

ANGOLA-GENERAL
1985

JANUARY — September

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Diamond mining complex 'seized' by Unita

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2. Post
2/1/85

LISBON — Angola's Unita rebel movement yesterday claimed its forces overran a diamond mining complex, killed 130 Government troops and captured 17 Filipinos, three Britons and the crew of a US aircraft during week-end fighting.

Unita said in a statement issued to reporters in Lisbon its guerilla forces seized control of the Cafunfo mines in north-eastern Lunda province after two hours of heavy fighting on Saturday. It said 15 Angolan army soldiers were taken prisoner in the action.

Authorities in Luanda remained silent on the guerilla claims.

But foreign diplomats based in the Angolan capital said troops loyal to President Dos Santos' Government regained control of the Cafunfo mines in north-eastern Lunda province late on Sunday after Unita guerilla forces left the site.

Unita spokesmen in Lisbon and Washington later identified the crew members as Americans Gerhart Propel and Alen Bongard.

The initial Unita statement, signed by the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, identified the three captured Britons only as Mr Alen Michael, Mr Glen Foreman and Mr Paul Huggins.

It gave no identification of the Filipinos and the captured crew of a Hercules Cargo plane belonging to the California-based Transamerican airlines forced to land at the site after heavy shelling by rebel ground fire.

According to diplomatic sources contacted in Luanda, the Angolan capital, the Transamerican Airlines plane was delivering food supplies to Cafunfo under contract with the Angolan Government.

The British Ambassador to Angola, Mr Marrack Goulding, who confirmed the attack had taken place, said there had been no more than six Britons at the site on Saturday, and that all were workers.

Contacted again yesterday, Mr Goulding said: "We do know some of the foreigners (at Cafunfo) evaded capture and kept their heads down for a couple of days."

The British Government has told Angola's Unita rebels of its very great concern about the welfare of three Britons captured by the guerillas.

Other diplomats posted to the Angolan capital, who asked not to be further identified, said Unita fighters attacked and seized the complex on Saturday morning and left the area on Sunday afternoon.

They said Government troops had since moved back to the sight and taken charge.

Meanwhile, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos vowed in a New Year's address released yesterday that his Government would not form a coalition of national unity with the rebel Unita movement.

Mr Dos Santos' year-end message, monitored in Lisbon from a dispatch of the State-run news agency Angop, focused on the nine-year bush war carried out by Unita and recent US-brokered negotiations for regional peace in South Africa.

"We accept no government whatsoever with the South African lackeys of Unita," the President said. "This subject will not be discussed at any negotiating table."

Mr Dos Santos went on to repeat his Government's long-standing charges that Unita is backed by South Africa. "The functioning and the very existence of Unita still depends on the varied and massive support given them by the Pretoria regime," he said. — Sapa-AP

EDERATIONS

Airline tries to free crew held by Unita

ARGUS 3/1/85
Argus Foreign Service (5)

NEW YORK. — An American airline is trying to free four of its employees who have been kidnapped by Unita in Angola.

UK asks SA for aid over Britons held by Unita men

LONDON. — The British Foreign Office has approached the South African Government for information about a number of Britons abducted by Unita rebels in Angola, the Press Association news agency has reported.

A Foreign Office spokesman would say only that "any channels will be used in the search for information."

South Africa has been backing Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita against Angola's Marxist government headed by President José Eduardo dos Santos.

FORCED MARCH

The missing Britons are among 22 prisoners captured in the north-east diamond-mining town of Cafunfo. Speculation in London was that they are being forced to march several hundred kilometres to rebel bases in the south of the country.

The Foreign Office, which has also contacted the Unita representative in London and the International Red Cross, said it was not certain whether there were three, four or five Britons among the prisoners. — Sapa-AP.

"We are trying every possible way to get them released," said Mr Richard Slakoff, director of communications for Transamerica Airlines.

Four crew of a Hercules L-100 transport aircraft were taken hostage with about 20 other foreigners in a Unita attack on a mining complex in north-east Angola on Tuesday.

The Transamerica employees, now believed to be in the hands of Unita, were identified by Mr Slakoff as Captain Gerhart Opel, Flight Engineer Alan Bongard, First Officer William Reed and cargo supervisor Mr Paul Huggin.

Set on fire

"It came as a terrific shock to us. We are doing everything possible to get them back," said Mr Slakoff in a telephone interview from the company's headquarters in Oakland, California.

Efforts included representations to the US State Department, he said. He declined to detail other ways the company was trying to release its men.

Reports that the Hercules had been shot down were incorrect.

"Our aircraft was set on fire on the ground. The plane was destroyed."

At the time of the attack the Hercules was being used to transport supplies to a diamond-mining camp operated by the British-Portuguese firm Diamang Corporation, he said.

Stray Soviet missile alarms Norway

Argus Foreign Service

OSLO. — Norwegian defence department chiefs of staff are reviewing reports from the remote village of Pasviksdalen that they heard a Soviet cruise missile overhead.

The defence chiefs are also investigating reports that villagers heard an explosion on Friday after the missile stopped.

But Finland's Defence Department says it can only confirm that radar observations made about noon on Friday showed there had been an encroachment into Finnish air space.

Playing down the incident, the Norwegian Defence Department said last night it did not think the missile was armed with a nuclear warhead, adding that it was probably a dummy.

Angola's tribes faces starvation, genocide

Mass starvation and eventual genocide are predicted by Red Cross workers in Angola for the Ovimbundu, the tribe ruled over by Unta leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi and on whom he leans for support in his bush war against the MPLA.

This prediction is made in *The New York Times* in a report from a staff reporter in Huambo, once Savimbi's headquarters.

The reporter, James Brooke, one of the few Western journalists to reach Huambo as a guest of Angola's Marxist government, described the town as the centre of Angola's almost hidden civil war, which has left countless dead, 20,000 amputees and serious food problems for at least one-third of the people of this once-fertile central highlands region.

The report quotes Red Cross workers at Huambo saying they are handing out 2,000 tons of food a month there, about half the amount distributed in Ethiopia.

The Red Cross is feeding 20,000 people in Huambo itself, a quarter of its population.

Mr Pierre Gassmann, the Red Cross chief in Angola, says that 2,000 of the aid recipients are children "who will die within a week".

Of the once-prosperous Ovimbundu, Mr Gassmann said: "If these people are not helped, in a few years they are going to die out".

Guerrilla ambushes and landmines on the roads have forced the Red Cross to abandon truck convoys. Now, all food and medical supplies have to be flown into the crisis areas.

The heavily-loaded Red Cross planes fly the supplies directly into Huambo and from there into six regional centres, where 20,000 more people are fed.

The airlift, comprising 30 flights a day, makes the food cost twice as much per recipient as food distributed to the starving tribes people of Ethiopia.

The Red Cross is tackling an enormous food distribution problem in Southern Africa's "hidden" civil war, reports *The Star's* Foreign News Service from New York.

Only the most meagre of crops were harvested in the region in October, and officials predict that malnutrition will spread rapidly in the central highlands until new crops are harvested in March.

But because of the continuous guerrilla forays into the region, few officials hold out much hope that enough food will be harvested. The report adds that batteries of

anti-aircraft guns and SAM ground-to-air missiles are in place to protect Huambo airport, tightened defences, it says, that indicate the tense war footing that prevails there.

To deter sabotage, Cuban construction crews have bulldozed mounds of earth in horseshoe formations to protect Soviet-made helicopter gunships and MiG-21 jets.

Savimbi's chief of staff is sacked

LISBON — The military chief of staff of Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel movement, Unita, has been dismissed after defeats inflicted by government forces, it was yesterday said by the official Angolan news agency, Angop.

The agency added that the chief of staff, Mr Demostenes Chilingutula, was in disgrace.

Angop said his dismissal was a result of a settling of scores within the leadership of Unita, which has been waging a guerilla war against Angola's Marxist rulers since independence from Portugal in 1975.

It said spectacular actions by Unita, such as the capture of foreign nationals, were purely propaganda exercises.

This was the first apparent reaction by Angola to Unita's claim to be holding three Britons, 17 Filipinos and the two crew of an American plane, all captured when Unita forces stormed the Kafunfo diamond mines in north-eastern Angola last Saturday.

Among places named as the scene of rebel defeats, Angop mentioned Longonjo and Huambo in central Angola, where both sides have recently reported clashes. — Sapa-Reuter.

UK demands safety of Unita-held 3

LONDON — The British Government yesterday demanded that Unita rebels in Angola safeguard three Britons taken hostage in a raid on a diamond-mining town last week.

A London representative of Unita went to the Foreign Office to discuss the hostages, who were among 22 foreigners captured in the attack on Kafunfo in northern Angola.

After the 90-minute meeting, a Foreign Office spokesman said Britain had received assurances that Unita would do everything to ensure the safety and well-being of the Britons.

He said the Unita representative, Mr Tito Chingunji, confirmed that the prisoners were being marched south to a guerilla camp and arrangements would be made to repatriate them to Britain.

There had been no mention of any pre-conditions for freeing the hostages.

The Foreign Office said one Briton working in the diamond-mining town was still unaccounted for. — Sapa-Reuter.

Situation of Angolan refugees is worsening

Weekend Post Correspondent

WINDHOEK -- As the civil war in Angola intensifies, the situation of over 200 000 displaced refugees is "becoming worse and worse", according to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

In the December, 1984, issue of the ICRC Bulletin, the committee says a recent survey done by the Red Cross indicates a steady deterioration in the country.

"The ICRC has been stockpiling supplies, although badly hampered by logistical difficulties.

"The only practical way to move staff and goods from the coast to the worst-affected areas is by air, since the railway is repeatedly out of action, and the roads are in disrepair and unsafe."

The scale of relief operations in Angola is clearly indicated by the sheer size of the Red Cross operation in Angola — one of the biggest in Africa after countries like Ethiopia.

The ICRC staff in Angola presently numbers, according to the bulletin, 23 pilots, 21 medical delegates, 11 ordinary delegates, 10 relief workers and 32 supporting posts.

By contrast, the ICRC's Namibian office has only two delegates and a handful of office workers.

At present, "Some 1 000 tons of stores are being delivered per month and this was to be increased to up to 2 000 tons by the end of the year (1984)."

Many regions are inaccessible because of military activity and actions by Unita rebels, and because of the dispersed nature of the population, it is impossible to establish refugee camps, the bulletin said.

Their aircraft are making up to three flights each a day and a total of 3 200 malnourished children are being fed in the central areas of Huambo province.

The hazards of the Red Cross operation are illustrated in an accompanying article describing the flying operations they carry out.

Recently, landmines were uncovered near the airfield used by the ICRC at Katchiungo in Huambo province, and a woman seeking relief help lost a leg when she detonated an anti-personnel mine there.

Since the incident, the committee has appointed a security official to check the airfield area for mines daily

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E. Post

5/1/85

(9) Star 9/11/85

Friar killed in Unita attack

LISBON — A Portuguese Catholic friar was killed in a Unita attack on the Angolan town of Conda in Cuanza Sul province, the Portuguese Missionary Society (PMS) has announced. In a statement issued yesterday the PMS said Friar Augusto Paredes was killed in an insurgent attack which lasted "several hours". Without providing further details, the Catholic order said "other missionaries" escaped the strike against the town unharmed. The PMS added that the attacking Unita guerillas withdrew after government forces defending the town received reinforcements. — The Star's Foreign News Service.

Reports of injury to Savimbi still unconfirmed

11/1/85 (5)
D. Dispatch

LISBON — There has been no official confirmation of reports that the Angolan rebel leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, was seriously wounded in a government commando attack on his remote bush headquarters.

The reports originated in a Portuguese news agency dispatch from the Angolan capital of Luanda, saying Dr Savimbi had been injured by commandos dropped by helicopter near his south-eastern Jamba base in late December.

Dr Savimbi is head of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), an anti-communist guerilla movement that has been fighting a bush war to topple the marxist Angolan government since independence from Portugal in 1975.

A Western diplomat in Luanda said rumours of Dr Savimbi being wounded in a government raid had been circulating in the capital for three weeks.

The Angolan government has made no comment on the reports. Diplomatic sources in Luanda said the alleged attack had not been referred to by the Angolan media. An employee of Angop, the official news agency, contacted by telex, said no one able to comment on the reports was available.

Portuguese state radio said an unidentified Unita spokesman in Paris had denied the reports. Unita spokesmen in Lisbon could not be reached by telephone. In December, the group denied similar unconfirmed reports that Dr Savimbi had been captured by Angolan troops.

Dr Savimbi's type-written name appeared as usual on a rebel statement issued in Lisbon on January 3.

In Paris, a French member of the European Parliament, who said he had just returned from a visit to Angola, denied Dr Savimbi had been wounded.

The French European deputy, Mr Olivier D'Ormesson, issued a statement "formally denying the news from Luanda regarding the capture, or an attack in which Jonas Savimbi was the victim."

Mr D'Ormesson said he visited Dr Savimbi's

headquarters with Sir Peter Vanneck, a British deputy to the European Parliament, and Mr Heinrich Aigner, a West German deputy. All three had "important conversations with Jonas Savimbi and his general staff.

From Nairobi it was reported that Dr Savimbi addressed students at a Unita school last Monday.

The report said Dr Savimbi made a four-hour speech in which he described the political and military situation in the country as favourable to Unita. — SAPA-AP-RNS.



Dr. Jonas Savimbi: "I will die many times before I reach Luanda."

'I'm not dead,^{W/ K ARGUS} says ^{12/1/85} Savimbi

JAMBA. — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has met foreign journalists to prove he is not dead.

There have been reports that he was severely wounded in action.

Dr Savimbi also used the meeting to pledge the unconditional release of the 22 hostages seized by his guerrillas last month.

Dr Savimbi addressed an estimated 2 000 supporters in a carnival atmosphere at a rally at his headquarters here in the Angolan bush yesterday. He went on to meet four journalists and pour scorn on suggestions that he had been seriously wounded in an attack on Jamba.

Unscathed

Apparently unscathed, he dismissed reports of his capture or death as Angolan government propaganda and joked: "I will die many times before I reach Luanda." — Sapa-Reuter.

Castro sets new condition for withdrawal of Cuban troops

MAS 14/1/85

Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — President Fidel Castro has set a new condition for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, according to French Co-operation Minister Mr Christian Nucci.

Mr Nucci, who has just returned from Havana, says Dr Castro confirmed that he was willing to withdraw his troops 500km from the SWA/Namibian border if South Africa quit SWA/Namibia and ended aid to Unita.

But Dr Castro emphasised he would keep 10 000 Cuban troops in Angola's Cabinda enclave to protect land and offshore oil installations.

The Cubans are protecting American oil company personnel from a Cabinda rebel movement fighting for the independence of the enclave from Angola.

16 regiments

Meanwhile, the reliable newsletter Lettre d'Afrique has spelt out the composition of the Cuban expeditionary force in Angola: 31 000 soldiers and 6 000 civilian advisers. This is a higher figure than generally given in the West.

The newsletter listed 16 motorised infantry regiments, each consisting of 2 000 men, a 1 000-man artillery regiment, a 500-man anti-aircraft defence unit, 500 aircrew and ground personnel, 1 000 advisers and technicians, 400 army and air force logistic specialists and 100 Cubans in the police force and intelligence services.



Dr Fidel Castro . . . new offer on Angola.

(5) Star 4/1/85
Castro offers new deal on Angola

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — President Fidel Castro has set a new condition for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from southern Angola, says French Co-operation Minister, Mr Christian Nucci, who has just returned from Havana.

Dr Castro confirmed he was willing to withdraw his troops 500 km from the Namibian border if South Africa quit Namibia and ended aid to Unita.

But he stressed he would keep 10 000 Cuban troops there to protect land and off-shore oil installations in Angola's Cabinda enclave.

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pendence of the enclave from Angola.

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The newsletter said Cuban troops in Cabinda were being supplied from the Congo.

Angola 'committed to regional peace'

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S. Post 11/1/85

LISBON — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos yesterday reaffirmed his Government's commitment to seeking regional peace for Southern Africa through dialogue with the United States and South Africa, according to reports monitored here.

Addressing the opening session in Luanda of the national conference of his ruling MPLA party, Mr Dos Santos told delegates: "Our diplomacy will remain open to sincere and constructive dialogue with the United States and South Africa in the search for a just solution to the problems that concern us in the area."

A report carried by Angop, Angola's state-run news agency, quoted the 42-year-old President as saying: "This dialogue can only be fruitful if common sense, realism and the will to take serious decisions regarding the preservation of peace, of stability, and of the independence of peoples, without interference into internal affairs, prevail."

Mr Dos Santos's remarks were made after a year of intense, US-brokered negotiations in the region aimed at withdrawing South African troops from southern Angola, independence for neighbouring SWA/Namibia and the US-backed South African demand that Cuban troops stationed in Angola be sent home.

Touching on another point raised in the negotiations, Mr Dos Santos reiterated earlier Angolan positions favouring the establishment of full diplomatic ties with

Washington.

The United States is the only major Western power that has refused to officially recognise the Marxist MPLA Government since the group defeated Unita and the FNLA in the 1975 civil war.

"We also do not oppose discussion of questions concerning bilateral relations with the United States," Mr Dos Santos said.

But the Angolan leader criticised what he called South Africa's "arrogant and slighting" response to regional proposals from Luanda, and said the continuing presence of South African troops in southern Angola had no valid motives.

Angola and South Africa signed an agreement in Lusaka in February last year to set up a joint monitoring commission to oversee the withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan soil, while Luanda agreed to keep Swapo fighters based inside the country from infiltrating south across the border to fight South African rule.

South Africa has said its troops remain inside Angola because of continuing attacks by Swapo.

Mr Dos Santos said Pretoria "is seeking to make use of the hopes created (by the negotiations) only to try to break out of the international isolation it finds itself in, and to assure the survival of the system of apartheid".

Unita blacks out MPLA meeting

5 Star The Star's Foreign News Service

24/1/85

LISBON — Unita claims it attacked Luena, the capital of Moxico province this week, killing 136 government and Cuban troops, and sabotaged Luanda's power system last Friday, embarrassing a ruling MPLA conference.

Dr Jonas Savimbi's guerilla movement yesterday said it struck Cuban and Angolan military installations in Luena on the Benguela railway with heavy firepower on Monday.

Unita said its forces inflicted many

injuries, captured considerable war material and destroyed munitions depots.

Twenty-seven Cuban and 109 Angolan soldiers died in the attack on Luena, formerly Luso, the statement said. No rebel casualties were mentioned.

It said Unita "special commandos" sabotaged 10 pylons and two transformers carrying power from the Mabubas hydro-electric power scheme on Friday, blacking out parts of Luanda.

It claimed the blackout cut short a MPLA conference, which closed with a call for increased military efforts against "imperialist aggression".

Angola is backing ANC — Pik Botha

CAPE TIMES
6/2/85

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ANGOLA was actively supporting the violent overthrow of the South African Government, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, charged last night.

Botha rejects Kaunda's claims

By BARRY STREEK

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday rapped President Kenneth Kaunda over the knuckles for his outspoken criticisms of the South African Government's policies in Southern Africa.

At a specially-convened press conference to rebut President Kaunda's views — given in an exclusive interview published yesterday in Morning Group newspapers — Mr Botha said the Zambian leader had reflected "a deep misunderstanding of recent developments in Southern Africa".

Mr Botha also accused President Kaunda of wanting the "unconditional capitulation of the government to the African National Congress".

He said the government would attempt to find a way of conveying to President Kaunda information on the latest developments in its efforts to assist in bringing about a ceasefire in Mozambique, and the latest state of affairs in Angola and SWA/Namibia, particularly in regard to troop disengagement.

In the interview, President Kaunda said he saw no point in meeting President P W Botha because there had been "no progress" in the developments in Mozambique, Angola and SWA/Namibia.

● Kaunda's comments not fair — Pik Botha, page 4

He was reacting to an earlier statement by Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos alleging that the Unita movement was an "integral part" of the South African Defence Force and that the Republic was involved in a "vast destabilization plan which had as its main objective the overthrow of the Angolan Government."

'Plays host'

Denying these allegations, Mr Botha said in a statement last night that Unita was "an Angolan nationalist movement" and charged that "there can be no doubt that Angola is actively supporting the violent overthrow of the South African Government".

"It (Angola) plays host to several thousand members of the African National Congress and has put at their disposal several camps which are used for the training of anti-South African terrorists.

Swapo

"It has given indispensable support to Swapo in its terrorist attacks against SWA/Namibia," he added.

Mr Botha said the politburo of the ruling MPLA had made similar allegations on Monday and had called for the complete withdrawal of South African forces from southern Angola.

Mr Botha said the Lusaka Agreement had

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Cuban ⁽⁵⁾ troops may pull out ^{Star} 6/2/85

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Cuba was prepared to withdraw its troops from Angola under the Namibian peace plan but would keep them there for at least 15 years if the plan failed, President Fidel Castro was quoted by *The Washington Post* as saying.

The *Post's* foreign editor, Jim Hoagland, also said growing numbers of Cuban soldiers were refusing to serve in Angola.

"Behind the strong assertions by Dr Castro of Cuba's commitment to staying in Angola as long as needed, there are emerging signs of a lessening of enthusiasm for the nine-year-old war effort, in which about 3 000 Cubans have died," he said.

Hoagland said that Dr Castro said last week that Cuba was prepared to co-operate with the American-sponsored effort aimed at getting all Cuban soldiers out of Angola in return for the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and independence for the territory.

IMPROVE

Dr Castro endorsed the US mediation effort as having the potential to "exercise a positive influence in the international sphere" and improve relations between the US and Cuba.

"While hinting at a substantial lowering of Cuban military ambitions in Africa, Dr Castro also warned that his units would stay in Angola 15 years or longer if the US peace settlement is not achieved," Hoagland said.

Angola has agreed to the phased withdrawal of 20 000 soldiers from southern Angola over three years. Some would remain north of the 13th parallel, around Luanda and the Cabinda enclave.

In return, South Africa must withdraw all its troops from Namibia and halt aid to Unita rebels in Angola.

Crocker has ⁵ new terms for ^{Star} Cuban pull-out ^{7/2/85}

The Star Bureau

WINDHOEK — A revised set of proposals for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola will be with the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, when he arrives in South Africa tonight.

Dr Crocker is expected to hold talks with the South African Government about the Namibian-Angolan issue.

His return to Pretoria closely follows the visit of his deputy, Mr Frank Wisner, to Maputo, Cape Town and Luanda late last month.

Mr Wisner received some new terms on a Cuban withdrawal.

Sources said the Angolan message will clarify its position on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from that country subject to South Africa's implementation of United Nations Resolution 435.

Dr Crocker's visit should restore momentum to the Namibian settlement efforts.

Sources said Pretoria was keen to have another meeting with the Angolans and Americans.

Diplomatic sources say one South African intention is to draw up a technical co-operation agreement with Luanda, specifically concerning the Ruacana-Calueque hydroelectric scheme.

U.S.

SA to pull ⁽⁵⁾ out of ^{S. Times} Angola ^{10/2/85} soon?

By BRIAN POTTINGER and
WIM VANVOLSEM

A SOUTH AFRICAN withdrawal from south Angola — delayed for more than a year because of diplomatic and military stumbling blocks — is now imminent.

Broad hints of the withdrawal emerged yesterday after talks between South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker in Pretoria.

Dr Crocker told newsmen, after eight hours of talks, that a withdrawal of the joint monitoring commission, which has an element of South African troops, could be achieved soon.

Contained

The hint of a withdrawal has been given added substance by a statement by Mr Botha, at the same Press conference, that it believes Swapo's current southward thrust might be contained.

At the same time it has been confirmed that the United States government liaison office in Windhoek — set up at the time of the Angolan-South African agreement to withdraw from Angola — has been closed.

This strengthens speculation that the South African pull-out might be imminent.

Mr Botha and Dr Crocker will meet again in Cape Town for further discussions.

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Angola: SA out soon?

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The complete withdrawal of South African troops from Angola seemed imminent at the weekend following talks between the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker. The withdrawal, which started after the signing of the Lusaka Accord between South Africa and Angola in Lusaka in February last year, is stalled at Ngiva, about 40km from Angola's border with SWA/Namibia. Dr Crocker said after the talks: "We hope the agreement on disengagement will soon be totally complete."

Referring to the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC), on which both South African and Angolan delegates serve and which is supervising the withdrawal, Mr Botha said: "We trust it will be possible to complete disengagement."

Dr Crocker is scheduled to have further talks in Cape Town today with Mr Botha and several of his cabinet colleagues.

At the last round of talks between South Africa and the United States on the SWA-Angola issue in November, Angolan proposals for the withdrawal of Cuban forces from its territory were discussed.

South Africa, which has set withdrawal of Cuban troops as a precondition to implementation of the United Nations peace plan for SWA/Namibia, responded with

its own counter-proposals for the Cuban withdrawal.

The South African proposals seek to synchronize the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola with the UN plan to reduce South African troops in SWA/Namibia to 1500, confined to two bases, within a matter of weeks.

The Angolan proposals envisage a reduced but still substantial Cuban presence of 15 000 troops in Luanda, and territory to the north of it, for at least three years.

Mr Botha acknowledged at the weekend that the Cuban question had been the key issue in his talks with Dr Crocker. He did not elaborate. Dr Crocker reiterated that the US wanted to see all foreign troops, but particularly the Cubans, withdrawn from Southern Africa.

There appears to have been little movement since the last JMC meeting at Ngiva on November 19.

Mr Botha is understood to have briefed Dr Crocker on his talks on Friday with the Mozambican Minister of National Security, Dr Sergio Vieira.

At Friday's talks, which took place at a scheduled meeting of the joint SA-Mozambique security commission, Dr Vieira presented documentation of purported violations, emanating from South Africa, of the Nkomati Accord.

Mr Botha said he believed "elements" in South Africa had supplied MNR rebels with assistance, but added that there was no evidence that their activities had been sanctioned by South African authorities. The allegations would be investigated, Mr Botha said.

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America expects Angola troops to go soon

WASHINGTON — America expects the South African troop withdrawal from Angola to be completed soon, says a State Department spokesman. If this expectation is realized, it will be an important step forward in the Namibia independence efforts.

It could bring the negotiations significantly closer to the crucial issue of the timing and scale of a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

By Gerald L'Ange,
The Star Bureau

Disagreement over the Cuban troop issue is believed to be the major obstacle in the way of implementing the Namibia peace plan in Security Council Resolution 435.

The State Department asserts that America is closing its liaison office in Windhoek not because it sees no immediate prospect of the South African troop withdrawal being completed but because it thinks this will happen soon.

The office was set up to liaise between Angolans and South Africans over the disengagement of their forces in southern Angola.

It closes on February 15 because, said the State Department spokesman, the objectives of the Lusaka agreement under which it was set up had essentially been achieved.

“Most important,” he added, “the violence that prevailed between Angola and South Africa until February 1984 was ended and replaced by 12 months of peace and practical co-operation.”

“After one year in Windhoek we depart in confidence that this relationship we have helped to foster among the parties will continue and that the long-awaited completion of the disengagement is near.”

Nevertheless, he added, America would maintain office facilities in Windhoek. “We intend to keep open the possibility of reactivating the liaison office should events require us to do so,” said the spokesman.

The spokesman did not elaborate on what events would prompt the reopening of the office. One likely reason would be the implementation of Resolution 435. There is no strong evidence here, however, that agreement is near on the Cuban troop withdrawal issue that is blocking the independence plan.

The announcement of the closing of the Windhoek office coincides with the visit to South Africa by Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa. No confirmation has been available of reports that Dr Crocker took to South Africa new proposals for breaking the Cuban troop deadlock.

Savimbi — crucial to any Angolan solution

Defence Correspondent

DR JONAS SAVIMBI, who has just paid a visit to Cape Town to talk with Dr Chester Crocker, has always been the ghost at the Angolan disengagement feast.

A ghost, moreover, that none of the parties concerned in the disengagement process are able to exorcise by any means other than granting him recognition as probably the only man who can stop the Angolan civil war in the short term.

Officially, Dr Savimbi and his Unita movement do not feature in the Joint Monitoring Commission's activities.

'Non-Angolan' combatants

The JMC's carefully delineated brief is to oversee and effect the withdrawal from Southern Angola of all *non-Angolan* combatants — meaning Cubans, South Africans and Swapo insurgents.

This formula carefully avoids all mention of the Unita insurgents, even though they are vitally concerned with the withdrawal in two ways:

- Unita controls the south-eastern corner of Angola, immediately east of the area which is being monitored; and in fact thousands of conventionally-trained Swapo troops virtually seconded to Angolan government service are permanently deployed along the upper fringes of the monitoring area to guard against a Unita encroachment out of the Cuando-Cubango province.

- From its "liberated zone" in the Cuando-Cubango province, Unita operates in many parts of south-western

Angola — including presumably, parts of the monitoring area — and would be reluctant to wind down its elusive but very real operations against the Angolan government forces simply because of a disengagement process in which it is not involved.

On numerous occasions Dr Savimbi has stated — correctly — that the situation in Angola cannot be settled or resolved without his participation.

Cuban linkage

Yet without his co-operation, a South West African/Namibian settlement is not really viable, since he is the reason why Luanda will not dispense with the Cuban troops — while South Africa insists on a Cuban-SWA/Namibian "linkage".

At the same time, the Angolans are reluctant to accord Dr Savimbi public recognition by openly negotiating with him or otherwise involving him.

This is obviously what this week's talks with Dr Crocker have been about.

Guarded statements from Mr Pik Botha at the weekend indicate that Dr Crocker has exerted pressure on the Angolans to be more enthusiastic about controlling Swapo movements southwards for the purpose of infiltration into the SWA/Namibian operational area.

Now Dr Crocker has tackled the long-ignored third factor in the Angolan equation. If he succeeded in persuading Dr Savimbi to do his bidding, it might have a vital effect on the Angolan situation — and on events in SWA/Namibia.

Press is limited

WASHINGTON — South Africa's Press remains a vital channel of communication in South Africa and with the world, says the human rights report.

But, it adds, Press freedom is increasingly circumscribed.

The report says the Press, basically white-owned, continues to be a vigorous critic of the Government.

But legal restrictions on the coverage of certain topics is increasing. So is voluntary self-regulation.

The report notes that the Media Council, created in 1983, has upheld the principle of self-censorship in reporting.

It says the Government has restricted the areas on which the Press may report.

"In addition," adds the report, "the Government takes action to suppress Press activities, including banning newspapers and journalists." — The Star Bureau.

Apology on Angola

WASHINGTON — America's State Department moved swiftly yesterday to clarify the official report that appeared to link South African forces in Angola with arbitrary execution of prisoners.

A senior State Department official emphasised that there was no intention to create an impression that South African forces might have executed prisoners.

The reference was, in fact, to Angola's internal parties, he said.

The report's section on Angola says: "The intensified civil war in Angola has resulted in numerous allegations that MPLA, Unita and South African forces have killed civilians and that the MPLA and Unita have executed political prisoners.

"While there is little specific substantiation of claims and counter-claims, circumstantial evidence indicates that all the parties have on some occasions arbitrarily executed prisoners."

Does America think

The Star Bureau

South African forces, have done that?

Mr Elliot Abrams, President Ronald Reagan's chief spokesman on human rights, said the report had not been prepared by his own staff because America had no diplomatic relations with Angola.

The report, he added, was based on information available to American Embassies in the region and the State Department's Africa Bureau.

Later, a State Department spokesman said the phrase "all the parties" was intended to mean the internal parties in Angola such as the MPLA and Unita.

"It was not meant to include the South African forces," he added.

The report offers a bleak picture of conditions inside Angola.

It says that though Angola is potentially one of Africa's richest countries its economy has been severely damaged by attempts to transform it into a socialist country in the midst of civil war.

"The intensification of the fighting," adds the report, "has devastated the country's infrastructure and has forced the Government to divert most of its assets to the military.

"It has made virtually impossible further economic development except the exploitation of offshore oil resources which Unita has not attacked to date.

"Payments to the Eastern bloc for military equipment and for the Cuban combat troops have become a heavy burden on the economy.

"Although thousands of civilian Cuban and East European advisers are working in technical and professional positions Angola still faces a critical shortage of skilled manpower."

The report says some 200 000 to 500 000 people in central, eastern and southern Angola have been displaced as a result of the civil strife and drought and that they are suffering from severe malnutrition and, in many cases, starvation.

Housing worsens

WASHINGTON — South Africa's housing shortage continues to worsen and blacks are the hardest hit, says the human rights report.

It publishes a South African Government estimate that almost 120 000 housing units will have to be built each year in white South Africa to overcome the shortage within 10 years ... and 52 000 units a year are needed for blacks.

"The situation in the homelands is worse," the report says, "yet the amount spent on housing in South Africa dropped from 2,7 percent of gross domestic product in 1970 to 2,3 percent in 1980."

The report notes that a one-year programme to sell 500 000 Government-owned houses, mostly occupied by Africans, at discounts of up to 40 percent has been extended by another year to July 1985. — The Star Bureau.

Troops pledged against rebels

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Three former Portuguese colonies will send troops to aid Maputo and Luanda in their fight against "escalating insurgencies", says Portugal's state-run Radio Comercial.

In a special African affairs programme the radio claimed yesterday that Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome undertook to send troops to Mozambique and Angola at a summit meeting of the five Portuguese-speaking African states two weeks ago.

AGREEMENT

Radio Comercial, citing unidentified sources at the five-nation summit, said agreement on the military aid was reached at the Sao Tome meeting but had been removed from the official announcement.

The radio did not say how many soldiers were involved or when they would be sent. But sources at the radio station said the allied troops would be a "symbolic number of about 2 000" and would be on their way soon.

The sources suggested the move was aimed more at international public opinion than at making any real difference to Angola's fight with Unita and Mozambique's battle against the MNR.

333 die in heavy fighting

Luanda under threat as Unita steps up attacks

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Unita, underlining its threat to advance on Angola's capital, Luanda, claimed yesterday to have seized a garrison north of the city, downed two Soviet-supplied aircraft and killed 316 soldiers, including 31 Cubans, in an 11-day period.

And Western observers here believe that Dr Jonas Savimbi's group may be in the process of encircling the city.

CAPTURING

Unita also claimed that it destroyed 25 vehicles and a military freight train on the northern Malange line on Friday, killing 38 railway guards and capturing "great quantities of war material and equipment".

The military supplies were destined for the Cuban-supported 81st Brigade stationed in Malange, east of Luanda, which was hit by the rebels in a separate operation the same day.

In operations between February 14-24, the rebels suffered 17 dead, 31 wounded and nine missing, Unita's new chief-of-staff, General Alberto Joaquim Chendovava, said.

downed a Soviet-built transport plane and helicopter gunship in the fighting but provided no dates, locations or other details.

The garrison Unita claimed to have overrun on Saturday was at Mandimba in the extreme north-western Zaire Province. About 46 soldiers were killed and "much war material" seized.

Zaire Province — an offshore oil-producing zone — lies north of the capital and some 400 km north of the rebels' traditional operational areas, observers here said.

"Unita seems to be successfully enveloping the capital," one Western diplomatic source said.

Since last year Dr Savimbi has been threatening to take his nine-year-old war into the streets of Luanda if the Cuban-backed regime of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos refuses to negotiate a settlement for a government of "national reconciliation" followed by general elections.

In the past four months, Unita has carried out a series of confirmed sabotage attacks against Luanda's power facilities and on at least two villages within a 100 km radius of the capital.

Luanda denies Unita shot down Boeing

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Unita insurgents and Angolan officials traded contradictory claims yesterday over the fate of a Boeing 737 which the rebels say they downed last week, killing everyone aboard.

Luanda said the Angolan TAAG airliner only suffered a minor accident at the city of Lubango.

If the guerilla claim is confirmed, it would be the third possible downing of a TAAG Boeing 737 by Dr Jonas Savimbi's forces in 16 months.

A six-line Unita statement distributed in Lisbon said rebels downed the Boeing on take-off for Luanda, 650 km to the north, six days ago.

Contradicting Unita several hours later, the director general of TAAG, Mr Carlos Fernandes, said only a minor accident had taken place.

LOST POWER

Mr Fernandes said the jet lost power at take-off and swerved from the runway, damaging its landing gear but causing no injuries.

Other reports reaching Lisbon from Angola cited "official sources" as saying the plane carried 150 people and that Unita was using the slight air accident for "propaganda purposes".

The Boeing's pilot, identified only as a Portuguese named Sousa, reportedly gave a Press conference in Angola, where he said the accident was due to "bad weather".

Diplomatic observers in Lisbon noted, however, that while Unita tended to claim responsibility for "all major (air and railroad) accidents" in Angola, Luanda always explained them in terms of "technical" problems.

The observers said Unita had long been armed with Sam-7 ground-to-air missiles and that two other recent TAAG Boeing "accidents" were never fully clarified.

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5/3/87

Record
'kill' rate (5)
— Uniform

By Sue Leeman
Pretoria Bureau

Security forces in Namibia have killed a total of 153 Swapo guerillas since the beginning of this year — a record "kill" rate according to the South African Army magazine *Uniform*.

The publication said 23 Swapo insurgents had been killed in the third week of February alone.

According to *Uniform*, one member of the SADF and five soldiers with the South West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF) had been killed in operations during the period.

Four civilians had been wounded when Swapo launched mortar attacks on kraals in the Ongwedwa area.

^{Star}
Namibia-Angola border
declared a 'security area'

5/3/85
The Star Bureau

WINDHOK — Namibia's entire northern border region with Angola and Zambia has been declared a "security area" and access prohibited unless in possession of a police permit. This was announced today by Lieutenant General A J C Gouws, territory police chief, at a Press conference here.

Also included in the new security areas — which become effective on March 11 — is a large slice of Namibia's eastern frontier with Botswana.

General Gouws said that in terms of the 1977 proclamation on declaring certain parts of the territory security areas, the Administrator-General, Dr Willem van Niekerk, had decided that Kakoland, Ovambo, Kavangoland and the eastern Caprivi on Namibia's northern borders should be declared security areas.

In addition the Bushmanland and Hereoland east regions on the eastern border with Botswana would also become security areas on March 11.

As of that date it will be an offence for any non-resident of any of the areas to either be in, or to enter, the restricted areas.

In the north the total security area stretches for over 1 000 kms and averaged about 130 km wide. In the east it runs for about 450 kms. The size of the land involved in the proclamation is just less than 25 percent of Namibia's total land area.

General Gouws said that the proclamation of the security areas would be strictly enforced with heavy penalties for those found in the regions without the necessary permit. "The aim of the proclamation is first and foremost to ensure the safety of the public."

He added that too many people were wandering around in unsafe areas and that the security forces could no longer guarantee their safety. The proclamation will not affect those people normally resident in the areas.

As soon as Swapo stopped its guerilla war, the proclamation would be lifted.

(5) star 12/3/85

Angolan rebels will release 22 United States, British and Filipino captives on Thursday, two-and-a-half months after they were captured at a diamond mining complex, a Red Cross spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross in South Africa, who asked not to be named, said the captives would be flown from Jamba, the rebels' bush headquarters in south-eastern Angola, to Johannesburg.

The Americans are Mr Alan Bongard (56) of Pleasanton, Cal-

Unita to release 22 captives from Jamba

ifornia, and Mr Gerhart Opel (53) of Washington State. The Britons are Mr Paul Huggins (25), Mr Glenn Dixon and Mr John McMichael.

Mr Opel piloted a Hercules cargo plane operated by Transamerica Airlines of Oakland, California, which was reported heavily damaged by rebel fire on a landing strip at Cafunfo on

December 29. Mr Bongard was flight engineer and Mr Huggins was cargo supervisor.

American Mr William Reed was said to have been flight officer on the plane but was not reported captured in the guerilla assault by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

Mr Dixon and Mr McMichael

were identified as mining technicians. The Filipinos were believed to have worked at Cafunfo, near the Zaire border and 350 km north-east of Luanda.

The captives arrived at the rebels' headquarters recently after a 1 000km trek across country, most of it on foot. Unita said they were in good health.

Unita has often captured foreign workers and has held them at Jamba pending arrangements with the Red Cross or foreign governments for their release. — Sapa-Associated Press.

US death in Angola accepted

Star 14/3/85
By Andrew Walker

An American airman missing since Angolan rebels attacked a diamond mining complex last December is believed to be dead, US diplomats said today.

Mr William Reed, first officer of a Transamerica Airlines Hercules transport aircraft, was apparently badly wounded during the Unita raid at the Cafunfo centre near the Zaire border, 350 km north-east of Luanda.

He is now believed to be dead, said US diplomats in Pretoria and Cape Town.

They had no information on whether he died during the attack or later from his wounds.

Unconfirmed reports from Angola last month said an incinerated body was found in the wreckage of the Hercules.

● See page 19.

⑤ Star 14/3/85
Angola to lose defence chief

LONDON — Angolan Defence Minister Colonel Pedro Maria Tonha will soon abandon his post to take a military course in an Eastern European country for promotion to general, it is reported here. It is believed he will be replaced by Colonel Nda Lu.França, the armed forces chief of staff and commander of the Presidential Guard. — The Star Bureau.

Unita is using its foreign captives as 'ammunition'

By Andrew Walker

Western diplomats and South African military observers say that Angolan rebels are using foreign captives as "ammunition" in a three-pronged assault on the Angolan Government.

The latest group of 22 captives is due to be handed to the Red Cross in southern Angola today and is expected at Jan Smuts Airport in Johan-

nesburg by Saturday. In the past three years Unita has captured, and later released, more than 150 foreign hostages.

The scheduled release of two Americans, three Britons and 17 Filipinos follows their capture during a raid by National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebels on December 29.

They have been matched more than 1,000 km in what has become Unita's "Propagan-

da Trail" through the Angolan bush. The trail ends at Jan Smuts Airport with the repatriation of the captives to consular officials via a Red Cross flight from the rebel headquarters at Jamba in southern Angola.

Diplomats and military experts told 24 Hours that the capture and eventual release of foreigners was being used by Unita to gain international recognition for the rebels as

a major pro-Western force in a civil war against the Marxist Government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Present Unita's image as being that of a disciplined fighting force by returning captives unharmed.

Stop foreigners providing badly needed skilled labour and specialist knowledge for the running of Angola's vital mining and oil complexes.

A Western diplomat, who did not wish to be identified, said: "Unita is trying to tell the world that there is a major civil war going on in Angola and that Unita is a force. Its object is to get out of the country the foreign technicians whose skills are badly needed to help earn the money to pay Angola's Cuban forces."

Another diplomat said in Pretoria that Unita's capture campaign gives them a chance to get their story across to the world.

He pointed out that some captives had been released at Jamba amid a glare of international publicity.

In briefings at Jamba for the Press, Dr Savimbi has also claimed that some captives, particularly foreign churchmen, had to be taken by Unita if caught up in attacks or they would be killed by Angolan forces in an attempt to discredit the rebels.

Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, said that, by capturing foreigners, Unita had made the British and Czechoslovakian Governments talk to the rebel movement on its own ground.

"Basically it is concerned with the idea of publicity."

Where foreigners had been caught up in the Angolan conflict, Unita had been careful not to injure them, he said.

420 16/3/85

Unita claims bomber shot down

LISBON — Angolan rebels said yesterday they had shot down a government MiG-21 fighter-bomber — but the Government said the plane had crashed. Unita said from Lisbon that rebel anti-aircraft fire hit the plane on Tuesday, three kilometres from Bie, destroying the plane and killing a Cuban pilot. Angop said a MiG-21 crashed near Bie when the pilot was attempting “a difficult manoeuvre”, and identified the dead pilot as an Angolan. — Sapa-Associated Press.

(5)

~~SECRET~~ D. Disputes 10/3/85

Soviet-Cuban rift over Angola?

LONDON — Soviet-Cuban tension over a possible rapprochement between South Africa and Angola could be behind Cuban President Fidel Castro's absence from President Konstantin Chernenko's funeral in Moscow this week.

This is the view of Western diplomats specialising in Soviet-Cuban relations and fol-

lows evidence in recent months of a rift between Moscow and Havana

Dr Castro sent his brother, Raoul, to the Chernenko funeral and the Cuban president was also absent from the government delegation sent to sign a condolence book at the Soviet embassy in Havana.

Western reports from Moscow said the Soviet

Union was "entangled in complex problems in Southern African and Central American with Cuba the middle-man in each case."

They said Moscow was opposed to Angola's efforts to establish better ties with South Africa — while it was not clear what stand was being taken on the issue by Cuba, whose troops

are in the field backing Angola.

The Angolan and Soviet Foreign Ministers, joined by Cuban specialists on Southern African affairs, held recent consultations in Moscow, according to the official Soviet news agency, Tass.

Diplomats believe the talks were aimed at settling policy differences.

D. Aspat
**Angolan battle
wins claimed
by both sides**

LISBON — The Angolan Government and the rebel group, Unita, both claimed battle victories in reports monitored here yesterday.

A Unita statement claimed the rebel group's forces killed 127 government troops and supporting Cuban regulars in three actions this month in Moxico, Benguela and Kwanza-Norte provinces — which included successful attacks on two military supply trains.

A dispatch from Luanda, the capital, carried by the state-run news agency, Angop, quoted unidentified military officials as saying government forces killed 17 Unita guerillas in two actions on March 4 and 5 in Bie and Luanda-Norte provinces.

According to the Unita

note, the rebels attacked trains escorting government and Cuban troops on March 1 in Moxico, a government force in Benguela on March 15 and a battalion of the 81st Brigade — accompanied by a company of Cuban soldiers — in Kwanza-Norte on March 14.

Both the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita restrict travel by foreigners throughout the country, rendering independent verification of either side's claims impossible. — SAPA-AP

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students
may be**

On eve of new talks, Unita claims 127 troops killed

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Unita, attacking on the eve of renewed US-Angolan negotiations, said yesterday its forces had destroyed two military freight trains and killed 127 soldiers, including 20 Cubans, in fighting between March 1 and 15 in three provinces.

The guerilla claims came as US envoy Dr Chester Crocker ended "positive" talks with an Angolan delegation on the Cape

Verde Islands on Monday over the linked issues of Namibian independence and withdrawal of Cuban forces supporting Luanda.

No details of the two-day discussions aimed at reviving negotiations with Pretoria were made public.

In a communique, Unita said it had captured "enormous quantities of war material" when guerillas destroyed two army freight trains on March 1 near Luena, the capital of east-

ern Moxico province.

Unita killed 13 Cubans and 48 Angolan soldiers in the attacks, it said.

The communique, signed by the rebels' chief of staff, Brigadier Alberto Joaquim Chendovava, also said rebel units struck two other targets a fortnight later in Benguela and north Kwanza provinces, killing 66 soldiers, including seven Cubans.

It made no reference to guerilla casualties.

20/3/85 Star

5 Star 21/3/85

Angop claims deaths of 17 Unita guerillas

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — The Angolan army yesterday claimed it had captured "a great quantity" of war material and killed 17 Unita guerillas in operations between March 4 and 5 in highland Bie and eastern and north Lunda provinces.

In a monitored dispatch the State-owned Angop news agency cited "official military sources" as saying troops killed 17 Unita "puppets" in the two provinces and seized "a great quantity of weapons and war material".

Angop also said "one more (rebel) soldier" surrendered on March 3 in north Kwanza province, north-east of the capital, Luanda.

The Angop dispatch was monitored in Lisbon 24 hours after Dr Jonas Savimbi's insurgents claimed the destruction of two army freight trains and the killing or capture of 130 soldiers, including 20 Cubans, in three other provinces in actions between March 1 and 15. There was no independent confirmation of either claims.

Savimbi safe in his hideaway

By ARIK BACHAR of Reuter, in Jamba, southern Angola

ANGOLA'S Unita rebel movement is entering its 20th year of struggle, confident it is winning the battle against Luanda's Marxist regime.

Unita founder Dr Jonas Savimbi, who turned his sights on the leftists who took power in the vast Southern African state after independence from Portugal in 1975, believes his campaign is becoming increasingly painful for the MPLA Government.

But military experts

say the nine-year-old civil war, after 10 years of fighting the Portuguese, has impoverished what could be a rich country and may not result in victory for either side while some 25 000 Cuban troops remain to help the Government.

Dr Savimbi, 50, who studied medicine in Portugal and politics in Switzerland, has proved to be a master of guerilla

warfare as well as a public relations wizzard able to sustain world interest in a war which could have been long forgotten.

Dr Savimbi told a group of foreign reporters who visited his remote headquarters in the southern Angolan bush last week that despite the impressive military force he has built up, he intended to maintain guerilla tactics rather than turn to conventional warfare.

The main feature of Dr Savimbi's battle, waged by an estimated 30 000 disciplined fighters, has been a campaign of sabotage aimed at crippling Luanda's economy.

Dr Savimbi said his men still controlled the northern diamond mining town of Kafunfu three months after overwhelming Government defences in a battle which, according to foreigners taken prisoner at the scene, highlighted Unita's efficiency.

Briton Mr Greg Huggins, one of 22 prisoners released by Dr Savimbi last week, said the Unita battalion took the mine complex within two hours despite an elaborate system of trench defences.

"When it comes to toughness and stamina, they (Unita guerillas) are

a breed of their own," he said, describing how the prisoners barely managed to finish a gruelling 600 kilometre trek from Kafunfu to Jamba while their captors took it in their stride, carrying heavy loads balanced on their heads.

Dr Savimbi said his army controlled a third of the country and operated in most of the provinces under Government rule. But a concerted attack on the capital, Luanda, which he predicted last year, has not materialised.

Dr Savimbi, in an immaculately pressed general's uniform, said he was applying guerilla pressure on the countryside around the capital and expected up to two million refugees to flood into the city. "Some of those people will be Unita men," he said.

Morale seems to be high in Jamba, a sprawling complex of thatched dwellings and public buildings serving some 10 000 people — fighters and their families.

