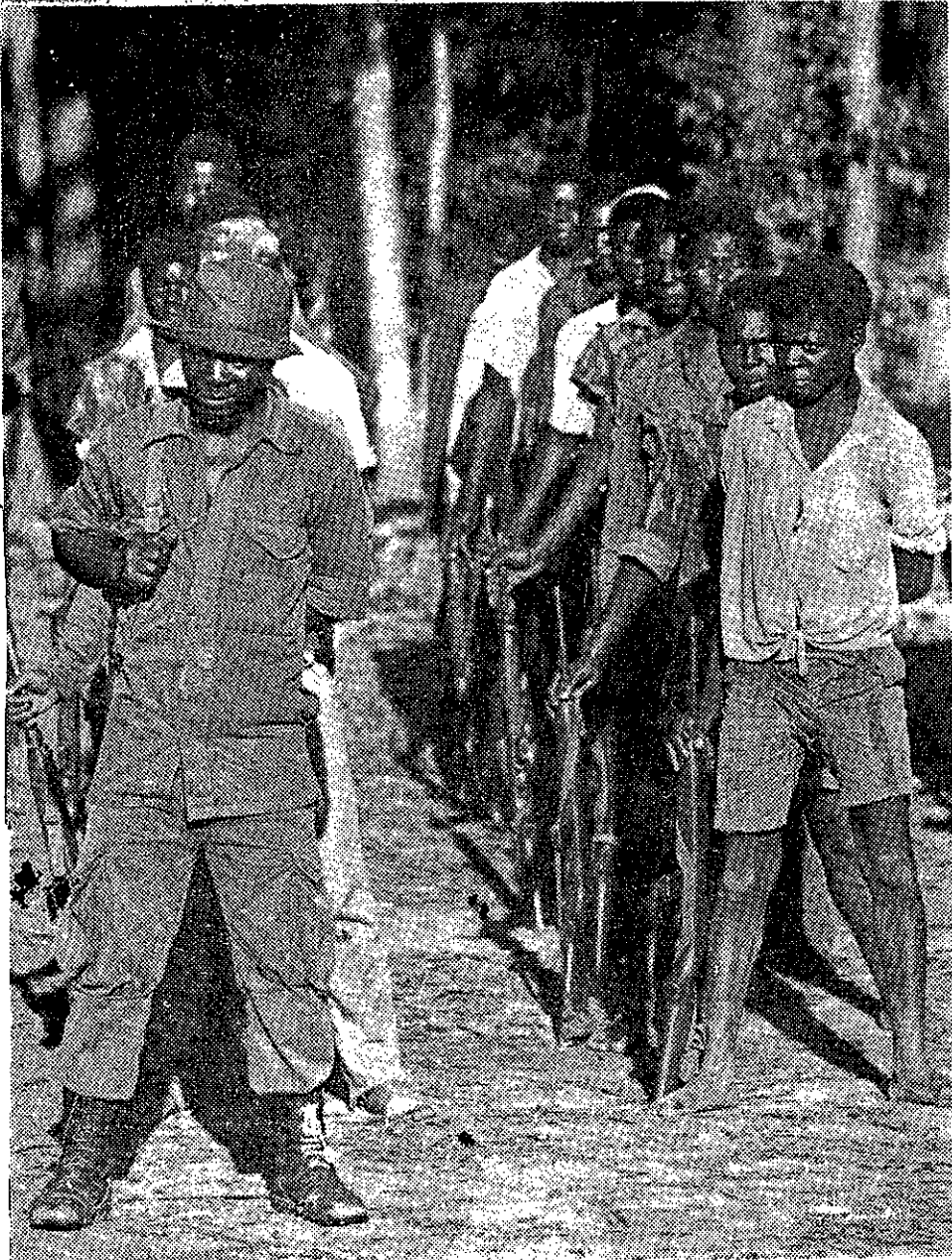
„En nou lyk dit of die inisiatief uit ons hande glip. Ek sê nie dis die geval nie, maar dit kan miskien gebeur en in enige oorlog is dit 'n baie gevaarlike ding.”

Gevra na die Organisasie vir Afrika-eenheid (OAE) se houding teenoor die anti-Kommunistiese bondgenote, het hy gesê: „Dit sal nie 'n verrassing wees as hulle ons nie ondersteun nie.”

Capolo, 'n eertydse Portugese politieke gevangenis met huilvesting vir 800, is tot 'n opleidingskamp omgeskep en 1 300 rekrute tussen die ouderdomme van 13 en 33 het vandeeweek hul finale onderrig daar ontvang.

Op Capolo gaan dit haastig, te haastig sou 'n mens sê. Dis eintlik 'n soort worsmasjien, want die oppervlakkige opleiding duur net twee weke voordat die manne na die front gestuur word om die gewigtige MPLA-arsenaal aan te durf. Hulle word opgelei deur dertig Angolese instruktors wat op hul beurt in Zambië opgelei is.

Vyftien Westerse raadgevers (die naam van die



IN DIE OPLEIDINGSKAMP op Capolo, 'n worsmasjien waar Unita-soldate tussen die ouderdomme van 13 en 33 binne twee weke die krygskuns geleer word deur Angolese instruktors wat in Zambië opgelei is. Westerse raadgevers het reeds in Oktober padgegee. Vodge is hul uniforms en ou gewere hul wapens.



OP DIE VERRADELIKE pad tussen Luso en Gago Coutinho. Die brug is deur die MPLA opgeblaas toe hulle aan die einde van verlede jaar voor eenhede van Unita gevlug het. Dit is daarna op 'n manier deur Unita-vroue herstel. Hierdie konvooi, gelei deur 'n jeep met 'n 106 mm-kanon, het voorrade na Gago Coutinho geneem, wat amper vyf maande van die buitewêreld afgesny was nadat die MPLA tien brue op die pad na Luso verwoes het.

1 (5)

# Cabinda's oil now a trickle

4/27/76  
STAR

**CABINDA** — The oil rigs and loading platforms that sprout from the sea just off the coast of Cabinda are still.

No longer do tankers queue up in Cabinda Bay waiting to take on crude oil to feed refineries in the Caribbean or the United States. The jets of flared gas that used to illuminate the horizon have been extinguished.

No oil has been exported from Cabinda since the Gulf Oil Corporation announced in December that it was suspending its operations there and withdrawing staff.

Now all but one of the company's 98 wells have been closed and only a trickle of oil is maintained to supply local needs.

## RICHEST

It is generally believed that Gulf's decision was largely dictated by the United States Government to stop the royalties going to the MPLA.

Cabinda is the richest prize of the civil war. Oil production, which was

running at about 150 000 barrels a day, is worth about R540-million a year in hard currency and is Angola's biggest single source of foreign exchange.

Cabinda is firmly under MPLA control and the enclave has the appearance of being calm and unaffected by the war.

However, the MPLA is clearly taking no chances. It has about 5 000 troops stationed here and they have been reinforced with big detachments of Cuban regulars.

Cubans can be seen manning the guns that protect Cabinda airport and are on guard outside the Gulf installations at Malongo, about 32 km north of the city.

They are also present in large numbers round the port and in the surrounding countryside.

As far as internal security is concerned, there would seem to be nothing to stop Gulf resuming its operations. The MPLA has good relations with Gulf and would like the company to return. — The Times News Service.

RDM 4/2/76

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## Don't force our men to fight,<sup>4/2/76</sup> says Emlin

**Political Correspondent**

**THE ASSEMBLY.** — The Government was warned yesterday not to abandon lightly the volunteer system for South Africa's armed forces fighting on foreign soil by the Progressive Reform Party leader, Mr. Colin Emlin.

Speaking during the second reading of the Defence Amendment Bill, Mr. Emlin said that if conscription had been forced during the Second World War there would have been a far greater rift in South Africa.

Expressing his approval of the volunteer system, Mr. Emlin said it was a divisive factor for a country reflecting the natural divisions of the people towards the issue. It would be better if the whole issue was referred to a select committee.

Mr. Emlin said that in the main a volunteer army was a better army than a conscription army. It had a better morale, motivation and commitment. It also placed certain restrictions on a government.

The Government, in the Defence Amendment Bill, was asking for a blank cheque which would open the door to military intervention in another country, he said.

The Bill would impinge on the Government's non-intervention policy and take South Africa into a new unknown.

The Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, said in reply that when South Africa was threatened by war when territorial action was involved, then it was everyone's duty to defend South Africa.

The Minister said it was necessary for the armed forces to know that Parliament stood behind them. The PRP was responsible if it wanted to exclude itself. The party had to decide "in these dangerous times on whose side it is".

When the vote was taken the PRP member for Yeoville, Mr. Harry Schwarz, was absent.

Mr. Schwarz explained afterwards he had been at a business meeting, with the permission of the party whips.

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ADH

Thursday, February 5, 1976

## The World

ROM

# Mercenary's wife lives in fear

Own Correspondent

LONDON.—A wife is terrified of retaliation from the organisers of a British mercenary force to Angola after her husband said it was a gigantic confidence trick.

Mrs Jean Chambers, 44, whose husband Tom has just returned after only two days as a mercenary in Angola, barred and bolted her home in Rushden, Northamptonshire. She has given up her job and is keeping her 10-year-old son Timothy away from school.

"My husband returned on Monday night and warned me not to go out

or allow Timmy to talk to strangers," she said. "He told me we're in trouble because of his statement.

"He also told me the people who recruited him paid £560 for his return fare to Angola and they may want their money back.

"I'm terrified we shall hear from them."

Mrs Chambers said she knew nothing of her husband joining the mercenaries until she saw him on television at Brussels Airport.

"He has been restless since coming out of the RAF as a sergeant seven years ago. He often disappears for a few days so

when he left last week I wasn't unduly worried.

"Imagine my horror when I recognised him on TV."

Mrs Chambers said her husband, who is 45, had spent four months as an "instructor" in Nigeria five or six years ago.

"I don't know what he did there," she said.

"I don't know whether or not he was a mercenary. He has never spoken about it."

Mr Chambers gave up his R75 a week job as a slaughterman to join the mercenaries. Yesterday he signed on as unemployed at a labour exchange.

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# White mercenaries 5/2/76 hammered by MPLA RDM

LUANDA. — Troops of the Soviet-backed MPLA inflicted heavy losses on a column of White mercenaries in a clash near the border with Zaire, the Yugoslav news agency, Tanjug, reported from Luanda yesterday.

It said the clash occurred South of Maquela do Zombo and about 70 km from the Zaire border. The mercenaries were forced to retreat.

The agency quoted an MPLA military headquarters spokesman as saying the mercenaries lost "quite a number of men."

Tanjug added that the

Whites' nationality had not been established.

Meanwhile, 100 British mercenaries bound for Angola were detained by police in London after a tip that the men would be issued with firearms, a police spokesman said.

The men were taken from three buses, believed to be en route to cross-channel ferries, to police stations, but all were released later. Police said they found no weapons, but the men were carrying passports.

A week ago 97 British mercenaries left London to join pro-Western forces in Angola.

A British mercenary returning from Angola yesterday said he found "organised chaos from start to finish."

Mr Tom Chambers told a BBC television interviewer that when he arrived to fight with pro-Western forces in Angola he found few weapons and no training.

He warned that if Soviet-backed forces staged an offensive soon "they'll run all over our men."

In San Francisco yesterday the US Secretary of State, Dr Kissinger, said the United States must make it clear to Moscow that it would never again tolerate actions like the

Soviet intervention in Angola.

Blaming Congress for rendering the Ford Administration impotent in the middle of the Angola crisis, Dr Kissinger called for an end to the divisiveness that paralysed US foreign policy.

The government had a duty to make clear in Russia and Cuba that Angola set no precedent, that this type of action would not be tolerated again, Dr Kissinger said.

Dr Kissinger said Cuba had more than doubled its forces in Angola — now estimated at 11,000 troops — and that Soviet military aid resumed on a large scale after the US Senate voted in December to end US covert support to two nationalist factions in Angola.

"Angola represents the first time that the Soviets have moved military at long distance to impose a regime of their choice," Dr Kissinger said. "It is the first time that the United States has failed to respond to Soviet military moves outside the immediate Soviet orbit."

"And it is the first time that Congress has halted national action in the middle of a crisis."

Dr Kissinger described the US inability to resist the Soviet action as "an ominous precedent." — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

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RDM 5/2/76

# Inside Mail



# ANGOLA:

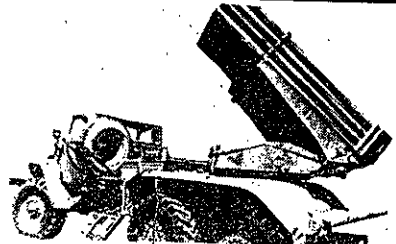
• Holden Roberto, leader of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), rarely talks to journalists. But when he does, he pulls no punches. MICHAEL SALOMON interviewed

**"Mail" Africa Bureau EXCLUSIVE**

him for the "Mail" Africa Bureau at the small town of San Salvador in the Congo River valley, in northern Angola, where his forces have been pushed by the Cuban-backed MPLA. From this base, backed by White Portuguese veterans formerly his enemies, Roberto intends to counter-attack. In this frank interview he comments on the South African connection, the war situation and his predicament of having no backing from the West.

Every day Cuban ships off-load men and equipment at Pointe Noire and Luanda and here as well as elsewhere, the Antonovs come in, together with other massive aircraft, loaded with their wares.

There are arms depots established in the Congo-Brazzaville, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde Islands and possibly Algeria. There are some 10 000 Cuban mercenaries, including several hundred officers (Castro's elite), about as many "Katangans" — Tshombe's monsters—some 500 Soviet and East-European advisers and technicians, plus a real "international brigade" of Portuguese, Mozambicans, Guineans, now all fighting for a rather poor cause.



This is firepower... a "Stalin Organ" rocket launcher which gives the MPLA muscle,

**QUESTION:** Will the war be a long one?

**ANSWER:** Long and hard. The Soviets will not give up Southern Africa and the Cape sea route. I can't blame them. If it's going for free, they would be damned fools not to take it.

• Is this another Vietnam?

The Russian Vietnam, a Vietnam in reverse. Saigon is Luanda, gorged with arms and powerless, and the Vietcong — that's us!

I consider that Soviet involvement already surpasses the American commitment in Vietnam after the 1964 incident in the Gulf of Tonkin. It is still impossible to determine the extent of Soviet aid to the MPLA.

• But you have South Africans on your side as well as men of the Portuguese Army of Liberation and PIDE, the former Portuguese security service.

*Hitting the table with his fist, flinging all the papers to the floor, then pacing the room in a fury.*

Have you seen South Africans? Have you, here in the zones controlled by the FNLA? Have you? Go and see Savimbi's set-up. I tell you there are no South Africans nor Rhodesians with us here. The other day an American journalist cabled that he had heard two Whites in one of my camps speaking English with an



# just give us guns, says

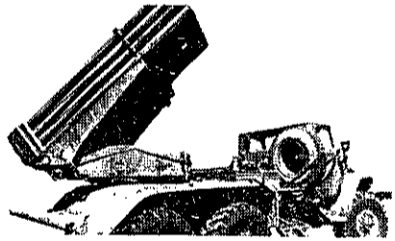
Afrikaans accent. On checking this out, it turned out that they were two of our friends, coffee planters from Sada Bandeira, who are Dutch.

As for the Portuguese troops in our ranks, and there are quite a few, they are mainly Angolan of European descent, but are Angolans like me, who are fighting for their own country. Can you see me working hand in hand with the Portuguese colonials, I who flatter myself I gave the first blow to the venerable Lusitanian Empire? Can you see me with Spínola? Or with that scum of PIDE who massacred thousands of my brothers and put a price on my head for 15 years!

But let us go back to South Africa. It was during the Portuguese regime that they invaded Angola on the pretext of protecting the Cunene project. More likely it was to block the way for Swapo. Did the Portuguese chase them out? Yet it was the Portugal of the MFA, (Armed Forces Movement), after April 25.

We asked Portugal to complain to the Security Council — did they do anything? At the Kampala meeting between Unita/FNLA/MPLA/Portugal, Victor Crespo, of the Revolutionary Council of the MFA, stated that he was "unaware of their presence".

So, who is going to kick the South Africans out? Everybody knows that even if the whole of Black Africa got its forces together, Black Africa is not capable of confronting the South Africans — that is, without the support of a couple of thousand Soviets, hundreds of MiGs, and so on. Does Africa want this interference? Fight apartheid to have it replaced by Soviet colonialism? It is



like hiding in water to avoid the rain. Let's stop lying and fooling ourselves.

At the OAU in Addis Ababa, we heard Samora Machel preach Holy War against the South Africans. Yet everyone knows that Mozambique survives because of South Africa. On bended knees, the Frelimo "revolutionaries" have begged Pretoria to renew the enslaving Portuguese agreement with the South African mines. Have we heard of any incursions by elements hostile to Pretoria over the Mozambique border?

Let us admit to the facts... Whether we like it or

**HOLDEN ROBERTO** — petty bourgeois, almost stark, drives his own car, no chauffeur, no bodyguard, staunch Baptist, married to a nurse.

not, South Africa is here, in Africa. South Africa sees a hostile super-power, from far away, threaten her. She has good reason to worry. Why so much noise about the South African incursion and a double-standard silence on the full-scale invasion of my country by Soviet-Cubans?

● But Black nationalist movements in South Africa are against you.

That is not true. SWAPO yes, backed by the USSR and manipulated by the MPLA. But the most important of these movements, the Pan African Congress, is right behind me.

● What do you think of South Africa?

As I have always said, no African will ever accept the policy of apartheid. But let us not live off illusions. How many resolutions have there been at the UN, the OAU? And the results? Do you think we will finish off South Africa by expelling her from the General Assembly of the UN and printing stamps to the glory of Namibia? Do you think the walls of Jericho will tumble if we blow our trumpets on her borders. Enough clowning. Political evolution is the solution. Realism will overcome, even in Pretoria.

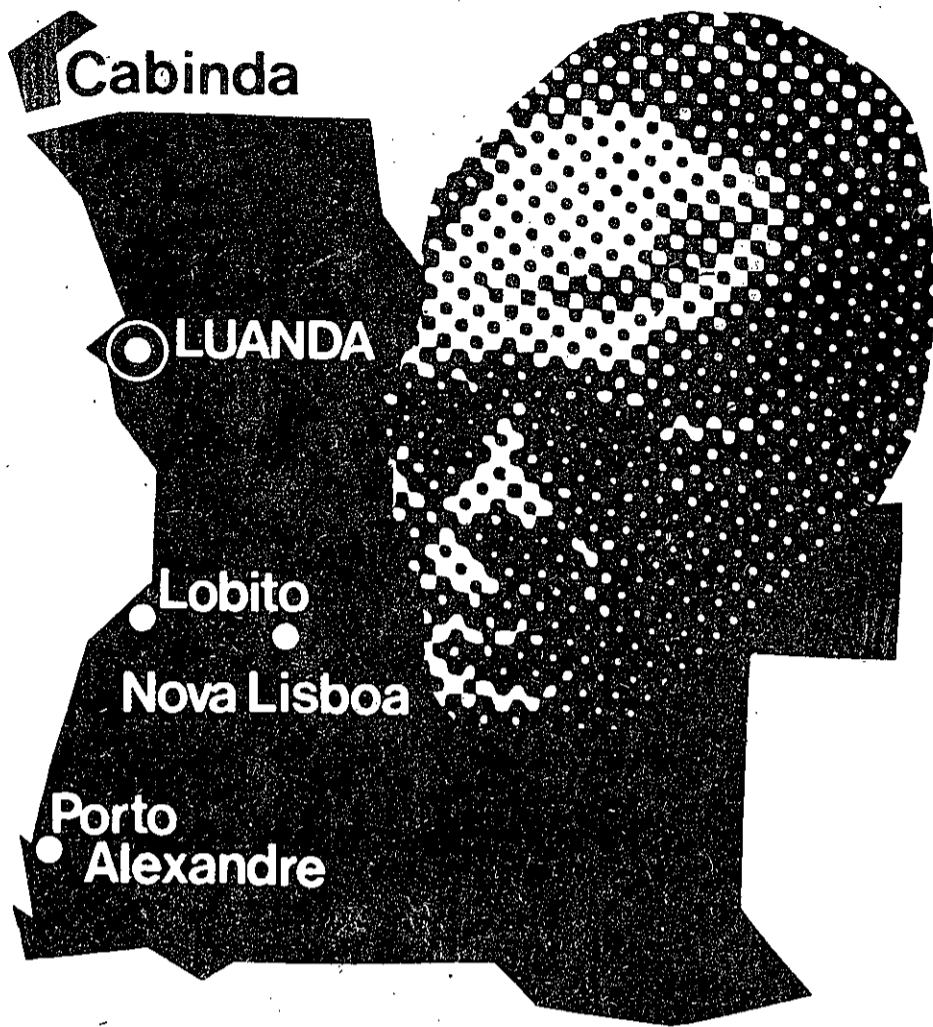
I consider that if we build a free and prosperous multiracial Angola, something will shift in South Africa. She too has liberal elements at all levels of the White community. They must be

helped and not made prisoners of fear.

● What do you think of the South African decision to withdraw from Angola?

I don't know what the South Africans want and, frankly, I don't think they know themselves. I think the present South African Government is meeting each challenge as it comes and does not have a long-term, overall policy.

I also get the impression that there are certain South African circles that are somewhat paranoid to whom all Blacks are hostile. I am sure that these would believe that if a non-communist, or an anti-communist government were set up in Angola, An-



gola would not hold out against the pressures of the more radical African states to allow the country to become a platform for aggression against South Africa.

If the South Africans cannot see the difference between moderate African leadership, desirous of developing the economy and furthering dialogue without bending to accept racial discrimination, and an irresponsible and fanatical style of leadership, then they are pretty poor politicians.

If that is the case, then I can understand why they have withdrawn into their isolationist dream in the face of Russia.

The Whites in South Africa are Africans. We are all threatened by these forces that come from foreign shores — Russia, Central America. It is the European colonialism of bygone days in other terms. We must all repulse this thing.

● Are you disappointed by the US, the West?

Frankly, yes. The democracies are always a war behind. Detente has become a farce. In exchange for wheat, technology, economic aid, Russia and her satellites attack Africa with impunity.

But I do realise that things are simpler in totalitarian states than in free countries. In the West, public opinion must be convinced.

And there is this latent racism — we are liberal but after all freedom isn't for the niggers. They are lazy, unreliable and just "big children".

Like in the "good old days" handle them with the whip, and, as in the "good old days" of colonialism, the communists will be able to "hold" them.

● It is said that you are manipulated by the capitalist powers.

Yes, of course, and I am also an agent of the CIA, and of the Chinese, and what else? If it were true, I would have unlimited means, and not those you have seen in my army.

Did we know, until it packed up, that the Gulf Oil Company gave substantial dividends to the MPLA? That Mr Neto

owned 16 000 shares in Gulf? That was published and never denied by the US.

● Would you collaborate with international capitalism in Angola if you won?

I am not against private capital, nor international capitalism if it is controlled and helps the development of my country. I am against capital that is brought in solely to exploit our natural resources.

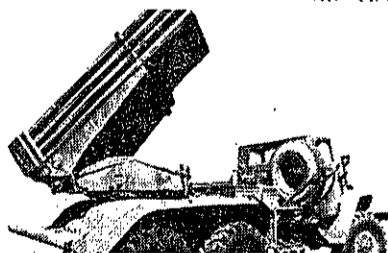
● There is a lot of talk of a split between China and yourself.

He laughs.

It so happens that I see the Chinese Ambassador of the People's Republic in Kinshasa regularly, and often receive friendly delegations from Peking. Not only is there no split, but the People's Republic of China has been and is still, within their limits, the most outspoken in its denunciation of Soviet aggression in Angola.

● I have not seen any Chinese advisers with you.

We had a contract with the Chinese Government for military experts until August 1975. This was extended until November 11 — independence day for Angola. From then we could no longer have Chinese, or any other instructors at our installations in Zaire. We now maintain



only an old depot in Kinshasa where I have a liaison office. Any future agreements must be established between China and the Central Government of Angola.

Such a government is being organised in our provisional capital Huambo.

But our transport is disorganised and problems are to be found at even the level of a simple typewriter. We don't even have postal links, let alone telex and telephone, as everything is passed via Luanda.

Our immediate priori-

ties are the war and supplies to the people. But I can confirm that China has not abandoned its traditional friendship towards us.

● You have recently sustained heavy military defeats. Some observers already consider you as "out" of the Angolan scene.

I will quote De Gaulle — I have lost the battle but not the war. Not so long ago I was 20 km from Luanda. Our victory over the MPLA was certain. But I was not equipped to face the heavy equipment, the tanks, the MiGs, the missiles, the helicopters and other sophisticated equipment of the Soviet-Cuban expeditionary forces. We withdrew, strengthened the front and are making ready for the counter offensive.

● By what means?

I am not going to divulge any military secrets. But we have recently received a certain number of means, pathetic in relation to the facilities of our enemy, that will make their life hard enough. Colonel Santos e Castro and I have been fighting for 14 years, I with my guerillas and he with his counter-guerillas. We both know the terrain and all the tricks.

Not so the case for the

and even of bloody clashes in the south.

Yes, there have been painful incidents. The MPLA propaganda has grossly exaggerated these.

In the bush, as in all wars, there are tensions, local disputes, orders misinterpreted. We handle the problems as they crop up. The MPLA, who periodically arrest and liquidate opponents from their own ranks, also have problems — no?

● It is the troops of Chipenda who are accused by Savimbi and Kaunda of being gangsters.

There are uncontrollable elements in each movement. This is unavoidable in the state of anarchy prevailing in Angola. As for Chipenda, certain southerners want him eliminated at all costs to achieve political monopoly of the Ovimbundu.

Some of these, often close to Swapo, are playing an ambiguous game and might join up with the MPLA. They are only a minority. We will settle the situation in the south in good time.

The essential thing is that Savimbi and I are agreed on a free and democratic Angola, determined by elections.

● Is this possible in Africa — in Angola?

I find that question an insult, marked with a strange racism, particular to a certain European Left. Parliamentary systems, civil liberties, free Press, independent justice — these are only good for you, the Whites, but not for us niggers.

We must always be under the boot of a master — yesterday the Portuguese colonist, today the "People's" Commissar imported from the East, Cuba or god-knows where. Let me tell you this: as with Europe where Norway differs from Sicily, Africa and the Africans are not homogeneous.

Angola is a nation with strange development patterns, if only because of its multiracialism. It is a nation rich in human capital, with valuable qualified people, even if the Portuguese have trained these to a different end, and our people have had the longest anti-colonial struggle in the world together with Vietnam. You, the European progressives, note — we are not complete savages.

● How do you look on the attitude of the US congress and of the media hostile to intervention in Angola?

The Americans are haunted by Vietnam. Angola is a Soviet Vietnam, not an American! Also, this is the year of elections and internal political manoeuvres. No holds are barred, even when it comes to the destiny of a small African people.

We have never asked, and will never ask for the Americans to fight on our side. At the utmost, we ask that the most powerful democracy in the world give us the means to resist a Soviet-Cuban invasion in an attempt to re-colonise my country.

● The New York Times states that you have been a CIA agent since 1961, the date of your rising against the Portuguese, and this at the instigation of John Kennedy. They even state your remuneration: 10 000 dollars a year.

They were rather modest, if it were true, no?

● Are you denying American presence on your side?

Categorically. Why? It's arms that I need, not men. Let me be given the means to defend myself and I can have one of the finest

CONT...

‘ If the West were to help us with a half, a third even, of the stuff the USSR is giving the MPLA. Their arms — that’s the problem . . . ’



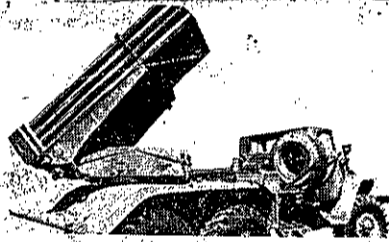
RAND DAILY MAIL Thursday February 5, 1976

‘ I was not equipped to face the heavy equipment; the tanks, the MiGs, the missiles, the helicopters . . . ’



## Inside Mail

# Roberto



armies in Africa.

● **With mercenaries?**  
I don't need mercenaries. I have enough with the tens of thousands of soldiers and Angolan officers, all of whom are well experienced.

● **Do you have pilots among them, missile operators?**

Everything. All I lack is the material needs. Will the West understand? Measure the meaning of the loss of Angola, the effects that this can have on the whole of Central and Southern Africa, and Zaire. But for heaven's sake, can they read a map in the West?

● **Is President Mobutu**

an example to you?

Unbelievable things are said and written — that I was born in the Belgian Congo, and that I am the brother-in-law of President Mobutu. I have no link whatsoever with him.

But look at a map of Africa and you will understand the importance of Zaire in relation to Angola. We have 2 600 km of common frontier. And we are Zaire's outlet to the sea. Control of Angola by hostile power would mean the strangulation of its mineral wealth.

The legend of Holden Roberto, the millionaire and brother-in-law of Mobutu was born of Tass,

which distributed this to the "progressive" Press of the world. It is an old conspiratorial theory of the communists to add the family background. They will invent any fable, all kind of myths, and the West will swallow them.

● **Why?**

Because the West is self-satisfied, prosperous, selfish and our war is a long-forgotten, obscure and very distant one, even if it makes headlines in today's papers. And then there is detente. A shelter under which one carries on life, without worrying.

But what is detente? The Cubans and the Russians couldn't care a damn

about detente. If the Americans don't deliver them wheat, their people will tighten their belts. They couldn't care about world opinion. Angola is for the Soviets, Angola is a fundamental issue for which they are not prepared to bargain.

And the terrified West lets everything go by, swallows everything. You got down on your knees before Hitler, and then Stalin, and now Brezhnev. You are used to it.

● **Are you pessimistic?**

In the short term, yes. The West will finally wake up — when the house across the road catches fire, when the neighbour breaks his leg . . .

5

# Three roles for buffer zone army

5/2/78 STAR

**Defence Correspondent**  
South Africa's forces in the Southern Angola buffer zone are there for three main purposes — to guard strategic installations at Ruacana and Calueque, to handle the thousands of refugees streaming south—and to prevent attacks by Swapo and the MPLA.

The 4 000 to 5 000 troops in the border area

include a large contingent of Citizen Force men called up for three months' service.

Many of the soldiers are engaged in guarding and administering the three large refugee camps that have sprung up in Southern Angola, according to military sources.

A sense of security in the camps is seen as vital to prevent the refugees attempting to move into South West Africa. There

A number of troops are also providing a first line of defence against Swapo incursions. Soldiers are tracking a party of about 30 guerrillas who attacked a kraal at Eenhans, about 7 km inside Owambo.

The headman of the kraal, Mr Timotheus Mahuda, was wounded by the Swapo men.

The force guarding Ruacana and Calueque is protecting South Africa's investment in the installations — more than R100-million. Water from Calueque is vital to farming operations in Owambo.

Local military authorities said only subsistence farming would be possible in central Owambo if the supply was cut off.

① 5

6/2/76

STAR

# SA 'not so bad in the past'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The right-wing Club of Ten has full-page advertisements in three Fleet Street newspapers today, warning the West of Soviet intervention in Angola.

Under a bold banner headline "The free world stands today in greater danger than at any time since the darkest days of World War 2," the Club of Ten says that only South Africa is willing to stand against the Russians and Cubans.

"In some quarters in the West it was argued that having Russia take over Angola would be preferable to being caught on the same side as racist South Africa," the advertisement says.

"In the First and Second World Wars the free world heard no such arguments when South Africans (then infinitely more racist than today) fought and died on our side."

## STURDY ALLY

"Also in Korea, in the fight against a communist invasion, we accepted South Africa (under the same government as today — only then much less enlightened) as a sturdy ally without reservations.

Ironically enough when these arguments against South Africa as a fighting partner were strongest in the journals of the West, South Korea unveiled a monument to the South Africans, killed there in their fight against communism."

The Club of Ten advertisement says that in Addis Ababa 22 Black African nations did not seem to mind the South African "taint."

"The Western world is now stuck with the long-term problem — the ceaseless expansion of the biggest imperialist power the world has ever seen. The advance of the Soviets threatens our whole way of life."

5

# Cuba loses 1500 dead, wounded

NM 6/2/76

Some reports said MPLA soldiers showed resentment because the Cubans were being fed first and because the Cubans have ridden in trucks while the Angolans had to walk. There was also mention of reported racial slurs aimed by some Cubans at Black MPLA soldiers.

Following Cuban-MPLA victories in the north, U.S. officials had expected pro-Soviet troops to push into south Angola and possibly to win control of the entire country quickly. This has not happened so far.

However, the Deputy Defence Secretary, Mr. Robert Ellsworth, told a Senate sub-committee this week: "We suspect that Major segments of MPLA and Cuban forces have been shifted from the northern front to other major fronts in preparation for offensive operations there."

It was reported from Lusaka that MPLA aircraft yesterday bombed the Unita-held town of Mussende, killing many Angolan civilians, Unita's Foreign Secretary, Dr. Jorge Sangumba, said here.

Dr. Sangumba said the information came in a radio report from the Unita military headquarters at Silva Porto. Mussende is about 240km north-west of Silva Porto.

In Kinshasa, Unita reaffirmed that it intended to stand by its alliance with the weakened FNLA.

A Unita spokesman here made this clear on Wednesday in response to speculation that Unita and MPLA might be negotiating the formation of a government of national unity which would exclude the severely weakened FNLA.

(Sapa-Reuters AP.)  
● See p. 50, pages 14 & 15.

6/2/76

WASHINGTON - Between 1 000 and 1 500 Cubans have been killed and wounded in the Angolan civil war, U.S. intelligence sources said yesterday.

They also revealed that the Cuban troop airlifts to support the MPLA have stopped.

Although six Cuban ships have been sighted sailing for Angola, the sources said the airlift had been at a halt for more than two weeks.

But analysts are uncertain whether it has stopped for good or has been temporarily suspended.

They said the ships left open the possibility there might be some Cuban troops aboard, along with military equipment for the pro-Soviet MPLA forces.

The last plane-load of Cuban soldiers arrived in Angola on January 21 aboard a Soviet IL62 transport plane, the sources said. For two weeks prior to that, IL62s had been flying Cuban troops to Angola almost daily.

Some Pentagon officials suggest Fidel Castro may have decided he has committed enough of his soldiers to clinch victory for the MPLA.

It also noted that the Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger was in Moscow about the time the airlift stopped. Dr. Kissinger is known to have discussed the Angola situation with the Russians; but there was no indication at the time that he had won any agreement on disengagement of outside forces involved in Angola.

The Defence Department said last week that Cuban troop strength in Angola had reached about 11 400 men.

According to U.S. intelligence, the Cuban troop airlift began well over a month before Angola became independent of Portugal on November 11. Early flights landed in neighbouring Congo, which became a staging area for Cuban and Soviet support for the MPLA.

The tank-equipped Cubans have been credited with doing much of the fighting for the MPLA, but recent intelligence reports have told of friction developing between the Cubans and MPLA soldiers.

Daily Express 7/2/76

# Pro-SA group head named

3

LONDON — A distinguished right-wing journalist, Mr. Donald Boddie, a former editor of the Evening News here, was revealed yesterday as "London consultant" to the secret South African propaganda group, "The Club of Ten."

The announcement of his appointment coincided with a splurge of full-page Club of Ten advertisements in all the major Fleet Street newspapers.

The advertisements, supporting South Africa's part in the Angola war, must have cost "well in excess" of R8,000, according to one newspaper.

The advertisement appeared under the headline: "The Free World stands today in greater danger than at any time since the darkest days of World War II."

It included references to the way South Africa's participation had been welcomed in World War II and in Korea, despite the then "racist" and "less enlightened" governments.

Then it quoted the FNLA leader, Mr. Holden Roberto, as saying in New York that: "I am strongly against apartheid, but I will say this for South Africa, when they see a neighbour's house burning, they come to put out the fire."

The advertisements will appear in two major American newspapers today. — DDC-SAPA

# Africa



Supporters of the MPLA gather in the Sao Paulo stadium in Luanda at a recent rally to mark the MPLA offensive against the Unita-FNLA alliance in Angola.

# Cuba slows down Angolan airlift

WASHINGTON. — Despite a slowdown in the Cuban airlift, US officials predict the war in Angola will intensify by mid-March, particularly in the southern regions.

Dismissed as wishful thinking is speculation that Moscow is prepared to order the withdrawal of some or all of the 11 400 Cuban troops fighting alongside the MPLA as part of a deal involving the phased pullout of South Africans.

"There's no deal," said one highly-placed official who was asked whether the Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger, had worked out an agreement in the Kremlin when he took up the Angola issue and nuclear weapons negotiations with the Soviet leader, Mr Leonid Brezhnev, last month.

### RAINY

US intelligence sources confirm a respite of at least two weeks in the Cuban airlift. At the same time, however, six Cuban ships had been sighted en route to Angola.