Power lines provide light throughout the camp and offer a cool beer to the weary traveller after hours in a bone-rattling in aged military truck racing along dirt tracks.

For an African guerilla leader cut off from the outside world by vast expanses of wilderness, Dr Savimbi has developed sophisticated ways of attracting representatives of major international media organisations.

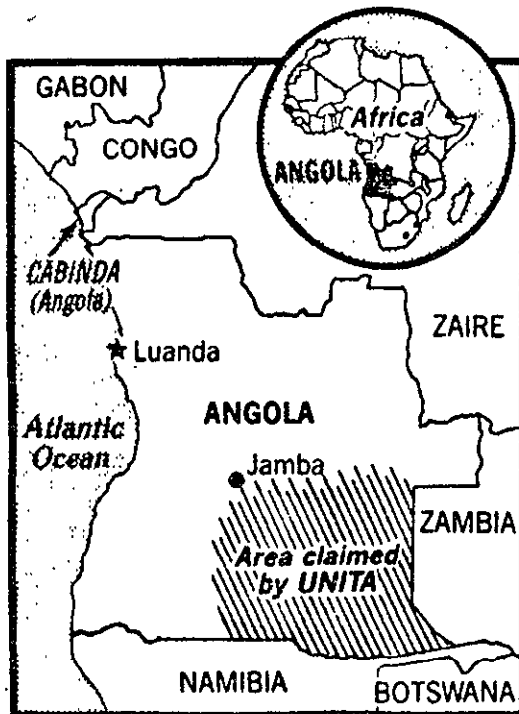
The formula works thus: abduct a few foreigners and bring them south to Jamba. Then fly in the reporters and Unita remains under the international spotlight.

Dr Savimbi says that by taking foreigners captive he aims to discourage expatriates from helping Luanda's economy. "How can we fight when we leave the enemy's economy flourishing?"

Of the dozens of reporters who have visited the camp, probably not one would be able to pinpoint it on the map after being driven in circles for hours.

An attack by Government forces on Jamba could deal a devastating blow to the organisation, and military experts say Soviet-made MiG-23 fighters recently supplied to the Luanda Government could reach the base.

But Unita officers say the camp is well protected by anti-aircraft weapons. "We can take care of anyone trying to attack Jamba," one said.





Dr Chester Crocker . . . possibility of a "higher level meeting".

Pretoria Correspondent

President Reagan's chief Africa envoy, Dr Chester Crocker, left Johannesburg for Washington last night having presented a package of proposals to the South African and Angolan governments aimed at accelerating Namibian independence.

Both sides, he said, would be seriously studying the package which is designed to bridge the gap between them and meet concerns of both parties, which met in Cape Verde last week and in Cape Town on Thursday.

He declined to categorise their responses but held out the prospect that further meetings could take place in the next few weeks at which further "comments, views, problems and proposals" would be presented.

"If they do this we may have the basis to accelerate the process for Namibian independence," Dr Crocker said.

He emphasised, though, that this called for flexibility on both sides

Crocker leaves ⁵ proposal package ^{Staw} for SA, Angola ¹⁰⁰

Dr Crocker listed some of the components of the package:

- Withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, but not, he emphasised, total prior withdrawal as a precondition.
- Implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence.
- Respect for the territorial integrity of both Angola and Namibia.

He said there was "a mood in this region towards getting some problems solved", and defended his optimism on the US-

led peace initiatives here.

On South Africa's final withdrawal of forces from Angola, which he described as imminent last month, Dr Crocker cited the possibility of a "higher-level meeting" to finalise this process.

He made scathing comments about the Namibian multi-party conference's latest bid at an internal solution, saying that internal institutions were "of no consequence to an international settlement", and that the South African Government knew this.

9 S. Star 24/3/85

Unita saboteurs cause blackouts in Luanda

SunStar Correspondent

LISBON — Unita saboteurs blacked out Luanda for most of two days after striking the Angolan capital's main Cambambe power lines on Thursday, the State-owned Angop news agency reported.

The attack on the city's power was the third such blow officially confirmed by Angolan authorities in the past six months.

Unita, led by Dr Jonas Savimbi, has claimed five previous strikes against Luanda's power facilities. Unita spokesmen in Lisbon, however, were not available for comment on the report.

Angop, acting unusually by reporting the sabotage before it was claimed by the rebels, said saboteurs

deprived the capital for some hours of its normal supply of electric power on Thursday and Friday.

Angop said the guerillas had struck the power line near the village of Maria Teresa, 130 km south-east of Luanda.

But "the prompt intervention of defence and security forces neutralised the counter-revolutionary group and kept the criminal action from assuming greater proportions," Angop said.

Cambambe's 200 km of high tension lines are reportedly protected by minefields.

Angop's brief dispatch, monitored in Lisbon on Friday, said Luanda's one-million residents were being advised by radio to limit their consumption of electricity.

'Take it or leave it' plan from Crocker

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, is believed to have presented a take-it-or-leave-it plan to South Africa and the Luanda Government on the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola.

Quoting diplomatic sources, Dan van der Vat of *The Guardian* writes that the US Government has decided to force the issue of independence for Namibia after four years of frustration of its "constructive engagement" policy in the region.

The report says the plan takes the form of a written draft compromise agreement and, therefore, marks a departure from previous oral efforts to nudge the two sides closer and resolve their differences about the pace and extent of a Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

More significant still, says the report, is that Dr Crocker told both sides he would like a reply by Easter.

The sources made it clear that, in the event of a negative reply, the whole question of continued US mediation in Southern Africa would come under review.

It adds that the American demarche was made during Dr Crocker's latest round of shuttle diplomacy during which he had talks with an Angolan delegation in the Cape Verde Islands and then went to South Africa with the proposals.

Dr Crocker's move, says the report, reflects increasing impatience in Washington with the "years of procrastination by South Africa".

'Take it or leave it' plan from Crocker

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SA mooted invasion of Luanda

LONDON — *The Economist* of London, the highly respected news magazine, claims that in 1983 South African military Intelligence wanted to invade Luanda and put Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in power.

Political editor Simon Jenkins says a second "even wilder" operation was also mooted "in case the Russians shipped the Cubans from Luanda to open a second front in Mozambique".

This involved a sudden strike into Maputo in collusion with the MNR (the Mozambique Na-

tional Resistance movement).

"A furious running argument is known to have broken out in the State Security Council between the hawks and the Chief of the Army, General Jannie Geldenhuys, over the operational feasibility — indeed the sanity — of this plan," says Jenkins.

He adds: "Geldenhuys is believed to have threatened to resign and take the political platform against his colleagues. Mr P W Botha, who normally sides

with the hawks, this time opted for Geldenhuys and caution.

"Operation Askari, launched with 10 000 troops on December 6 1983, had as an operational option the capture of the provincial military headquarters at Lubango. At some stage in its planning it was also seen as a possible basis for a full assault on Luanda.

"Soviet satellite reconnaissance monitored the manoeuvres leading to Askari. Russian

diplomats at the United Nations ... bluntly warned South Africa's Ambassador to the United Nations that any attempt by a South African column to challenge Cuban defence positions would not be tolerated."

Jenkins also made the point that Unita was now threatening the Cabinda oil enclave.

"America buys \$600 million (about R1 200 million) of Cabinda's oil each year. Gulf Oil

Confront economic apartheid, says journal

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Incompetent policemen, not evil communists, are the recruiting sergeants of rebellion.

This, according to *The Economist* news magazine, is the lesson Afrikaners have to learn.

But disinvestment will not work, it says. The answer lies in reapplying constructive engagement.

And this should be made more

"intrusive" to confront economic apartheid directly.

In an indication of international concern at events in South Africa, *The Economist* this week devotes its main editorial and 16 pages to South Africa.

The editorial says the Uitenhage shootings should remind the world that "South Africa's security machine is not the shield behind which reform is being expedited".

Instead, "it is an ever-higher

stockade, lulling Afrikaners into a belief that real reform can be postponed".

It adds: "South Africa is still unlikely to erupt into full-scale civil war. Those who react to every riot and act of repression by predicting holocaust are wrong. They tease black South Africans with a false dawn and distort Western policies intended to confront apartheid.

"The latest distortion is the current disinvestment and sanc-

tions campaign in America.

"Sanctions would probably strengthen the isolationist strain in Afrikanerdom and its conviction that it stands alone against an ungodly world. It would not break the economy, though it would make life a little harder."

The Economist said it disagreed with sanctions.

"It's hard to argue that constructive engagement, pursued by the American Government since 1981, has achieved very

Will constructive engagement fail?

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Boycott, ostracism and public dissociation are the enemies of freedom in South Africa, concludes *The Economist* in a major analysis of US-South African relations.

Political Editor Simon Jenkins says constructive engagement is about to fail, but believes it should be reflat and made more effective.

He argues that this year it is Dr Chester Crocker, rather than Afrikanerdom, who appears trapped in a laager.

Analysing the conflict in Namibia, Angola and Mozambique he says: "Who knows if the crude *realpolitik* of southern Africa might not have resolved some of this mess had America not chosen to raise expectations but simply stayed away."

The cover story, headlined "Fighting Apartheid", says Dr Chester Crocker has over-promised and under-delivered.

"The version which Mr Crocker brought to Africa is riddled with contradictions. Half his crusade, to rid southern Africa of Russian influence, requires victory for Pax Pretoriana as the force for anti-communist stability in the region.

"The other half, undermining apartheid in South Africa, involves destabilising the stabiliser.

"The fact of Mr Crocker's mission has made it harder for the Russians to withdraw from Angola and is probably making it harder for Mr P W Botha to confront his right wing over apartheid.

"Constructive engagement was a noble ideology, but as a policy of intervention it is running short of friends.

"The grim truth is that the dead outside Uitenhage will probably do more to reform police practices than any demonstration on Massachusetts Avenue.

"It was the sort of recklessness which frightens the Afrikaner elite.

"No government which has recently introduced a racially classified parliament, segregated local government and a segregated welfare state can seriously expect the world to believe it is intent on dismantling apartheid.

What appears to be happening is that the rigidities of Verwoerdian apartheid are being discarded as unworkable.

"Neo-apartheid is alive and well, and is in the process of constant redefinition.

"Wherever the pressure of internal events — strikes, squatting, school boycotts — becomes too great, Afrikanerdom concedes some ground and lives to fight another day.

"Observers of South African politics find it hard to detect any influence on such a survival strategy from overseas action.

"For all the brutality and indiscipline of their police, they are still far from losing control of the process of change.

"Its present rulers have survived a quarter century since Sharpeville and will probably survive a quarter century from Uitenhage. If American liberals want to turn their backs on them, so be it."

(234) Star - 25/3/83
ed invasion of Luanda in '83'

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diplomats at the United Nations ... bluntly warned South Africa's Ambassador to the United Nations that any attempt by a South African column to challenge Cuban defence positions would not be tolerated."

Jenkins also made the point that Unita was now threatening the Cabinda oil enclave.

"America buys \$600 million (about R1 200 million) of Cabinda's oil each year. Gulf Oil,

which operates Cabinda, is thus effectively financing the (ruling) MPLA to pay the Cubans to protect its installations against capitalist-backed guerillas.

"There is no end to the ironies of modern Africa," says Jenkins.

"The (Cuban) policy is cheap. The Cubans are in effect paid for by the West through its trade. The longer the Cubans stay, the more likely the collapse of linkage and a bloody

economic **The Economist**, says journal

stockade, lulling Afrikaners into a belief that real reform can be postponed."

It adds: "South Africa is still unlikely to erupt into full-scale civil war. Those who react to every riot and act of repression by predicting holocaust are wrong. They tease black South Africans with a false dawn and distort Western policies intended to confront apartheid.

"The latest distortion is the current disinvestment and sanc-

tions campaign in America.

"Sanctions would probably strengthen the isolationist strain in Afrikanerdom and its conviction that it stands alone against an ungodly world. It would not break the economy, though it would make life a little harder."

The Economist said it disagreed with sanctions.

"It's hard to argue that constructive engagement, pursued by the American Government since 1981, has achieved very

much. Its ineffectiveness has disillusioned South African blacks. It has comforted the whites, who believe America under President Reagan will always accept apartheid so long as it can be presented as a bulwark against communism.

"Yet it was the overselling of constructive engagement by the Reagan Administration that was wrong, not the concept.

"All the posturings at the United Nations, on Massachusetts Avenue, or in Trafalgar Square have not done half as much for black advancement as the steady industrialisation of South Africa, much of it through foreign capital and foreign managerial contact.

"Such engagement should now be made more intrusive, not neutered by the empty gesture of disinvestment.

"The Sullivan and EEC codes of good employment can be extended to cover all foreign employers in South Africa. If need be, the companies can be denied government contracts back home.

"The aim should be a direct confrontation with economic apartheid: the controls on labour mobility, on black promotion and on housing location.

"The aim is to give blacks the economic confidence to force political concessions out of the Government. This is the proper way to confront apartheid — not just walk away from it."

US 'urged' PW to sign peace accord

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa opted for the Nkomati Accord only after America persuaded police chief General Johan Coetzee that the ANC really would leave, *The Economist* has reported.

Political Editor Simon Jenkins says it was this "significant defection to the cause of settlement that finally converted a sceptical Mr PW Botha to try it".

The settlement, he adds, was tough for Machel and tough for Pretoria's generals.

"Mr Botha summoned General Constand Viljoen and made him personally responsible for seeing that arms to the guerillas ceased."

Jenkins says rumours of a left-wing coup against President Machel are rife. South Africa is believed to have offered him an extraordinary guarantee of personal protection against threats from left and right.

Dr Chester Crocker is said to have flown to Cape Town in February this year to tell the South Africans to help President Machel more.

South Africa is understood to have offered to lend Maputo surveillance equipment to trace the source of alleged supply flights providing rebels with arms.

engagement fail?

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"Its present rulers have survived a quarter century since Sharpeville and will probably survive a quarter century from Uitenhage. If American liberals want to turn their backs on them, so be it."

E. Post 8/4/85

Unita claims successes

LISBON — Angola's Unita rebels said at the weekend they had killed more than 150 Government troops in recent attacks, capturing two military posts and a railway town.

Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) said in a communique issued in Lisbon that one Cuban soldier was also killed and five Angolan soldiers and a Portuguese citizen were captured in raids between March 25 and 31.

In the central province of Bie, the rebels said that on March 25 their forces captured Vouga on the strategic Benguela railway line. A Portuguese citizen was captured.

Government posts at Kassongue in Kuanza Sul province and at Santa Maria in Malange were taken in similar raids, Unita said. It put its own casualties at eight dead and 32 wounded. — Sapa, Reuter

Angola buys flying gunships from France

MG-45
10/6/81
(5)

Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — France has signed a R300-million contract for the sale to Angola of 25 helicopters, including 10 gunships, according to aviation sources here.

It is understood that a delegation from the French firm Aerospatiale returned to Paris at Easter from Angola after signing the contract.

Ten Gazelle and Dauphin-type helicopters will be armoured and equipped with cannon for ground support operations. The contract stipulated delivery of these gunships in the next few weeks. They are ideal for attacking guerrillas.

Policy changed

It is clear that French policy towards Angola has changed in the past nine months for Angolan Air Force commander General Iko Carreira was unable to buy any military aircraft when he came to Paris.

France also told President dos Santos of Angola last year that it was not prepared to extend him financial aid of more than R10-million.

It is not known how the 25 helicopters will be financed, but it is believed that France is extending long-term credit. Eighteen months ago there was a storm here when it was learnt that France was selling 36 helicopters to Angola, claiming they were for oil prospecting and not military purposes.

Not hiding it

In fact some were turned into gunships in Lisbon. Now France is selling military helicopters without trying to hide the fact.

A reliable source said Angola has shown interest in buying fast coastal patrol boats from France.

The Soviet Union is the main supplier of military aircraft to Angola, including MiG fighter-bombers and M-24 troop-carrying helicopters.

Argus 11/4/85

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US report says Soviets may try coup in Angola

A report drawn up by CIA experts provides an unusual analysis of Soviet strategy in Southern Africa, reports NEIL LURSSSEN of The Argus Foreign Service in Washington

THE Soviet Union has watched South African and American diplomatic efforts in Southern Africa with growing concern — and the possibility of a Soviet-inspired coup against the Angolan government cannot be ruled out, according to a new analysis by a Central Intelligence Agency expert.

The willingness of Angolan President Dos Santos to negotiate with the "enemy" without consulting the Soviets, has caused suspicion and friction in Moscow, the report says.

The expert, Mr Peter Clement, an analyst in the office of Soviet Analysis at the CIA, argues that whether or not the Soviet Union will be able to reverse its deteriorating position in the region depends on the actions of the South African Government.

He says that South Africa's Lusaka Agreement with Angola and Nkomati accord with Mozambique have been serious setbacks for Soviet diplomacy — but that the very existence of a white minority Government in Pretoria gives Moscow new opportunities.

These opportunities have been underscored by recent

rioting in South Africa, he argues. "Should Pretoria engage its neighbours in peaceful negotiations, Moscow's position may be challenged further as black regimes move to salvage their own positions.

"On the other hand, if diplomacy fails and Pretoria maintains or increases its policy of destabilisation, initiating a new cycle of tension between itself and the black African states, Moscow's role among the 'frontline' states will be considerably enhanced.

"Thus Soviet opportunities in Southern Africa will depend, to a large degree, on decisions made in Pretoria."

Mr Clement's report has been printed in a US government publication and it is the most detailed analysis of the situation in the region to be published by a CIA official for some time.

In it he contends that the Soviet Union's relations with the Frontline states are shaped by considerations of prestige rather than the Soviet Union's own international security.

However, the fact that these countries have sought closer

ties with the West and with South Africa in recent years has created problems for Moscow and posed questions about its stakes in the Third World.

Mr Clement says that even if the Soviets do stage a coup in Angola and install a leader with closer ties to Moscow, they cannot be certain that it will have the results they want.

This is because of the racial, tribal, ideological and personality complexities in MPLA politics.

Such a coup could cause divisions and tensions that would enhance the position of the Unita rebels — and leave Moscow with even less influence.

"Moreover, a Soviet-sponsored coup attempt aimed at subverting a Namibian accord supported by most Africans could also jeopardise Soviet equities and and credibility throughout black Africa," Mr Clement says.

A coup would not remove the economic and security crisis that led Angola to respond to South African overtures in the first place, and destruction of

the South African-Angolan gains might lead to renewed South African military and diplomatic pressure on Luanda.

If Swapo were to win a Namibian election, the Soviets would probably continue to cultivate Luanda — and turn their attention to independent Namibia for "new opportunities for influence and penetration", he says.

"There exists some evidence that Moscow may be preparing for such an eventuality."

Mr Clement says that the Soviets may be reconsidering their tactics in South Africa itself and taking an interest in groups other than the banned African National Congress.

He says the Soviets have taken an interest in the United Democratic Front and quotes a Soviet journal as describing the UDF as "consonant in many respects" with the ANC programme.

The Russian journal argued that Pretoria has moderated its policies in the region because it had to concentrate on combating the growing liberation struggle within its own borders, Mr Clement notes.

SADF to quit
Cape Times 16/4/85
Angola soon

SOUTH AFRICA will withdraw its remaining military forces from southern Angola by the end of this week, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

He issued a statement saying that the movement of troops would commence as soon as possible despite Swapo's continued activities.

Swapo's main infiltration attempt had been repulsed and it had suffered heavy losses.

"The security of the people of SWA/Namibia will, if necessary, be assured from SWA/Namibia," he said.

Mr Botha said he hoped the gesture would contribute towards peace in the region and facilitate the withdrawal of Cubans from Angola.

There was to have been a ministerial meeting between Angola and South Africa to decide a final date for the Joint Monitoring Commission to move to the SWA/Namibian border, and at which an agreement would have been reached on security arrangements after the JMC had completed its task.

A final date for disengagement had been thwarted by Swapo's rainy season offensive. The rainy season was now drawing to an end. — Sapa

Pik talks of maximum political advantage

Angola pull-out is 'a calculated risk'

Star
By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

South Africa's unilateral decision to withdraw its troops from southern Angola is a calculated security risk designed to create maximum political advantage, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said today.

The announcement yesterday of the withdrawal is the first in a series of new initiatives by South Africa to break the regional impasse.

On Thursday, President Botha is expected to announce in Parliament his decision on the request by the South West African Multi-Party Conference that South Africa agree to the territory being granted interim self-government.

Observers expect Mr Botha to agree to the request. This will increase international pressure for United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 — full independence for Namibia — to be implemented.

Propaganda onslaught

The unilateral withdrawal of South African forces from Angola this week has apparently caught the Angolans by surprise.

There have been indications that the MPLA Government was planning to make the continued occupation of part of its country a major issue at the UN.

By seizing the initiative in spite of failing to secure a satisfactory cessation of Swapo hostilities along the Namibia border, South Africa hopes to pre-empt any possible propaganda onslaught over its continued presence in Angola.

It further hopes to shift the pressure on to Angola by making the continued Cuban presence the sole remaining stumbling block to implementation of Resolution 435.

As a further spin-off, South Africa hopes, withdrawal of forces would morally oblige Angola to control Swapo in the interests of regional peace.

South Africa has made it clear that its security forces will not hesitate to take whatever action is necessary if Swapo steps up its cross-border violence.

Cuban withdrawal

The situation in Namibia now is that an independence settlement must be linked with Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

The South African withdrawal will make it easier for Western powers, particularly the United States, to exert pressure on this point.

It is not clear what the role of the Joint Monitoring Commission, set up by Angola and South Africa to oversee the disengagement of foreign forces north of the Namibia/Angola border, will be now.

A solution still has to be found to ensure the security of the Ruacana/Caluque water project, which straddles the border and supplies much of Namibia's electricity.

A successor organisation to the JMC, which has proved to be a useful communication mechanism between the Angolan and South African governments, might be considered.

The Star's London Bureau reports that Mrs Thatcher's Government has expressed its concern to South Africa over the Multi-Party Conference's proposals for a transitional government in Namibia.

Fears of UDI

It is understood a message has been passed to the South African Government making it clear that Britain believes such a transitional government would have no validity in terms of Resolution 435. It is possible the German and Canadian governments will take a similar line.

Britain and its allies fear endorsement of the Multi-Party Conference proposal by South Africa might be a move towards a unilateral declaration of independence for Namibia — and rejection of the UN plan for internationally-acceptable independence.

The conference's proposals were handed to President Botha earlier this month. At the time a conference spokesman claimed the creation of a transitional government would not conflict with Resolution 435.

The Star's Washington Bureau reports that the US Government has cautiously welcomed Mr Pik Botha's statement that the disengagement of South African troops will be complete by the end of week.

It comes at a time when the US has stepped up efforts to try to get the Namibia settlement issue and the Cuban troops dispute resolved.

The announcement has also been welcomed by Britain, reports The Star's London Bureau.

Cubans still the ^{ARGUS} obstacle, says Pik ^{16/4/85}

Political Staff

THE unilateral withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola does not bring South Africa any closer to a settlement of the SWA/Namibia dispute.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said at a Press conference today that the presence of Cuban troops in Angola still remained the obstacle to the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435.

Mr Botha revealed that both South Africa and Angola were studying a new set of "ideas" proposed by United States Under-Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, on his recent visit.

Mr Botha said that the South African Government had weighed up the political and military advantages in the withdrawal of the South African troops.

He said that the withdrawal had been considered in December, but because of information of a Swapo build-up and

clashes with Swapo forces in January and February, it had been delayed.

STATEMENT

Mr Botha said there had been nothing that sparked off the apparent sudden withdrawal of the troops.

However it is understood that there could be a link with an expected statement by President P W Botha in Parliament later this week that South Africa will agree to the SWA Multi-party Conference recommendation for an interim government in the territory.

It is also understood that one of the political considerations in making the move was that some African countries were preparing a Security Council resolution condemning the South African presence for which it would be difficult to get a Western veto.

Mr Botha also made it clear however that South Africa was tired of criticism and condemnations of the SADF presence in Angola.

Pik acts to ^{ROM} 'enhance SWA peace'

SA troops to quit Angola this week

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN.

SOUTH AFRICAN troops will be withdrawn from southern Angola by the end of the week in what appears to be the start of a major new initiative to achieve an interim settlement in SWA.

The pullout was announced in Cape Town last night by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who said it would "enhance the prospects for peace in the region" and "be conducive to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola".

The move is closely linked to three other developments which could have far-reaching implications for a Namibian settlement:

- The reconvening in Windhoek yesterday of the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) at which plans for a transitional government for SWA are expected to be finalised;
- Strong messages yesterday from the Western contact group to the South African Government that it would not condone any deviation from UN Security Council Resolution 435 as a settlement plan;
- An important statement on United States policy on Southern Africa expected in Washington today from the US Secretary of State, Mr George Schultz.

Mr Botha's statement last night said South African troops would be withdrawn from Angola in spite of continued Swapo guerrilla activity in the region.

But he warned that, if necessary, the security of the people of SWA would be safeguarded from the territory.

"The security forces will not hesitate to take whatever action may be necessary should Swapo step up its cross-border violence," he said.

Mr Botha said the decision to withdraw would "open the way for the realisation of one of the Lusaka Agree-

ment's main objectives, namely the peaceful resolution of the problems of the region, including the question of independence for SWA/Namibia".

The final pullout was due to have been completed late last year after a ministerial meeting between Angola and South Africa.

But the meeting did not take place due to various difficulties and the Joint Monitoring Commission comprising South African and Angolan officials remained based about 30km inside Angola.

Mr Botha said last night that continued Swapo activity in the region was the main reason for the delay in withdrawal.

But as the MPC met in Windhoek, and the prospects of the South African Government accepting the plan for an MPC "transitional government" continued to grow, the Government's relations with the Western contact group appeared to be heading for a crisis.

It is reliably understood that the ambassadors of the United States, Britain, Canada and West Germany had separate meetings with senior Foreign Affairs officials in Cape Town yesterday to reaffirm the commitment of their governments to UN Security Council Resolution 435 as the only acceptable basis for SWA independence.

They are also understood to have told the South Africans that their governments could not accept any deviation from Resolution 435 as a settlement plan.

The US in particular is understood to be concerned about losing its initiative in the settlement drive

When the troops were due to pull out of Angola

JAPETOWN — South Africa's withdrawal from southern Angola was called to take place 30 days after the first sitting of the Joint Monitoring Commission established by the signing of the Lusaka agreement on February 16 last year.

But hopes of a quick withdrawal were dashed when it became clear Angola could not control Swapo's operations.

It took almost a month or the Joint Monitoring Commission to start unclenching on the ground, with the final withdrawal coming this week more than a year after.

And the withdrawal has not brought with it, as was originally predicted, a greater peace.

In fact, apart from a military holding operation, allowing the Defence Force to fight the border war on Angolan territory, little else seems to have been achieved.

South African Defence Force troops moved into Southern Angola in force in early January last year, in an operation code-named Operation Askari.

About 2 000 soldiers backed with heavy weapons swept north, killing an estimated 500 of the enemy forces for the loss of 21 of their own men.

They stopped and held the ground about 140 km north of the border.

At the end of January the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, told Parliament South Africa would start withdrawing its forces but said the disengagement would depend on the behaviour of the other parties involved.

However, it was generally accepted that South African troops had been operating more or less freely on Angolan soil for some time, with the military presence being discussed in the United Nations in December 1983.

South Africa had even offered in a letter to United Nations Secretary-General Mr Perez de Cuellar in mid-December 1983 to disengage if the gesture were reciprocated by the Angolan forces.

Mr Botha made his announcement on disengagement in Parliament on the basis of talks involving South Africa, Angola and America earlier in the month.

Following the announcements, events initially occurred quickly. A general agreement known as the Mulungushi Agreement was signed in Lusaka on February 14 which provided for the withdrawal of South Africa troops and the exclusion of Swapo and Cuban forces from Southern Angola.

Two days later the agreement was ratified and it became the Lusaka Agreement. Signatories were South African Ministers Mr Pik Botha and General Magnus Malan, Angolan Minister of Interior Lieutenant-Colonel Alexandre Kito and American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker.

The Joint Monitoring Commission held its first meeting in Lusaka on the same day. The agreement came at the time accord was reached with Mozambique and senior South African officials were painting attractive scenes of a peaceful Southern Africa.

The plan in Angola was that as areas were cleaned up, the Joint Monitoring Commission would move south from its starting point at Cuvelai until it reached the Namibia border. Within three days it made its first move to Mupa, where 14 violations of the agreement were investigated.

But the next move to Evale was delayed until April 16 because of Swapo activity. Because of the violations, among other things, a number of high-level meetings took place and there was a further Ministerial meeting in Lusaka on April 25 when an agreement was reached on exchange of prisoners.

On May 3 the Joint Monitoring Commission moved to Ongiva. Angolan, Cuban and South African prisoners were exchanged on May 22. And at Ongiva, 50 km north of the border, the Joint Monitoring Commission has stayed. To date it has recorded 132 violations of the agreement at Ongiva, of which South Africa was responsible for four (according to South African information).

Hopes have faded of reaching a lasting peace agreement, the holding back of Swapo forces and agreement on the development of the Ruacana water and power scheme simultaneously with final withdrawal.

Where Angola and South Africa go from here is not clear. It is not even clear whether the useful negotiating forum provided by the Joint Monitoring Commission will continue or be replaced.

The Joint Monitoring Commission itself seems to have worked well. It was made-up of about five to six negotiators on each side backed by about 200 troops each. The troops investigated complaints together and at times Angolan forces became involved in fire-fights with Swapo troops.

What amazed observers was the friendliness that developed among the Joint Monitoring Commission troops who only a month before the Commission started operating had been fighting each other. The camps were only a few hundred metres apart and relations have been described by South African members as relaxed.

The main complaint from the South African side was that the co-operation received at Joint Monitoring Commission level was not being reflected in Luanda. Still, Mr Pik Botha hopes the 16-month working relationship, which included five meetings at Ministerial level, could provide the basis for growing dialogue aimed at the peaceful resolution of the problems of the region.

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17/4/85
Stew

'Hope' in Angolan pullout

CME Times
12/4/85
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From WILLEM STEENKAMP

OSHIKANGO. — Yesterday's formal South African troop withdrawal from Angola was "a sign of hope" for the future — but if Swapo infiltrations into SWA/Namibia continued the Republic's forces might well be sent over the border again.

This was General Constand Viljoen's message at a brief press conference held here for local and foreign journalists immediately after the withdrawal.

The withdrawal marks the virtual end of the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) set up in February last year by the Lusaka Agreement, in terms of which the major part of southern Angola would be cleared of non-Angolan forces — South Africans and Swapo.

General Viljoen, Chief of the Defence Force, "sincerely hoped" that no further cross-border operations would be necessary — but if the Angolan Government allowed Swapo to re-establish a springboard for infiltration, the SADF would always be ready to defend the people of SWA/Namibia.

'Learn from mistakes of past years'

General Viljoen said it had been his "doubtful privilege" yesterday to witness the second formal withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

The first time was in 1975, but he regarded the latest move as the beginning of a new opportunity for both countries to learn from their mistakes of the past nine years and ensure that they were not repeated.

"By giving up a military area we do have to give up a certain amount of military advantage."

JMC to function for next 30 days

Asked what would happen to the JMC in the next 30 days, General Viljoen said it would continue to function for that period, "and in that period we will try to finalize future peace-keeping operations, and technical details of the Calueque-Ruacana (hydro-electric) scheme... We hope the situation will be normal after that".

The only South African troops still in Angola consisted of two platoons, about 60 men, placed at the Calueque pumping station while the future of the water scheme was being sorted out.

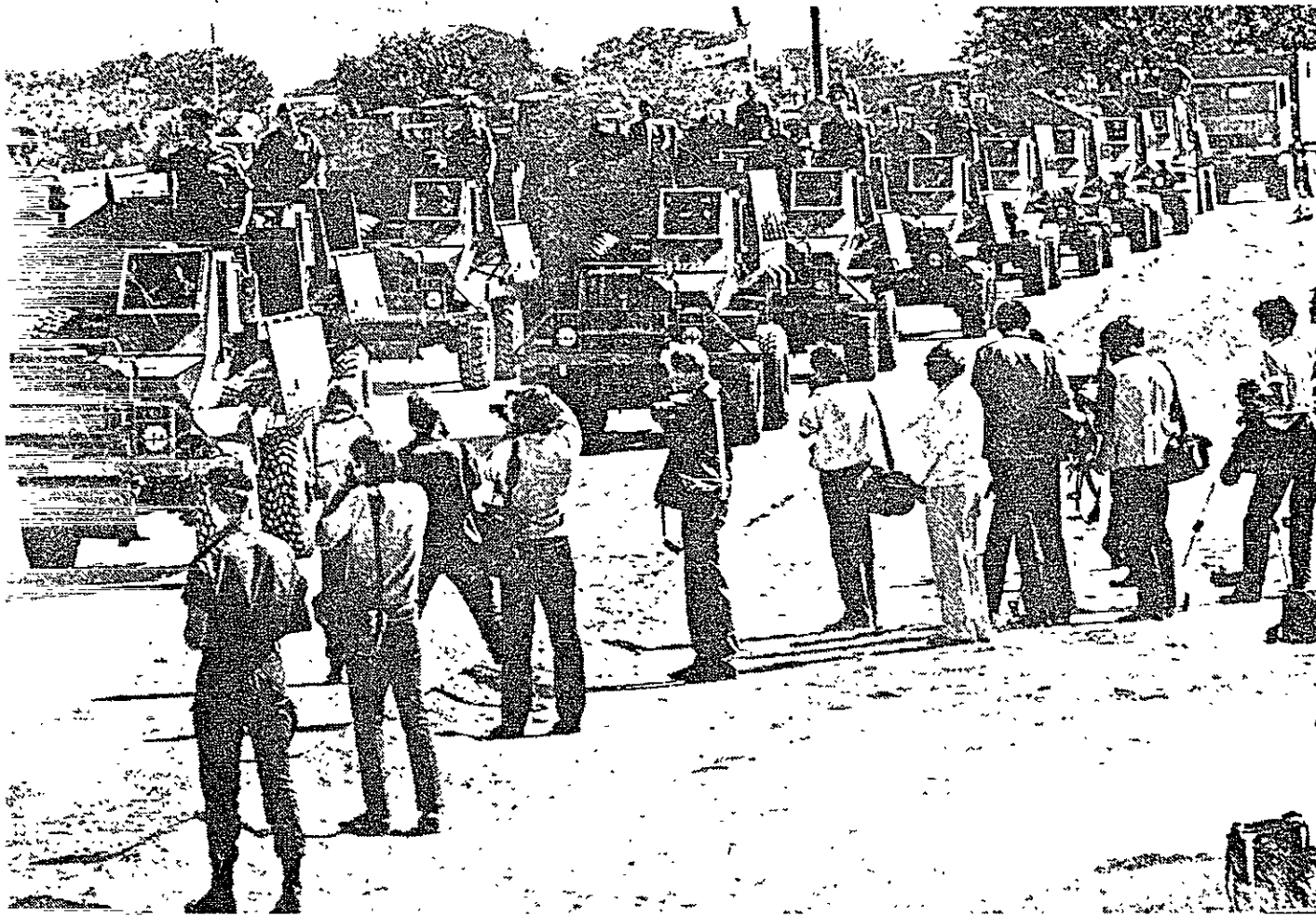
In reply to a question about how the withdrawal would affect the operations of Angola's Unita insurgents, General Viljoen said that judging by the approach of the Angolans during the JMC negotiations, they were "not very worried" about Unita.

● However, the Defence Force was part of the South African system and did not stand divorced from the diplomatic and political efforts, Sapa reports.

"We now have a new opportunity in this area to further negotiations and not shooting," he said.

It was an opportunity to advance the issue of a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola and to promote the cause of "internal solutions" to the problems of both Angola and SWA/Namibia.

ie end of the longest day



... away from Angola with an eyes-right goes some of the armoured might of South Africa.

OSHIKANGO — At precisely 10.24am yesterday a weary group of TV, radio and newspaper journalists were told by loud-hailer:

“The march past of the troops disengaging from Angola will take place in in about six minutes’ time ...

“After it you will take up your equipment and proceed to the Press conference which will be held in that tent and will last 15 minutes ...

“There is always the danger of landmines in this area so do not cross the road or go beyond the first little tree you see over there.”

That was the start of the second total withdrawal from Angola by South African Defence Force troops in the past nine years.

The short and severe military man acting as Master of Ceremonies for the day took his loud-hailer and left.

At 10.30 precisely there was a distant sound of

It's goodbye ⁵ Star to dusty Angola, 18/4785 broken-down trucks and all

By Peter Sullivan

drums, followed by trumpets playing the theme music from the film “The Longest Day.”

As the band came around the trees, it switched to “Sarrie Marais” and the troops following it marched into view.

The great withdrawal was on.

We waited, hot and somewhat bemused, in a tent with open flaps next to a podium behind which five flags flew. On the podium taking the

salute was Defence Force Chief General Constand Viljoen; flanking him were Army Chief General Jannie Geldenhuys and the new Director General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ray Killen.

The band, black soldiers, were followed by three companies of troops, also black but with white senior NCOs giving the orders.

Marching troops were followed by armoured personnel carriers.

An endless line of ugly, snub-nosed vehicles, of

trucks carrying drawing boards and chairs and equipment used by the Joint Monitoring Commission came past.

Breakdown trucks, broken-down trucks.

A cameraman was chased from the actual Angolan border, demarcated by a flag.

He had gone beyond the little tree. It was the only excitement of a hot, dusty day.

Then there was the Press conference, at which nobody said anything of great significance.

It took the 40-plus journalists four hours to fly there, four hours to fly back, in C 130s and Alouette helicopters.

We didn't even stay for an hour.

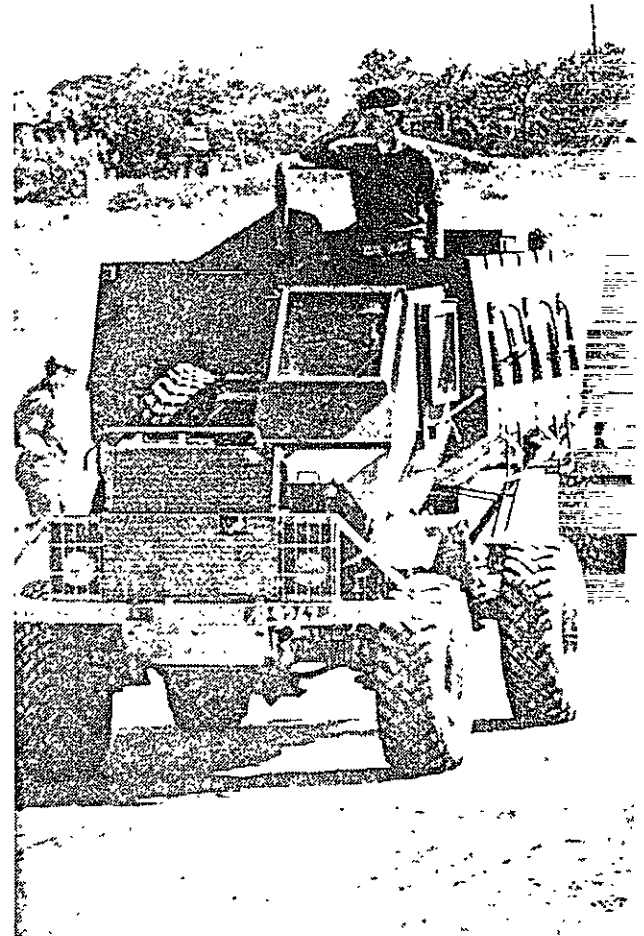
The entire withdrawal was a media event, staged for the media and intended to give the action the widest international coverage possible.

One can only hope that it succeeded in this limited aim.

When an army comes to th



The salute — 1 . . . General Constand Viljoen watches the troops go by.



The salute — 2 .

ROM 16/4/85 (5)
Angola chooses

LONDON. — Angola has formally applied to join the Lomé Convention — the trade and aid pact between the Common Market and developing countries. The move means that all black African countries are now linked to the EEC through the Convention. By applying to join Lomé, Angola — a communist-run country — recognises the EEC that Moscow rejects.

Scant ceremony as 450 troops re-enter SWA

Last SANDF troops quit Angolan soil

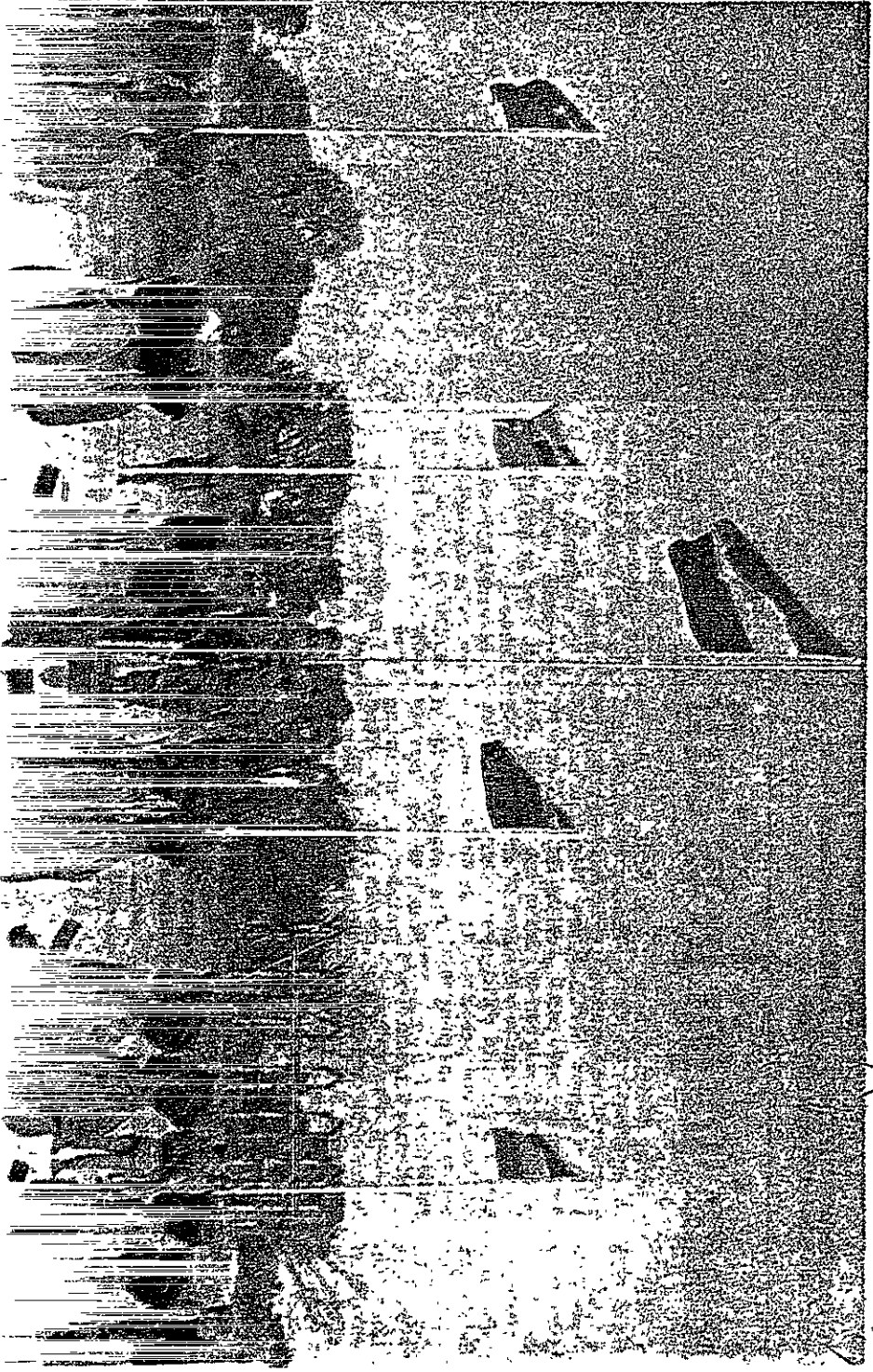
Mail Correspondents
WINDHOEK.

THE last soldiers of the South African Defence Force withdrew from southern Angola into South West Africa yesterday, 13 months behind schedule, as President P W Botha met political leaders in Cape Town to discuss plans for an interim South West African government.

Four hundred and fifty men from the 911 Battalion, the 201 Battalion and various other units crossed the border into northern Namibia at Oshikango.

With only a few exceptions, all the troops were black. The first detachment consisted of Bushmen soldiers wearing the distinctive brown gengarry and white-breasted crow badge of 201. Behind them marched Owanbo and other black soldiers drawn from various black units of the SWA Territory Force. The move completed the disengagement process agreed upon between South Africa and Angola at a conference held in Lusaka on February 18, 1984.

In terms of the tripartite agreement at the Lusaka conference, the Joint Monitoring Commission, which



white-breasted crow badge of 201. Behind them marched Owambo and other black soldiers drawn from various black units of the SWA Territory Force. The move completed the disengagement process agreed upon between South Africa and Angola at a conference held in Lusaka on February 16, 1984.

In terms of the tripartite agreement at the Lusaka conference, the Joint Monitoring Commission, which will be based in Oshikango, will continue to function for another thirty days to try and finalise the future peace-keeping arrangements between the Angolan and South African forces.

Yesterday's brief ceremony took place almost exactly nine years after the then Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, took the salute at Ruacana as the last South African soldiers to take part in Operation Savannah — the 1975/76 incursion into Angola — went home.

Various South African and Angolan military officers looked on from the shade of a marquee set up next to a beflagged dais on which stood the chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen; Mr Ray Killian of the Department of Foreign Affairs; the Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General Jan Geldenhuys; the GOC, SWA Territory Force, Major-General George Meiring; and the OC Sector 10, Brigadier Joep Joubert.

Just after 10am the band struck up in the distance, its oompah music flattened by the heated air, and a moment later the soldiers came marching past a large South African flag planted on the actual border a few hundred metres away to pass in review before General Viljoen's party.

It was a curiously undramatic scene despite the flags and martial music. The ceremony had a strictly workaday air to it.

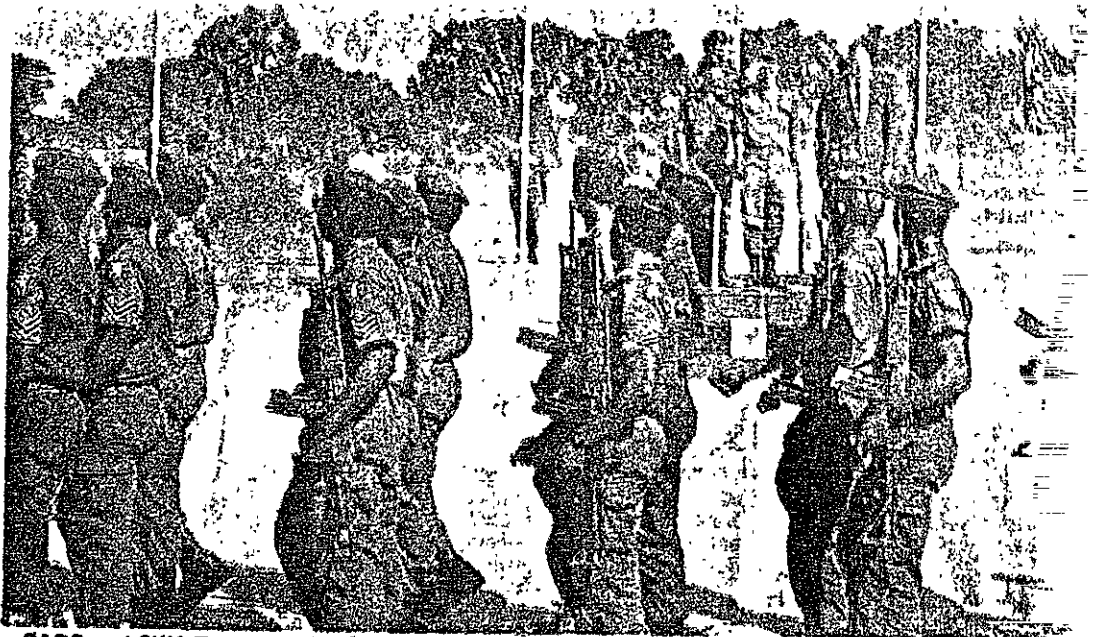
Gen Viljoen, who headed the ceremony and parade, said that he hoped it would not be necessary for South Africa to cross the border into Angola again.

However, South Africa had the strength and determination to indulge in military action again if necessary, he said.

General Viljoen said the pull-out meant giving up a certain military advantage in the area.

In Cape Town, President Botha said the political advantages of the withdrawal outweighed the security risk.

Mr Botha declined to give any details of his meeting yesterday with leaders of South West Africa's moderate Multi-Party Conference (MPC), but poli



SADF and SWA Territory Force soldiers march over the international line at the wrecked border an "eyes right" to General Constand Viljoen, chief of the Defence Force. This marks the second time since 1975 that South African soldiers have crossed from Angola in less than a decade.

RDM 18/4/85

Rifkind warns Botha on SWA deal

From Page 1

tical sources said talks concerned an MPC proposal for an interim administration to prepare the way for independence from Pretoria.

Mr Botha is expected to make a significant announcement concerning the administrative future of the territory when the State President's vote is debated for the first time in Parliament today.

The vote will extend over two days in the House of Assembly.

The MPC is an alliance of six South West African parties, including the white National Party that has ruled South Africa since 1948.

Swapo, exiled by South Africa and acknowledged by the United Nations as the only legitimate representative of the South West African people, is not a member of the MPC.

Last night, the British Government has once again warned South Africa that it will not recognise a new internal administration in South West Africa unless it has the support of all the people of the territory, reports John Battersby from the Mail's London Bureau.

The latest warning came from Mr Malcolm Rifkind, Minister of State in the Foreign Office responsible for Africa.