Over the past 10 days there has been little fighting reported in Angola. But this is attributed more to the rainy season than to any expectation that Moscow is prepared to end its "war by proxy."

In the north, the FNLA is said to be "practically out of business". But its partner in the south, Unita, still holds about 50 per cent of the former Portuguese colony.

Contrary to some reports, US officials said Huambo, the pro-Western capital, had not fallen to the Marxists, although a more secure military headquarters had been set up at Bie, formerly Silva Porto.

Only one town of consequence, the port of Novo Redondo, south of Luanda, has fallen to the Marxists recently.

The MPLA faces logistic problems in territory inhabited by Savimbi sympathisers, with their own supply lines stretched out.

The resistance has been stiff so far and Unita will probably keep holding out for a long time to come, the official predicted. — Sapa-AP.

# 'SA faces tough future in Angolan aftermath'

AN expert on African affairs has warned South Africans that the country faces a tough future in the aftermath of the Angolan conflict.

Dr G. M. E. Leistner, deputy director of the Africa Institute of South Africa, writes in the latest issue of Kruger Millions, the SA Gold Coin Exchange's newsletter, that South Africans must realise.

"We cannot rely on the USA or other Western countries to effectively side with us if we were to become the victim of a direct military threat from Russia or Red China.

"We can expect to live with guerilla incursions from Angola and quite possibly from Mozambique and elsewhere for an extended period.

# Soviets spend R174-million helping MPLA

WASHINGTON. — The MPLA had received about R174-million worth of Soviet military assistance and had 12 000 Cubans doing most of its fighting, according to a senior US State Department official.

Mr William Schaufele, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, told reporters that under these circumstances the MPLA had to prevail in the civil war.

But he qualified this statement later by saying he was not taking into account the existence of guerilla opposition.

In line with the warnings made publicly by the Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, about the dangers of a continued cut-off of American aid to pro-Western forces in Angola, Mr Schaufele told the Overseas Writers' Club this week that neighbouring African countries were extremely concerned about

the future.

"If the MPLA is able to establish itself as some kind of government, this regional concern in that part of Africa will be serious", he said.

"People will start to make adjustments to their policies and will probably establish certain security measures which they feel are necessary.

"I think the state of national emergency in Zambia is partially based on the threat they see on their own borders, and I think we will have a fairly tense situation for some time to come," Mr Schaufele said.

Asked whether the number of Cubans in Angola was on the increase, Mr Schaufele said there was a continuing arrival of both men and equipment.

He said 12 000 men was a fairly conservative estimate. Other sources indicated the Cuban force

might number up to 15 000, but the State Department was sticking with the 12 000 figure.

Mr Schaufele said African countries had previously maintained a balance in their policies between the United States and the Soviet Union. But now that Congress had called a halt to further American aid to pro-Western factions in Angola, those countries now saw the balance tipping towards the Soviet Union.

"There are clear signals from Africa . . . that they will re-think their positions in the general framework of international relations if the Soviet Union is successful."

Dr Kissinger was concerned that if the Soviet Union were successful in its intervention in Angola "they will be tempted to do it again — they will find a situation which they can exploit," he said. — Sapa-Reuters.

"We must brace ourselves for the distinct possibility of every effort being made by outside forces to stimulate industrial strife, civil disobedience and internal disturbances aimed at overthrowing South Africa's existing order."

Mr Leistner said South Africans should realise, whether they liked it or not, that they were the masters of their national destiny only as far as the interplay of the superpowers would allow them.

"When President Kaunda said at the recent OAU summit conference that the crucial decisions about Africa are taken in Washington and Moscow, he expressed a truth which we too have still to digest.

"We tend to have an exaggerated idea about our importance to the West as guardian of the Cape sea route, as a supplier of vital raw materials, and as the only unflinchingly pro-Western ally on the Black continent."

Western countries knew South Africa was a capable ally — and treated her accordingly. "Above all, on most occasions, they find it an embarrassment to be seen in our company."

Angola had provided the latest example. Dr Kissinger's reported proposals for a phased withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola, with South Africa going first, "implicitly but unmistakably brand us as the aggressor."

"Thus we find ourselves in the unenviable position that we are facing Moscow's Cuban henchmen while the purported leader of the West has given notice that it is not prepared to stand up to the Russians in Angola because it will not or cannot use its only significant bargaining counters — the wheat deal and the SALT talks."

— Sapa.

# SA jets

# ready to back troops

7/2/76 RDM.

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By **BOB HITCHCOCK**  
Military

Correspondent  
**SOUTH AFRICA**  
is prepared to use combat aircraft in southern Angola and on the South West African border if the situation deteriorates.

This was made clear last night by the spokesman

for the South African Air Force, Commandant Robert Blake, who told the Rand Daily Mail: "It would depend on the situation whether or not we would use Mirages."

Other authoritative sources in Pretoria said if the lives of large numbers of South African troops were at risk, and if the Calueque Dam and other installations of the hydro-electric scheme at Ruacana were seriously threatened, it was probable that South African combat planes would be used.

The sources made the

point that the decision as to what aircraft would be used depended largely on what was being attacked and the size and fire power of the attackers.

The Rand Daily Mail, on December 5 last year, predicted the likelihood of aerial combat becoming the third dimension of the bitter conflict in Angola.

I wrote at the time: "The introduction of supersonic fighter aircraft, from both East and West, could be disastrous for Angola."

Yesterday, according to reports from Lusaka, Unita's "foreign secretary," Mr Jorge Sangumba, said his movement had allies ready to put fighter-bombers into action within 48 hours. The allies were not named.

South African-based foreign military observers said last night that, as the MPLA had apparently diverted its best troops to the southern front, and as Soviet-built MiG-17s stood under wraps on a runway at Luanda Airport, the SAAF would naturally be watchful.

The probability of South Africa being prepared to use combat aircraft if pushed too hard, is further underlined by the Defence Minister's many statements on the importance of the R160-million hydro-electric scheme, part of which is on Angolan soil and part near the border in Owambo, in South West Africa.

It is known that both the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, advocate that the area should be defended to the full.

## Don't bully us, Eglin tells Botha

By **BERNARDI WESSELS**  
Political Correspondent

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.**  
— The Progressive Reform Party leader Mr Colin Eglin, yesterday lashed back at the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, for giving a "lamé excuse" over his controversial interview with the Washington Post.

Mr Eglin said that Mr Botha would "bluff nobody" and it was "disingenuous" of the Minister to claim that the information he gave could "easily have been deduced" from information he had already disclosed to the South African public.

The PRP called for a snap half-hour debate today.

But according to the PRP Chief Whip, Mr Rupert Lorimer, the Speaker turned down the request on the grounds that there would be ample opportunity to raise the matter during next week's Part Appropriation Debate.

Stressing that the South African public were entitled to the news before the American public, Mr Eglin said it was not "good enough" for the South African public to be required to deduce information from the various confusing and conflicting statements which Mr Botha had made on South Africa's involvement in Angola.

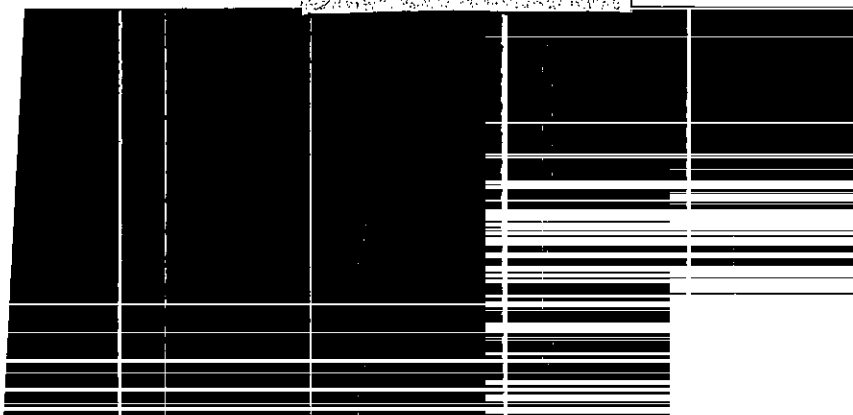
"What is apparent is

that Mr Botha is trying to bully the opposition into silence. He will not succeed," Mr Eglin said.

Parliament yesterday approved the compulsory service of troops anywhere outside of South Africa.

Also approved — by all parties — was a safeguard that if the forces were used outside the country for 30 days, Parliament should be informed within the next 30 days.

**FOOTNOTE:** The National Union of South African Students (Nusas) yesterday called on Mr Botha to resign over the question of South African involvement in the Angolan war.





(5)

7/2/76 RDM

# Student backing for MPLA

**'Mail' Africa Bureau**  
**GABORONE.** — University students at the Botswana campus of the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland have declared their support for the MPLA.

This is in opposition to the government of national unity stand of the Botswana Government.

The students' decision came after accusations of

"lethargy" by the opposition Botswana National Front Party and a request from Zambian students that they declare themselves on the Angola issue.

The students said the Unita and FNLA alliance with South Africa was reason enough for supporting the MPLA of Dr Agostinho Neto.

"Any movement that is

in league with South Africa cannot be deemed to be genuinely fighting the African cause," the students said.

Dismissing South Africa's claim of being in Angola to defeat communist plans for Southern Africa, the students said: "We are aware that in South African terminology communism is synonymous with Black rule."

The students called on Sir Seretse Khama's government to rethink its stand on Angola and said: "We recognise the MPLA administration in Luanda as the only government competent enough to take charge of Angolan affairs."

"We wish to express our solidarity with all those countries that have recognised the MPLA administration."

SEXP

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AFRICA

By Anthony Deltus

# Angolan peace feelers go out



• Daniel Chipenda



• Agostinho Neto



• Holden Roberto



• General Mohammed

ANGOLAN peace feelers have been probing around Africa this week. Neither the MPLA nor the Russians want the killing to go on any longer than to establish their dominance in the country.

Most of the African countries that backed the Luanda government did so because they wanted a quick end to the struggle.

And now is the time for the major backers like Nigeria and Tanzania to prove that their tactics are going to pay off in the way they privately forecast.

The plan is said to be based on dropping the leaders Doctor Jonas Savimbi of Unita, Holden Roberto of the FNLA and that distraught breakaway from the MPLA Daniel Chipenda who turned out to be a bigger menace to his new allies than he was to his old party.

Already Savimbi is being called a "traitor" because he brought in the "racist" South Africans. He is the man the peacemakers really have to destroy in the harsh way of politics if they are going to get some sort of reconciliation between the three groups of nationalists.

He is in any case a so much larger figure than any among the MPLA leadership that they could hardly absorb him.

Once the leaders of the anti-MPLA groups have gone then it will be a question of discovering "the truly patriotic elements" that have been misguided into these presumably defeated movements.

They will be invited into the Government and the MPLA on a junior partner basis so as to give the administration of President Agostinho Neto a more demonstrably national appearance.

Tanzania's Foreign Minister, Mr Kaduma has already set off with notes from President Nyerere to the rulers of Nigeria and Sierra Leone. It is fairly obvious what President

Nyerere might want to say to his fellow supporter of the MPLA General Muhammed, the Nigerian head of State. But the Sierra Leonians backed the other side, the one that wanted the three Angolan leaders and their movements to be reconciled in a coalition government. The Sierra Leonians were not prominent in the anti-MPLA line-up — not leading spirits like Kenya, Zaire and Zambia—and might possibly be persuaded to back what could be made to look like a rather watered-down version of the reconciliation proposal.

If Sierra Leone came in on this basis it might tempt others among the 23 anti-MPLA states to join the bandwagon and so gain a clear majority of African states for accepting a sort of fait accompli government in Angola.

All this would depend on the Angolan opposition leaders.

There have been signs that President Mobutu is very disillusioned about the capabilities of his brother-in-law Holden Roberto and given sufficient guarantees of his borders with Angola, he might drop his support of the FNLA.

His own budding oil resources are squeezed between those of northern Angola and the Cabinda

and he would not care to have those caught in a pincer movement.

Without President Mobutu's support Holden Roberto probably has no real future.

But Doctor Savimbi is an altogether different proposition. Of all the Angolan leaders he appears to have the largest following among the Black Angolans.

He is also a man of great physical courage and an experienced guerrilla fighter.

He has always presented himself as a man of peace but seems quite capable of going underground and restarting a guerrilla war if need be.

He will certainly be able to move among the tribespeople of the huge and difficult terrain of all southern Angola if he does take to the bush.

Even if President Kaunda did not want him to operate from Zambian bases it is virtually impossible to control the long Angolan — Zambian border.

President Kaunda may have to play along with any Angolan government in order to get his copper rolling along the Benguela line to Lobito Bay again, but he certainly much preferred Savimbi to Agostinho Neto and would probably do what he could for him.

# SECRET SAVIMBI VISITS

ST. 8/2/76

SUM.  
TIMES  
8/2/76



Dr. Jonas Savimbi... allegedly asked for help.

**By RICHARD WALKER: New York, Saturday**  
**UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi made a secret visit to Pretoria to plead with South Africa's "highest officials" for increased support in Angola, United States senators have been told.**

## Juggling

● Saudi, Arabia, and Kuwait have heavily financed Unita — the US serving as go-between

● US involvement in Angola has been much greater than the Ford Administration has admitted.

● The MPLA feels it has been forced into the arms of the Russians because of America's cold shoulder, and it would welcome improved relations.

Senator Tunney said: "For Dr Kissinger to tell this committee, as he did last week, that the Administration had no foreknowledge of South African involvement seems less than frank semantic juggling."

"Who were these Americans who knew in advance about Jonas Savimbi's secret meetings with South Africa's highest officials?" Senator Tunney is the California Democrat who helped lead the Senate vote to stop further financing of the Central Intelligence Agency's secret Angolan support program.

The investigators he dispatched have been named as Congressional aides Mark Moran and Bill Coughlin.

The men went to both sides of the battle line — Coughlin to the Western-supported forces, Moran to the MPLA. They also went to Kinshasa, Lusaka, Lisbon and Cape Town.

Senator Tunney claimed: "In December, when South Africa was wavering in its support, Dr Savimbi flew to Lusaka to tell President Kenneth Kaunda that he intended to go himself to South Africa to talk with its highest officials about additional aid."

"Again the 'American friend' sat in on that planning meeting."

"Savimbi did fly to Pretoria, and he did meet South African officials and military leaders."

The "carefully-orchestrated" assistance had its effect, said Senator Tunney, and just before independence in November, the MPLA stronghold of Luanda was threatened.

But the Cuban build-up radically altered the balance again and by December, South Africa was wavering.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, declined yesterday to comment on the United States report of Dr Savimbi's visit to South Africa.

## Cubans head for SA defence line

**By FLEUR DE VILLIERS**

**SOUTH AFRICAN** troops in southern Angola could face a Cuban Russian-backed major assault within the next few weeks.

The Cubans are moving south, rolling back the ill-equipped rag-tag Unita forces, who are expected soon to fulfill Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi's promise to take to the bush and continue the fight as guerrillas against the triumphant MPLA and their Russian and Cuban allies.

The disappearance of Unita as a military force will leave the now extremely well-armed Cubans and the

Southern African forces who, as the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, has revealed, are defending a line 50 km inside Angolan territory, from Mocimedes in the east to the Zambian border in the west.

Although, as the Minister admitted earlier this week, the South Africans, before their withdrawal to southern Angola, encountered some Cubans, there could now be the first major eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation between the two armies.

Russia has been unwilling to commit men and arms to a major clash until her massive arm build-up was complete. The Cubans, therefore, dealt first with the FNLIA and swept it back to Zaire, then turned south to face Unita — and, eventually, the South Africans.

The clash could be the biggest and most decisive — in military and diplomatic terms — of the Angolan war. As well as facing a major Cuban assault, South Africa might have to defend herself diplomatically against charges that her military presence on Angolan soil is an infringement of Angolan sovereignty.

Dr Savimbi's Pretoria mission is alleged to have taken place last December. Two months earlier an American — identified in the Senate testimony only as an "American friend" — met Dr Savimbi at the home of President Mobutu, in Kinshasa, to inform him that he would receive direct United States aid, but not American troops.

These claims of American collusion in the murky events surrounding South Africa's involvement in the Angolan war arise from the findings of a two-man US Senate investigating team, which has just returned from the war zones.

The team brought back a message from the MPLA, suggesting that a negotiated merger with Unita might be possible — if South Africa withdrew its troops first.

In detailing the finding before the Africa Sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator John Tunney, who dispatched the investigators, also directed these accusations at the Ford Administration:

# Angola: Position critical as Cubans attack

'Mail' Africa Bureau  
SILVA PORTO. — The leader of Angola's Unita independence movement said here yesterday his forces were facing a critical military situation following a buildup of more than 7 000 Cuban troops on the civil war's southern front.

Dr Jonas Savimbi told Sapa-Reuter the Cubans, who are supporting the rival Soviet-backed MPLA movement, were using jet-fighter-bombers, helicopters and tanks. The immediate target appeared to be Huambo.

The situation was so serious that Unita was considering the evacuation of Huambo and Silva Porto.

Earlier, the MPLA announced it had broken through on the Queze River, leaving the way open to Huambo.

The communique by Fapla, the military wing of the MPLA, said their forces overran Alto Hama, Sabussinga and Caponde.

Alto Hama is a main railway junction and pulls the MPLA forces close to Huambo.

And in the north, Cuban-led forces of the Soviet-backed MPLA are poised on the borders with neighbouring Zaire after bloody fighting in the last northern towns held by the National Front (FNLA)—Santo Antonio do Zaire, Santa Cruz and Quimbela.

The claims, if true—and recent battle communiqués by the MPLA have proved accurate—the MPLA now controls 70 per cent of the former Portuguese colony.

The MPLA communique also claimed that its forces had crushed Unita resistance in Lumege, a town on the vital Benguela railway line between Luso and Teixeira de Souza, and that their forces were tightening their grip on Luso.

The communique gave no details of casualties on the southern-central front but said that in the battle for Santo Antonio do Zaire, one MPLA soldier was killed and "several injured". But they claimed that the FNLA suffered heavy losses: "The invading forces and the domestic mercenaries suffered heavy losses, and among the large number of prisoners taken is one North American citizen."

The communique also claimed that in Cabinda, the MPLA is "in full control", and there have been no incidents.

● MPLA takes river town — Page 4

His negative approach to the interview and thrice repeated refusal to answer a question on how South Africa would react to a Rhodesian war won him a snide remark from front man Peter Jay.

South Africa's Foreign Minister is giving a splendid display, as cricketers would say, of not playing a rising ball outside the off stump," said Jay.

Dr Muller said he was not prepared to go into details, but he was sure that both the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith, and nationalist leader, Mr Joshua Nkomo, were more determined than ever to find a solution that would be accepted by both factions in the Rhodesian settlement talks.

"I think they must be realistic and realise that what happened in Angola could be repeated somewhere else."

Asked if he meant it could be repeated in Rhodesia, he said: "Well, it could."

The programme outlined the breakdown of detente saying detente now hangs by a shred with President Kaunda of Zambia the key man in whether it can be made to work.

South Africa would be prepared to deal with the MPLA once any threats of aggression toward South West Africa and to the Cunene River project were removed, Dr Muller said.

"The MPLA will know, and there is no doubt about it, that South Africa will resist any aggression and ward it off with strength," he said.

Meanwhile, in Rhodesia's eastern border town of Umtali at the weekend, Senator A. J. W. Macleod said the country was prepared for the worst on its Mozambique border.

"While this has meant added commitments in manpower and money, Rhodesians are a people who will never capitulate to outside pressures of threats," Lieut-Col Macleod said when officially opening Addams Barracks.

Across the border at Quelimane, President Samora Machel told a mass rally that all able-bodied Mozambicans have been put on the alert to volunteer "if necessary" to join Rhodesian guerrillas in an armed struggle to "liberate" the country, reports the "Mail" Africa Bureau.

A special fund to be called "The Bank of Solidarity" was set up on February 3, to help all oppressed people and Mozambique in the quest of national reconstruction, he said.

Rhodesian security forces have killed another 18 guerrillas in the latest engagements in the extended operational area.

The guerrilla death toll since November, 1972, is now 729, with 30 killed in the past five weeks.

A security force communique followed shortly after Mr Smith warned in a broadcast of the most serious incursions the country had yet experienced.

The communique did not pinpoint the areas where guerrillas are most active, but there is little doubt a new front has been opened on the south eastern border with Mozambique.

In his broadcast Mr Smith said the one course left open to Rhodesians was to fight on.

But Mr Nkomo reacted angrily to the Prime Minister's warning.

Nothing could be more irresponsible "because here we are trying to end these things," he told newsmen after his return from Britain.

And he indicated he believed violent struggle inevitable if Blacks continued to be denied their rights, reports Sapa.

Talks between the Rhodesian Government and Mr Nkomo's ANC team will resume in Salisbury today amid signs that a decision stage is imminent.

# Rhodesian crisis

9/2/76 RDM.

# Muller warns of war danger

Own Correspondent

**LONDON**  
**THERE is a real danger of war in Rhodesia, the South African Foreign Minister, Dr Hilgard Muller, told millions of British television viewers yesterday.**

There was a possibility of the Angolan civil war being repeated in Rhodesia, he said on the in-depth news programme, "Weekend World".

But he refused to be drawn on what part South Africa would play in the war.

## SA eyes on Red ships

**BLOEMFONTEIN.**—South African aircraft were continually taking photographs of Russian ships off-loading arms for Angola, the Minister of the Interior Dr C. P. Mulder, said here last night.

Dr Mulder said the United States had become virtually powerless over the Angola situation because of sensitivity of the changes of candidates in the presidential elections.

The Russians were aware of this and had exploited it, he said.

Referring to the attitude of the American Congress, Dr Mulder said it apparently wanted to show who was boss after the Watergate scandal.

It was questionable whether such a country was worthy of leading the Western world, he added.

## 'Reluctant mercenaries executed'

**NEW YORK.** About 14 British mercenaries in Angola have been executed for refusing to fight, according to a report from an American radio and television correspondent in Zaire.

The report, carried by the National Broadcasting Company network, said the executions had occurred within the last 30 hours in northern Angola, where mercenaries are fighting for the FNLA against the MPLA.

It said the mercenaries apparently became reluctant to fight and were summarily shot by their colleagues.

No further details were immediately available. The report could not be confirmed by other sources. — Sapa-Reuter.

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# Legal aid bid for seven SA PoWs

7/6/76  
STAR.



Private Graham Danney (18).



Private Piet Groenewald (19).



Private Lodewyk Kitschhoff (18).



Private Andries Potgieter (19).



The South African Red Cross is putting pressure on the International Red Cross to help supply legal aid to South African prisoners of war being held in Angola.

This development follows an announcement from Luanda that seven South Africans captured during the Angolan civil war will be tried after the current tribunal judgment on 13 British and American mercenaries.

The South African Red Cross has not given up hope of a possible exchange of prisoners between South Africa and Angola.

Mr Kelsey Stuart, a vice president of the South African Red Cross, said today that it was pressing hard for various types of aid for the seven South Africans held in Luanda.

It was up to the International Red Cross to deal directly with the Angolan authorities to ensure that adequate aid was given to the South Africans.

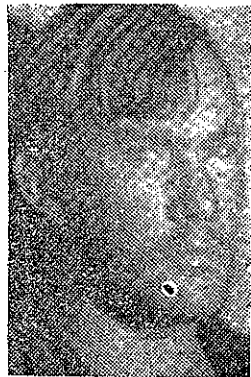
### JURISTS, TOO

There was a possibility that the International Commission of Jurists would be approached for help, Mr Stuart said.

He was appalled to hear the news that the South African soldiers were to go on trial.

The Angolan director of Information, Dr Luis de Almeida, said in announcing the trial the South Africans are not considered either prisoners of war or mercenaries. "The South Africans never made a declaration of war so they cannot be considered prisoners of war," he said.

Private Robert Wilson (18).



Private Robert Wihan (20).



Corporal Hannes Terblanche (21).

Dr Almeida gave no details on when the South Africans would be tried or on what basis. He discounted reports that the men would be exchanged for the Cubans being held by South Africa. The Star's Africa News Service reports.

### TRIBUNAL

The South Africans would face the People's Revolutionary Tribunal, which was also expected to try Angolans who worked for Pide, the Portuguese Secret Police.

The Star's Africa News Service reports that the Government - controlled Mozambique Radio has called for the death penalty on the 13 British and American mercenaries.

In a broadcast monitored in Johannesburg, the radio, which reflects the views of the Frelimo Government, said the mercenaries "must be tried before the people and sentenced to the capital punishment."

● Show trials are travesties of justice — Page 15.

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# Africa



Members of a group of British mercenaries — said to be more than 100 strong — about to board a coach for Gatwick Airport on their way to Angola.

## MPLA captures river town

SOVIET-BACKED forces in Angola said yesterday that they were continuing to rout their pro-Western rivals in the north with the capture of Santo Antonio do Zaire, commanding the mouth of the Congo.

In radio reports monitored in Johannesburg, the MPLA said its Cuban-led forces encountered scant resistance in taking the town, reports UPI.

They claimed to have captured many prisoners.

Military experts said the Soviet-armed faction now might be in a position to threaten international shipping to Zaire's chief port at Matadi, 160 km upstream from Santo Antonio do Zaire.

The captured town is also a refinery centre for oil production from across the river in the Angolan enclave of Cabinda, held by the Marxist faction, but where production has been suspended by Gulf Oil.

The broadcast said the next target in the north was Sao Salvador, last stronghold of the FNLA, whose troops had retreated in disarray towards the Zaire border.

Two months ago they were laying siege to the Marxist-held capital of Luanda, which was within

mortar range.

The same broadcast said Unita was about to lose the seat of its administration at Huambo in the south.

The MPLA said its troops were within a few kilometres of the southern highlands capital.

The Zaire news agency in Kinshasa said yesterday that Unita had killed three Russians during a counter-attack on the port of Novo Redondo, held by the MPLA, reports Sapa-Reuter.

A Unita communique said the Russians were killed when Unita attacked a Soviet-Cuban commando. For the first time, Unita forces had noted Algerian pilots flying MPLA planes, the communique said.

The aircraft were particularly active at Mussende, about 250 km inland from Novo Redondo and had caused "many deaths among the civilian population," the communique said.

A London broadcast said East Germans had now joined Russian technicians. Some were believed to have taken up combat duties.

Meanwhile 75 former

Congo mercenaries living in the Eastern Cape met in Port Elizabeth and declared themselves ready to fight in Angola with the FNLA-Unita forces, writes the 'Mail' correspondent.

A "high up" official at the meeting told them the South African Government wanted nothing to do with it.

The meeting was held at the Charlo home of Mr Kurt Edwards, a former Royal Marines Commando lieutenant, who has undertaken to organise the mercenaries and act as their contact for any outside groups that may want to use them.

Apart from the 75 men, Mr Edwards claims he can raise more than 100 others between Port Elizabeth and Durban alone.

"These chaps are really keen to get into Angola," Mr Edwards said. "It's very frustrating, because they're ready to go, but we don't know who will pay them. It's up to someone to contact me."



Dr Henry Kissinger, in a major foreign policy speech in San Francisco, denounced the "blatant Soviet and Cuban challenge" in Angola.

⑤ 10/2/76.  
STAR

# Club of Ten's ad extols SA war record

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — A full-page advertisement placed in the New York Times at a cost of 15 318 dollars (about R13 000) defends South Africa's role in Angola and rebukes Western governments for failing to check Russian intervention there.

## Unveiling

The advertisement says that when arguments against assisting South Africa in Angola were at their strongest in the Western Press last month, South Korea unveiled a monument to the South Africans killed there in the fight against communism.

"In Addis Ababa, 22 Black African nations did not seem to mind the South African 'taint' by voting against recognition of the MPLA as the single inheritor of Angola. They voted against this Russian-directed movement.

## Stuck with it

The advertisement after referring to specious reasons to stay out, concludes: "The Western world is now stuck with the long-term problem — the ceaseless expansion of the biggest imperialist power the world has ever seen. The advance of the Soviets threatens our whole way of life."

In the same issue of the New York Times, another advertisement announces that the newspaper will publish a nine-page advertising feature on investments in South Africa on February 22.

The advertisement was sponsored by the Club of Ten, a London-based group of influential politicians and businessmen, and it is the first concerted attempt to counter a mounting propaganda campaign in support of the MPLA.

The bold-type headlines of the advertisement state: "The free world stands today in greater danger than at any time since the darkest days of World War Two."

It then gives a brief introduction to the Angolan conflict, including a quote from FNL leader Holden Roberto saying: "I am strongly against apartheid, but I will say this for South Africa — when they see a neighbour's house burning they come to put out the fire."

## Role of honour

Under a sub-heading "South Africa's role of honour," the advertisement adds: "In some quarters in the West it was argued that, having Russia take over Angola would be preferable to being caught on the same side as racist South Africa."

"In the First and Second World Wars, the free world heard no such arguments when South Africans (then infinitely more racist than today) fought and died on our side. Also in Korea, in the fight against a communist invasion, we accepted South Africa (under the same government as today — only then much less enlightened) as a sturdy ally without reservations.

"The United States alone honoured South African airmen with almost a hundred medals and had its Eighteenth Bomber Wing play the first two bars of the South African national anthem every morning in honour of the South African role."

# MPLA and Swapo in dam area

10/2/76 RDM  
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By BOB HITCHCOCK  
Military Correspondent

SMALL groups of MPLA commandos, guided and supported by Swapo terrorists, are active north of Calueque Dam in southern Angola, it was disclosed last night.

Foreign intelligence reports reaching South Africa yesterday said the MPLA-Swapo guerilla force aimed to "soften" the defence posts held by South African troops north of, and around, Calueque Dam about 25 km inside Angola from the Owambo border in South West Africa.

The joint force is armed with Russian 122 mm ground-to-ground rockets, mortars and other weapons, say the foreign sources.

Last Thursday, two South African soldiers were killed in action in the "Operational Area" when their post was attacked by enemy rockets.

Asked last night where in the "Operational Area" the attack took place, an Army spokesman, Colonel Markus Nortje, said: "Somewhere on the defence line."

The idea of the MPLA-Swapo guerilla operation, according to the foreign sources, is to pave the way for a planned push by Cuban troops of the MPLA to the extreme south of Angola, close to the South West Africa border.

Unita sources yesterday confirmed the fall of Huambo, the movement's administrative capital, to the MPLA.

Its fall was announced yesterday by the Unita Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Dr Jorge Sangumba, who said Huambo had been captured by "an overwhelming force of Cuban troops."

Dr Sangumba said they had supporting weapons of all kinds, including T54 and T34 tanks, helicopters and jets, reports the "Mail" Africa Bureau.

Unita forces were keeping communist forces at bay, he said adding: "Of course the fall of Huambo is painful, but it is not a deadly or surprising wound."

## Accidental death No 15 on border

Mail Africa Bureau Correspondent

THE 15th accidental death in the "Operational Area" since July was announced by Defence Headquarters yesterday.

The latest to die is Private A. J. Strydom, 21, of Nigel. He died after a shooting accident on Sunday morning. He was unmarried.

Asked why there were so many accidental deaths in the "Operational Area", a Defence Force spokesman said last night: "Perhaps because there are so many part-time soldiers serving in the area."

Thirty-one soldiers have been killed in action, bringing total deaths in the "Operational Area" since July to 46.

## No threats, says Botha

THE ASSEMBLY. — The Government's new defence proposals are aimed at countering dangers to South Africa and are no threat to other countries, the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, said in the Assembly yesterday.

Winding up the Third-Reading Debate on the Defence Amendment Bill, he said the provisions for service outside our borders had been misinterpreted by people who suspected South Africa of aggressive intentions.

The Bill clearly stated that action would be taken only when South Africa or its interests were threatened.

The Bill provided for military action in the case of a state of emergency, terrorism or an armed conflict outside South Africa, but in each case there must be a threat to South Africa.

The Bill was read a third time, the PRP voting against it.

Mr Botha said the PRP, the HNP and English language newspapers had suggested that the Government had called up minors illegally, without their parents' permission, for military service. These suggestions were flagrantly dishonest, and a crime towards the soldiers.

"Legal opinion available to US says what we have done so far has been in accordance with existing law." — Sapa.

## Rhodesians die

Mail Africa Bureau

SALISBURY. — The first White Rhodesian policeman to be killed by guerilla action since November, 1972, has died in the border war.

He was Patrol Officer Bruce Macley Baker, 23, a single man, whose death with that of an African policeman, Constable David Twavenga, 21 and single, was announced last night by Security Force headquarters in Salisbury.

The British South Africa Police have now lost seven men killed on the border.

Security Force losses now total 83, mostly army men.

Three guerillas were also killed in the latest clash, bringing their death toll to 736 in three years.





# LUSAKA - Soviet tanks driven by Cubans rolled into Huambo yesterday, forcing the Unita army to flee south and east, harassed by MiG fighters and helicopter gunships.

The city was abandoned by Unita after it had been subjected to the greatest concentration of communist-supplied firepower ever seen on the African continent.

The first of an estimated 6000 Cuban regulars leading the current offensive by the Luanda-based MPLA regime entered the deserted streets of the once-lovely, tree-lined provincial capital shortly before dawn aboard Russian T-54 tanks, similar to those used in the invasion

of Czechoslovakia, according to eyewitness accounts reaching Lusaka last night.

Dr Jorge Sangumba, Unita Foreign Secretary, told a hastily-summoned news conference in a Lusaka hotel after speaking with Dr Jonas Savombi, his leader: "The fall of Huambo is painful, but not a supreme nor a deadly wound. Losing a town does not mean we have lost the war."

Even if Unita lost all the towns, it would fight on. It had 20 000 troops to continue a guerilla war, he said.

To the east, Unita had retreated to Vila Nova, 50 km from Huambo, and to the south Unita had moved to heights a few kilometres from the city.

Asked if Unita could defend its military headquarters, Silva Porto, Mr Sangumba said: "Some more assistance in terms of weapons is coming."

But he appeared less confident about the promised retaliation against MPLA-Cuban air strikes.

Unita had claimed last week that it would retaliate within 48 hours if Huambo was attacked from the air.

Mr Sangumba said: "We already have people trying to organise our friends who promised to give us this type of assistance, but the problem with our friends is that they are very slow. They have too much blah-blah, too much talk, but the firm commitment is there."

The inability of Unita to hold on to its capital, and the total defeat of the other anti-communist movement, FNLA, in the north of Angola, have apparently convinced the British Government to recognise the MPLA soon,

reports from London say.

There are already strong pressures from within the Labour Party for official backing to be given to the MPLA.

Now that Huambo has fallen, and Luso is reported surrounded by Cuban-MPLA forces, the only other Unita-held town in the south is Silva Porto.

Small groups of MPLA commandos have already penetrated 500 km to the south of Huambo and are harassing South African troops.

The MPLA units are guided and aided by Swapo terrorists, and are active just to the north of the Calueque Dam, north of the South West Africa border with Angola.

Calueque is 25 km inside Angola.

Foreign intelligence reports reaching South Africa have said the MPLA-Swapo aim was to "soften" the South African defences around the dam.

Forces confronting the South Africans were known to be armed with 122 mm rockets and mortars.

Two South African soldiers were killed in action in "the operational area" last week when their post came under rocket attack.

Efforts by the International Red Cross to visit South African troops held prisoner by the MPLA have so far failed.

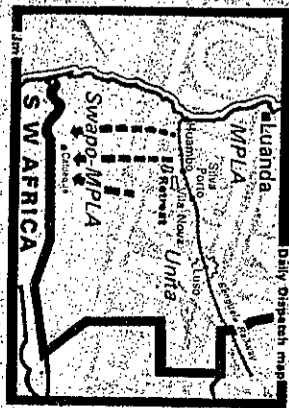
The IRC's director of operations, Mr J.P. Hocke, had hoped to visit Luanda this week to discuss the prisoners, but the MPLA has delayed his visit by a fortnight.

The IRC is also seeking to contact some 2000 FNLA troops believed to have been captured by the MPLA-Cuban forces in northern Angola. — DDC-SAPA-RNS

Tuesday,  
February 10, 1976

# Unita flee Huambo

# DAILY DISPATCH



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# Red rocket troops 'plan push south'

NM 10/27/76

Mr. Jorge Sangumba, "foreign secretary" of Unita, said an overwhelming force of 6 000 Cubans mounted the final attack supported by more than 70 armoured vehicles, including Soviet-made tanks, helicopters, jet warplanes, artillery and rockets.

The Mercury correspondent in London says persistent and highly sourced diplomatic claims, there say that Britain and other Western European governments are moving to force a peace by agreeing to recognise the MPLA regime as the sole government of Angola.

● See also Page 2

## Mercury Correspondent

**PRETORIA**—Small groups of MPLA commandos, guided and backed by Swapo terrorists, are active north of Calueque Dam, in southern Angola, it was disclosed last night.

Foreign intelligence reports reaching here say the MPLA-Swapo force aims to "soften" the defence posts held by South African troops to the north of, and around, the dam, about 25km inside Angola from the Owambo border in South West Africa.

The force, according to the sources, is armed with Russian 122mm ground-to-ground rockets, and other weapons.

Two South African soldiers were killed last Thursday when their post was attacked by rockets.

Asked where the attack took place, Army spokesman Colonel Markus Nortje last night said: "Somewhere on the defence line."

He did not know what rockets were used.

"All we know," he said, "is that our troops heard the sound of rockets."

The 122mm rocket, fired from a DKZ-B free-flight missile launcher, is a high-explosive fragmentation rocket, with a range of about 11km.

The idea of the MPLA-Swapo operation, according to foreign sources, is to pave the way for a planned push by Cuban troops to the extreme south of Angola.

They would have to out-gun and out-manceuvre several hundred South African soldiers who, according to the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, are defending Calueque Dam up to 50km inside Angola.

Sapa-Reuter-AP reports from Lusaka say thousands of Cubans backed by artillery, MiG jet fighters and Soviet-built tanks have swarmed into Huambo, the administrative capital of Angola's anti-Communist

UNITA 1976

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# Savimbi fires at US politicians

10/27/76 RDM

**SILVA PORTO.** — The Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, yesterday launched a blistering attack on American politicians who opposed aid to his forces.

He accused them of wanting democracy and freedom for themselves but dictatorship for others.

Dr Savimbi also said it was "too simple reasoning" for Democratic Senator Hubert Humphrey to say that Angola was too

far away.

Angola was even further away from the Soviet Union's accepted zone of influence than from America, he said.

"When these politicians say they are in favour of sacrificing Angola they have to prepare themselves for the follow-up. It will be the beginning of a new era of fighting without boundaries and of subversion of countries that are already independent," Dr Savimbi said.

"It is a mistake for America not to get involved because anything that happens in Angola affects Zambia, Zaire and the rest of Southern Africa."

Describing US senators and Congressmen who opposed aid to Unita as anti-democratic, he said: "We deplore that Tunney, Clark and Diggs want democracy and freedom for themselves in the United States, but want dictatorship for others."

Senators John Tunney and Dick Clark and Congressman Charles Diggs have been leading opponents of covert US aid to Unita and they back the establishment of contacts with the MPLA.—Sapa-  
Reuter.

# 'Negative' Angola excursion—Jacobs

Cape Times 11/2/76  
Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA'S excursion into Angola was rapidly yielding a massive negative balance with the troop withdrawal a major psychological boost to the country's enemies, Dr Gideon Jacobs, said yesterday.

At the same time the Hillbrow MP warned that the Russian-Cuban presence had greatly changed the balance of power in Africa, leading to a general conclusion that only violence could bring change in White-controlled Southern Africa.

Addressing a United Party women's rally in Sea Point, Dr Jacobs also warned of a sudden hardening of attitude of South Africa's Black leaders who had already claimed that they were the last generation of negotiators.

South Africa's alternatives, he said, were either to live in an armed camp like Israel "or we must negotiate because we have at the most five years to reach and implement a workable racial solution".

Dr Jacobs said that by going into Angola and then withdrawing, a bigger and more dangerous vacuum had been created and South Africa had lost the diplomatic leverage it had.

He warned that there would be increased hostility towards South Africa

from Black states because South Africa's withdrawal "is a major psychological boost to our enemies".

A most ominous situation was developing in Southern Africa. Zambia and Zaire were vulnerable in the extreme. Rhodesia was being outflanked and in South West Africa there was no further room for manoeuvre.

Pro-communist elements were putting a belt across Southern Africa with far-reaching strategic implications. It would mean a major increase in South Africa's defence commitment.

It would also tend to block South Africa's diplomatic initiatives with the rest of Africa but the South African Government was showing no sign of understanding the urgency of the situation.

"All around us, Africa is going up in flames, threatening to engulf South Africa and our very existence and this Government spends its time working out in which international hotel pool Blacks can swim," Dr Jacobs said.

Much of what was happening was borne out by the findings of the Snyman Commission of Inquiry into the disturbances at the University of the North (Turloop).

The short extract from the speech by Dr Jacobs handed to the press followed the trend of his speech during the no-confidence debate in which he warned that Angola had been a traumatic experience with immense consequences.

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## 'believes (S) in peace'

Own Correspondent

PAARL. — Mr Brand Fourie, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, told the Paarl Rotary Club yesterday that South Africa believed in peace détente but it could not neglect its own defences.

He said that this was a time for balanced thinking and a balanced approach.

"Face the dangers and face them confidently," he added.

South Africa's involvement in Angola was intended to gain time, to create an opportunity for the OAU to find a solution to the problem and to give the West the opportunity to realize what was happening.

Russian intervention had caused great concern in Africa and could create very significant problems.

In Rhodesia a crucial stage had been reached and South Africa wished Rhodesians well. This might be the final opportunity to settle the constitutional crisis there.

In South West Africa, negotiations were still proceeding and the people of SWA must find their own solution to their problems.

Cape Times 11/2/76

(5)

## Angola: Strong force needed

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A strong South African air and ground force could halt the Cuban-spearheaded MPLA advance on the extreme south of Angola, South Africa-based foreign military sources said last night.

The South African force would need Mirages and other combat aircraft, and an armoured column with infantry and other support.

The sources said that one of two things is likely to happen when the communist forces get close to the Calueque dam, which is an integral part of the South African-financed

Ruacana hydro-electric scheme.

Either the MPLA Cuban troops, with their sophisticated weapons and aircraft, would engage the South African forces in battle or the MPLA would attempt to negotiate a solution, possibly giving the South African Government the assurance that the hydro-electric scheme would be protected.

The MPLA, once it feels it fully controls Angola, might consider negotiating a deal with South Africa on the hydro-electric scheme, because the Calueque end of the scheme would benefit Angola, just as the whole scheme would benefit Owambo, in South West Africa.

The sources said that whichever decision was taken by the MPLA — an attempt to break through the South African defence line around and slightly north of the dam, or peaceful negotiations — a show of military strength by this country's defence force was likely to be necessary in the area within the next few weeks.

The sources emphasized that this assessment was made on the basis of America's apparent reluctance to fight communism in Southern Africa.

# RECOGNISES Dr NETO'S MARXISTS

# fall without a claims

11/2/76 NM.

# MPLA

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One of the 50 grim-faced and head-shorn mercenaries who landed in Brussels en route to London confirmed the massacre.

After landing in Brussels the war-weary Britons at first refused to speak to reporters and there were minor scuffles as they jostled their way through reporters and news photographers. Two of them were on crutches and others had superficial wounds.

Another mercenary said that he had last heard of the commander "Callan" who had ordered the massacre was wounded in the shoulder and leg, in an area now about 70km behind MPLA front positions.

"He was pumped full of morphine by medics. But I reckon he will be OK. He's a great survivor," the man said.

In New York, Roy Harris, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) said yesterday he hoped to send about 200 men to Angola within the next six weeks to aid one of the pro-Western sides fighting there. — (Sapa AP.)

**BELGRADE** — Troops of the MPLA were reported to have captured the southern Angolan ports of Lobito and Benguela yesterday, as Uganda announced its recognition of the Soviet-backed movement.

Quoting an official announcement by the MPLA, the Yugoslav news agency, Tanjug, said that the troops met no resistance when they entered the two port towns.

Unita had already withdrawn from Lobito and Benguela, Tanjug said.

The agency said a thrust towards the town of Sa da Bandeira was expected as the next step in the MPLA offensive on the southern front.

The MPLA would have to capture the towns of Silva Porto and Lušo to take control of the strategic Benguela railway which straddles the country from east to west.

Tanjug said the capture of Silva Porto and Lušo was "a question of hours."

The MPLA's successes spread to the political front yesterday as Uganda Radio announced President Idi Amin's decision to recognise the movement.

Uganda became the 26th member of the Organisation of African Unity to recognise the MPLA.

The radio, monitored in London, said President Amin made the recognition announcement at a Cabinet meeting yesterday.

The radio said President Amin had sent MPLA leader, Dr. Agostinho Neto, a message explaining why Uganda had recognised his movement.

He said he had been notified that 25 OAU member States had recognised the MPLA and that "in accordance with the OAU charter this simple majority automatically entitles the MPLA-led Government to full membership of the OAU."

Meanwhile, in London, disenchanted British mercenaries continued to arrive from Angola yesterday, as the Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, told Parliament there now seemed little doubt that some of their comrades had been massacred for refusing to fight.

Angrily, Mr. Wilson announced he was setting up an official inquiry into the prospects of outlawing any future recruiting of soldiers of fortune for foreign wars.

He told the House of Commons that the men who recruited the mercenaries in Britain were just a bunch of small-time crooks.

He spoke just a few hours after some 50 dejected British mercenaries had flown back to London's Heathrow Airport where they were rounded up by detectives and questioned about reports of battlefield executions.

The detectives pressed questions about reports which have flooded the British Press in the past two days saying that 14 British mercenaries were shot dead by their own comrades for declining to face the Soviet-backed enemy in Angola.



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# S.A. youth guarding the border

N.M. 23/12/76.

Mercury Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG**—The vast majority of South African troops serving in Angola and on the South West Africa-Angola border are national servicemen in their late teens or early twenties.

Just over half of the fatalities in the operational area so far have been national servicemen.

Disclosing this in Pretoria yesterday, a spokesman for the Defence Force added: "National servicemen in the area are being led by Permanent Force officers and senior NCO."

Only one-tenth of the soldiers serving in the operational area were members of the Permanent Force, the spokesman said. But one-third of all fatalities so far were Permanent Force men.

The spokesman pointed out that only six percent of the entire Defence Force were Permanent Force members. The rest were national servicemen and part-time soldiers of the Citizen Force and Commandos.

As with Israel's armed forces, Permanent Force men and women in South Africa form the hard core of the army.

They are responsible for training national servicemen, the Citizen Force and Commandos, to create as formidable a military reserve as possible.

Permanent Force personnel also handle administration, communications, and operational leadership of the army.

The Army relies heavily on the skills and fitness of Citizen Force soldiers. If there were general mobilisation for conventional war, Citizen Force units could, in theory, be moved into battle almost overnight.

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# Mandela, POW deal rumoured

NM 23/12/75

Mercury Correspondent

PARIS — There are indications here that the four South African soldiers captured by the MPLA forces in Angola will be exchanged for leading Black political prisoners in South Africa like Nelson Mandela, according to African circles here.

African delegates attending an anti-racist conference in Paris earlier this month said then that if any South African prisoners were taken in Angola, they would be used as hostages and exchanged for Black political prisoners in the Republic. They mentioned the name of Mandela.

Meanwhile French international legal experts admit that the case of the four South African prisoners is rather a difficult one, for they were captured when wearing fatigues without identification. They could be labelled as "spies" and shot.

The MPLA, which is a political movement rather than a government or state, has naturally never signed the Geneva Conventions on prisoners of war.

It was understood here the four men will be flown to Addis Ababa to be exhibited at the forthcoming Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit — scheduled for January 12 and chaired by President Idi Amin of Uganda.

A decision on their fate will not be taken before then. They are looked on as major trump cards, not to be wasted by exchanging them for Cuban prisoners of war held by the FNLA-Unita side.

Meanwhile, a reliable source close to the Elysée Palace said that President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing seemed unable to make a clear decision over French intervention in Angola, although his advisers favour this course.

Office for a discussion on the Angolan situation.

Mr. Wentzel attended in place of Ambassador Carel de Wet who is still on holiday in South Africa.

It is understood that Mr. Callaghan reiterated as directly and strongly as he could the British Government's view that

all foreign troops should withdraw from Angola before the situation escalated.

Mr. Callaghan has been preaching the gospel of non-intervention in his discussions with his Nato and Community colleagues in Europe and latterly with Dr. Kissinger in Paris.

From London our correspondent cabled last night that the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Nikolai Lunkov, and the South African Charge d'Affaires, Mr. F. J. Wentzel, both had meetings with the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. James Callaghan, yesterday.

They had been invited separately to the Foreign

DA 26/12/75

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## Early change in US policy on Angola unlikely—Prog

CAPE TOWN — A reversal in the position of the United States on Angola is unlikely until at least after the United States general election, the Progressive Reform Party MP for Rondebosch, Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert, said here yesterday.

Dr Slabbert, who arrived back from a six-week visit to the United States said: "On all levels in the United States it appears the Angolan crisis took place at the wrong time and mood for United States involvement."

The Senate response had to be seen against the background of a "Vietnam hangover," post-Watergate emphasis on the accountability of Government, and the general election, to be held late next year.

Newspaper editorials and opinion-makers generally stress internal dom-

estic responsibilities, and one senses the Congress and Senate to be generally isolationist inclined.

"At the same time, politicians with their eyes on the elections do not want to introduce issues of involvement for the US as a whole that the average voter either does not fully understand or is not interested in.

"In short, it is simply too difficult to explain to the average voter why the US should in any way be involved in Angola."

The dilemma facing President Ford and Dr Kissinger was exactly to dovetail their foreign policy objects with domestic performance. Both had emphasised the significance of Angola in the present detente with Russia.

The US position on Angola was undoubtedly strategic in this respect.

The fact that the United States did not in some way counterbalance Russian involvement in Angola was seen to weaken Dr Kissinger's bargaining position in the Russian-US detente negotiations.

"However, it is also true that detente with Russia is itself a controversial issue in domestic politics, and increases the President's vulnerability from the Right—a factor which Reagan, for example, is quick to exploit."—SAPA.

# Exchange deal for Mandela proposed

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — There are indications in Paris that attempts will be made to exchange the four South African soldiers captured by the MPLA in Angola for leading Black political prisoners in South Africa, like Nelson Mandela, according to African circles in Paris.

African delegates attending an anti-racist conference in Paris earlier this month said then that if any South African prisoners were taken in Angola, they would be used as hostages and exchanged for Black political prisoners. They mentioned the name of Mandela.

## DIFFICULT

Meanwhile, French international legal experts admit the case of the four South African prisoners is a difficult one, for they were captured when wearing fatigues without identification. They could be labelled as "spies" and shot.

The MPLA, which is a political movement rather than a government or state, has naturally never signed the Geneva Conventions on prisoners of war.

It was understood in Paris the four men would be flown to Addis Ababa to be exhibited at the forthcoming OAU summit scheduled for January 12.

A decision on their fate would not be taken before then. They were looked on as major trump cards, not to be wasted by exchanging them for Cuban prisoners held by FNLA-Unita.

Meanwhile, a reliable source close to the Elysee Palace said President Giscard d'Estaing seemed unable to make a clear decision over French intervention in Angola, although his advisers favoured this course.

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310 ~~Banning~~

# US on brink of join Angolan war, says re

By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK.—The United States is on the brink of taking a direct combat role in Angola with a carrier task force placed on full alert and US Air Force units now directly supplying battle areas, it was claimed in New York at a briefing based upon material said to have been provided by "highly placed" Department of Defence sources.

It was also alleged that US cargo planes were now dropping supplies directly to allied troops operating on the central front and that these planes fly from an airfield in Zaire.

An eye-witness was also produced to support the allegation that mercenary recruiting had started among regular US Army units with enlisted men encouraged by their officers to make the switch.

The allegations were released in eight statistic-packed pages of material prepared by Mr. Sean Gervasi, an economist and consultant to the Centre for National Security Studies, a privately-endowed Washington organisation.

Claiming that much of it was provided directly by dissident Pentagon elements concerned by the escalating American involvement, Mr Gervasi asserted that it was "now certain" that the carrier Independence was placed on contingency orders and full alert ready if necessary to fly tactical air strikes in Angola.

"This totally belies the present claims that the US Government is trying to hold back from a combat role in Angola," said Mr Gervasi, who was one of the first people some time ago to uncover evidence of the famed and still officially denied US policy

tilt towards White-ruled South Africa.

Two years ago he was one of the authors of a highly controversial UN document on the increase of naval activity in the Indian Ocean, which later was withdrawn under pressure from both eastern and western blocs.

This latest Gervasi allegation comes just as the congressional row over Angola reaches its climax and the Ford Administration is stepping up its campaign to see that aid continues to flow to the FNLA-Unita forces at war with the Soviet-backed MPLA.

The Gervasi document

portrays a "general escalation" in Angola, with communist and Western backers of the rival factions reacting in turn to each other and stepping up their support.

It concedes that the flow of supplies from Soviet bloc countries is continuing and suggests that a brigade of "African volunteers" for the MPLA is being formed, which will have Soviet advisers.

Meanwhile, it asserts, the United States has intervened directly in combat areas, increased its supplies and moved another step towards the use of its naval air forces for a tactical support mission.

The carrier Independence, with the cruiser Boston and three destroyers in support is now in the Azores, ready to fly its F-4 Phantom jets on tactical air support strikes over Angola, it maintains.

Sometime after November 15 the carrier was specially armed with anti-personnel configuration ordnance — several hundred tons of napalm, sidewinder missiles and fragmentation bombs.

"The group has now been placed on full alert, which carries preparedness further," it goes on to claim and it points to the recent reports of US spotter planes now said to be

28/12/75

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# Now it's the battle of the big guns in Angola

## Tribune Africa News Service

HUAMBO (formerly Nova Lisboa): Blown bridges and massive supplies of weapons, sophisticated Russian 122 mm Katyushka rockets, have bogged down the Angolan war and turned offensives into slugging matches of big guns.

The FNLA-Unita thrust from the south towards the vital Cambambe Dam has turned into a duel with a battalion of Cuban troops equipped with the fearsome Katyushka.

The MPLA and Cuban troops have occupied the heights over the Cuanza river and fortified the old Portuguese fort of Massango.

The Unita push on the MPLA-held town of Texeira da Sousa, where the vital Benguela railway line enters Angola from Zaire, has apparently been halted by the destruction of a bridge over the Luachimo river between Luso and the target town.

The drive is a second prong of a Unita push, reportedly led by White mercenaries, including some South Africans, from Luso to Henrique de Carvalho.

Nevertheless, the Unita troops, generally not considered the best in the war, have performed well in recent clashes.

Close combat is not to the taste of any of the three factions. But they have a wide range of weaponry. Those in common use by Unita include:

- 7.62 mm automatic weapons of Belgian, Portuguese, Italian, and Spanish origin.

- Some Kalashnikov AK-47 assault rifles (used mainly by officers in the field).

- Light and heavy machine guns ranging from World War II

Browning 50 calibre to modern ones

- American-made trench mortars of 80 and 120 mm size.

- A ranch of recoilless rifles and an American-made short range anti-tank rocket.

Unita also has many Panhard-type armoured cars with a 90 mm gun mounted on them, used to give cover to infantry and punch into enemy defence lines.

There are several Puma helicopters in use on the Unita side, but it is doubtful that they are gunships.

Two light planes, a Fokker Friendship F-27, and a fleet of heavy trucks make up Unita's logistics lifeline.

The MPLA has the more sophisticated supply of weaponry, and are well equipped with the conventional Kalashnikovs, 80 and 122 mm mortars, and other light weapons.

## Captured

They also have medium howitzers and rapid-fire 400 mm automatic guns for anti-armoured car use. Unita claims to have captured more than 100 tons of this equipment from the MPLA in about two weeks.

On the Luso front Unita says it recently captured a six-wheeled army truck being used as a communications and command vehicle with sophisticated equipment including computers for aiming rockets.

The rockets carry an estimated 80 kg explosive warhead and can be fired in barrages.

Twelve MiG-21's are said to be in the assembly stage in Luan-da, and 10 Cuban-trained pilots are available to fly them.

88 27/12/75

# SA can't fight Reds — Vorster

NEW YORK — The sophisticated Russian weaponry being sent into Angola was "certainly beyond our limits" to counter, Mr Vorster has warned America in an interview published here.

Amid reports being circulated that South Africa has threatened to end its support for the forces fighting the Soviet-backed MPLA unless the United States provides further aid Mr Vorster was quoted as warning:

"If it was just a question of the Angolans themselves, the war would be over already. The MPLA has inferior forces and controls only one-fourth of Angola's territory and population.

"But the Russians send in sophisticated weapons: tanks, 122 mm rockets mounted in clusters of 50 on lorries, infantry-borne SAM's. Only big-powers can offset this arsenal — above all the 122 mm rockets. It is certainly beyond our limits."

The US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, has said that the US stand on Angola would not change despite the Senate vote to cut off military aid to the FNLA-Unita factions.

He declared the Ford administration was determined "to make a major effort" with the restricted



MR VORSTER

resources left, to prevent the Soviet-backed faction from dominating Angola.

Mr Vorster said he wished American public opinion would overcome its "Vietnam complex."

Moscow was openly intervening, while trumpeting that only South Africa was involved. Yet both Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi had said that South Africa was not involved in the fighting — "I stand on that," Mr Vorster said.

Dr Kissinger portrayed America's global strategy as in danger of coming apart because of domestic opposition to funding an Angola operation and he warned Russia that "if it

continues its actions, such as in Angola, we will, without any doubt, resist. Failure to resist will convince other countries that their own security is at stake."

But the conference, which Dr Kissinger called to rally support for his badly dented Angola policy, was murky in terms of detail and he was far from clear how the US intended to "resist," and force the Soviet bloc out of Angola.

He went on to stress one point that further confused the issue. He said Washington did not necessarily oppose victory by the MPLA, or a Marxist Angola.

"We are not opposed to the MPLA as such. We make a distinction between the factions in Angola and the outside intervention. We can live with any of the factions in Angola and we would never have given assistance to any of the other factions if other great powers had stayed out of this."

The US was prepared to accept "any outcome in Angola before massive arms shipments by the Soviet Union and the introduction of Cuban troops."

Congressional belief that the opposite was true, and

that it was Dr Kissinger's covert support policy that triggered off a massive Soviet response, is one of the reasons the Senate voted to cut off further arms aid.

Dr Kissinger said: "We are going to make a major effort, both diplomatically and on the ground (in Angola), to make do with what we have."

Other points made by Mr Vorster in his interview were:

On Rhodesia: "Given goodwill on both sides, the question can still be settled." South Africa had not applied pressure on Mr Smith, but had been "instrumental in bringing the parties together, as an intermediary, but at no time did we lay down the rules."

On the future of Southern Africa: "A kind of economic common market, rather than a confederation, was likely to develop. Bophuthatswana would join the Transkei in independence in 1978 and further lands might be sold or exchanged with their new governments.

"Black Africa's dilemma is that for generations to come the new nations won't be able to fully employ their workers. They just can't create enough job opportunities.

"All told we must employ about a million foreign workers in South Africa, either legally or illegally. And remember, we are not concerned about the colour of our neighbours, all we care about is that we have good and stable governments on our borders."

Meanwhile a Washington paper has claimed that the French and US intelligence agencies are working together to supply money and arms to the FNLA.

The Washington Post also said the French counter-espionage agency, SDECE had become more professional and was co-operating with the CIA and other Western intelligence agencies more than under the late Pres De Gaulle.

"SDECE with Giscard's evident approval is now

co-operating, for example with the CIA and Zaire's Pres Mobutu Sese Sese by channelling arms and money to Holden Roberto's FNLA, according to French, African and diplomatic sources. — DDC-SAPA/RNS.

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DD 31/12/75

# Unita ceasefire plea expected

LONDON — Leaders of the Angolan Unita faction are expected to repeat their call for an immediate ceasefire despite the Marxist MPLA's rejection of their earlier plea.

This time they will also call for free elections under United Nations supervision, it was learned.

Informed sources said a political plan to end the war was being considered at the emergency meeting of Unita leaders now going on in Huambo, provisional capital of the "Democratic Republic of Angola" formed by the anti-Russian Unita and FNLA movements.

The meeting is regarded as an important forerunner to the Organisation of African Unity summit due to take place in Addis Ababa next week.

Unita sources in Lusaka, where the movement has its main foreign mission, said they believed any political plan presented to the OAU by their leaders would be based on a call for free elections under UN supervision, and the formation of a caretaker government of national unity including all three nationalist movements.

A prerequisite would ob-

viously be the mutually agreed withdrawal of all foreign intervention in the civil war.

According to the Unita plan, elections would be contested equally by the three rival movements, and on their outcome would depend the future government of Angola.

Unita spokesmen are not hopeful that their call for elections will be accepted, however, for the MPLA has hitherto shown itself opposed to a multi-party system. It prefers a one-party regime.

Unita would like to see included in any agreement a condition that a start be made on the demilitarisation of Luanda, the stronghold of the MPLA "people's Republic."

This is considered important for the functioning of a government of national unity in Luanda.

A Cuban correspondent said the MPLA had inflicted appreciable losses on the FNLA and Unita.

Several armoured vehicles were destroyed and numerous weapons seized. At nearby Ebo two helicopters were shot down, according to the report.

Cuban planes taking reinforcements to Angola are now refuelling in the Portuguese Azores, according to an Azores newspaper.

The newspaper said a number of Soviet-built jets flying to Guinea-Bissau from Havana had been landing during the last few days.

It said the planes were transporting Cuban troops sent to fight with the MPLA. — DDC-SAPA-RNS.



# Vorster, advisers meet over Angola

DD 31/12/75



DR MULLER



MR BOTHA

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JOHANNESBURG — As speculation grew that South Africa might be preparing to withdraw totally from Angola, the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, called in his top defence, security and foreign affairs advisers for a day-long meeting yesterday.

The meeting was at Mr Vorster's holiday home at Oubosstrand near Humansdorp.

The Prime Minister said the meeting, the third of a series of discussions of this nature in the past two weeks, had been attended by the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr H. H. Muller, senior officers of the Defence Force, senior officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs and of the Bureau for State Security, and the South African Ambassador to the United Nations and the US, Mr R. F. Botha.

The Afrikaans paper, Die Vaderland, reported yesterday afternoon that a certain point for discussion at a top-level meeting, about which it speculated, would be the Minister of Defence's statement that South Africa will withdraw entirely from Angola if her interests in that country are guaranteed.

Linked with this, the newspaper noted, was the condition that terrorist attacks from Angola on South West Africa must stop.

There has also been speculation from reliable American sources that South Africa would make a withdrawal offer either before or during the forthcoming meeting of the Organisation of African Unity.

Russia and Cuba would then be the only foreign powers in Angola, and increased OAU pressure against them would be expected.

Mr Vorster confirmed that the earlier two meetings on Angola had been attended by the same senior officials, except for the Ambassador to the UN who arrived in South Africa only on Sunday and

was scheduled to return to his post tomorrow.

Mr Vorster denied newspaper reports that the ambassador, Mr Botha, had delivered a personal message from the President of the United States, Mr Gerald Ford, and declined to elaborate on whether any decisions regarding Angola had been taken at the summit meeting. — SAPA.

# VORSTER HAS TOP TEAM IN FOR TALKS

31/12/75

NM

Mercury Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH** — The Prime Minister yesterday called in senior Cabinet Ministers and top Defence Force officers for talks on Angola and related matters.

The talks were at Mr. Vorster's secluded holiday home at Oubosrand on the wild Tsitsikama coast south of Port Elizabeth.

He told me this was the third such discussion in the past fortnight.

The Ministers of Defence (Mr. P. W. Botha) and Foreign Affairs (Dr. Hilgard Müller), top officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs and of the Bureau for State Security were at the talks.

The South African Ambassador to the United Nations and United States, Mr. R. F. K. (Pik) Botha, was also at yesterday's meeting.

Mr. Vorster denied a Press report that Mr. Botha had delivered a personal message from President Ford on Angola.

The Prime Minister said Mr. Botha's visit was to give him first-hand information on events in the United Nations and the United States.

Mr. Botha is due to return to the United States tomorrow.

Mr. Vorster will deliver his New Year's message to the nation at seven o'clock tonight, and is expected to review the situation in Angola and South West Africa.

He may offer to withdraw South African forces from Angola provided South Africa's interests are guaranteed.

The Prime Minister yesterday said he had little time to relax since arriving at his holiday home, where there are no shops, cinemas, restaurants or a golf course.

"My wife keeps reminding me I owe her a walk on the beach," he said.

## MPLA advancing in south say Cubans

**HAVANA** — Soviet-backed MPLA forces appear to be gaining ground in Angola according to a Cuban newspaper report.

At the same time there are reports not confirmed that four African countries are ready to send troops to back the MPLA.

Sapa-Reuter reporting from Havana says that forces of the MPLA took over the town of Careango, 300km south-east of Luanda, and other positions on the southern front in Angola last Friday, according to the official Cuban daily Granma.

In a cable from Quibala, about 41km west of

Careango, a Granma correspondent said that the MPLA had inflicted appreciable losses on forces of the FNLA and Unita.

Several armoured vehicles were destroyed and numerous weapons seized. At nearby Ebo two helicopters were shot down.

Granma said FNLA and Unita forces left

behind secret files containing personal records of their members in their race southwards.

The MPLA had concentrated troops and modern weaponry in the area, which was a strategic communications junction on the way to Luanda.

In Lagos Nigerian officials had no immediate comment on a statement that four African countries including Nigeria were ready to send troops to Angola.

Major Henrique Carvalho dos Santos, a military MPLA commander, named the other countries as the Congo, Guinea and Guinea-Bissau.

From Lusaka Sapa reports that while Zaire will back any moves to halt the war in Angola it will continue to support the FNLA.

# Two copters shot down by MPLA

R.D.M. 3/12/76

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HAVANA — MPLA forces shot down two helicopters and destroyed several armored vehicles when they took over the town of Careango, 300 kilometres south-east of Luanda, and other positions on the southern front, a Cuban war correspondent reported yesterday.

The report, in the official Cuban daily, Granma, said the MPLA had inflicted appreciable losses on the forces of Unita and the FNLA and captured numerous weapons when they took over the town, a strategic communications junction last Friday.

Nigerian officials in Lagos had no immediate com-

ment yesterday on an MPLA statement that Nigeria, the Congo, Guinea and Guinea-Bissau were ready to send troops into Angola.

In Washington, Senator John Tunney said Congress will be forced to act quickly and firmly if the Administration continues aid to Unita and the FNLA.

He sent President Ford a telegram asking him to repudiate any Administration intention to keep up weapons assistance. Senator Tunney cited reports quoting a high Administration official as saying the government would continue covert aid to Angola. Sapa-Reuter-UPI.

# SAMMAY

# QUIT

S.T. 28/12/75

**Military service may be extended**

Sunday Times Reporter

THE period of military service for South Africans may be increased.

This is one of the possible consequences of the Russian intervention in Angola.

The period of compulsory national service is 12 months.

At present trainees may volunteer for 18 months or two years. In future this could be increased.

The South African Defence Force confirmed this week that in future fewer young South Africans would be exempted from military service. A spokesman said that exemption boards, not military units would in future decide on applications for exemption.

### No increase yet

The present period of three-week training camps would be extended to three months.

The spokesman denied that there had been an increase in the call-up of national servicemen so far, but said: "Various regiments that would have been doing training next year have been grouped together."

Some were being called up for three months' training instead of three weeks. Not all will do border training.

### "Criminals"

"We consider them criminals, not PoWs, because the South African troops came to kill our people."

"Public opinion must not concern itself with the prisoners. If they had stayed at home they would not have been captured. They are responsible for their own lives when they choose to fight. They knew they could die. If Unita invited South Africa, then Unita should be held responsible."

Asked for an estimate of South African troop strength in Angola, Dr De Almeida said: "Between 3 000 and 5 000 men. But it is up to the Vorster regime to say exactly what the extent of the involvement is."

Dr De Almeida said that in order to justify its aggression, the South African Government was saying that it only had troops on the border when, in fact, there were troops 700 km inside Angola.

Dr De Almeida called on "progressive and anti-racist forces" in South Africa to press the South African Government not to intervene in Angola.

"Intervention is needed at home, inside South Africa," he said. "There you have your own social and racial problems, because of the oppression of Blacks. Angola is a foreign country."

# ANGOLA

**SOUTH AFRICA is believed to be ready to withdraw its military presence from Angola. This will be its contribution to a peace initiative to be launched at a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity in Addis Ababa on January 10.**

The peace moves will seek to end all foreign intervention in Angola; and if they succeed the Russians and Cubans would also have to withdraw.

South Africa may insist, as a condition of its withdrawal, on guarantees being given that its interests in southern Angola — on the border and at the Ruacana Dam — will be protected.

The emphasis of the new initiative will be not to get the United States into Angola, but to get the Russians, Cubans and South Africans out.

South Africa, I learn, is quite prepared to fall in with this initiative. Its involvement in Angola is placing it, in the long term, in an untenable position.

Reports from many parts of the world suggest that South Africa's involvement has become counter-productive. Its presence is making it easier for the Marxist MPLA to rally support among OAU governments while alienating the FNLA and Unita from these governments.

The peace initiative at the OAU meeting will have the backing of the FNLA and Unita, of African states, including Zambia and Zaire, of Western governments, and of South Africa itself.

The aim will be not only to secure the end of all foreign intervention but to bring the MPLA, FNLA and Unita together in a national government.

The chances that the peace move will succeed appear to be slender. Although the reasoning behind it is that Russia

By **STANLEY UYS**

and Cuba will be "branded as aggressors" if they are left in Angola as the only foreign interventionists, there is no indication that they see the situation in the same light.

The MPLA, too, would be wary about joining a national government. It is in the minority in Angola — the FNLA and Unita between them claim to command the support of two-thirds or even three-quarters of Angola's six-million Blacks.

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, may refer to the situation in Angola in his New Year message this week.

Mr Vorster has attended a meeting in Plettenberg Bay with the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha; the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Brand Fourie; the Chief of the Defence Force, Admiral H. H. Biermann, and senior Defence Force officers and officials of the Bureau for State Security. Another meeting may be held this weekend.

### Inferior

In an interview published in the United States this week, Mr Vorster said: "If it was just a question of the Angolans themselves, the war would be over already. The MPLA has inferior forces and controls only a quarter of Angola's territory and population. But the Russians send in sophisticated weapons, tanks, 122-mm rockets mounted in clusters of 50 on lorries, and infantry-borne Sams.

"Only big powers can offset this arsenal — above all, the 122-mm rockets. It is certainly beyond our limits."

The Sunday Times wishes all its readers a Happy and peaceful New Year

## Four SA PoWs criminals, says MPLA

By **CHRIS VAN DER MERWE**

THE FOUR South African soldiers held by the MPLA in Angola "must be considered criminals, and not prisoners of war," Dr Luis de Almeida, the MPLA Director-General of Information, said this week.

The men would remain prisoners as long as South Africa was involved in the Angolan struggle.

Dr De Almeida ruled out the possibility of the South African soldiers being "swopped," either for Cuban PoWs or South African Black political prisoners.

In a telephone interview Dr De Almeida said: "What happens to the four soldiers is not the problem of South Africa. It is our business. South Africa's problem is to withdraw its forces and leave Angolans to solve their own problems."

### Cubans

Asked about reports that Unita (one of two factions aligned against the MPLA) would be approached to propose a swap of Cuban PoWs for the South Africans, Dr De Almeida replied: "We will have nothing to do with Unita. We cannot put South

Africans and Cubans in the same balance. The Cubans came to help a sovereign state by giving training, while South African military units are directly intervening."

Asked whether the men — Corporal Hannes Terblanche, 21, and Privates Robert Wiehann, 20, Graham Danney, 18, and Robert Wilson, 18 — were being held under the provisions of the Geneva Convention, Dr De Almeida said: "We, the People's Republic, did not declare war. So we must consider them criminals — because South Africa intervened in a country without a war declaration."

R42m FROM RUSSIA WITH LOVE

LONDON: The world record bribe — R42 million — has been paid to an African Cabinet Minister by Russia according to Liberal Party leader Jeremy Thorpe.

The bribe was paid to gain recognition of the MPLA's Angolan regime from the minister's country.

Thorpe's "red gold" report stirred up an international storm — especially when it was announced he had told the British Foreign Office and South Africa House as well.

Foreign Office officials here, after at first denying they knew about Mr Thorpe's allegations, later confirmed the Liberal leader had submitted a report to them.

It was also reported that Mr Thorpe has given information to the South African Embassy in London.

Mr Thorpe said later: "I have no doubt about the authenticity of my information. The source is impeccable.

"I cannot reveal who told me about the Russian bribe. If his name leaked out he would be in very serious trouble. I am convinced the information is true."

He first revealed details of the Russian bribe in a New Year message to the Liberal Party.

He warned: "The Russians may well have established their first permanent bridgehead in Africa, the consequences of which are incalculable."

And he called on African leaders to reflect on how many million roubles had been paid to individuals to win recognition for the Angolan Communists.

African reaction here to Mr Thorpe's allegations has been both swift and angry. A Nigerian High Commission official said the bribery claim was "preposterous" and demanded: "Why doesn't he name the country instead of slandering all countries?"

Ghana's Deputy High Commissioner said: "Ghana's Ministers, I can assure you, would not put

# Black Africa's world bribery record

S Trib  
28/12/75



Jeremy Thorpe ... certain of facts

themselves into such a perilous position of accepting bribes. Mr Thorpe should not make such statements unless he is prepared to substantiate them."