Mr Rifkind said during a BBC radio interview that the British Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Patrick Moberly, had made it "abundantly clear" to the Government that Britain would not recognise a new internal administration "unilaterally imposed" on the territory and that "we do not see that as a basis for progress".

"What we would like to see is South Africa's public commitment to the United Nations independence plan (Security Council resolution 435) translated into effective measures to bring Namibia to independence at an early date," he said.

The Labour Party's frontbench spokesman on South Africa, Mr Donald Anderson, who also featured in the programme, added: "Any solution which ignores the existence of Swapo will be still-born. The Namibia that emerges will be like the so-called independent homelands with no international recognition whatsoever."

5

2 Cape Times, Saturday, April 20, 1985

SADF move 'can't fool world opinion'

LISBON. — Angola dismissed yesterday as "a disgusting political manoeuvre" South Africa's announcement that it was withdrawing troops sent into southern Angola to crush a guerilla movement fighting for the independence of SWA/Namibia.

In the first official reaction to the South African announcement on Monday, Angola said in a statement released through the state-run news agency Angop, that South Africa's decision was motivated by domestic unrest and international criticism of the government's policy of apartheid.

"This disgusting political manoeuvre couldn't possibly fool world opinion," Angop said.

It said the announcement represented neither "a new initiative" nor "a gesture of goodwill" but was simply a fulfilment of an agreement with Angola about South African troop withdrawal.

In exchange, Angola agreed to keep Swapo guerillas from moving back into SWA/Namibia. Angop said Angola had fulfilled its side of the bargain. — Sapa-AP

SADF '12km inside Angola'

Cape Times 29/4/85
LISBON. — South African military units still inside southern Angola are provoking tension 12 days after the South African Government announced the disengagement of its forces, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

The agency said regular South African Army units were stationed 12km inside the Angolan border at the towns of Caluek and Ruacana in the province of Cunene, and large contingents of anti-guerilla fighters, cavalry and police were in position along the border with SWA/Namibia.

According to Angop, the positioning of the military units was causing "great tension" in southern Cunene and "made imminent the threat of renewed aggression or invasions".

The report followed the announcement in Cape Town on April 15 that South Africa would disengage its forces from southern Angola to encourage withdrawal of an estimated 25 000 Cuban troops.

Mr Pik Botha, Minister

of Foreign Affairs, warned, however, that the government would continue to take action against Swapo guerillas operating out of southern Angola.

Asked by the Cape Times to comment on the Angop report, a spokesman for Defence Headquarters in Pretoria said last night he had nothing to add to previous statements by Mr Botha and the Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen.

Angop quoted Lieutenant-Colonel Salviano Sequeira, the Angolan officer with the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) set up last year to oversee the South African pullout, as saying there had been no incidents involving South African troops still inside Angola.

According to the agency, Colonel Sequeira said the main body of South African troops still in Angola belonged to the JMC. Their withdrawal was to be the subject of top-level discussions over the next few days. — Sapa-AP

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Viljoen:
Angolan
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nonsense

PRETORIA. — The Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, yesterday described as "nonsense" Angolan press allegations that the South African troop presence along the SWA/Namibian-Angolan border was causing tension.

Reacting to an Angolan news agency report at the weekend, criticizing the presence of SADF troops in the area after their withdrawal from Angola two weeks ago, General Viljoen said in a statement:

"The SADF has followed its agreement with the Angolan Joint Monitoring Commission element to the letter." He said: "It is absolute nonsense to allege now that the presence of the security forces on the border is causing tension."

"The RSA has always taken the view that it is its duty to protect the territorial integrity of South West Africa from Swapo terrorists."

General Viljoen said the arrangements of the JMC had continued smoothly since the South African withdrawal from Angola.

"There can, with justification, be asked why this good co-operation between the forces of the two countries should be questioned."

He said there were still daily meetings at the camp at Santa Clara between the commanding officer of the South African forces and the Angolan border guard. — Sapa

10.13: **North By Northwest:** When Roger Thornhill is mistaken for an American intelligence agent by foreign-spy Phillip Vandamm, he's drawn into a series of wild and perilous adventures. Directed and produced by Alfred Hitchcock.

Cape Times 30/4/85

A From page 1

ing an illegal gathering and on other charges.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said police used teargas and rubber bullets during the arrests.

He said 500 students had stoned the home of a policeman and the adjoining home of a headmaster in the morning.

The policeman had fired a number of shots and the crowd had dispersed.

According to the police spokesman, the students returned to the school and when police were summoned to the scene, stones were thrown. Police used teargas and rubber bullets and "a number of students were arrested".

The police spokesman said a bus had been extensively damaged by stone-throwing.


● Orlando West High School students went on the rampage yesterday afternoon, burning a house in Dube, Soweto, and stoning nearby shops following the murder on Saturday of an Orlando High student. No injuries or arrests were reported.

● Students at Turfloop and the University of Venda yesterday started returning to classes. At Turfloop, where classes were suspended on Wednesday, only classes in the faculties of law and education were still suspended yesterday.

Students at the University of Venda have been boycotting classes since Thursday. Their demands included the dismissal of an accounting lecturer and the scrapping of a "too congested" exam timetable.

Spa

Siphon Mchunu



Maputo
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with

★ FOUNDED 1876

1985 GOOD PUB GUIDE says —
 "BASIN STREET bar ranks as one
 of the classiest in Cape Town"

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OF VALUE — TRY IT!!

THIS WEEK'S SPECIAL —
 OXTAIL, mash potatoes
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 FRESH

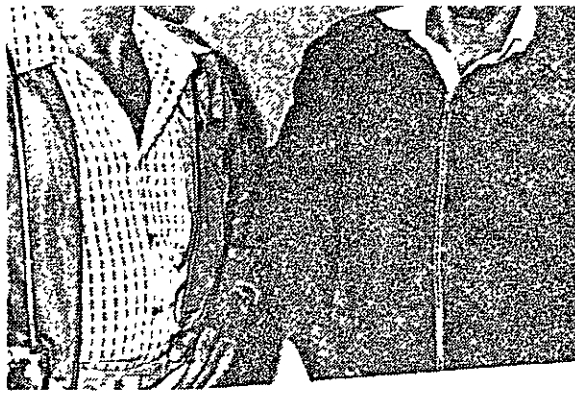
Carlicks

FREE GIFT BY CLINIQUE

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& ACCENT Specialist Store, Constantia

CITY PAROW PARL
 CAVENISH SQ



Mr Linus Nahole (left) and Mr Achilles Angula.

CAPE TOWN 4/5/85 (S) (A) (2/85)

Swapo men claim they saw massacre

Staff Reporter

TWO survivors of the South African Defence Force raid on Chetequera in Southern Angola, which took place seven years ago today, yesterday said they had seen South African soldiers herding Namibian refugees on to helicopters during the raid and then pushing them out of the aircraft once they were airborne.

Addressing a Namibian Students Association meeting at lunch-hour at the University of Cape Town, Swapo member Mr Achilles Angula told students South African troops had massacred nearly 1 000 Namibian women, children and old men in the raid of the same day at another Swapo refugee camp at Cassinga.

Overwhelmed

"At Chetequera, which we called Vietnam, we first heard the sound of airplanes. Then suddenly we saw hundreds of armoured cars around us. And then death overwhelmed us. Death from above, death from the ground, death from everywhere."

Mr Angula, who spent the subsequent seven years as a prisoner first at Oshakati and later at Mariental, said the SADF had attacked the camp on May 4, 1978 with sophisticated weaponry including Mirage and Buccaneer aircraft and Puma helicopters. Napalm bombs were dropped on the area, he said.

Both Cassinga and Chetequera were refugee camps for civilians with a small contingent of Swapo fighters there

to protect them, said Mr Angula.

Mr Linus Nahole, who was captured by the SADF at Chetequera with Mr Angula, told the students about 200 were taken prisoner on the day.

"On the way to the Oshakati prison camp SADF soldiers robbed us of our watches, our money, our other belongings. At Oshakati we experienced South Africa's complete disregard for international law on human rights".

Freezing

Mr Nahole said the internees were tortured repeatedly during the first three months of their imprisonment. "We were beaten with batons and sticks, even when we told the truth. Plastic bags were tied over our heads, we were blindfolded and subjected to further beatings and torture."

When the prisoners were transferred to the Mariental camp in southern Namibia the prisoners were made to sleep on the ground despite freezing winter temperatures, he said.

Mr Nahole said conditions began to improve at the camp in 1981 after representatives of the International Red Cross had made a visit.

A group of 55 of the Chetequera internees was released in May last year and the remaining 75 were released in October, said Mr Nahole.

● A South African Defence Force spokesman, Commandant J C S Rolt, said last night that the SADF was not prepared to comment on "unfounded accusations which are merely a repetition of Swapo propaganda over many years".

Another view of SADF raid at Chetequera

By WILLEM
STEENKAMP

Defence Correspondent

WHAT really happened at Chetequera, the location of a South African raid on a Swapo camp seven years ago?

Comments made last week by two Swapo Chetequera veterans who addressed a Namibian Students' Association meeting at the University of Cape Town do not accord with the known facts about the action.

One of the speakers, Mr Achilles Angula, claimed that Chetequera was a refugee camp, and that on May 4 of 1978 it was attacked by Mirage and Buccaneer fighters and Puma helicopters which dropped napalm on the area.

Aircraft

"We heard the sound of aeroplanes," he said. "Then suddenly we saw hundreds of armoured cars around us, and then death overwhelmed us. Death from above, death from the ground, death from everywhere".

In fact, the following can be said about the Chetequera action:

● No Mirage fighters or Puma helicopters were involved in the aerial attack. This was a straightforward bombing attack carried out by Canberra light bombers and Buccaneer strike fighters armed with high-explosive bombs. There is no evidence of napalm being used, although the bombs caused bushfires.

As far as I have been able to establish, the only helicopters present at Chetequera were four-man Alouette IIIs acting in support of the ground forces.

The defenders offered such fierce resistance that it took four hours to secure the base and al-

most all of the attacking vehicles were damaged.

● There is no doubt that at least some women and children were present at Chetequera during the attack. Some appeared to be dependants of the Swapo fighters, while others were believed to have been abducted by Swapo.

However, Chetequera was not a refugee camp. There is indisputable evidence — ranging from eyewitness accounts to aerial photographs which could not be faked — to show that it was a fortified base with a parade ground, some above-ground huts and three distinct systems of deep zig-zag trenches.

According to SADF intelligence, Chetequera was not only an important Swapo supply depot but also a forward headquarters.

● The SADF did not employ "hundreds" of armoured vehicles. The attacking force was an under-strength battalion group, and the actual sweep through the base was carried out by only 14 Ratel infantry fighting vehicles. A second sweep, to clear the north-western corner of the base, was carried out on foot.

Casualties

The only armoured cars directly involved were a troop of four Eland-90s which took up a position north of the base to give the Ratsels supporting fire, and then moved forward to take part in securing the area.

● Total casualties reported by the SADF were two South Africans dead and 10 wounded, while 284 insurgents were killed and about 200 captured. The SADF medical teams reported treating about 60 insurgents for serious wounds.

'SADF would go back to Angola'

CAPE TOWN—The South African Defence Force would go back to Angola if the Angolan armed forces (Fapla) failed to contain Swapo cross-border terror raids, the Minister of Defence, Gen Magnus Malan, said at the weekend.

Gen Malan had just re-

turned from a parliamentary study group visit to the operational area on the South West African-Angolan border where he and other MPs were briefed on the current security situation.

'We have warned Fapla in Lusaka and now again that they must keep Swa-

po under control or we will go back into Angola to perform our task,' he said.

'South West Africa's people asked us to perform this task and we cannot allow Swapo's murder gangs to resume their activities across the border.'

Gen Malan said a feature of the visit had been the marked progress made in the socio-economic development of the local population, particularly the Kavangos and bushmen, as well as the Ovambos, the major tribe of the territory.

'The level of development of the local population has risen sharply and has proved their ability to be self-sufficient,' he said.

This also applied to the defence needs of South West Africa.

'The bushmen were a primitive group living out in the open 10 years ago and today they have acquired many skills.

Better

'There are children in standard seven and their nomadic life has given way to permanence where hygiene, medicine and two Christian churches have become part of their everyday life.'

Their home life was now better than some found in other areas. The Kavangos and the Ovambos had also learnt how to help themselves.

Since the revolutionary war began 20 years ago, South Africa had gained much in military skill, while not once having its nose bloodied.

Its military commitment had also provided it with a testing ground for its weapons systems, which were constantly updated and adjusted, Gen Malan said. — (Sapa)

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Horoscope	7	TV
Racing	6	Weather
Radio	7	Women's
Sport	18-20	World Report

Capt. Tim P 13/5/85

Malan warns of SADF raids

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Progress of local population

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Since the revolutionary war began 20 years ago, South Africa had gained much in military skill, while not once having its nose bloodied.

Its military commitment had also provided it with a testing ground for its weapons systems, which were constantly updated and adjusted to provide South Africa with battle-tested export weapons of high quality, General Malan said. — Sapa

ad accidents

Manenberg Avenue shortly before
noon on Saturday.
An unidentified man in his mid-for-
ties was killed when struck by a car on
De Waal Drive, Cape Town, near the
hospital bend on Saturday evening.
An 11-year-old boy, Gert Sarron, of
Sneukop, Koude Bokkeveld, died on
Friday morning after being struck by a
motor vehicle on Cedarberg Road,
near Ceres.
Mr A five-year-old girl, Fredalina Mar-
tinez, died on Friday morning after being
struck by a car on the Macassar turnoff from
Fourth Street, Fingrove, died on Fri-
day afternoon after being struck by a
vehicle on the Macassar turnoff from

Thank you for past work
(1981); plays
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SA has
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— Viljoen

9/26/85
23/5/85
S

PRETORIA. — The South African Defence Force today admitted having a contingent of soldiers stationed in northern Angola, but would not confirm reports that two of its commandos had died in a clash with Angolan forces yesterday.

The Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, said in a statement in Pretoria: "The Defence Force is involved in gathering information about hostile elements which threaten the safety of South West Africa and South Africa."

The SADF had deployed small groups of soldiers north of South Africa's borders to gather information on Swapo, the African National Congress and what General Viljoen described as "Russian surrogate forces".

"CONCERN"

He said: "At the moment there is concern because contact with such a small element has been broken."

"This element was gathering information about ANC bases, Swapo bases, as well as Cuban involvement with them in the area south and north of Luanda."

In an overnight report from Lisbon, Angola's State-run news agency Angop quoted the country's Ministry of Defence as saying that an army patrol had surprised a group of South African soldiers yesterday in the northern Cabinda province.

Two South Africans had died and one was taken captive, it said.

16 MINES

The Angolan forces reportedly captured three short-wave radios, walkie-talkies, silencer-equipped guns, 16 contact mines and two fire bombs.

General Viljoen did not comment on these claims in his brief statement.

South Africa last month apparently withdrew its troops from southern Angola, in accordance with the 15-month-old Lusaka Agreement. The Joint Monitoring Commission, established to oversee the

(Turn to Page 3, col 1)

Hostage row

Stand Viljoen, South African Angola, but would in a clash with

The government had to decide whether it wished South Africa to be "a force for peace and regional co-operation or to be seen as a force for destabilization", he said

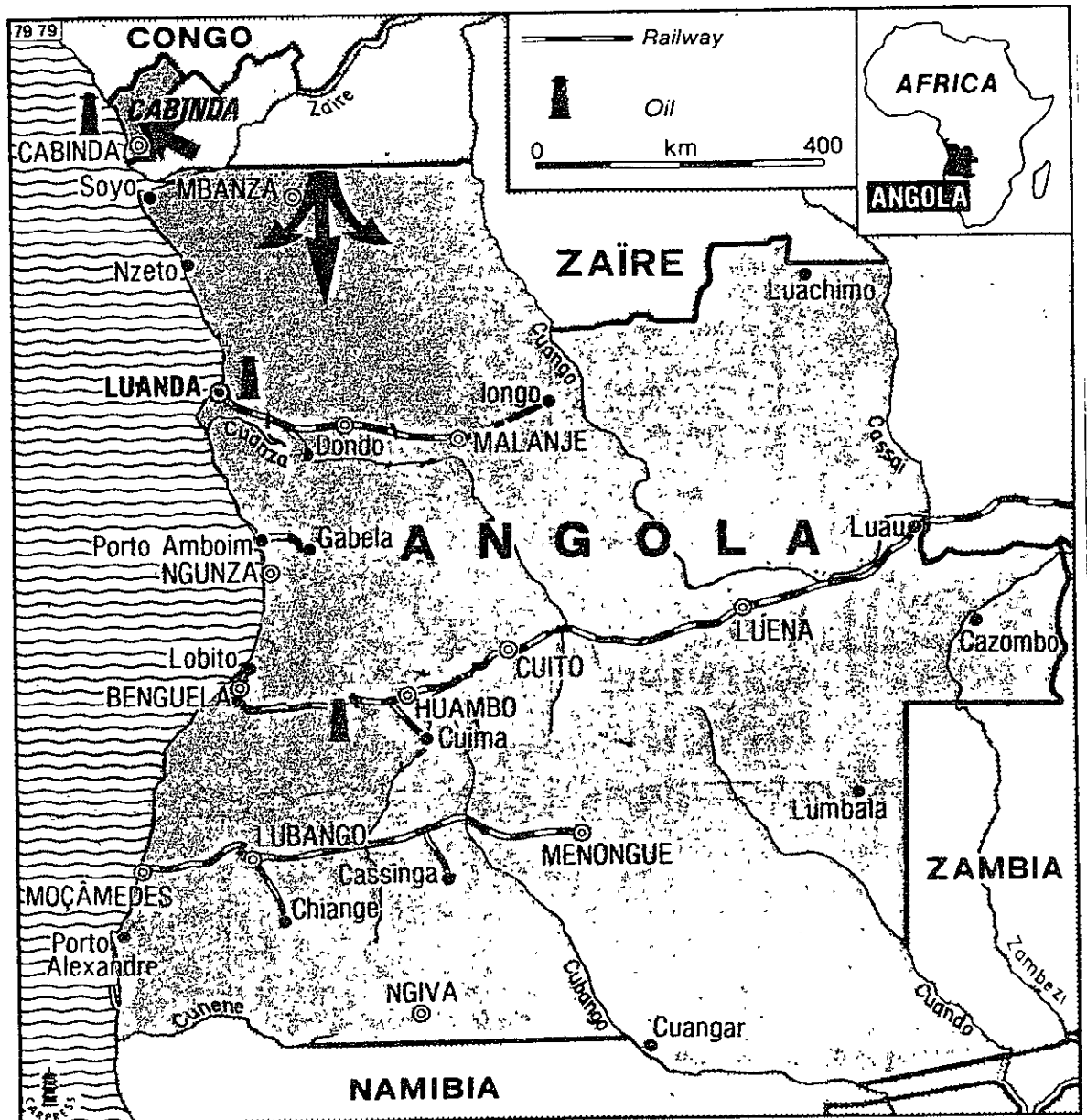
The New Republic Party spokesman on Defence, Mr Vause Raw, said "It appears that this incident is one of the unfortunate hazards of maintaining effective military intelligence in areas where hostile forces are being trained to engage in terrorist action against South Africa."

'Risk'

"This is a calculated risk of war which we have to take if we are to be prepared to be properly informed and prepared to resist incursion across our borders"

The Conservative Party spokesman on Defence, Dr W J Snyman, said it was "with regret" that his party had learnt of the deaths of the two South Africans and the capture of a third.

Since April 17, South African authorities have repeatedly denied a continued presence in Angola. Yesterday's disclosure is the first admission by Pretoria that it is still maintaining forces in Angola.



This map shows the location of Cabinda and illustrates the direction of guerilla movement into northern Angola and the oil-producing enclave. Persistent international rumours have linked South African forces to guerillas operating in this area.

US considering aid programme to Unita

CAPE TOWN 12/12/85

WASHINGTON. — US officials say the Reagan administration is considering an aid package for anti-Marxist forces in Angola, but the Senate yesterday decided not to act on a R125 million programme to help the rebels.

By a 58 to 39 vote, the Senate decided that an amendment seeking aid for the rebels was not germane to a nearly R1 250 billion omnibus spending bill for 1986 which it has been considering for three days.

The vote appeared to ensure that Congress will not approve overt aid for the rebels of Unita (Union for the Total Independence of Angola) in 1985, although President Reagan could still provide covert funding after consultation with congress-

sional intelligence committees.

The amendment was introduced by conservative Republican senators, who argued the funds were desperately needed to help the rebels, headed by Jonas Savimbi, defend against a major Soviet-backed government offensive.

"How can the United States sit idly by and let the Soviets wipe out the only democratic resistance force" in Southern Africa, they asked.

Next month

Earlier, US officials said a more concrete administration decision on aid to the rebels would probably be taken early next month.

The officials said that by next month it was expected that the Assistant

Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, would have had another round of talks with Angolan leaders on a regional peace accord.

Those talks, expected to take place before the end of the year, would probably give Washington indications of whether prospects for an accord were sufficient to put the aid proposal back on the shelf, they added.

The Reagan administration has accused Cuban troops in Angola of taking part in combat operations against Unita.

A senior State Department official said no date had been set for Dr Crocker's next round of talks, but that it was likely to be held in Luanda this month — Sapa-Reuters and Own Correspondent

General
Malan

Malan faces row over troops deep in Ango

THE Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, faces a political storm in the debate on his Budget Vote in Parliament next week following the admission that the Defence Force has soldiers deep in Angola.

There has been angry foreign reaction to the news this week that the two men who were killed and a third captured in an ambush at the Malongo oil complex in the northern province of Cabinda, were probably South African soldiers.

Political Staff

News 24/5/85

(S. J. B.)

Angola claims two South African soldiers were killed, another captured and that a quantity of South African military equipment was seized after Angolan forces surprised a "South African sabotage unit" attempting to destroy the oil installation.

Western intelligence sources said today that South Africans had carried out several sabotage operations along the Angolan coast which were later claimed by Unita.

Opposition parties were meanwhile furious because they and the public had been led to understand that South Africa had withdrawn all its forces from Angola five weeks ago.

Only a few days ago, the defence spokesmen of the various opposition parties are understood to have been assured that there were no more soldiers in Angola.

"Commandos"

Both the Conservative Party and the Progressive Federal Party in the House of Assembly today expressed their grave concern. The CP, which is a hawk when it comes to defence matters, accused General Malan of mishandling the portfolio and giving the SADF a bad name.

It was still not clear today just who was involved in the ambush in Cabinda but South African sources suggest that it was probably a South African unit which had penetrated into Angola on foot with Unita forces.

One of the first explanations put about yesterday mentioned the possibility of the involvement of "commandos" attached to Unita.

Clandestine

Later the Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, said small groups of soldiers gathered information about ANC and Swapo bases and Cuban involvement in the north.

Opposition spokesmen are regularly briefed by Defence Force spokesmen and one such briefing took place earlier this week.

It appeared today that indications of the activities of such clandestine groups of South African soldiers had not been given.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said today that South Africa had no right to be militarily involved in Angola when its interests were not threatened.

"Withdraw"

After the dissolution of the Joint Monitoring Commission, it was accepted by Angola, South Africa and the international community that South Africa would "withdraw completely from Angolan soil".

"This latest incident must of necessity reflect on our international credibility," Dr Slabbert, also the PFP's spokesman on defence, said.

Just as South Africa was adamant that it would not tol-

(Turn to Page 3, col 7)

Cont from Page 1

erate external interference in its domestic affairs, "so our neighbouring countries can and should expect the same from us".

Dr Slabbert said the Government "must clearly make up its mind: are we to be a force for peace and regional co-operation or be seen as a force for destabilisation?"

Bad name

The Conservative Party's spokesman on defence matters, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said it was clear that the political handling of the situation was the real problem.

The political muddling was giving the SADF a bad name.

Mr Vause Raw, the New Republic Party's spokesman, said the incident appeared to be one of the unfortunate hazards of maintaining effective military intelligence in areas where hostile forces were being trained to engage in terrorist action against South Africa.

In Washington the US Government made it clear that it was unhappy about the latest incident.

In the political debate over South Africa, the incident is expected to have at least two results. Opponents of the South African Government and constructive engagement are likely to cite it as further evidence that South Africa is continuing to destabilise her neighbours and that present US policy encourages such action.

In London, a Foreign Office spokesman said the British Government had noted "with concern" the South African statement, as it had the Angolan claim that its forces had surprised a South African sabotage unit.

Angolan hunt for SA 'spy' troops

MM 24/5/85

~~MM~~ S

cheers for 40 years



A MASSIVE manhunt was underway for survivors of a South African unit ambushed in the Cabinda oilfields, north of Luanda, the official Angolan news agency, Angop said yesterday.

A statement released here said that, so far, at least two South Africans had been killed and one captured. The incident brought swift condemnation of the South African action from the State Department in Washington. Equipment captured by the Angolans included tonflet mines, fire bombs and silenced Sterling machine pistols.

Angop said the South African unit was surprised late on Tuesday afternoon, while attempting to destroy the Malongo oil installations in Cabinda. South Africa had not given up its plans to destabilise Angola and was violating not only the rules of international law but also its own undertakings entered into with a view to the normalisation of the situation in southern Africa.

Oilfields

London Bureau

rucksacks, 10 canteens, short-wave and walkie-talkie radios, three 9mm pistols, large quantities of medicines and four packages of high explosives. Quoting a Defence Ministry spokesman in Luanda, Angop reported that the South African group had been on a mission to blow up the country's vital Malongo oil installations.

Protected

The Cabinda enclave's offshore oil fields are protected by a strong Angolan force backed by an estimated 4,000 Cubans and squadrons of MiG fighters. The fields are operated by the U.S.-based company Gulf Oil, and produce about 160,000 barrels of oil a day.

No information on the name or the condition of the captured South African has been released by South Africa.

Action

He had always believed that South Africa should 'seek out Swapo and ANC nests wherever and by whomsoever they may be hosted and protected'. This, he said, was a call

in Cabinda.

South Africa had not given up its plans to destabilise Angola and was violating not only the rules of international law but also its own undertakings entered into with a view to the normalisation of the situation in southern Africa.

Oilfields

The news agency added: 'As can be seen, South Africa, while simulating the withdrawal of its troops from southern Angola, is now attempting new military adventures in the north of our country, giving the lie to its propaganda.'

An Angop spokesman in London said Angolan army units were scouring wide areas of Cabinda after indications that more South Africans were in the area as part of an operation to cripple the oilfields.

Apart from weapons and mines, equipment captured included 10

bans and squadrons of MiG fighters.

The fields are operated by the US-based company, Gulf Oil, and produce about 160 000 barrels of oil a day.

No information on the name or the condition of the captured South African has been released by Luanda.

The Chief of the SADF, Gen Constand Viljoen, declined to confirm reports of the death of two soldiers but, having confirmed that small elements of the Defence Force had been deployed in northern Angola, admitted that 'at the moment there is great concern because contact with such a small element has been broken'.

This was the first acknowledgement by South Africa that it still had troops in the area since the April 17 announcement that all had been withdrawn south of the border.

Defending the presence of South African soldiers in the area, Gen Viljoen said the Defence Force was 'involved in gathering information about hostile elements which threaten the safety of South West Africa and South Africa'.

Information

The SADF, he said, had deployed small groups of soldiers north of South Africa's borders to gather information on Swapo, the ANC and what he described as 'Russian surrogate forces'.

With regard to the group involved in the latest incident he said: 'This element was gathering information about ANC bases, Swapo bases, as well as Cuban involvement with them in the area south and north of Angola.'

Our parliamentary correspondent reports that the SADF admission was likely to cause the Government serious embarrassment.

Last month the Joint Monitoring Commission was disbanded, and 30 days later the Government announced the withdrawal of the last troops from southern Angola.

Progressive Federal Party leader and defence spokesman Dr F van Zyl Slabbert said that after the dissolution of the JMC, the Angolans and the international community had accepted that South Africa would withdraw completely from the country.

This incident would now reflect on South Africa's credibility.

in terrorist action against South Africa'.

Action

He had always believed that South Africa should 'seek out Swapo and ANC nests wherever and by whomsoever they may be hosted and protected'.

This, he said was 'a calculated risk of war' which had to be taken if South Africa was to be 'properly informed and prepared to resist incursions across our own borders'.

There was a simple remedy for countries wishing to free their territories from reconnaissance action of this

TURN TO PAGE 2

bid for areas

these should be situated, although we are very aware that it is essential to retain facilities for specific races for as long as they are required,' Mr MacLennan said.

He said the committee would discuss the siting of more mixed beaches with the City Engineer at its meeting next month.

'We want a clear picture of what is planned for the beaches and where things can be fitted in,' Mr MacLennan said.

a litre

scrap retail price control on cheese and butter from next month.

A spokesman for the Consumer Council, Mr Louw van der Merwe, said consumers could not afford further increases at a time of rising unemployment and diminishing wages and salaries.

S Open

would be charging R100 a head for the golf tournament and its closed-circuit presentations.

at the time that the corporation providing a microlink to pick up the event.

from the corporation said: 'If main rights for live coverage of the US Open for later trans-

S A spy troops

FROM PAGE 1

nature. They need only to stop harbouring terrorists.' (5) 254

Military observers in Cape Town yesterday wondered what information requirement could have been urgent enough to give rise to such a high-risk operation.

Since decisions to embark on external operations are taken collectively at high level, it was assumed that the Minister of Defence, Gen Magnus Malan, produced some reason for action in Cabinda that overrode any objections from the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, who must answer to the international community in the case of failure.

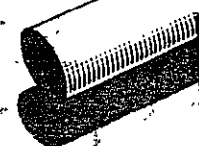
Sapa-Reuter reported from Washington that the State Department deplored South Africa's intelligence-gathering operation, saying it ran

contrary to the goal of removing all foreign forces from countries in the region. NM 24/5/85

State Department spokesman, Mr. Bernard Kalb, said US diplomacy in southern Africa had been aimed at stopping violence, obtaining removal of foreign forces, and securing respect for national sovereignty and international borders.

'It is clear that the presence of South African intelligence-gathering teams inside Angola runs contrary to those goals and the United States deplores such actions.'

* Since the bridegroom his life, etiquette rule confined to items set for the bridesmaids take the form of Mii contain only the fine



England

RED MEAT

Out of joint

③ meat

The Meat Board (MB) has been granted a R40m Land Bank loan to bolster its depleted beef stabilisation fund which is used to buy unsold carcasses at floor price levels.

The loan will enable the MB to add further to the unsold "meat mountain" of some 215 000 beef carcasses, which is already growing by 1 000-2 000 carcasses a week.

"Over the past few weeks, the tempo of beef deliveries to the markets has speeded up again," says MB GM Pieter Coetzee.

Although most commentators lauded the recent MB decision not to increase red meat floor prices, it is clear that the industry is far from being out of the woods. And the increased purchase of unsold carcasses will inevitably mean renewed pressure for a decrease in the floor price.

The confirmation of the new loan heralds action by independent retailers to try to force down the consumer price of red meat.

Frans Roelofse, chairman of the action committee of the Federation of SA Country Meat Traders, is among those who welcome the MB's decision to peg the floor price. It will

"contribute tremendously" towards preventing red meat consumer price rises this year, he says. But he adds that the massive cost impact of structural problems in the industry is still causing grave price distortions.

"The chickens are coming home to roost," says Roelofse. Although the pun is unintended, it relates well to the industry's biggest marketing problem — competition from arch-rival poultry.

Roelofse says an "important announcement" will be made by his Federation within the next two weeks about a united campaign to force down meat prices and fight inflation. "This should also stimulate increased use of red meat," he adds.

There's good reason for his concern. Chicken has increased its share of the SA meat market from 22% in 1974 to 31% in 1984, second only to beef.

The red meat industry's problems are thus reflected conversely by poultry. The extent of the switch was spelt out in detail recently

by deputy Minister of Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs Gert Kotze.

He told the SA Poultry Association's convention earlier this month that the broiler industry grew by 125% in the past decade and that current consumption is now almost 5m birds a week. Per capita consumption jumped 46% to 14 kg a year, while red meat consumption dropped 7%.

"Production and marketing of poultry meat is totally free of control, while market forces could, from time to time, force producer prices to levels lower than production costs," Kotze added.

Roelofse is more direct.

"It does not make sense to artificially push up red meat prices in controlled markets by restricting slaughter permits, limiting retail butcher licences, pushing up abattoir costs, creating minimum floor prices and raising levies for the stabilisation fund and then use this fund to buy in and store unsold carcasses at massive cost.

"The embarrassments of the present system can be avoided by freeing the market and reducing the floor price," he says.

Coetzee, however, says the "book value" of the stored carcasses is only some R100m and not R1,5 billion as suggested by some. Furthermore, storage costs are about R900 000 a month and not R2m a month as claimed. "The 34 000 t stock is enough for around seven weeks' consumption," he says.

The MB should know "within weeks" whether its contract to export the frozen "beef mountain" will be finalised, says Coetzee. The original contract was extended because of "technical difficulties" encountered by the purchasers.

Meanwhile, the MB has an eventuality programme lined up to sell the carcasses into the black market if the foreign deal fails to come off. "We have done trial sales of special 1 kg and 3 kg frozen meat packs to urban blacks. Market research proved the potential success of this campaign, on condition that the frozen meat is not deboned," says Coetzee.

He adds that traditionally, blacks are not

consumers of frozen meat, but it was found that bones in the packs improved market prospects. However, some 147 000 of the stored carcasses have already been deboned.

The MB intends channelling a large portion of frozen carcasses purchased in future by the MB at floor price level into the black market, says Coetzee.

Roelofse is unimpressed. He says his Federation strongly objects to the MB's marketing effort to urban blacks. "Why should one section of the consumer public be forced to subsidise the MB so that it can sell cheaper red meat to another section of the public," he says.

Previous MB efforts to channel the frozen beef into the consumer market failed because they resulted in higher prices when the campaign ended and the MB was forced to buy in even more carcasses.

Explains Coetzee: "In our last campaign we sold some 46 000 carcasses in two weeks, but then we had to buy in another 56 000 over the next three weeks. The game was not worth the candle." Hence the decision to court the urban black market.



MB's Coetzee ... waiting on exports

FREE MARKETS

Shedding shackles

Assocom has added its weight to the Competition Board's (CB) broad ranging investigation into restrictive trading practices, including the public sector.

But it disagrees with the board's decision to cover virtually the entire topic of collusive trading in a single umbrella investigation. Instead, it suggests in a position paper submitted to the board that individual cases should be probed on an *ad hoc* basis as they are referred to the CB for attention.

In outline, the Assocom report homes in on three commonly-used tools of the protectionists: price collusion, market sharing and tender restrictions.

With the exception of the cement industry, the report spotlights a broad range of "hostile" public sector trading practices which tamper with the market.

Assocom economist Bill Lacey has no doubts that this is where the blame lies. "The public sector is the most blatant transgressor," he says. "No meaningful advances will be made in rooting out private sector abuses until government puts its own house in order."

Already the CB is probing restricted tendering arrangements within the Building Industries Federation of SA (Bifsa) and the notorious "builder's ring" — a long-standing

Angola clash sparks call for talks by S A

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—South Africa has called for an urgent meeting with Angola to discuss this week's military clash in the Cabinda Province and the return of the captured South African and the bodies of the two soldiers killed.

This was revealed in a statement by the Depart-

ment of Foreign Affairs yesterday and is the first official confirmation of Angolan claims about the deaths and capture of South African soldiers

Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent the message to the Angolan Government yesterday and said that Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan would deal with the incident during the debate on his budget vote

next week.

In his message to Luanda, Mr Botha said it would be recalled that during discussions last year, the South African Government had expressed its 'grave concern' at the activities of large numbers of ANC terrorists in various parts of Angola.

'South Africa repeatedly urged Angola to remove these terrorists

from its territory and to cease assisting them with training, equipment and by making its territory available to them for the furtherance of their activities,' he said

'Thus far the Angolan Government has failed to respond to these representations,' he said

'The ANC elements in Angola cannot be characterised as harmless refugees.

'South Africa has disconcerting evidence that northern Angola is now the main base area for the training of ANC terrorists who are then despatched, via other countries, to the Republic.

'In addition, it is clear that Swapo is still being allowed to launch terrorist attacks from Angolan territory against the people of South West Africa.'

It was an established principle of international law that a state may not permit or encourage on its territory activities aimed at acts of violence against another state.

It was also well established that a state had the right to take appropriate steps to protect its own security and territorial integrity against such acts

'That is why the South African Government has repeatedly urged the Angolan Government not to permit such activities

in its territory and why the South African Government has no alternative but to take whatever action it deems appropriate for the protection of the people of South Africa from such acts of violence,' said Mr Botha

'In the circumstances the South African security forces have felt it necessary to gather intelligence on the activities of ANC and Swapo terrorists in Angola and to take appropriate counter-action.

'In the course of such operations, a small team of South Africans apparently clashed with Angolan military elements. According to reports from the Angolan News Agency, two South Africans were killed and one was captured.

'The South African Government proposes an urgent meeting with the Angolan Government with regard to this incident and with regard to the return of the captured South African and the bodies of the two who were killed.'

Soldiers 'not engaged on sabotage mission'

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The South African soldiers whose presence in Angola's Cabinda Enclave has been revealed were definitely not engaged on a sabotage mission at the time, according to the Chief of the SADF, Gen Constand Viljoen.

Angolan spokesmen claimed two of the party were killed and one wounded and captured by Cabindan security forces, but local defence spokesmen have not yet been able to confirm this

Gen Viljoen yesterday categorically denied that the troops had been engaged in an attempt to blow up oil installations

at Mulongo in the enclave, source of the petroleum on which the economic survival of war-torn Angola depends.

Gen Viljoen repeated his statement of Thursday that the troops had been carrying out an information-gathering mission aimed at Cabinda's Swapo and African National Congress bases and installations, and its Cuban presence.

He added that the troops had definitely not been carrying sabotage weapons, in spite of allegations by Angolan spokesmen that 16 'contact mines', a silenced rifle and other munitions and equipment had been

picked up at the scene.

Meanwhile, authoritative defence sources said yesterday that there was 'no doubt' that information gained from such covert operations could be of vital importance to South African security, even in view of the politico-diplomatic repercussions following inevitably in the event of discovery.

The sources added that while South Africans were expected to stay on 'their side of the wall', it was also a breach of trust by the Angolans to tolerate the existence and operation of ANC camps where acts of terror against South African targets could be planned and rehearsed.

House fire

THE bedroom in the home of an Umlazi woman, Mrs A Mkize, was destroyed by fire yesterday. Nobody was injured in the incident which occurred at 10 30 am.

SA seeks return of captive, 2 bodies

CAPE TIMES 25/5/85

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~~25~~

THE government yesterday called for an urgent meeting with the Angolan Government to discuss the return of a captured South African soldier and the return of the bodies of two commandos killed in a clash with Angolan forces this week.

Families of commandos wait for

COPY TIME 25/5/85

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by CHRIS BATEMAN

THE families of two of the three South African Reconnaissance Commandos involved in the covert operation in northern Angola spoke last night of their anguished wait for word of which of the three soldiers had survived.

The families said they had been told by Defence Force spokesmen on Thursday that it had not yet been established which of the men had died and which man was still alive and in captivity.

Two of the commandos were positively identified by their families as Wynand du Toit, 26, of Langebaan, son of Mr and Mrs Piet du Toit of Dwaarskroos near Veldrif, and a soldier Liebenberg, of Darcy Street, Douglas, son of Mr and Mrs Roeland Liebenberg of Douglas.

The identity of the third soldier could not be established last night.

Mrs Ethel Shone, elder sister of Wynand du Toit, said he was the second family member to suffer misfortune "in the operational area" since 1978. Her oldest brother Johan, 23, had died in February 1978.

"The worst now is the doubt we have to live with. My parents are too shocked for words. We're just waiting and hoping," she said.

Wynand, one of three children, joined the army after matriculating. He joined the Reconnaissance Commandos in 1981.

Mrs Shone said Wynand's wife and the couple's three-year-old son Petrus were being comforted by Mrs Du Toit's parents at their Langebaan home.

Mr Henry Liebenberg, an Escorn electrician from Douglas, said his brother was the eldest of three sons. He said the family was "in a horrible state — we don't know whether he was one of those killed".

An SADF spokesman last night declined to confirm the identities of the soldiers.

IAN HOBBS reports from London that film of the two commandos killed and the one captured inside Angola on Tuesday has been screened on Angolan television and has been made available internationally.

A brief section of film showing the captured trooper, apparently in a hospital bed, was screened by the BBC last night.

The young man, who has not been named, was brown-haired, bearded and dazed. His arms were heavily bandaged and he appeared to be on a saline drip.

An Angolan Government statement issued in London yesterday rejected South Africa's claim that the survivor's unit had been gathering intelligence on ANC and Swapo guerrillas in the oil-rich Cabinda province north of Luanda.

As a storm of international protest against the operation mounted, the Angolans insisted the men were saboteurs.

The statement said the surviving commando had given full details of an operation to destroy installations at the Malongo oilfield and would be paraded before the international press in Luanda.

It also said the commandos had been carrying Unita rebel propaganda material.

"It has been established that the aim was to leave this material behind after carrying out the sabotage so as to make it appear that Unita was responsible for the crime. But this time the scheme failed and the South African's were caught red-handed."

It said Swapo and ANC guerrillas had never been active in the Cabinda area where the South Africans were ambushed.

Embarrassingly for Dr Chester Crocker, United States Assistant Secretary of State, a letter from him claiming that "as a direct result of US diplomacy the South African military attacks

es of commandos wait for word

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It said Swapo and ANC guerrillas had never been active in the Cabinda area where the South Africans were ambushed.

● Embarrassingly for Dr Chester Crocker, United States Assistant Secretary of State, a letter from him claiming that "as a direct result of US diplomacy the South African military attacks

against Angola and Mozambique have ended" was published in London yesterday.

The letter had been sent to Bishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and reached him hours before news of the incident in Cabinda.

As concern about the Cabinda incident spread through Western Europe, the British Foreign Office said it was "concerned" about the reported activities of SADF troops inside Angola.

"We are seeking to establish the facts," the spokesman said. "We have always made clear our strong opposition to the cross-border violence in South Africa."

Angolan incursion: Worse than a crime ^{(5) ~~2/18~~} ^{CRIT/TIME} ^{25/5/85} a blunder

THE abortive SADF raid into Angola has the makings of an embarrassing debacle, striking a blow at the West's diplomatic peace drive in the region.

Whatever the facts of the matter, which are by no means clear and may never become clear, the cynics will say that deniable "dirty tricks" are standard in international relations of the 80s.

They will say that the dust will settle and soon enough it will be diplomatic business as usual.

The cynics, who imagine that they are realists, have got it wrong. The historical precedents are against them.

There is a celebrated precedent in South African history which Afrikaner Nationalists understand and which illustrates the dire consequences of a perceived breach of faith between contending groups, parties peoples who are beginning to find one another.

This, of course, was the ill-fated Jameson Raid, which Winston Churchill called a "fountain of ill".

Effective steps

Churchill was right. The baleful effects of this shameless breach of trust between Cecil Rhodes, on behalf of the English financial and political establishment, and Jan Hofmeyr, leader of an emerging Cape Afrikanerdom, are felt to this day.

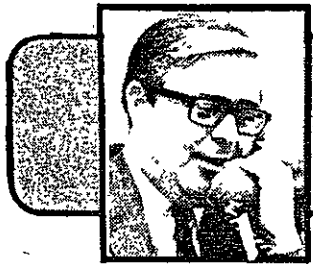
The first effective steps to heal the breach may be said to have been taken in our own generation by Mr Harry Oppenheimer when he invited Afrikaner capital into the gold mining industry.

This gesture has been sealed in recent times in the tacit alliance between Mr P W Botha and the English financial establishment.

Rhodes and Hofmeyr were partners in a political alliance between English finance and Afrikaner agricultural interests in the Cape Colony which was based on friendship and mutual confidence — which Rhodes destroyed overnight in a freebooting raid on Kruger's Transvaal.

Like the Cabinda caper, the Raid was a fiasco.

It did not blow over. The dust did not settle. The Jameson Raid set the scene for the Boer



Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW



South African troops pulling out of Angola earlier this year. The abortive SADF mission in Cabinda is a blow to the Western diplomatic drive for peace in the region.



VILJOEN: Denies sabotage mission.



CROCKER: Can he survive Cabinda?

of a militant Afrikaner Nationalism, poisoning relations between English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans for a generation and more. It wrecked the peace-making diplomacy of the time.

Appeared

Unhappily, the precedent set by the Jameson Raid in the use of "dirty tricks" in the 1890s to resolve the affairs of the sub-continent has been eagerly emulated in the 1980s by the SA defence establishment.

It appeared that the aggressive policy of destabilizing our neighbour states by covert action had been abandoned earlier this year, however, and that a new era of peacemaking, regional diplomacy had been launched in the signing of the Lusaka Agreement and the Nkomati Accord.

To black Africa and the world it now looks as if their confidence has been betrayed on both counts — and that South Africa, bent on aggression and imperialist domination of the region, is not to be trusted in international agreements.

It can only be hoped that things will look less

What exactly has happened?

In terms of the Lusaka Agreement, South Africa agreed to withdraw its forces from Angola as a preparatory step to peace in the region, paving the way for internationally-supervised elections and independence in Namibia in terms of Security Council Resolution 435.

Negotiating

At the same time Angola undertook to curb Swapo's activities in southern Angola. Talks between all the concerned parties to arrange a withdrawal or reduction of Cuban forces in Angola were also far advanced — and Dr Chester Crocker, on behalf of the United States, has just launched a new round of exchanges to bring the negotiation to finality.

South Africa, to all intents and purposes, has been negotiating in good faith with Angola and the United States, seeking to achieve a peaceful settlement of the affairs of the region. There has been some suspicion about this country's motives in continuing to support Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerrillas but,

the negotiations have not been questioned.

Just recently, a big step forward appeared to have been taken when the Joint Monitoring Commission was disbanded, having completed its task, and it was announced that South African troops had withdrawn from Angola.

Now, out of the blue, it seems a South African Reconnaissance Commando is active "north and south of Luanda", as General Viljoen's statement says, and "small groups" of troops are pursuing our national interests by spying on Swapo, ANC and Cuban troop formations.

Rather different

That is the SADF version, in effect admitting a breach of faith but arguing, rather like the lady with the illegitimate baby, that it was only "a very small one".

The Angolan version is rather different. If they can prove that it is true, there will be a case for heads to roll in the South African Ministry of Defence, starting at the top.

What Angola says, in effect, is that South African commandos were caught when about to sabotage the vital oil in-

bring Angola to its knees so that Pretoria's surrogate, Dr Savimbi, can be installed as the Angolan leader, or at least as a partner in a re-constituted Angolan government.

Savimbi option

If it is wished to retain some shred of credibility, South Africa would do well to make the facts of the operation public, fully and frankly.

The Savimbi option may or may not be a sensible policy. The point is that it is not our stated objective. It is not what we say we are trying to achieve — or what we purport to be working towards in concert with our trusted American allies.

Because of the track record of SADF statements, the SADF version of the incident is unlikely to be believed — unless it is frank and complete enough to be convincing and demonstrably true. People will believe the worst.

It takes little imagination to guess at the probable consequences of the Cabinda fiasco in Angolan politics. It is known that, broadly speaking, there are two competing factions in the Angolan government: a group of nationalist patriots who

breach of faith between contending groups, parties peoples who are beginning to find one another.

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Like the Cabinda caper, the Raid was a fiasco.

It did not blow over. The dust did not settle. The Jameson Raid set the scene for the Boer War and the emergence

of a militant Afrikaner Nationalism, poisoning relations between English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans for a generation and more. It wrecked the peace-making diplomacy of the time.

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To black Africa and the world it now looks as if their confidence has been betrayed on both counts — and that South Africa, bent on aggression and imperialist domination of the region, is not to be trusted in international agreements.

It can only be hoped that things will look less damning as facts emerge.

What exactly has happened?

In terms of the Lusaka Agreement, South Africa agreed to withdraw its forces from Angola as a preparatory step to peace in the region, paving the way for internationally-supervised elections and independence in Namibia in terms of Security Council Resolution 435.

Negotiating

At the same time Angola undertook to curb Swapo's activities in southern Angola. Talks between all the concerned parties to arrange a withdrawal or reduction of Cuban forces in Angola were also far advanced — and Dr Chester Crocker, on behalf of the United States, has just launched a new round of exchanges to bring the negotiation to finality.

South Africa, to all intents and purposes, has been negotiating in good faith with Angola and the United States, seeking to achieve a peaceful settlement of the affairs of the region. There has been some suspicion about this country's motives in continuing to support Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerillas but, by and large, our aims in

the negotiations have not been questioned.

Just recently, a big step forward appeared to have been taken when the Joint Monitoring Commission was disbanded, having completed its task, and it was announced that South African troops had withdrawn from Angola.

Now, out of the blue, it seems a South African Reconnaissance Commando is active "north and south of Luanda", as General Viljoen's statement says, and "small groups" of troops are pursuing our national interests by spying on Swapo, ANC and Cuban troop formations.

Rather different

That is the SADF version, in effect admitting a breach of faith but arguing, rather like the lady with the illegitimate baby, that it was only "a very small one".

The Angolan version is rather different. If they can prove that it is true, there will be a case for heads to roll in the South African Ministry of Defence, starting at the top.

What Angola says, in effect, is that South African commandos were caught when about to sabotage the vital oil installations at Cabinda, which produce 60 per cent of Angolan revenue, and have long been the target of anti-Luanda guerilla groups such as Unita and Flec, which is based in Zaire.

If this is true, and it has been strenuously denied by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Viljoen, it casts a curious light on South Africa's negotiating good faith in our dealings with Angola and President Reagan's Department of State.