In the House of Commons next week, Foreign Secretary James Callaghan is certain to be asked searching questions about Britain's attitude to the Communist takeover in the territory.

African members of the Commonwealth — Ghana, Nigeria and Tanzania — were among the first states to recognise the MPLA regime.

The reckoning in Whitehall, said David Buchan in the Daily Express yesterday, is that the Russian money was paid to a leading Cabinet minister in one of the first countries to grant recognition.

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# Kissinger bid for Truce in Angola

DD 30/12/75

WASHINGTON — The Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, has dispatched a highranking diplomat to Africa in an effort to gain support for a truce in war-torn Angola, a State Department official said here.

Mr W. Schaufele Jr, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, will visit five African countries — Senegal, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Cameroon and Zaire — which are friendly to the United States.

The focus of Mr Schaufele's effort will be to achieve a negotiated settlement among three

warring factions with removal of all outside forces from the former Portuguese Colony, according to the official.

Mr Schaufele's mission coincides with the coming January 10 meeting of the Organisation of African Unity where efforts are expected to block recognition of the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

Mr Schaufele was dispatched on his unannounced mission to Africa on Christmas Day, two days after Dr Kissinger had told a news conference that, despite the recent Senate vote to

block new funds for covert aid to anti-Soviet forces in Angola, "we are going to make a major effort, both diplomatically and on the ground, to make do with what we have."

The US has already spent R23 million in covert aid to the National Front for the Liberation of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola — the two groups fighting the Soviet-backed MPLA.

Mr Schaufele was dispatched on his mission less than a week after assuming his key African policy post.



DR KISSINGER

5

DD 30/12/75

# MPLA rejects ceasefire call

KINGSTON (Jamaica)—A senior official of the MPLA, the Soviet-backed faction fighting for control of Angola, has rejected a call from a rival movement for an immediate ceasefire to be followed by free elections under the supervision of the Organisation of African Unity.

Maj Henrique dos Santos, leader of a three-member delegation from the MPLA to Jamaica, said here his organisation had no intention of accepting the call made last week by Unita.

He told a press conference before leaving with his delegation yesterday that last month Unita had pledged to fight for the former Portuguese territory until the last MPLA supporter was dead.

"But now they are losing the battle they are calling for a ceasefire."

The major, here on a support-raising mission, said the MPLA hoped that Jamaica would recognise the government it had set up in Luanda shortly after

much easier," he said. Angola's independence, but no official request had been made to Jamaican Prime Minister, Mr Michael Manley.

The MPLA team has asked Jamaica for technical assistance in the fields of health, livestock development and administration and Mr Manley has promised to study the request closely.

Asked about a recent refusal by the US Senate to allow funds for secret military aid to anti-Soviet forces in Angola, Maj Carvalho said while this was so "the USA is a country of great contradictions."

He said the MPLA had recovered more than 200 tons of arms supplied by the US and funnelled to its other rival, the FNLA which has joined forces with Unita.

Maj Carvalho acknowledged that the MPLA was receiving military aid from the Soviet Union and Cuba. But he added: "We also get support from China, North Korea and

several African countries including Nigeria."

He said the MPLA felt justified in seeking Soviet and Cuban help to fend off South Africa's forces.

The Jamaican Government has yet to take an official stand on the Angola issue, but the general-secretary of the ruling People's National Party Dr D. K. Duncan, told a press conference in Havana that the PNP fully supported the MPLA in its fight against Unita and the FNLA.

Maj Carvalho said the MPLA placed great importance on the special OAU meeting called for next month to discuss the civil war in Angola.

He said the MPLA hoped the conference would pass a resolution condemning the presence of South African forces in Angola and recognising the MPLA Government as true representative of the Angolan people.

"If we can win this political battle then the military battle becomes much easier," he said.

So far 40 countries had recognised the MPLA, Maj Carvalho said, including 17 in Africa.

According to the London Daily Telegraph's Defence correspondent, Brig W. F. Thompson, a potential third world war situation is being created in Angola as the Russians pour in arms.

He said that if the MPLA gained control, there was every likelihood of Angola, a source of valuable raw materials, becoming a base for Russian-backed subversion throughout Southern Africa.

Russia's ability to use Angolan airfields and harbours would extend her maritime power still further into the South Atlantic, increasing her power to blackmail the West and bring a step nearer a situation in which the West would have to choose between surrendering vital interests or risking a shooting war between the super powers. — SAPA-RNS-DDC.

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RDM 25/12/75

# It's rocket war now in Angola

LIBREVILLE. — The leader of Unita, fighting MPLA in the civil war, has conceded "suffering enormous" casualties, according to Gabon Radio.

In an interview he blamed "in particular, Soviet missiles."

Dr Jonas Savimbi, head of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) was interviewed by Gabon Radio after his arrival on a tour of African capitals.

Despite the losses, he said, his group and its ally, the FNLA, held "two-thirds of the territory and four-million of the six-million Angolans."

He said the fighting "was very violent because the MPLA is using sophisticated arms, in particular, Soviet missiles."

Informed sources said 122-mm surface-to-surface missile launchers, controlled by Soviet advisers were

in action on the MPLA side.

Dr Savimbi said he was visiting African capitals to discuss the Angolan situation because "peace in Angola will affect peace in central and Southern Africa."

"If Angola falls under the thumb of the Russians, it will represent a danger for every country in the region," he added.

On the question of foreign involvement in the Angola conflict, Dr Savimbi said the FNLA-Unita coalition had not invited South Africa to intervene.

The South Africans had decided unilaterally to guard a dam built in collaboration with the Portuguese.

He added that he would require South African troops, as well as those of other foreign countries, to leave Angola. — Sapa-Reuters.



ADM 25/12/75

7

# 56 killed as Argentine guerillas hit arsenal

**BUENOS AIRES.** — Argentine guerillas yesterday suffered their heaviest defeat in a battle with the army which left at least 56 dead and 12 wounded.

More than 100 Leftwing Peronist Montoneros guerillas who attacked a military arsenal in a Buenos Aires suburb on Tuesday night were pounded by air strikes, mortar bombs and automatic fire in a six-hour battle.

The guerilla force was destroyed after being trapped inside the sprawling arsenal grounds by about 400 troops, marines, police and gendarmerie frontier guards.

An army communique said mopping-up operations were in progress six hours after the battle began. Known government casualties were six dead and 12 wounded, and guerilla casualties were more than 50 dead and an unknown number of wounded, it said.

Both sides used mortars and automatic weapons but the guerillas were surrounded and heavily out-gunned as the army, backed by navy marines brought in reinforcements and three or four navy jets roared into the attack at about midnight.

Estimates of the Montonero force ranged as high as 150. Dozens more guerillas launched diversionary attacks as the main force hit the arsenal garrison from several sides late on Tuesday night.

The fight took place only 15 kilometres from the heart of this city of eight million people, in an industrial zone of factories and working class homes to the south.

Diversions attacks by the Montoneros — dissident Peronist youth sworn to overthrow President Isabel Peron — included the capture of police posts on bridges leading into the city centre, assaults on at least three police stations, a rash of bomb blasts and a hit-and-run raid on the headquarters of the Seventh Army regiment in La Plata, 30 kilometres south of the arsenal.

Simultaneously, the main attacking force engaged sentries defending the arsenal, a huge compound covering several city blocks, and fought their way inside the darkness.

Their aim appeared to be to stage a show of strength then escape with weap-



President Isabel Peron delivers an appeal for peace in Argentina only hours before the battle.

ons, ammunition and explosives.

But an army communique said several guerillas were killed by the sentries, and the attackers were forced to slip in at unguarded points around the perimeter.

Another communique had warned the population within a radius of 30 km south of the capital to stay indoors.

Reporters were kept away from the scene and had to rely on military briefings and communiqués for information. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Unita calls for a ceasefire

NM - 25/12/75

**LONDON — Unita has proposed an immediate ceasefire in Angola and wants free elections under OAU supervision.**

The call comes at the same time as an admission that Unita is suffering "enormous casualties," particularly because of Soviet missiles.

The use of these sophisticated weapons has led Mr. Vorster to warn America that only the big Powers can offset this arsenal.

The Mercury Africa Bureau reports that fierce fighting is believed to have broken out between FNLA and Unita forces stationed at Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa). A report broadcast by the Radio Club of Huambo appealed to their men to stop fighting among themselves.

Radio Mozambique claimed that the reports broadcast by Radio Club of Huambo follow rumours of a serious split between the two forces fighting against MPLA.

The Unita ceasefire call was announced by Radio Uganda yesterday.

Radio Uganda, monitored in London, said Unita had sent a peace plan to President Amin, the OAU chairman.

The solution must be political, the Unita message said.

"Under the OAU umbrella, an immediate ceasefire should be imposed on every front, followed by the presence of independent African States under OAU command," the message went on.

As quoted by Radio Uganda, it said of Angola's capital city: "Luanda should be demilitarised so as to allow free political action by all liberation movements.

Radio Uganda also quoted Unita as saying: "We once again denounce strongly the dishonourable military intervention by the Soviet Union and others in Angola and hold them responsible."

According to Gabon Radio picked up in Libreville, the leader of Unita has conceded suffering "enormous casualties."

In a broadcast interview he blamed "in particular Soviet missiles."

Dr. Jonas Savimbi was interviewed by Gabon Radio after his arrival on a tour of African capitals.

In spite of the losses, he said, Unita and its ally, the FNLA, held "two-thirds of the territory and 4 000 000 of the 6 000 000 Angolans."

He said the fighting "was very violent because the MPLA is using sophisticated arms, in particular, Soviet missiles."

## Missiles

Informed sources said 122 millimetre surface to surface missiles controlled by Soviet advisers were in action on the MPLA side.

Dr. Savimbi said he was visiting African capitals to discuss the Angolan situation because "peace in Angola will affect peace in Central and Southern Africa."

On the question of foreign involvement, Dr. Savimbi said South Africa had decided, unilaterally, to guard a dam built with the Portuguese, whose troops had since been withdrawn from the territory.

He added that he would require South African troops, as well as those of other foreign countries, to leave Angola.

The Mercury's New York correspondent quotes Mr. Vorster, in a published interview, as saying that the sophis-

ticated Russian weaponry being sent into Angola was "certainly beyond our limits" to counter.

Mr. Vorster was quoted as warning:

"If it was just a question of the Angolans themselves, the war would be over. The MPLA has inferior forces and controls only one-fourth of Angola's territory and population."

"But the Russians send in sophisticated weapons: tanks, 122 millimetre rockets mounted in clusters of 50 on lorries, infantry-borne SAMs. Only big Powers can offset this arsenal — above all the 122mm rockets. It is certainly beyond our limits."

Quoted by columnist C. L. Sulzberger, Mr. Vorster said he wished American public opinion would overcome its "Vietnam complex."

Moscow was openly intervening, while trumpeting that only South Africa was involved. Yet both Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi had said that South Africa was not involved in the fighting — "I stand on that," said Mr. Vorster.

From Oubosttrand yesterday, Mr. Vorster said the Government remained abreast of the Angolan question and related matters, as well as the resultant world repercussions.

In his Christmas message, the Prime Minister said that for some families this Christmas was a time of mourning for the death of their sons and fathers in one military area and for a mother and son-in-law in South West Africa.

"For them, I, on my behalf and on behalf of the Government, want to share with them in their dark hours. Their bravery and fearless actions will continue to be an inspiration for their people and their comrades." (Mercury Correspondent Sapa-Reuters.)

# SA PULLS

By MARTIN SCHNEIDER

South Africa was yesterday withdrawing its troops and technicians from war-torn Angola.

In a dramatic move late yesterday the Minister of Defence, Mr Piet Botha, approved for publication in terms of the Defence Act the following report based on an interview with Dr George Sangumba, foreign affairs secretary of the Unita faction in Angola.

Dr G. Sangumba said yesterday that South African troops and technicians had begun to leave the territory on orders from Pretoria several days ago.

He said the withdrawal would be completed by early next week.

"This is what the world wants," he said, "and now it has happened. We shall fight on because nothing can change our principles or our will to resist a Russian-backed Cuban invasion on behalf of a communist movement."

The withdrawal of the troops leaves the Allied Unita and FNLA forces to

face the Russian and Cuban-backed MPLA virtually alone.

At the same time, Mr Botha pledged in a statement issued from his home in Cape Town yesterday, that he would raise in Parliament later this week the whole issue of South Africa's involvement in the Angolan civil war.

Mr Botha said in his statement, "I have on several occasions stated that South African involve-

ment in Angola is part of the involvement of the free world, but I also stated that South Africa is not prepared to fight on behalf of the free world alone.

"Furthermore, South Africa will defend with determination its own borders and those interests and borders for which we are responsible.

"I shall deal with the whole matter when I address Parliament during next week's debate."

Mr Botha is expected to be the first Government speaker after the Leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff moves in the House of Assembly tomorrow his traditional motion of no confidence.

In what is being seen as the most important Parliamentary debate since South Africa went to war in 1939 Sir De Villiers will claim that the Government has failed "to

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# OUT OF ANGOLA

## SA pulls out of Angola

● From Page One

take the public into its confidence and motivate it adequately" on the country's actions and objectives in Angola.

The report containing the Unita foreign Affairs

secretary's admission that South African troops are being withdrawn from Angola on orders from Pretoria was published in the Manchester Guardian on Friday.

Until now, South African newspapers have been refused permission in

terms of the Defence Act from publishing overseas reports dealing with the Republic's involvement in Angola.

The Government has also refused to officially state whether or not South African troops are involved in Angola.

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# Angola: Ford attacks Cubans

DD 22/12/75

WASHINGTON — Pres. Ford, in an impromptu press conference at the weekend, strongly denounced the intervention of some 6 000 Cuban troops in the Angolan fighting and hinted forcibly that Soviet action to American-Russian detente.

"The action of the Cuban Government in sending combat forces to Angola destroys any opportunity for improvement of relations with the United States," Pres. Ford said. "They have made a choice and I mean it very literally, it has precluded any improvement."

The conference and a strong statement from the President on Friday resulted from a Senate vote to block any further clandestine American aid to the FNLA-Unita coalition in Angola.

Pres. Ford denounced the vote as "a deep tragedy for all countries whose security depends on the United States."

American officials said

yesterday that the Central Intelligence Agency now has less than R6 million left to help the anti-Marxist factions.

It was seeking another R27 million, on top of the R18 million already expended, but the Senate action has tied up further appropriations at least until after the three-week Christmas recess.

American Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, has from the outset regarded Russian intervention in Angola as a deliberate challenge to America to test its will to fight.

Critics in Congress complain that one of his obvious mistakes was in backing of FNLA leader Holden Roberto, a paid hireling of the CIA for years past, according to reports.

Dr. Kissinger is now trying to persuade some Western European countries to provide backing for the anti-Marxist groups. He had no luck with Britain's Foreign Secretary, Mr. James Callaghan.

He is trying also to persuade moderate members of the Organisation of African Unity to press for withdrawal of all foreign forces.

Any alignment of one of the factions with America or South Africa would only threaten a black-white conflict, which would not be in the interests of such leaders as President Mobutu of Zaire or President Kaunda of Zambia. — DDC.

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23/12/75

# SAAF could halt Reds

LONDON — Experts in Angola now agree that only the intervention of the highly trained South African Air Force could effectively stop a quick Marxist victory in the New Year.

This follows the reluctance of the US Congress to continue American support against the Russian-backed MPLA at a most critical period.

It has sadly affected the morale of the FNLA-

Unita allies and given the communists the edge needed to destroy opposition, the Daily Telegraph's air correspondent, Air Commodore Donaldson, says.

The use of air would be a decisive factor in such a military situation. It can break up strongpoints, says Donaldson, concentrations of forces, communications and supply routes without getting involved in the hand-to-hand conflict.

There is also no real defence in the area against such air attacks and it would take the Russians months to mount even a token missile defence system.

Combat planes could fly over the area with impunity.

The correspondent claims that should the SAAF become involved all the advantages of air intervention would lie with them. Their supply route is measured in hundreds of kilometres compared with the thousands of the Russians.

They have a large and highly trained air force of several hundred combat aircraft almost locally placed.

"It could massacre the MPLA if turned loose, including its MiG fighters now being assembled at Luanda Airport," he says.

The news that the Russians have completed the installation of an advance radar interception system for guiding MPLA MiGs

in the area is seen by experts as only to supply the aircraft with a navigational system. Ground-placed radar cannot pick out ground targets for attack.

The SAAF planes are equipped for special air launch missiles that can locate radars and destroy them.

While the Russians have the airlift capacity to resupply unlimited ammunition of the MPLA, it would be a different matter to resupply Sams (surface to air missile) over the 16 000 km supply route from Russia.—DDC.

## Angola: SA, Soviet envoys meet Callaghan

LONDON — The Soviet Ambassador, Mr Lunkov, and the South African Charge d'Affaires, Mr F. J. Wentzel, both had meetings with the British Foreign Secretary, Mr Callaghan, yesterday.

They were invited separately to the Foreign Office for a discussion on the Angola situation.

Mr Wentzel attended in place of Ambassador Carel de Wet who is still on holiday in South Africa.

It is understood that Mr Callaghan reiterated the British Government's view that all foreign troops should withdraw from Angola before the situation escalates.

Mr Callaghan has been preaching the gospel of non-intervention in his discussions with his Nato and community colleagues in Europe and more latterly with Dr Kissinger in Paris.

Britain does not feel it has the same local standing in Angola as in Rhodesia and that a black solution must be found, in

this context the government is supporting the OAU who are trying to find a solution.—DDC.

### Price of tyres going up?

DURBAN — The prices of locally produced car and truck tyres are expected to increase by 9.8 per cent on January 3.

Retailers here said yesterday they had been told of the increase by manufacturers' representatives but official sources would not confirm or deny the increase. — DDC.

### Soldier dies in gun accident

PRETORIA — Defence headquarters yesterday announced the death of Gunner B. H. Neethling as a result of a weapons accident in the border operational area on December 17.

He was the son of Mr and Mrs C. S. Neethling, of Boksburg. — SAPA.

## Oil firm pulls out

NEW YORK — President Ford was expected yesterday to defy Senate sentiment and seek fresh ways to continue to counter Soviet involvement in Angola.

He achieved a quick success when the Gulf Oil Corporation responded to arm-twisting and announced a total evacuation from its rich Cabinda operation — without paying any of the R100 million in royalties about to become due. Cabinda is under MPLA control.

The MPLA had already scooped up R100 million in royalties paid to the dissolved provisional government in September.—DDC.

# MPLA rejects ceasefire call

KINGSTON. — A senior official of the MPLA, the Soviet-backed faction fighting for control of Angola, has rejected a call from a rival movement for an immediate ceasefire to be followed by free elections under the supervision of the Organisation of African Unity.

Major Henrique Carvalho dos Santos, leader of a three member delegation from the MPLA to Jamaica, said in Kingston his organisation had no intention of accepting the call made last week by pro-Western, Unita, reports Sapa-Reuter.

Maj Carvalho told a Press conference before leaving with his delegation yesterday that last month, Unita had pledged to fight for Angola until the last MPLA supporter was dead.

"But now they are losing the battle, they are

## Unita in fight for vital town

LUSAKA. — Anti-communist forces and Soviet-backed troops are battling in Eastern Angola for control of a vital railhead and the country's diamond capital, a Unita spokesman said in Lusaka yesterday.

Information from Angola was sketchy, he said, because of poor radio communication with the country.

The spokesman confirmed fighting continued in the eastern section of the country where Unita and FNLA forces, aided by mechanised units, last week began a drive to capture the important railhead town of Teixeira de Sousa and the country's diamond centre of Henrique de Carvalho.

There were no indications whether the pro-Western forces had made any substantial progress in their push.

Teixeira de Sousa is the last major stronghold held by the MPLA on the important British-held Benguela railroad running across Angola from the Atlantic Ocean to the Zambian border.—UPI.

calling for a ceasefire," he added.

Meanwhile Unita leaders are meeting in their provisional capital of Huambo, Southern Angola, to plan new strategy, writes the Mail, London correspondent.

All the signs are that the emergency meeting will be concerned with the implications of American withdrawal of aid.

Bruce Loudon, the Daily Telegraph's Angola correspondent, now back in London, said yesterday that the best reading available of South African help to Unita so far was that it may have been over-stated and that it was directed primarily at providing logistical support for Unita rather than in any direct combat role.

Assessments were that even if arms supplied on all sides were to end immediately, there would be no halt to the fighting, which could be sustained for a long time by the arsenals already stockpiled.

There was, too, no sign of Zaire's President Mobutu weakening in his support for the anti-communist fight, and one of his senior Ministers has said that the President believes his own survival is at stake in the war against the MPLA.

Reliable sources in Lusaka said they believed the Huambo meeting was almost certainly more concerned about continued American support than by signs of South Africans withdrawal.

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# Angola: Brezhnev Russian bait Dr K detente is a tape recorder

MOSCOW. — Dr Henry Kissinger and the Soviet Communist Party leader, Mr. Brezhnev, yesterday began two days of strategic arms talks with a smiling but barbed exchange over Angola.

Dr Kissinger is in Moscow to try to clear away the last obstacles to a new strategic arms limitation agreement, and also to warn the Russians that American anger over continuing Soviet intervention in Angola is deep and genuine.

Mr Brezhnev, jovial and robust at his first public appearance in nearly a month, dismissed the Angola issue.

"Angola is not my country," he told reporters watching the handshakes as the two sides began

their meeting inside the Kremlin.

"It will certainly be discussed," Dr Kissinger said coldly.

"The agenda is always adopted by mutual agreement," the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, said with a thin smile.

"I will discuss it," Dr Kissinger repeated.

"You will discuss it with Sonnenfeld," said Mr Brezhnev, referring to a senior member of the American team who was standing nearby.

"That will ensure complete agreement. I have never seen Kissinger have a disagreement with Sonnenfeld," Mr Brezhnev added, evoking an uneasy laugh from officials of both countries.

American officials said Dr Kissinger was concerned that Russia might not understand, despite all his strong words of recent weeks, that the US is in earnest when it says Communist intervention in Angola must end.

In a toast at a luncheon later, Dr Kissinger again urged Soviet restraint in international affairs. He reiterated that the US would react against continued Soviet disregard of its appeals.

"We know from history that great powers will not long accept a diminution of their security and that sooner or later they will seek — and find — compensation in some other place or manner," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

MOSCOW. — Detente may be detente, but US Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger and his party visiting Moscow still have some Cold War concerns.

A security pamphlet in a "welcome to Moscow" brochure prepared by the US Embassy warned members of the Kissinger party to expect the worst.

"All telephone calls are monitored by the Soviets. Assume that all the rooms have electronic eavesdropping equipment, and that all conversations will be monitored," the pamphlet said.

## LUGGAGE

"Assume that all drivers understand English and are specifically tasked with reporting all conversations overheard," the Embassy warned.

"Assume that any luggage or briefcases in your rooms will be searched while you are absent. Assume all trash thrown in wastebaskets will be examined," the warning said.

The pamphlet even suggested that typewriter ribbons should be destroyed after being used, along with carbon paper and second sheets of paper. — UPI.

# US move 'may make SA pull out of Angola'

LUSAKA. — South Africa will probably pull out of the Angolan war if the United States sticks to its decision to cut off aid to Unita and the FNLA, Western diplomatic sources said yesterday.

The South African Government was thrown into confusion by last week's US Senate decision, the sources in Lusaka said, and one of the most important debates in Pretoria's history was currently taking place on South Africa's involvement in the war.

But Pretoria spokesmen have urged the United States and West European nations to become more involved in the conflict to try to topple the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

"Last week's move by the US Senate to block further aid to Unita and FNLA stunned the South

Africans," one highly placed Western diplomat said. "If the United States sticks by its decision to withdraw from the Angolan situation the South Africans will also undoubtedly pull out."

On the battlefield itself there appeared to be a stalemate which diplomats predicted would continue for some weeks because heavy tropical rains had arrived in Angola and bogged down the frontline forces.

Meanwhile the MPLA radio in the Angolan capital of Luanda said yesterday that Unita and the FNLA had fallen out amid bitter fighting at their central Angolan stronghold of Huambo.

The MPLA claimed the "breakdown" of Unita-FNLA alliance and said Huambo radio, "controlled by the two puppet organizations," went off the air. — UPI.



# Mercenaries lead Unita advance

DD 24/12/75

WASHINGTON — Forces spearheaded by white mercenaries — including some South Africans — are moving northward in eastern Angola against the Soviet-supported MPLA, informed government sources said here yesterday.

They said Unita forces led by the mercenaries were advancing on the important town of Henrique de Carvalho following two victories against Cuban-led MPLA forces in the south earlier this month.

The sources said there appeared to be a stalemate on the two major battle fronts in the western part

of Angola — one about 130 km north of Luanda and the other near the Atlantic coast, about 320 km south-east of Luanda.

They said that when the mercenaries had come into direct conflict with Cuban-led forces in recent months they had won four out of five times.

Cautioning that intelligence information reaching the United States could be two or more days old, the sources gave this account of recent fighting:

Cuban-led MPLA forces above Luanda had not moved farther northward since pushing the third revolutionary group — the FNLA — nearly 110 km

back from the capital earlier this month.

A combined Unita-FNLA force, also led by mercenaries, appeared to have bogged down around the town of Quibala in its advance toward Luanda from the south.

Because the revolutionary groups depended for their support largely on different tribes, the stalemate in the west could be explained by the opposing forces having reached their tribal limits.

The sources said that north of the capital the MPLA forces had reached the territorial limit of their main tribe, the Kimbundu, and were up against the traditional territory of the main FNLA tribe, the Bacongo.

South of Luanda, the Unita-FNLA forces had reached Quibala, the northern territorial limit of the main Unita tribe, the Ovimbundu.

The sparsely-populated east, however, was peopled by smaller tribes not generally aligned with any of the revolutionary groups.

The sources said that while the mercenary-led Unita forces now appeared to have the momentum, the situation could change quickly, considering the relatively small forces spread over the wide territory.

The fall of Henrique de Carvalho, with its important airfield, would drastically reduce the territory held by the MPLA and force them to fall back to Malange, nearly 640 km to the west, about midway to Luanda.

The sources said the loss of the town would reduce MPLA territorial control to three large towns with Malange and Cabinda.

They declined, however, to say that the mercenary-led forces appeared to be winning the battle for Angola. — SAPA-RNS.

## Kissinger appeals: block Reds now

NEW YORK — US Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger has appealed to Congress to resume American military aid for Angola and warned that not to do so was inviting Russian "expansionism" in other new countries.

Dr Kissinger called for a South African withdrawal from Angola as well as the pull-out of 5,000 Cuban troops and the end of all Soviet military aid to the Marxist MPLA. He said the US would continue diplomatic efforts through the Organisation of African Unity to settle the situation.

He mentioned specifically his visit to Moscow next month for arms limitation talks and warned that the Angolan situation might force him to change his plans.

America would have no objection to a Marxist faction taking control in Angola, he said.

But so long as Russia and Cuba kept backing the MPLA, with "a massive expeditionary force," the US would resist.

Meanwhile, sources close to South Africa House in London have shrugged o



DR KISSINGER

the approach by the British Foreign Secretary, Mr Callaghan, on Monday.

Mr Callaghan told South African and Russian envoys that all foreign intervention in Angola should end.

The meeting could be termed a waste of time, the sources said: it had simply been a balm for the Labour Party conscience.

— DDC-SAPA-AP.

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DD 25/12/75

# Missiles batter Unita

**LIBREVILLE** — Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, has conceded suffering enormous casualties as a result of Soviet-supplied missiles.

In an interview with

Radio Gabon after his tour of African capitals, the head of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, said despite the losses, his group and its ally, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) held two-thirds of the territory and four million of the six million Angolans.

He said the fighting was violent because the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was using sophisticated arms, in particular, Soviet missiles.

Informed sources said 122-millimetre surface-to-surface missiles controlled by Soviet advisers were being fired by the MPLA to halt an advance by Unita and the FNLA.

Most of the equipment, including tanks and artillery, is believed to be manned by Cubans flown in to help the MPLA.

But sources said rockets were too sophisticated for the Cubans to handle, so they were being controlled by some of the estimated

400 Soviet advisers in Angola.

Dr Savimbi said he was visiting African capitals to discuss the Angola situation because peace in Angola would affect peace in Central and Southern Africa.

"If Angola falls to the Russians, it will represent a danger for every country in the region," he said.

On foreign involvement in the conflict, Dr Savimbi said the FNLA-Unita coalition had not invited South Africa to intervene.

In Belgrade, a MPLA spokesman said there could be no Christmas and New Year ceasefire in Angola.

Press spokesman of the political commissariat of MPLA'S headquarters, Mr J. de Almeida, said a ceasefire would be possible only when all foreign soldiers withdrew.

Meanwhile, fierce fighting allegedly has broken out between FNLA and Unita forces stationed at Huambo according to a report broadcast by Radio Club of Huambo which ap-

pealed to the men to stop fighting among themselves. — SAPA-RNS-DDC.

# PULLING

By STANLEY UYS and FLEUR de VILLIERS

**SOUTH AFRICAN troops and technicians are withdrawing from Angola, says a Unita spokesman. The Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, will make a statement to Parliament on Angola this week.**

This development follows reports of growing MPLA military successes in Angola and the apparent failure of the Kissinger talks in Moscow.

Mr Botha reacted yesterday to a statement by Dr George Sangumba, Unita's Foreign Affairs secretary, that South African troops and technicians have begun to withdraw from Angola on orders from Pretoria.

Speaking from Lusaka, Dr Sangumba said the withdrawal would be completed within a few days. Unita would fight on.

Commenting on the Unita disclosure, Mr Botha said he would deal with the "whole matter" of Angola in the debate which opens in Parliament tomorrow.

"I have on various occasions stated that South Africa's involvement in Angola is part of the involvement of the free world," he said.

"But I also stated that South Africa is not prepared to fight alone on behalf of the free world."

This is a clear reference to the failure to enlist help from Western powers, especially the United States for Unita against the Marxist-backed MPLA.

Mr Botha said that South Africa would defend those borders and interests it was responsible for "with determination".

**Hydro plant**

By those interests and borders" Mr Botha is believed to be referring to the hydro-electric installations on the Kunene River, which South Africa built jointly with the former Portuguese administration, and the South West Africa border, across which Swapo terrorists based in Southern Angola have been raiding for the past few months.

It is unlikely that there will be any relaxation in the call-up of South African regiments, which probably will be used now for a massive strengthening of South West Africa's border with Angola.

Reports of a pull-back of White troops in Angola have been flooding in this week after the MPLA's military sweep to the south and estimates of the involvement of anything up to 10 000 Cuban troops.

Withdrawal from Angola will mean virtually the total military success of the MPLA and the emergence finally—after almost two years of a bloody struggle for power — of a hostile Marxist state and the spread of Russian influence down the Atlantic coast and along South Africa's most vulnerable borders.

The MPLA triumph must be seen also as a grave threat to South Africa's major detente partners, Zaire and Zambia.

In Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's Government newspaper, Daily News, said yesterday that if South Africa ended its involvement in Angola the MPLA would no longer need assistance from Cuban and Russian troops.

## MPLA set to take railway

LUANDA, Saturday. THE MPLA were poised tonight to take control of the Benguela railway crossing Angola.

Only 48 km of the line is now in MPLA hands, but there are reports of heavy fighting round the town of Luso. If Luso falls, it must be the beginning of the end for Unita's hopes of keeping control of the railway.

# OUT

# Verrassende wending terwyl Russe op Luanda toesak

# ANGOLA: AFRIKA SWAAI

## Tot Idi Amin

KARROT

## praat anders

Van Ons Korrespondente en Sapa-Reuter

ABBIS ABEBA.

TERWYL Rusland gister in 'n finale magvertoon met vegvliegtuie, manskappe en wapens op die deur oorlog geteisterde Angola toegesak het, het 'n verbasende wending hier op die noodberaad van die Organisasie vir Afrika-Eenheid ingetree. Skielik was die Marxistiese MPLA nie meer so seker dat hy 'n weghol-oorwinning by die beraad gaan behaal nie.

Die ou sondebok, Suid-Afrika, was ook nie meer genoeë om die hele Afrika in een kamp te jaag nie. Die resep het nie meer vir die linksgesindes gewerk nie. Dit lyk of Suid-Afrika se detente-beweging tog nie vergeefs was nie.

Merkwaardig genoeg was dit niemand anders nie as genl. Idi Amin, voorsitter van die OAE, wat die pro-MPLA-lande se sake kom deurmekaar krap nie.

Genl. Amin het hier aangekom in volle uniform, met al sy blink medailles en 'n rewolwer aan 'n sy. Hy en omringde genl. Amin het die OAE nie eers of ander beweging in Angola moet steun nie, maar alle buitelandse inmenging moet verdoem.

Hy het nie Suid-Afrika uitgesonder nie, maar Russe, Kuba en selfs ander swart state se inmenging betreur.

Dit is onmiddellik vertolk is 'n afak vir die MPLA en ter 'n behoortlike sensasie op die beraad veroorsaak. Die MPLA-lande het al begin

koppe tel, maar ná Amin se verklaaring het hulle begin twyfel. Hier was 'n faktor waarmee hulle nie rekening gehou het nie.

Die Ugandese president het ook bekend gemaak dat die twee pro-Westerse magte, Unita en die FNLA, bereid is om hul gewegte te staak. Die bal is dus in die MPLA se hande.

Suid-Afrika kan verdoem en die Russe en die Kubaanse kan vergeet nie.

Dit is 'n retrain wat dikwels hier onder die meer gematigde afdelings gemaak word. Laat alle vreedse magte hul hulle aan Angola onttrek en laat die land sy eie hell uitwerk.

Van die afdelings wat gister hier aangekom het, het Zaire die sterkste uitgevaar teen Russiese inmenging in Angola. Hy het gesê dis juis hul optrede wat daartoe gelei het dat Suid-Afrika ingegryp het.

Kenia, Zambie, Botswana en Swaziland is van die ander lande wat gesê het daar is net een oplossing en dit is dat alle buitelandse inmenging in Angola gestak moet word.

En op die koop toe het mnr. Willem Schauffele, Amerikaanse onderminister van buitelandse sake belas met Afrika-aangeleenthede, in Washington gesê dat juis die teenwoordigheid van Suid-

\* VERVOLG OP BL. TWEE \*

## Oordryf

Hierdie houding van genl. Amin het die lande wat teen die MPLA is, net die aandrang gegee wat hulle nodig gehad het. Hulle het begin reguit praat, selfs oor Suid-Afrika. Mnr. Jorge Sampaio het reeds voor die vergadering gesê dat Suid-Afrika se rol in Angola hopeeloos oordryf word.

As Suid-Afrika werklik sy magte in Angola wou instuur, sou hy die MPLA vermorstel het, het hy gesê.

Op die beraad self het die leiers van Unita en die FNLA sinies gest: en luister terwyl Mosambiek hulle uitgekryt het as 'agente van Suid-Afrika en 'n nuwe magvertoon op Angola toegevoeg om Angola te regeer, het hy gesê.

Toe het pres. Leopold Senghor van Senegal, een van die staatshefde met wie mnr. Vorster vroeër dialoog gevoer het, opgestaan en gesê dat die wat eerlik is, net

Van Carmona was 'n groot hande van die FNLA.

## Idi swaai regs

\* VERVOLG VAN BL. EEN \*  
Afrika in Angola die drie veggende faksies kan help om oor hul geskille te onderhandel.

Oor die gissings dat Suid-Afrika gereed is om 'n roepe-tering te trek, het mnr. Schauffele gesê dat Amerika geen aanduiding het van wat Suid-Afrika se plan in die verband is nie. Maar hy het gesê dis nog 'n vraag of dit nie wenslik is dat Suid-Afrika daar bly en so as aanspooring vir die vegendes kan dien om hul probleme op te los nie.

'n Bate wetlike vraag wat ook gestel word, is: Waarom het die Russe nooit wapens gestuur om die Angoliese te help veg teen die Portugese nie?

Die stryd is ver van beklink in die Weste se guns, maar gister se nuwe klimaat het nuwe hoop gegee dat redelikeheid tog op die ou end in hierdie verkeerde organisasie kan seëvier.

Maar terwyl die beraad begin het, het Rusland sy vuits gebal en met 'n nuwe magvertoon op Angola toegesak.

Uit Londen word berig dat 'n eskader van ses Russiese

vegvliegter (Mig 21's) van hul basis in Pointe Noire in die Kongo (Brazzaville) opgestyg het. Nog 'n eskader staan volgens die berig gereed in Pointe Noire.

Terselfdertyd word hier by die beraad beweer dat nog 500 hoogs opgeleide Russiese militêre gister in Luanda aangekom het, wat die aantal Russiese aanvoeders in die land op 900 te staan bring.