It suggests that South Africa, in spite of its proclaimed commitment, has no intention whatsoever of promoting peace and independence in Namibia in terms of Resolution 435.

Again, the Rhodes analogy holds good. If the Angolan version is true, it suggests that South Africa is relentlessly pursuing its own imperialist aims in the region, extending its influence far to the north, hoping to

bring Angola to its knees so that Pretoria's surrogate, Dr Savimbi, can be installed as the Angolan leader, or at least as a partner in a re-constituted Angolan government.

Savimbi option

If it is wished to retain some shred of credibility, South Africa would do well to make the facts of the operation public, fully and frankly.

The Savimbi option may or may not be a sensible policy. The point is that it is not our stated objective. It is not what we say we are trying to achieve — or what we purport to be working towards in concert with our trusted American allies.

Because of the track record of SADF statements, the SADF version of the incident is unlikely to be believed — unless it is frank and complete enough to be convincing and demonstrably true. People will believe the worst.

It takes little imagination to guess at the probable consequences of the Cabinda fiasco in Angolan politics. It is known that, broadly speaking, there are two competing factions in the Angolan government: a group of nationalist patriots who favour peace and negotiations with the West and a group of ideological zealots who are responsive to Soviet aims in the region.

The latter group will now be able to argue that they have been right all along and that South Africa and the West are not to be trusted.

It remains to be seen how long Dr Chester Crocker can survive in Washington after the Cabinda fiasco. He has been made to look like a dupe of Pretoria.

It likewise remains to be seen whether "constructive engagement", already under heavy weather in America, will survive. The consequences for the peace of the region and South Africa's relations with the West are likewise incalculable.

Cabinda casts a long shadow. As someone said at the time of the Jameson Raid, it is worse than a crime, it is a blunder.



South African troops pulling out of Angola earlier this year. The abortive SADF mission in Cabinda is a blow to the Western diplomatic drive for peace in the region.



CROCKER: Can he survive Cabinda?



Angolan soldiers examine equipment allegedly taken from the South African soldiers.

SA in Angola: US wants explanation

Weekend Argus
Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States Government, angered by South Africa's ill-fated military adventure in northern Angola and its effect on the SWA/Namibia negotiations, has asked for a "full explanation" from the South African Government why its soldiers were in Angola.

The State Department twice summoned the South African Ambassador, Dr Brand Fourie, to express its displeasure and instructed its own Ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel, to lodge a strong protest with the South African Government and to demand an explanation, according to sources.

From Washington's point of view, the military operation could hardly have come at a worse time.

American officials, including President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz, have defended Dr Chester Crocker's policy of constructive engagement by pointing to American successes in helping to reduce

military operations and tension in the area.

Meanwhile, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, has emphasised the urgent need for a meeting between South Africa and Angola.

He said the South African Government had reached formal arrangements with the governments of Mozambique, Swaziland and Lesotho on the presence of African National Congress elements and their activities.

He found it surprising that no such arrangement had been agreed on in the extensive discussions and meetings between the Angolan and South African governments in setting up a joint monitoring commission (JMC).

Nobody denied that a country sometimes needed intelligence surveillance and clandestine operations to protect its interests. It was, however, difficult to maintain credibility in the international community if, immediately after a mutual agreement, this arrangement appeared to have been disregarded.

'Nine SA men in Cabinda'

ARGUS 25/5/85

Weekend Argus Reporter

AT least nine South African soldiers were secretly landed from the sea at Cabinda in northern Angola.

This was claimed today in an Angop news agency report from Lisbon. It quoted Luanda officials as saying that the South African commando group which was surprised in Cabinda consisted of at least nine men who arrived by sea in the oil-rich enclave 800 kilometres north of Luanda.

The South African Defence Force today released the names of the two soldiers who died and one who was captured earlier this week.

"Defence Headquarters regrets to announce the death of Louis Pieter van Breda and Rowland Ridgard Liebenberg, who died in Angola on Tuesday, May 21. Wynand Petrus Johannes du Toit was captured by the Angolan forces on the same day.

"All possible"

"We confirm that everything humanly possible is being done to ensure the return to South Africa of those who were involved," the SADF statement said.

The official Angolan news agency Angop said that Wynand du Toit would meet the Press soon.

The family of 25-year-old Roeland Liebenberg were shocked to hear that he had been in Angola.

"We had no idea ... he phoned us a few weeks ago to say he was going away," said his distraught brother, Mr

Hendrik Liebenberg of Darcy Street, Douglas.

Hendrik said his brother had been in the crack reconnaissance unit for four years and loved the army.

Wynand du Toit, the man who was captured, is from Langebaan. He is the son of Mr and Mrs Piet du Toit of Dwarskersbos, near Veldrif.

Brother killed

His sister, Mrs Ebeth Shone, said today: "We are thankful he is alive and send our deepest sympathies to the other two families. We hope and pray that we can get him back soon. The last time his parents saw him was on Mother's Day when he came to say goodbye."

Wynand joined the army after matriculating and moved to the Reconnaissance Commando in 1981.

His elder brother, Johan, was killed in the operational area in 1978.

Mr Van Breda's family could not be reached today.

Angop claimed that the commando unit was the same regular army unit which had previously sabotaged the Luanda Oil Refinery, destroyed the bridge over the Giraul River in Namibe Province, destroyed oil depots in Lobito and placed mines on two merchant ships in the port of Luanda.

It said Angolan television had shown the military equipment seized from the commandos, as well as the captured man and the bodies of the soldiers who had been killed.

MPLA rejects S

Cape Times 27/5/85 (S) *[Handwritten initials]*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PROSPECTS for the speedy repatriation of the dead and wounded SADF commandos who were involved in a clash with Angolan forces last week dimmed as the MPLA government rejected a South African call for urgent talks on their return.

As the international storm sparked by the disclosure of the continued presence of SADF soldiers in Angola continued to rage, opposition MPs in South Africa were preparing for a showdown with the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, whose vote will be debated in Parliament this week.

Mr Raimundo Sottomayor, head of the state-run Angolan news agency, Angop, said in Luanda yesterday that government officials had dismissed the call made on Friday by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, for direct negotiations on the return of the captured commando and the bodies of the two soldiers killed in the clash.

The captured man is Wynand Johannes Petrus du Toit and the two dead soldiers are Louis Pieter van Breda and Rowland Ridgard Liebenberg. The SADF has declined to disclose their ranks.

They were ambushed by Angolan army regulars near the Malongo complex — the site of Cabinda Gulf Oil Corporation installations. The Angolan Defence Ministry later said there appeared to have been nine in the party and that six commandos must have escaped in the incident on Tuesday.

'Criminal act'

Mr Sottomayor, quoting unnamed government officials, said that Angola was demanding an explanation from South Africa "for this criminal act".

However, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said the Angolan Government had still to officially communicate its standpoint to the South African Government.

The Angolan Govern-

ment has yet to acknowledge receipt of the original call for urgent talks issued by Mr Pik Botha on Friday.

When asked for comment on Angop's claim, the spokesman said the Department of Foreign Affairs was not prepared to react to statements issued by a news agency. However, Angop closely reflects the Angolan Government's thinking and policy.

Contradiction

A Sapa-AP report from Luanda quoted Mr Sottomayor as telling foreign reporters that "the Angolan Government has no intention of discussing this question with the South Africans in the next few days".

Later last night, Angop said: "The Angolan Government demands explanations from the South African Government for the criminal actions of the South African commandos."

Mr Sottomayor said Angolan officials had charged that the presence in Angola of South African commandos represented a "contradiction with the promises and announced peaceful intentions put forth by (President) P W Botha."

The Angolan officials were quoted as saying that claims by the South African Foreign Minister on Friday that the SADF soldiers were searching for members of Swapo and the ANC, did not make sense.

"There are no refugees at all in Cabinda," the officials were quoted as saying. "But the statements from South Africa make it clear there are other sabotage groups in Angola."

The Angolan Defence Ministry scheduled a news conference for today to present the cap-

tured South African commando.

The commandos were found less than a month after South Africa said it had completed a pullout of its troops from southern Angola.

UPI reported that Lisbon's communist daily newspaper O Diario, in a report from its special envoy in Luanda, said on Saturday that Angolan authorities had monitored "every step" the South African commando group took from the time it left South Africa.

The newspaper said the group had left Durban by sea on May 13 and landed in Cabinda five days later, carrying combat rations for three days.

The group "was intercepted and neutralized on May 21, when it was about to set explosive charges in Malongo", the newspaper said.

'Propaganda'

A South African military spokesman said last night: "This kind of propaganda and wild speculation is predictable and even expected."

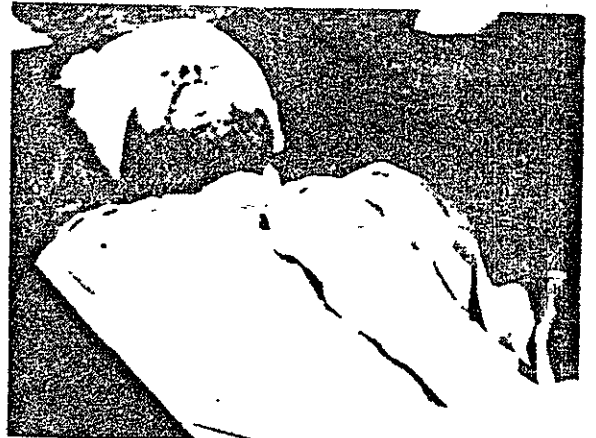
"The Defence Force has nothing to add to statements already made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chief of the SADF."

Meanwhile, everything points to a stormy debate in Parliament this week when the spotlight will fall on the increasingly controversial role of the Defence Force in the sub-continent.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday that his party would confront the government over the "lies" and the "crisis of credibility" that had plagued SADF activities ever since the clandestine invasion of Angola by South African forces in 1975.



South African soldier Wynand du Toit lies in northern Ang



The bodies of two South African soldiers who The pictures were supplied to Reuter

CAN. TIMES 27/5/85

ects SA plea

Wife of captive 'very proud'

Staff Reporter

MRS LOWNA DU TOIT, 23, wife of the South African soldier captured in northern Angola last week, spoke yesterday of how "tremendously relieved" she had been to hear that her husband was still alive.

She was told this news on Friday evening by telephone from Pretoria, she said.

"All that is important for me is that my man is alive. I am very proud of him," she said.

"I have no other news of him. I have to go on what the newspapers say."

Mrs Du Toit, speaking from her Langebaan home by telephone, said she had been married to Wynand for almost five years. They have a three-year-old son named Johan.

Major I J Joubert, acting officer commanding of Wynand du Toit's unit, would not confirm that Wynand was a member of the Recce Commandos, nor would he provide his age or rank.

Local sources who declined to be identified said Wynand du Toit was a career soldier in his late twenties, an officer in 1 Reconnaissance Commando unit.

Louis Pieter van Breda, one of the two men who died in the clash between the clandestine South African unit and Angolan forces, lived in Vredenburg, within 20km of Langebaan.

The house listed under his name in the telephone book was deserted yesterday and a neighbour said the family had "moved to the other side of town" to an address he did not know.

Mrs Du Toit said she "hardly knew" Mr Van Breda or Mr Rowland Liebenberg — the other man killed — and could not say anything about them.

Major Joubert said the same order not to provide information applied in Mr Van Breda's case.



South African soldier Wynand du Toit lies in hospital in Luanda after being captured in northern Angola last week. Picture: Reuter



bodies of two South African soldiers who were killed in northern Angola last week. The pictures were supplied to Reuter by the Angolan news agency Angop.

Angola tells S A to explain its actions

NM 27/8/85

LISBON—Angola yesterday called on Pretoria to explain what it called 'criminal actions' by South African commandos in Northern Angola, the official Angolan news agency Angop said.

In a despatch from Luanda, Angop said that up to Saturday night Angolan authorities had no official knowledge of a South African request for an urgent meeting about a clash in which two South African soldiers were killed and another captured.

Quoting official sources, Angop said Luanda had no intention of discussing the problem with the South Africans in a few days.

'On the contrary,' the agency said, 'the Angolan Government demands explanations from the South African Government for the criminal actions of the South African commandos, frustrated by the prompt and vigilant action of the Angolan armed forces.'

Intentions

Angola has said its troops engaged the South African commandos while they were trying to sabotage oil installations in the northern Cabinda province.

Angop said the South African action was in direct contradiction with promised peaceful intentions by Pretoria.

It declared that South African statements defending the action 'made no sense because there are no South West African or South African refugees in the Angolan province of Cabinda'.

Angop said the captured South African would be presented to the international Press next week. It also said South African statements suggested that other sabotage groups were operating in Angola.

In another development, the Portuguese news agency Anop quoted Mr Sam Nujoma, leader of Swapo, as repeating in Luanda that his nationalist guerillas were ready to sign a ceasefire with South Africa whenever

Pretoria ceased its intransigence.

Our parliamentary correspondent writes that the prospects of a speedy repatriation of the surviving SADF commando involved in the clash with Angolan forces last week dimmed with the MPLA Government's apparent rejection of the South African call for urgent talks for the return of the man and bodies of two dead colleagues.

Standpoint

However, in Cape Town last night, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said the Angolan Government had still to officially communicate its standpoint to the South African Government.

The MPLA Government had yet to acknowledge receipt of the original call for urgent talks issued by Mr Botha on Friday — the day after the SADF first denied the Cabinda incident before admitting to the deployment of 'intelligence' units in Angola.

When asked to react to reports of a rejection of talks by Angop — which closely reflects MPLA thinking and policy — the spokesman said the Department of Foreign Affairs was not prepared to react to statements issued by a news agency.

Named

The SADF soldier wounded and captured in a Defence Force commando mission deep into Angola this week has been named as Mr Wynand Johannes Petrus du Toit.

The SADF named two soldiers killed in the ambush, which Angola claims took place in oil-rich Cabinda, north of the Zaire River, as Mr Louis Pieter van Breda, whose family lives in the south-western Cape, and Mr Rowland Ridgard Liebenberg, from the northern Cape.

Mrs Lowna du Toit, 23, wife of Wynand, spoke yesterday of how 'tremendously relieved' she had been to hear that her husband was still alive.

She was told the news on Friday evening. — (Sapa-Reuter).

Angola turns down S Africa offer

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27/5/85
Sowetan

LUANDA — The Angolan Government yesterday rejected a South African call for talks about a group of South African commandos discovered in Angola's Cabinda province and demanded an explanation from Pretoria.

In a meeting with foreign reporters in Luanda, Mr Raimundo Sottomayor, head of the state-run news agency Angop, said officials rejected the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha's weekend call for direct negotiations.

Two South African commandos were killed in the ambush by Angolan army regulars near the Malongo complex — the site of installations of Cabinda Gulf Oil Co — and a third was captured. The Angolan Defence Ministry later said there appeared to have been nine in the party and that six commandos must have escaped in the incident on Tuesday.

Mr Botha called for talks with the Angolans over the return of the bodies and the captured commando — a day after South African military spokesmen first denied the Cabinda report before admitting South African "intelligence units" were in Angola only to "gather information".

Mr Sottomayor said the Angolan officials, who he refused to identify, said Angola had not been officially notified of Mr Botha's request but that the Angolan Government has no intention of discussing this question with the South Africans within the next few days.

Angola "demands an explanation from South Africa for this criminal act," the officials were quoted as saying.

The government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' marxist MPLA-PT party regularly divulges major policy decisions through Angop, and agency reports strictly reflect government thinking.

Mr Sotomayor said the officials charged the presence in Angola of South African commandos "represents a contradiction with the promises and announced peaceful intentions put forth by P W Botha."

The Angolan officials were quoted as saying that claims by Mr Pik Botha that the South Africans were searching for members of Swapo or the ANC, don't "make sense".

"There are no refugees at all in Cabinda," the officials were quoted as saying. "But the statements from South Africa make it clear there are other sabotage groups in Angola." — Sapa-AP.

Angola may go to UN after ambush of S A commandos

LUANDA—Angola says it may ask the United Nations Security Council to take up the matter of South African commandos operating in Angolan territory.

The two South Africans killed and a third captured were preparing to sabotage the U S-Angolan Malango Oil complex in Cabinda province, it claims.

A Government information officer, Mr Adelino de Almeida, told reporters the captured South African, identified as Wynand Petrus du Toit, would be presented to the Press 'once the proper preparations have been made'.

He is in a Luanda hospital with a gunshot wound in the shoulder.

Mr de Almeida said the Government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was considering calling

on the Security Council to take up the issue. The Angolan Government had earlier asked for a Security Council discussion on South West Africa.

He noted that the U S would have been affected if the commandos had been able to carry out a raid on the Cabinda Gulf Oil complex, 49 percent U S-owned and 51 percent Angolan-owned. The complex has a daily output of 120 000 barrels.

'A lot of Americans would have been killed if the commandos had not been discovered,' Mr de Almeida said.

The U S State Department said on Friday the U S reaction was one of 'great displeasure', since it not only could have sabotaged the U S-operated oil installation but also a peace initiative on southern Africa sponsored by the U S. — (Sapa-AP)

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Angolans make no reply to Pik's call

Argus Political Staff

SOURCES in the Department of Foreign Affairs said today Angola had still not replied officially to Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's message sent on Friday requesting an urgent meeting to negotiate the return of the wounded and dead South Africans ambushed in Cabinda earlier in the week.

The incident has whipped up a storm of international condemnation and has knocked South Africa's credibility five weeks after giving public and private assurances that it had withdrawn all its forces from Angola.

REJECTED

The Angolan news agency Anop reported at the weekend that Angolan government officials had rejected direct negotiations. Angola was instead demanding an explanation for "this criminal act".

The Defence Force has denied that South Africans were involved in sabotage but has admitted that reconnaissance units were in Angola to monitor ANC and Swapo activities.

The Portuguese news agency Anop reported in Lisbon that official Angolan sources promised to give more details of the incident soon. They also promised the captured soldier, Wynand du Toit, would be presented to the Press but gave no date.

● A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said today there were diplomatic options open if Angola continued to withhold a response.

● Mother in dark — Page 3.

Angola may complain to UN over raid

CAPE TIMES

28/5/85

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LUANDA. — Angola yesterday said that it may ask the United Nations Security Council to take up the matter of South African commandos operating in Angolan territory.

An Angolan information officer, Mr Adelino de Almeida, told reporters late yesterday that his government was considering calling on the Security Council to take up the issue.

The Angolan Government had earlier asked for a Security Council discussion on SWA/Namibia, its neighbour to the south.

"We may seek a general discussion on Southern Africa that would cover both issues," he said.

'Sabotage'

Angola has said that it killed two soldiers and captured a third member of a South African commando group, who were preparing to sabotage the US-Angolan Malango Oil complex in northern Cabinda last Tuesday.

The captured South African, identified by Pretoria as Wynand Petrus du Toit, would be presented to the press, "once the proper preparations have been made", said Mr De Almeida yesterday.

Mr Du Toit is being treated in a Luanda hospital for a gunshot wound in the shoulder.

Mr De Almeida noted that the United States would have been affected if the commandos had been able to carry out a raid on the Cabinda Gulf Oil complex.

"A lot of Americans would have been killed if the commandos had not been discovered," said Mr De Almeida.

Last week a US State Department spokesman, Mr Edward Djerejian, said that their reaction was one of "great displeasure", since it not only could have sabotaged the oil installation but a US-sponsored peace initiative in southern Africa as well.

Mr De Almeida said it was unclear whether the US condemnation covered only the Cabinda incident "or a more general concept of South African sabotage operations in Angola."

He said that the incident "clearly demonstrates earlier acts of

sabotage along the Angolan coast were carried out by the South Africans — and not by the South-African backed Unita rebel movement."

After first denying any knowledge of the Cabinda incident, South Africa later said it had intelligence-gathering units in northern Angola to get information on the ANC and Swapo.

● The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) — which is campaigning for the abolition of compulsory national service — yesterday accused the South African Defence Force of "actively deceiving the South African public".

Questions

A statement followed a meeting of the ECC's national committee, which "deeply condemned" the actions of SADF troops in Angola.

This deception goes back to the initial invasion of Angola in 1975 and continued with SADF support for Ren-

amo in Mozambique, which was for years denied by the South African authorities".

The ECC said these actions prompted the question: "Are we ever to believe the SADF?"

It said that for South African conscripts the implications were severe in that they had no prior knowledge of the deeds they would be forced to commit once they began their service.

Support

● The official Cuban daily newspaper, Granma, yesterday said that the discovery of the commandos in Cabinda illustrated the South African Government's continued support for guerillas trying to topple the Angolan Government.

"It is a well demonstrated fact that the bands of Unita and the South African army are closely co-ordinated," it said in an editorial. — Sapa-Reuters and Own Correspondent

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lan Opera House.

Picture: Stewart Colman

More SADF raids into Angola possible

ARGUS 28/5/82 (5) (28/5)

Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — Further SADF raids into Angola should not be ruled out, according to the Institute for Strategic Studies (Issup) at the University of Pretoria.

Issup said in a paper the Defence Force chief, General Constand Viljoen, had warned that future military actions by South Africa in Angola depended on the MPLA's ability to control Swapo.

Issup's remarks are particularly pertinent at a time when South Africa has clashed with Angola over three members of

a South African commando unit captured while allegedly attempting to sabotage oil installations in Cabinda.

Two of the men were killed and a third is being held captive.

The Issup paper said that to some extent South Africa was involved in a mini arms race with the Soviet Union in a regional context.

"Although there are of course limits to what the Soviet Union may be willing to supply Angola, for instance, South Africa does have technological, financial and manpower constraints which adversely affect the country's ability to main-

tain a credible deterrent.

"It would appear that the conventional threat to South Africa in fact lies in the longer-term implications of Soviet arms supplies to Angola and to a lesser extent Mozambique."

The possibility of a combined Soviet/proxy conventional offensive against South Africa, although highly unlikely at this stage, could not be ruled out completely should a civil war develop in South Africa, the paper said.

In the meantime, however, the Soviets would continue the arms build-up in neighbouring states in order to gain influence.

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

SHARP criticism of recent action by the Defence Force in Angola is expected in the debate on the Defence vote which starts in the Assembly today.

Opposition spokesmen are to continue their criticism of the Cabinda incident in which two South African soldiers were killed and one wounded and captured.

The debate will be opened by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, with speakers expected to ask questions about the Government's control of the Defence Force.

The Opposition says the impression has been created that the SADF takes its own decisions, regardless of the peace initiatives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Explanations

They will also press for explanations on how the Angolan incident took place at a time when peace moves in Southern Africa and attempts to find a SWA/Namibian solution had reached such a delicate stage.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, will speak late this afternoon and tomorrow.

Defence Force spokesmen have maintained that the soldiers involved in the Cabinda incident were commandos on a reconnaissance raid. Angola alleges that they were found with limpet mines and other equipment, indicating that they were on their way to sabotage oil installations in Cabinda, north of Angola.

Angola now also claims that earlier acts of sabotage along the Angolan coast were carried out by South Africans and not by Unita as previously stated.

UN resolution

The Department of Foreign Affairs has declined to react to these allegations, saying it does not comment on newspaper reports.

There is now also the possibility that Angola will raise the matter at the United Nations.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said today Pretoria would almost certainly contest any UN resolution against South Africa.

So far there has been no official Angolan reaction to Pretoria's request for a meeting between representatives of the two countries.

Meanwhile, Sapa-AP reports from Luanda that Angola says it may ask the UN Security Council to take up the matter of South African commandos operating in its territory.

Opposition on the attack over SA troops in Angola

PKSUS 28/5/85 (5)

Angola will go to UN

LUANDA — Angola says it may ask the United Nations Security Council to take up the matter of South African commandos operating in Angolan territory.

Angola says it killed two South Africans and captured a third member of a commando

group it said was preparing to sabotage the US-Angolan Malango oil complex in northern Cabinda province last Tuesday.

A government information officer, Mr Adelino de Almeida, told reporters the captured South African,

identified by Pretoria as Wynand Petrus du Toit, would be presented to the Press, "once the proper preparations have been made."

He is being treated in a Luanda hospital for a gunshot wound in the shoulder.

Mr de Almeida said

the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was considering calling on the Security Council to take up the issue. The Angolan government had earlier asked for a Security Council discussion on Namibia, its neighbour to the south

Soweton 28/5/85

"We may seek a general discussion on southern Africa that would cover both issues," Mr de Almeida said.

He noted that the United States would have been affected if the commandos had been able to carry out a raid on the Cabinda Gulf oil complex, 49 percent US-owned and 51 percent Angolan-owned. The complex has a daily output of 120 000 barrels.

"A lot of Americans would have been killed if the commandos had not been discovered," Mr de Almeida said.

A US state department spokesman, Mr Edward Djerejian, said on Friday the US reaction to the incident was one of "great displeasure", since it not only could have sabotaged the US-operated oil installation but a peace initiative in southern Africa sponsored by the United States as well. — Sapa.

Army catches up with camp dodgers

READERS who spotted a news item in our columns yesterday telling of a three-month suspended jail sentence imposed on a Citizen Force second-lieutenant named J M van Zyl for failing to respond to a call-up may as well realize that this is a sign of things to come.

The Van Zyl case was one of two tried in Cape Town this week and more can be expected because the SADF has become very serious about stamping out the traditional pastime of camp-dodging.

Camp-dodging has always been based on two assumptions: The army is unlikely to catch up with you and, even if it does, you will be hauled before a civilian magistrate who will let you off with a slap-on-the-wrist fine.

In the words of one who is concerned in these matters, many camp dodgers regard such fines as business expenses.

Well, those happy days are gone — for two reasons:

- The army has set up what it calls "tracing teams" to run camp-dodgers to earth, which they do with a good deal of success.

- Penalties have been upgraded. Till March this year penalties for camp-dodging had not changed since the Defence Act was passed in 1957. This is one reason why the army preferred to have dodgers tried in civil courts.

Now, however, the original fines have been adjusted quite formidably. Future camp dodgers will appear before military courts, which have the power to fine an officer up to R5 000, a warrant-officer or non-commissioned officer up to R1 200 and a private up to R600.

This is a lot of potatoes, no matter what size chips you slice from them.

Cape Times 29/5/85



On Parade

By Willem Steenkamp

A Defence Review



Cabinda query

WHAT were the Recces up to in Cabinda? Both the SADF and Angola can't be right, so I consulted several knowledgeable observers (non-official) and concluded that, leaving aside the questions of morality, credibility and wisdom, the Recces were, in fact, bent on information of some kind rather than sabotage.

Consider the simple mechanics of the matter. We have a small group operating in very difficult terrain, so far from any safe territory that their mere insertion and extraction is a perilous operation in its own right.

The first result of any sabotage attempt is an immediate intensification of security force activities in the area. Unless the operators

are willing to take to the bush till the fuses die down, their departure becomes risky, to say the least.

If they stay their chances of being caught with a hand in the cookie jar are much greater, an extremely embarrassing event in the Angolan context (if you don't believe me, ask Mr Pik Botha).

Conclusion: A sneak-and-peek operation would appear to be more likely. In any case, Cabinda has a full-scale insurgency of its own, which means that there are enough local saboteurs on hand without extra talent being needed.

PS: Let the usual letter-writing gang please note that I am trying to be objective about an extremely murky matter; not that this will stop them.

Van Zyl was tracked down by the 71 Motorized Brigade tracing unit. I am told such units nation-wide followed up 1 634 cases of camp-dodging in the past calendar year. This cost exactly R19 098,29, broken down as follows:

- 9 703 man-hours, costing R14 282,45.

- 10 454 vehicle kilometres, costing R1 857.

- 44 903 telephone units, costing R2 958.

This amounts to about R12 a man, which is not much, but it is still 19 000 smackers in taxpayers' money which has gone down the drain.

Moral: In the long run it's simpler (not to say cheaper) to do your camp. Or, if you have compelling and proveable reasons, to apply for a deferment.

Raid 'not breach of agreement'

Cape Times
29/5/85
(5)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, yesterday denied that last week's reconnaissance commando spy raid into northern Angola breached the Lusaka agreement on the withdrawal of troops from Angolan territory in the south.

General Malan also denied that the incident — which ended in a fiasco — had been a destabilizing action against the Angolan Government, or that the SADF had pitched the country into a credibility crisis. He said it had been a mission to gather intelligence.

'Gaddafi'

He made the statement at the opening of the second reading of his budget vote in the House of Assembly.

The debate was characterized by claims by the PFP and the CP that General Malan and the government had lied to Parliament about defence matters on previous occasions.

It was also marked by accusations by Mr Graham McIntosh (PFP Maritzburg North) that General Malan had become "the Gaddafi of Southern Africa". His speech provoked an uproar in the House.

Mr McIntosh was preceded by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, who said the SADF had given the Angolans a propaganda victory and fresh justification to maintain the Cuban presence.

General Malan told the House that the agreement reached in Lusaka last year was related to Swapo and its activities in a defined area — and not to the ANC.

The SADF had withdrawn from southern Angola in terms of this agreement. The events of last week had nothing to do with the Lusaka agreement and it was unfair to link the two matters.

He denied allegations that the SADF had been involved in a destabilizing action, saying there had been no interference in Angola's internal affairs. "Our target was, and is, not the state of Angola. Our target was the ANC and Swapo," General Malan said.

Destabilization was aimed at a target state with the intention of disrupting that state's economic, political and community infrastructures — which the government was not attempting in Angola now.

It had become clear some time ago that the ANC and Swapo were moving to northern Angola and the Angolan Government had been repeatedly warned of the risks of harbouring elements plotting against the Republic.

He gave no further details of the operation, which ended in the death of two soldiers and the capture of a third.

He gave an assurance that the government would do everything possible to arrange the return of the bodies of the two SADF men killed and the repatriation of the third man, who was wounded and is being held in Luanda.

NRP defence spokesman Mr Vause Raw supported the principle of covert operations but questioned the wisdom of the Angola operation at this time.

Why, for instance, could the required information not have been obtained by the National Intelligence Service? General Malan should also say if the cabinet had authorized the operation or whether it was a military one.

Briefed

The operation had been a calculated risk and had come at a time when peace was being sought in Southern Africa. Nothing could have done the country more harm at this stage, Mr Raw said.

The CP's Mr Koos van der Merwe said he and the party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, had been briefed on the incident by the Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen. As a result, the CP had decided to say no more about the matter.

Mr Tom Langley of the CP called on the minister to give urgent attention to cutting the length of national service by six months or a year and to increasing the pay of conscripts. — Political Staff and Sapa

Defence issue raises problems within PFP

CARE TINTS 29/5/85 (5)

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

—The thorny issue of Defence once again seems set to cause divisions within the Opposition Progressive Federal Party.

Yesterday, former Defence spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz stalked from the House of Assembly after the MP for Maritzburg North, Mr Graham McIntosh, had launched a vitriolic attack on the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

While calling for the release of convicted Defence Force spy Roland Hunter, and describing the dilemma he must have found himself in when he realized that the SADF was supporting the Mozambiquan resistance movement Renamo, Mr McIntosh said Hunter must have felt "the same moral agony that a decent German must have felt when he realized that the SS was gassing Jews, Slavs and gipsies".

'Gaddafi'

It is understood that the reference to nazi Germany clearly upset Mr Schwarz who apparently said to Mr McIntosh as he left the chamber that he did not approve of his analogy.

Mr McIntosh also described General Malan as "the Gaddafi of Southern Africa".

Mr Schwarz will speak today when the debate on the Defence Vote continues while the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, will wind up the PFP's attack.

Yesterday, describing the relationship between the Defence Force and Parliament, Dr Slabbert said with regard to the Angolan war of 1974/5 and with the question of destabilization in Mozambique the truth had not been told to Parliament.

What, he asked "is Parliament expected to believe as officially true from this minister and this department?"

Stating that he would not publicly probe or expose issues that could harm the interests of South Africa, Dr Slabbert said that if, however, the matter was widely accepted as public knowledge inside or outside South Africa, "I am damned if I am going to allow the Parliament of my own country to be kept in ignorance".

In a hard-hitting speech, Dr Slabbert said the average South African "must find himself in a state of complete confusion and disbelief

when he hears statements from the SADF".

The SADF, he added, was creating both for itself and for South Africa "a major crisis of credibility".

Incident

The matter of timing in clandestine surveillance was crucial if the operation was not to become a threat to the very interests it was supposed to protect.

With the most recent incident in Cabinda, he said:

● There was a problem of political credibility because the official position was contradicted by the actions of those who were supposed to uphold this position;

Cubans

● It would give further justification for the retention of Cubans in Angola, an issue which was bedevilling a SWA/Namibian settlement;

● contradicted the stated position that with the end of the Joint Monitoring Commission all South African troops were out of Angola, and

● enforced the position of South Africa as a regional destabilizer and thus fanned the flames of disinvestment.

DEFENCE

Slabbert slams SADF

Parliamentary Staff

THE Defence Force had created a major credibility crisis for itself, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, told the House of Assembly during the debate on the Defence vote, in which last week's Angolan incident was raised.

Dr Slabbert accused the SADF of appearing to have "their own timetable and totally unaccountable agenda" when it came to questions of international relations, foreign policy, regional co-operation and "even domestic initiatives."

It had handed a "major propaganda coup" to the Angolan Go-

vernment. The Angolan incident would be used to justify the continued presence of Cubans in Angola, an issue already "bedevilling" the SWA/Namibian settlement.

The affair would also give ammunition to the disinvestment campaign in the United States, as South Africa's image as a "regional destabiliser" would be reinforced.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said the soldiers were on a reconnaissance mission in when they encountered Angolan forces. "The rest is known to you. Our target was not and is not the state of Angola but the ANC and Swapo".

Dr Slabbert said that once a country's credibility was destroyed and when it enjoyed no honour for its word, it then became a "vagabond among nations."

It was not in dispute that clandestine intelligence operations were a part of any modern society's "method of looking after its interests."

"But the manner, timing and necessity of a particular operation most certainly should be of considerable concern, because if not, the operation itself can become a threat to the very interests it is intended to protect."

Uproar in the House over 'Gaddafi' remark

Parliamentary Staff

A Progressive Federal Party MP who accused the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, of becoming the "Gaddafi of Southern Africa" in his use of the Defence Force caused an uproar in the House of Assembly during the debate on the defence vote.

Mr Graham McIntosh (PFP Maritzburg North) said the SADF had been involved in destabilisation

campaigns which had involved "terrorism, murder, covert operations and insurgency".

The most recent incident in Angola, where two South African soldiers were killed and one captured, fitted into a pattern of destabilisation on the sub-continent.

"Easily fitted into that pattern are the Seychelles incident and the sabotage of the Zimbabwe's air

force aircraft, the blowing up of their ammunition dump near Harare, the attack on Luanda's fuel installations and attacks on transport links to Zimbabwe with Mozambique," he said.

Throughout his speech Government members muttered: "You are a scandal to this House" and members of the New Republic Party at one stage asked: "Aren't you ashamed of yourself?"

Malan

attacked for 'lies'

CAF Tinks 29/5/85 (5)

to House

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, was yesterday accused of "lying" to Parliament and of becoming the "Gaddafi of Southern Africa" during a stormy debate in the wake of the ill-fated "recce" raid into Angola.

During the lively two-hour debate on the Defence vote — in which all opposition parties criticized General Malan — the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said "obvious lies" told to Parliament by General Malan had helped destroy South Africa's credibility.

The Conservative Party defence spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe, suggested President P W Botha might have given the green light to the abortive 1982 Seychelles coup bid. If this was the case, Mr Botha should have been tried along with the leader of the mission, Colonel Mike Hoare, he said.

However, some of the remarks by Mr Graham McIntosh (PFP Maritzburg North) could lead to divisions in the Official Opposition.

After his speech, during which the SADF was blamed for sponsoring destabilization and terrorism on the subcontinent, former PFP defence spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz stalked out of the House after apparently telling Mr McIntosh he did not agree.

Germans" who had become aware of nazi gas-sing and an imprisoned former national serviceman who had become aware that the Department of Special Operations "was nothing more than a Department of Destabilization and Terrorism involved with much more than just Renamo".

General Malan introduced the debate by denying that the SADF was guilty of destabilization "anywhere", dismissing charges that South Africa was violating the 1984 Lusaka Agreement as "far-fetched", and slamming critics who argued that SADF actions had created a credibility problem as being "out of touch with reality".

He dismissed reports that had "insinuated that we are aggressive, dishonest imperialists and that there can be no confidence in our word".

Target

General Malan contended that the Cabinda incident involved "no destabilization of Angola" and "no interference in the internal affairs of Angola" as the target was not the state of Angola but the ANC and Swapo.

have become "a law unto themselves" and had plunged the SADF and South Africa into a "major crisis of credibility".

During the 1974-75 Angolan war, Parliament and the rest of the country became the "victims of systematic deception" when Prime Minister John Vorster and his Cabinet "simply deliberately did not tell the truth to Parliament".

When the PFP questioned the SADF role of destabilizing Mozambique during the no-confidence debate in 1983 they were accused of "singing in Radio Moscow's choir".

"And now the government quite blatantly admits that we were correct then and if necessary they would lie to us again and do the whole thing all over."

Mr McIntosh said South Africans should not be surprised by the Cabinda incident because it was typical of deliberate policy applied by the SADF from the late 1970s.

"Since South Africa illegally invaded Angola, parts of our Defence Force have been involved in destabilization which has involved sabotage, terrorism, covert

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However, some of the remarks by Mr Graham McIntosh (PFP Maritzburg North) could lead to divisions in the Official Opposition.

After his speech, during which the SADF was blamed for sponsoring destabilization and terrorism on the subcontinent, former PFP defence spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz stalked out of the House after apparently telling Mr McIntosh he did not agree.

It is understood Mr Schwarz was particularly upset by a comparison between the moral dilemma facing "decent

Germans" who had become aware of nazi gasping and an imprisoned former national serviceman who had become aware that the Department of Special Operations "was nothing more than a Department of Destabilization and Terrorism involved with much more than just Renamo".

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He dismissed reports that had "insinuated that we are aggressive, dishonest imperialists and that there can be no confidence in our word".

Target

General Malan contended that the Cabinda incident involved "no destabilization of Angola" and "no interference in the internal affairs of Angola" as the target was not the state of Angola but the ANC and Swapo.

Replying to General Malan, Dr Slabbert said the minister and his department appeared to

have become "a law unto themselves" and had plunged the SADF and South Africa into a "major crisis of credibility".

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"And now the government quite blatantly admits that we were correct then and if necessary they would lie to us again and do the whole thing all over."

Mr McIntosh said South Africans should not be surprised by the Cabinda incident because it was typical of deliberate policy applied by the SADF from the late 1970s.

"Since South Africa illegally invaded Angola, parts of our Defence Force have been involved in destabilization which has involved sabotage, terrorism, covert operations and insurgency.

"And this has been covered up for most South Africans by lies, empty denials, black propaganda, disinformation and the cynical use of the Defence and Internal Security Acts."

He referred to sabotage incidents in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and Seychelles which he said were "all part of a pattern".

For the last decade South African taxpayers' money had been used to train and supply "our own and foreign forces in the techniques and execution of subversion and sabotage".

The New Republic Party's spokesman on defence, Mr Vause Raw, said he appreciated the need for South Africa to gather intelligence information but questioned whether the SADF should be embarking on high-risk operations "when so much is at stake in the movement towards peace in Africa".

● Raid 'not breach of agreement', page 4

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Commandos 'sent to blow up oil depot'

Cape Times 12/9/85

LUANDA. — A South African commando captured by Angolan troops said yesterday the group he commanded had intended to blow up a key oil depot and was not just searching for guerillas, as the South African Government claimed.

Petrus du Toit, appearing at a government-arranged news conference in the Angolan capital, said his commandos, captured last Tuesday, had planned to attack the Cabinda Gulf Oil depot at Malongo in northern Cabinda province in order to cause a "considerable economic setback to the Angolan Government".

Pretoria, which confirmed its commandos were in the area and identified Du Toit as among them, claimed the group was searching for rebels operating in the area.

Du Toit, who had his left arm in a sling and wore hospital pajamas during the two-hour news conference, said he was shot in the neck, shoulder and arm when his unit was attacked by Angolan troops near the refinery. Two other commandos, identified by South Africa as Luis Pieter van Brenda and Rowland Ridgard Liebenberg, were killed.

Du Toit flatly contradicted the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik

Botha's statement that the commandos were in Cabinda — which is more than 2 000km north of the Angolan border with SWA/Namibia — looking for members of Swapo.

Du Toit said the group's mission was to place mines at the oil depot.

"This last operation was launched with the aim of destroying the storage tanks at Cabinda Gulf," he said.

Asked later if Mr Botha's claim were correct, he replied: "No, we were not looking for ANC or Swapo, we were attacking Gulf Oil."

"But," he added, "by that action we hoped to reduce Angolan Government aid to those groups."

Speaking in advance of Du Toit, Mr Paulino Pinto Joao, director of the Department of Information and Propaganda, termed Mr Botha's remarks "a ridiculous claim", adding, "Once again the South African Government has sought to camouflage its true intentions."

"This action was undertaken to destroy Malongo and to cripple the Angolan Government," he said.

"We would have lost \$30-million worth of crude oil, \$200 million in equipment and another \$250 million in lost pro-

duction during reconstruction" had the attack succeeded, he added.

He reiterated the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Afonso van Dunen's rejection on Saturday of a South African call for talks over the release of Du Toit and the return of the bodies of the other commandos.

● An SADF spokesman last night denied that South Africa had sent commandos to Angola to blow up oil installations.

The spokesman pointed out that the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, had "put it on record very clearly during debate on his budget vote in Parliament yesterday, that the Marxists are very persuasive."

"The minister said yesterday that the captive soldier would be used for maximum propaganda purposes. The Marxists are known for the methods they use to make captives talk in a way which suits their specific propaganda purposes."

"The captive is in their hands and the Marxists would not have made the earlier statements they did without knowing they would be able to persuade him to say what they wanted him to say." — Sapa-AP

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BOOKS

ARGUS 29/5/85

5

France's mercurial role in Angola

JAMES TOMLINS. The Argus Foreign Service correspondent in Paris, reports on a new book on French policy in Southern Africa

A NEW book published this week on the French secret service (SDECE) reveals for the first time President Francois Mitterrand's new policy on Angola.

The book, *La Piscine*, said president Mitterrand decided at the end of last year to back Unita, following its series of successes against Luan-da's Marxist government.

The book said Mr Mitterrand's socialist government, which came to power in 1981, had had "many hesitations" over what to do about Angola.

"At the beginning of his mandate, president Mitterrand ordered the cutting off of all supplies to Unita.

"The Moroccan and Senegalese secret services took over from SDECE, and most of Unita's officers today were trained in Morocco.

"However, since Unita's evident

success recently in liberating a large part of Angola, Paris has become more realistic as it now believes there is a possibility of inflicting a humiliating defeat on Angola's Marxist government which is aided by Cuba and the Soviet Union."

The book adds: "So France has once again resumed its aid to Unita and French secret service agents are active in Angola."

The letters SDECE stand for *Service de Documentation Exterieur et de Contre-Espionage*. The service was founded in 1946. It retained its name until 1982 when it was changed by President Mitterrand to *Direction Generale de la Securite Exterieur*.

The first director general of the DGSE was Pierre Marion and one of his first steps was to close down SDECE's bureau in South Africa,

headed by Colonel Hamon. This was done because the Colonel had been too co-operative with the South African intelligence services.

The book reveals that Dr Jonas Savimbi, head of Unita, at one time had an official adviser who was an SDECE agent, although he claimed to be a French journalist.

He was Dominique de Roux, who, the book claims, "provided reports to BOSS". He died some years ago.

The 430-page book was written by two journalists, Roger Faligot, 32, and Pascal Krop, 31.

They called it *La Piscine* as this was the name given to SDECE by the French Press because its headquarters on Boulevard Mortier happen to face a swimming pool. But agents themselves prefer to call their service *La Cremerie*, The Dairy.

COLUMNISTS

McIntosh ^{AMS 45} backs down ^{29/5/88} on 'Fidel' ⁽⁵⁾ remarks ⁽⁵⁾

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

MR Graham McIntosh, Progressive Federal Party MP for Maritzburg South, today retracted remarks he made during the Defence vote yesterday following sharp criticism by his party colleagues and a Nationalist propaganda blast.

Mr McIntosh infuriated some party colleagues as well as other MPs by stating yesterday that the bearded South African soldiers killed and captured in Angola were "Fidel Castro look-alikes".

He said the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, had become the "Gaddafi" of Southern Africa.

"GASSING JEWS"

He also referred to "the SS gassing Jews, Slavs and gypsies".

His PFP colleagues were upset because he had given the Nationalists a propaganda red herring with which to draw attention away from the thrusts given by the party leader, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, with his sharp attacks on General Malan and doubts about the credibility of the Defence Force.

Nationalist MPs latched on to the remarks to launch an attack on the PFP and its approach to defence matters.

A STATEMENT

After he saw Dr Slabbert today, Mr McIntosh attempted to try to defuse the situation by making a statement to the House of Assembly at the start of today's proceedings.

Mr McIntosh told the House: "I have become aware that in my speech yesterday, my use of illustrations and comparisons, rather than my arguments and conclusions, were unfortunate and have caused deep hurt to particularly colleagues on both sides of the House and could have been misunderstood outside the House.

"I therefore wish to withdraw the words 'Fidel Castro look-alikes', 'the SS gassing Jews, gypsies and Slavs' and 'Gaddafi'."

● See Page 7.

SADF denies oil complex was target

A DEFENCE Force spokesman in Cape Town has denied that South Africa sent commandos to Angola to blow up oil installations.

Reacting to reports from Luanda quoting the captured South African soldier, Wynand Petrus du Toit, described as a captain, as admitting that this was the commandos' purpose, the SADF spokesman said the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, had "put it on record very clearly during debate on his budget vote in Parliament yesterday that the Marxists are very persuasive".

"We know it's not true the commandos were there to blow up the oil installation, but to collect intelligence.

Maximum propaganda

"The Minister said yesterday that the captive soldier would be used for maximum propaganda purposes. The Marxists are known for the methods they use to make captives talk in a way which suits their specific propaganda purposes.

"The captive is in their hands and the Marxists would not have made the earlier statements they did without knowing that they would be able to persuade him to say what they wanted him to say."

Associated Press reports from Luanda that Du Toit told a news confer-

ence in Luanda that his mission had been to destroy an oil complex.

He said he had commanded an unsuccessful sabotage raid on May 21 against the Malongo oil complex in the northern Angolan province of Cabinda.

The nine raiders were surprised by an Angolan patrol. Two were killed, Du Toit was captured and the rest escaped.

Assurance rejected

The South African Government has said the men were on a mission to gather information about ANC and Swapo bases in Angola.

● The United Democratic Front has rejected Government assurances that the commando incursion into Angola was an intelligence-gathering mission.

The UDF's acting national publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said in a statement that it had been aimed at sabotaging the oil installation in Cabinda and the UDF "refused to accept" that the intention was to gather intelligence on ANC and Swapo activities.

The whole world now knew South Africa's main interest in Angola was to bring down its government, illustrated by its "open support" for the "reactionary" Unita movement. — Staff Reporter, Sapa.

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Soldiers were on look-out — Malan

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — The three South African soldiers killed or captured in Northern Angola last week had been surprised while on their way to a suspected ANC base to confirm intelligence reports, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on his vote, he said the men had been lightly armed and had been surprised, presumably by Angolan soldiers, while leaving their temporary base. *Sowetan 29/5/85*

"A confrontation followed. The rest is known to you."

General Malan praised the men who, he said, had risked their lives for their country and its security and he expressed sympathy with their next-of-kin.

He gave an assurance that the Government would do everything possible to arrange the return of the bodies of the two SADF men killed and the repatriation of the third man, who was wounded and is being held in Luanda.

SADENIES SOLDIER'S STORY

DEFENCE Force had "put it on record
pokesman in Cape very clearly during de-
own last night denied base on his budget vote
hat South Africa had in Parliament that the
ent commandos to Au- marxists are very per-
sola to blow up oil instal-
sions, and the safety
Reacting to reports true that the comman-
rom Luanda quoting dos were there to blow
he captured South Afri- up the oil installation,
an soldier as admitting but to collect intelli-
hat this was the "con-
gence."

Meanwhile the South African commando cap-
tured by Angolan troops
said the group of com-
mandos had intended to

blow up a key oil depot
and was not just search-
ing for guerrillas, as the
South African Govern-
ment claimed.
Petrus du Toit, ap-
pearing at a govern-
ment-arranged news
conference in the Ango-
lan capital, said his com-
mandos, captured last
Tuesday, had planned to
attack the Cabinda Gulf
Oil depot at Malongo in
northern Cabinda pro-
vince in order to cause a
"considerable economic

setback to the Angolan
government".
Pretoria, which con-
firmed its commandos
were in the area and
identified Du Toit as
among them, claimed
the group was searching
for rebels operating in
the area.
Du Toit flatly contra-
dicted the South African
Foreign Minister, Mr.
Pik Botha's statement
that the commandos
were in Cabinda —
which is more than 2 000

km north of the Ango-
lan border with Namibia
— looking for members
of the South West Afri-
can People's Organisa-
tion.
"This last operation
was launched with the
aim of destroying the
storage tanks at Cabinda
gulf," Du Toit said.
Asked later if Mr Bo-
tha's claim was correct,
he replied: "No. We
were not looking for
ANC or Swapo, we
were attacking Gulf Oil.

"But," he added, "by
that action we hoped to
reduce Angolan govern-
ment aid to those
groups."
Cabinda Gulf Oil,
jointly owned by the US
Gulf Oil Company and
the Angolan state-
owned oil company So-
nangol, is the largest oil
operation in the conti-
nent, handling 170 000
barrels of crude a day —
over half the national to-
tal.
Speaking in advance

of Du Toit, Mr Paulino
Pinto Joao, director of
the Department of In-
formation and Propa-
ganda, termed Mr Bo-
tha's remarks as "a ridi-
culous claim", adding:
"Once again the South
African Government
has sought to camou-
flage its true intentions.
"This action was un-
dertaken to destroy Ma-
longo and to cripple the
Angolan government,"
he said. — Sapa-AP.