En die vermoede is steeds dat die Rooi missiel-dreurende kruiser Kresta 11, wat gister in die omgewing van Conakry (Guinee) suidwaarts gevaar het, op pad is om hom by ander Russiese skepe in die omgewing van Angola aan te sluit.

Aan die een kant word die Russiese bewegings gesien as 'n gebaar van minagting teenoor die Verenigde State met sy beroepe op vreedse moondhede om hulle aan die gebied te onttrek, en aan die ander kant as doelbewuste magvertoon om te sorg dat die Afrika-state wat nog huiver, sal besef dat Rusland nie van plan is om die MPLA in die steek te laat nie.

Intussen word hier bespiegel oor wie die Afrika-

leier is wat volgens mnr. Jeremy Thorpe, leier van die Britse Liberale Party, met R44 miljoen omgekoopt is om die MPLA te steun. Die vinger word na net een man gewys: Brig Myrtala Ruffai Mohammed van Algerie.



# Angola summit at Oubos

By DONALD PROSSER

**PORT ELIZABETH**  
**THE ANGOLA** crisis was discussed yesterday by the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and senior Cabinet Ministers and Defence Force officers.

The meeting, at the secluded resort of Oubosstrand on the Tsitsikama coast, was Mr Vorster's third in the past two weeks.

Among those present were the Minister of Defence Mr P. W. Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr Hilgard Muller, senior officers, top officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs and of the Bureau for State Security.

The South African Ambassador to the United Nations and United States, Mr Pik Botha, was also present at yesterday's meeting. He was not at the previous two meetings.

Mr Vorster denied Press reports which speculated that Mr Botha had delivered a personal message from the US President, Mr Ford, on Angola. The report appeared in the Nationalist newspaper Die Vaderland.

The Prime Minister said the purpose of Mr Botha's visit was to give him first-hand information on the position at the United Nations and in the United States.

The last time Mr Vorster met Mr Botha was during his state visit to Paraguay when he held a meeting in Ascunson with South African diplomats stationed in South America.

Mr Botha is to return to the US tomorrow.

## Message

Mr Vorster is due to deliver his annual New Year message to the nation tonight, and it is generally expected that he will review the situation in Angola and South West Africa.

There is some speculation he may offer to withdraw South African forces from Angola provided South Africa's interest are guaranteed, as outlined by Mr P. W. Botha earlier this week.

The Prime Minister said yesterday he had had little time to relax since arriving at Oubosstrand.

"My wife keeps reminding me I owe her a walk on the beach," he said.

Mr Vorster said he had kept in constant touch with the Cabinet and senior Defence Force officers.

A Rand Daily Mail reporter writes that Mr Pik Botha may have urged Mr Vorster to offer publicly to withdraw from Angolan soil.

In view of the limitations being imposed on American aid to Angola by the American Senate, the Ambassador may advise Mr Vorster to offer to withdraw from the territory as his contribution to the peace initiative being prepared for the Organisation of African Unity's summit conference on January 10.

Mr William Schauffele, America's Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, is now on a tour of African capitals in a bid to end all foreign intervention in the civil war.

The South African Minister of Defence said this week that South Africa would almost certainly reconsider its involvement if its interests in southern Angola were guaranteed and Swapo attacks on South West Africa from Angola were stopped.

# Kissinger strategy obscure

**WASHINGTON —**  
Despite the tougher talk from President Ford and Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger the belief is growing here that the US will accept a coalition government in Angola dominated by the Marxist MPLA.

That feeling, prevalent among Congressmen, was strengthened when Dr Kissinger told a Press conference: "We are not opposed to the MPLA as such. We make a distinction between the factions in Angola and outside intervention. We can live with any of the factions in Angola and we would never have given assistance to any of the other factions if the great powers had stayed out of this."

Dr Kissinger's comments, according to Congressman Charles Diggs, chairman of a House international relations committee on Africa will help set the stage for an attempt by the Organisation of African Unity to promote a coalition government in Angola run primarily by the MPLA.

## SUPPORT

Mr Diggs, the senior Black member of Congress who is considered a moderate on racial and foreign affairs as well as a most knowledgeable American politician on African affairs will be an official Congressional observer at the OAU meeting next month.

And he concedes that the MPLA cannot alone govern Angola.

With or without Soviet help it needs some support from elements of the FNLA and Unita according to Mr Diggs.

He added: "The OAU is hardening its support of the Popular Movement and its opposition to American intervention because of the South African role in Angola."

"The Ford Administra-

# US MIGHT ACCEPT MPLA AS TOP DOG

tion has no choice but to await the OAU meeting and the return of Congress late in January. The best the US can hope for is agreement by the OAU to help form a coalition government.

"That's what I favour and what I will recommend to Congress. My colleagues do not seem to care if the Popular Movement heads the government so long as the Soviet Union gets out. And the US is prepared to accept the Popular Movement as well."

Many Congressmen who are suspicious of Dr Kissinger do not agree however.

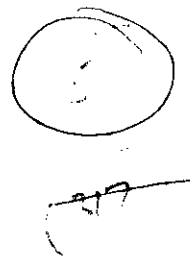
They wonder if the Secretary of State, on behalf of a President who is struggling against a very conservative challenge in his own party, may be stalling for time and hoping that more American arms can swing the balance away from the Popular Movement.

Dr Kissinger, in other words, might be tempted to bring his President a victory.

Dr Kissinger has told a Press conference that "if the Soviets continue actions such as they have in Angola we will without question resist."

Without specifying what actions might be taken, he indicated that he and the Administration may gear up for a full blown campaign to bludgeon Congress into approving further military aid to anti-Soviet forces.

His seemingly conciliatory attitude towards the OAU and the Popular Movement may be little more than the kind of window dressing he used while carrying on the Indochina war when he claimed peace was at hand in Vietnam then proceeded to order the 1972 Christmas bombing of Hanoi.



# Unita strike from bush at Cuban armour

The Star's Africa News Service

KINSHASA — Unita has put 3 000 hardcore troops into guerrilla operations in southern Angola and begun hitting Cuban supply lines.

In a recent encounter, seen by a correspondent of The Star's Africa News Service just returned from the bush, Unita guerrillas hit a Cuban convoy near Serpa Pinto.

A culvert was blown in front of the column, which consisted of light armoured scoutcars in the front, middle and rear. Heavy trucks were spread along the column. One in five trucks carried infantry and many of the trucks were mounted with machine-guns.

Another hole was blown in the road behind the column and anti-tank weapons were trained on the heavy armoured vehicles. Machine-guns and light mortar fire tore into the softer-shelled vehicles and the infantry.

Two long-barrelled 76 mm cannon hit the Russian-made armoured cars, knocking out three.

## HIDEOUTS

Within 10 minutes the attack was broken off for fear of helicopter gunships and the Unita forces scattered into the bushpaths to their hideouts, and regrouped 48 to 72 hours later.

The guerrillas lost two dead and three lightly wounded. Five trucks were left burning and an unknown number of MPLA and Cuban troops were killed or wounded.

Unita has another 10 000 semi-trained troops undergoing intensive training by former Portuguese Army officers, mainly Blanks.

Unita has sufficient weapons for a year of guerrilla-style warfare, they claim.

## UNNAMED

In addition, there are unnamed "friends" who will supply more. Stocks will also be supplemented with captured weapons.

Unita also claim to have a limited supply of heat-seeking anti-tank missiles capable of knocking out the big Russian T-54 tanks used by the Cubans.

Most of the country is controlled by the MPLA with their Cuban allies, but the area around Luso and the southern bush districts have not been occupied. Unita sources say Commander Samuel Chiwale, Unita's top field commander, beat the Cubans badly twice in recent weeks.

# Pull out troops, Govt is urged

By BERNARDI WESSELS  
Political Correspondent

## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

**THE Government was urged yesterday to withdraw South African forces from Angola and to define the essential basis on which a peaceful relationship with the Soviet-backed MPLA could be achieved.**

This appeal from both Opposition parties follows reports of a refusal by the MPLA leader, Dr Agostinho Neto, to grant guarantees on the Kunene waterworks scheme and another threat to push the SA forces out.

### Aggression, says OAU

ADDIS ABABA. — Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity decided yesterday to seek an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council to discuss what they termed South Africa's "aggression" against Angola.

The OAU assistant secretary-general, Mr Peter Onu of Nigeria, said the organisation's council of ministers would ask the African group at the United Nations to call for the meeting.

The ministers "strongly condemned" South Africa's "aggression" in Angola, Mr Onu said. — UPI.

● See Page 3

The Progressive Reform Party leader, Mr Colin Eglin, pointed out that the Ivory Coast and Zaire, which had allegedly urged South Africa to intervene in Angola, had now recognised the MPLA.

"Surely the time has come for the South African Government both to consider and declare its attitude," Mr Eglin said, adding that it should also declare its attitude towards Unita.

The United Party foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Japie Basson, warned that Dr Neto's apparent intransigence could create serious problems in reaching a peaceful solution with South Africa on the border and related issues.

"The widespread recognition being given to the MPLA government enables Dr Neto to speak with considerable authority and there is now no question that South Africa will have to come to terms with him in regard to the presence of our forces in that country."

It was becoming more urgent for the South African Government to define the essential basis on which it believed a peaceful relationship could be achieved.

### TRAP

Neither the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, nor the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, would comment yesterday on the reports of Dr Neto's attitude towards South Africa.

However, Opposition observers pointed out that the Government could well be waiting for Zambia and the United States to declare their attitude towards the MPLA government. Neither has recognised it so far.

Mr Eglin said he believed South Africa's continuing presence in Angola was fraught with danger and if caught in a conflict situation, its troops would be falling into the very trap being set by the Russians.

The Government had also not stated unambiguously its attitude towards Unita, with its declared policy of a continuing guerilla war. Because of its past association with Unita, he hoped the Government would declare that it would have nothing to do with such a campaign.



# Cutback in Red arms for Angola

CAPE TIMES 9/3/76

**PRETORIA.** — The Soviet Union appears to be rapidly cutting back its supply of sophisticated weapons to Angola, informed sources here said yesterday.

They said there had been a marked reduction in recent weeks of shipments of equipment such as tanks and rockets arriving in Luanda, the Angolan capital.

And so far there was no evidence of a Soviet Cuban build-up against Rhodesia.

The sources also disclosed that Cuban troops were not as close as previously thought to South African positions in the far south of Angola.

They said Black troops of the MPLA Government were holding a line roughly between the port of Moçamedes, eastward through Sa da Bandeira, Serpa Pinto, Quito Cuanavale and Cangamba.

This is about 200 km at its closest point from the South African forces guarding hydro-electric installations and refugee camps at Pereira d'Eca, Calueque and Ruacana.

But the sources said

Cuban troops who spear-headed the MPLA's southward drive in January and February were holding back at a line much farther north, marked by the towns of Benguela, Nova Lisboa (Huambo), Silva Porto and Luso. This is more than 500 km from the South African defences.

The reason for this hold-back is not known. But, together with the dwindling supplies of sophisticated Soviet weapons, it appears to suggest that the MPLA and Cubans are not seeking a major showdown at this stage with the South Africans.

Other Soviet military supplies, including rifles and transport, were continuing, presumably destined to maintain MPLA superiority in the guerilla war being waged by the MPLA's major opponent, Unita.

The sources said these

weapons, and the forward positions of the Black MPLA soldiers, could also be intended to strengthen Swapo, the South West Africa People's Organization, in its campaign to force an end to South Africa's disputed rule of South West Africa.

At the moment, and in spite of unconfirmed reports of Cuban troops and Soviet tanks being landed in Mozambique, there was no evidence that the Soviet-backed forces were actively turning their attention from Angola to its neighbour, Rhodesia, the sources said.

## Waiting

Political observers believe that the Soviet Union and Cuba are prepared to wait at least until it is clear whether there is any chance of a political settlement in Rhodesia before considering military involvement there.

In Angola, the Cuban troops were being replaced on a regular duty-tour basis, the sources said. They still numbered between 9 000 and 12 000 and were not being reinforced.

None of them were deployed south of the Benguela line but farther south the Black MPLA forces were more active. They seemed intent on consolidating their eastward line from Sa da Bandeira.

The sources said that to secure this line, the MPLA would have to deploy forces up to 80 km south of it.

# Flurry of activity heralds OAU summit on Angola

RDM  
29/12/75

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**Own Correspondent**  
NAIROBI. — The New Year will see an unprecedented flurry of diplomatic activity in Africa — the prelude to the extraordinary heads of state summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on Angola.

Now that Africa is taking sides in the Angola impasse, heading this activity will be emissaries of the Russians, the Americans and the French lobbying support for the MPLA, the FNLA and Unita.

"The Russians have already succeeded in getting ahead on the game in many African capitals with heavy persuasion to support their champion, the MPLA — but the Americans are not far behind," said a leading African diplomat in Nairobi.

## WINNING

"So far the MPLA are winning in the race for support but that is largely because of South African intervention on behalf of the Unita and the FNLA," he said. "That will be a key issue at the summit."

The summit is to be held in Addis Ababa, the OAU headquarters, on January 10 for about three days. A council of Foreign Ministers is to be held a few days in advance to prepare the agenda.

It is not by any means certain that President Idi Amin, the current OAU chairman, will chair the summit. An OAU source

— no less than the secretary-general, Mr William Eteki — said in Nairobi recently that this is to be an "extraordinary" summit, unprecedented in OAU history. It makes its own rules of procedure including the election of a chairman.

The chairman could well be the highly respected President Siad Barre of Somalia, who was OAU chairman last year. But it is certain that many powerful OAU figures, such as Presidents Kaunda and Nyerere, will lobby for anybody other than the hated Idi Amin.

It may be the only issue on which President Nyerere and President Kaunda agree for they differ strongly on the way ahead for Angola. President Nyerere backing the MPLA as the only rightful government and President Kaunda supporting a government of national unity.

## WRECKED

Diplomats in Nairobi say the "armed intervention of South Africa" has wrecked the neutrality camp. It could throw the whole OAU on the side of the MPLA and destroy the hopes of those who are working for a government of national unity.

If the OAU comes out strongly for recognition of the MPLA, it could well lead to the partition of Angola into three states, and end all hopes of national unification.

Whether any of the liberation groups will send leaders or lieutenants remains to be seen. But it seems likely that Unita will take captured Cuban mercenaries with them for display purposes and the MPLA their captured South Africans.

BYAM OF STATE ROOM NAIROBI

# The border

DD 30/1/76

**PRETORIA — The border heroes — that's what they're calling some of South Africa's young national servicemen after details were released yesterday of heroism in the operational area.**

The Chief of the Army, Lt-Gen Magnus Malan, said national servicemen had performed many heroic deeds on border duties and South Africa could be proud of its youth.

Gen Malan, quoted in the Defence Force publication, Uniform, said South Africa's military preparedness still depended on the standard of national servicemen and the actual fighting force — the citizen force and commando units.

In the same publication the effort to save a wounded national serviceman was described.

Lt M. J. Coetzee, 18, of Graaff-Reinet, was on patrol when shots were heard. The patrol sprang from their vehicle.

Lt Coetzee said he had scarcely hit the ground when he was hit. He collapsed near a thorn tree at the roadside. The lower part of his body was lame.

Soon afterwards he

heard something fall on the road with a hissing sound. He knew it was a hand grenade and a few seconds later it exploded. He was hit in the shoulder by shrapnel.

Before he lost consciousness he heard his mates calling for help on the radio.

He regained consciousness and saw a member of the permanent force, Cpl Alwyn Haasbroek, approaching in an armoured car.

He then spotted an enemy soldier in the thorn tree. The soldier was armed with a machine-gun. Shooting continued.

After a while he crept on all fours out of the danger area. Shots were fired all round him until he reached a South African armoured car about 200 m away.

Doctors are confident Lt Coetzee will recover fully.

Giving his version of the incident, Cpl Haasbroek said when he saw one of the enemy in the thorn

tree he realised he was probably the man who had shot Lt Coetzee. With his armoured car machine-gun he fired and killed the soldier.

However, he failed to see a group of enemy soldiers dug-in under the tree. They opened up on him from a range of 10 m and hit him in the shoulder and hands.

The shot from a 75 mm recoilless gun passed through the armoured car, but only damaged the radio. It missed 20 bombs stacked in the vehicle.

Cpl Haasbroek was speedily removed to a base camp where his wounds were treated.

In another incident, Lt Dave Wessels, 21, was severely wounded in a skirmish with the enemy when he was sent to reclaim vehicles in a danger area.

Covered by protecting fire from his side, he managed to return two vehicles to a hill where the artillery had an observation post.

"I returned to the area a third time, but when I saw a wounded soldier I went to his assistance. After I had carried him out of the area, I went back to fetch another vehicle, a Russian fuel tanker.

"There were no keys in the vehicle and I started it by connecting the ignition wires. The next moment I was struck in the hip and upper leg.

"I pulled the vehicle's door open and fell out. After I had crawled some distance away, I collapsed. The infantry commander, Maj Felix Hurter, found me more than an hour later."

In a third incident, Rfn Hannes Murray, from Babsfontein near Johannesburg, was a member of a reconnaissance patrol doing duty in a danger area about two weeks ago when the patrol came across a number of Russian landmines which had been exposed by rain.

The patrol leader warned his men to be careful, but Rfn Murray took a step back and the next moment there was a "tremendous bang" and he went sailing through the air. He landed on his stomach and felt a burning pain in his right leg.

He was given an injection and his foot was bandaged. He could not walk and his comrades had to carry him 12 km on a makeshift stretcher through dense bush and over muddy terrain.

# Heroes

## Reds signal for peace in Angola

LONDON — Leftwing forces claimed major victories in Angola yesterday, even as the Soviet Union signalled its readiness for a political solution to the civil war.

The US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, reported that the US Government was seriously considering giving open financial aid to anti-Soviet forces on the retreat.

The Soviet Tass news agency, in a dispatch from Luanda, said troops of the Kremlin-backed MPLA had reached the vicinity of Huambo, capital of the anti-communist Unita movement.

Leaders of Unita had left the town and moved their headquarters to Silva Porto, 145 km to the east.

The report claimed MPLA troops had also taken Alto Hama, 64 km north of Huambo, and controlled the roads leading south.

The Soviet Union said the MPLA were also in favour of a political solution.

An article in the government newspaper, Izvestia, said: "The Soviet Union comes out for peace in Angola. It has never opposed and does not oppose

the search for a political solution in Angola."

The article insisted the Kremlin would like to see consolidation of all patriotic forces that support the real independence and free development of their country.

There was immediate speculation that the policy outlined by Izvestia could be partially the outcome of talks in Moscow last week between Dr Kissinger and the Soviet Communist Party leader, Mr Leonid Brezhnev.

In Washington, Dr Kissinger told the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa there would be far-reaching consequences if the United States failed to assist the anti-Soviet factions in the Angola fighting.

Dr Kissinger said the Ford Administration would soon consult congress on whether open assistance was possible, in place of the previously secret aid barred by Congress.

In Havana, the Premier, Dr Fidel Castro, said Cuba sent its first troops to Angola last November after South African forces launched an offensive against the MPLA on October 23. — SAPA-RNS.

"They took turns to carry me and when one team was virtually on its knees, the other team took over." Rfn Murray said.

"When the pain became unbearable, they gave me courage and said the camp was not far away. It took a long time before we reached a doctor."

Rfn Murray said his greatest wish was to meet again the men who had saved him. "I would very much like to thank them. They were real friends when I needed their help," he said. — DDC-SAPA.

# News blackout on Black casualties

R.D.M. 30/1/76

By **BOB HITCHCOCK**  
Military Correspondent  
DEFENCE Headquarters  
yesterday refused to re-  
lease for publication the  
names and numbers of  
South African Black sold-  
iers killed and wounded  
in border skirmishes.

Said a spokesman: "De-  
tails of these casualties are  
not being given to the  
Press."

No reason for the clamp-  
down on this information  
was given.

Earlier this week the  
Minister of Defence, Mr  
P. W. Botha, told Parlia-  
ment that "190 non-White  
soldiers had fought and  
suffered losses" in the bor-  
der area.

After making inquiries  
for two days, the Public

Relations Directorate of  
Defence Headquarters had  
by last night failed to de-  
termine the name of the  
Black unit involved.

"There were two slightly  
understrength companies  
of 190 men. That's all we  
know at the moment," said  
a spokesman.

It was disclosed that  
Coloured soldiers of the  
infantry-trained Cape  
Corps have volunteered for  
service on the border.

Their request, I was told,  
has been approved by the  
Minister of Defence and  
the men are undergoing  
special training in the  
Cape.

It is understood that an-  
other Black unit is also  
being trained for border  
duty.

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RDM 2/2/76

# Calueque—the 'buffer' dam

RDM 2/2/76

BOB HITCHCOCK: Military Correspondent

SO CALUEQUE Dam is becoming an international issue. It's not surprising. Military observers foresaw just that.

Calueque has become a buffer zone between Angola and South West Africa. A buffer zone manned by South African troops.

The dam is in Angola on the Kunene River about 25 km from the South West Africa border in Owambo.

It is a vital part of a R160-million scheme spread between Calueque and the dramatically beautiful Ruacana Falls. The falls straddle the South West Africa-Angola border in Owambo.

The scheme comprises pumping stations and a hydro-electric plant.

All the investment comes from South Africa. Originally, the giant scheme got under way as the result of negotiations between this country and the old Lisbon regime.

South African troops moved in last August when the scheme was threatened by armed Angolan nationalists.

For almost two years now water has been pumped into parched Owambo from the Kunene. Without it, the Ovambos would suffer from a water shortage of devastating proportions.

The deadline for the electricity switch-on from the scheme is mid-1977. It will be linked to the present limited South West Africa

power grid. An attack at this stage by Angolan nationalist forces or Swapo terrorists on these installations could seriously disrupt construction.

Hence South Africa's concern over the project and insistence that our troops will guard it until a responsible, acknowledged government is set up in Angola, and guarantees given on the safety of the installations.

There is another aspect. When I visited the dam in Calueque a few weeks ago, Black and Portuguese workers on the site were adamant that if the South African soldiers quit, they could no longer work there. They said they fear-

ed reprisals from armed Black nationalists.

Militarily, the buffer zone created by South Africa's control of that area at the southern tip of Angola is invaluable to South Africa's defence of the South West Africa border.

At the same time, the dam itself and the installations around it would be extremely difficult to defend against determined and skilful attack by seasoned troops, such as the Cubans.

One day South Africa may find itself negotiating with the MPLA over this vital buffer zone.

Before that happens the zone may very well be under fire of a different kind.

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## TWO MINISTERS TALK TO THE TRIBUNE

We'll We'll  
join the OAU says Mulder stay in fight says Botha

SUN. TRIBUNE

8/2/76

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### African

Dr Mulder said the time will come when South Africa will be acceptable to the OAU "to the advantage of that organisation and ourselves."

"If it is accepted that we are an African state then surely the OAU should include all African states. And surely South Africa is an African state — no one can doubt that. "We don't want to dominate Africa, surely not. We could give Africa a much stronger voice in the international organisations, if South Africa was accepted as a member of the OAU."

But Dr Mulder discounted reports that South Africa has attempted to get into the OAU. He said "I believe it is in the interests of Africa and South Africa that we should be a member. But I am not pressing it at all. We have not tried to get into the OAU."

### Reality

Questioned on his personal feelings about participating in a Black-dominated organisation led by a man such as Idi Amin, the Minister said: "Providence has provided for South Africa to be part of a Black-dominated continent. Reality will prove that that is the position and we will have to play our part there."

### Problem

Asked whether there was any possibility of extending military conscription to the Coloured people, Mr Botha said: "At present we are training as many Coloureds as we can. The problem is the availability of instructors. We need more qualified instructors if we are to train more Coloured soldiers."

He said there had been a marked improvement on the question of certain employers not paying employees called up for three months service.

"I'm very much encouraged by the positive action of employers. There is now only a small minority of them whose co-operation we have to win."

Mr Botha would not be drawn on speculation that the Defence Budget could double. "That matter is in the hands of the Minister of Finance at the moment," he said.

"But with prices escalating, and our need to prepare and equip our soldiers properly, we will all have to contribute more to the defence of the country."

By EUGENE HUGO

DR CONNIE MULDER confidently predicted yesterday that South Africa will become a member of the Organisation of African Unity.

And he made it clear that since South Africa is part of a Black-dominated continent it will have to accept the Black majority rule of the OAU.

In a frank and wide ranging interview with the SUNDAY TRIBUNE Dr Mulder also:

• Spelled out his plans for the anticipated influx of refugees from Angola.

• Commented on the possibility of constitutional change in South Africa which could lead to the appointment of an executive State President.

• Reported on his department's programme — overseas and in Africa — during this crucial year of escalating Angolan conflict.

By HUGH MURRAY

SOUTH AFRICA has no intention of throwing a "Maginot Line" across the southern border of Angola, and any suggestion that this has been done is completely inaccurate, Defence Minister P. W. Botha said yesterday.

In an interview, Mr Botha said that while South Africa's presence in Angola is still "absolutely necessary," the "line" of defence alluded to in Press reports this week was simply not feasible. In terms of defence strategy, the idea did not make sense, he pointed out.

According to Bernard Nossiter of the Washington Post, Mr Botha had said South Africa was holding various points across Angola up to 50 kilometres deep and stretching to the Zambian border.

Mr Botha said that South African troops are deployed in such a way that there is no resemblance to a line of any kind.

"They are not in a line. Any suggestion of a Maginot or Siegfried line is pure nonsense," he said.

# DURBAN DOCKS READY FOR THE RHODESIAN RUSH

By CHRISTOPHER MORRIS

A SUBSTANTIAL increase in harbour activity is expected in Durban in the next few weeks because of Mozambique closing her border to Rhodesian traffic.

At the moment Durban is in a position to handle extra traffic. Port director Ben Lombard says that although the level of activity fluctuates from week to week, there is spare capacity at the port. And with Durban being the nearest port to Rhodesia, it will obviously be the first choice for taking the strain of additional Rhodesian goods.

But one question that arises is what will happen when the domestic economy picks up, as expected towards the end of this year. This resurgence will inevitably result in greater local demand for port facilities. But with the additional traffic from Rhodesia, harbour authorities could be hard-pressed to cope with this higher local demand.

One answer is that greater use

will be made of other South African ports, such as Cape Town, East London and Port Elizabeth. Railways general manager Kobus Loubser told the Federal Consultative Council meeting of the Railway Staff Association earlier this week that there was spare line and harbour capacity due to the cooling down of the economy and also to the expansion and updating of rail facilities and services.

But it will obviously need careful planning. For instance, although it is not the main maize export port, it will be difficult to transport Rhodesian maize through Durban, whose maize handling facilities are being fully utilised now.

So one outcome of Mozambique's decision may well be that Durban, and other South African ports, will feel the burden once again.

Another more beneficial effect from extra Rhodesian traffic passing through South Africa will be added revenue for the railways and an increase in foreign exchange to help the balance of payments.



Port director Lombard: Durban can take more



SAR general manager Loubser: Expanding services

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# Basson call for all-race discussions

STAR

9/2/76

Political Staff

DURBAN — Mr Japie Basson, leader of the United Party in the Transvaal, has strongly attacked the Government for failure to consult Blacks on "war and peace" decisions. He warned that the time was past when Whites could stand alone.

Speaking at a UP fund-raising function in Margate at the weekend Mr Basson said: "I believe the time is past that White people alone can take decisions on war and peace to the exclusion of others and then hope that when we are in trouble they will help us."

It was absolutely necessary that Whites recognised they could not cope alone in times of trouble.

Charging the Government with failing to create machinery for consultation with Black population groups, Mr Basson said: "We will have to ensure that we do not take decisions on war and peace alone, but take the other race groups with us."

In a lengthy speech, dealing mainly with the Angolan situation and security, Mr Basson attacked the Government on three major aspects.

● To emancipate South West Africa while there was time and peace in the area, and so solve South Africa's biggest international problem.

● To create machinery where non-Whites could take part in making decisions, particularly when it came to matters of war and peace.

● To dismantle discrimination and so achieve a common loyalty which would enable all South Africans to stand together against threats of outside aggression.

### CONCEDED

Mr Basson, the UP's chief spokesman on foreign affairs, told the meeting of about 170 people that the Government had conceded 10 years ago that SWA's destiny was to be independent, yet it had not moved fast enough to implement this.

Indications were that the present constitutional talks would last another three years but he warned: "The era of peace in South West Africa is now gone. We have entered the era of violence and attack by force of arms."



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# MPLA rushes south for the border

NM  
12/2/76

LONDON — The Government in Luanda yesterday said its forces had taken two more important towns in southern Angola.

In a broadcast monitored here, Radio Luanda said its troops had captured the port of Mocamedes and Lubango (formerly Sa da Bandeira), about 150km east of there.

The capture of the two towns would make one of the deepest southern penetrations yet by the MPLA. Both towns are deep inside the territory once controlled by forces of Unita.

And the southward offensive of the Communist-backed MPLA is moving toward confrontation with the South African Army, a British correspondent said yesterday.

Jane Bergerol, reporting from Luanda to the Financial Times, confirmed that the MPLA announced the capture on Tuesday of the coast

stal cities of Lobito and Benguela.

"A broadcast by the MPLA military commander of Benguela's Radio said there was "no resistance by forces of the western and South African-backed Unita movement," Miss Bergerol reported.

"The broadcast made clear the Luanda Government has no intention of stopping its southern advance or of leaving the South African troops to continue their occupation of southern Angola."

Miss Bergerol said: "Now the MPLA's Soviet-supplied heavy artillery and tanks have crossed the natural barrier of the Queve

River, formerly the South African forward line, there is no other major natural obstacle in the MPLA's advance toward the South African lines."

Miss Bergerol said the "prospects of a major confrontation between the MPLA and their allies and South African forces who have reportedly established a strong defence line 80km inside Angola, moved nearer" with the fall of Lobito and Benguela.

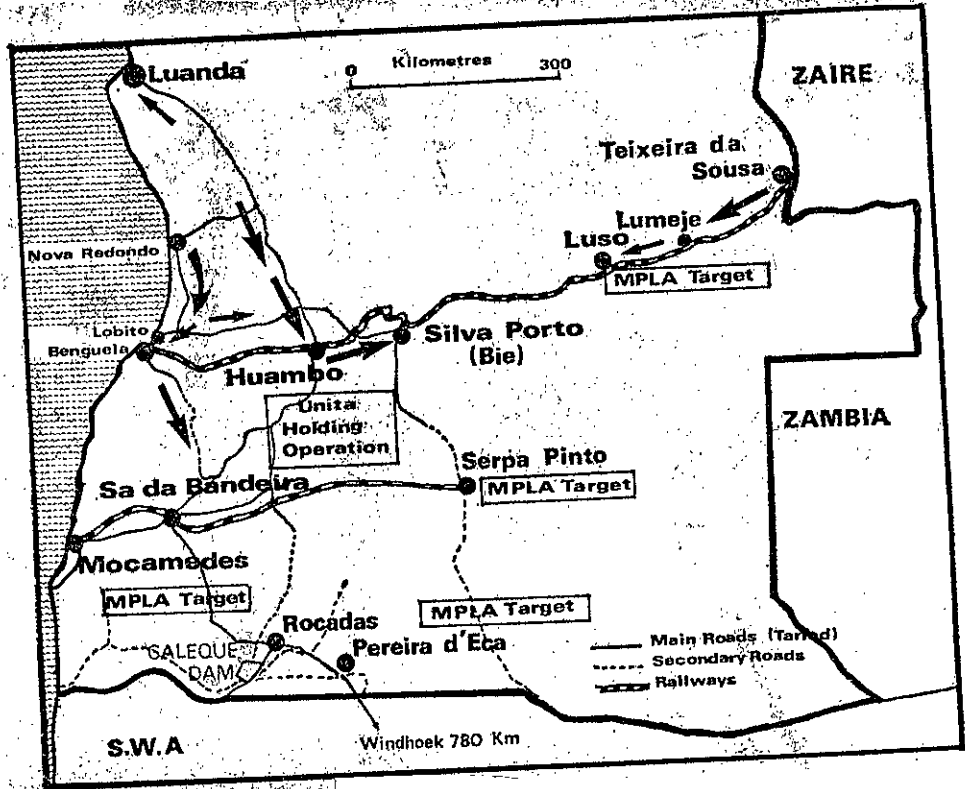
The capture of these centres on the Atlantic coast "gives the MPLA control of almost the entire 1,600km of the Benguela across Angola into Zaire and Zambia," the reporter said.

Meanwhile, in Addis Ababa the Organisation of African Unity yesterday recognised the "Angolan People's Republic" of the MPLA as a full member State.

A communique from OAU headquarters here said that the People's Republic had been admitted as the 47th member of the organisation.

The Togo Republic later on Tuesday became the 27th member of the OAU to recognise the Luanda-based administration following Uganda's move.

In Moscow the Soviet Union reiterated yesterday that it would support a political solution to the Angolan conflict, but also indicated that MPLA should complete their military sweep of the country. — (Sapa-Reuters-AP.)



THE MAP shows the main towns figuring in the Angolan war and the MPLA's bid to sweep Unita out of the country.

**EXCLUSIVE**

# SA will negotiate with MPLA if...

● SOUTH AFRICA wanted stabilisation of the situation in Angola as soon as possible, the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, has told the Rand Daily Mail. In an exclusive interview with DIRK REZELMAN in Cape Town this week, Mr Botha said the South African Government was prepared to negotiate with an MPLA Government if it respected certain South African interests.

**QUESTION:**

Dr Fidel Castro said last week that Cuban troops are in Angola because the MPLA requested aid against invading South African forces. Would you comment on this?

**ANSWER:**

Our intelligence is that the MPLA started receiving really substantial infusions of communist aid as from March 1975. This was long before our troops were present in Angola.

Since March the communist troops and arms build-up has increased, as they hoped for a quick victory over the population of Angola. This build-up posed a threat to interests for which we are responsible in that area.

● The American Congress has voted against overt aid against the MPLA. This must be a disappointment to you?

It is a disappointment to the whole free world that America finds it difficult to increase its aid to anti-communist forces in Angola.

I think Mr Ford and his Government, according to reports, are also worried about the negative response of Congress at this time.

However, all South Africa wants to see is stabilisation of the area and an end to the bloodshed and chaos.

● The Washington Post reported you recently as saying that South African forces are ranged in a line 50 km from the South West African border, from the Atlantic coast to Zambia.

**Push**

The reporter, Bernard Nossiter, misinterpreted what I told him. There is no such "line". Obviously the communist forces push further south to threaten our interests we would be able to deal with them and our forward planning is based also on this contingency. We won't be caught napping when there is a push by them.

● Would you then spell



P. W. BOTHA... we won't be caught napping.

out our immediate interests?

We want to see the whole region politically stabilised under a truly national government, not a government forced on the population by communist arms.

Other South African interests include protecting the Calueque Dam, which is essential for the development of Owambo as well as the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme.

Then there is the question of handling thousands of refugees now fleeing from the MPLA army towards the south.

Thirdly, linked with the thrust southward of the MPLA and the refugees fleeing before them, is the question of safe-guarding South West Africa against being infected by the chaos of the destabilised area immediately to the north.

I must emphasise that our response to the communist military thrust is focused along the SWA border and in certain parts of Angola only. Our wish is that the people there reach a political resolution to their problem soon.

● Do you think that the Russian-Cuban communist

military presence is aimed ultimately at South Africa?

They want to disrupt the evolutionary development in South West Africa and sow chaos there. They also want to control the Cape sea route.

This Angolan adventure is considered the thin edge of a communist wedge to isolate South Africa completely from the West.

The communists know that to do this they must subjugate the Angolans to get a foothold in that part of the world.

A free election in Angola would show that the people don't want a communist government. So it is being forced upon them.

In the same way they can't afford to let South West Africa develop peacefully. They are thus taking advantage of a West mesmerised into inactivity by detente with Moscow to force their attentions on to this part of the world.

● Considering the MPLA effectively take over all of Angola, what would South Africa's attitude then be?

If the region is stabilised and Owambo inter-

ests and development are not undermined by the MPLA — in other words if they restrain themselves to staying where they belong — doubtless discussions could be held with them regarding our interests in that area.

I'm thinking particularly of the Calueque Dam and the Ruacana scheme. We don't have to agree with their policies to come to an understanding with them in this event.

The presence of outsiders like Cubans and Russians is however a most disturbing factor. How can we negotiate with a possible MPLA government while these foreign, non-African forces are backing the MPLA?

● An American newspaper, the Christian Science Monitor, said on January 5 that thousands of Black South African troops were in the operational area with White troops. What is your comment?

I have already said that there are Black troops in this area but there are more White than Black troops. There are not thousand of Black troops.

Our aim is to help the Ovambo and Kuvambo establish a strong resistance against the communists.

Their response has been good. They appreciate that to fight the communists they must be prepared in every way — economically as well as otherwise.

**Disrupt**

Our work there is appreciated by these people and this is another reason why we won't allow the MPLA to disrupt the area.