Whether or not Wynand du Toit is telling the truth, and there seems little reason to doubt him, when the Angolan government presents him to the Press, the Cabinda incident has the potential to devastate what the Reagan administration has claimed as "constructive engagement's" most visible successes... the reduction of the Namibia question to Cuban troop withdrawal, the Lusaka Agreement and, by analogy, the Nkomati Accord.

Furthermore, with Congress already in full cry against Dr Chester Crocker's allegedly excessive "kid glove" approach to Pretoria, the mere suspicion that South African commandos planned to destroy American life and property can only strengthen the hand of those who would spike United States-South Africa bilateral relations completely.

With the Reagan administration thundering against the terrorist threat to its citizens around the world, whoever ordered Du Toit and his comrades into Cabinda have handed Crocker's critics — both Republican and Democrat — the opportunity of a field day. They may even have given the administration an excuse to alter its policy to preempt those critics. Perhaps that was the intention. Certainly, whatever the real target, it was madness.

The State Department's formal reaction as of Tuesday evening was understandably muted. Spokesman Ed Djerejian used the phrase "deep displeasure". Crocker himself was out of town in Sudan. Besides, you don't shake something if you have reason to believe it may explode. First, you establish the facts.

Which is going to be difficult, with or without Du Toit's testimony. The story advanced by SA Ambassador Brand Fourie in an interview this week, and echoed by General Malan and Foreign Minister Botha, is that the commandos were on a reconnaissance mission to scout out ANC and Swapo bases.

As such, said Fourie (after two summons to the State Department), their movement "did nothing to violate the Lusaka Agreement (which) dealt with the presence of a certain body of South African troops in a certain geographical area".

The administration was not convinced, but was prepared to suspend disbelief pending further data. Said one official, with a hint of resignation: "We'll probably never know clearly what happened. We're getting to the point where the SA government will stand by its version come what may."

Cabinda incident gives Crocker's critics a field day

B. Day
20/5/85



● CHESTER CROCKER ... the knives are out

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Over at the Gulf Oil Corporation, whose Malongo installation was allegedly the target, the view was rather less sanguine. Their sources were the Angolan government (whose oil parastatal Sonangol is their 51% equity partner in the Cabinda operation) and their own people on the spot. A company official put it thus: "This is the most startling event in Africa in a long time."

Malongo is the company's base camp, a collection of warehouses, equipment dumps, storage tanks and residences through which slightly less than 170 000 barrels of oil is pumped every day from offshore drillings. Tankers load at a terminal just off the coast.

Built in 1969, the compound stands in the middle of nowhere, on a bluff overlooking the Atlantic. Surrounded by nothing more than a chain-link fence, it houses some 80 foreign nationals, of whom about 25 are Americans. Several hundred Angolans are employed there.

The main entrance is guarded by local police. Troops are garrisoned in Cabinda city, a quiet Portuguese-style town 20km to the south. Few of the enclave's 70 000 inhabitants live nearby.

The camp is not on the way to anywhere, unless you land by sea.

Only the hardest tourist would stop by en route south from Zaire. As one Gulf official put it: "It's not a natural hub of communication."

By the Angolan account, which the company says it has no reason to doubt, the commando was caught 300m from the fence carrying 16 limpet mines and plastic explosives. The shooting was heard inside the camp.

"We have all sorts of security measures in place," the Gulf official observed, "and it should be obvious that they worked."

Gulf might well stress security. At the very time the South Africans are alleged to have closed on Malongo, the head of Sonangol, Herminio Esorcio, was arriving in New York to negotiate for \$70m worth of credits to develop a new Cabindan oil field with its American partner.

The would-be creditors were so impressed that they demanded no collateral. Their only concern was political risk. The commando could have fulfilled their fears in spades.

Pretoria may justifiably argue that Gulf is not about to differ with

Angola. Its concessions are too important.

Du Toit's prospective statement may also be downplayed: torture (in this instance, it is thought unlikely to have occurred) and the desire to live are frequent enemies of the truth. What cannot be gainsayed is that destroying Malongo might, in a misguided way, have made eminent sense.

Let us assume that there is a rogue element in the SA establishment. It is not a new assumption. This element argues that Pretoria has been too compliant towards the Reagan administration and Western sensibilities generally.

It sees allies, Unita and the MNR, being sold out in the name of a regional detente it is firmly convinced can only be temporary. Instead it wishes to install its friends in power, to hell with the international outcry. Let those wimps at the Department of Foreign Affairs handle that. SA is never going to be loved, anyway. The rest of the world's agendas won't allow that. Besides, siege will ultimately serve a purpose.

The rogue element has been outplayed on Mozambique, or at least has figured Samora Machel will fall under his own weight. The real opportunity is Angola.

The SA government is in two minds over Namibian independence: granted it might make budgetary sense, but it could also have a disastrous political impact at a time when domestic reform, and the concomitant turbulence, is raising hackles on the right.

The Americans, meanwhile, are divided over Unita. Sure, they want the Cubans out, but their Senator Symms is not alone in calling for the repeal of the Clark Amendment which blocks support for Dr Savimbi.

Meanwhile, Crocker is hawking a plan that will force Pretoria to accept Swapo in Namibia, the MPLA in Luanda and the staying on of several thousand Cubans. A defeat all round for SA.

Operation Protea proved that the MPLA could not be toppled conventionally. The balance must therefore be tipped in SA's and Unita's favour by other means: destroy the MPLA's chief source of hard currency to pay for all that Soviet hardware.

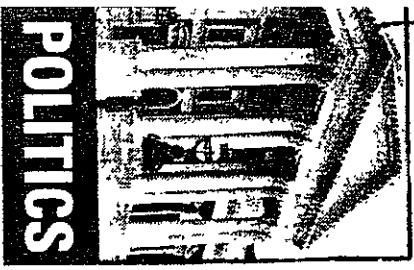
Take out Malongo, the artery through which \$4m pours a day. Destroy Sonangol's chances of gaining the investment it needs to develop a new field. So, it means hurting Americans. Let Crocker take the heat. This is SA's backyard. The Republic will survive.

If this is the thinking, and perhaps it does not merely belong to that rogue element, why not use Unita? Why send in white South Africans? I suspect because whoever ordered the hit wanted it done right and knew that the previous attacks on Gulf installations — the last, last year, on a pipeline south of Malongo — were not in fact Unita's work.

All of which is pure speculation, of course... an attempt to make sense of what otherwise is folly. The fact is that whatever the intention of inserting SA forces into Cabinda, succeed or fail, a better way could not have been found to stymie the Namibia process, thereby give yet more time for the internal parties to get their act together and unravel the Nkomati Accord by sowing distrust in Pretoria's ability to abide by the letter and spirit of any agreement.

But this is the crassest of stupidities. Not because Washington's wrath will be burdensome, but because it invites in the one super power with the will — and the desire to save face — that really make things ugly in the region.

In 1983 the Soviets warned South Africa not to press their Angolan allies. They are prepared to forgive the hard currency not to lose Luanda, to pour in armaments unpaid, even to fight a real war necessary. Who will help Pretoria then?



SADF aid

justified

CAPE TOWN — It was essential for the Defence Force to support the Police in maintaining law and order in townships in times of unrest, Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Deputy Minister of Defence, said in the Defence vote of the Budget yesterday.

"We cannot stand back and watch when lawlessness and unrest takes over in the townships. In normal circumstances the Police can cope, but South Africa just does not have the manpower to maintain a police force large enough to stop intimidation and insurgency at times of unrest."

Malan: raids on ANC will continue

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Defence Minister General Magnus Malan has bluntly warned neighbouring states that South Africa — in spite of the international furor about the "recede" raid on Cabinda — would continue to seek out and destroy ANC bases wherever they were.

Closing the defence budget debate last night after Nationalist MPs had a field day attacking the Progressive Federal Party over the controversial speech on Tuesday by Mr Graham McIntosh, MP for Pietermaritzburg North, he said the ANC's threat was "on-going" and South Africa would act against it whenever necessary.

Mr McIntosh withdrew parts of his speech after being reprimanded by Opposition Leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, but Nationalists and Mr Vause Raw, defence spokesman for the New Republic Party, made it clear that was not good enough.

Dr Slabbert said he had held "informal discussions" with Mr McIntosh, during which he had told him that "hyperbole and emotion" did not contribute to a constructive debate on defence matters.

Mr McIntosh said that in his speech, which infuriated even some of his own party's MPs, his use of "illustrations and comparisons, rather than my arguments and conclusions, were unfortunate and have caused deep hurt to colleagues on both sides of the House and could have been misunderstood outside of the House."

He withdrew his references to General Malan being a "Gaddafi", his statement that the two South Africans killed in the Cabinda raid had been "Castro look-alikes" and the words "the SS gassing Jews, gypsies and Slavs."

Mr Raw said he had been "physically sickened" by Mr McIntosh's speech and said he should also withdraw his accusations that members of the Defence Force were "terrorists and saboteurs."

Mr Harry Schwarz, a former opposition defence spokesman who stalked out of the Assembly after Mr McIntosh's speech, also made it clear yesterday that he did not agree with it.

General Malan again defended the Cabinda "recede" raid and said it was one of the few times such a mission had failed.

He could not understand complaints about its timing because the ANC's threat to South Africa was "on-going" and had to be faced all the time.

"We will do everything we can to trace the ANC and act against it whenever it is suitable," he said.

"It makes no difference who says anything about it and we will do it continuously."

Slabbert renews call to end national service

CAPE TOWN — The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday reiterated his party's standpoint that compulsory military conscription of whites should be phased out and replaced with an expanded professional and multiracial permanent force reinforced with paid reserves of all races.

Spelling out the Progressive Federal Party's policies on whites-only compulsory conscription during the defence debate, he said much-needed manpower was being misused and that the country could not afford the SA Defence Force becoming an instrument of polarisation between white and black.

Dr Slabbert also reiterated his criticism of the use of army units in black urban unrest situations, saying it was of cardinal importance and in the interests of national security, that the SADF stand above such conflict.

"I say this with deep conviction and I believe the army should only step in in emergencies and civil war... not in unrest situations."

There was a cardinal difference between the roles of the SADF and the SA Police.

Schwarz defends Defence Force

CAPE TOWN — Terrorism and killing innocent people was not the objective of the Defence Force and anyone who said it was should be repudiated, Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeville) said yesterday.

Speaking in the Defence vote of the Budget, Mr Schwarz said he had served in the SADF and was still on the Reserve and would be betraying his comrades if he did not speak for them.

Referring to the speech by Mr Graham McIntosh on Tuesday in which he said the SADF perpetrated acts of sabotage, terrorism and covert operations against innocent people, Mr Schwarz said he supported reform, law and order and stability and was opposed to revolution, violence and terrorism.

Mr Phillip Myburgh (PFP Wynberg) later said the Minister of Defence should give a specific assurance that South Africa did not have troops in neighbouring countries beside Angola.

He said he believed "in all fairness" that Parliament should be told. — SAPA.

● The Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said Mr McIntosh's speech was "the language of the enemies of South Africa."

It was the "lowest of the low" he had heard in his 11 years in Parliament.

He said the Defence Force, which Mr McIntosh had said was guilty of taking part in terrorist activities, consisted of national servicemen and the sons of people sitting in Parliament.

Mr Con Botha (NP Umhazi) said the Marxist government in Luanda could spare itself the trouble of brainwashing captured South African soldiers so long as Mr McIntosh was willingly spreading disinformation around the world.

He said he had seldom had the misfortune to

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(Handwritten: D. Slabbert 30/5/85)
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vill continue**

Slabbert renews call to end national service

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"I say this with deep conviction and I believe the army should only step in in emergencies and civil war... not in unrest situations."

There was a cardinal difference between the roles of the SADF and the SA Police.

In reply the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said Dr Slabbert had taken on the job as defence spokesman of his party in order to save it from a looming split.

"He has my greatest sympathy," the Minister said in replying to the debate on his budget vote.

"It is a sword hanging over his head because

there is a serious row in the Progressive (Federal) Party over attitudes towards the SA Defence Force and the security of our country."

The Party's right wing was not prepared to accept the left wing's views which won the day at their congresses last year.

Schwarz defends Defence Force

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Referring to the speech by Mr Graham McIntosh on Tuesday in which he said the SADF perpetrated acts of sabotage, terrorism and covert operations against innocent people, Mr Schwarz said he supported reform, law and order and stability and was opposed to revolution, violence and terrorism.

"I have also chosen to be on the side of the SADF against terrorism. There are people in the SADF who do wrong, as happens in any organisation, but I refuse to accept that terrorism or killing innocent people is an objective of the SADF."

Mr Schwarz said he welcomed Mr McIntosh's withdrawal of some of his remarks.

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● Mr Con Botha (NP Umlazi) said the Marxist government in Luanda could spare itself the trouble of brainwashing captured South African soldiers so long as Mr McIntosh was willingly spreading disinformation around the world.

He said he had seldom had the misfortune to hear such unbridled vituperation against the SADF as he had from Mr McIntosh.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said he regretted Mr McIntosh's speech had given Gen Malan the opportunity to spend more of his time responding to the member's contribution to the debate than on questions put to him. — Sapa.

'Cubans will stay' — Castro

CAPC Times
30/5/85

5 7/11

HAVANA. — President Fidel Castro said yesterday Cuba would keep its estimated 25 000 troops in Angola until the independence SWA/Namibia was assured, and that more would be sent if necessary.

The Cuban leader made the comments to reporters while accompanying the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, around a college for SWA/Namibian students on the Isle of Youth off south-western Cuba.

"Not a single Cuban

soldier will be withdrawn from Angola until real steps are made towards the independence of Namibia," he said, adding that the South Africans should withdraw, allowing the UN to take interim control.

"Indeed, if more Cuban soldiers have to be sent, we will send more," Mr Castro said.

The Southern African question was one of the main topics discussed by Mr Castro and Mr Perez de Cuellar soon after the secretary-general ar-

rived in Havana for a three-day official visit.

● The pro-Western Unita guerilla movement yesterday rejected as "absurd" allegations by a captured South African army officer that recent sabotage strikes against vital Angolan economic targets were the work of South African commandos.

"All the actions claimed by Unita are Unita's and statements to the contrary are either in bad faith or made under duress," said rebel spokesman Mr Marco Samondo.

Captain Wynand du Toit told a press conference in the Angolan capital, Luanda, on Tuesday that he was captured and two of his men were killed on May 21 during a foiled attempt to blow up the US-operated Cabinda-Gulf Oil Co complex in northern Angola.

During the past three years, he said, South African commandos sabotaged several vital Angolan installations — including a bridge, an oil refinery and two ships in Luanda harbour — in strikes later claimed by the rebels. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI

In line SA!

MP withdraws parts of speech

Mr. Tinkles 30/5/85 Political Staff (5) 2010

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The MP for Maritzburg North, Mr Graham McIntosh, withdrew parts of his controversial speech, made on Tuesday, after being reprimanded by Opposition Leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, but Nationalists and Mr Vause Raw, defence spokesman for the New Republic Party, made it clear that it had not been good enough.

Dr Slabbert said he had held "informal discussions" with Mr McIntosh during which he had told him that "hyperbole" and "emotion" did not contribute to a constructive debate on defence matters.

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He withdrew his references to General Malan being a "Gaddafi", his statement that the two South Africans killed in the Cabinda raid had been "Castro look-alikes" and the words "the SS gassing Jews, gypsies and Slavs".

Mr Raw said he had been "physically sickened" by Mr McIntosh's speech and said he should also withdraw his accusations that members of the Defence Force were "terrorists and saboteurs".

Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Deputy Defence Minister, and others, such as Mr Con Botha, MP for Umlazi, kept up the pressure on Dr Slabbert to make an outright repudiation of Mr McIntosh or his speech would be used against the party everywhere.

(5) 2024

SA raid 'timed to damage aid mission'

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — The South African commando raid on Cabinda may have been timed to damage an Angolan aid-seeking mission to the United States, the Washington Post suggested yesterday.

At the same time, a US State Department spokesman, Mr Bernard Kalb, said that South Africa's explanation of the Cabinda incident left "many questions unanswered".

He reiterated that the US deplored "the presence of armed South African units inside Angola", which contravened the spirit, if not the letter, of the Lusaka Accords. "Evidently the South Africans meant to spoil Angola's day in a spectacular way," the Washington

Post charged, noting that "an Angolan mission was reported in New York on that very day, seeking expansion capital".

Accepting that the South African unit was sent to sabotage American Angolan oil installations, the Washington Post asserted that a South African policy of duping Washington had been exposed, leaving the United States "looking foolish".

"The Reagan policy of 'constructive engagement' — treating South Africa in a respectful fashion to gain its moderation in foreign policy and domestic policy alike — is embarrassed on the very ground where its greatest triumph had been proclaimed.

"Angola's Marxist government,

meanwhile, has a new excuse to embrace Cuban protectors whose removal is the administration's prime regional goal."

The editorial went on to suggest that a similar destabilization strategy continued towards Mozambique. "This is the other face of apartheid," it concluded.

"The system not only represses the black majority inside the country, it also gives the white minority in the leadership the power and the arrogance to torment South Africa's neighbours.

"The people of the region need the abolition of apartheid scarcely less than do the people of South Africa."

● Simon Barber reports from

Washington that the head of Angola's national oil company, Sonangol, was in New York on Thursday — two days after the alleged South African sabotage unit was intercepted — to discuss a loan.

The commercial credits under discussion were worth \$70-million (R140m) and intended to develop what industry experts are calling a "sizeable" new oil field with the Gulf Oil corporation.

Sources close to the Sonangol chief, Mr Herminio Escorcio, said creditors — including Chase Manhattan and Bankers Trust — were so enthusiastic about the new venture that they demanded no collateral. However, their major concern was political risk.

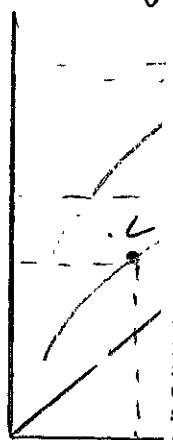
The loan is understood to have gone through in spite of jitters after the Malongo incident. Mr Escorcio was quoted as accusing Pretoria of attempting to scotch the deal, which is to complement an \$84 750 000 (R168m) line of credit extended last year by the Export Import Bank, a United States Government agency.

● Sapa-Reuter reports from Lisbon that Angola yesterday described a South African call for a meeting to discuss the return of the captured commando as an "insulting ultimatum".

Angola said the call suggested that South Africa might try to rescue him by force if the request was not accepted.

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Output GNP



Malan: 'We will continue'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, yesterday bluntly warned neighbouring states that South Africa would — in spite of the international furore about the "recce" raid on Cabinda — continue to seek out and destroy ANC basis wherever they were.

Closing the defence budget debate, he said the ANC's threat was "on-going" and South Africa would act against it whenever necessary.

Timing

General Malan once again defended the Cabinda "recce" raid and said it was one of the few times that such a mission had failed.

He could not understand complaints about its timing because the ANC's threat to South Africa was "on-going" and had to be faced all the time.

"We will do everything we can to trace the ANC and act against it whenever it is suitable," he said defiantly.

"It makes no difference who says anything about it and we will do it continuously."

General Malan said he wanted to assure neighbouring countries that South Africa was not acting against them and appealed to them once again to stop harbouring

ANC elements. The presence of anti-South African terrorists in their territories brought destabilization to their own countries.

"They want a dictatorial state here for the elite Marxists," said General Malan.

He appealed to the opposition parties to participate in putting up a united front and to "tell our enemies that if they continue they will have to face the full might of the South African defence force".

He said both Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Mr Vause Raw (NRP Durban Point) asked the same question of the raid: Why the urgency?

"Neither doubted the need for the operation," General Malan said.

"My question is: If not now, then when would be a more suitable time?"

There was a revolutionary climate in the entire subcontinent.

In the past six months, since the effective Gorbachev takeover of control of the Kremlin, Angola had been given 28 MiG 23s, a sophisticated R18-million aircraft with which the Mirage could not be fairly compared.

"The balance of power is being disturbed in the region and in considering the budget this will have to be reckoned with," he said. — Political Staff and Sapa

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Debacle 'should warn public'

CAPT TING
30/5/85

Political Correspondent

THE official untruths exposed by the Cabinda "debacle" should serve as a warning to the public in future to take whatever Defence Minister General Magnus Malan says with a pinch of salt, Mr Philip Myburgh (PFP Wynberg) said yesterday.

Speaking during the Defence vote, Mr Myburgh said that during a trip to SWA/Namibia two weeks ago, parliamentarians had been given a specific assurance that apart from a small number of troops guarding a hydro-electric scheme in southern Angola, there were no SADF troops in that country.

'Blunder'

The "Cabinda blunder" raised the question on how many other issues parliamentarians had not been told the truth by General Malan.

Mr Myburgh said a number of serious consequences would flow from the debacle:

● A total loss-of-credibility gap for the SADF and South Africa;

● a loss of friendly co-operation from South Africa's allies;

● a tremendous propaganda boost for South Africa's opponents, and

● a shot in the arm for the disinvestment campaign.

In addition, hopes for a peace in Southern Africa had been dashed by the unsuccessful secret raid.

"I lay the blame for this squarely at the feet of a minister who is incapable of understanding the rules of international diplomacy and negotiation and who in a ham-handed manner has led South Africa into a series of blunders which we can no longer afford.

"By sending armed young men into Angola or into any of our neighbouring states at this juncture shows complete disregard for international boundaries and respect for our neighbours.

"It places the peace initiative in Angola and SWA in jeopardy and raises the question of where else we have operators in our neighbouring territories."

MM 31/5/85

Castro says he won't pull out troops

Mercury Correspondent

HAVANA—Cuban leader Dr Fidel Castro says he is determined to leave his troops in Angola and even increase their numbers until UN Security Council Resolution 435 leading to independence for South West Africa is implemented.

His remarks came during a tour of a South West African military and ideological training camp on the Isle of Youth — formerly the Isle of Pines — some 160 km south of Havana.

In the presence of the visiting UN secretary-general, Mr Perez de Cuellar, Dr Castro said: 'We have strength and determination to win. There will be no solution in South Africa without Resolution 435 on independence for Namibia.'

'If Namibia is not free, or at least all concrete steps are not taken, not a single Cuban soldier will leave before Resolution 435 is implemented.'

At the same time, Dr Castro launched an unexpected and blistering attack on President Reagan, calling him and South African President Botha, liars.

Attack

'They never tell the truth,' he said, 'neither Reagan nor Botha.'

He accused Washington of not acting as an honest and independent broker in negotiations aimed at securing a South African troop withdrawal from Angola.

Asked by this correspondent what the secretary-general had thought of such an attack on a member of the UN, Mr Perez de Cuellar's spokesman, Mr Francois Giuliani, said he had no comment and that he 'had come to listen'.

Dr Castro's unexpected speech, which lasted more than 15 minutes in the scorching heat, was before more than 600 South West African students, who were survivors of the 1978 Kassinga massacre during which — according to Dr Castro, more than 900 innocent people had lost their lives.

Dr Castro's speech was seen as a definite signal of the importance he attached to his meetings with Mr Perez de Cuellar on the issue of independence for South West Africa.

Fighters

Dr Castro, official said, had been particularly irked by the recent discovery of South African soldiers in northern Angola.

He made this point during his first meeting with the UN chief, which lasted for more than three hours.

As an indication of his displeasure, he said Cuba was willing to send more fighters into Angola.

He made no mention of the exact number of Cubans in Angola.

Western analysts have said the figure is between 20 000 and 30 000 thousand but Cuban officials said that 200 000 had rotated through Angola, 'and we can send in another 200 000'.

Unita implies raid link

copy Times 12/15/85 (5)
LISBON. — Angolan rebels issued a statement yesterday implying that they were responsible for an attempt to blow up a key United States-Angolan oil depot, and indirectly denying that a South African commando unit was, as reported by the Angolan Government, trying to carry out the raid.

Unita said in the statement issued here: "Only the ingenuous could believe the South African Government would in

any way attack the interests of the United States wherever they may be."

Unita did not directly claim responsibility for the foiled May 21 sabotage raid against the Gulf Oil complex in the northern Angolan enclave of Cabinda.

But it denounced "certain media" for expressing the "racist sentiment" that Unita was not capable of carrying out sophisticated acts of sabotage. — Sapa-AP

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to SWA
settlement

NOW Angola breaks all ties with SA

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B. Day

31/5/85

By PAUL BELL

THE Angolan government has informed South Africa that it is breaking off all negotiations with the Republic, delivering a hammer-blow to prospects of an international settlement in South West Africa.

The Angolan move is a direct sequel to the raid by SA Defence Force recce commandos into Cabinda in northern Angola, which ended last week in the killing of two soldiers and the capture of a third by MPLA troops.

These setbacks come only six weeks after the withdrawal of what were said at the time to be the last SA troops stationed in southern Angola.

Two weeks ago the joint monitoring commission — set up by the Lusaka agreement last year after months of shuttle diplomacy and negotiations on the Cape Verde Islands — was disbanded, and Foreign minister Pik Botha said he hoped to continue talks with Angola at ministerial level.

Mutual replies to Du Plessis

OLD Mutual's Chief Actuary, Theo Hartwig, said yesterday that his firm was "very disturbed at the extent of the attack on the life assurance industry" by the Finance Minister Barend du Plessis on Wednesday.

Hartwig said: "But (we) understand his underlying objectives in announcing the measures," to clamp down on certain endowment insurance policies.

At a Press conference in Port Elizabeth on Wednesday night, Du Plessis said the action had been taken to curb the misuse of endowment policies to evade tax.

Hartwig said in a statement: "These measures not only prevent pure endowment policies but also curb the freedom of the average policy-holder to effect insurance policies and to deal with them according to his needs." — Sapa.

Hoechst sells to Gallia

HOECHST SA has sold off its South African cosmetics interests to the House of Gallia.

The deal is expected to make House of Gallia the largest privately-owned cosmetic company in SA. The company is now predicting a turnover of R10m this year.

Hoechst will remain involved in the industry through the parent company's international ownership of Roussel Laboratories, Marbert and the Fragrance House of Balenciaga.

Last night's statement by Botha seems to indicate that government may now press on with an internal settlement in SWA if the United States will agree.

Botha said in Pietersburg that the Luanda government had informed SA through US channels of its intention to break off negotiations with SA.

Government, he said, remained willing to honour its international commitments with regard to SWA provided a firm agreement could be reached on Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

He said that, in the light of the position now adopted by Luanda, government was no longer sure to what extent this goal remained attainable.

It would therefore have to exchange views with the parties participating in the Multi-Party Conference of SWA, with the US government, and possibly other governments before it would be possible to determine whether worthwhile negotiations could still be conducted.

Botha said that if the Angolans were taking this line, "it would appear that they were seeking a pretext on which to break off negotiations on the question of Cuban withdrawals from Angola, and it would reveal that they have never been serious about finding a solution to this problem.

"Sooner or later, the Luanda government will have to realise that it cannot continue playing host to tens of thousands of foreign forces, to terrorist groups such as the ANC and Swapo, all of whom are hostile to peace and stability in southern Africa.

"The presence of foreign forces on such a large scale, together with the presence of organisations which proclaim the so-called virtues of international terrorism, can only serve the purposes of a superpower whose ideology and policy have brought misery to untold millions of people all over the world, and which are the very antithesis of peace, stability and progress.

"In the meantime, it is revealing to note that the Luanda government has not denied that it is providing facilities to the ANC and Swapo, and that it is assisting them in their planning of acts of violence against the peoples of South Africa and SWA."

Botha said there could not be peace in Southern Africa unless all foreign forces were removed and unless all the countries of the region agreed not to host those groups who committed acts of violence and subversion against other states in the region, and who use violence to achieve political objectives.

Pik Botha lashes out at Angola

CPM Times 31/5/85

Political Staff

THE Angolan Government has informed South Africa that it is breaking off all negotiations with the Republic, delivering a hammer-blow to prospects of an international settlement in SWA/Namibia. The Angolan move is a direct consequence of the raid by South African Defence Force recce commandos into Cabinda, which ended last week in the killing of two soldiers and the capture of a third by MPLA troops.

Last night's statement by Foreign Minister Pik Botha seems to indicate that the government may now press on with an internal settlement in SWA/Namibia if the United States will agree.

Mr Botha said in Pietersburg that the Luanda government had informed South Africa through US channels of its intention to break off negotiations with South Africa.

The government, he said, remained willing to honour its international commitments in regard to SWA/Namibia, provided a firm agreement could be reached on Cuban withdrawal from Angola. He said that, in the light of the position now adopted by Luanda, the South African Government was no longer sure to what extent this goal remained attainable.

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FM 31/1/85

ANGOLA/NAMIBIA

A blow for talks

The incident in Angola's Cabinda enclave, where a SA reconnaissance unit was caught in an ambush, has set back negotiations on a Cuban withdrawal. It is also going to complicate negotiations with the Angolans on the situation on the Namibian border, diplomatic sources tell the *FM*.

It has also been an embarrassment for the Reagan administration whose policy of constructive engagement is under fire. Diplomats say it gratuitously strengthens the propaganda of elements unwilling to come to terms with peace proposals for southern Africa and, worse, undermines SA's credibility in Africa.

But it seems equally certain, diplomatic sources say, that the Angolans will remain interested in maintaining informal contact with SA. "They have said all along that SA soldiers are still active in Angola, so to them this should be nothing new. It is only that the South Africans got caught this time. It is likely they will concede to a ministerial meeting with SA soon because they are now in a stronger position than before and such a meeting has been in the pipeline anyway," says one source.



SA soldier in Angola ... rethink on clandestine operations

The incident is likely to prompt a major rethink in the SA Defence Force on clandestine operations. ■

WHETHER or not Wynand du Toit is telling the truth, and there seems little reason to doubt him, the Cabinda incident has the potential to devastate what the Reagan Administration has claimed as 'constructive engagement's' most visible successes — the reduction of the Namibia question to Cuban troop withdrawal, the Lusaka agreement and, by analogy, the Nkomati accords.

Furthermore, with Congress already in full cry against Dr Chester Crocker's allegedly excessive 'kid glove' approach to Pretoria, the mere suspicion that South African commandos planned to destroy American life and property can only strengthen the hand of those who would spike U S-S A bilateral relations completely.

With the Reagan Administration thundering against the terrorist threat to its citizens around the world, whoever ordered Du Toit and his comrades into Cabinda have handed Crocker's critics, both Republican and Democrat, the opportunity of a field day. They may even have given the Administration an excuse to alter its policy to pre-empt those critics. Perhaps that was the intention. Certainly, whatever the real target, it was madness.

The State Department's formal reaction on Tuesday evening was understandably muted. Spokesman Ed Djerejian used the phrase 'deep displeasure'. Crocker himself was out of town in Sudan. Besides you don't shake something if you have reason to believe it may explode. First, you establish the facts.

Difficult

Which is going to be difficult, with or without Du Toit's testimony. The story advanced by Ambassador Brand Fourie in an interview this week and echoed by General Malan and Foreign Minister Pik Botha is that the commandos were on a reconnaissance mission to scout out ANC and Swapo bases. As such, said Fourie (after two summons to the State Department), their movement did nothing to violate the Lusaka Agreement

Simon Barber WASHINGTON

(which) dealt with the presence of a certain body of South African troops in a certain geographical area.

The Administration was not convinced, but was prepared to suspend disbelief pending further data. Said one official, with a hint of resignation: 'We'll probably never know clearly what happened. We're getting to the point where the SA Government will stand by its version come what may.'

Over at the Gulf Oil Corporation, whose Malongo installation was allegedly the target, the view was rather less sanguine. Their sources were the Angolan Government (whose oil parastatal Sonangol is their 51 percent equity partner in the Cabinda operation) and their own people on the spot. A company official put it thus. 'This is the most startling event in Africa in a long time.'

Malongo is the company's base camp, a collection of warehouses, equipment dumps, storage tanks and residences, through which slightly less than 170 000 barrels of oil is pumped every day from offshore drillings. Tankers load at a terminal just off the coast.

Built in 1969, the compound stands in the middle of nowhere, on a bluff overlooking the Atlantic. Surrounded by nothing more than a chain-link fence, it houses some 80 foreign nationals, of whom about 25 are Americans. Several hundred Angolans are employed there. The main entrance is guarded by local police. Troops are garrisoned in Cabinda city, a quiet Portuguese-style town 20 kilometres to the south. Few of the enclave's 70 000 inhabitants live near by.

The camp is not on the way to anywhere, unless you land by sea. Only the hardest tourist would stop by en route south from Zaire.

As one Gulf official put it: 'It's not a natural hub of communication.' By the Angolan account, which

Africans are alleged to have closed on Malongo the head of Sonangol, Herminio Esorcio, was arriving in New York to negotiate for \$70 million worth of credits to develop a new Cabindan oil field with its American partner. The would-be creditors were so impressed they demanded no collateral. Their only concern was political risk. The commando could have fulfilled their fears in Spades.

Pretoria may justifiably argue that Gulf is not about to differ with Angola. Its concessions are too important. Du Toit's statement may also be played down: torture (in this instance, it is thought unlikely to have occurred) and the desire to live are frequent enemies of the truth. What cannot be gainsayed is that destroying Malongo might, in a misguided way, have made eminent sense.

Let us assume that there is a rogue element in the SA establishment. It is not a new assumption. This element argues that Pretoria has been too compliant towards the Reagan Administration and Western sensibilities generally.

Temporary

It sees its allies, Unita and the MNR, being sold out in the name of a regional détente it is firmly convinced can only be temporary. Instead it wishes to install its friends in power, to hell with the international outcry. Let those wimps at the Department of Foreign Affairs handle that. SA is never going to be loved, anyway. The rest of the world's agendas won't allow that. Besides, siege will ultimately serve a purpose.

The rogue element has been outplayed on Mozambique, or at least has figured Samora Machel will fall under his own weight. The real opportunity is Angola. The SA Government is in two minds over Namibian independence: granted it might make budgetary sense, but it could also have a disastrous politi-

Cabinda Sortie 'madness'
More power to US extremists
 (S) NM 3/5/85

Swapo in South West Africa, the MPLA in Luanda and the staying on of several thousand Cubans. A defeat all round for SA. Operation Protea proved that the MPLA could not be toppled conventionally. The balance must therefore be tipped in SA's and Unita's favour by other means: destroy the MPLA's chief source of hard currency to pay for all that Soviet hardware. Take out Malongo, the artery through which \$4 million pours a day. Destroy Sonangol's chances of gaining the investment it needs to develop a new field. So, it means hurting Americans. Let Crocker take the heat. This is SA's backyard. The republic will survive.

If this is the thinking, and perhaps it does not merely belong to that rogue element, why not use Unita? Why send in white South Africans? I suspect because whoever ordered the hit wanted it done right and knew that the previous attacks on Gulf installations — the latest, last year, on a pipeline south of Malongo — were not in fact Unita's work.

Better way

All of which is pure speculation, of course — an attempt to make sense of what otherwise is folly. The fact is that whatever the intention of inserting SA forces into Cabinda, succeed or fail, a better way could not have been found to stymie the Namibia process, thereby give yet more time for the in-

destroy American life and property can only strengthen the hand of those who would spike U.S.-S.A. bilateral relations completely.

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The camp is not on the way to anywhere, unless you land by sea. Only the hardest tourist would stop by en route south from Zaire.

As one Gulf official put it: 'It's not a natural hub of communication.' By the Angolan account, which the company says it has no reason to doubt, the commando was caught three hundred metres from the fence, carrying 16 limpet mines and plastic explosives. The shooting was heard inside the camp.

'We have all sorts of security measures in place,' the Gulf official observed, 'and it should be obvious that they worked.'

Gulf might well emphasise security. At the very time the South

arriving in New York to negotiate for \$70 million worth of credits to develop a new Cabindan oil field with its American partner. The would-be creditors were so impressed they demanded no collateral. Their only concern was political risk. The commando could have fulfilled their fears in Spades.

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The rogue element has been outplayed on Mozambique, or at least has figured Samora Machel will fall under his own weight. The real opportunity is Angola. The S.A. Government is in two minds over Namibian independence: granted it might make budgetary sense, but it could also have a disastrous political impact at a time when domestic reform, and the concomitant turbulence, is raising hackles on the Right.

The Americans, meanwhile, are divided over Unita. Sure they want the Cubans out, but their Senator Symms is not alone in calling for the repeal of the Clark Amendment which blocks support for Dr Savimbi.

Meanwhile, Crocker is hawking a plan that will force Pretoria to accept

Swapo in South West Africa, the MPLA in Luanda and the staying on of several thousand Cubans. A defeat all round for S.A. Operation Protea proved that the MPLA could not be toppled conventionally. The balance must therefore be tipped in S.A.'s and Unita's favour by other means: destroy the MPLA's chief source of hard currency to pay for all that Soviet hardware. Take out Malongo, the artery through which \$4 million pours a day. Destroy Sonangol's chances of gaining the investment it needs to develop a new field. So, it means hurting Americans. Let Crocker take the heat. This is S.A.'s backyard. The republic will survive.

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All of which is pure speculation, of course — an attempt to make sense of what otherwise is folly. The fact is that whatever the intention of inserting S.A. forces into Cabinda, succeed or fail, a better way could not have been found to stymie the Namibia process, thereby give yet more time for the internal parties to get their act together, and unravel the Nkomati accords by sowing distrust in Pretoria's ability to abide by the letter and spirit of any agreement.

But this is the crassest of stupidity. Not because Washington's wrath will be burdensome, but because it invites in the one superpower with the will — and the desire to save face — that can really make things ugly in the region, the Soviet Union.

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DOUT THE
MACHINES

Cuban troops saga 'merely a pretext'

HAVANA—The linkage of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola with South West African independence was 'merely a pretext by South Africa', as all conditions for the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 were ready, the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, said yesterday.

Mr Perez de Cuellar, commenting on 20 hours of talks he had with Cuban President Fidel Castro, said southern Africa was one of the main issues discussed during the talks, which were held over three days.

He told a news conference shortly before leaving Cuba for the Dominican Republic that a withdrawal of Cuba's 25 000 troops from Angola could not be linked to South West African independence.

Dr Castro warned dur-

ing Mr Perez de Cuellar's visit that Cuba might strengthen its garrison in Angola if South Africa refused to grant independence to the territory.

The Secretary-General said he shared the anguish of the South West African people in their struggle towards independence.

'The completion of South West Africa's independence is one of the aims closest to my heart,' he said.

'All the conditions for the implementation of UN Resolution 435 are ready and the so-called

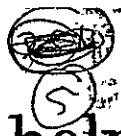
linkage of the withdrawal of Cuban troops is merely a pretext by South Africa,' he added.

Mr Perez de Cuellar said he shared Cuba's support for the peace process in Central America initiated by the Contadora group of countries, 'though Central America is a complex problem which cannot be solved in weeks or months'.

He said a recent UN mandate obliged him to try to persuade the United States and Nicaragua to resume their direct talks in Mexico. — (Sapa-
Reuter)

S.A asks the Red Cross to help

NM 1/6/85



GENEVA—South Africa had asked the Red Cross to visit one of its soldiers captured in Angola last week and try to have him repatriated, a Red Cross spokesman said yesterday.

She said South African authorities also asked the Swiss-based International Committee of the Red Cross to help return the remains of two South Africans killed in the same incident in Angola's oil-rich Cabinda province.

Angola said on May 22 its forces had foiled a sabotage attempt by South African commandos on oil installations in

northern Cabinda, killing two and injuring another. South Africa denies its troops were on a sabotage operation, saying they were carrying out a mission to gather intelligence about ANC terrorists. — (Sapa-Reuter)

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Angola said that on May 21 its forces had foiled a sabotage attempt by South African commandos on oil installations in northern Cabinda, killing two and injuring another.

South Africa denies its troops were on a sabotage operation, saying they were carrying out a mission to gather intelligence about guerillas of the banned African National Congress. — Sapa-Reuter

Shultz: Cabinda raid 'a setback'

Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — The American Secretary of State, Mr. George Shultz, has described South Africa's ill-fated military operation in northern Angola as a setback in the Southern Africa peace process.

But his choice of the relatively mild word "setback" has been taken by analysts here to mean that the US does not consider the peace process to be over.

The Reagan administration has no choice but to try to pick up the pieces of the Cabinda debacle.

For domestic political reasons it needs urgently to show some real results from its controversial policy of constructive engagement in Southern Africa.

The policy has never been popular among the Democrats, who are stepping up their demand that it be scrapped. Now its critics include significant numbers of congressmen from the President's own Republican Party.

The chief American negotia-

tor, Dr Chester Crocker, under fire from one side for being too soft on South Africa and from another for being too soft on the communists, could have pointed to the process of agreement in Angola as one success in the making.

News of the South African troop operation was a bitter blow for him and the US lost no time in objecting to the South African Government in strong terms.

Judgment

Mr Shultz's comment — the first on the Cabinda incident to be made in public by a US Cabinet member — came during a briefing for Washington newsmen on American peace efforts in the Middle East. Reporters asked whether the Cabinda action had affected the Secretary of State's judgment about Pretoria's intentions.

He replied that the US had objected to the South African Government about what had happened and that, coming at a time when South African troops were presumed to be out of Angola, it was a setback.



Hope for new era in the Defence Force

50
CAPE TOWN
11/6/85

IN SPITE of appearances to the contrary, the early retirement of General Constand Viljoen as Chief of the Defence Force, announced in the debate on the Defence Vote this week, has nothing to do with the Cabinda debacle. It has been on the cards for some time.

But General Viljoen's departure to begin a new career as a farmer at the age of 52, we may hope, could signal a change in the SADF role and style of operation in Southern Africa.

The controversial policy of covert destabilization of the sub-continent in the past decade has tended to cut across the country's political and diplomatic objectives.

The agreements of Lusaka and Nkomati were hailed as significant diplomatic achievements, as indeed they were, appearing to usher in a new era in regional relations.

Since then it has seemed on occasion that the military, in their covert operations, and the Department of Foreign Affairs, in their regional diplomacy, have remained at cross-purposes, in methods if not in ultimate goals. It has sometimes seemed as if the military were not under the proper control of the civil arm of government or were poorly co-ordinated with the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The effect has been to cast doubt on the good faith of South Africa as a signatory of solemn international agreements. So much so that the Nkomati Accord has been on the point of collapse. The Cabinda affair was merely the climax of an unhappy trend of events. It has cast doubt on the Republic's commitment to getting the Cubans out of Angola and securing peace and independence in Namibia.

For some months informed observers have been aware of General Viljoen's impending retirement and his replacement by General Jannie Geldenhuys, 50, who is thought to have a rather more sophisticated grasp of political realities and the niceties of international relations.

We may hope that a new era in the South African Defence Force is dawning. Time will tell.

What has gone wrong in the past? Can the SADF not claim that its (belatedly admitted) policy of covert sponsorship of the MNR rebels (Renamo) in Mozambique forced President Machel to the negotiating table, resulting in the banishment of the ANC from Mozambique and a massive gain in security for South Africa?

Certainly, there is truth in this claim. The trouble is that South Africa has failed to keep its side of the bargain, as some observers see it, because the ravages of the MNR, which Pretoria undertook to curb, have continued unabated.

There is a perception that the SADF massively topped up the MNR's supplies and equipment on the eve of the signing of the Nkomati Accord. So much so that the MNR has been enabled to continue in uninterrupted operation, even if South Africa has scrupulously upheld the letter of its undertakings since the signing of



General Constand Viljoen... his retirement a change in SADF role?



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The SADF has subsequently had to go to extraordinary lengths to demonstrate its good faith to President Machel and the international community, even to the extent of discharging some members of the SADF on the grounds that they "sympathized" with the MNR. And this after General Viljoen had written a remarkable letter to the Cape Times to assure the South African public of the loyalty of the SADF to the State President!

This, then, was the background to the stormy debate on the Defence Vote this week. At issue was the lack of credibility of SADF statements. As the Leader of the Opposition put it, he would prefer not to be lied to.

Dr Slabbert recalled that Parliament and the South African people had been the victims of "systematic deception" in the Angolan war of a decade ago. The same applied to the destabilization of Mozambique. It was quite clear that the whole world knew that the denials were "obvious and blatant lies. The whole world, that is, except the Parliament of South Africa".

Parliamentary uproar

It is a pity that Mr Graham McIntosh, who made some telling points in the debate, should have used somewhat emotional and hyperbolic analogies in addressing the same theme.

The ensuing parliamentary uproar distracted attention from the merits of much of what he had to say.

The MP for Maritzburg North is a conservative Christian of strong convictions. The moral dilemmas created for South Africans by SADF policy in the past decade are very real to him. But his language was certainly injudicious and he did well to withdraw the offending expressions after discussions with Dr Slabbert and his colleagues, some of whom were angered by his unfortunate choice of language.

Mr McIntosh outlined an aggressive pattern of SADF activity in Southern Africa in the last decade, beginning with the illegal invasion of Angola and followed by covert sponsorship of guerilla movements in neighbour states.

In Mozambique this meant sponsoring and sustaining an insurgent movement which has committed terrorism on a large scale, involving the death of innocent civilians in the bombing of buses and trains and the sabotage of vital installations. The depredations of the MNR are a matter of record and have indeed been horrifying.

As part of this pattern of destabilization of the sub-continent, Mr McIntosh pointed to the Seychelles debacle, and allegations of sabotaging the Zimbabwe Air Force, the blowing up of an ammunition dump near Harare, attacks on bridges and transport links between Zimbabwe and Mozambique, and so on.

As he put it: "We have become a major aggressor in Southern Africa. We have trained people to bomb, to kill innocent people — in simple words, to terrorize."

Plainly, a policy of covert action on such lines poses a genuine moral dilemma for Christians. Mr McIntosh spoke with conviction for the values he believes in:

"Ordinary decent South Africans have seen the Defence Force use public money to do things against countries and innocent people which can only horrify and disgust them: People who have been brought up, and themselves bring their children up, not to tell lies in the simple biblical belief that Satan is the father of lies; discover that the furious denials of support for Renamo or of the occupation of southern Angola were nothing but lies."

These are grave words. It took courage for Graham McIntosh to utter them. People may disagree with him or dismiss his conviction as naive. But our public life is enriched by his steadfastness and his fine example.



General Jannie Geldenhuys ... grasp of political realities

Experts say SA soldier forced to make statements

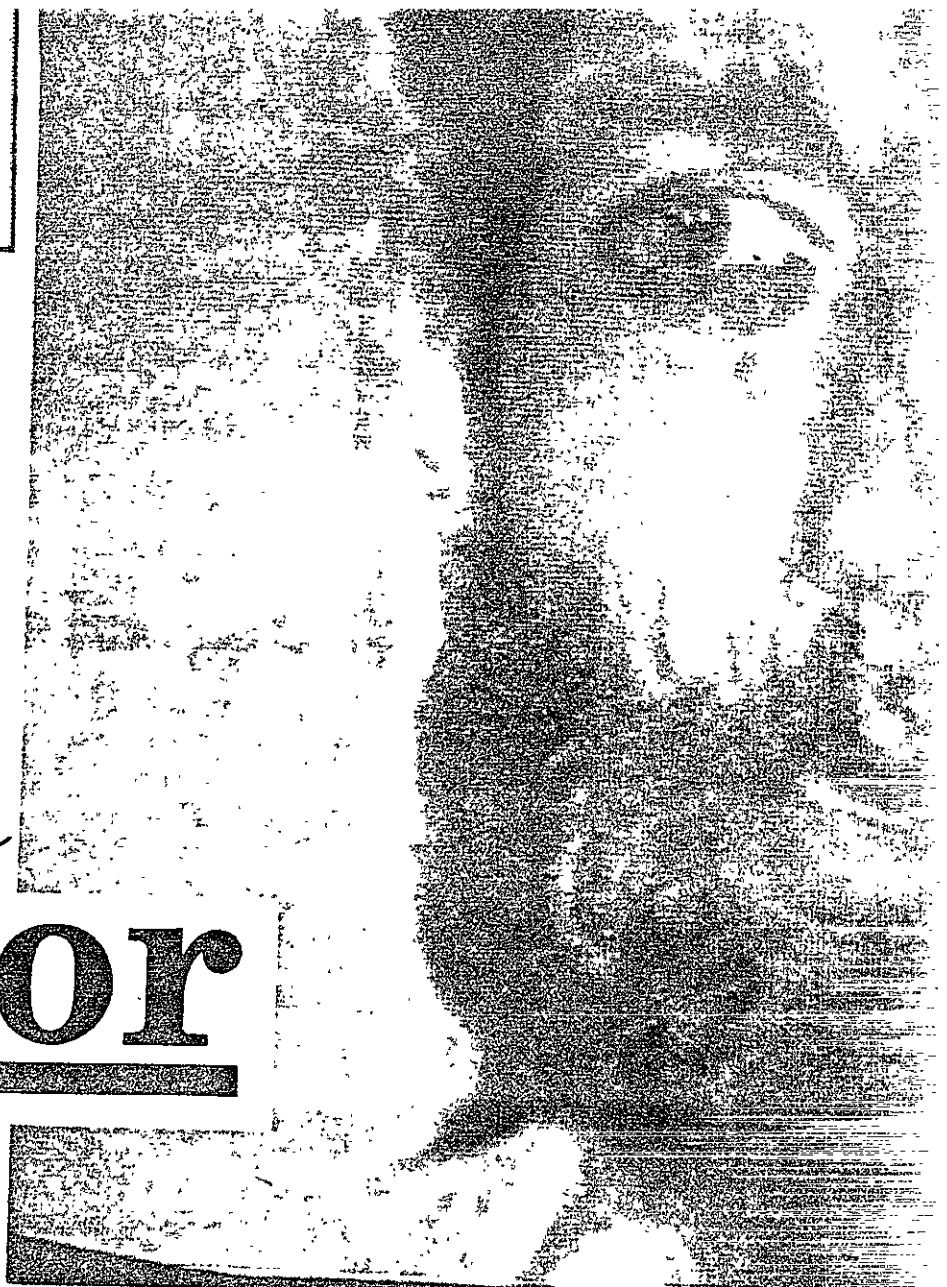
Face

of

His eyes were not those of my brother,

S-Times 2/6/85

Terror



A SOLDIER in the grip of terror. That is what relatives, interrogation experts, psychologists and military strategists claim they saw in the face of Wynand du Toit, South Africa's lone captive in Angolan hands when he was paraded to the world this week.