Black local soldiers from Owambo and Kuvambo are trained in all aspects of military duties at the specific request of these homelands.

The position regarding border crossing between SWA and Angola is difficult because the Kwan-yama tribe lives on both sides of the border.

The point is that these people don't want to be sucked into the civil conflicts in Angola and a large part of our responsibility is to see that they are not. We are helping the people there in many ways towards a better life.

● Few people in South Africa know about the other tasks being per-

formed by the military. Would you expand on this?

It is my policy to inform the leaders of opinion here about what is being done and the need to protect this work. That is why we organised tours of select leaders of industry and commerce, journalists and political personalities to the operational area.

They could then see for themselves how difficult the terrain is and that the people there are at various stages of development.

We have concentrated on responsible people who have the necessary influence to tell others in their various fields about what is being done.

● Returning to the war it seems as if the MPLA has an arsenal of modern weapons. If they should attack the SWA border

are we equipped to repulse them?

The MPLA has received modern weapons from the Russians but they need trained Cubans to use them. We don't have an answer for every Soviet weapon but under the circumstances we can more than hold our own.

We have some very good weapons but naturally weapon production is very expensive, especially in these times.

If the West is unhappy about possible Soviet arms superiority in Angola then they too must realise that the sustained arms embargo against South Africa was a factor encouraging the Russians in this respect.

We have long warned about the dangers of armed communist aggression in Southern Africa and the West has pre-

ferred in the past to ignore our warnings.

So we have manufactured and maintained our own effective capability, which let me assure your readers can cope with the situation.

It must also be realised that while the West has not yet shown any strong signs of putting diplomatic pressure onto the Soviets, Moscow is being placed in a difficult position as she pours more and more Cubans and arms into an area of African dispute.

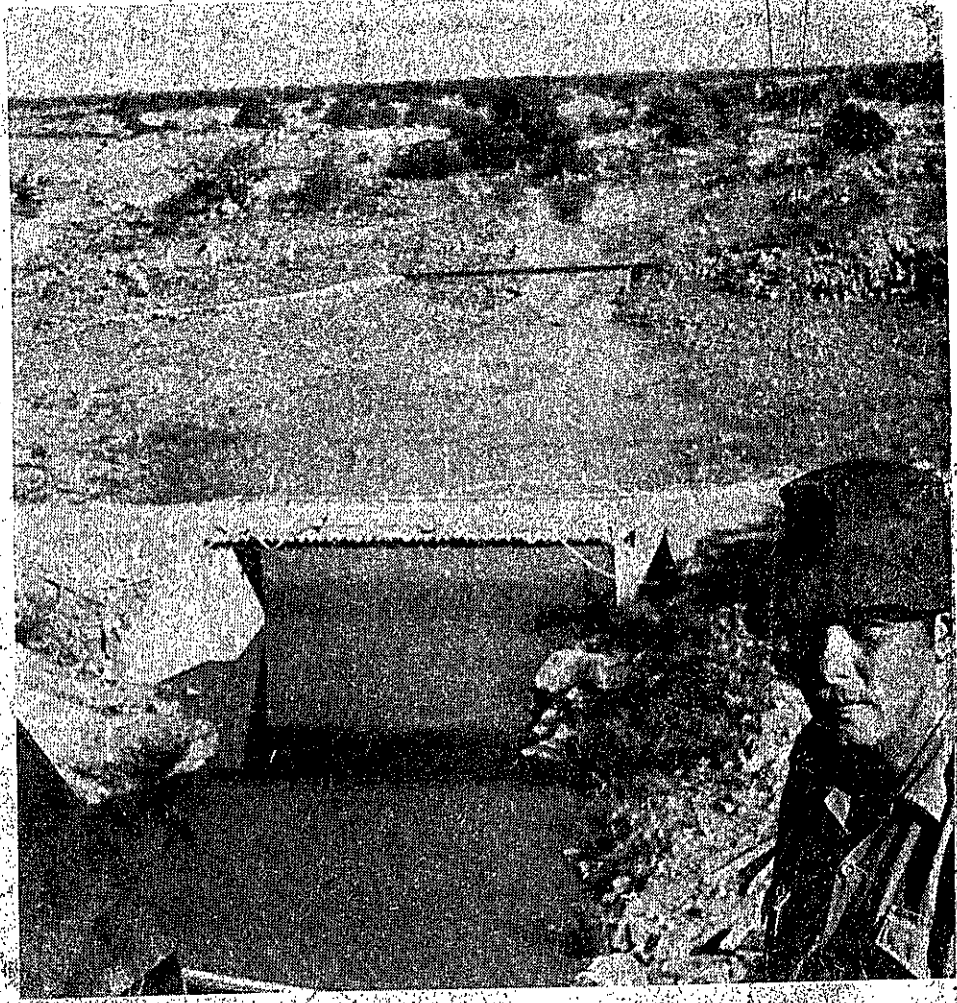
Supplying arms to the MPLA is one thing — giving them trained non-African soldiers such as the Cubans to fight a so-called war of "African liberation" is stretching the point very far.

In fact Moscow's plans for Angola have partially aborted because the MPLA was initially repulsed from southern Angola at the start of serious hostilities between the factions.

As they continued to pour in Cubans and arms at this time their aggressive intent becomes more disturbing to the international community.

It is clear that they and the Cubans are now the aggressors and not simply sympathetic arms suppliers to fellow Marxists, and the Western World must take note of this.

CONT...



A South African Defence Force major surveys the countryside from the high walls of the Calueque Dam.

# UNITA'S CAUSE IS A DEAD ISSUE - OAU

13/2/76  
NM

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ADDIS ABABA — The Organisation of African Unity considers the question of the rival Governments in Angola a dead issue, the assistant OAU Secretary-General, Mr. Peter Onu, said yesterday.

He said that as far as the OAU was concerned, the Democratic Republic of Angola formed by the rival FNLA-Unita coalition was finished.

The People's Republic of the Soviet-backed MPLA was declared the only legitimate Angolan Government on Wednesday, entirely in accordance with the OAU Charter, Mr. Onu declared.

Commenting on accusations by Zaire's State Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Nguza Karl-i-Bond, in Washington that the OAU had acted illegally in recognising the People's Republic, Mr. Onu said: "He is entitled to his own opinion, but Article 28 of the Charter clearly states that 'admission shall be decided by a simple majority of member States'."

Zaire might bring the question up again at an OAU ministerial council meeting here on February 23, but was unlikely to make much headway, he said.

So far a simple majority of OAU members had recognised the MPLA Government, and Mr. Onu said the organisation was therefore bound to admit it.

The question of a two-thirds majority being required did not arise, and had never done so in the past, he added.

A two-thirds majority of members was needed for substantive resolutions raised in OAU meetings, according to Article 10 of the Charter, but admissions were clearly dealt with under Article 28, and could not be construed as "resolutions."

Mr. Onu said that the OAU now regarded the issue as resolved and its main concern now was to stop the fighting and bring about a reconciliation.

But he did not expect the President of the Angolan People's Republic, Dr. Agostino Neto, would ever accept the rival leaders, Dr. Jonas Savimbi of Unita or Mr. Holden Roberto of FNLA, into his Government.

Mr. Onu said that he thought those countries which had supported the rival FNLA-Unita coalition would quickly become reconciled to the MPLA's victory including Zaire.

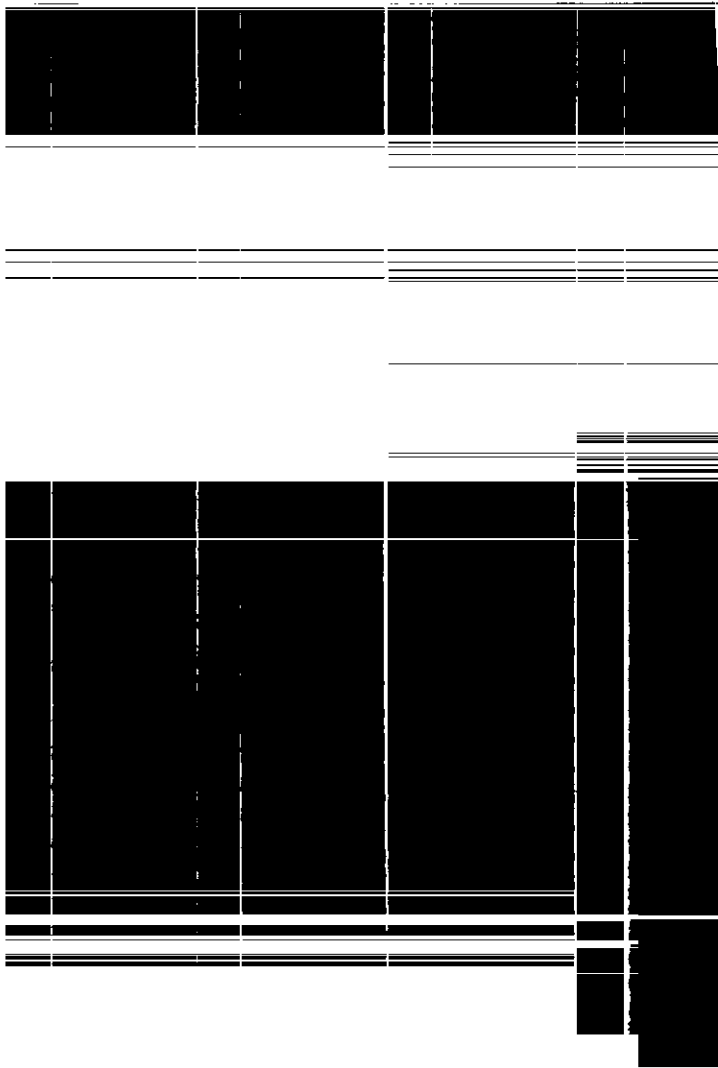
On South Africa's involvement, Mr. Onu said that in spite of talk about detente, the aggressive policy of South Africa could no longer be in doubt.

Meanwhile, the Nairobi newspaper Daily Nation yesterday questioned the OAU's acceptance of the MPLA Government.

An editorial said the OAU had blundered by admitting the MPLA, in a situation reminiscent of its diplomatic break with Israel in 1974 and of the agreement signed in that year with the London-based Lonrho group on oil supplies.

"On both those occasions the OAU acted as a sovereign State... It has no powers of recognising or admitting any sovereign State, just as it does not have powers to declare war or enter into treaties."

While the paper said it does not question the right of any member State to recognise a government, "we do question the right of the OAU to use these rights to admit the MPLA-led government. — (Sapa-Reuter.)"



# Angolan refugee fund plan supported

Mercury Reporter

A SUGGESTION by Mr. O. H. B. Attwell, a former Chief Magistrate of Durban, that a fund for Angolan refugees be set up in South Africa has met with the approval of the Department of Social Welfare.

N.M  
14/2/76

Mr. Attwell said yesterday that a centrally-administered fund should be set up and run by the South African Red Cross and the Noodhulpliga, and that appeals for funds be published in all the newspapers.

"As the United Nations has refused to help, it is up to us South Africans to care for these people," he said.

"It is imperative that the fund be set up quickly because the MPLA are only about 300km from our borders, and we keep hearing reports of the thousands of refugees fleeing in front of them."

### GOOD IDEA

The Secretary for Social Welfare in Cape Town, Mr. H. van Vuuren, said he thought the idea merited consideration.

"I am in full agreement with such a centrally-administered fund if the refugee situation should arise."

"However, I do not

think that the problem is as immediate as Mr. Attwell thinks it is. According to information I have received it is not certain we will get the refugees at all.

"No provision has yet been made to accept them into South Africa, and if they remain in Angola we shall have to negotiate with whatever government is in power there to get aid to them," said Mr. van Vuuren.

Mr. Attwell's suggestion follows reports that

125 000 refugees are headed for the SWA border in front of the advancing MPLA forces. About 11 000 refugees are already being cared for in four camps in the border area.

The International Red Cross is reported to have earmarked about R7 million for refugee aid, and the 13 000 refugees already helped by South Africa have cost the country about R4,3 million.

# UK reports on SA's strength

Cape Times 14/2/76

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — British newspapers have begun describing the military capabilities of South Africa and the Russian- and Cuban-supported MPLA in anticipation of a possible confrontation in southern Angola.

## 'Biggest blunder in SA history'

SOUTH AFRICA'S involvement in Angola had been the biggest blunder in the country's history and he seriously doubted whether evolutionary or peaceful change would come about, Professor Heriburt Adam said last night.

Professor Adam, chairman of Political Science, sociology and anthropology Department at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, was speaking at the University of Cape Town summer school in the last of five lectures he gave here.

Professor Adam said South Africa had lost credit because it had legitimized Russian-Cuban interference in Angola by its own involvement.

South Africa had played into Russian hands and "had furthered the aims of communism, and under its own laws should ban itself."

White South Africa was also not aware of the hardening of Black attitudes internally. For many Blacks, Russia's presence in Southern Africa was interpreted as the only realistic instrument to bring about internal change in South Africa.

## Neto call to Zambia

BELGRADE. — Dr Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA, called for good relations with neighbouring Zambia and Zaire in an interview published here yesterday.

The Yugoslav news agency, Tanjug, also quoted him as saying that MPLA forces would soon reach Angola's southern border, and that the problem of South African troops in that part of the country "would be solved". — Sapa-Reuter

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK. — United States officials indicated on Friday that they suspected that the aircraft now held in Luanda may have strayed off course on its flight to South Africa.

Efforts were being made to obtain the release of the aircraft, a Fokker F-24, and its two American crew members, through the international Red Cross.

If this failed, it was expected that they would ask Portugal to intercede with the MPLA authorities.

The American officials appeared to discredit earlier reports that the plane

Though some newspapers suggest that there may be a compromise in the area, several of them yesterday carried descriptions of South Africa's military strength compared with the potential of Cuban and MPLA troops in reports reminiscent of the statistical background articles found with newspaper reports on wars in the Middle East and South-East Asia.

Headlines asking, "Will South Africa go to war?" (The Times) and proclaiming the MPLA's move "towards final confrontation" (The Guardian), have raised in British minds the possibility that a conventional war in southern Angola or on the northern frontier of South West Africa may not be far off.

The Daily Telegraph reported that more Cuban troops were still being flown into Angola, suggesting expectations in Luanda and Moscow of a clash with South African forces.

### "KREMLIN AID"

Swapo, it added, had been given a "massive infusion" of aid from the Kremlin in recent months. A "special correspondent" in the Financial Times concluded that a serious Cuban offensive against South Africa's defence line was "extremely unlikely".

Only the Cuban troops in Angola had the equipment, training and discipline to confront large units of South African troops. There were about 15 000 Cubans in Angola (one-sixth of its regular army) and there was a limit how far the Cubans could escalate.

Before being committed seriously against the South Africans, the Cubans would, moreover, need to be reorganized into larger formations and would probably have to

wait till they had been provided with heavier weapons and guaranteed air cover.

The Cubans had no brigade and divisional artillery, relying instead on recoilless rifles, 60 and 82 mm mortars and, for heavier work, "Stalin Organs". These latter weapons, though devastating, were no substitute in regular warfare for a proper equipment of artillery. They did not have enough tanks to put up against South Africa's "considerable" tank force.

But the correspondent warned that, given the large Soviet airlift capability and the widest military efficiency of the Cubans, they might be able to reform themselves into a regular military force "capable of making a serious dent in the South Africans in as little as a month".

The newspaper added that the South Africans "look superior now, but their capacity for escalation is finite and they cannot match the Soviet if they decide to go all out".

## Call for Soviets to invade

LUSAKA. — The Times of Zambia yesterday called on Cuba and the Soviet Union to justify their intervention in Angola by continuing their advance into South Africa.

In a front page editorial the newspaper, organ of the ruling United National Independence Party, said: "After all that has happened, the logical conclusion of the Angolan episode is an armed advance into South Africa. Both the Soviet Union and revolutionary Cuba will be leaving Africa in a catastrophic midstream if they call off the fight on the southern borders of Angola and pack for home."

The newspaper added: "It is the immediate southward advance into Namibia and South Africa that will justify, sanctify and glorify Soviet and Cuban intervention in Angola." — Sapa-Reuter

due to land at Cape Town after following a westerly flight plan to keep well clear of Angola.

The crew, Captain Roger Carley of Miami Shores and co-pilot Richard Fusakio of Fort Lauderdale, are both employed by World Aviation Services (WAS), a Florida-based company.

US officials said there was nothing unusual in this since the company specialized in this sort of ferrying job.

WAS vice-president Dick Ware dismissed as "nonsense" allegations that the men were mercenaries.

## Russian tanks 'land in Beira'

Own Correspondent

SALISBURY. — Russian TT54 and TT34 tanks recently used successfully by Marxist forces in the Angolan war have been unloaded from a vessel in the northern Mozambique port of Beira, intelligence sources reported yesterday.

The arrival of the tanks confirms earlier reports that the Soviet Union is following up its military successes in Angola with an all-out effort to support the Black nationalist guerrillas waging war on Rhodesia's northern and eastern borders.

A team of Russian military advisers, including several men who helped to organize the MPLA's strategy in Angola, are known to be in Beira, once a popular holiday resort for White Rhodesians.

They are believed to be consulting the leaders of an estimated force of 15 000 Black insurgents encamped in northern Mozambique, not far from the Rhodesian border.

Russian Sam-7 portable ground-to-air missiles and 122MM rockets have also been unloaded from Eastern Europe in Beira in recent weeks.

The Soviet build-up has coincided with a series of belligerent anti-Smith speeches by President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

In a broadcast earlier this week, he threatened to mount an attack on Rhodesia's far western borders in retaliation for alleged border provocations.

South African police said yesterday that they have no knowledge of the reported abduction by Frelimo of two Black South Africans on the Mozambique border in January.

Staff Reporter  
NEARLY 1 500 people packed the New Apostolic Church in Bellville yesterday for the funeral service of Private W J Cronje, 26, who was killed in the operational area last week.

Also in the packed church were Colonel H Kempen, Officer Commanding 71 Brigade and other senior officers. Pastor C J Laubscher who conducted the service said that Private Cronje had given his life "for his country and for God".

Private Cronje was employed by the Railways and leaves a wife and two young sons. His parents, Mr and Mrs W Cronje live in Kraaitfontein, four streets away from the home of Private Cronje.

Traffic came to a halt as the gun carriage drawn by a military vehicle and followed by the funeral procession proceeded to Bellville Cemetery where Private Cronje was buried with full military honours. A guard of honour of the 10th Anti-Aircraft Regiment followed the gun carriage and presented arms as the coffin was lowered into the grave.

Troops, his family and friends stood silently as Pastor Laubscher paid tribute to Private Cronje. "He was selfless and a man who was a keen member of the church and a good father to his family. His last words before he left for the operational area were 'please do not worry about me'," he said.

Soldier buried with honours

# Can we hold Calueque?

Cape Times 14/2/76

(5)  
224

HOW LONG to hold Calueque in Angola is a critical question facing the South African Government, according to diplomats and observers who have been watching Angolan developments closely.

All along in the Angolan saga Calueque's water installations have been presented as a vital interest. Clearly they are important to the Ovambos, but not much convincing detail has been given as to why, exactly, Calueque should be so vital in the general scheme of things. For instance: How many South Africans should die to defend Calueque?

The moment of truth is approaching, for the Soviet and Cuban-backed MPLA troops are heading south towards Calueque and other spots occupied by South African troops.

There is a frightful danger of a military clash, but my guess is that the communist-backed forces will not barnstorm their way into the South African lines. For one thing, they would get cut up badly, though South Africa could also expect heavy casualties. Moreover, they have had vast success recently, and will probably not want to push their luck too far. Anyway, one can only hope that this will be the case.

## Diplomatic front

More likely would be a limited thrust to a border point, just to raise the flag. Then the action could switch to the diplomatic front — with simmering guerilla possibilities for SWA.

In diplomatic terms, the MPLA has won its prize: official recognition by the Organization of African Unity. And it can now proceed to the United Nations for recognition, which is usually a formality when the OAU has given its blessing. Thus, in the near future, the

## Political brief

By HAZLITT

MPLA could be a recognized UN member; and obviously one of its first steps would be to demand withdrawal of South African troops from its territory. This could place South Africa — and its Western friends — in an untenable position.

South Africa would have to decide just how critical the holding of Calueque is. To brazen it out could earn universal condemnation at the UN — but more than that. The whole "threat to world peace" mechanism could be effectively invoked, with incalculable results.

It would not be easy for the West to mount a triple veto in these circumstances.

There is a powerful school of thought which believes that it would be far wiser for South Africa to negotiate its way out of Calueque and other Angolan territory as soon as physically possible. Suitable guarantees about the water scheme should be sought.

A dramatic initiative offering recognition to the MPLA itself is also not impossible.

Such efforts would not end the matter — for refugee and guerilla problems would persist. But they would bring some stability into what at present is a rapidly-escalating military situation. They could even produce a scenario in which South African-Angolan relations were not much different from South African-Mozambique relations.

Negotiations seem well worth a try.

**SOUTH AFRICA** can protect its investments in Angola if it recognises the Soviet-backed MPLA administration in Luanda, the MPLA Minister for Foreign Relations, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, said in an interview published in the French capital yesterday.

Mr Dos Santos told the newspaper, Le Monde, that South African interests in Angola "must not be considered a pretext for violating the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola".

"The Pretoria government should recognise the fact of our existence as an independent sovereign state and as the legitimate representatives of the Angolan people. Then we could settle all the problems concerning South African interests and investments in Angola," he said.

## SA warns UN: We may end aid to refugees

By BERNARDI WESSELS  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The Government has asked the United Nations if it will take over the care of Angolan refugees if South Africa stops its aid—which it will seriously consider.

This is the latest development in the rising confrontation between South Africa and the UN over its refusal to give aid, a move which has united all political parties in their condemnation of the world body.

The Foreign Minister, Dr Hilgard Muller, has asked Dr Kurt Waldheim, the UN Secretary-General, in a terse note which is the third in three weeks, to state urgently if the UN would render all the services at present being provided by South Africa.

He said that as indicated previously, South Africa could not "undertake indefinitely and without assistance the humanitarian task of providing all necessary services and provisions."

### CAMPS

Dr Muller "noted" Dr Waldheim's response that the UN would not be able to give aid, since refugee camps run by South Africa were in Angola.

"This implies that the sole obstacle to UN assistance is the fact that South Africa has assumed this humanitarian task," said Dr Muller.

"It must, therefore, be assumed that if South Africa were to cease this task, the UN would undertake its responsibilities towards these refugees.

"In consequence, South Africa will seriously have to consider terminating its role in this regard, and if it should do so, please advise urgently whether the UN will render all the services at present rendered by South Africa."

In an explanatory statement last night, Dr Muller said South Africa wanted at all costs to avoid a situation where refugees were totally disrupted and would have to spend years in refugee camps.

If South Africa did pull out its aid, it would not mean that she was indifferent to the needs and problems of the refugees.

Indeed, South Africa had clearly shown its hospitality towards refugees who had been accommodated for long periods.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, said in Cape Town last night that if the report was correct "it sounds very interesting, but before I comment I would like to study it and check the situation."

Mr Dos Santos said the MPLA did not intend to nationalise foreign property in Angola at the moment, except in cases where foreign-owned businesses had been abandoned, reports Sapa Reuter.

"We are ready to respect the interests of multinational companies in Angola if they help the development of our economy and the welfare of our people. We are open to investments from the East and from the West," he said.

"The fact that Moscow agrees with us or not does not bother us," he said. Countries which grant us aid and support have only to follow out our decisions."

And in Belgrade, the Yugoslav news agency, Tanjug, reported that Dr Agostinho Neto, leader of MPLA, called for good relations with neighbouring Zambia and Zaire in an interview published there yesterday.

He said MPLA forces would soon reach Angola's southern border, and that the problem of South African troops in that part of the country "would be solved."

In the interview, Dr Neto pledged his country's support to liberation movements in "Namibia" and other parts of Africa, but indicated it had no intention of direct interference in South West Africa.

"What will happen in Namibia depends entirely on the Namibian people, and we do not intend to play any directive role there," he said.

Dr Neto said Angola was ready to allow transportation of Zambian and Zaire copper by the Benguela railway and the Zaire river. He appealed to Angolans who had fled the country to return. But he added that this did not concern leaders of the rival movements, Unita and the FNLA.

Commenting on the military situation, he said only one important point in the north, the town of San Salvador, remained to be taken by the MPLA. "In the south, where South African troops have allowed themselves to settle down on our territory, we will soon reach the border with Namibia (South West Africa). We will solve that problem, too," he said.

Latest reports from Angola last night indicated, however, that the main force of Cubans was far from the border.

The "Mail" Africa Bureau reports that Unita yesterday officially announced that it was pulling out of the towns in the face of the MPLA advance and preparing to fight a protracted guerilla war.

# RECOGNISE US and we'll talk-MPLA

RDM 14/2/76

## Terrorist killed in hot pursuit

CAPE TOWN. — One Swapo terrorist had been killed and 37 "put out of action" following a "cowardly" rocket attack in the operational area last Thursday, the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, said in a statement last night.

The statement says: "After two South African soldiers were killed in a cowardly rocket attack in the operational area last Thursday, the Defence Force immediately started a follow-up action.

"Since then, one of the attackers has been shot dead and a further base was tracked down where 37 more Swapo members were put out of action. Some of the Swapo gang members were also carrying identity documents of Unita, which points to the fact that they are deliberately trying to put Unita in a poor light. "Only three kilometres north of the South West African border, South African patrols destroyed an ammunition dump."



# Keerom Street treadle while Angola burns

Capr Times 14/2/76

IT HAS been an anxious week with the facts of the Angola debacle steadily becoming clearer to the least perceptive citizens.

Because of the military censorship, it has taken time for the public confusion to clear. But, by now, there can be very few people who are not at least dimly aware that our situation is unenviable.

Having intervened in the Angola civil war to no good purpose, we have now withdrawn to the border, leaving a couple of thousand troops on Angolan soil to guard the Cunene hydro-electric installations, which we have so far held to constitute a vital SA interest. Is this still so? Whatever military advantage there may be on the short term in fighting on Angolan soil, is this not outweighed by the political and diplomatic disadvantages? (See elsewhere on this page today.)

**An assessment**  
In any event, this is a good time to attempt an assessment of where we stand and where we go from here. We are now in an Israel-type situation, with one glaring difference. Unlike the Israelis we do not enjoy the protection of the American umbrella.

So we are outgunned by Soviet Russia and their surrogates, the Cubans. Through we could no doubt thrash a Russian-Cuban force which headed south this week or next week, we could not on the longer term take on the Soviet Union, by proxy, and win. We would win the first few battles,

## Political Survey

By CERALD SHAW



Churchill... and the spirit of Dunkirk.

no doubt. But we would lose the war, militarily, politically, diplomatically and in every other way that mattered.

But I don't think the Cubans are going to rush on southwards. And I certainly hope we are going to reconsider withdrawing behind the border.

We have made some serious mistakes in the last few months but we are not plumb crazy. If we were to be crazy enough to seek to resolve our problems by military means in isolation from any other considerations of good sense, diplomacy or politics, we would rapidly scuttle ourselves. Our problem is not, in essence, a military one. Once it becomes solely and simply a military problem, with no scope for politics or diplomacy, our position will be untenable. This applies to domestic and external policies with equal force.

To illustrate all this we need only to look at the posturing of the Burger in recent weeks. For a start, when nobody but the inner circle knew what was going on, the Burger

struck an extraordinary note of bellicose omniscience, having apparently succumbed to delusions of neo-imperialist grandeur in Angola. Becoming increasingly out of touch with its highly concerned and increasingly confused public opinion, our contemporary waxed ever more belligerent, pontificating about logistics and military matters generally and sneering at the faint-hearted "pabbrocke" who questioned the wisdom of an Angola adventure.

### Vilification

As the full dimensions of the blunder became clear and South Africa withdrew from the Angolan civil war was imperative, the Burger covered, its retreat in a campaign of poisonous vilification of all those who had not shared its error of judgment. Our contemporary questioned the "patriotism" of anyone who ventured to suggest that maybe mistakes had been made and that our position had deteriorated as a result.

What gives the Burger the right to set the standards for South African patriotism? Members of the United Party and the Progressive Reform Party who have attacked the Government's Angola policy are decryd by this bitter sectionalist organ as unpatriotic weaklings! In the background, there is a nasty campaign directed at the PRP in particular which suggests that this party is really a formation of anti-Afrikaner jingoes which is not to be trusted by Afrikaner Nationalists. Shades of Rhodes and Milner!

It is difficult to over-estimate the damage which this malicious twaddle is doing to English-Afrikaner relations, in undermining the Afrikaner Nationalist's growing appreciation of the sturdy qualities of the English-speaking fellow citizens, especially in a time of crisis. The Burger is sowing racial distrust in an area where it is very easy to do this. But it is

sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind — as generalions of sectionalist fanatics have discovered in Ulster.

In this, it is quite out of tune with the Nationalist press elsewhere in the country, where a younger generation of editors is in the saddle and is now setting the tone in Nationalist thought, as the bitter and sterile Oracle of the South lapses into calcified irrelevancy. But the Burger is doing great damage, as long as it continues in this vein. Happily, the folly of its present course is so obvious to all that it is difficult to conceive how it can carry on in this vein for very much longer.

### Will to resist

Yesterday, the Burger had the gall to invoke Dunkirk and Britain in 1940, saying a Dunkirk spirit was urgently needed in South Africa today!

Our contemporary workers where Britain would have been after the fall of France if everyone had concentrated on the negative aspects of the situation. The British will to resist would have been disastrously undermined, says our contemporary.

There is some measure of truth in what the Burger says, odd as it sounds coming from a Nationalist newspaper.

But the Burger should note one or two key differences between Britain in 1940 and South Africa in 1976. Winston Churchill did not try to keep the unpalatable facts from the people of the British Isles,

On the contrary, he told them the worst. And he said he had nothing to offer them but blood, sweat and tears.

Churchill, a student of history and of human nature, knew how delicate is the fabric of trust between the rulers and those they govern. And he knew how important it is that this trust and confidence be kept intact. Given war conditions and the need for military secrecy, the people of the British Isles were nevertheless kept very fully informed of what was going on and what was going to be expected of them and they responded accordingly.

What is equally important, Winston Churchill became the leader of a national government which represented the full spectrum of political opinion in Britain from left to right and was truly representative of all the people of the country.

What does this suggest to us? Obviously, a new political dispensation reflecting the whole spectrum of South African opinion from Robert Sobukwe, to Sonny Leon Buhlelezi and Sonny Leon through to Dr. A. P. Treurnicht on the right.

This is not an argument for a unitary South African state with one-man-one-vote. It is an argument for a federal or confederal South Africa in which every section of the population has a real political say and in which social, political and economic discrimination is

banished from the statute books.

For a start, as a matter of urgency, the Prime Minister should form a multi-racial or multi-national council — there is no need to quibble about words — in which matters of peace and war could be seen in a truly South African perspective.

It is obvious to reflective people that the South African Whites, as a minority in their own country and continent, have no future at all if we are thinking in Black-White racial terms — if we are thinking of war in Southern Africa as a matter of Black versus White.

### Great danger

But the great danger at present is a complacent assumption among South African Whites that Black South Africans are automatically on the side of White South Africans, as things now stand. They are not, and it is a matter of considerable urgency that something be done about this.

We need the Dunkirk spirit, certainly. But we also need a national consensus, a sense of South African loyalty and patriotism which transcends the bitter tribal feuds, of Keerom Street, a real South African patriotism which sees beyond the imperialistic hubris and anti-imperialist resentments of the last century. South Africa is not a Nationalist Afrikanerdom.

But Nationalist Afrikanerdom is inseparably a part of it — as are also Gatsha Buhlelezi's Zulus, in their time also, viciously against British arms, and the sons of the 1820 Settlers, the Sonny Leons and the Nardos, we are all South Africans, whatever Calpin said.

This is the South African patriotism which is embryonic in the best poetry and literature in all the languages of South Africa. All these peoples are bound together as South Africans, by our common history — and by our fights with one another in a land that we all love very dearly. In all families there is fighting, but if it is a real family all the members stand together when they are jointly threatened by outsiders.

This will be the real test which will ultimately decide whether our South African society is to survive in peace and good order.

If we are to be reduced to a purely military answer with no other course open to us, let us rather draw a veil over the future. But it need not come to that. If South Africans can make peace among themselves we will have nothing to fear from across our borders.

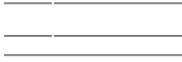
So this is the urgency — a new dispensation in domestic politics, immediately, not next year or the year after. That will be too late.

# 5 HUI WERK WAS DIE DOOD

Rapport  
15/2/76



CONT 000



# Dierlike moord spook by

## huursoldaat

Van James Jenkins, uit Londen

**DIE volle verhaal van die slagting by Maquela in Angola, waarin negentien Britse huursoldate — almal nog kinders — doodgeskiet is, is vandeesweek aan die Britse polisie vertel deur 'n man wat self op sy verninkte makkers op die grond moes vuur.**

*Hy is die huursoldaat John Freeman, wat die toneel in die vallei van die dood nooit sal vergeet nie. En ook nie vir kol. Callan, gewese Britse valskernsoldaat, en sy handlangers, sers.-maj. Sam Copeland, die slagter van Maquela, nie.*

In Angola het Callan 'n dier geword, maar dit was 'n reeks voorvalle ná mekaar wat tot die ergste van sy dade gelei het.

Eers was dit die Engelse huursoldate wat nie wou veg nie. Die meeste van die jongmense is Angola toe omdat hulle geldelik in die knyp was. In Angola het hulle vir die eerste keer besef hulle nuwe werk is eintlik die dood.

Almal het hulle koud gestrik toe hulle Callan vir die eerste keer sien. Baie van hulle wou nie meer veg nie, omdat hulle geringe gehoor het dat hul geld nog nie by die mense tuis uitgekom het nie.

Callan het tussen sy ge-  
harde lyfwaagte op hulle staan  
en skreun dat hulle geen rang  
het nie. „Julle is almal gemors  
todat julle juisself bewys het.  
Eers dan sal ek vir julle sê  
wat se rang, julle het.”

Binne ten minute het  
almal geweet hulle het met  
'n mannik te make.  
Toe hy van onterwenheid  
verneem, het hy hulle gevra

Ook het hulle ge-  
meen dat die jonges met  
al die voorrade vort is.  
Een van Callan se groepe  
het die vliegtuigdes voorgekeer.  
Callan, wat intussen verneem  
het daar is geen Russiese  
tenks naby nie, het bykbaar  
aangeneem die rekrute wou  
sy voorrade steel om weg te  
kom.

Toe hy hoor daar is op  
een van sy Land-Rovers ge-  
skiet, het hy soos 'n mal  
mens te kere gegaan. Die  
manne se lot was beklink.  
Terug in Maquela het hy  
hulle op 'n ry teen 'n muur  
laat staan. Hy het hulle bevel  
om al hul klere, buite hul  
onderbroeke, uit te trek.

Skietlik het hy gevra wie  
met die pantserruis na die  
Land-Rovers geskiet het.

### Laat spaander

Dit was geen tenks nie,  
maar vier Land-Rovers van  
Callan wat gestuur is om kos  
en ammunisie by die kamp  
te gaan haal. Die Land-  
Rovers het juis versigtig nader  
gekom omdat een van die  
soldate, John Freeman, ge-  
waarsku het die jongmans in  
die kamp kan dalk senuagtig  
wees.

Intussen het die jong re-  
krute uit Maquela laat spaan-  
der, onder die indruk dat  
die tenks op hulle is. Onder  
Callan se manne was ook  
verwarring: hulle het eers ge-  
meen die MPLA het Maquela  
kan eenkant gaan staan. Die

CALLAN, die moordenaar  
van Maquela, wat negen-  
tien weerlose jong Brit-  
se soldate in hul onder-  
broeke laat doodskiet  
het, hurk tweede. Van  
links og die foto links  
bo. Drie van sy lyfwaagte  
is by hom. Nadat  
Callan met eie hand  
een van die jong  
Britse doodgeskiet het,  
het hy Sam Copeland  
opdrag gegee om die  
ander buite die dorp  
te vat — „ly weet wat  
om met hulle te  
maak.” Copeland, wat  
die bevel lag-lag uige-  
voer het, is, op die foto  
bo saam met sy vrou  
— op 'n Kersaand-  
donsparty.

Die laggende Copeland het  
skietlik om hulp begin smeek.  
Hy het Holden Roberto, die  
hoof van die FNLA, wat ook  
teenwoordig was, gevra om  
asseblief sy lewe te red.  
Roberto het net sy kop wegge-  
draai.

Soos die jong rekrute het  
Copeland ook skietlik begin  
hardloop. Sodat twaalf  
manne wat gewere by hulle  
gehad het, het op hom losge-  
brand.