They claim that because of psychological stress after interrogation, Mr du Toit told the world exactly what his captors wanted — that his small "Recce" commando had gone to Cabinda to sabotage American oil storage tanks.

"When we saw Wynand on television, his eyes weren't the eyes of the brother I know," said Marius du Toit from the West Coast family home.

Ordeal

The 27-year-old Mr du Toit was put on display to the international media in Luanda, one week after his capture and the killing of two of his fellow Recces, Louis van Breda and Rowland Liebenberg.

They were on what has been described by the SA Defence Force as an intelligence gathering mission.

In their home in Dwaarskops, Mr du Toit's family watched his ordeal as he was paraded in front of the international Press flown to

By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

Luanda from Europe for the occasion.

"He appeared nervous, and his eyes were not those of my brother. Also the words he used when speaking English were not those he would normally use," said Marius.

The du Toit family say it was clear to them that things had been done to their Recce son and brother, trained in the tough ways of the Special Forces Operator, to say things he would never have said of his own accord.

Now some South African experts in the field of psychological interrogation are claiming that the propaganda effort has backfired on the Angolans.

They say it was too obvious that Mr du Toit had been forced into making his "admissions" for them to have much credibility.

"Mr du Toit was made to read his statement from a piece of paper. If he knew the facts so well, why was this necessary?" said Professor Mike Hough, a Pretoria strategic studies expert.

"It would seem he was telling the media what the Angolans told him to say."

And a scientist attached to Pretoria University's Department of Psychology, Professor Piet de la Rey, agrees with him after watching the film clip of Mr du Toit's appearance several times to study tell-tale signs in his mannerisms, speech, appearance and actions.

Both agree that it is highly unlikely Mr du Toit is being physically maltreated; his torment appears to be more on a psychological level.

"But", says Professor de la Rey, "from the bruises under his eye it is clear that he has been assaulted, possibly with a rifle butt. But one would think this took place during his capture and was not as part of his interrogation."

The profile that Professor de la Rey, who has made an intensive study of psychological interrogation methods, put together after watching the film, is that Mr du Toit is most likely being subjected to deprivation and threats.

According to him the Angolans could not have drawn

A weary and frightened looking Mr Wynand du Toit as he

wanted — that his small "Recce" commando had gone to Cabinda to sabotage American oil storage tanks.

"When we saw Wynand on television, his eyes weren't the eyes of the brother I know," said Marius du Toit from the West Coast family home.

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According to him the Angolans could not have drawn much out of their prisoner simply because he was too weak in the days before the Press conference.

He claims the Angolans had merely constructed their own version of what the South Africans had been doing in Cabinda.

Force

He believes they then used psychological force like withholding badly needed medical attention and threatening him with execution to weaken him and obtain his cooperation.

Once this had been achieved, Professor de la Rey said, it would have been easy to make him rehearse the prepared statement he was to read at the media presentation in Luanda.

According to Professor de la Rey the statement was an indication that Mr Du Toit was not speaking from his own knowledge or experience.

"There are four points that convince me of this. In a spontaneous situation one would expect eye contact, but Wynand avoids this and looks at his written statement most of the time — an indication that he is saying things he does not want to say.

Truth

"The statement probably contains some aspects of truth, and this is evident from the fact that at times Wynand was speaking from memory, but when he got to the fabricated parts, he had to rely on the written statement.

"As he would have been drilled to remember even the fabricated parts beforehand, this also shows loss of memory and inability to concentrate — both common factors in a stress situation.

"He also had difficulty in associating the parts based on fact with those fabricated by his captors, and stumbled over his words, referring frequently to his written statement, when he had to weave fact and fiction together during his speech," he said.

Govt image takes knock

THE Government's credibility and diplomatic initiatives have been badly dented as fresh evidence has fuelled the controversy over the failed Cabinda mission.

Sowetan 3/6/85

In the short term, this spells disaster for Namibian settlement efforts and could scupper the Lusaka Agreement through which negotiators are painstakingly attempting to reach a solution.

Government for domestic political purposes, but they certainly increase the credibility crisis and lose any kind of diplomatic initiative we may have had concerning

the presence of the Cubans in Angola, a settlement in Namibia, and South Africa's intentions and role as a regional power in southern Africa.

Malan made what some regarded as an extraordinary admission by referring to the SADF as if it was an entity which made its own assessments of Government initiatives.

He said the SADF was at one with the Government. "Therefore the SADF has stated repeatedly that it stands squarely behind the (Government's) peace initiative."

Observers regarded this as being as ludicrous, for example, as a spokesman for the Department of Posts and Telegraphs announcing that it supported the new constitutional dispensation.

So far, General Malan has stuck to his assertion that the Recce surprised by FAPLA troops near Cabinda were on a reconnaissance mission. He has dismissed Captain du Toit's statements, adding: "We know the Marxists are very persuasive."

First reports from Luanda said Captain du Toit was "singing", and the transcript of his Press conference in Luanda seems to support this.

Progressive Federal Party leader Dr F van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday that General Malan had failed to reply to key questions in the debate.

"These kind of evasions may satisfy the

The incursion elicited a sensitive response in Parliament as Minister of Defence Magnus Malan denied that the SADF was not under control, a law unto itself, and a wrecker of the Government's broad southern Africa policies.

The Angolan Government has already broken off negotiations with South Af-

5 (circled) ~~1985/6/3~~

Angolan troops describe 'raid'

CABINDA. — Angolan soldiers described in grisly detail at the weekend how they foiled an alleged South African sabotage attempt here on a United States-operated oil base, killing two commandos and capturing one.

South Africa has denied its men were on a sabotage raid but said they were on an intelligence-gathering operation when the clash occurred on May 21.

South Africa said the men had been gathering information about African National Congress and Swapo guerrillas based in northern Angola.

Sub-lieutenant Adriano Paulo said his suspicions were first

aroused when he came across strange footprints in an area of bush about 2km from the Gulf Oil Company installation.

He then heard rustling in a nearby clump of trees, called for reinforcements and had the group surrounded.

The South Africans fired the first shot, and within 30 minutes two were dead and one was seized and bound after a struggle, Lieutenant Paulo said. One Angolan soldier was hurt.

The captive, Captain Wynand du Toit, told diplomats and journalists last Tuesday that three squads of three soldiers each had been sent on sabotage missions to Cabinda in extreme northern Angola, but Lieuten-

ant Paulo said he saw only one group.

The oil base, which has a capacity of 1 675 000 barrels, is not visible from the area of hilly grassland dotted with trees where the clash took place.

The Angolan soldiers also pointed to Moroccan sardine tins which they said the South Africans had left behind.

Angolan officials said the South African commandos, if they had been successful, could have caused damage amounting to about \$200-million (R400-million), plus \$250-million (R500-million) in lost production as well as destroying \$30-million (R60-million) worth of stored oil.

Americans

They also said 118 Americans worked at the plant, together with 811 Angolans and 130 other foreigners.

The Angolan state oil company Sonangol has a 51 percent share in Cabinda Gulf, while the US firm owns 49 percent.

Oil is crucial to the Angolan economy, as about 90 percent of the country's foreign-exchange earnings are derived from petroleum exports and Gulf is the biggest foreign oil company operating in the country.

Angolan officials said that after the South African sabotage attempt, journalists and other outsiders were no longer permitted to visit the Gulf installation and US oil workers were banned from leaving the compound.

Cabinda is defended partly by Cuban soldiers whose presence in Angola has aroused Washington's strong opposition as the Reagan administration views them as surrogates of the Soviet Union.

'Halt in talks'

Diplomats say the incident is likely to bring a long series of talks between South Africa and Angola to at least a temporary halt.

A spokesman for the SADF Directorate of Public Relations, Commandant John Rolt, said he had "nothing to add to the numerous statements already made by the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chief of the Defence Force".

Meanwhile the official Angolan news agency, Angop, quoted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the weekend as saying that Angola did not believe South Africa was interested in serious negotiations for peace in Southern Africa.

Tension

The ministry said the foiled raid endangered efforts to reduce tension in the region.

Referring to Pretoria's request last week for a meeting to discuss the return of a South African captured in the Cabinda raid, Angola said such a meeting would not be opportune.

Angola, South Africa and the United States have been seeking a regional peace settlement involving independence proposals for SWA/Namibia. — Sapa-Reuters

Unita caring for Catholic priest

LISBON — Angola's Unita rebels said they were caring for an Irish Roman Catholic priest, Father John Kingston, who was wounded in a rebel ambush against a government military convoy in northern Angola last Sunday. (S) SOWDAN 3/6/85
They said his French colleague, Father Jean-Etienne Wozniak, had died in the attack. — Sapa-
Reuter.

Angola soldiers tell of Cabinda incident

5
E. Post
3/10/85

CABINDA — Angolan soldiers this weekend told in gruesome detail how they thwarted an alleged South African sabotage attempt on an American-run oil refinery.

The soldiers also showed visiting foreign journalists pieces of the skull of one of the dead South Africans, and spots of dried blood on the ground.

Two South Africans and one Angolan died in the fight on May 21, and one South African was taken prisoner.

South Africa denied that its soldiers were attempting sabotage and said they had been on a mission to collect information on Swapo and African National Congress bases in Angola.

The ANC condemned the incident and said the failed sabotage attempt by South Africa was part of an attempt to destabilise Angola's economy.

Lieutenant Andriano Paulo of the Angolan Army told the journalists he had become suspicious after noticing strange footprints in a bushy area about two kilometres from the Cabinda Gulf Oil company's installations.

When he heard sounds among the trees, he called in reinforcements and they surrounded the area.

He said the South Africans had shot first. Within 30 minutes two South Africans were dead and one was taken prisoner.

Lieutenant Paulo said he only saw one group of soldiers.

The captive soldier, Captain Wynand du Toit, told journalists on Tuesday that three groups of three soldiers each were sent on a sabotage mission to Cabinda.

The oil refinery, which has a capacity for 1 675 000 barrels, was not visible from the area where the skirmish occurred.

The Angolan soldiers also exhibited tins of Moroccan sardines, allegedly left behind by the South Africans.

Since the incident, journalists and other outsiders are prohibited from visiting the refinery, and the 118 American refinery employees are not allowed to leave the area.

South Africa has asked the Red Cross to visit Captain Du Toit and to get him released, a Red Cross spokesman said.

South Africa has also asked the International Red Cross in Sweden to help to get the two dead soldiers' bodies returned.

● The official Angolan news agency, Angop, said yesterday that Angolan troops have killed more than 400 rebels and captured 100 in clashes in two central provinces during the first five months of the year.

Angop, in a dispatch received in Lisbon, quoted Major Eusebio Brito Ferreira, deputy commander of Angola's fourth military region, as saying the rebels had massacred civilians and tried to disrupt farming in the provinces of Huambo and Bie. — Sapa-Reuter

Cabinda adventure embarrasses SA's allies

CME Times
3/6/88 (5)

LONDON. — The latest mishap between Angola and South Africa seems more amazing than any that has gone before.

The world seems disinclined to believe that this was purely an intelligence-gathering mission. On the assumption that it also entailed sabotage, why should the Republic have despatched a group of guerillas 1 000 km beyond its borders to interfere with Angola's oil production?

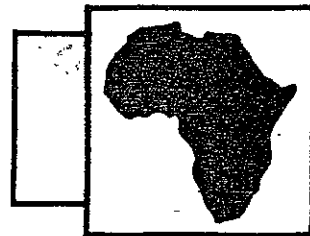
What sense does it make to send soldiers from Pretoria's forces to forage on the atrocious coasts of Cabinda among the off-shore and in-shore wells being operated by Gulf Oil?

There are some 80 Latin Americans, ordinary Americans, Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians, and so on helping to organize the Gulf enterprise on that steaming coast and earning good money by it behind a protective guard of Cubans.

Investment

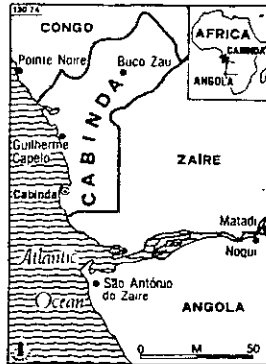
The Angolan economy is greatly helped by this operation and the American economy is much assisted by the regular despatch of relatively sulphur-free oil across the Atlantic. No doubt it is worth Gulf's while to maintain oil installations there. But what real use is it if the South Africans are going to disrupt the operations?

If anything, the South Africans should welcome the addition to American business gained from the Cabinda exercise. It should demonstrate the worth of such investments in Southern Africa at a time when the Americans are



Africa Report

By ANTHONY DELIUS



Left: Dr Savimbi — shouldering blame. Right: President Reagan — embarrassed by wildcat venture.

beginning to cut back on investment, especially in Southern African. It certainly should be no part of the Republic's policy to discourage America from continuing to put money into enterprises abroad, especially in this area.

Yet here we have the South Africans apparently getting ready to blow up oil wells and making the immensely difficult business of extracting oil from such a hostile environment even more difficult.

What is more, the South Africans are showing that they are willing to go to great lengths to increase the difficulties. The Americans have actually used their diplomatic skills to enable the

South Africans to withdraw from having to spread their forces in the southern wilds of Angola, and yet here we have the Republic's forces being scattered about Cabinda, it appears, 1 000 km beyond where they had guaranteed not to be.

Act of friends?

Is this the act of friends? Can this be called helpful, or even intelligent. Have the strategic thinkers in Pretoria or Windhoek really been thinking such adventures through?

Again, it seems to me that not only the Americans and the Angolans stand to be injured by this latest South African

adventure in the region. South Africa's good friends, the Zaireans, have considerable interest in oil extraction in the area, whether off-shore or on-shore. If anything is going to be done around those parts to make oil extraction more difficult, Zaire is bound to be affected by such a development.

The explanation given by the South Africans for the presence of their forces in the Cabinda area is that they are making some investigation into the training of ANC or Swapo elements in those parts. This seems to take the engagement of South African forces very high up in Africa, high up enough to make the Nigerians militarily

uneasy. Zaireans only hope the South Africans are not being drawn out of their depth in Africa, and to a point where the powers of the world can believe that Pretoria is becoming a menace to the whole of the continent.

Savimbi

It cannot have been very helpful to Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Unita forces to discover that the South African forces engaged on Cabinda venture were apparently well prepared to blame them should the operation have gone astray, even though he is now prepared to take much of the blame.

The British are already much irritated by Dr Savimbi's well-advertised tactic of capturing an Englishman or two to hold up to ransom on a raid. Now the Unita people must be chagrined to learn that the South African military are about to play some trick on them. If things went wrong and the Americans grew irritated, the South African forces, it seems, were about to leave evidence to indicate that South Africa's allies in Unita had been at work.

Like good allies Dr Savimbi's men are apparently prepared to shoulder the blame, and rescue the South Africans from the embarrassment of having to admit to being 1 000 km from the bases where they were supposed to be. Things haven't been going so well for President Reagan at the moment for him to forgive being lumbered with stupid wildcat ventures in central Africa.

Papers missed

Printed 1988

PIK BOUND: SA won't attack US property

CMT-Times
4/6/85
5
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3

Political Correspondent

THE South African Government has given the United States Ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel, an assurance that South Africa will not be a party to any attacks on United States installations or personnel anywhere in the world.

The assurance was given yesterday during talks between Mr Nickel and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, on recent events in Southern Africa, including the Cabinda incident.

The Angolan Government and Captain Wynand du Toit, a Defence Force officer captured during the Cabinda incident in which two SADF men died, have said that the South African unit's mission was to sabotage Gulf Oil installations in the oil-rich enclave.

This has been denied by the government which insists that the South Africans clashed with Angolan forces while on an intelligence-gathering operation.

Yesterday, American diplomatic sources were tight-lipped about their

reaction to the meeting with Mr Botha and were unwilling to disclose whether the South African assurances on future SADF action or Mr Botha's version of the Cabinda incident had been accepted.

However, they indicated that the American response to the meeting would be issued from Washington.

Mr Botha told Mr Nickel that South Africa remained committed to the international settlement plan, United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, for SWA/Namibian independence.

He also repeated his view that the Angolan Government was using the Cabinda incident as a pretext for breaking off negotiations on the question of Cuban withdrawal, the main obstacle to the implementation of Resolution 435 as far as South Africa is concerned.

Swapo, ANC

Mr Botha said that if this was not a correct assumption, it would be relatively easy for the Angolan Government to correct this impression by stating that it would continue discussions to resolve the problem of Cuban withdrawal.

Mr Botha also said that "sovereignty is a two-way street", indicating that the US could not criticize the South African action in Cabinda without also criticizing the assistance rendered to the African National Congress and Swapo by Luanda.

The Angolan Govern-

ment had not yet denied that the ANC and Swapo were afforded facilities and assistance in Angola in their planning of violence against the people of South Africa and SWA/Namibia.

Mr Botha further told Mr Nickel that South African troops stationed near Calueque in southern Angola for the protection of installations there were withdrawn recently on the basis of an understanding with the Angolan Government that it would provide the required security.

Mr Botha warned that if a return were allowed to the 1978 position when Swapo bases were established at various points in Angola close to the SWA/Namibian border, "South African forces would have no alternative but to take appropriate action".

● John Battersby reports from London that mounting international concern over the intentions of the South African Government in SWA/Namibia are likely to be discussed during contacts between Britain and the US in London this week.

A meeting between the US Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, and Mr Malcolm Rifkind, Britain's Foreign Office Minister responsible for Southern Africa, is on the cards.

Dr Crocker is expected to use the opportunity to inform Mr Rifkind of his talks on Southern Africa with his Soviet counterpart in Paris last week.

WATCHDOG

- Worried about school textbook costs?
- Wondering how much dough can be made out of bread?
- Checked your till slip lately?

PAGE 7

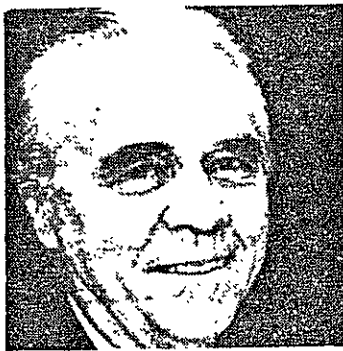
BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close)	...	\$316,00
Rand	\$0,5035/45
FT index (close)		1010,70
JSE	1060,20
Dow Jones	1310,93

US anger over SA Cabinda 'deception'

ARCH 5
4/6/85

(S) ~~SECRET~~
~~SECRET~~
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Mr Brand Fourie

From NEIL LURSEN, Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — American anger and dismay over the military incursion into Cabinda is hanging like a dark cloud over the United States Congress, which today resumes the debate on economic sanctions against South Africa.

Even without the Cabinda incident, the sanctions were certain to have been approved by the US House of Representatives.

The critical issue now is the extent to which Republicans in the US Senate feel let down by a military act which, it is alleged, was aimed at sabotaging an American oil installation and not at gathering intelligence.

Their attitude could tip the scales on sanctions.

A spokesman for Senator Edward Kennedy, sponsor of one of the sanctions Bills, said today: "I think the State Department believes it has been deceived by the South African Government.

"They stuck their necks out for a policy of constructive engagement which they thought would be sensible and make progress. Now they have been shot in the back. I can understand their anger."

Their disappointment

What was supposed to be just a farewell call yesterday by outgoing South African Ambassador Dr Brand Fourie on US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz, turned into yet another opportunity for the Americans to express their disappointment at Pretoria's explanation for the raid, sources said.

Since the raid took place, they said, Mr Fourie had been called to the State Department six times. The American Ambassador in South Africa, Mr Herman Nickel, had seen the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, three times.

"We have the matter under urgent review with the South Africans," a State Department spokesman said.

"We continue to press firmly at a high level for a satisfactory explanation from the South African Government. We are disappointed that the South African Government has not yet provided such an explanation."

Asked whether he thought the raid would affect US ties with South Africa, the spokesman said: "We take this incident very seriously. It is too early to say what effect it will have on our relationship (but we are clearly entering a ser-

Troop withdrawal welcomed



Mr Brand Fourie

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In spite of its openly expressed annoyance, the Reagan Administration continues to oppose economic sanctions, fearing they will blunt the movement toward domestic reform and the achievement of US diplomatic goals in the region.

The Democratic-controlled House of Representatives long ago ran out of patience with the administration's policies in Southern Africa and wants tough action this year to express US abhorrence of apartheid and Pretoria's actions against her neighbours.

Period of grace

The Republican-controlled Senate may be able to forestall immediate sanctions and opt for a two-year period of grace.

A clearer idea of what Congress will decide will emerge today when the sanctions debate resumes in two areas.

The first will be on the floor of the House of Representatives where Congressman Bill Gray's package of four sanctions measures — bans on new investments, bank loans, Kruggerand sales, and computer exports — is expected to go to the vote this evening.

The second is in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee earlier in the day, when senators are expected to decide on the form of the South African

(Turn to Page 3, col 8)

Troop withdrawal welcomed

TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

AMERICAN sources today cautiously welcomed the announcement of the withdrawal of South African troops from Calueque.

It was interpreted as an attempt by South Africa to win back world confidence that it was sincere about securing solutions to the region's problems.

The West apparently remains highly sceptical about South Africa's version of why it had reconnaissance commandos in the Angolan enclave of Cabinda.

The last small group of troops at Calueque, on the border of Angola and SWA/Namibia where there is a big hydroelectric installation, had been withdrawn, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said.

SA COMMITTED

He said the assurance had been given to the US at a meeting with the American Ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel.

Mr Botha also reaffirmed that the Government remained committed to the implementation of the international settlement plan based on UN Resolution 435 if an agreement could be reached on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from SWA/Namibia.

AKS 4/6/85 (5) [Handwritten marks]

US anger at Cabinda incident

[Handwritten: Bill]

Cont from Page 1

legislation that will go to the Senate for a vote.

Most expectations are that a Bill by the committee chairman, Senator Richard Lugar, will prevail. It calls for a two-year delay before sanctions are implemented and seeks to aid blacks with education and business grants.

IMMEDIATE

However, at the most recent meeting of his committee, Senator Lugar said he was ready to consider other immediate steps.

This has been taken here to mean that he may agree to sanctions from other Bills being attached to his own Bill as amendments.

There is a wide range of options for the amendments, ranging from the ban on new US investments to restrictions on the number of South African consulates in the US and a ban on South African Airways landing rights.

BIPARTISAN

Before Cabinda, analysts had predicted that the immediate sanctions Senator Lugar had in mind would be relatively mild.

They said his compromise attitude was clearly intended to forge a bipartisan approach to the South African question and an attempt to assert Senate leadership in Congress.

Now they are not so sure that the amendments will be mild.

5 B. Day 5/6/85

Savimbi's Rightwing jamboree

A JAMBOREE, in which guerrillas from around the world flew to Dr Jonas Savimbi's southern Angolan base to establish an umbrella rightwing organisation, took place in Angola over the last few days.

The jamboree was designed to establish a "permanent anti-Soviet, pre-democratic alliance to promote constitutional democracies across the

globe", according to "Friends of America" representative Jack Abramoff.

Guerrilla groups from as far afield as Nicaragua, Laos, and Afghanistan attended the meeting.

Also there, according to sources in South Africa, was Russell Crystal, head of the rightwing National Student's Federation.

ARGUS 5/6/80

US still not satisfied with SA's Cabinda explanation

Argus Foreign Service.

WASHINGTON. — A senior official of the Reagan administration has told senators that the United States continued to regard South Africa's explanation for its raid into Northern Angola as unsatisfactory and unconvincing and was pursuing the matter urgently.

The official, Mr Frank Wisner, Deputy-Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, was answering questions about the Cabinda incident at a Senate Foreign Relations committee meeting on proposed economic sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Wisner said the United States was prepared to take note of a statement by the South African Government that American property and citizens would not be targets in Angola, that South Africa was committed to Security Council Resolution 435 as a basis of SWA/Namibia's independence, and that a small force of South African troops had been withdrawn from dam-guarding duty in southern Angola.

URGENT TALKS

"But we are not out of the woods," Mr Wisner said. "The issue remains very active and of great concern to the United States government. We are continuing our discussions on an urgent basis with the South African Government."

The United States had a number of doubts about the South African explanation, he said.

Asked whether the report that the South African troops were carrying explosives when they were supposed to be on an intelligence mission had added to the doubts, Mr Wisner said: "That is indeed one of them".

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SA troops betrayed by CIA — claim

Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — The South African military unit involved in the shoot-out with Angolan troops in the oil-rich Cabinda enclave was deliberately betrayed by the Central Intelligence Agency, according to an international newsletter.

The betrayal shows that "Washington is very much closer to Luanda than to Pretoria," the source said.

Two South African commandos were killed and one captured on May 21 near Malongo.

The bi-weekly confidential newsletter *Lettre d'Afrique* said yesterday that Pretoria should have known better than to trust Washington following a previous betrayal, also in Cabinda, in 1975.

The newsletter said the CIA bureau in Kinshasa at that time warned Luanda through the United States Embassy in Brazzaville that the Cabinda National Front (Flec) was planning to seize control of the enclave.

"South Africa should have realised that the CIA would discreetly protect the Gulf Oil installations in Cabinda, but it seems that Pretoria has learnt nothing.

DOUBLE BENEFIT

"We are in a position to state categorically that it was the CIA once more which warned the Angolan Government last month, following precise information obtained by CIA agents in South Africa itself.

"There was a double benefit for Washington in this betrayal. Firstly, it protected the interests of Gulf Oil and Texaco in Cabinda. Secondly, the White House has proved to the Angolan leaders that the United States is not an unconditional ally of the Pretoria Government.

"Washington hopes in this way to achieve a political favour from Luanda."

● South Africa has repeatedly said that the purpose of the Cabinda mission was to gather intelligence about ANC and Swapo activities.

The Argus Political Staff reports that the Department of Foreign Affairs today poo-pooed the *Lettre d'Afrique* report, saying there could be no truth in the "fanciful allegations".

Senior officials of the department said the idea of CIA betrayal did not tally with the version of the incident given by the Angolans themselves.

JAMBA, Angola — Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, has declined to confirm or deny a report in a Johannesburg newspaper that his fighters helped South African commandos escape an ambush in northern Angola.

"That's a difficult question to answer," Dr Savimbi said at Jamba, his bush headquarters in south-eastern Angola, when questioned by reporters who had travelled there to cover the formation of an American-sponsored, four-nation "Democratic International" alliance of anti-Soviet guerrillas

Dr Savimbi said Swapo and the ANC were present in Cabinda, although a Unita military map shown to the reporters by Unita intelligence chief Colonel Peregrino Chingango had no such bases marked

"I don't believe at all in the version of Luanda that the South Africans wanted to blow up the installations of Gulf Oil," Dr Savimbi said

"I am the one who wants to blow them up and all the time the South Africans told me not to"

If confirmed, the report

Savimbi is silent on 'aid to SA'

would support the widely held view — denied by Dr Savimbi — that Unita and the South African Government co-operate militarily in Dr Savimbi's armed conflict against Angola's Marxist rulers.

Angolan officials said two South Africans were killed in the incident and that another was wounded. The wounded man told a news conference in Luanda that the commandos had intended to blow up installations operated by Gulf Oil of the United States, which are the main source of Angola's foreign ex-

change.

South African military chiefs denied this, saying the commandos had been sent to gather information about Swapo and ANC bases.

"That man was manipulated," Dr Savimbi said, referring to the account by the wounded Captain Wynand du Toit.

In New York, Mr Lewis Lehrman, an American politician said to be close to President Reagan, said he believed Unita forces were "going to prevail" in Angola.

He had just returned

from Jamba where he had acted as "midwife at the birth" of the Democratic International, which organisers say groups together anti-communist insurgent forces around the world

Meanwhile in Paris, Angola's Ambassador to France today denied reports that his Government had been tipped off by the US before foiling the South African commando foray

Mr Luis D'Almeida told reporters the US had played no role in thwarting the South African venture — Sapa-Reuter-AP

Guerrilla leaders sign anti-communist pact

5 Day 6/1/85

JAMBA — Guerrilla leaders from Angola, Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Laos have agreed to co-operate in their common fight against Soviet-backed governments at a bush meeting arranged by lobbyists for President Ronald Reagan.

The guerrillas declared themselves founders of the Democratic International, an alliance reflecting what Reagan activists say is a growing trend of grassroots resistance to Communist-leaning governments.

Historians say it is the first attempt by anti-Marxists to co-operate across national borders in the way that Soviet-sponsored forces have done for 20 years.

The two-day meeting ended on Sunday when the leaders signed a

document declaring, in part, that the "Soviet empire is more vicious and oppressive than all others".

The visiting guerrillas and reporters travelled from Johannesburg to Jamba last week. Most flew out of the south-eastern Angolan bush yesterday.

The gathering at headquarters of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) was organised by Citizens for America to put into action what the chairman, Lewis Lehrman, called the Reagan doctrine.

The unsuccessful Republican candidate for the New York state governorship in 1982 had a letter from Reagan expressing sympathy for the cause. — Sapa-AP.

SA troops still in Angola — claim

Cape Times
6/6/85

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VIENNA. — The Angolan Ambassador to the United Nations said yesterday South Africa still had troops in his country, denying Pretoria's announcement on Monday that it had completed their withdrawal.

South Africa made its announcement after a meeting between the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and the US Ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel.

Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, Angola's UN Ambassador, told a news conference: "There are still South African troops in Angola despite the pathetic lies of Mr Botha."

'Proof'

"It is difficult to specify figures, but we know and we have proof of the continuing presence of certain South African forces within the Angolan territory," Mr De Figueiredo said.

He said Pretoria's only interest was to destabilize its black African neighbours. He called on the world community to press South Africa to change its policy on SWA/Namibia.

The diplomat was in

Vienna to attend a meeting of the 31-nation Council for Namibia, the UN body appointed to administer SWA/Namibia.

High on the agenda of the week-long meeting are South African plans to launch an interim government in Windhoek on June 17 to which parliamentarians from Britain, the United States, France and West Germany were invited.

'Ploy'

The council strongly condemned this as Pretoria's "ploy to instal a puppet administration in Namibia".

It said the move would further jeopardise prospects of implementing the 1978 UN Security Council Resolution 435, calling for free elections for an independent SWA/Namibia.

Another top item is the council's decision to file suits in courts of member nations against companies to try to block unauthorized exploitation of SWA/Namibia's natural resources.

Meanwhile, **JOHN BATTERSBY** reports from London that the discovery of South African Defence Force comman-

dos in northern Angola last month was the subject of Anglo-US talks in London yesterday.

Mr Malcolm Rifkind, Minister of State in the British Foreign Office for Southern Africa, met his United States counterpart, Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, for wide-ranging talks on the situation in the region.

The talks took place ahead of a crucial United Nations Security Council debate on SWA/Namibia and in the face of mounting international condemnation of the SADF action in Angola.

It is understood that Dr Crocker and Mr Rifkind were trying to hammer out a joint strategy for next week's UN debate.

A Foreign Office spokesman confirmed the talks but no statement was released.

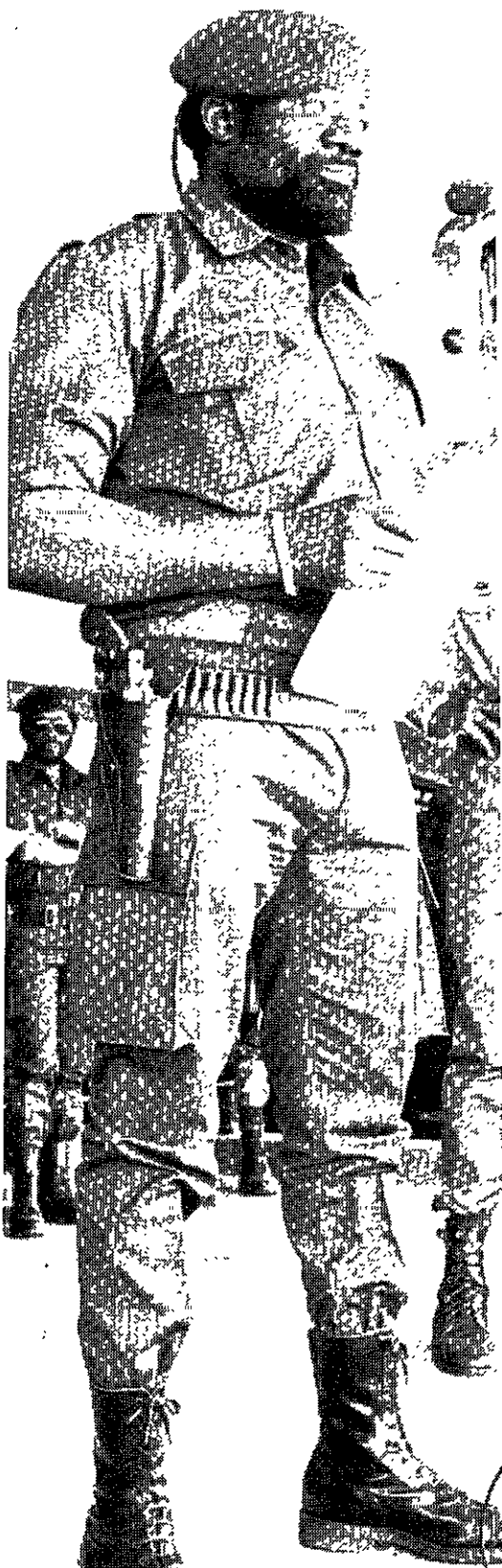
It is understood, however, that the impact of the Cabinda incident, in which two South African commandos were killed and one was captured, on US-South African relations and the US-sponsored SWA independence initiative were the main subjects discussed.

— Sapa-Reuter

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Guerilla leaders meet at Jamba

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JAMBA, Angola, — Guerilla leaders from Angola, Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Laos have agreed to co-operate in their common fight against Soviet-backed governments, after an African bush meeting arranged by lobbyists for President Ronald Reagan.

The guerillas declared themselves founders of the Democratic International, an alliance reflecting what Reagan activists say is a growing trend of grassroots resistance to communist-leaning governments around the world.

Historians of guerilla movements say it is the first attempt by anti-Marxists to co-operate across national borders in the way that Soviet-sponsored forces have done for 20 years.

The two-day meeting ended on Sunday, when the leaders signed a document declaring, in part, that the "Soviet empire" is "more vicious and oppressive than all others" and is "fated to fall... because Soviet imperialism violates the true nature of man".

The visiting guerillas and reporters travelled from Johannesburg to Jamba last week. Most flew out of the south-eastern Angola bush on Wednesday.

The gathering at the thatched-roof headquarters of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) was organised by the conservative Citizens for America (CFA) to put into action what its chairman, Mr Lewis Lehrman, called the Reagan doctrine — national self-determination and freedom from Soviet oppression.

The unsuccessful Republican candidate for New York State governor in 1982 carried a letter from Mr Reagan ex-

First attempt by anti-Marxists to co-operate across borders

Mr Reagan's economic and military policies. It claims 5 000 contributors in nearly three-quarters of the 435 US Congressional districts.

Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, signed the Jamba declaration, along with Mr Adolfo Calero, leader of the Nicaraguan Unity of Opposition umbrella group, Mr Pa Kao Her, leader of the Ethnic Liberation Organisation of Laos, and Mr Ghulam Wardak of the Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahedin.

It was not immediately clear how guerillas from four widely scattered countries could co-operate.

But, according to Mr Lehrman, they could raise morale by exchanging experiences. He said the alliance would establish a "clearing house" in Washington with CFA's help.

Mr Jack Wheeler, an American writer on anti-communist insurgencies whose personal contacts with guerillas helped bring about the meeting, said the bushfighters would meet again this year.

He said they would probably exchange commanders to observe military operations.

CFA's executive director, Mr Jack Abramoff, said the aim was to promote constitutional democracy "across the

said.

Of the negotiations with Angola, which the US has been pursuing for several years under auspices of the United Nations, Mr Lehrman said his impression was that "they have made very little, if any, progress whatsoever, and have been immobilised some time ago".

Laotian representative Mr Bee Moua said the meeting produced nothing substantial and "all we did was to get to know each other".

He said the success of the alliance would depend on its producing practical gains for the guerillas.

Mr Moua lives in Fitchburg, Massachusetts. Mr Seng Her, another of the four Laotian delegates, lives in Atlanta, Georgia. The two Afghan delegates live in Bowie, Maryland.

Mr Wheeler said Pakistani authorities prevented other guerrilla leaders from leaving neighbouring Afghanistan to attend the meeting, and that representatives of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front were unable to leave Cambodia.

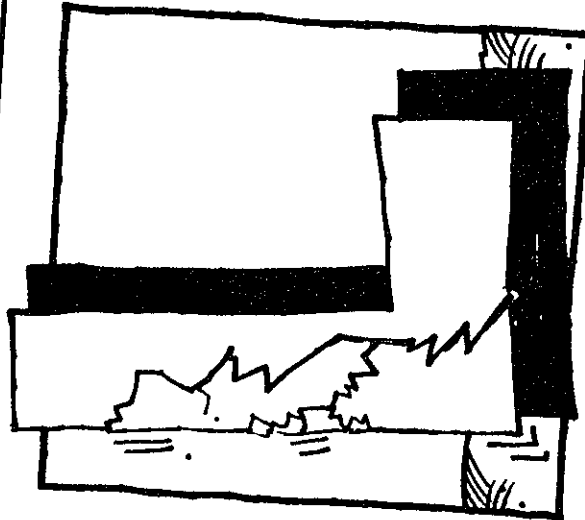
Three members of the National Student Federation of South Africa, a conservative group, helped arrange the meeting.

Its president, Mr

After hours phone. Your news tip. A FORMER United Party

Citizens for America was founded by Mr. Lehrman two years ago to raise funds and lobby for

Unita leader JONAS SAVIMBI



Funetics



Yesterday's solution:
Lead pencil

He said anti-left militants from other nations could be invited to join, including Mozambicans, Lebanese, Ethiopians, Cambodians and Poles.

At a news conference, Mr Lehrman denied that CFA support for the guerillas could cut across US foreign policy toward Marxist-ruled countries where American officials seek to negotiate agreements.

One such country is Angola, where the US State Department hopes to persuade the MPLA Government to send home 25 000 Cuban soldiers as part of a plan to make neighbouring SWA/Namibia independent.

The Jamba meeting was "an expression of the President's own sentiments", Mr Lehrman

were present not as federation representatives but as friends of Mr-Abramoff, with whom they had contacts when Mr Abramoff was active in university-level Republican politics.

Mr Abramoff said the gathering was held in Angola because Dr Savimbi "is a prominent symbol of anti-Soviet fighters".

Unita claims undisputed control of one-third of Angola, more territory than is held by any of the other three movements.

Each delegation was given a framed copy of the US Declaration of Independence. Mr Abramoff said the declaration proclaims "rights that are God-given and universal", and thus applicable anywhere in the world. — Sapa-AP

ANGOLA/NAMIBIA

The clouds gather

The US and its Western allies are seriously concerned about the hardening of attitudes on the Angola/Namibia question. A further deterioration in the diplomatic atmosphere could have serious consequences for peace in the sub-continent, diplomats say.

At the base of the new situation is the abortive mission of a group of SA soldiers in Angola's Cabinda enclave, two weeks ago. US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker discussed it with senior officials from the Soviet Union last week. According to a spokesman of the US Embassy in Cape Town, "security issues in southern Africa" and independence for Namibia were discussed.

There are several indications that the situation around Angola and Namibia is going to get a lot worse: □ There have been several veiled threats, from at least two Cabinet ministers, of new military intervention in Angola.

The latest was a statement by Foreign Minister Pik Botha this week, after a meeting with US ambassador Herman Nickel, when he said that SA will have no choice but "to take the necessary steps" if Angola is going to allow Swapo bases near the Namibian border;

□ The Cabinda debacle will be discussed, and most certainly condemned in strong terms, at a meeting of the UN Security Council to be held soon;

□ Cuban leader Fidel Castro displayed new intransigence on the conditions for a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola. He made a hard-hitting speech this week, after a visit to Cuba by UN secretary general Javier Perez de Cuellar, stating that: "if Namibia is not free, or at least all concrete steps not taken, not a single Cuban soldier will leave before UN Resolution 435 is implemented. We will send more soldiers if we need to;"

□ The controversial transitional government of the internal Namibian Multi-Party Conference will be installed between June 14 and 17;

□ Rumours persist that Crocker is fast falling out of favour with both the left and the right in Washington, and that he could be replaced before the end of the year. This could affect SA's attitude towards US involvement in peace initiatives in southern Africa; and

□ A new military offensive by the rebel movement Unita and worldwide publicity gained after a conference of anti-communist guerrilla forces in the southern Angolan bush.

A draft proclamation making provision for a transitional government in Namibia with all powers short of defence and foreign affairs has already been handed to the State President. The inaugural ceremony in Windhoek will be accompanied by a military parade and much pomp and circumstance. It will probably be attended by State President P W Botha, Foreign Minister Botha, Defence Minister

Magnus Malan and several senior officers and officials.

There are strong rumours in Windhoek and Pretoria that Unita president Jonas Savimbi has also been invited to the festivities in Windhoek, but no confirmation could be obtained.

In a recent statement, Unita expressed its support for the transitional government, and Savimbi is on record saying he will do everything in his power to be part of the Namibian independence negotiations. Savimbi attended the inauguration of President Botha in Cape Town last year.

The conference of "freedom fighters" at the secret Unita headquarters in Jamba Angola, was organised by a prominent Republican-dominated movement in the US,

Citizens for America. It is headed by Lewis Lehrman, a leading Republican — and friend of president Ronald Reagan — who once ran for office of Governor of New York.

Representatives of anti-communist guerrilla movements from Nicaragua, Cambodia and Afghanistan, as well as a large contingent of press representatives attended the conference. Diplomatic sources say that, at the insistence of SA, the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR) was not invited.

SACC

Prey to division

The SA Council of Churches (SACC) is facing a serious internal split on the issue of whether churches should pray for the "downfall and removal of the present government." It presents the SACC and, in particular, its new general secretary, Beyers Naudé, who is overseas, with the biggest crisis in its existence.

In an unprecedented step, the expanded SACC praesidium has unanimously repudiated senior SACC vice-president Allan Boesak and the Western Province Council of Churches (WPCC) for announcing such prayers on behalf of the SACC.

The praesidium — which includes such leading radical church leaders as SACC president Manas Buthezi, life honorary president Sally Motlana, and the Rev Dale White — stressed that church regional councils were only called to hold memorial services on June 16 "to pray for the end of unjust rule," nothing more. And it categorically rejected claims by Boesak that a study document drafted by an informal ecumenical group, which calls for "a change and the removal of the government," was ever accepted as a policy document by the SACC executive.

The praesidium also endorsed an earlier statement by Archbishop Philip Russell and the Rev Peter Storey, leaders of the Anglican and Methodist churches, respectively. These two denied that the SACC member churches had ever been consulted on such a prayer day and stressed that neither the SACC executive nor its national conference had ever approved a prayer day for the "downfall and removal of the government."

The rumpus started when Boesak announced at a press conference organised by the WPCC that the SACC executive had decided to hold a prayer day for the "downfall" of the government. And the WPCC has published in booklet form thousands of



Cuba's Castro ... new intransigence on troops in Angola



Savimbi

For 7/6/85

WORLD

Savimbi tight-lipped on SA ambush rumours

UK trade deficit climbs higher

JAMBA — Unita's leader Jonas Savimbi declines to confirm or deny a report that his fighters helped South African commandos escape an ambush in northern Angola.

"That's a difficult question to answer," Savimbi said at Jamba, his bush headquarters in south-eastern Angola, when he was queried several times on the subject this week.

Reporters travelled to Jamba last week to cover the formation of an American-sponsored, four-nation alliance of anti-Soviet guerrillas, and flew back to Johannesburg on Wednesday.

The *Star* newspaper reported last week Unita guerrillas fought a delaying action after the South Africans were discovered two weeks ago, allegedly on a mission to sabotage oil installations in Cabinda province.

If confirmed, the report would support the widely-held view — denied by Savimbi — that Unita and the South African government co-operate militarily in Savimbi's struggle against Angola's Marxist rulers.

Angolan officials said two South Africans were killed in the incident and another wounded. The wounded man, Captain Wynand du Toit, told a news conference in Luanda that the commandos had intended to blow up installations, operated by Gulf Oil of the United States, which are the main source of Angola's foreign exchange.

The Angolan government refused to discuss with South Africa the return of the bodies of the two slain commandos.

Any prolonged rupture in Angolan-South African

contacts could delay further US efforts to negotiate a withdrawal of 25 000 Cuban soldiers from Angola in an agreement with South Africa to grant independence to Namibia.

South African military chiefs denied the sabotage story, saying the commandos had been sent to observe bases in Cabinda of the South West Africa People's Organisation and the African National Congress.

Savimbi said Swapo and the ANC were present in Cabinda, although a Unita military map showed to reporters by its intelligence chief, Peregrino Chingango, had no such bases marked in the province.

"I don't believe at all in the version of Luanda that the South Africans wanted to blow up the installations of Gulf Oil," Savimbi said.

"I am the one who wants to blow them up and all the time the South Africans told me not to."

"That man was manipulated," he said of Du Toit's account.

South African units that had invaded southern Angola in force to attack Swapo positions pulled out recently under an agreement reached with Angola more than a year ago.

Savimbi said again the United States should not give diplomatic recognition to the Angolan government before all Cubans had left the country.

He said a phased withdrawal that would leave several thousand Cubans in Angola was unacceptable.

The Unita leader said he would join a coalition government. He said none of Angola's political factions could be omitted if any government were to succeed. — Sapa-AP.

EXCLUDING trade in oil, Britain had a visible trade deficit of £3,33bn in the first quarter, compared with last week's estimate of £3,2bn.

This showed a widening from the £2,794bn deficit in the previous quarter.

Exports in the first quarter were £20,295bn, unchanged from last week's estimate for the same quarter.

Imports were unchanged at £21,642bn.

The first-quarter export figure was above the exports of £19,316bn in the previous quarter but below exports of £25,854bn in the like year-earlier quarter.

First-quarter imports were above the £20,643bn recorded in the previous quarter but below the £25,016bn in the similar year-earlier period. — AP

LISBON — Angolan Unita rebels would have no hesitation about attacking United States-operated oil installations in Cabinda Province in northern Angola, the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, was today quoted as saying.

"Unita will attack in Cabinda and will attack Gulf Oil," he said.

Dr Savimbi, in an interview with the weekly Portuguese news magazine, Grande Reportagem, said that the US knew of Unita's intentions.

He said he did not believe Angola's claim that a South African commando squad, intercepted in the oil-rich Cabinda Province on May 21, was planning to

sabotage the large and productive complex operated by the US Gulf Oil Co.

Pretoria said its men, two of whom were killed and one captured during the long-range raid into Angola, were on a reconnaissance mission to observe Swapo and ANC bases in Cabinda.

The Unita leader said he did not believe South Africa would attack US interests. Asked if this meant that Unita, which Angola

says is backed by the Pretoria Government, would not attack US interests in Cabinda he replied: "It's exactly the opposite."

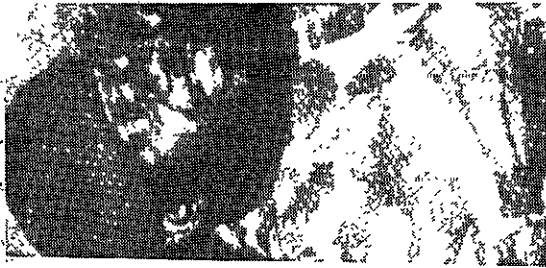
A Unita spokesman in Lisbon said the Grande Reportagem interview took place at Dr Savimbi's headquarters in Jamba, south-eastern Angola, on May 30.

Dr Savimbi said he did not believe a Unita attack on the Cabinda Gulf Oil in-

Rebels will attack US oil complex Unita

installations would change US policy in Southern Africa, where Washington and Pretoria have called for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

"The question is knowing whether Gulf has enough influence with President Reagan to make him change his policy in Southern Africa for the sake of a half dozen burning oil wells — and we don't believe that it has," the Unita leader said. — Sapa-Reuter



Dr JONAS SAVIMBI
... no hesitation

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

SWA independence stalled by Cubans, says SA envoy

Argus 11/6/85

Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — The continued presence in Angola of up to 30 000 Cuban troops was the main reason why United Nations independence plans for SWA/Namibia were stalled, the UN Security Council heard from the South African ambassador, Mr Kurt von Schirnding.

Speaking during the opening stage of a debate on lack of progress towards independence for the territory, Mr von Schirnding said: "The presence in Angola of a large number of surrogate troops of a super-power represented in this council has made it impossible for the people of Angola and the people of South West Africa to free from intimidation."

Mr von Schirnding said Pretoria "insists on the withdrawal of foreign forces from the region."

US backing

However, although the council resolution has the backing of most Western nations, it makes no mention of the removal of Cuban troops.

While the United States backs South Africa in this demand, the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has said on many occasions that he does not acknowledge the "linkage" factor.