Vier-en-twintig koeëls het  
hom deurboor voordat hy stil  
gele het. Hulle het hom  
begrawe waar hy geval het.  
Of Callan dood is, kan nie  
mand met sekerheid sê nie.  
Niemand het hom sien sneu-  
wel nie. Sommige van sy  
huursoldate vertel dat Callan

homsself geskiet het toe hy  
deur Russiese tenks omsingel  
is. Hoe waar die storie is,  
kan niemand sê nie.

Ander sê weer dat hy weet  
hoe om aan die lewe te bly.  
Hy is 'n man wat hom soos  
'n gewonde dier honderd myl  
na veiligheid kan sleep, 'n  
man wat voor 'n tenk kan  
gaan staan, dit met 'n granaat  
buite aksie stel, en dié wat  
uit die tenk vlug, met 'n  
geweer afmaai.

Die Britse polisie gaan  
geeneen van die huursoldate  
aankla nie. Daar sal ook nie  
teen Freeman optree word  
nie. Hulle aanvaar dat hy  
gedwring is om die mense dood  
te skiet.

### Begin lag

'n Jongman, ene Davies,  
het vorentoe getree en gesê:  
„Dis ek, meener.”  
Callan het geen woord gesê  
toe hy sy pistool uithaal nie.  
Hy het Davies eers in die  
been geskiet. „My God, help  
my!” het hy uitroep toe hy  
val. Daarna het Callan hom  
in die maag geskiet en toe  
in die kop.

Die manne kon nie glo wat  
hulle voor hul oë sien gebeur  
nie.  
Callan het toe gesê die vyf  
wat besluit het om te veg,  
kan eenkant gaan staan. Die

### Van agter

'n Paar van Callan se Por-  
tugese lyfwaagte het ook die  
doodstroep vergeselsel — net  
om seker te maak.

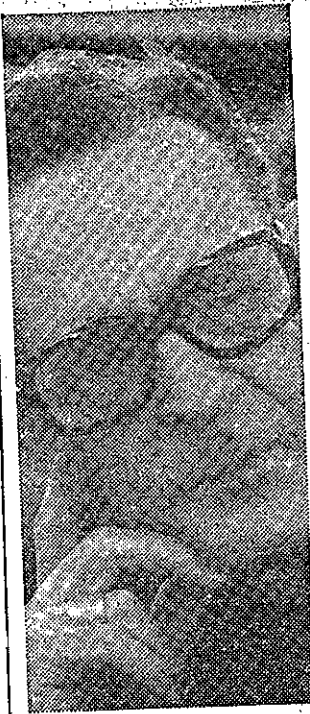
### Deurboor

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Archbishop Hurley . . . political sins

# Get out of South West

SUN. TRIBUNE 15/2/76  
**AND ANGOLA TOO  
HURLEY TELLS GOVT**

By TERRY McELLIGOTT

SOUTH AFRICA has no right to be in South West Africa, Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban said yesterday.

The time had come to negotiate with the United Nations and Swapo about the territory the Catholic prelate said. If South Africa did not act quickly to avoid war there this would create a situation for conscientious objection by South Africans.

## Moral crisis

Archbishop Hurley was replying to questions on his controversial 1974 statement on conscientious objections. He made it clear he thought South Africa and its church leaders face a very grave moral crisis.

He urged that South Africa should get out of Angola as fast as possible.

Dr Hurley started a con-

troversy with his statement in 1974 that young South Africans should refuse to fight on the borders in defence of an "unjust" apartheid system.

He stressed that he qualified this by saying such an attitude should only be taken if South Africa did not make a "strenuous effort" to reach understanding between Whites and Blacks, including "liberation" movements.

In 1974 he advocated conscientious objection on four grounds:

- If South Africa gets involved in a border war, this war will have been provoked by the policy of apartheid.
- To defend White South African society by force of arms is to defend the policy of apartheid.
- To defend apartheid is to defend an unjust cause.
- It is not permissible for Christians to fight an unjust war.

## Futile

Answering questions yesterday, Archbishop Hurley said: "Conscientious objection involves ethical judgment.

"To make ethical judgments about what has happened in Angola is a pretty futile exercise. It looks as if everybody involved in the Angolan war was wrong in one way or another and it is impossible to say that South Africa was ethically more wrong than the others.

"That South Africa made a political and mili-

tary miscalculation is obvious. We should get out of Angola as fast as we can. To get caught in a war in Angola would be to compound our political blunder and leave us morally defenceless.

"The next issue is South West Africa. As I see it, we have no right to be there.

"Of course we can't just walk out and leave the country in chaos. The time has come to negotiate with the United Nations and Swapo.

## Inevitable

"If we don't, war looks inevitable — guerilla war and even open war.

"The churches cannot shirk their duty of helping people to form a moral judgment about war in South West Africa, war that we can avoid if we act quickly with United Nations and Swapo.

"If we don't act quickly, South Africa, as I see it, will be the guilty party.

"That will create a situation for conscientious objection, a situation of extreme anxiety for the young men involved, and of extreme urgency for Church leaders."

In the past Archbishop Hurley has said: "If the Church cannot influence the political conscience of a people, then it has no right to be around.

"The biggest sins of mankind are political sins, so if the Church is against sin, as it is supposed to be, the political sphere is the most important for the preaching of repentance — by word and by example."



Deep in the woods, grunts and shouts shatter the quiet as American Negro recruits prepare for action in Angola . . . though it is now unlikely that they'll get there.

## Tottering OAU's nod to MPLA causes uproar

By DENNIS WORRAL

NAIROBI. — The OAU, still reeling from its total failure to aid war-torn Angola at the recent extraordinary summit at Addis Ababa, is again under severe attack from many quarters of Black Africa.

African governments which followed the "peace" line in Angola are bitter about the OAU's recognition of the MPLA as the rightful government of Angola before it can show it has total control over the country.

Some governments were not even consulted before the action was taken by the Addis Ababa headquarters of the OAU.

There are calls to overhaul the headquarters organisation, and allegations that the Secretary-General, Mr William Eteki of Cameroun, is "a glorified filing clerk, a well-paid statistical dummy who just files papers."

An influential Nairobi newspaper says the OAU recognition of the MPLA is "another blunder."

The action was taken by Mr Eteki, after 27 states out of 46 had recognised the Russian-backed government of Dr Agostinho Neto. It seems he was instructed to do so by Field-Marshal Idi Amin of Uganda, the current OAU chairman.

Kenya's Foreign Minister, Dr Muniya Waiyaki, said his government had not announced its stand on recognition — such a decision would have to come from the Cabinet, headed by President Kenyatta.

Kenya voted against recognition at the OAU summit, together with Zaire, Zambia, Botswana, Malawi, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, and other anti-communist states who wanted reconciliation and a government of national unity.

It is understood that Zambia also had not been consulted.

The view has been expressed at many Addis Ababa meetings that the OAU headquarters needs radical structural changes.

Most of the senior posts, are given to political appointees, it is said, and the headquarters are the dumping ground for politically retired civil servants whose regimes may want to "deposit" them to safer posts abroad.

Most hail from only one or two regions of Africa, the more radical West African states.

Concern is being expressed by African diplomats that there will be another firework display of insults and allegations at the OAU Foreign Ministers' Conference in Addis Ababa on February 23.

## Rumpus over Blacks for Unita plan

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK. — Mr Roy Innis, the Black American civil rights leader and Angolan war recruiter, is under siege from all sides.

The US Justice Department confirmed that it is investigating allegations that he is running a camp in Virginia where 1500 mercenary recruits are being trained.

Various Black American groups staged a Press conference in Harlem to denounce his recruiting drive in support of the anti-MPLA forces.

Mr Innis is the director of the Congress of Racial Equality — Core — which its critics claim is not the national power it once was.

His open support of Dr Jonas Savimbi and Unita in Angola has led to charges that he is acting as a front for the CIA.

He strongly denies this. In Addis Ababa the founder and former director of Core, Mr James Farmer, has urged his successor to stop recruitment and cancel plans to send Black Americans to Angola, reports UPI.

Farmer, who is on a lecture tour of Africa, said he had cabled Innis and told him his planned involvement in Angola would "prolong Africa's agony."

"African blood must not stain Black American hands," Mr Farmer said in his cable.

## Angola war only the beginning, says paper

"Mail" Africa Bureau

LUSAKA. — An article in yesterday's Sunday Times of Zambia has predicted that the fighting in Angola was the first stage of the long military confrontation in Southern Africa.

The newspaper said the war was only the beginning of the big story of the liberation of Southern Africa.

It said: "The Lusaka

Manifesto had two solutions to the liberation struggle. One was peaceful and the other was military, but Africa decided to try the first one."

By deciding to try the first option in the Lusaka Manifesto, African leaders wanted the Western Powers, the United States in particular, to help solve the Rhodesia, Namibian, Angolan and Mozambique problems.

## Africa

# Mercenaries plan SA route

RSM. 16/2/76

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — More British mercenaries, who will leave for Angola this week, are planning to fly there via Rhodesian and South African airports because of Zaire's decision to stop their flights.

About 140 men are waiting to leave London in small groups after fresh recruiting over the last few days, despite British Government efforts to discourage them.

They will follow 60 who went early last week.

Mr Leslie Aspin and Mr Colin Taylor, the key figures in the recruiting for the FNLA, flew to Brussels yesterday. They are believed to be arranging new routes for the mercenaries.

If the Zaire Government stands by its decision not to allow mercenaries to pass through its country

there will be considerable difficulties in moving the men up to the fighting lines in northern Angola.

They may have to travel by light plane or helicopter to temporary airstrips on the border there.

A statement by Dr Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA, that he plans to put on show to the Press 14 bodies of Britons executed by their companions in Angola has caused concern at the Foreign Office.

British officials have not been able to confirm the identities of the victims yet. No British moves to try to recover the bodies and fly them home are expected.

Amid stories of his vicious and psychotic killings in Angola, "Mad" Colonel Callan found one thin ray of love flickering for him in London. Dark-haired Greek-Cypriot, Rona

Angelo, said she loved Callan deeply and would marry him "anytime he asked."

But minutes after she had spoken of her "firm" but gentle lover, Scotland Yard Special Branch police led her away for questioning about the man they believe ordered the shooting down in cold blood of 14 British mercenaries.

The picture Rona painted of Callan as a gentle person known to help old ladies cross the street in London, was an almost unbelievable contrast with the stories of him as a vicious psychopath putting people to death apparently for the fun of it.

Rona said she was introduced to Callan in North London by friends a year ago. He was about 25 and used another name, she said.

# France accepts MPLA

## in Angola: UK next?

DD. 18/2/76.

LONDON — France yesterday recognised the MPLA as the Government of Angola and last night Britain appeared poised to follow the French lead.

Lesotho also recognised the MPLA yesterday.

A British Foreign Office spokesman said an announcement of recognition could be expected "very soon." Informed sources said this would probably come in the House of Commons today when the Foreign Secretary makes a statement on relations with Angola.

A French Foreign Ministry statement said the Luanda Government formed by Dr Agostinho Neto's MPLA now controlled most of the war-torn territory.

French officials said they thought the rest of the European Common

Market nations would recognise Dr Neto's administration in due course.

In Brussels, Common Market officials expressed regret that France had broken ranks with its Common Market partners in unilaterally recognising the MPLA.

Some EEC countries are expected to follow France more quickly than others. Denmark is due to announce its recognition today and a Dutch Foreign Ministry spokesman said yesterday that Holland would do so in the near future.

British concern over the situation in Angola and in Southern Africa was reflected in a heated exchange during Prime Minister Harold Wilson's question time in the Commons yesterday afternoon.

Responding to questions from Opposition leader Margaret Thatcher and a Tory MP, Mr M. Macmillan, the Prime Minister said his Foreign Secretary, Mr J. Callaghan, was seeking a common policy on Southern Africa with its EEC partners and other allies.

Mrs Thatcher told a noisy chamber that "this is a question which is deeply worrying many people — whether Cuban troops and Soviet weapons are to be used beyond Angola to further communism in the southern part of Africa."

Mr Wilson replied that "the whole House will share the deep anxieties about any extension of violence, for example, to Rhodesia."

"But this stems from the fact that over ten or eleven years, no response whatsoever has come from Mr Smith to get a reasonable settlement there. It is virtually urgent and the Opposition have not always helped," he said.

Mrs Thatcher pressed him: "Is your answer 'Yes'? Will you take an initiative of the kind I suggested?"

Mr Wilson: "The answer is that the Foreign Secretary has already done so both in Europe and more widely."

The Lesotho Government's decision was announced by the state-controlled Radio Lesotho at lunchtime yesterday, following a routine cabinet meeting.

The announcement said: "At today's cabinet meeting the Government of Lesotho decided to grant political and diplomatic recognition to the MPLA as the sole legitimate government of the People's Republic of Angola."

The statement concluded: "Whilst Lesotho rejoices in the government of Angola, we shall continue to condemn all forms of recolonisation of Africa or part of Africa by any foreign power."

In Cape Town, the leader of the Progressive Reform Party, Mr Eglin, offered to go as an unofficial ambassador to Pres Julius Nyerere and other black African leaders to discuss the South African presence in Angola and try to help the South African prisoners taken by the MPLA.

He told his Sea Point

constituents that he had made the offer to the Defence Force, "but nothing has come of it" — DDC-SAPA-RNS.

DD 18/2/76

# Red Cross refuses aid to Angolan refugees

LONDON — The United Nations won't help them. South Africa may pull out. And now the International Red Cross has declared it will ignore the plight of 11 000 refugees in southern Angola.

The IRC said yesterday it had no intention of mounting a fullscale relief programme.

A spokesman for the Red Cross in Geneva said officials there believed that a South African cabinet minister's statement that the Red Cross would take full responsibility for the refugees indicated South Africa intended withdrawing her support for the relief programme, at present being undertaken with some Red Cross assistance.

"But we could not simply step in without a formal request from everyone involved, including the government in Luanda," a spokesman said.

So far neither the South African Government nor the MPLA has approached the Red Cross over the refugee problem.

"There has been no formal approach to us at all. Until there is we will not even consider the problem," the spokesman said.

The statement by Mr P. W. Botha, Minister of Defence, was groundless as far as the Geneva headquarters of the Red Cross was concerned.

Equally groundless was a suggestion by Dr C. P. Mulder that the Red Cross should declare the refugee camps "neutral" zones.

"This is impossible. They are on Angolan soil and it would depend entirely on what the Angolans wish us to do," the spokesman said.

So far seven tons of blankets and food have been airlifted from Geneva, via Lisbon, to the camps.

So far the Red Cross has also been unable to make progress on getting South African prisoners-of-war released by the MPLA.

"All we have done so far is to contact them with messages from their families, and to establish that they are being correctly treated," the spokesman said.

The Red Cross is banking on an easing of the diplomatic situation to resolve the issues of the prisoners and refugees. —

DDC

5

# Britain gives nod to MPLA; Zambia says No

9 20/2/76 DD

LONDON — Britain has officially recognised the MPLA as the government of Angola and yesterday called on South Africa and Cuba to withdraw their forces from the country.

Other major European countries to recognise the MPLA yesterday were Italy, Holland, Ireland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Cyprus.

Finland, Iceland and New Zealand said they would follow suit soon.

Other countries recognising the MPLA were all the European members of the Soviet bloc, North

Korea, Cuba and Brazil.

Most of the countries extending recognition deplored outside influences in the former Portuguese colony.

China said yesterday that thousands of Angolans were massacred by "Soviet mercenaries." Peking Radio said the Kremlin had dispatched more than 1 000 military advisers and 10 000 mercenaries to Angola.

The Cuban Communist Party replied by accusing China of supporting "racialists and imperialists" in Angola.

Britain's official announcement of recognition by the Foreign Office urged "all concerned to reconcile their differences and assist in the restoration of peace" and called on "the Cuban and South African Governments in particular to withdraw their troops and to refrain from any action affecting the security of neighbouring African countries."

The announcement said the government was satisfied, taking into account recent developments in Angola, that their normal criteria for recognition had been met.

Meanwhile, one of Angola's neighbours, Zambia, continued to reject recognition of the MPLA.

The Zambian Foreign Minister, Mr. Rupiah Banda, said that while recognising Angola as a sovereign independent state, "Zambia does not recognise the government of the MPLA."

"The fact that the MPLA had scored apparent military victories over the FNLA and Unita did not change Zambia's belief in a political solution to the crisis," he said. — DDC  
SAPA-RNS-AP.



Cape Times 19/2/76

# SA given 5 MPLA terms

Own Correspondent

**NEW YORK.**—South African diplomats yesterday were given the MPLA's peace terms through an American intermediary, who after lengthy discussions with the South Africans told me: "I feel confident there will be some movement."

The diplomats, from South Africa's Washington embassy, were told:

- The MPLA will not engage in the "export of subversion" to Zaire, Zambia or South West Africa.

- "Mutually profitable arrangements" can be worked out between the MPLA and the South African Government over the Cunene river dam and hydro-electric scheme.

But they were also warned that the MPLA was "unalterably" opposed to apartheid and believed that South Africa's "occupation of Namibia is illegal".

The overall policies of the victorious Luanda faction would be directed by the policies of the Organization of African Unity, it was stressed.

The message was conveyed by Mr Mark Moran, foreign policy adviser to Senator John Tunney, and one of the two-man team which recently visited all sides in the Angolan struggle.

Mr Moran emphasized that he could not vouch for the validity of the MPLA's overture, but he said it had come directly from the movement's Prime Minister, Mr Lopo Nascimento.

20  
~~20~~/2/76 DD.

## Food sellers who hide

As I was standing in a bus queue near Frere Hospital one afternoon this week, I felt a bump on my side and when I looked around to see if there was some bag-snatcher at work, a woman said, "Ungabi sashukuma, ungabi sashukuma" (don't move, don't move).

It could have been what one would call a day-light robbery but I did not have anything on me that would attract robbers.

A bus pulled up and the queue thinned down from the front as more women pushed up with their loads from the back.

The woman I mistook for a robber was one of many unlicensed hawkers selling in various parts of East London and Mdantsane (they are actually controlling business in the latter).

She was selling peaches and tomatoes from a box with her entire stock carried in a plastic bag nearby. A car from the traffic department had parked at the other end of the street. In the course of his duties, the traffic officer stopped a car he had been following and started checking various faults.

The women thought there was a "raid" and made for the safety of the bus. Even after they realised he was checking on a vehicle, they did not wait for him to finish and see where he went. On to the bus they went with all their loads to find some new place to sell.

When the woman asked me not to move she was hiding from the traffic officer and making sure she was taken for one of the people waiting for the bus. Which in fact she was.

As the last passenger entered the bus, one woman called out. "Someone's fish and fat cakes are being left behind."

No one seemed bothered and one old woman muttered something like the traffic police getting something at least. I doubted whether he would have bothered

about the woman at that time but they were concerned about his presence.

In these days when everyone is being called upon to "do something" the plight of these women raises many problems.

Some of them have taken on their illegal trade because they have struggled for years trying to find jobs. Others have done so because they decided to give up jobs they could not stick.

Mumblings like "the whites do not want a black man to succeed in his ventures", are common every time a traffic officer or policeman either arrests the woman or confiscates their goods if they run away.

But they are all caught up in the same problems we all have to face. But theirs should be more than those of an ordinary man who leaves home for a job and goes back home every day with full knowledge that he gets his pay at the end of the week or month. Or the businessman who hounds his employees to produce more in order to ensure that the battle against inflation is won, not forgetting his profits, of course.

If these women try for licences, there are too many of them and only a few are likely to get them. And if it's at Mdantsane where they apply for licences, they have to make certain assurances to certain people and even when the assurances have been made, there are no guarantees that the promises will be fulfilled — one of the provisions being that one must be a good party supporter even if one is not in a position to give material support because she has to run away from traffic police and policemen for most of them and board buses one had not planned to board.

Thinking of inflation, the fact that the money paid for bus fare and the money to be raised from the sale of the fish and fat cakes left at the bus stop, could have fed the children of the seller, made me feel some apparently insignificant matters were contributing to its continuation.

— Leslie Xinwa

# Inside a battered town

## 3 500 refugees in care of SA soldiers

PEREIRA DECA — Destruction wrought by the Angola civil war is to be seen everywhere in this provincial centre, only 40 km north of the South West Africa border.

The fierce fighting that raged in the town early in the war is evident in the bullet-riddled buildings, many of them looted and gutted by fire.

Now a sullen peace prevails, enforced by South African soldiers. The evidence of the bitter rivalry among Angola's three factions is still there, however — in the slogans that cover almost every square inch of wall in the town.

Most of the graffiti proclaims that this is a stronghold of Unita. The names of the movement and its leader, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, appear thousands of times.

### Safety so near yet so far

Safety is only the breadth of the river away for the 1 400 Angolan refugees at Calai, on the banks of the Kavango River, which forms the boundary with South West Africa.

Before the refugees came, Calai was just a huddle of houses across the river from the South West African town of Rundu. Now the few buildings are lost in a wide expanse of tents.

The only transport across the river at Calai is a pontoon ferry built by army engineers. Except for those permitted to settle in South Africa or to move on elsewhere, the refugees may not cross.

The head of the refugee liaison committee at Calai is Mr Damiao Luis Sousa, a high school economics teacher from Nova Lisboa. His vice-chairman and close friend is Mr Dandido Pinto, the former chief financial clerk of a Serpa Pinto office.

#### TRAITOR

"Although I was born in Angola, I was regarded as a traitor because I worked for a Portuguese firm," said Mr. Pinto. "It was impossible to stay."

Both families were unanimous in their desire to leave. Mr Pinto said he would go anywhere he could find work, but jobs were scarce in the two countries most refugees aimed for — Portugal and Brazil.

#### BUSINESS

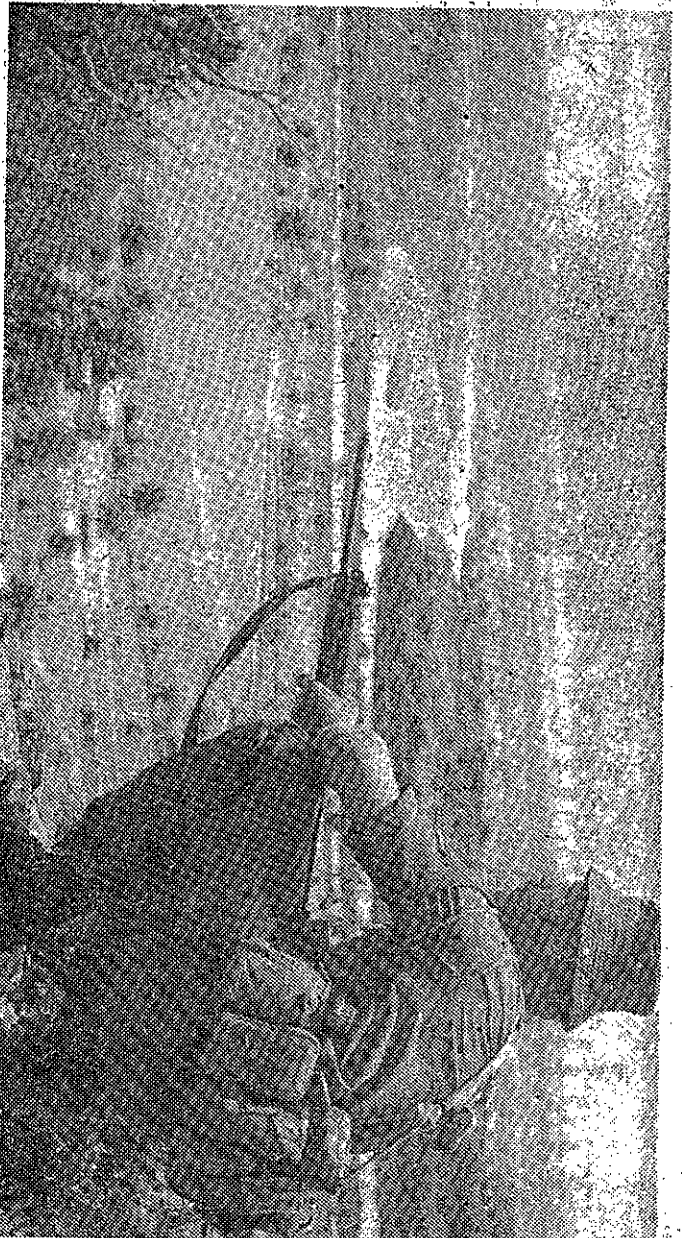
Mr Sousa and Mr Pinto are trying to get a wood business going while they are stuck in Calai. Although their venture is beset by teething troubles, the Bantu Investment Corporation in South West Africa has promised to buy their output.

They are also hampered by lack of money; both lost their savings when banks were looted by Angolan troops.

The army is encouraging other ventures to make the refugees self-supporting, including market gardening and poultry farming.

Most of the refugees have no desire to stay, however. They hope to join the 4 000-odd who have already left the camp to start a new life elsewhere.

Lance-Corporal Steven Eysen, of Springbok, in the Northern Cape, keeps watch on a hilltop above the Cunene River which feeds the Calueque dam and the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme.



CONT... 0

**GUTTED**

Even the road from the airport has slogans painted across it every few metres, while most of the telephone poles are daubed in the Unitas colours of red and green. By contrast, the former FNIA office is a deserted relic of the short-lived transitional Government, when each movement had an office in every town. The FNIA headquarters are boarded up, the facade pitted with bullet-marks. The illuminated

**Defence Correspondent RAY WHITTAKER reports on a visit to one of Angola's shattered towns where 3 500 refugees await a decision on their future.**

sign over the door is battered but just legible. Few of the old inhabitants of the town remain. Their place has been taken by 3 500 refugees, most of them from Sa da Bandeira. Mocamedes and Serpa Pinto. The refugees have taken over all the unoccupied buildings in town, though some are merely gutted shells. The homeless — and they are in the majority — live in tents on the outskirts of Pereira d'Ecra. Some of them once lived in colonial mansions. Now they have nothing but the supplies handed out by the South African Army and blankets from the Red Cross. The South African force

is occupied mainly with keeping order and humanitarian work, although the threat from the north is not forgotten.

As one enters the main street which, like the town, is named after a Portuguese general, the first sign of the army's aid is seen. Engineers are extracting water from a nearby river and pumping it into an open tank, to which the refugees bring their buckets. Across the road is an abandoned supermarket over by Mrs Maria de Ceu Braganza, a nursery school teacher from Sa da Bandeira. Mrs Braganza has restocked the shop with goods from a warehouse in Sa da Bandeira owned by her family. She

brought the sorely-needed goods when she fled with her husband and their nine-month-old son two weeks ago.

The family is accepting escudos for goods, although the local currency is all but worthless. Asked why, she shrugged her shoulders. "At least it is something to do." But the goods are dwindling fast.

Mrs Braganza does not care where she goes, as long as it is out of Angola. She would prefer Johannesburg, where she has had two heart operations.

A few metres down the street is the hospital, where Army doctors treated 2 000 cases in three weeks as the refugees streamed into town. Some were wounded in battle or in shooting accidents, but cases of malaria are common and gastro-enteritis is prevalent among the children.

Lieutenant Maushan Brown, a doctor doing his national service, said only seven patients were in the wards, but there were still many outpatients.

**WELFARE FIRST**

The savagery of the war was brought home to him by a 12-year-old boy with a bullet through his abdomen. He was shot when he ran away in terror from a patrol. He has only half a chance of living.

The South African Army has its headquarters in one of the town's larger buildings. Even here the windows are smashed and walls patterned with slogans. Sandbags beside the door strike the only military note.

Commandant Aarón Moelich, of Cape Town, is the man in charge. But, as he freely admits, his role at the moment is more of a welfare officer than a fighting soldier.

He deals with the refugees through a liaison committee headed by M

Manuel Carvalho, known to the South Africans as "the Boy Scout" because of the badges he wears proclaiming his enthusiasm for the Scouting movement.

Commandant Moelich and the committee are doing their best to get things back to normal — cattle are being rounded up from outlying farms, a generator is being installed in the town, and the streets are being cleaned.

But there is little the commandant can do to solve the refugee's main problem: Where can we go? They are waiting for repatriation to Portugal

or emigration to South Africa or Brazil. But they have heard nothing.

The camp at Pereira d'Ecra started a month ago as people fled from the southward advance of the pro-communist forces. The more active people find something to do, like Miss Aurora Vasconcelves who acts as an interpreter and confidante for the refugees. But the majority just sit around waiting, day after day.

My arrival at the camp was an event, and people were all too willing to tell their stories. Mr Manuel Gomes Coleto was an engineer at the power station at Sa da Bandeira. He got out just in time.

"I left the town with a friend," he recalled. "A group of Angolan soldiers ordered us to stop. They told my friend they wanted his car. When he refused they shot him, threw him out and drove off laughing."

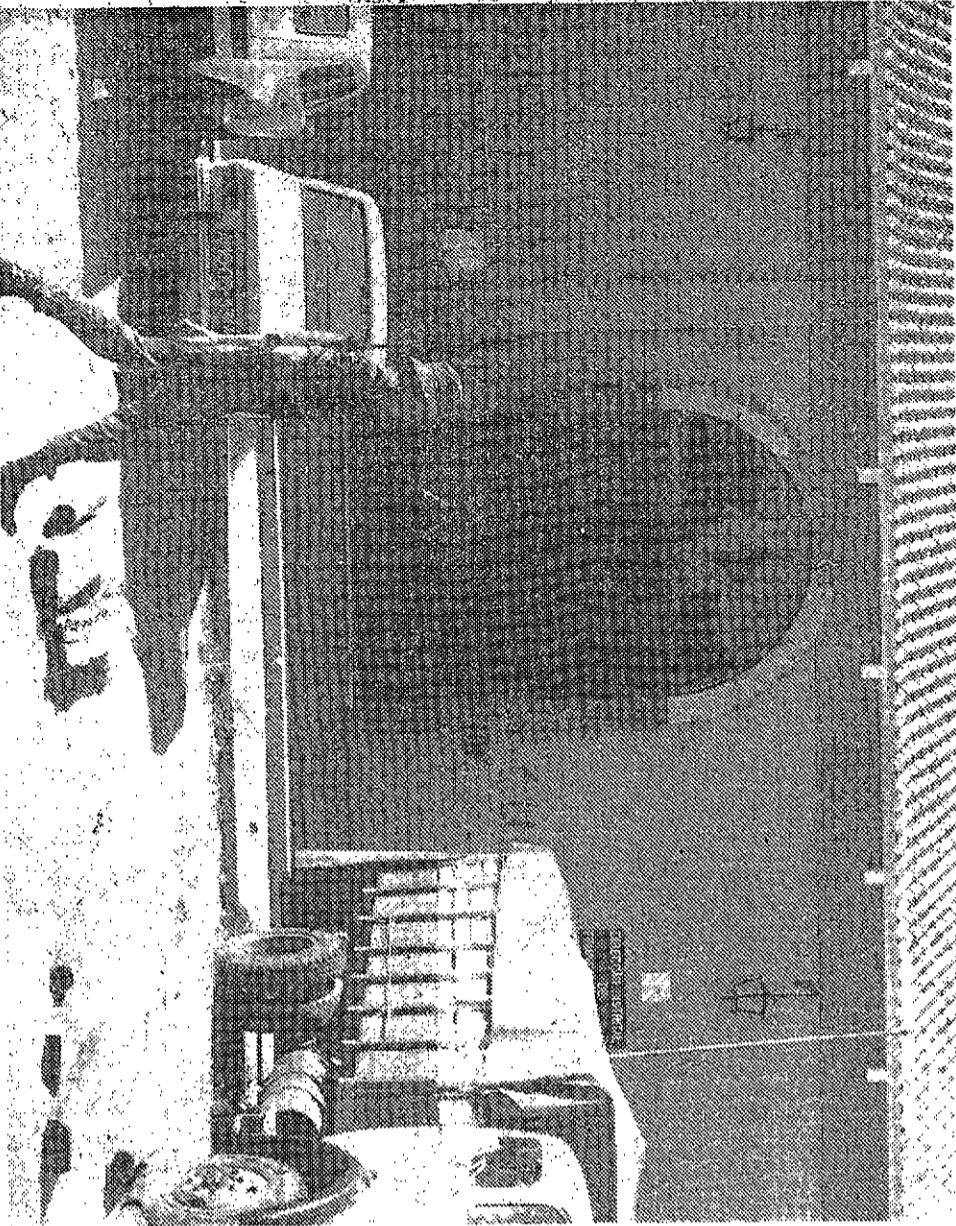
A refugee with an unusual history was Mr Christian Hayes (58), whose parents were survivors of the Dorsland trek. He spoke Afrikaans and Portuguese, but no English.

Mr Hayes was farming with his common-law wife and four children at Tshelao, east of Pereira d'Ecra, when he was driven out by warring troops who shot 400 of his 600 cattle. He fled with the rest to

the bush, and came to Pereira d'Ecra early this month.

A member of the liaison committee, Mr Rui da Costa Campos, seized the chance to address the curious refugees who had gathered. He made a fervent appeal to the United Nations and the Red Cross to help the displaced in Angola.

"We are very grateful to South Africa, but she cannot bear the burden alone," he declared. "There was little one could say to that. We drove out of town past the burnt-out Commercial Bank of Angola, thankful that we were born somewhere else."



Corporal B L Swanepoel of Germiston passes the wrecked facade of a Portuguese Government building in Pereira d'Ecra that now houses refugees.



Mr Candido Pinto (left) vice chairman of the refugee committee at Calai, and Mr Damiao Luis Sousa, the chairman, pose with their wives and children in Mr Pinto's tent.

(15)  
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## Angola challenge to UN by Republic

UNITED NATIONS — South Africa could re-enter the Security Council debate on South West Africa later this week and again challenge members to see for themselves who the aggressors are in Angola.

Diplomatic sources said South Africa's Ambassador, Mr R. F. Botha, would go back to the horseshoe-shaped table in the council if participants continued to use the South West African debate to attack South African involvement in Angola.

However, if the debate concentrated on the territory, Mr Botha was satisfied that he had placed South Africa's position on record in this regard, the sources said.

The Ambassador's surprise participation was provoked by attacks on "South African aggression" in Angola.

He said the Republic's principal pre-occupation in the civil war-torn West African state was the protection for the people of Owambo of the Calneque dam.

He proposed that the Security Council assume responsibility for protecting this dam until an Angolan government could handle the situation satisfactorily.

The Soviet Union immediately reacted to Mr Botha's attack on "the Russian bear" and Cuba's Angolan intervention with a table-thumping delivery by its representative, Mr Mikhail Khramov, normally reserved for Chinese delegates.

The council president, Tanzania's Ambassador, Mr Salim Salim, said it was ridiculous for a repre-

sentative of the South African Government to plead in the UN on Africa's behalf.

Uganda has called on the Security Council to "pronounce itself" on the fact that the South West Africa situation is a threat to peace and security. — S.A.P.A.

RDM 2/2/76  
**Cape Indians  
'safe and well  
in Luanda'**

5

**'Mail' Africa Bureau**

THE TWO Indian businessmen from Cape Town who were arrested by the MPLA in Luanda in October last year and were feared dead by their families, are "quite safe and still held in the same place", Mr Bull Richard, a family friend, said yesterday.

Mr Izia Solomon, 31, and Mr Shaikat Kapdi, 28, were arrested by FAPLA — the military-security wing of the MPLA — shortly after they arrived in Luanda on a flight from Johannesburg.

Mr Richard said Mr Samon's Brother Enver, had heard that the MPLA's Information Director, Dr Luis de Almeida had said he would "see what can be done," about releasing the two men.

# MPLA seize

*Cape Times 21/2/76*

# Zambian copper:

# Kaunda reacts

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — The Russian and Cuban-backed Angolan Government of Dr Agostinho Neto has seized a ship re-routing Zambian copper at the port of Lobito. President Kaunda told a Press conference here yesterday.

The seizure of the ship cast doubts according to political observers on the possibility of the Angolan Government re-opening

the vital Benguela railway to Zambian traffic following Zambia's rejection of diplomatic recognition of the MPLA Government.

President Kaunda told the Press conference his government would not go on its knees asking the Angolan Government to trade with Zambia.

"Zambia has no interest in Angola apart from seeing that there is peace in that country and we want all foreign forces out of Angola."

President Kaunda said he had no secret dealings with the South African Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and denied he had a hand in ordering that country to move its troops into Angola as had been reported in South Africa. He denied Zambia was receiving financial assistance from South Africa.

Trains were running again on Angola's Benguela railway following the military advances of the MPLA, the East German News Agency, ADN, said yesterday.

# RUSSE EN YANKS VERSTAAN

**PROF. NED MUNGER** van die California Institute of Technology is nie net een van Amerika se voorste deskundiges oor Afrika nie, maar 'n goeie vriend van Suid-Afrika. Al jare beywer hy hom vir 'n beter Amerikaanse begrip van ons ingewikkelde opset hier in die Republiek.

Prof. Munger is tans weer hier om die komende Ussalep-konferensie by te woon. **OTTO KRAUSE** het met hom gesels oor Amerikaanse houdinge, en veral ook oor Russiese beskouinge soos hy dit onlangs met 'n besoek aan Moskou waargeneem het.