Mr von Schirnding said South Africa would continue to "search for a reasonable formula for genuine Cuban withdrawal from Angola", and hoped that dialogue with all the parties involved would replace violence.

A draft resolution prepared by Swapo urges the council to adopt sanctions against Pretoria if concrete steps are not taken towards SWA/Namibian independence by September.

However, Western diplomats placed little significance on the document and stated that both the United States and Britain firmly believed that sanctions against South Africa would be counter-productive.

One Western diplomat said the document had been "torn up" and that the African group would start re-writing a draft in the next few days.

There are about 18 Foreign Ministers here for the debate, called by the African and non-aligned countries.

Secrecy behind the MPLA lines

5 2/19 E-Post
12/6/85

ALTHOUGH the workings of the Government of Angola remain a well-kept secret from the rare Western visitor, there is little mystery about what the African nation's Soviet-supplied air force looks like.

Antonov-26s, used to ferry small contingents of troops, officials or equipment, and huge, lumbering Antonov-12s taxi about the runway of Luanda's 4th of February airport as MiG fighters scream past overhead.

"The military isn't very happy about this," official guide Mrs Katia Airola acknowledges. "But that's how the Portuguese built the airport — the military runway right alongside the civilian part."

It will be 10 years in July since Portugal relinquished control over Angola after nearly five centuries of colonisation and 13 years of bitter warfare.

Mrs Airola, a 54-year-old Finnish woman divorced from a Portuguese, chose to remain in Angola with her children after independence. She now works for the Ministry of Information and has Angolan citizenship.

Although the war ended for Portugal, it has never stopped for the Marxist-inspired Government of the People's Movement of Angolan Liberation which continues to fight guerrillas of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

The reality of all the years of warfare is underlined by the omnipresence of the military and becomes apparent in another way upon entering Luanda, a city of 1.5 million.

From the air the former jewel of Portugal's African empire is a city of tall buildings whose gleaming whiteness contrasts with the ochre-coloured earth and the deep blue Atlantic Ocean.

On the ground, city streets have taken a decade of wear and tear with no upkeep since the massive Portuguese departure. The city's 1975 population is estimated to have tripled.

Rubbish remains uncollected in the streets as special trucks imported several years ago sit idly by for want of spare parts for which there is no hard currency. Half-finished shells of

By PATRICK REYNA in Luanda

apartment blocks abandoned by departing Portuguese are everywhere. On the corner of Avenida Karl Marx and Rua Lenin stands a burned-out building, apparently untouched for years.

However, the city's big hotels are being renovated for the annual conference in September of heads of state of Portugal's five former African colonies.

The elegant Presidente, a gleaming tower of steel and glass, has already been renovated and is now under the management of the French hotel firm, Meridien.

As in most African countries, the Angolans are extremely sensitive about photographs. Reporters were repeatedly reminded to keep their cameras in their bags.

But despite the problems and the decay, the city throbs and bustles with traffic and life — and the traffic lights work.

Mrs Airola explains that people and cars are valuable commodities and said authorities crack

down hard on speeders and drivers who cause accidents.

Although there is a midnight to 5am curfew, gunfire is heard every night in Luanda — sometimes just a few shots and other times rounds of automatic weapons fire.

Four years ago the city's petroleum refinery was blown up in a night attack claimed by Unita.

Several Western reporters were recently granted rare visas to Angola following a government announcement that Angolan troops had killed two South African commandos and captured another on May 21 in a foiled raid on the joint US-Angolan Gulf Oil complex in northern Cabinda province.

South African officials first denied knowledge of the group, then said the commandos were gathering intelligence on African National Congress bases in the area.

Reporters heard the wounded South African, who identified himself as 27-year-old Wynand Petrus du Toit, tell a Government-organised news conference that the raid at the Cabinda Gulf Oil

depot at Malongo was intended to cause "considerable economic setback to the Angolan Government".

After the often-postponed news conference, the Government flew reporters to Malange, 350km east of Luanda, capital of a province of the same name, to see a captured airdrop of arms, ammunition and supplies intended for Unita rebels.

As in Luanda, the military were everywhere, including some of the estimated 25 000 Cuban troops in the country, awaiting transport back to the capital.

The provincial military governor, Colonel Ludy Kissassunda, said the 31-ton drop had been picked up 60km from the Zaire border but said it had come from South Africa.

All serial numbers had been filed off the Soviet-made AK 47 Kalashnikov and Portuguese-made G-3 assault rifles, but the medical supplies were manufactured in South Africa, and the labels of the plastic bags of "Sterisol" sterilised water were written in English and Afrikaans. — Sapa-AP

By DAVID LEWIS in London

Cocaine and heroin: twin sisters of destruction

DRUG smuggling, drug-taking and drug deaths are booming in many parts of Europe, and countries already plagued by heroin are bracing for a flood of cocaine as the latest fashionable drug spills over from the US.

"In Western Europe the number of addicts, even among the very young, is rising dramatically, together with the number of drug-related deaths," the Vienna-based International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) said in its latest report.

"The drug abuse and trafficking situation in Western Europe is grim and deteriorating."

huge influx of cocaine from the United States, a huge but now oversupplied drug market.

Cocaine emerged as a major object of drug abuse in the 1970s. "Snorted" (inhaled) through straws, the white powder made largely in South America from coca leaves, was thought at first to be safer and less addictive than its sleazier rival, heroin.

Very expensive, it

were likely to look for new markets in Western Europe as the American drug market became saturated.

"We fear that unless immediate and effective action is taken, Britain and Europe stand to inherit the American drug problem in less than five years," the committee said.

"We see this as the most serious peacetime threat to our national

year.

British police chiefs have called for a new national "super drug squad" to combat heroin and cocaine — already arriving in large quantities at relatively low prices — and the Government is expected to enact new harsh legislation in the autumn, including life imprisonment for major drug traffickers.

Elsewhere, the picture is mixed. Governments

in-drug of the fashionable set, but now young people from 20 to 25 can afford it," a Health Ministry official said.

France, which has tripled the size of its Drug Squad since 1981, seems to be preventing overall drug addiction from rising.

Mr Jean-Claude Karsenty, head of a body which coordinates France's anti-drug actions, believes the number of

Strangely, the American response to what everyone in Washington is convinced was a deliberate South African attempt to destroy the Gulf Oil Corporation's main Angola depot has been rather tame.

To be sure, the State Department has quietly been putting South African officials through their paces in hopes of wringing out an explanation more plausible than the hunt for an ANC base which even Unita says does not exist.

The meetings, by all accounts, have been less than polite. The interviewees — including the home-bound Brand Fourie, who was called in seven times — have at least promised that, whatever their soldiers weren't doing around Malongo, they wouldn't try it again.

The real pyrotechnics ought logically to have erupted on Capitol Hill. After all, Captain du Toit's non-mission to destroy American life and property was neatly timed as a curtain-raiser for sanction debates in both the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House of Representatives. Nothing like throwing gasoline on an already aging fire.

Yet it didn't happen. Frank Wisner, Dr Chester Crocker's deputy, was grilled perfunctorily by the senators, who let it go at that. A handful of House Democrats raised the issue en passant in the run-up to Wednesday's 295-127 sanctions vote, but evidently needed no extra ammunition.

Why didn't the dog bark?

Well, to be blunt, the State Department was the only place in town where people were genuinely stunned to find explosives-laden South Africans wandering around in Cabinda, effectively seeking to wreck United States diplomacy.

Left and Right, Democrat and Republican, there is hardly a soul left to be convinced that something is awry with the policy. After all, how many nails can a coffin lid take?

Here is a statement that Congressman Steven Solarz and Senator Jesse Helms would both find unobjectionable: it is no longer conceivable that enough Cubans can be talked out of Angola to satisfy South Africa's preconditions for Namibian independence. With South Africa itself in such flux, it is too much to expect that Pretoria

Why the US didn't bark over the Cabinda debacle

SIMON BARBER in Washington

will abandon the territory to Swapo on easy terms. Ergo, United States diplomacy is no longer addressing itself to the doable. It's firmly mired and someone better get out and push.

The question over which the above-mentioned gentlemen part company is: which way? Since both — and many others ideologically in between — are already out and shoving in opposite directions, the realistic answer is probably crabwise.

The Reagan administration, as represented by officials speaking on behalf of President Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz, continues to insist that its policy remains unchanged. Boil the policy to its bare, doctrinal essentials — the desire for peaceful, evolutionary change in South Africa, the long-term easing of regional tensions, the reduction of Soviet influence and opposition to economic sanctions as inimical to all said objectives — and the administration's insistence is utterly believable.

Beneath the sweeping generalities of doctrine, however, much can happen, often drastically. By the end of this year, constructive engagement will still be in place as the theoretical panoply covering United States policy towards Southern Africa. Seen from the ground, however, it may look very different.

An analogy can be found in Reagan's stance towards arms control. The grand strategy is to force Moscow's hand into talking serious reductions: no more talks for their

own sake, a process that, like both the Salt treaties it spawned, tends to favour the Soviets.

That much is set in stone, to the palpable annoyance of the Kremlin and the nuclear freezies. Fluid, sometimes startlingly so, are the tactics. Acting within the parameters set for him by Congress, Reagan cajoled the Soviets back to the table by refusing to back down on the deployment of intermediate range missiles in Europe and, when barred by his own political supporters from basing the new generation MX ICBM on the invulnerable but verifiable "Racetrack" railway system, by establishing a Manhattan Project to develop a space-based missile defence.

With Moscow still struggling to digest all that, he now turns round and undertakes — against the Pentagon's advice — to abide by the unratified Salt II, opposition to which was a major element of his 1980 election campaign and whose spirit he vigorously maintains the Soviets are violating.

To show good faith, he even agrees to dismantle a relatively new nuclear submarine. An act of unwonted moderation, perhaps, but it finesses the domestic opposition and gives the Russians the irksome choice of also dismantling weapons to keep their side of the bargain, or having their bluff called.

Re-examined in this light, the tactical permutations of construc-

tive engagement can be infinite. A reasonable guess at how they will pan out in the months ahead of the Reagan era might run as follows.

If the House and Senate can agree to a version of their South African legislation that is short on economic sanctions, or merely threatens them, leaving to the White House the final decision to implement, Reagan will probably sign... even if it means accepting such non-economic strictures as ending South Africa's United States landing rights.

His signature will not come cheap, however. The price he will exact from the House Democrats is their acquiescence in the Senate's overwhelming call for the lifting of the Clark Amendment, which blocks United States aid to Unita.

The result will be a form of constructive engagement under which the United States remains firmly engaged but gets tough with everyone: holding Pretoria's feet to the fire on domestic reform and, ultimately, some form of internationally-recognised Namibia settlement, while, in the same breath, threatening to put the squeeze on Luanda unless it agrees to negotiate with Dr Savimbi and send home the Cubans.

Something like this is being tried with moderate success in Central America, where the administration has used a combination of strongarm tactics and aid to press El Salvador towards democratic reform while supporting counter-revolutionaries in neighbouring Nicaragua, if not directly to

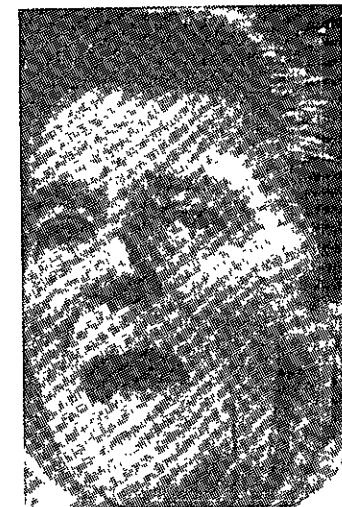
overthrow the Sandinistas then to force them to sue for peace with their anti-communist opposition.

Transferring which to Southern Africa is speculative, of course. Such an approach does, however, represent the growing consensus of the president's own party. Mainstream Republicans, as evidenced by the 16-1 Senate Foreign Relations Committee vote for limited sanctions, have no objection to strongarming South Africa.

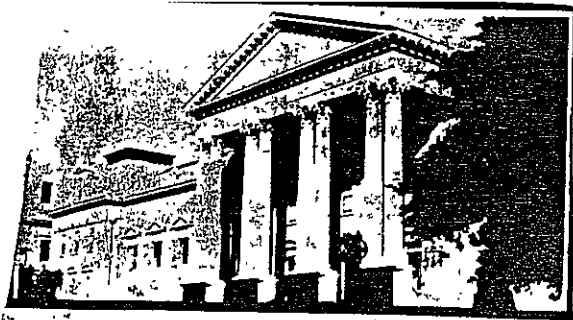
They also — witness Tuesday's 63-34 vote to lift the Clark Amendment — have lost patience with trying to jaw the Cubans out of Angola.

Reagan, as he made clear in the letter read out in Jamba last week by his ardent loyalist, New York millionaire Lew Lehrman, sees Unita in the same light as the Nicaraguan Contras and the Afghan Mujaheddin: Jeffersonian revolutionaries fighting to turn back the Brezhnev doctrine that states socialist revolution is irreversible. At the same time, political reality demands that he cave a little on South Africa.

Sounds like the makings of a vintage Reagan trade-off: deCrockerise constructive engagement, finesse the Democrats on apartheid and go for the MPLA... all in the name of what the State Department called the Jamba conference's "laudable" aims: "The struggle for human rights and democratic values."



● REAGAN... trade-off



Pik Botha hits back at US

CAPE TIMES 18/6/85

Political Staff

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last night hit back at a United States Government statement that South Africa had attacked the Gulf Oil installations in Cabinda.

He was reacting to a statement by the US Embassy in Cape Town that their Ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel, had been recalled to Washington.

Diplomatic observers in Cape Town have dismissed the possibility of a total "freeze" by the US on contact with the South African Government because of the Gaborone raid and have suggested that hints in this direction may be aimed at appeasing American domestic pressure on the Reagan Administration.

'Havens'

Mr Botha said last night: "According to the US spokesman in the UN Security Council, the US Government does not condone acts of violence perpetrated by the ANC from safe havens across SA's borders, but it condemns actions by the South African Government in attacking these terrorist bases in order to protect the lives and property of South Africans."

"Apparently the US is of the opinion that it has the right to protect US interests wherever they might be threatened, but that smaller nations like South Africa should be denied that same right. South Africa cannot accept this. I am sure the majority of Americans would also not accept this ...

'First time'

"As regards the US Embassy spokesman's statement that the South African Government was responsible for an attack on Gulf Oil installations in Cabinda, this is the first time that I have heard that the installation had been attacked during the recent Cabinda incident ...

"I personally conveyed the facts to Ambassador Nickel. When invited to produce evidence that South Africa had even so much as 'intended' to attack the Gulf Oil installation in Cabinda, Ambassador Nickel relied on statements made by Captain Wynand du Toit, the captured South African soldier," said Mr Botha.

"I pointed out that it was obvious that Capt Du Toit was either drugged or forced under duress to make that statement, or both."

Opposition rejects bill

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Opposition parties in the House yesterday rejected the Regional Services Councils Bill, although for vastly different reasons.

Mr Colin Eglin (PFP Sea Point) said the bill entrenched apartheid at local government level, undermined local government by placing autocratic power in the hands of central government and imposed new forms of taxation at a time when the Margo Commission was reviewing the tax structure.

Mr Eglin moved an amendment that the bill be rejected.

He asked how black participation in RSCs could be effective when the structures on which this participation was based were matters of serious dispute in the black community.

PFP finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz reiterated his party's rejection of the financial aspects of the bill, saying it was remarkable that the payroll and turnover levies had not been referred to the Margo Commission.

Taxation on the wrong group

He said the Minister of Finance, Mr Barand du Plessis, had already conceded the possibility that the commission might reject the levies, in which case government might have to dismantle the bureaucracy set up to collect levies.

He said the levies were taxation on the wrong group inasmuch as metropolitan areas were already paying the bulk of taxation, and that they were disincentives to industrialization in metropolitan areas, which was utterly unacceptable.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht (Waterberg) condemned the bill in the strongest terms, describing it as a "socialist" measure which would kill the goose that laid the golden egg — and that the goose was white. It was also another step towards integration.

Mr Vause Raw (NRP Durban Point) said that, while his party rejected the payroll and turnover levies, it would support the measure because it provide much-needed cash for the improvement of life in black townships, and included an element of joint decision-making at local government level.

ARGCAS 18/6/85 (5)

No victories in sight as Angola's war rages on

MICHAEL RANK of Reuter reports from Luanda on perceptions there of the Unita threat and South Africa's role in the region and the prospects of an early end to the civil war

IN spite of claiming a spectacular success in thwarting a South African commando operation deep inside its territory, Angola has little hope of an early victory over Unita, according to diplomats in Luanda.

But Unita is seriously handicapped by its lack of air power, they said, making its fighters easy targets for the Soviet-equipped Angolan air force.

The war has reached a stalemate, with the government holding almost all the towns and the South African-backed Unita rebels controlling large areas of the countryside.

Unita's position is precarious because, diplomats claim, it gets most of its weapons from South Africa, and if Pretoria was to relinquish control of neighbouring SWA/Namibia, supplying arms would become much more difficult, they said.

But the rebels have captured large quantities of weapons from government troops and could fight for some time without outside support.

"I think the MPLA will win in the end, but it could be 30 or 40 years from now," said one diplomat.

"A guerrilla movement like Unita cannot take fixed positions and is at a disadvantage unless the government lose

their nerve or the people rise up in support of the guerrillas," he added.

He said there was little sign that the MPLA was losing its will to fight or that support for Unita was growing.

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"The MPLA regard their struggle as a historic mission and an extension of the fight against the Portuguese, which started 200 years ago.

"They are not necessarily in a great hurry for victory," he added.



The leaders of the two opposing forces in the Angolan civil war, President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, left, and Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi. The struggle between them appears to have reached an uneasy but temporary stalemate

Western diplomats in Luanda agree that the MPLA's claim that Unita are nothing but South African puppets is a gross over-simplification.

They say Unita has strong nationalist credentials and strong support, especially from the Ovimbundu people, who live in the relatively heavily populated central plateau.

Apart from their air superiority, government forces have the support of an estimated 30 000 Cuban troops, stationed in Angola since shortly before independence in 1975.

Lieutenant-Colonel N'gongo, Deputy Chief-of-Staff of the Angolan armed forces, said the Cubans' role was purely defensive and that Angola would never permit foreign troops to go into battle on its behalf.

Cabinda

"The use of Cubans as a fighting force is against the ideals of our society," said Colonel N'gongo who, like many senior Angolan officials, uses a nom-de-guerre.

Although United States is strongly opposed to the pres-

ence of Cuban troops in Angola, regarding them as surrogates of the Soviet Union, Cuban troops ironically guard the huge oil installation in Cabinda, which is partly owned by the US company, Gulf Oil, and which Angola claims South African commandos tried to blow up last month.

The capture of the leader of the commandos and the killing of two others was a spectacular propaganda coup for the Luanda government.

South Africa says its men were gathering intelligence on the activities of Swapo guerrillas fighting South African rule in SWA/Namibia, and on the ANC.

But despite Angolan fury over the raid, it says it has left the door open for further talks with South Africa on regional problems.

Maputo

The two sides have met frequently, despite mutual distrust, and held their last round of talks in Maputo in early May.

The Angolan Foreign Ministry said after the Cabinda raid that Angola was still committed to establishing a

true climate of peace in the region and had made "various gestures of good faith and realistic and constructive proposals."

Diplomats said Angola's clear wish to continue the talks could be aimed at calling South Africa's bluff and that Pretoria might have been planning to use the operation as a way of stalling the negotiations and adopting a more aggressive posture.

The operation was highly damaging to Unita, as the leader of the South Africans, Captain Wynand du Toit, told a Press conference he had taken part in an attack on a railway bridge in Southern Angola in late 1982, for which Unita had claimed responsibility.

Diplomats said Captain du Toit's statement had dented Unita's credibility, and suggested that South Africa might have carried out other attacks previously attributed to the rebels.

Government troops scored another success with the capture of 31 tons of arms air-dropped for the rebels 60km from the Zairean border.

The weapons, on show in the Northern town of Malanje, included six tons of plastic explosives, 500 000 rounds of ammunition for Portuguese automatic rifles, 1 500 hand grenades and two grenade launchers.

Diplomats said it was the largest known such haul, and expressed surprise that arms were being air-dropped so far North.

All the weapons were unmarked, but medical equipment from the cache bore South African labels.

Colonel Ludy Kissassunda, political commissar (governor) of Malanje province, declined to speculate on whether the arms had come from South Africa or Zaire when he spoke to journalists taken to see the arms.

But diplomats said they were feasibly of South African origin and may have been flown from a base in SWA/Namibia.

It was unlikely that Zaire would have provided a base for the air-drop as both the Angolan and Zairean authorities were anxious to maintain good relations after a long period of strain, they added.

Stalemate as MPLA hold out

By MICHAEL RANK in Luanda

DESPITE claiming a spectacular success in thwarting a South African commando operation deep inside its territory, Angola has little hope of an early victory over rightwing rebels, according to diplomats in Luanda.

But the rebels are seriously handicapped by their lack of air power, they said, making them easy targets for the Soviet-equipped Angolan air force.

The war has reached a stalemate, with the Government holding almost all the towns and the South African-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebels controlling large areas of the countryside.

Unita's position is precarious because, diplomats claim, it gets most of its weapons from South Africa, and if Pretoria was to relinquish control of neighbouring SWA/Namibia, supplying arms would become much more difficult, they said.

But the rebels have captured large quantities of weapons from Government troops and could fight for some time without outside support.

"I think the MPLA (ruling party) will win in the end, but it could be 30 or 40 years from now," said one diplomat.

"A guerrilla movement like Unita cannot take fixed positions and is at a disadvantage unless the Government lose their nerve or the people rise up in support of the guerrillas," he added.

He said there was little sign that the MPLA was losing its will to fight or that organised support for Unita was growing.

"The MPLA regard their struggle as a historic mission and an extension of the fight against the Portuguese, which started in the 16th Century. They are not necessarily in a great hurry for victory," he added.

Western diplomats in Luanda agree that the MPLA's claim that Unita are nothing but South African puppets is a gross over-simplification.

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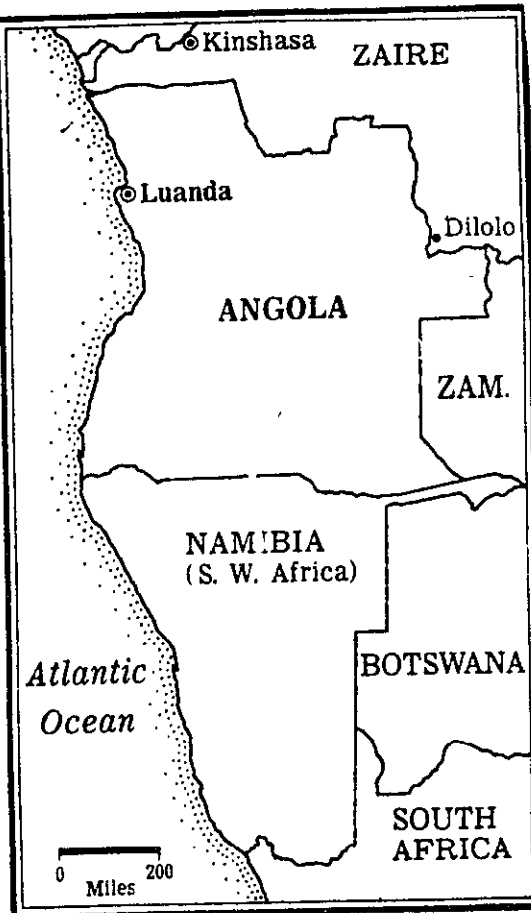
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The United States is strongly opposed to the presence of Cuban troops in Angola, regarding them as surrogates of the Soviet Union.

But, ironically, Cuban troops guard a huge oil installation in the northern province of Cabinda, which is partly owned by the US company, Gulf Oil, and which Angola says South African commandos tried to blow up last month.



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The military are everywhere in Angola

D. Dispatch
5
20/6/37

From Patrick Reyna in Luanda

Although the workings of the government of Angola remain a well-kept secret from the rare Western visitor, there is little mystery about what the Soviet-supplied Angolan air force looks like.

Antonov-26s, used to ferry small contingents of troops, officials or equipment, and huge, lumbering Antonov-12s taxi about the runway of Luanda's 4th of February airport as MiG fighters scream past overhead.

"The military isn't very happy about this," the official guide, Mrs Katia Airola, acknowledges. "But that's how the Portuguese built the airport - the military runway right alongside the civilian part."

It will be 10 years in July since Portugal relinquished control over Angola after nearly five centuries of colonisation and 13 years of bitter warfare.

Mrs Airola, a 54-year-old Finnish woman divorced from a Portuguese, chose to remain in Angola with her children after independence. She now works for the ministry of information and has Angolan citizenship.

Although the war

ended for Portugal, it has never stopped for the Marxist government of the People's Movement of Angolan Liberation (MPLA), which continues to fight guerrillas of Unita (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

The reality of all the years of warfare is underlined by the omnipresence of the military and becomes apparent in another way upon entering Luanda, a city of 1.5 million.

From the air the former jewel of Portugal's African empire is a city of tall buildings whose gleaming whiteness contrasts with the ochre-coloured earth and the deep blue Atlantic Ocean.

On the ground, city streets have taken a decade of wear and tear with no upkeep since the mass Portuguese departure. The city's 1975 population is estimated to have tripled.

Rubbish remains uncollected in the streets: special trucks imported several years ago sit idly by for want of spare parts for which there is no hard currency.

Half-finished shells of apartment blocks abandoned by departing Portuguese are everywhere. On the corner of Avenida Karl Marx and Rua Lenin stands a burned-out building, apparently untouched for years.

However, the city's big hotels are being renovated for the annual conference in September of heads of state of Portugal's five former African colonies.

The elegant Presidente, a gleaming tower of steel and glass, has already been renovated and is now under the management of the French hotel firm, Meridien.

As in most African countries, the Angolans are extremely sensitive about photographs. Reporters were repeatedly reminded to keep their cameras in their bags.

But despite the problems and the decay, the city throbs and bustles with traffic and life -- and the traffic lights work.

Mrs Airola explains that people and cars are valuable commodities and said authorities crack down hard on speeding and drivers who cause accidents.

Although there is a midnight to 5am curfew, gunfire is heard every night in Luanda -- sometimes just a few shots and other times rounds of automatic weapons fire.

Four years ago the city's petroleum refinery was blown up in a night attack claimed by Unita.

Several Western reporters were recently granted rare visas to Angola after a government announcement that Angolan troops had killed two South African commandos and captured another on May 21.

The government flew reporters to Malange, 350km east of Luanda, capital of a province of the same name, to see a captured airdrop of arms, ammunition and supplies intended for Unita rebels.

As in Luanda, the military were everywhere, including some of the estimated 25 000 Cuban troops in the country, awaiting transport back to the capital.

The provincial military governor, Col. Ludy Kissassunda, said the 31-ton drop had been picked up 60km from the Zaire border. -- Sapa-AP.

APGWS 20/6/85 (5)

War-torn Angola faces a crisis of hunger

MICHAEL RANK of Reuter reports from Luanda on a growing hunger crisis which the International Red Cross and the UN are battling to alleviate

HUNDREDS of thousands of Angolans are hungry as a result of civil war and drought, and the problem is likely to get worse, aid workers say.

United Nations officials put the number of people suffering from malnutrition at about 500 000 out of a population of 8.2-million, and say aid operations are hampered by worries over security as well as lack of transport and trained personnel.

According to a recent government report, about 30 percent of children in suburban areas and 20 percent in the countryside suffer from severe malnutrition.

"The principle causes of death are malaria, severe diarrhoea and severe respiratory diseases. In the affected rural areas, most families are left with only two or three children, having lost at least two children," says the UN-backed report.

The country requires R149-million worth of urgent emergency assistance, according to the report, while the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has budgeted R10-million this year and about the same in 1986 for improvements in the agricultural and health sectors.

Of the 500 000 people in greatest need, 300 000 live in the fertile and relatively heavily populated central highlands, a stronghold of South African-backed Unita rebels.

UNDP deputy representative Mr Jean-Pierre Gernay said a

drought which has hit much of the country since 1981 appeared to be over in the central plateau, but the Namib desert was encroaching on coastal towns in the extreme Southwest.

Lack of transport and trained staff limited the amount of aid the country could absorb despite its enormous needs. "This is not enough and we could have sought 10 times more, but I don't know if the country could absorb so much," Mr Gernay said.

The United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef) runs a feeding programme aimed mainly at women and children, who receive a high-protein porridge known as "Papa." But pledges from foreign governments are only sufficient to feed 200 000 people up to this month, according to the government report.

Mr Gernay said devastation was especially serious in Southern Angola, where 143 000 people had been uprooted from their homes following South African occupation.

Mr Gernay said the UNDP's overall aim was to help the government revive the peasant agricultural sector, which has been neglected in favour of state farming.

"They have come to realise that any major success in food production will have to involve the active participation of the peasant sector," he added.

Aid officials said a pilot project in the Northern province



of Malanje had achieved good initial results, and that peasants had increased their output considerably thanks to substantial payments in kind.

Unicef official Mr Philippe Heffinck said the outlook was "not very bright. Press and world opinion have been cool to Angola. Very few people know there is an emergency situation in Angola," he said during a rare visit by a Western journalist.

Mr Heffinck said he was expecting a slight improvement in food supplies between now and October in central and Western Angola as crops were harvested.

But disaster could occur after grain stocks were consumed. "There has been a slight improvement due to the crop cycle but there is no doubt that the situation is going to deteriorate if the present political-military situation continues," he added.

According to the government, 10 000 tons of high-protein food were ordered last year for 200 000 women and children.

But needs for the current agricultural year total 23 215 tons or more than double 1984 sup-

plies, and will cost R24.6-million, the report says.

Each woman and child receives 170 grammes of rations daily, consisting of a mixture of maize and soya flour, dried milk, sorghum grits and soya oil.

World Food Programme deputy representative, Mr Philip Clarke, said Angola also needed 130 000 tons of basic cereals this year, but only 28 000 tons had been pledged.

The country grew only 300 000 tons of grain of its own, far below its potential because of civil war, drought and low producer prices, he added.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is also heavily involved in feeding the hungry in Angola. At the end of last year it was feeding 158 000 people, well below its original target of 250 000.

But ICRC chief representative Mr Gian-Battista Bacchetta said he was reasonably satisfied with the Red Cross' record.

"There is sufficient food for our actual operation but not necessarily for all needs," he added.

Mr Bacchetta said the Red Cross had earmarked R66-million for Angola this year, about 30 percent of its Africa budget.

Security was a major concern for the Red Cross, as it has 55 expatriate staff in the highland city of Huambo, a frequent target of rebel attacks, as well as 20 in the port of Benguela and 10 in Kuito, also in the highlands.

Jane's gives glimpse of behind-the-lines commandos

Cabinda squad was elite 'recce' team

20/6/85
B-Days

LONDON — South African soldiers captured or killed close to oil installations in Cabinda were almost certainly from elite reconnaissance commandos — units specially recruited and trained to obtain strategic intelligence by deep penetration into “enemy” territory — Jane’s Defence Weekly has reported in London.

The authoritative magazine said the first of these special units, 1 Reconnaissance Commando, was formed in Durban in 1972.

Since then, a number of additional reconnaissance commandos had been established, including a Citizen Force element (2 Reconnaissance Regiment), the amphibious-trained 4 Reconnaissance Commando based at Langebaan in the Cape, and units at Pietermaritzburg and Phalaborwa.

In the war against Swapo, these special forces have un-

dertaken tactical intelligence gathering missions,” said Defence Weekly.

“In this context there have been references to reconnaissance teams of only two men operating well inside Angola, which can safely be assumed to be allusions to members of one or other of the reconnaissance commandos. On occasions, they have also been used as an elite combat element.”

One such instance was “Operation Mebos” in July-August 1982, which was intended to eliminate two Swapo “front” headquarters, it said.

It also seemed likely that the troops involved in the raids on ANC establishments in Maputo and Maseru in 1981, 1982 and 1983 were drawn from the reconnaissance commandos.

“Little information has

been released concerning the operational organisation of these units,” the report said.

“The basic element is a five- or six-man team, each member being a specialist in skills such as tracking, navigation, field medicine or signals. They are trained in the use of all small boats and their equipment includes some specially-modified armed Land-Rovers.”

It said two selection courses for the commandos were held each year, attracting about 700 applicants. “These form a select group in themselves, but only about 45 make the grade.”

After about eight months’ training, including a parachute course, successful soldiers were classified as special forces operators and were then allowed to select the unit they would like to join. — Sapa.

US disbelieves SA account of SADF raids

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The Reagan Administration is satisfied that South Africa's accounts of the Cabinda and Gaborone raids are untrue.

The credibility gap, a key factor in the current souring of relations between the United States and South Africa, is likely to have serious implications as Washington seeks to re-establish its stance as a regional "honest broker".

As one source close to the investigation of the Cabinda affair put it "It casts doubt on all the assurances South Africa has given".

Sources say a detailed State Department study of the Cabinda raid contains "irrefutable" evidence that the target was the Gulf Oil Corporation's Malongo installation.

The finding is based in part on major inconsistencies in an exhaustive explanation provided by Pretoria. One source said the explanation was full of "glaring geographical and mileage errors".

"Malongo just isn't on any logical route between where they say they landed and what they say they were looking for."

The SA explanation, which was subsequently amended, is believed to have stated that the commandos were landed by submarine on the Cabinda coast and got lost en route to their real target, which was directly inland. To be discovered 300 metres from the terminal's fence, they would have had to make an 8km to 10km detour along the coast.

'No evidence Du Toit was drugged'

Reports from the embassies in Luanda of other countries stated categorically that there was no evidence that Captain Wynand du Toit, the captured commando, had been drugged, tortured or forced to speak.

At a press conference on Tuesday night, President Reagan himself cast doubt on the South African claim that the Gaborone raid was a "surgical" strike targeted solely at known ANC terrorists, and suggested that it might have been a more generalized retaliation. He implied a comparison between this and a theoretical US attack on Shi'ite strongholds in Lebanon to punish the hijackers of the TWA airliner.

State Department officials have repeatedly stressed that they have the highest regard for Botswana's Foreign Minister, Mrs Gaositwe Chiede, and say they have no reason to doubt her. Botswana has insisted that it was abiding by "problem-solving arrangements" worked out with Pretoria and that there were no ANC fighters in Gaborone.

US Embassy rejects 'hostile spirit' reports

CNN-TIMES 2/16/85

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent
THE United States Embassy yesterday dismissed reports that certain officials within the embassy had this week unilaterally attempted to "freeze" all contacts with the South African Government.

Reports in Afrikaans newspapers claimed the recent Defence Force raid on Gaborone had laid bare tensions between certain embassy officials — still infused with the "hostile" spirit of the Carter era — and the State Department in Washington.

The reports also suggested that an embassy statement containing "clear untruths" had, in the view of the State Department, gone too far.

Questions

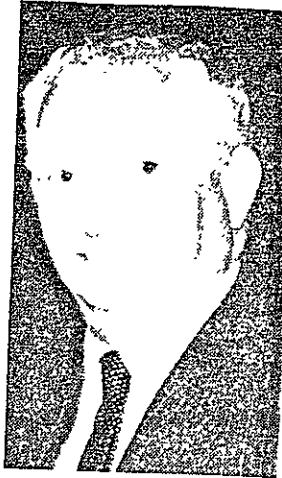
The statement noted that "recent actions of the South African Government, including the attack on Gulf Oil in Cabinda, the Botswana raid and the establishment of an interim administration in Namibia, raise the most serious questions about the government's policy"

A spokesman for the embassy in Cape Town pointed out that no American embassy could issue an official statement without Washington's approval.

The embassy statement makes it clear the US does not believe repeated statements by



Mr Ronald Reagan



Mr Herman Nickel

South Africa that its forces were in Cabinda on a reconnaissance rather than a sabotage mission.

Although senior State Department officials have dismissed earlier reports that there was to be no contact between US and South African officials "until further notice", it is reliably understood that an order for a selective "freeze" was indeed issued.

The restriction was intended to limit contacts between US officials and members of the South African cabinet and directors general of government departments.

The freeze order came hot on the heels of another act of protest from Washington — the recall of Ambassador Herman Nickel — and led to

speculation that President Reagan's constructive engagement policy might be reviewed.

Since then US Government officials have been at pains to emphasize that the detailed review of policy was intended to find ways of putting constructive engagement back on track.

Softer line

President Reagan himself has taken a softer line than some of his senior officials, suggesting that despite earlier "serious concern" at South African actions, constructive engagement remained policy.

At a press conference this week, Mr Reagan went so far as to imply a degree of understanding of the raid into Botswana, comparing it with the hostage situation facing

the US in Lebanon.

Mr Reagan said "The raid across the border was perhaps the kind of incident that I have been talking about in our own situation."

"There is no question about the violence of the ANC and their striking and their attacks on people and their murdering and so forth."

'Guilty'

"But again, was the (South African) strike at the people who are guilty or was it just a retaliation in a general direction? So, we don't know about that. But we are concerned."

Pressed on whether he viewed the Cabinda incursion, the Gaborone raid and the establishment of an interim government in Namibia as setbacks for his policy of constructive engagement, President Reagan replied.

"Well, it's certainly not something that we heartily approve of. But whether there's something to make us break off relations with another government, I don't think that either."

● Simon Barber reports from Washington that the US Government has clear doubts about whether the Gaborone mission was planned as a surgical strike against known ANC terrorists, suggesting it might have been intended to frighten Botswana into signing a public non-aggression pact.

SA condemned over raids

UNITED NATIONS — South Africa faced a second condemnation in 24 hours at the United Nations yesterday as the Security Council prepared to debate Pretoria's incursion into northern Angola last month.

On the previous night, the Council condemned South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia in defiance of UN and World Court decisions and gave notice of possible sanctions if independence was further delayed.

The Council's non-aligned members then tabled a demand for an unconditional withdrawal of South African forces from Angola and an end to all acts of aggression.

The Council will be asked to state that Angola is entitled to appropriate redress and compensation.

Angola's complaint to the council stemmed from an abortive South African military action in May that a captured soldier testified later was aimed at the Cabinda oil installations operated by Gulf Oil.

Last night's resolution, adopted with the United States and Britain abstaining, urged UN members to consider a range of voluntary measures against South Africa.

The vote on the draft in the 15-nation Council was 13 in favour and none against, with two abstentions.

The resolution condemned Pretoria for obstructing implementation of a 1978 UN independence plan for SWA/Namibia, which

calls for a withdrawal of South African troops and UN-supervised elections in the territory.

After lengthy consultations, the text was orally amended to avoid a veto by the United States and Britain, which did not want to be committed in advance to sanctions.

Other parts of the resolution condemned South Africa for installing a "so-called interim government" in Namibia last Monday, declared this action null and void, and demanded that it be rescinded.

The resolution also rejected South Africa's insistence on linking the independence of Namibia to — "irrelevant and extraneous issues" — a demand by Pretoria for the withdrawal of thousands of Cuban troops based in neighbouring Angola.

The UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, was asked to resume immediate contact with South Africa to settle its choice of a voting system for elections in the territory. — Sapa-Reuter.

Soviet shoppers face with vegetable shortages

MOSCOW — Soviet shoppers, used to shortages of fresh vegetables, may have to make do

by the abundance he sees on shop shelves," the official Communist party newspaper said.

21/6/85

Sowetan

Cabinda a blow to Angola's hopes for peace

5
24/6/85 B. Day

LUANDA — A South African raid a month ago into northern Cabinda province has dashed hopes in Angola for a timely settlement to conflicts in southern Africa.

Since the raid on May 21 by a heavily-armed South African commando unit and a string of subsequent and apparently related events, Angolans question the South African government's interest in arriving at anything other than military or unilaterally-imposed solutions to the region's problems.

"Look, we are a country at war," is the frequent response to a foreign visitor's observations on anything from bad roads and malfunctioning public utilities in Angola to occasional scarcity of bread and shots heard in the capital during the midnight-to-5am curfew.

Since the end of a bitter 13-year struggle for independence from Portugal in 1975, Angola has been involved in what it considers three separate wars.

These are an ongoing guerrilla conflict with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), direct confrontation with South African troops in southern Angola and incursions into Angola by South African forces in pursuit of Swapo guerrillas.

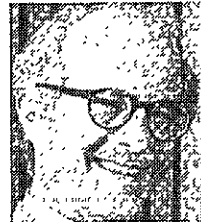
South Africa claims to have withdrawn all its troops from Angola and initially denied any knowledge of the commando group surprised by Angolan troops. However, it later said the group was in the area to track down anti-South African elements.

Angolan Foreign Minister Alfonso van Dunen then lodged a formal protest with the United Nations Security Council.

The Cabinda incident, which resulted in the capture of the commando leader and the death of two other members of the group, is seen in Luanda as a severe blow to the regional negotiations headed by US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker.



CASTRO



CROCKER

Begun in the late 1970s under the administration of then-President Jimmy Carter, the negotiations lead to joint Angolan-South African discussions and a time-table for the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola's southern Cunene province.

On April 17, the South Africans announced the withdrawal of their troops, who had occupied parts of the province since an incursion in December, 1983 to seek out Swapo guerrillas.

Shortly after the Cabinda incident, Cuban President Fidel Castro told students from South West Africa in Havana that "not a single Cuban soldier" would be withdrawn from Angola and that if more were needed, he would send them.

Late last year, President Jose Dos Santos indicated willingness to consider the partial withdrawal of some 25 000 Cuban troops authorities say are in Angola to help face the threat of a South African attack.

Withdrawal of the troops has been the principal stumbling block to an agreement between Angola and Pretoria over the future of South West Africa.

With full US backing, South Africa links the Cubans' departure to its eventual withdrawal from the territory.

A new, compromise proposal initiated by the US for a phased pullout of Cuban troops from Angola has run up against Unita, whose leader, Jonas Savimbi, will only stop fighting when he is assured a role in a coalition government. — Sapa-AP.

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26/6/81

Cap

Swapo has 'stud farm'

FRANKFURT. — Swapo guerillas in Angola and Zambia are holding large numbers of SWA/Namibian refugees in prison camps and operate a "stud farm" with female captives at one of them, the International Society for Human Rights said yesterday.

In a statement issued from its Frankfurt headquarters, the society said the stud farm was in the west Angolan province of Cuanza-Sul, 350km south of the Angolan capital of Luanda.

"According to the testimony of an ex-detainee, refugee women have to bear children for Swapo. They are allowed to keep them only until their third birthday. The children are sent to a nearby collective farm and are given pre-military education," the society said.

The society said that former inmates of the camps said an "unknown but by no means small" number of SWA/Namibian refugees were held in the chain of Swapo prisons.

'Deaths'

It said the camps in Zambia were at Nyango, 400km west of Lusaka, and at Mboroma and Senaga in the western provinces. Prisoners at Nyango and Mboroma do forced labour and there are frequent deaths because of poor health conditions, the society said.

"The mortality rate among children born there is especially high," the statement said.

It said that in the Angolan camps conditions were not much better. They were at Cuanza-Sul, Lubango and Okasapo in the province of Huila. — UPI.

Angola gears up for more war

CML
27/6/88
Tusk's

PATRICK REYNA of Associated Press reports on the situation in Angola after a visit to the capital, Luanda

LUANDA. — A South African raid a month ago into northern Cabinda province has dashed hopes here for a timely settlement to conflicts in Southern Africa.

Since the May 21 raid by a heavily armed South African commando unit, surprised by Angolan troops, and a string of subsequent and apparently related events, Angolans question the interest of the South African government in arriving at anything other than military or unilaterally imposed solutions to the region's problems.

"Look, we are a country at war," is the frequent response to a foreign visitor's observations on anything from bad roads and malfunctioning public utilities to occasional scarcity of bread and shots heard in the capital during the midnight-to-5am curfew.

Since the end of a bitter 13-year struggle for independence from Portugal in 1975, Angola has been involved in what it considers three separate wars.

Commando group

These is a guerilla conflict with Unita, a direct confrontation with South African troops that have periodically invaded southern Angola, and there is the pursuit by South Africans into Angolan territory of guerillas of Swapo.

South Africa claims to have withdrawn all its troops from Angola and at first denied any knowledge of the commando group, then said it was in the area in search of anti-South African guerillas.

Angola's Foreign Minister, Mr Alfonspo van Dunen, lodged a formal protest with the United Nations Security Council, which took up the issue.

Although no one will speak for the record, members of President Mr Jose Dos Santos's, government of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola Workers Party, believe the fighting will continue.

The Cabinda incident, which resulted in the capture of the commando leader and the death of two others, is seen here as a severe blow to the regional negotiations headed by United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

Begun in the late 1970s under the administration of then President Jimmy Carter, the negotiations had managed to get Angolans and South Africans to the same table to discuss their differences and then to work out a timetable for the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola's southern Cunene province.



On April 17, the South Africans announced the withdrawal of their troops, which had been occupying parts of the province since the December, 1983, incursion in search of Swapo guerillas.

Soon after the Cabinda incident, Cuban President Fidel Castro, told students from SWA/Namibia in Havana that "not a single Cuban soldier" would be withdrawn from Angola and that if more were needed, he would send them.

Late last year Mr Dos Santos indicated willingness to consider the partial withdrawal of some 25 000 Cuban troops, which authorities say are in Angola to help face the threat of a South African attack.

Withdrawal of the troops has been the principal stumbling block to an agreement between Angola and Pretoria over the future of SWA/Namibia.

With full US backing, South Africa links the Cubans' departure to its eventual withdrawal from the territory.

On June 17, South Africa set up an interim government in Windhoek, contravening UN Security Council Resolution 435 on the territory's independence.

Crippled mining operations

A new US compromise proposal for a phased, partial pullout of Cuban troops has run up against Unita, whose leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, says his troops will stop fighting only when the MPLA agrees to share power in a coalition government.

The MPLA believes that Unita would fall apart without South African backing, but military officials concede the group's raids have significantly crippled diamond mining operations in north-eastern Luanda province.

The Deputy Chief of Staff of Angola's armed forces, Lieutenant Colonel M'gongo, told Western reporters recently there were about 25 000 Unita troops inside the country.

"Not all of them are armed, but we think they've got about 15 000 under arms and that's quite a number," he said.

Unita has not been included in Dr Crocker's regional negotiations.

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SA, Unita talks after Cabinda

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government and Unita have held talks to assess the position of the rebel movement in the wake of the recent SADF raid in Cabinda.

Despite repeated South African Government assurances to the contrary, the raid has been widely interpreted in foreign diplomatic circles as an attempt to cripple the Angolan economy by attacking Gulf Oil installations in the oil-rich enclave.

Such a setback for the MPLA government would strengthen the hand of the Unita move-

ment which insists that it should be included in any regional settlement aimed at bringing peace and stability to the war-torn territory.

Talks

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs last night confirmed that Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, held talks with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi at the beginning of this month soon after the Cabinda incident.

He said the talks dealt with "steps which could be taken to include peace in Southern Africa and the implica-

tions following the Cabinda incident".

During the discussion Dr Savimbi assured Mr Botha that he would be willing to hold talks with the Luanda government "for the sake of national reconciliation".

It is reliably understood that Dr Savimbi assured the South African Foreign Minister that he would not attempt to attack the Gulf Oil installations in Cabinda if the management of the US-owned company would sit down and talk with him.

Key element

Dr Savimbi would clearly hope to use such talks to try to persuade Gulf Oil that his guerilla movement should be regarded as a key element to any lasting settlement in the region — a position he shares with the South African Government.

The oil from Cabinda is responsible for about 90 percent of Angola's foreign-exchange earnings and is also the major source of revenue to pay for the 30 000 Cuban troops stationed in Angola to counter the Unita onslaught.

South Africa is known to be a major supporter of the Unita movement and it is understood that South African soldiers and Unita troops joined forces in the recent Cabinda operation which sparked an international outcry.

SADF kills 45 Swapo fighters

FOURTY-FIVE Swapo insurgents were killed by security forces yesterday in a hot pursuit operation across the Angolan border, the Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, announced last night.

One black member of the security forces was killed and one was wounded, said General Viljoen. Their names have not been released.

The statement said Swapo terrorists in Northern SWA/Namibia fired across the border and the pursuit operation followed.

Security force members were still in Angola.

They would return to Namibia tomorrow.

The operation followed increasing acts of terror against the local population (in Owambo) which recently included instances of sabotage, murder and intimidation.

30/6/88
The action against Swapo is a direct result of three incidents which occurred last night.

They were:

- Blowing up a bridge between Epali and Ondangwa in Owambo
- The sabotage of 20 telephone poles and
- A stand-off attack on a military base at Eenhana in Owambo.

Sapa

62 killed in raid in Angola

CARE Tracks
1/7/85
5 231

From NOEL BRUYNS

WINDHOEK. — The head of the SWA Territory Force, General Georg Meiring, last night said 61 Swapo guerillas had been killed and a large quantity of ammunition and weapons had been captured or destroyed in a cross-border operation into southern Angola at the weekend.

One member of the security forces was killed but his name would be released only once his next of kin had been informed.

General Meiring said the guerilla death toll rose from 45 on Saturday to 61 after fresh battles yesterday.

He said security forces were still leaving southern Angola. The withdrawal was being delayed by further skirmishes with Swapo guerillas and by tracking down ammunition caches.

"The security forces have repeatedly warned Swapo that they would act against them across the border if they continued to sow death and destruction against SWA civilians," he said.

"The present operation was simply the result of spontaneous hot pursuit of tracks and the operation was not planned beforehand."

'Withdrawal by late last night'

● Sapa-AP reports that Territory Force Commandant Hennie Henn said the troop withdrawal from Angola might be completed by late last night, "but it sometimes happens you come across enemy weapons which you must pick up".

"There were also contacts again yesterday," he said.

South African forces completed a negotiated troop withdrawal from southern Angola in mid-April after a December 1983 invasion against Swapo bases.