## S.A. NOG NIE

*Report 29/9/48*

skillende vryheidsoeweringe onderskei het nie. Tog was die Amerikaanse ontleding min of meer dieselfde.

Waar die twee supermoondhede, na my mening albei 'n fout begaan het, was in die soeke na ideologiese verskille tussen daar die die swart faksies in Angola; en nog die Russiese en die Amerikaners het die sterk stamaktore erken.

**Megevoel**  
**VRAAG:** Wat van die Amerikaanse houding jeens die oorlog in Angola?  
**MUNGER:** Ek verstaan Suid-Afrikaners, en my megevoel gaan na hulle uit, wanneer hulle teleurgesteld en krities staan teenoor die Amerikaanse posisie in Angola. Ek is ook teleurgesteld daarin.

Maar ingeligte Suid-Afrikaners kon tog ook die huidige en spesiale meningsklimaat in Amerika opson wat die VSA van buitelandse aksies soos in Angola wil weerhou. Die koers van ons Vietnam-siekte kon gelees gewees het, kan 'n mens se.

Daarby moet ek voeg dat pres. Ford en dr. Kissinger uit hul pad gegaan het en waardvolle politieke kapitaal (wat hulle skaars kan bekostig) het in hul pogings om 'n oorwinning vir die Weste in Angola te behaal. Maar die Kongres, kykende na die Vietnam-onderrinding en die openbare mening, het eenvoudig teen Ford en Kissinger se standpunt oor Angola besluit.

Ingeligte Suid-Afrikaners besef dat daar perke is aan wat 'n Amerikaanse prestidient teen hierdie huidige politieke agtergrond kan vermag. Dieselfde geld vir Amerikaners wat goed ingelig is oor Suid-Afrika: wanneer buitelanders aleriel veranderings op die gebied van rassetrekkinge onmiddellik aangebring wil sien, besef hulle dat ook mnr. John Vorster aan sekere politieke beperkinge onderhevig is.

**VRAAG:** Wat van moontlike Amerikaanse erkenning van die Transkei na die oerlog in Angola?  
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**Verbaas**  
**VRAAG:** Wat weet die Russiese Afrika-deskundiges van Suid-Afrika?  
**MUNGER:** Vir eers moet ek se dat ek verbaas was oor die gebrek aan publikasies wat hulle ontvang. Hulle ontvang die SA D. van Inligting en Slegs enkele koerante. Ek het geen Afrikaanse koerant in hul Afrika-biblioteke gesien nie.

Daar bestaan ook 'n trefende leent wat betref gepubliseerde materiaal van die verregaar deel van die blanke politieke spektrum, en ook wat betref die nie-Afrikaanse - Marxistiese literatuur. Dit wil blyk dat die Russiese nie veel onderskeid tussen die NP en die HNP of die Suid-Afrikaanse Marxistiese en die Alan Patonliberale tref nie.

**VRAAG:** Wat is hul uitgangspunte sover dit 'n Marxistiese waarneming

**Seeroete**  
**VRAAG:** Wat van Amerikaanse houdinge teenoor Suid-Afrika op die langer duur?  
**MUNGER:** Byna niemand van belang in Amerika dink so nie, maar ek kry 'n sterkerwordende gevoel dat die uiteindelijke voortbestaan van die Weste wel aan die lot van Suid-Afrika gebonde sal wees.

Hier bedoel ek nie die lot van "die blanke, Christelike beskawing" waarna 'n eerste minister soos mnr. J. G. Strijdom dikwels verwys het nie.

En daarby moet 'n mens verstaan dat die Amerikaanse media in die huidige stadium Suid-Afrikaanse waardes soos deur u regering uitgespreek, as nie alleen die antitese van Amerikaanse waardes beskou nie, maar selfs die antitese van Amerika se voortbestaan.

Maar die VSA kan wel op die langer duur na 'n punt toe kom waar hy sy lot aan dié van Suid-Afrika bind — soos wat hy in baie opsigte met Israel gedoen het. Dit sal slegs gebeur wanneer daar in Amerika ingesien word dat nie alleen Suid-Afrikaanse belange nie, maar ook Suid-Afrikaanse waardes nouer met dié van die VSA ooreenkom.

Daardie belange is vir Suid-Afrikaners en baie Amerikaners klaarblyklik — ons onderlinge anti-Kommunistiese houdinge, die minerale rykdom van Suid-Afrika, die Kaapse seeroete en die Indiese Oseaan. Maar die filosofiese ooreenkoms in waardes sal waarskynlik (en miskien alleenlik) erken word wanneer die swart meerderheid van Suid-Afrika 'n begeerte om Amerikaanse steun uitspreek.

Swart houdinge is derhalwe van belang hier.

**Bemoedigend**  
**VRAAG:** En hoe tref dit u tans?  
**MUNGER:** Persoonlik sien ek daardie amptenare wat daaglik in administratiewe en persoonlike kontak met swartes verkeer, as in die voorste linie van die stryd wat of gewen of verloor gaan word. En hier is dit hoofsaaklik die houdinge van die Afrikaners wat swart houdinge teenoor die swartman kan bepaal.

Waar swartes byvoorbeeld ook onmin teenoor die Indiers weens eksplorasie koester, moet Afrikaners dit teenwerk op ander

**Drie redes**  
**VRAAG:** Hoekom het die Russe toe tot Angola toegetree?  
**MUNGER:** Ek kan miskien drie redes noem: Die eerste is die gebrek aan bevrediging wat Mosambiek hulle gegee het. Ten tweede is daar die huidige welslae van Kissinger se beleid in die Midde-Ooste, wat 'n vermindering van Russiese invloed in daardie gebied tot gevolg gehad het, en veral 'n groot Russiese teleurstelling oor Egipte wat hom nou al hoe meer by die VSA skaar. Daarom is Russiese sukses elders gesoek.

Ten derde, 'n kwessie van tydberkening: die Russe het nie verwag dat die verlinkse regering van Goncalves in Portugal nie met die onafhanklikwording van Angola aan bewind sal wees nie. Die Russe het klaarblyklik gehoop dat die Goncalves-regering die mag sou hê om erkenning aan die MPLA te verleen en sy orname van die bewind in Angola te vermaglik.

**VRAAG:** Hoe sou die Sowjet-Afrikaniste hieroor gevoel het?  
**MUNGER:** Terwyl die Russiese akademiese des-

**Rooies is teleurgesteld in Frelimo**

bat bewus was nie, het ek tog 'n sekere gebrek aan bevrediging onder die Sowjet-manne aangevoel oor wat tot dusver in Mosambiek gebeur het — in dié sin dat die moontlike beloning vir Russiese hulp aan Frelimo nog nie te voorskyn gekom het nie.

Dit was gekoppel, soos dit altyd die geval is wanneer jy Afrika met Sowjet-deskundiges bespreek, aan hul verstandverwarring oor Chinese invloed in Afrika. In dié opsig was dit Mosambiek, waar die Chinese invloed nog sterk geld ondanks massiewe Russiese materiële hulp.

As ek sou terugkyk, besef ek met groter helderheid dat daar destyds onder die Russe iets oor Angola aan die broei was.



Prof. Ned Munger

Otto Krause gesels met

# Rooies is teleurgesteld in Frelimo

van Afrika betref?

**MUNGER:** Hulle het daren om geslaagde wyse hul benadering teenoor Wes-Afrika hersien sedert die dae toe hulle gedink het Kwame Nkrumah van Ghana is maar slegs 'n klein burgerlike politikus.

Tog is ortodokse Marxistiese denke nog steeds geneig om die rol van etniese politiek of stamgebondenheid in Afrika te onderskat.

Hoewel Karl Marx gestorf het slegs 'n jaar voor die Kongres van Berlyn in 1884, wat Afrika onder die Europese moondhede verdeel het, en Engels vir nog 'n dekade geskryf het, het geeneen van hulle 'n goeie begrip van Afrika getoon nie.

Lenin se werke het 'n groter kennis aan die dag geleë, maar die Sowjetdenke wat daaruit voortgevloei het, onderskat nog die belangrikheid van ras- en stamgebondenheid in Afrika suid van die Sahara.

Dit was klaarblyklik in die jare dertig toe Stalin eenvoudig aanvaar het dat werkers in Suid-Afrika, swart of wit, of van watter stamgroep ook al, 'n natuurlike aantrekking vir mekaar op 'n suiwer klas-segrondsag teen die kapitalistiese "onderdrukkers" gehad het.

Stalin se fout het 'n ramp vir die Kommunistiese Party in Suid-Afrika beteken nadat hy op die verwydering van die bekwaamste Suid-Afrikaanse Kommunistiese leiers aangedring het. Sy ideologiese foute is slegs in die jare veertig reggestel toe die Kommuniste weer in die Tweede Wêreldoorlog 'n kans gegee is weens die gemeenskaplike anti-Hitler-front.

Om terug te keer na die Russe se siening van sake in Angola: 'n mens kan se dat hulle twee jaar gelede 'n bietjie teruggehou het met hul steun vir die MPLA en dat hulle toe nie so streng tussen die ver-

die Transkei, voor en na onafhanklikheid, die saak vir onafhanklikheid die des-te kan stel.

Ek glo sterk dat die VSA die Transkei behoort te erken; maar die kans vir Amerikaanse erkenning ten tye van onafhanklikheid is tans ongeveer 10 persent. Maar teen hierdie tyd aanstaande jaar kan dit 50 persent wees indien alles goed gaan.

Persoonlik gaan ek aktiewe steun verleen aan swart diplomate uit Suid-Afrika wat na Amerika kom om begrip vir hul saak te soek. En ek kan byvoeg dat waar ek manne soos Tsepho Letlaka van jul ambassade in Washington en prof. Ntseane van die Transkei se nuwe diplomatieke diens sien optree het, is ek baie gemoedlik.

● Lees ook die artikel op bl. 18 en 19.



# We're tying up Allies, claim Reds

22/2/76 RDM

RDM 22/2/76

(5)

## LUSAKA

**THE Soviet-backed MPLA army yesterday claimed it had rolled up the allied-held southern front, captured the vital town of Cela and opened up the road to Angola's southern capital of Huambo in a major offensive.**

As the military situation deteriorated, Dr Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the anti-communist Unita movement, flew to Kinshasa, Zaire, for discussions with President Mobutu Sese Seko and his Angolan coalition partner, Mr Holden Roberto of the FNLA.

**The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) said on Luanda Radio that its Cuban-spearheaded army crashed through the southern front established by Unita and captured the important supply town of Cela and nearby Santo Comba.**

Allied spokesmen admitted bitter fighting had raged around Cela — used by troops as a supply base — for many days, but said the Cuban-led attack had been crushed with heavy losses for the Marxist forces.

Cela is about 400 km southeast of the MPLA-held capital of Luanda and only 160 km north of the provisional Unita-FNLA-held capital of Huambo.

If the MPLA reports were correct the capture of Cela would open the road for MPLA forces supported by Russian advisers for a dash to the capital of Huambo itself.

Turning down latest African efforts to arrange a ceasefire between the country's three warring factions, MPLA spokesmen said they aimed for a quick military victory over the allied forces by capturing Huambo. Unita military headquarters at nearby Silva Porto and the British-owned Benguela Railroad running across central Angola.

In the north, MPLA also claimed new successes in an area where recently it routed FNLA troops and all but crushed the movement.

## Tanks

Luanda Radio said: "On the southern front our forces have liberated the important localities of Cela and Santa Comba and have also occupied the township of Amboiva.

"In this same area the enemy tried to counter with four tanks, of which two were totally destroyed and two captured in good condition.

"On the eastern front Zairean aircraft again bombed our country and people. On January 18 three fighter bombers attacked Cazombo township (south of Teixeira de Sousa) and machinegunned the township of Lumbala. The aircraft of the reactionaries returned and carried out another bombing raid later.

"The Fapla (the military arm of the MPLA) regrets to report the death of two of their brave fighters during these acts of banditry. Wasting no time in retaliating, Fapla's anti-aircraft artillery hit one of the warplanes, which left trailing thick black smoke," the broadcast said. — UPI

# Russia's massive aid to the MPLA army

## Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — Western intelligence sources have drawn up an inventory of the massive Russian arms supplies to the pro-Marxist MPLA in Angola.

It includes rocket-firers, tanks, MiG jets and Sam missiles and underlines the Soviet Union's extensive support role in the Angolan war.

The intelligence sources are entirely unconnected with the MPLA's Western-oriented opponents, Unita.

The inventory says the most lethal of the arms injected by Russia into Angola is the 122 mm rocket-firer, a lorry-mounted weapon that can fire 40 rounds simultaneously and is known as the "Stalin

organ" because of its visual resemblance to organ pipes.

More than 100 are believed to have been supplied to the MPLA since March last year.

The document also lists up to 80 T-34 Russian tanks and an unknown number of the even more potent T-54.

Twelve Soviet Mig planes are now in MPLA hands, though they have not yet been used in combat. There are also unconfirmed reports that the Marxists have been supplied with Sam-7 missiles for use in air combat.

Soviet supplies also include:

Sixty-eight light amphibious tanks, 166 armoured personnel carriers, 300 anti-aircraft guns mounted

on armoured vehicles, though neither Unita nor the FNLA has military aircraft.

Twenty-eight amphibious armoured cars with mounted heavy machineguns, 32 belt-tracked armoured cars, 87 armoured scout cars and 160 towed armoured wagons.

Twenty-five heavy-calibre anti-aircraft guns, 12 000 light single barrelled 122 mm rocket launchers, 1 780 82 mm recoilless rifles and about 1 000 82 mm mortars.

An unknown quantity of 76 mm recoilless rifles, 1 100 grenade launchers, 290 anti-tank grenade launchers, 450 60 mm mortars, 10 000 assault rifles and 10 000 modernised assault rifles.

Ten thousand semi-automatic rifles, 2 000 Tokarev pistols, 290 heavy belt-fitted machineguns, 80 000 hand grenades, 40 000 anti-tank and anti-personnel mines.

Five converted landing craft, in addition to two Cuban ships and one East German, more than 500 lorries, 40 one-ton electric generators, about 1 800 barrels of diesel oil.

Tactical radio equipment totalling 240 sets, and uniforms, boots, socks and webbing for 30 000 troops.

The extent of foreign communist intervention is also shown by an intelligence estimate that there are now nearly 10 000 Cuban regulars in Angola, most of them of White descent.

## 'Reds out to cause trouble in Africa'

WASHINGTON. — US Senator John V. Tunney said yesterday that a squadron of sophisticated Soviet MiG 21 fighters was being readied for combat in Angola, although they had not yet been used.

Two of Senator Tunney's aides are travelling in Africa trying to find out what is happening in the three-way Angolan civil war. The Senator said the Soviet-backed MPLA was defeating the FNLA and Unita.

"The best we can hope for," he said, "is some kind of accommodation between the MPLA and Unita, with the hope that the United States can get the South Africans out of there."

Unita controls southern Angola.

The FNLA is receiving aid from the United States. "It appears the FNLA is just about finished. It appears the Zairians are going to recognise the MPLA if they win a military victory on the ground," he said.

A resolution sponsored by Senator Tunney to cut off aid to the Angolan factions passed the Senate. "The pipeline is running out," he told a breakfast at the National Press Club. "The aid has just about ended."

Senator Tunney said the Russians were trying to expand their influence, introducing one of their most sophisticated air-to-air fighter planes.

"The Soviets have introduced MiG 21s," he said. "There are six on the runways in Angola, six have been assembled and are in hangars, and 12 more are being assembled."

Guinea, Congo and other nations in West Africa have received MiGs from the Russians.

"I think," Senator Tunney said, "that the Soviet Union is going to try to cause trouble anywhere in Africa where they can get a toehold. There's no question whatsoever." — UPI.

## Zaireans told to go home

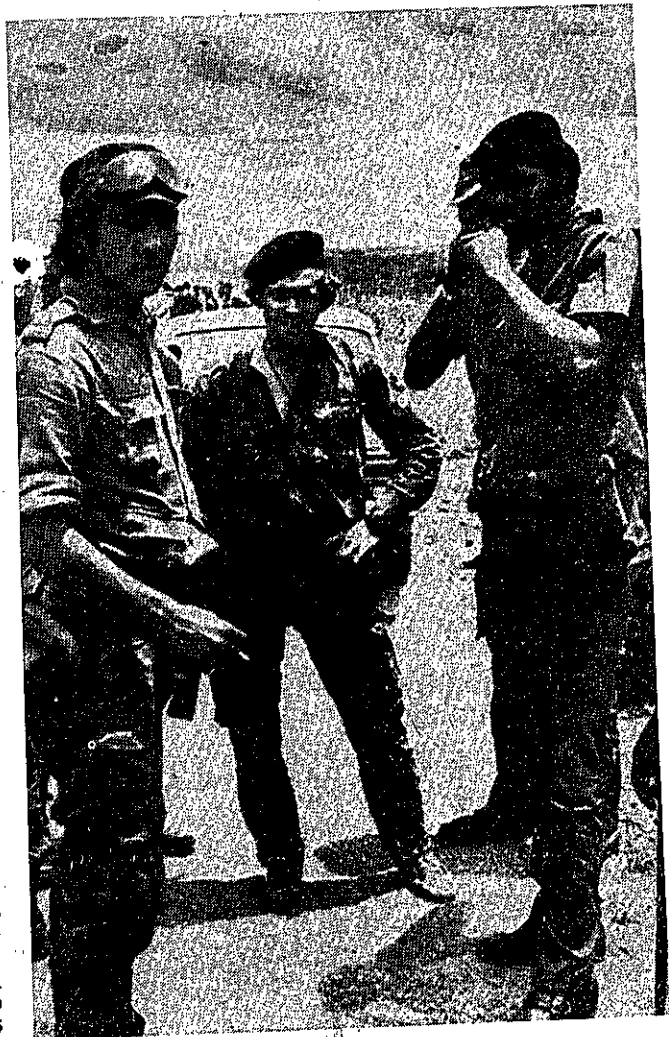
'Mail' Africa Bureau LUSAKA. — Several thousand Zairean nationals living in Zambia illegally have been ordered to return to their country by Zaire's Ambassador to Zambia, Mr Bande Larity Nyarende.

He was yesterday quoted by the *Zambian Daily Mail*, organ of the Zambian Government, as having said "double-faced Zaireans" who pose as either Zambians or Zaireans, should decide on a single national identity.

Sapa reports that members of the Zambian Parliament yesterday called on the government to change its foreign policy and possibly sever relations with "friendly countries" which differed from Zambia on international issues.

MPs charged that some neighbouring countries, while benefiting from economic links with Zambia, had turned their backs on important policy issues in the country.

Meanwhile, Zambia and Kenya have pledged to strengthen economic links between their two countries, and talks are under way in Lusaka between a Kenyan delegation and Zambian ministers.



Portuguese mercenaries and Unita troops chat near Luso after they beat off an MPLA attack.

# Swapo snubs Ennals

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A Swapo official has dismissed as "irrelevant" the warning by a British Minister that it would be unlawful to invite Cubans to take part in the "liberation" of South West Africa.

"What we do know is that we have been under South African occupation, and it is not a good one. The Cubans are not going to occupy our country," Mr. Moses Garoeb, Swapo's administrative secretary, said at a Press conference here yesterday.

He was reacting to the statement by Mr. David Ennals, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, at a meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Society.

Mr. Garoeb reiterated his statement that Swapo had not yet asked the Cubans to help them "liberate South West Africa from the South African forces."

"We reserve the right to ask for assistance from all those who are willing to assist in the liberation struggle," he said, making it clear that Swapo had a long-standing relationship with Cuba and had always been given whatever it asked for.

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## 'Swapo can destroy' Cunene Dam

STAR 20/2/76

The Star Bureau

LONDON—Swapo now regards the Cunene hydro-electric project in Southern Angola as a potential target and has indicated that it possesses the ability to destroy it.

Mr. Moses Garoeb, Swapo's administrative secretary, told a Press conference at the House of Commons yesterday that "we have our own people working there" and it was not necessary to neutralise it through guerrilla action.

"This project is regarded by our organisation as a potential target for our operations," he said.

Mr. Garoeb, based in Lusaka, has just returned from the United Nations Security Council meeting on South West Africa in New York. He said the MPLA had made it clear that it would continue to support Swapo.

"Swapo is steadily expanding its guerrilla operations inside Namibia. We are now operating deep inside the country, as far as the urban areas, and this intensification of our struggle will continue," he said.

Referring to the Labour party policy document on SWA, Mr. Garoeb said he would like the British Government to adopt it as the basis of its future policy on the territory.

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# Rapid strike force hits back at terrorists

JOHANNESBURG — A rapid strike force has been created by the South African Army to turn defence into attack in anti-terrorist operations in the "hot pursuit zone" on the Angola-South West Africa border.

Brig M. J. du Plessis, commanding officer of a key northern military sector, told military correspondents visiting the operational area this week: "I am confident that we are now taking the offensive against terrorist activities

by making use of this specially trained force.

"The enemy bases his tactics on time and terrain. In this remote, densely-bushed, marshy territory they know that no army could saturate the whole area with troops.

"Until now hit-and-run attacks have had us on the defensive — always a step behind instead of ahead. But now we have worked out a plan so that we are not on the defensive, and we have had quite a few successes.

"Our anti-terrorist spearhead is made up of troops who can track and who are fit enough to follow up endlessly the people who make these sneak attacks," Brig Du Plessis said.

Meanwhile, Unita has claimed its first major military successes in its guerilla war against the MPLA.

The leader of Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi, said in a statement taken to Lusaka from Angola that three Soviet armoured cars had been destroyed and one Cuban soldier captured in an action near Andulo, about 120 km north of Silva Porto. The date of the action was not given.

The statement said full-scale guerilla war had now begun in several areas of Angola.

Dr Savimbi said Unita would continue to hold small towns and would ceaselessly harass the MPLA in the cities and countryside, leading to the Soviet-backed movement's defeat within two to three years.

In Lisbon, a leading Unita official said the movement had regained control of Silva Porto, its former military headquarters.

Mr Marques Kakumba told a press conference that Cuban-led forces of the MPLA had been driven out on Wednesday.

But he said Unita forces did not occupy the town, since they were now using guerilla tactics. Unita had taken up controlling positions around Silva Porto.

Mr Kakumba also said families of Cuban troops serving in Angola were now travelling by ship to join the soldiers.

"This shows that the Cubans are going there not just as mercenaries but as settlers," he said.

— DDC-SAPA-RNS.

WHAT do South Africans of colour think of South Africa's involvement in Angola? The subject is much debated in and out of Parliament. Three Sunday Times staff writers give their assessment of African, Coloured and Indian attitudes . . .

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②⑤



LUCAS MOLETE

## SA Blacks hold thumbs for MPLA in 'Whites' war'

AS FAR AS South Africa's involvement is concerned, Blacks in South Africa have rejected the Angolan conflict as "the White man's war". It is my impression that they have been holding thumbs for the MPLA. Unita and FNLA have virtually alienated themselves from popular local Black feeling because of their association with South Africa.

It is rather like when there is a great sporting international between the Springboks and overseas visitors. Local Blacks identify with the visitors.

People on the other side of the colour line may not realise it, but Angola is very much on the lips of local Africans. Interpretations may differ up and down the social scale, but combined feeling is firmly with the MPLA — anything that can nettles the White man in South Africa and bring about change.

If events in Mozambique gave the Black man in this country a glimpse into possibilities, Angola has evoked feelings that contrast with the White man's fear of an escalating war and the repercussions of a communist-inspired victory.

Africans generally have been unwilling critically to examine the implications of a communist victory because "we haven't experienced communism, but we know oppression and discrimina-

tion, and we've had enough".

The Black man has been inhibited in betraying his true feelings about the MPLA lest he become subjected to the wrath of the State.

One of the most outspoken Black leaders, Mrs Ellen Khuzwayo, was not immediately willing to have her views recorded because of this fear.

She said: "Angola is a very sensitive area. One can never speak one's mind in an uninhibited way because there is always the chance that you might be letting yourself 'into something'. But in the final analysis, we must make our feelings known because if we don't, not only we, but the whole of South Africa will suffer."

She added: "Moderate Black leaders like Z. K. Matthews and Albert Luthuli failed to make the White man see reason. The Black man has received nothing to be part of the Angolan war on South Africa's side.

"There must be drastic and immediate change before the White man can claim the support of the Blacks."

Mr John Mavuso, King Goodwill Zwelithini's counsellor comments: "We are not part of anything that is happening in South Africa. Why must we sacrifice our lives?"



HOWARD LAWRENCE

## Coloured TV viewers hiss White soldiers

IF any other White South African leader really wants to know how Coloured South Africans feel about the MPLA victories in Angola, he need only go into any of the many Coloured bars in Cape Town that provide television viewing for their customers and observe the reaction to photo-reports of the Angolan war.

When South African soldiers appear on the screen the Coloured customers hiss. When scenes are shown of MPLA or Cuban soldiers, there are shouts of exultation.

In the townships, at the lowest socio-economic level, gang names are changing, from the "Panorama Kids", and "Naughty Boys" to "Cuban Kids" and "MPLA Terrors".

If South Africa had not become involved in Angola, the civil war would have been just another conflict in Africa to most Coloured people.

South African intervention caused

them to become emotionally involved. They began to identify spiritually with events there. They saw the South African forces as representing only the Whites, and they saw the Whites as representing apartheid.

In the context of the Angolan war and the threat to South Africa's borders, it is my impression that Coloured South Africans are not "patriotic", because they do not believe they would be fighting for "our" country.

They say things like: "The MPLA, Cubans and Russians have no quarrel with me. They want to fight White South Africans."

It is the failure of the Government to "move away from racial discrimination", as promised that has created this hostile attitude — the attitude that the war in Angola is a war against Whites in the interest of Blacks, and not a communist threat.



RAJENDRA CHETTY

## Indians see war as just another power struggle

INDIANS see the Angolan war as basically another power struggle between the Americans and the Russians and another instance of the way Black people ultimately suffer through White interference.

While it is my impression that the majority of Indians are opposed to South Africa's actions in Angola, the mainly conservative members of the South African Indian Council (SAIC) support South Africa's stance because it is trying to provide a guarantee for the survival of all races in this country.

Dr M. B. Naidoo, a leading retired educationalist on the council, says South Africa's actions are directed at ensuring the safety of all South Africans. Russian

involvement in other countries of Africa, he says, has invariably resulted in internal strife, so he believes South Africa deserves support for this reason.

The view of the more radical Indian Congress is predictably different.

A former leading figure of the congress said: "South Africa has no right to dictate to Angola. South Africa has a responsibility to its own people and should put its own house in order by reshaping its entire domestic structure."

A student leader said: "There is no proof that someone has designs on South Africa. Events in other parts of Africa seem to indicate that Russian involvement is purely aimed at giving the African people the support to govern themselves."

# Unita and FNLA <sup>R.D.M.</sup> must quit Zaire

BRAZZAVILLE. — The FNLA and Unita, both opposed to the victorious MPLA in Angola, will have to leave Zaire immediately under an agreement designed to normalise relations between Zaire and Angola.

The agreement was reached in Brazzaville on Saturday by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko and the Angolan President, Dr Agostinho Neto. They guaranteed that they would not allow military activity to be organised against each other from their respective territories.

The FNLA has had headquarters in the Zaire capital of Kinshasa, and Unita has been supported by Zaire for the past year.

## REFUGEES

A communique issued by the two presidents said the two organisations would have to leave Zaire immediately "in order not to undermine relations between the two countries".

Another movement, Flec, which seeks independence for the Cabinda enclave, will also have to cease activities in Zaire. Cabinda is an oil-rich area of Angola, north of the Zaire River.

The communique said the two countries had agreed not to engage in any interference in each other's internal affairs.

Angolan refugees living in Zaire would return "freely" to their country of origin, the statement said. The Kinshasa government says about one million refugees are now living in Zaire.

About 6 000 former Katanga policemen who fled to Angola during Zaire's post-independence strife will also be repatriated at President Mobutu's request. — Sapa-Reuter.

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# •No time for Cuban-MPLA ties Unita takes a tough line on Swapo

3/8/76

STAR

Allen Pizzev,

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Unita will harass Swapo guerrillas operating in southern Angola unless they agree to have nothing to do with Russia and Cuba.

Swapo and Unita cooperated when Unita was fighting the Portuguese, but there will be no help for Swapo if they attempt to use foreign forces in their campaign, says Unita's foreign secretary, Dr Jorge Sangumba.

"Unita looks after about 3 000 Swapo people, some of them fighters and some just families, in southern Angola," Dr Sangumba said.

"They cannot move through the south where our guerrilla forces are unless we allow them to, and we are fighting the

Cubans and the MPLA. There must be no Cubans if Swapo expects help from us."

"Swapo is stupid if they think the Cubans and the MPLA are their friends. The MPLA will have to establish a 'realpolitik' with South Africa over the Cunene Dam project, just the same as Frelimo has done with Cabora Bassa," Dr Sangumba said.

"And of course the South Africans are going to stipulate 'no aid for Swapo' as part of the agreement."

There are indications

that Swapo is setting up its headquarters in Luanda and phasing out its Zambian operation. Its African headquarters have long been in Lusaka.

The Zambians have been unhappy with the Swapo presence for some time. They do not like the idea of armed Swapo troops running loose in the troubled and unstable western province.

Zambia has clamped down heavily on Swapo activities over the past year.

Swapo's UN-funded radio station which beams "liberation messages" at South West Africa has been stopped from making personal attacks on Mr Vorster, presumably on the orders of President Kaunda following their historic meeting last year.

A resettlement farm south of Lusaka for Swapo supporters and their families from South West Africa was closed down last year.

Mainly women, children and elderly people, they were moved in a two day trip in open trucks during the rainy season to a camp some 800 kms north of Lusaka.

Swapo supporters are bitter about the Zambian actions. Many of the young men who came to Zambia hoping to receive military training for Swapo's guerrilla war moved on to camps in Tanzania. As far as is known there are no longer any Swapo



Dr Jorge Sangumba, Unita Foreign Secretary — Swapo members are stupid if they think the Cubans and the MPLA are their friends . . .

military bases in Zambia.

Swapo has been increasing its military activity over the past year, and sources here say the movement appears to have an effective supply system for the guerrillas operating along the South West African border.

## SHAKY GROUND

South African troops reportedly wiped out many Swapo bases in southern Angola last year.

Operating out of Luanda, Swapo would be able to use the main north-south paved road from the Angolan capital to the Sa da Bandeira area, from where they would have to split up into small units to hit the border.

The vast and barren south eastern section of Angola is firmly in Unita hands, which would make Swapo strikes against the Caprivi Strip difficult.

Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, is ideologically at home with the Marxist-orientated MPLA. He is on shaky ground with his own movement, however.

The split between internal and external Swapo is

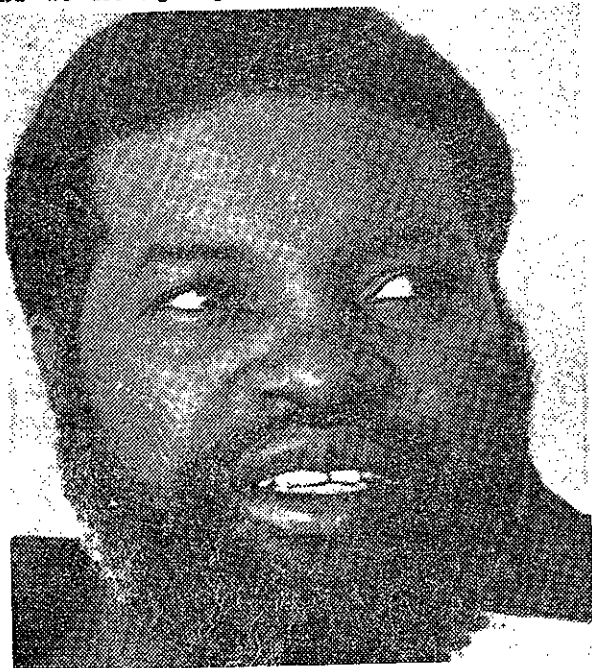
also at least partially blamed on Mr Nujoma, who has lost contact with the realities of the South West African situation through his frequent travels abroad.

There are a number of people within the external wing of Swapo who would like his job.

The man many Swapo supporters would like to see at the head of the movement is one of Mr

Nujoma's most loyal and able lieutenants, Mr Peter Katjavivi, the representative in Europe of Swapo.

But the split in external Swapo, coupled with differences between the external and internal wings, bitterness towards the Zambian authorities and the possibility of having to fight Unita as well as the South Africans, puts the movement in a tenuous position at best. — (L) Argus Co., 1976.



Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma — on shaky ground within his own movement.



The man many Swapo supporters want to see at the head of the movement, European representative Mr Peter Katjavivi.

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# I'll fight death penalty, says mercenary lawyer

9/6/76

RDM

LUANDA. — Angolan prosecutors will demand the death penalty for 13 White mercenaries when their trial opens in Luanda on Friday, according to an American defence lawyer taking part.

Mr Robert Cesner is representing two American mercenaries, Gary Acker and Daniel Gearhart, who he said had not fired a shot during their short time as mercenaries. He said he would strongly contest the death penalty for them.

He said the court trying the mercenaries — British, Irish, American and one Argentinian — would have the right to impose the death penalty "or anything from that on down."

The trial was to have started yesterday, but it has been put off until Friday to allow lawyers more time to prepare their defences.

Mr Cesner said of his two clients: "They don't understand why they're on trial for their lives . . . when they haven't done anything wrong."

Mr Cesner, along with other defence lawyers, will argue his case before the Angolan court and also an international commission of inquiry into mercenaries.

Mr Cesner said that although he regarded the trial as political, he would put up a strong fight.

One of the mercenaries due to go on trial is former British soldier Costas

Georgiou, nicknamed Colonel Callan, who is said to have ordered the execution of 14 White mercenaries for refusing to fight. Officials in Luanda said he had killed Angolans as well.

Mr Cesner said he would call for the two Americans to be treated with leniency because they had been in northern Angola less than four days when they were captured by Cuban troops.

Mr Cesner and his assistant, Mr William Wilson, met their clients for the first time on Monday and planned a further session in their cells at Sao Paulo prison today.

Guards at the yellow-walled compound, formerly used by the Portuguese political police, said it was now being used exclusively for military prisoners captured in the closing days of Angola's civil war last February.

Mr Cesner said he would restrict his defence to the two Americans, but he had contacted the three Angolan attorneys assigned to defend the other 11 to discuss the overall case against the mercenaries.

As the attorneys worked, the government-sponsored international commission of inquiry on mercenaries held its first formal session. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI.



NM 8/6/76

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# CASTRO CONFIRMS ANGOLAN PULL-OUT

HAVANA — Prime Minister Fidel Castro confirmed at the weekend that Cuban troops were being gradually pulled out of Angola.

But he said some units would stay until the Angolan armed forces were able to ensure the security of their country.

The Cuban leader, addressing a rally, said 100 troops that were flown to Angola last November were among the audience at the Karl Marx Theatre here.

Dr. Castro had announced the gradual pull-out from Angola in a letter to Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme last month but this was the first mention of it in Cuba.

"The imperialists, who have no right to ask wonder how long the pull-out will last," he said.

"We have agreed with the Angolan Government that it would last as long as it was necessary to organise, train and equip the people's army of Angola."

He added: "Let the enemy make no mistake. The troops remaining in Angola are sufficient to inflict any defeat upon any aggressor."

He said the first troops flown to Launda in November had been a battalion of the special forces of the Ministry of the Interior.

The existence of these forces had never been officially mentioned before Sunday when the daily *Juventud Rebelde* published a photograph showing them marching

with Soviet-made AK-47 rifles.

Special forces, together with an anti-tank squad, set up a first defence line and managed to stop South African forces marching towards Launda, Dr. Castro claimed.

Cuba later sent an artillery regiment, a battalion of mechanised troops, a detachment of what he called jet artillery — presumably rockets — and a second battalion of special forces.

Dr. Castro said the number of Cuban civilian technicians in Angola would increase as the number of troops was reduced, but he gave no figures. The civilians included medical staff and sugar growing experts, he said.

(Sapa-Reuters)

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CAPE TIMES 3/3/76

# Ex-Unita governor runs to Owambo

WINDHOEK. — All senior officials of the Unita movement had fled from Pereira D'eca in southern Angola, because they feared retaliation by advancing MPLA forces, the SABC reported here yesterday.

The report said the Unita governor of the Kunene province, Mr Nikolau Markus, had fled to Owambo, while other senior officials had sought refuge in the dense bush in southern Angola.

The Commissioner-General for the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa, Mr Jannie de Wet, confirmed yesterday that Mr Markus, an Ovambo who had emigrated to Angola, fled back to the homeland.

Mr De Wet said neither he nor the Owambo Government was aware of any other Unita officials being inside Owambo at present.

Mr De Wet emphasized that Mr Markus was an Ovambo national.