The Defence Force chief, General Constand Viljoen, said in Pretoria that the troops went into Angola to follow the tracks of Swapo guerillas who staged a mortar attack and other sabotage in the north of SWA/Namibia on Friday night.

General Viljoen said the soldiers penetrated 10km to 15km inside Angola and spent Saturday night there.

He said the action against Swapo was a "direct result" of three incidents on Friday night.

These were the blowing up of a bridge between Epali and Ondangwa in Owambo, the sabotage of 20 telephone poles, and a stand-off attack on a military base at Eenhana in Owambo.

● Anthony Johnson reports that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said the raid was in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Lusaka Agreement.

"The government in Luanda undertook to see that Swapo would not continue to carry out its campaign of terror against SWA from Angolan territory," he said.

Mr Botha added that the latest raid was also in accordance with accepted principles of international law — "to protect the people of SWA against aggression which is being planned and executed against the territory from outside SWA".

Mr Botha said that in the past he had repeatedly warned that the South African "disengagement" of its forces from Angola did not mean that they would not hit back "if Swapo continued with its campaign of violence in SWA".

SWATF forces withdraw

62 Swapo killed in 'hot pursuit' raid into Angola

Star 1/7/85
5

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

A total of 62 Swapo insurgents had been killed in a hot pursuit operation inside Angola, the chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, announced this morning.

Security forces, which had entered the country late last week, had withdrawn from Angola early today, he said.

According to a spokesman for the SWA Territory Force in Windhoek, one member of the security forces had been killed during the operation and another wounded.

The men will be identified once their next of kin have been informed.

The SWATF said large amounts of arms and ammunition had been captured.

According to a statement by Lieutenant-General George Meiring, the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola had been delayed by skirmishes with Swapo and the search for

arms caches.

He said the operation had been a "great success" and denied it had been planned in advance.

"Swapo has been repeatedly warned that the security forces will take cross-border action against it if it continues to sow death and destruction among the civilians of South West Africa.

"In this regard the current operation is the result of spontaneous following of tracks and it was not planned beforehand," he said.

The first news of the operation was released by General Viljoen on Saturday night.

He said members of the security forces were between 10 km and 15 km inside Angola. By last night there had been no official response from Luanda.

● In a statement issued in Lisbon, Unita rebels claimed to have killed 146 government troops, including two Cubans, during five days of fighting in southern Angola. They also claimed to have shot down a Soviet-built MI 25 helicopter.

61 Swapo killed, arms found in Angola pursuit

ARGON 11/7/85 (5) (7)
JOHANNESBURG. — The South West African Territory Force in Windhoek last night claimed that 61 Swapo insurgents had been killed during a hot pursuit operation inside Angola.

According to a spokesman South African troops were still inside Angola last night following the operation which began late last week. They had captured large amounts of arms and ammunition.

A member of the security forces had been killed during the operation and another wounded. The men would be identified when their next-of-kin had been informed.

According to a statement by Lieutenant-General G Meiring the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola was being delayed by skirmishes with Swapo and the search for more arms caches.

SWAPO WARNED

"Swapo has been repeatedly warned that the security forces will take cross-border action against it if it continues to sow death and destruction among the civilians of South West Africa," he said.

First news of the push into Angola was released by General Constand Viljoen on Saturday night. He said the security forces were between 10 kilometres and 15 kilometres inside Angola.

South African forces completed a ne-

gotiated troop withdrawal from southern Angola in mid-April.

It is reported from Pretoria that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, reiterated last night that South Africa's withdrawal from Angola did not mean that the security forces would stand back should Swapo continue its campaign of violence in SWA/Namibia.

He pointed out that the South African Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, had "stated categorically that the South African and South West African security forces would not hesitate to take measures against Swapo as judged necessary to protect the inhabitants of South West Africa against violence and aggression".

"In terms of the Lusaka Agreement the Government in Luanda undertook to assure that Swapo would not continue with its campaign of terror against South Africa from Angolan territory," Mr Botha said.

"The South African and South West African security forces acted within the letter and spirit of the Lusaka Agreement and also in terms of an acceptable principle of international law: namely, to protect the inhabitants of South West Africa against aggression planned and perpetrated from outside South West Africa against the territory." — Sapa.

⑤ B. Day 2/7/85

Dos Santos thinks again as Angola's misery deepens

LUANDA — Angola, planning to free its economy from Marxist dogma, is likely to increase trade with the West and boost sagging agricultural production, according to Western diplomats.

Angola has large deposits of oil and diamonds and was one of the world's biggest coffee producers until the industry was decimated by a civil war which shows no sign of abating.

The war between the pro-Moscow Luanda government and Unita rebels has taken an enormous toll over the last 10 years and almost half Angola's export earnings are spent on buying arms from the Soviet bloc, the diplomats say.

But of Angola's non-military imports, 90% come from the West and exports to non-communist countries are also flourishing.

Exports, consisting almost entirely of oil, totalled \$2.1bn (about R4.2bn) last year, of which more than \$1bn (about R2bn) went to the

United States, according to diplomatic and official US sources.

Output, currently 220 000 barrels per day (bpd), is expected to more than double by 1990 and exports are likely to soar.

The Angolans "show every sign of strengthening relations with the West," said a Luanda-based diplomat.

Diplomats said Angola was expected to announce economic liberalisation measures at a crucial meeting of the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in December.

The Party's much-heralded second congress would seek ways of boosting the feeble peasant agricultural sector, they added. Grain output has stagnated at around 300 000 tons for some years.

The country has to import about the same amount to feed its 8.2-million people.

Partly as a result of the civil war, only 1% or 2% of Angola's 1,25-

million km² — more than twice the area of France — is cultivated.

But President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos told a party meeting in January that the war was by no means the only reason for Angola's grave economic problems.

He condemned officials who "do not even know ... how economic activities should be managed".

Diplomats said the speech was firm evidence that he intended to implement relatively flexible economic policies and was veering away from state control of all sectors.

But the new policies would take time to put into practice and there could be strong resistance.

They said Dos Santos, a Soviet-trained petroleum engineer, was intelligent, hard-working and unassuming and had consolidated his authority considerably since coming to power in 1979. — Sapa-Reuter.

about the reputation of the police, he would be doing everything to clear their name." General Coetzee had said that "so-called witnesses spread false reports bent on making police look like villains."

U S mildly condemns S A over Angola raid

Simon Barber

WASHINGTON—The Reagan Administration yesterday condemned the SADF's hot pursuit of Swapo into Angola at the weekend, but in terms far milder than those used to deplore the Gaborone and Cabinda raids.

A State Department spokesman said the while the Administration was

'deeply concerned' about the cross-border operation, it was 'not prepared to draw the conclusion' that Pretoria had 'thrown off all constraints'.

'We had hoped the Lusaka accords would mean the end of this kind of thing, a State Department official said, but he added that the latest inci-

dent could not be seen in the same light as the strike into Botswana, 'a democratic society that had been engaged in negotiations' aimed at heading off what had happened.

A key problem was that after South Africa's final withdrawal from Angola, the Joint Monitoring Commission had dissolved and no mechanism had been created in its place, the official said.

He noted that South Africa had specifically warned that its forces would go back into Angola if Swapo continued to use it as a base for attacks on South West Africa.

'The weekend's developments highlighted the

need for Pretoria and Luanda to reopen talks on Cuban withdrawal and South West African independence which had been suspended since the Cabinda raid, the official continued.

'The basic point is that for a while we had a pattern where the parties were resolving their problems through negotiations. Now there is a quicker resort to violence,' he said.

He declined to say whether the Angola operation would have any impact on plans to send Ambassador Herman Nickel back to his post.

However, U S policy toward South Africa remained 'under urgent review'.

5 NM 2/4/85

SWA Security forces followed Swapo 40km into Angol

13. Day 3/7/85

OSHAKATI — SWA security force units pursued Swapo insurgents up to 40km into southern Angola during the weekend's hot-pursuit operation in retaliation for a string of recent violent incidents in Owambo.

They killed 57 of them and captured five in 36 separate contacts.

Brigadier Joop Joubert, a Defence Force commanding officer in the Owambo area and co-ordinator of the operation, told an international news conference in Oshakati there would be no hesitation in taking further cross-

border action against Swapo if the organisation continued its campaign of terror and destruction in SWA.

He said Swapo had been taken by surprise by the hot-pursuit operation and it would take several weeks to regroup. He expected a "definite decline" in Swapo operations south of the Angolan border.

Local and foreign journalists were transported to Oshakati, about 40km south of the SWA border, to be given a briefing on the three-day operation and to be shown some of the captured arms,

ammunition and equipment.

Three of the captured Swapo men, one of them a wounded 18-year-old in a wheelchair, were presented to the media for questions.

Joubert said that up until Friday security forces in Owambo had not committed any border violation since the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) established between South Africa and Angola in terms of the Lusaka Agreement, withdrew from southern Angola on April 15 this year.

After the JMC dissolved on May 16,

the SA government made it clear it would not hesitate to take action against Swapo if it did not stop its acts of terror within Owambo.

"Swapo chose to ignore this and carried on as if with acts of terror," Joubert said.

He listed Swapo atrocities against the Owambo people since April 15. There have been 82 abductions, 29 murders, 37 landmine incidents, 41 acts of sabotage, 21 attacks and 10 ambushes, he said.

Thirty-four people living in the area had been killed and 27 injured by Swapo

during this period.

In the past week, a bridge, a p and 20 telephone poles had been damaged by a bomb, and the ir base at Eenhana bombarded uns fully with mortars.

As a result, Joubert said, he derived mobile teams in mine-pr vehicles to investigate the incident at all costs, "even if it meant the border". — Sapa.

WA security forces followed Swapo 40km into Angola



B. Day
3/7/85

PT — SWA security force units Swapo insurgents up to 40km from Angola during the week-long pursuit operation in retaliation of recent violent incidents in killed 57 of them and captured 6 separate contacts. Lier Joep Joubert, a Defence commanding officer in the area and co-ordinator of the n, told an international news agency in Oshakati there would be action in taking further cross-

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during this period. In the past week, a bridge, a pipeline and 20 telephone poles had been sabotaged. A teachers' training college was damaged by a bomb, and the military base at Fenhaha bombarded unsuccessfully with mortars. As a result, Joubert said, he had ordered mobile teams in mine-protected vehicles to investigate the incidents and, if tracks were found, to follow them up at all costs, "even if it meant crossing the border". — Sapa.

CATL Times 4/7/85

Swapo warned of 'border actions'

Own Correspondent

OSHAKATI. — The most senior officer in the SWA/Namibian war zone, Brigadier Joep Joubert, has warned that security forces will undertake further cross-border actions similar to the weekend's Operation Boswilger should Swapo's campaign of terror and destruction in the territory continue.

He told newsmen at the Sector 10 headquarters here this week that he expected a decline in Swapo operations from the sanctuary of southern Angola against northern SWA/Namibia.

He said security forces had killed 57 fleeing Swapo insurgents and captured five in 36 contacts during the "search and destroy" operation, which reached 40km into Angola.

Since the Joint Monitoring Commission was dissolved, Brigadier Joubert said, Swapo atrocities had continued. He listed 82 abductions, 29 murders, 37 landmine incidents, 41 acts of sabotage, 21 attacks and 10 ambushes. Thirty-four people had died in these incidents and 27 had been injured.

The day before the raid, Brigadier Joubert said, a bridge, a pipeline and 20 telephone poles had been sabotaged and

a teachers' training college damaged by a bomb. As a result, mobile teams in mine-protected vehicles were ordered to follow tracks — "even if this meant crossing the border".

"In other words, the order was for the execution of a hot-pursuit operation." The forces had crossed the border at 9am on Saturday. Nine insurgents had been killed in the initial contact.

Fapla had been warned of the action and in one incident when security forces and Fapla forces came face to face they parted "on friendly enough terms", Brigadier Joubert said.

He attributed the "unseasonal upsurge" to the cessation of security force operations after the JMC withdrawal. The operation had destroyed 18 percent of Swapo's cadres close to the border. An estimated 150 to 250 insurgents remained active.

Swapo casualties in the half-year to date were 375 — close to the 475 killed during operations last year.

Brigadier Joubert estimated Swapo strength at 8 500, of which only 1 500 could be deployed against security forces. In 1977, Swapo could muster 16 500 in the field.

Angola accuses SA

LISBON. — Angolan forces killed 2 486 Unita rebels and captured 416 during the first half of this year, the official news agency Angop reported. Another 111 rebels had given themselves up.

In a dispatch from Luanda, Angop said 1 057 weapons and more than 180 000 rounds of ammunition were captured.

The agency said 5 019 civilians were freed from Unita control.

The agency said South African troops still occupied part of Angolan territory and had concentrated about 20 000 troops with 80 to 90 aircraft along the SWA/Na-

mibian frontier with Angola ready for an invasion "at any moment".

Angolan forces registered 71 violations of national air space by South African aircraft, Angop added.

The agency also said that 40 tons of arms, military equipment and explosives parachuted from South African aircraft had been seized in the north central province of Malange.

This war material had been destined for use by rebels, Angop said, proving once again the close alliance between Unita and Pretoria in plans for the economic, political and social destabilization of Angola.

Unita said in a statement issued in Lisbon it had killed 15 government soldiers and five Cubans in raids over three provinces between June 27 and July 4.

The rebels claimed they shot down a MiG 21 aircraft on July 4 soon after it took off from Luena Airport in eastern Moxico Province, killing the pilot.

In Pretoria, an SA Defence Force spokesman commented on the Angop report: "This is the same propaganda already distributed on June 12, 1985, and is aimed at obtaining international reaction." — Sapa-Reuter-AP

US moves closer to lifting ban on aid to Angola rebels

Sept 11 7 185

WASHINGTON — The House of Representatives last night agreed to end a ban on US military aid to rebels fighting the Marxist government of Angola, making it likely the 10-year-old prohibition will be repealed.

The 236-185 vote in the House, controlled by opposition Democrats, came on an amendment to a \$12.7 billion (about \$25.4 billion) foreign aid bill for 1986 and followed a 63-34 vote by the Republican-led Senate last month also lifting the aid ban.

MEASURES

The House and Senate measures were attached to different bills, so more votes are likely before final action occurs.

While the Reagan Administration has given assurances it has no immediate plans to provide direct aid to the Unita guerrilla forces of Mr Jonas Savimbi, the House and Senate votes reflect a growing inclination in Congress to openly support anti-commu-

nist resistance movements. The House and Senate this year have voted to provide aid to rebels in Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

The Senate, at President Reagan's request, also voted in 1981 to repeal the aid prohibition, formally called the Clark Amendment, but the House opposed the move and the aid ban remained in effect.

Congress banned aid to pro-Western rebels in Angola in 1976 after the US Central Intelligence Agency secretly helped Unita and another pro-Western group in an unsuccessful bid to block Marxist nationalists from seizing power.

In often passionate debate, House opponents of the aid ban argued that repeal would send a signal round the world that the United States was prepared morally and financially to support pro-Western, anti-communist forces.

Supporters of the ban contended the United States was running the risk of appearing to side with South Africa.



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ARCS 11/7/85 (S) 327

Second US vote to end 10-year ban on military aid to Unita

WASHINGTON. — The House of Representatives has agreed to end a ban on United States military aid to rebels fighting the Marxist government of Angola, making it likely the 10-year-old prohibition will be repealed.

The 236-to-185 vote in the House, controlled by opposition Democrats, came on an amendment to a R25.4-billion foreign aid bill for 1986 and followed a 63-to-34 vote by the Republican-led Senate last month also lifting the aid ban.

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DIRECT AID

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SEND SIGNAL

During the debate, House opponents of the aid ban argued repeal would send a signal round the world that the US was prepared morally and financially to support anti-communist forces.

Supporters of the ban contended that the United States was running the risk of appearing to side with South Africa.

The ban's supporters said repeal would be disastrous for US interests, enhancing the US image as a collaborator with South Africa and its system of racial segregation.

Democrat Mr Howard Wolpe warned that repeal would be seen in Africa as "further evidence of America entering into accommodation with the apartheid system of South Africa".

Democrat Mr William Gray, who also opposed repeal, said the move was at odds with recent House approval of tough legislation that would impose sanctions on South Africa if it did not move to end its system of racial segregation.

Mr Wolpe said advocates of repeal were acting out of ignorance of the nature of the conflict in Angola and southern Africa and had mistakenly portrayed Mr Savimbi as pro-American when he really supported the Chinese model of Marxism.

He argued that repeal would increase Angola's security concerns and force Luanda's greater reliance on Cuba and the Soviet Union. — Sapa-Reuter.

House Bill will allow Unita cash

WASHINGTON — The United States House of Representatives has approved a foreign aid Bill for 1986 and 1987 that cracks down on narcotics and terrorism and opens a door for increased US involvement in Kampuchea, Angola and Nicaragua.

The Bill authorises spending of R25.2 billion in each of the next two years. SACA

Aid to Bolivia and Peru is tied to curbing narcotics production. 12/7/85

The Bill gives President Reagan authority to suspend foreign aid and to ban airlines flying to countries with airports judged a security risk for Americans.

The House, like the Senate, voted about R10 million in unprecedented aid for non-communist resistance groups fighting the Vietnamese in Kampuchea and agreed to lift a 10-year ban on aid to rebels fighting Angola's Marxist government.

The Reagan administration has said it has no immediate plans to seek such aid.

The House also agreed to a process under which trade with Ethiopia could be suspended if Mr Reagan finds that government is pursuing a policy of deliberately starving its people.

The house slashed military aid for the Philippines to a paltry R50 million and warned future aid will be tied to specific reforms. — Sapa-Reuter.

Pursuit of Swapo unit is abandoned at Angola border

Sapa 29/7/85 (5)
By Gary van Staden

The follow-up operation against the unit of Swapo insurgents who launched a mortar attack on the northern Namibian town of Oshakati was abandoned today at the Angola border according to a spokesman for the SWA Territory Force in Windhoek.

"We followed the spoor to the border with Angola and when it became apparent that they had crossed into Angola the operation was abandoned," the Territory Force spokesman added.

The spokesman told *The Star* that no attempt would be made to follow the insurgents across into Angola.

Swapo insurgents mounted a mortar attack on Oshakati, a combined business centre and military base close to the Angolan border, early yesterday morning.

A Territory Force spokesman said last night that security forces had mounted a "tracking-down" operation to apprehend the insurgents, but no contact had been reported by last night.

PREGNANT

Sapa quoted a Territory Force spokesman as saying 82 mm and 140 mm mortars were used in the attack on Oshakati, and that about 15 mortar bombs had landed in the residential area, damaging six houses.

Staff Sergeant JS van Heerden (28) was slightly injured in the attack but his wife, Mrs JA van Heerden (26), is in a serious condition in hospital after being struck in the stomach by shrapnel.

The spokesman said none of the bombs had struck any military installations.

Last month security forces swept 40 km into Angola killing 57 insurgents in a hot-pursuit operation.

CIA report probes into S.A.'s regional policy

5
NM 30/7/85

Simon Barber

WASHINGTON.—The Central Intelligence Agency has completed an analysis of Pretoria's regional policy which concludes that the S.A. Government intends to maintain an uncompromising stance on negotiations with Angola and a South West Africa settlement, according to diplomatic sources here.

The study was apparently prepared as part of the Reagan Administration's current reassessment of how best to implement constructive engagement in light of recent developments in southern Africa and on Capitol Hill.

The New York Times reported yesterday that similar analyses were being prepared by the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research and by other US

intelligence agencies.

One such analysis, the Times said, dealt with whether or not President Reagan should sign Congressional sanctions legislation, which could reach his desk by the end of the week if negotiations between the Senate and House of Representatives scheduled for tomorrow go smoothly.

Talks

The CIA report, which is understood to have been circulated last week, offers a gloomy prognosis for US efforts to broker a deal under which Angola would send home a sizeable proportion of the 20,000 to 30,000 Cubans now believed to be in the country, and withdraw the remainder to defensive positions in the north, while South Africa would cut its ties with UNITA and submit to UN Resolution 435 in South West Africa.

The study is also said to refute S.A.'s version of the Cabinda raid and casts

doubt over Pretoria's intentions in Mozambique. S.A. is being asked to accept Cubans in Angola, Swapo in Windhoek, and to abandon Savimbi all at the same time. How, at the present time, can President Botha accept that? one source observed.

The CIA study's exist-

tence was first hinted at following reports last week that the Reagan Administration was considering 'as one option' high-level talks with Pretoria. S.A. regional policy was said to be at the top of the envisaged agenda.

According to the New York Times, the State Department report deals

with S.A.'s internal situation and concludes that it has entered a 'new stage', but poses no fundamental threat to the S.A. Government.

The report is said to be highly critical of the S.A. Government for arresting opposition leaders in the townships on the grounds that they might be the

only people able to keep order and control the groups of teenagers who are seen as forming the core of the violent protesters.

It also asserted that these teenagers are not necessarily led or controlled by the ANC, and do not appear to have access to weapons.



Red Cross still trying to get Du Toit freed

Pretoria Correspondent

The International Committee of the Red Cross is continuing efforts to obtain the release of the captured South African reconnaissance commando, Captain Wynand du Toit, and the bodies of two of his comrades killed on the mission into northern Angola in May.

A spokesman for the ICRC in Pretoria today confirmed his organisation was working behind the scenes to have Captain du Toit released, but did not want to comment on the matter as it was "very delicate".

CABINDA RAID

Captain du Toit was taken captive and two other commandos, Louis Pieter van Breda and Rowland Rigard Liebenberg, were killed during a raid on the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda.

The spokesman confirmed that the Red Cross had helped arrange Mrs Louwna du Toit's visit to her husband in Luanda in the last two weeks.

He said he was happy the organisation had been able to reunite the couple temporarily.

Talking from her Langebaan home on the Cape west coast,

STAR 14/8/85
Mrs du Toit said her husband's wounds had healed and he was healthy.

"Wynand is healthy and is being treated very well. Seeing him has brought a lot of relief to me and my family.

"The first thing our son Klippie asked when I returned home was whether Wynand's wounds had healed. He was very worried about his father when he first saw him wounded on television."

Mrs du Toit said she had not asked her husband whether he had been drugged when he addressed a Press conference in Luanda shortly after his capture, saying they spoke more about family matters.

She did not want to say where she had seen him or where he was being held captive.

"When I saw him he was dressed in a pair of slacks and a long-sleeved shirt. He still has his beard and it was very neatly trimmed.

"I don't know whether I will go up to see him again, because this one was such a surprise and I want to thank the International Red Cross and the South African and Angolan governments for making it possible."

Striking into Angola

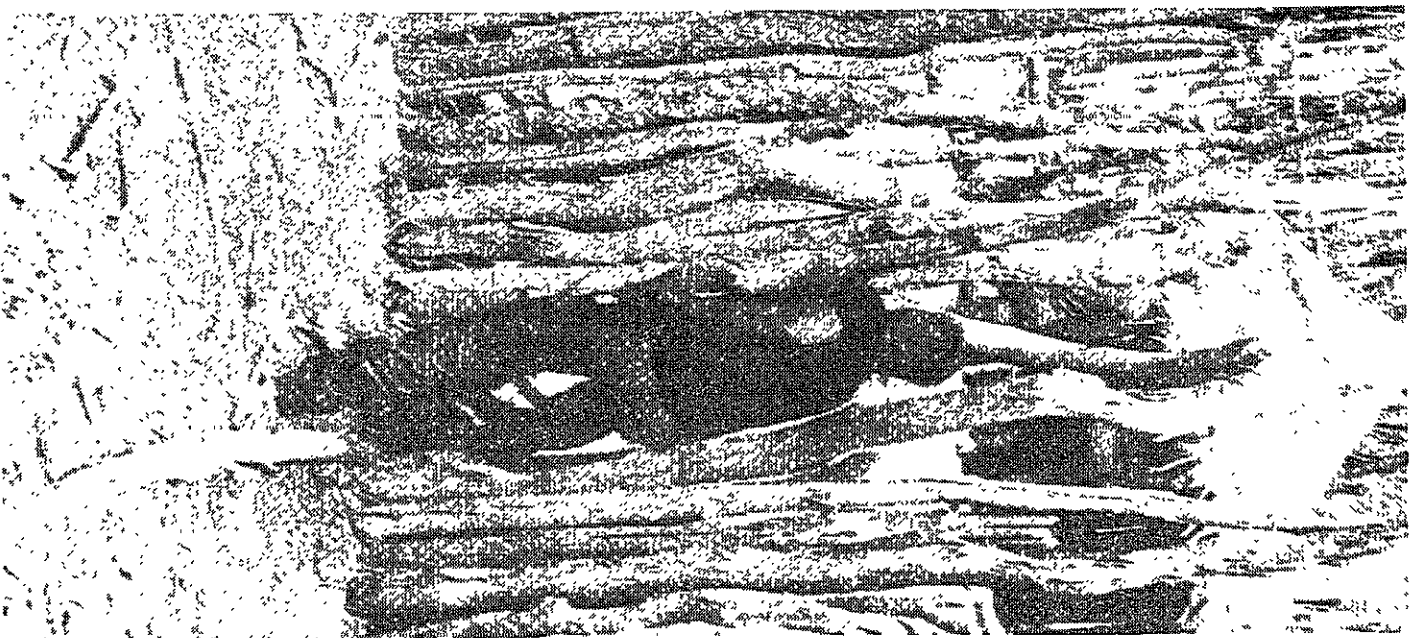
STARS

Defence Force Headquarters yesterday released photographs and details of the latest operation into Angola. Swapo's plan to carry out an intensive campaign of intimidation and sabotage during the first part of Namibia's rainy season from late October had been seriously disrupted by the Security Force operation of the past week, military spokesmen said.

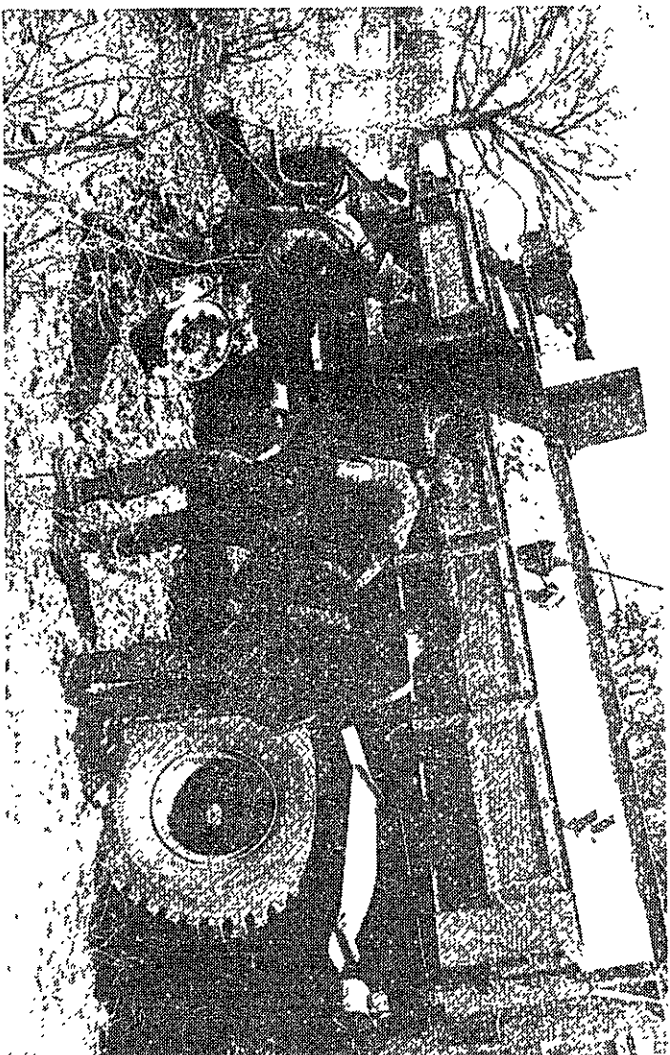
The operation resulted in the elimination of 15 positively identified members of Swapo's military wing, the arrest of

five others and the detention of 32 local agents in possession of explosives, while another 17 agents were also held.

The decision to launch the operation was precipitated by information obtained from two captured insurgents who said 30 of their comrades were still in Namibia — but the tracks led into Angola. The crack 101 Battalion struck northwards, combing the bush, turning up arms caches and killing insurgents.



A soldier of 101 Battalion enters a kraal through a gap in the fence to ask for information about Swapo insurgents. The photograph was taken in the final stages of the pursuit.



A Casspir stands nose-down in a stream bed after a Swapo mine blew off its left front wheel — the only operational casualty to man or machine suffered during the follow-up.



Far from the spit-and-polish of routine military life, Lieutenant Bernie de Waal crouches before the dusty map in his Casspir command vehicle while formulating his next move.

Wife visits captive soldier

Staff Reporter

THE Langebaan wife of a South African soldier being held captive in Angola has visited her husband in Luanda and yesterday reported that he was in good health and was being well treated.

Mrs Louwna du Toit, 24, said her trip to the Angolan capital to visit Captain Wynand du Toit was organized by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

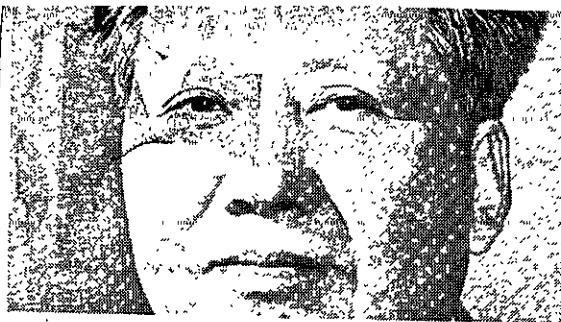
"It was just too nice to see him again. He was neatly dressed and I could see that he has been looked after," she said.

Captain Du Toit was captured by Angolan forces on May 22 while on a military exercise which was later described by the SA Defence Force as a mission to gather information about Swapo and ANC bases in Angola.

"Seeing him has brought a lot of relief to my family," she said.

Mrs Du Toit said she preferred not to comment on where her husband was being held or on how and when she had travelled to Luanda.

"But the fact that I was taken to see him is a very positive sign. I don't know when Wynand will be back home, but we're hoping it's soon."



Mao Tse-tung



Dr Jonas Savimbi

ASSESSMENTS

ARGUS 23/8/85 (5)

Savimbi victory in Angolan conflict seen as 'inevitable'

Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — A Canadian journalist who recently spent a month in Angola, 10 days of which were in the company of the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, has returned convinced that a Unita victory is "inevitable".

He said this would pave the way for genuine democracy in Angola.

The newsman, Peter Worthington, says that with the Unita guerrillas winning the war and controlling more than a third of Angola, Dr Savimbi was close to overthrowing the MPLA — "the first time an anti-Marxist resistance movement has been on the verge of overthrowing a Soviet-backed regime".

He quotes Dr Savimbi as saying Unita is now in the third and fourth stages of Mao Tse-tung's principles of guerrilla war — from subversion, to guerrilla activity, to widespread guerrilla activity and finally to open, conventional warfare.

Main operator

But in his time with the Unita leader, he found Dr Savimbi thoroughly irritated by the fact that more than 90 percent of Angola's oil came from the enclave of Cabinda, where an American company, Gulf Oil, was the main operator.

"It's costing the MPLA about R60-million a year for the Cubans, and Gulf Oil pays the money to Luanda and Luanda sends it to Havana," said Dr Savimbi.

"Therefore, Gulf is financing the occupation of Angola, which is against American policy.

"It is another example of Lenin's dictum that the west will sell its enemies the rope with which they'll be hanged."



Portuguese colonialism

Worthington, in an article in the Wall Street Journal, also quoted Dr Savimbi on the support he was reported to be receiving from South Africa.

He had not opposed Portuguese colonialism or fought against Cuban and Soviet imperialism "to become a puppet of South Africa".

He added: "How can I, a black man, favour apartheid? I find it as repugnant as anyone else. But be realistic.

"Apartheid has no friends — even South Africans want to change it — and it has no capacity to grow or expand.

Threat to Africa

"Russia, on the other hand, has great capacity to grow and expand. It is a danger and threat to all Africa.

"South Africa supports our fight against Russian imperialism, but we do not support apartheid."

Dr Savimbi said those who sought revolution and bloodshed in South Africa were no friends of Africa. Nor were Western politicians who exploited African politics for their own domestic political ambitions.

"I tell you, only Russian imperialism would benefit from revolution in South Africa, and only blacks would suffer."

SA PoW speaks to press

LUANDA. — A South African captured on a raid in Angola in May said yesterday the abortive attack on an oil installation had been intended to stop oil production and end An-

golah support for Swapo. Captain Wynand du Toit, the only survivor of a group of four soldiers involved in the mission, told journalists the South African Army was "fighting for a just cause and they must continue with it".

"South Africa defends by attack. We attack the enemy before they reach our soil and our country," he added.

He believed the country was changing, but that the pace could not be forced.

He said he expected to be back in South Africa by the end of the year, though Angola was not making its plans public.

— Sapa-Reuter

Troops,

planes

SWAPO in southern Angola

South African troops and warplanes swept into southern Angola yesterday to strike at Swapo guerrillas said by the military to be planning attacks on towns and military bases.

The strike was the second in 10 weeks inside Angola, where about 25 000 Cuban troops are based. General Constand Viljoen, chief of the SADF, said Angola's Marxist government, the MPLA, had been informed of the strike through various channels and warned "not to interfere".

General Viljoen gave no indication of the size of the force, its targets or how deeply it penetrated. Southern Angola is the base area of the Swapo guerrillas.

"Hopefully it (the strike) will be over within a week," Lieutenant-General Ian Gleason, the army Chief of Staff, said on TV last night.

Witnesses at Grootfontein air base, 250 km south of Angola, said SAAF Mirage jets took off at various times during the day.

Long-range bombardment

General Viljoen said reconnaissance and intelligence-gathering operations established that guerrillas planned long-range bombardments of military bases and attacks on big towns and residential areas in the northern part of the disputed territory.

"In the light of this irrefutable evidence of Swapo's plans . . . and their contempt of repeated warnings to cease their violence, the security forces are left with no alternative than to continue with this operation."

Swapo has not been known to have used long-range artillery before in its battle for Namibia.

General Gleason said troops were pursuing Swapo's 8th Battalion, which he estimated at between 400 and 800 men, and was "well-dispersed" in southern Angola. This was the unit that had been selected to carry out the attacks.

General Viljoen said "two disguised terrorists" arrested on Sunday in northern Namibia were part of a Swapo "reconnaissance-sabotage team" and, under interrogation, confirmed the attack plans.

Swapo forces have fought a 19-year war for Namibia that has cost the lives of nearly 10 000 of their own men and 566 South African troops.

In Washington the United States said it opposed South African military raids into Angola in pursuit of Swapo insurgents. State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman told reporters news reports of the latest such raid were being checked.

"If the reports are true, we would be deeply concerned about such cross-border raids," he said.

In June, a South African raid into Botswana in pursuit of alleged ANC targets prompted Washington to recall its ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel, for consultations. He returned to his post only last week.

Fixed and mobile bases

Head of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, Professor Mike Hough, said this morning the SADF raid was clearly a pre-emptive strike. The SADF has quite clearly embarked on a "major offensive" against Swapo with the aim of destroying its bases, seizing arms and information and disrupting logistics in the region.

He said he believed that Swapo had some relatively major fixed and mobile bases in southern Angola which it had been able to reorganise fairly effectively since the pull-out of South African troops from the country some months ago.

Professor of Strategic Studies in Unisa's Political Science Department, Professor Deon Fourie, believed the SADF could only hope to cause a temporary setback for Swapo. It would probably take the insurgents about six months to rebuild in southern Angola.

— Sapa-AP-Reuter-Pretoria Bureau.

14/9/85 STARK

SA forces pursue Swapo into Angola

TROOPS of the SADF and the South West African Territory Force, backed by the SA Air Force, yesterday crossed into Angola in a follow-up operation against Swapo terrorists, the Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, said in a statement in Pretoria last night.

The operation followed months of intensive intelligence gathering in Swapo-inhabited areas in Angola.

Viljoen said intensive reconnaissance also showed that Swapo, using its Eighth Battalion and other special forces, planned stand-off bombardments on military bases and attacks on soft targets in Owambo.

Swapo aimed to attack larger towns and residential areas in South West Africa.

"These planned Swapo actions in Owambo were preceded in recent weeks by a sharp increase in abductions, intimidation and sabotage. A number of

GERALD REILLY
Pretoria Bureau

Swapo weapons caches were also found."

The intelligence, Viljoen said, was confirmed when two disguised terrorists were arrested in a shop.

They were members of Swapo's Eighth Battalion and intended setting the shop alight after buying supplies. They admitted they were part of a reconnaissance-sabotage team.

"In the light of this irrefutable evidence of Swapo's plans directed at the people of South West Africa, and a contempt for repeated warnings to cease the violence, the security forces had no alternative but to continue with the operation."

The Angolan forces had been asked not to interfere with the follow-up operation, Viljoen added.

It's 10 weeks since the last Angolan incursion by SA

The last time South African troops invaded Angola was at the end of June.

During this three-day operation code-named "Boswilger", 57 Swapo fighters were killed and five captured as troops penetrated 40 km into

southern Angola, according to SADF sources.

At the time General Constand Viljoen, the Chief of the SADF, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, warned that there would be no hesitation in order-

ing more cross-border raids should Swapo operations continue.

A few weeks after this the military town of Oshakati was bombarded by Swapo. Security forces pursued the attackers, but stopped short of

crossing the border.

In May an SADF team was involved in a shoot-out with Angolan forces in the Angolan enclave of Cabinda, about 1200 km north of the Namibian border. South Africa admitted at the time that it

had troops in Angola. STAC 17/9/85
The Cabinda raid was condemned internationally, and coupled with South Africa's raid on Botswana later, led to a slump in South Africa's international position.

SADF strikes into Angola

From COLIN HOWELL

JOHANNESBURG. — Army troops, supported by the Air Force, crossed into Angola yesterday at the start of what the chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, described as "a follow-up operation" against Swapo.

The 5th Military Region of the Angolan Defence Force had been informed of the operation "through established channels" and the Angolan forces had been requested "not to interfere", General Viljoen said in a statement.

The statement released in Pretoria gave no indication of how many troops and aircraft were involved in the cross-border strike, how long the operation was expected to continue or how far into Angola the SADF forces would penetrate.

General Viljoen also made no mention of the exact time the South African forces crossed the SWA/Namibian border into Angola or the time that the Angolan Defence Force was notified.

A SADF spokesman said last night: "The SADF has nothing to add to General Viljoen's statement at this stage."

Target is Swapo's 8th Battalion

However, in an interview granted exclusively to SATV soon after the announcement, the SADF's Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-General Ian Gleeson, said the strength of the target — Swapo's 8th Battalion — was believed to be between 400 and 800 men and that they were "well dispersed in southern Angola".

"Hopefully, the operation will be over in a week," General Gleeson added.

SWA Territory Force troops are also taking part in the strike against Swapo insurgents.

The security forces' last major cross-border operation into Angola took place at the end of June, following an upsurge in Swapo activity in Ovambo.

In Bonn the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, yesterday vowed that his organization would fight for "90 or 100 years" if necessary to bring independence to SWA/Namibia.

Swapo this year entered its 19th year of armed resistance against South African rule of the country.

● The United States told Sapa-AP last night it opposed South African military raids into Angola.

A State Department spokesman, Mr Charles Redman, said in Washington: "If the reports are true, we would be deeply concerned about such cross-border raids."

US disputes SA raid claim

WASHINGTON. — A senior Reagan administration official yesterday disputed South Africa's assertion that it had launched a military strike into Angola to prevent a new campaign by Swapo — and deplored the action.

"No previous facts were brought to our attention that would warrant such an action," the official told reporters.

The Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, announced on Monday that SADF and SWA/Namibian forces had crossed into Angola in a follow-up operation against Swapo insurgents following increased Swapo activity against SWA/Namibian residents and "irrefutable proof" of planned actions of sabotage, murder and bombardments of towns.

Defence Force spokesmen in Pretoria yesterday would say only that the operation was continuing.

The US official, who declined to be identified, said Washington deplored the raid.

"We do not recognize any right to make preemptive strikes, espe-

cially from territory held illegally," he said. France also condemned the strike, describing it as "in disdain of international rights".

The Portuguese Foreign Ministry expressed "deep concern over South African conduct towards the nations of Southern Africa and repeated obstruction of independence for Namibia".

A Defence Force medical orderly was killed in Angola at the weekend during a skirmish between Unita soldiers and the Angolan forces. General Viljoen announced last night.

A spokesman at Defence headquarters said the incident had no connection with the current SADF operation against Swapo in Angola.

General Viljoen said he regretted to announce the death of Lance Corporal Bruce Andrews Fidler, 22, of Florida, Transvaal.

"Lance Corporal Fidler was part of a medical team which, at the request of Unita, was rendering medical support to seriously wounded Unita soldiers." — Sapa-Reuter-AP

A DEFENCE FORCE medical orderly, was killed in Angola at the weekend, SADF Chief Gen Constand Viljoen, announced in Pretoria last night.

He said Lance-Corporal Bruce Andrews Fidler, 22, of Florida, Roodepoort, was killed during a skirmish between Unita and Angolan forces.

A spokesman at Defence Force headquarters emphasised the incident had no connection with the SADF operation against Swapo insurgents in southern Angola, which started on Monday.

Viljoen said: "Lance-Corporal Fidler was part of a medical team which, at the request of Unita, was rendering medical support to seriously wounded Unita soldiers. It is believed that his body

SA soldier killed in Angolan fighting

has been taken to Luanda.

His parents, Mr and Mrs F.W. Fidler, live at Rebecca Street, Florida.

Viljoen announced on Monday that SADF and SWA forces had crossed the border into Angola in a follow-up operation against Swapo insurgents after increased Swapo activity against the residents of SWA and "irrefutable proof" of planned sabotage, murder and bombardments of towns.

— Sapa.

Handwritten: 5/1/85

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SADF may get caught in bloody skirmishes

By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

The South African Defence Force units which crossed into Angola this week could become embroiled in some of the bloodiest fighting in 10 years between Unita and the Angolan army, sources in South Africa have said.

Unita, the pro-Western rebel movement of Dr Jonas Savimbi, is attempting to fend off a major Angolan army offensive against its positions in the south-eastern province of Cuando Cubango.

This is the same province which the South African security forces entered this week, the sources pointed out.

According to reliable reports, the Angolan army is closing in a pincer movement on the rebel positions with about 20 brigades involved in the attack.

The greatest threat is apparently from the south-west, where mechanised brigades of the Angolan army are attempting to drive a wedge between Jamba and Namibia.

Jamba is situated less than 200 km north of the Namibian border.

According to reports which emerged at the weekend Unita is being hard-pressed to hold positions it "secured" five years ago. The recent arrival in Angola of MiG-23s — ultra-modern Soviet-built jet fighters — and Mi-24 helicopter gunships has significantly altered the balance of power in Angola.

500 in raid on Swapo bases

STAR

18/9/85

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There are nearly 500 South African and Namibian troops taking part in the follow-up operation in Angola against a semi-conventional Swapo battalion of 400 to 800 men.

South African Defence Force headquarters said in a statement from Pretoria today that its force was made up of 12 reaction teams of about 40 men each.

Angolan forces

The Angolan Defence Ministry, in a statement released in Lisbon, today claimed that South African planes had bombed its forces which were attacking Unita rebels in south-east of the country.

The Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, announced on Monday that the Angolan border had been crossed in a follow-up operation to eliminate Swapo cadres and arms caches because of a recent upsurge in the organisation's activities in Namibia.

The SADF statement today gave no indication of the progress of the operation, or what losses the SADF or Swapo had suffered.

The Chief of Staff of the Army, Lieutenant-General Ian Gleason, said shortly after the operation was announced that it should be finished by the end of the week.

Defence Headquarters said SAAF aircraft yesterday carried out intensive reconnaissance and search flights to assist the ground troops.

"The present operation follows at least three attempts by Swapo this year to infiltrate South West Africa in large numbers," the statement said.

It added that Swapo was acting more aggressively, not only infiltrating the former "area in dispute", but also increasingly attacking soft targets in Namibia.

Condemnation

There has been worldwide condemnation of the raid.

A senior United States Government official has disputed South Africa's claim that it launched the strike to prevent a new campaign by Swapo.

"No previous facts were brought to our attention that would warrant such an action," he told reporters.

The official, who declined to be identified, said Washington deplored the raid. "We do not recognise any right to make pre-emptive strikes, especially from territory held illegally. Obviously we are disappointed by the latest raid ... and hope it is a short-term, in-and-out thing."

The Star's Foreign News Service reports that while the Portuguese Government has denounced the SADF incursion, a Unita spokesman

From Page 1

has said it is "pure speculation" to link it with alleged help for the rebel movement.

A Portuguese Foreign Ministry statement said Lisbon "reaffirms its condemnation" of the raid.

It expressed Portugal's "deep worries over the behaviour of South Africa, its relationship with the states of Southern Africa, and in the obstacles repeatedly put to the independence of Namibia".

A Unita spokesman, Mr Alcides Simoes, said that efforts to link the incursion with help for his movement were "pure speculation".

Mr Simoes acknowledged a Luanda offensive against the "liberated areas" of Angola.

18 PLANES

A statement by the Angolan Defence Ministry, issued in Lisbon today, said 18 South African Air Force planes carried out a raid on Angolan Government troops advancing on the main base of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

The Portuguese news agency Anop said they were Amilcar Freire (65), Francisco Barata (61) and Agatao Kamati (24), a soldier. Two others were jailed for 17 and 13 years. — Sapa-Reuter-Associated Press.

● In Luanda, a Portuguese citizen and two Angolans were sentenced to death yesterday for spying for South Africa.

● Angolan television said last night the South Africans had intervened after the Angolans had killed more than 1 000 Unita rebels in eastern Moxico province, north of Kuanda-Kubango, in the past 45 days.

The communique said the attack took place 19 km from Mavinga, in south-eastern Kuando-Kubango province.

Slain medical orderly was prepared 'to die for my country'

country
12/9/85
STAR



Corporal Bruce Fidler
... trained as medic.



Best friend Steven Fox
... he made us laugh.



Wendy Freeman
... a wonderful guy

By Chris Steyn and Karen Bowes
"I would die for my country."

This was said a week ago by the South African Defence Force medical orderly, Corporal Bruce Andrews Fidler, who was killed in Angola at the weekend during a skirmish between Unita soldiers and the Angolan forces.

Corporal Fidler (22), a part-time student at the University of the Witwatersrand, was today described as "conservative and patriotic" by fellow students.
His girlfriend, Miss Wendy Free-

man (19), said he was "a wonderful guy" and "so proud of being a soldier".

During an argument with "radical" student friends a week ago, he told his best friend, Mr Steven Fox, that he would die for his country.

Mr Fox described Corporal Fidler as "the one who always made us laugh".

His father, Mr Bill Fidler a former Roodepoort city councillor, said today Bruce had been studying for a BComm and had only one subject left to write. He had joined the army

in January last year. . . . His home in Rebecca Street, Florida, is filled with trophies of his sporting achievements in rowing and rugby. "His main love was rowing", Mr Fidler said.

The family have been unable to make funeral arrangements as his body is in Luanda.
"We are waiting for the Red Cross to send the body down. The army are helping us, but I would have liked to get it over with tomorrow. I remember what a performance there was with the last man that had to be sent

down. I hope we don't have the same problems," Mr Fidler said.

Mr M C Munnik, headmaster of the Florida Park High School where Corporal Fidler matriculated in 1980 with academic honours and two distinctions, described him as "a beautiful person and an outstanding scholar and sportsman".

The Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, said Corporal Fidler had been part of a medical team which, at the request of Unita, was rendering medical support to seriously wounded Unita soldiers.

US 'deplores' Angola raid

ARCUS 18/9/85

(5)

US 'was not aware of any fact that would warrant a military incursion'. NEIL LURRSSEN of The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington

THE United States government was not aware of any fact that would warrant South Africa's latest military incursion into Angola, a senior Reagan Administration official said here today.

"We deplore it," he said. "We have deplored cross-border violence there from both directions, whether it comes from Swapo, whether it comes from South Africa. And we don't think it contributes to the peace process."

The official, who spoke on condition that he was not named, plays an important role

in US diplomatic efforts in Southern Africa.

He said: "We don't think there were any previous facts brought to our attention that would warrant such an activity."

The South African raid comes at a time when US peace initiatives in Angola are in a state of diplomatic suspended animation.

The US is still waiting for a response from both Pretoria and Luanda to proposals, not yet spelled out in public, that Washington hopes will lead to a

Cuban troop withdrawal and independence for Namibia under United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.

But the delicate negotiating process was broken off after the SADF incursion into Caprinda. Analysts here believe there have been signals from the Angolans that they would be willing to resume talks — in spite of the harsh rhetoric the MPLA regime has directed at South Africa and the US recently.

The senior Reagan Administration official said today that

the US was obviously disappointed by the latest South African action. "We hope they'll be in and out," he said.

"They have claimed that a pre-emptive strike is what they are doing.

"We don't recognise any right under international law of pre-emptive strikes, particularly on behalf of territory which is held illegally in the first place — which is what Namibia is.

"That said, we don't recognise any right of armed struggle against the South African raid

gle either, coming from the north. So we would certainly hope that this would calm down.

"I think we can say with accuracy that the pattern of cross-border actions has dampened down considerably in the last couple of years," the official said.

"These kinds of flare-ups are unhelpful. They don't help the broader atmosphere."

Sources in the US Congress said today that they doubted whether the South African raid

would add measurably to the pressure here to stiffen the sanctions measures announced last week by President Reagan.

They noted that cross-border violence involving military and guerrilla units did not evoke the same kind of angry reaction in Americans that police action against protesting civilians produced.

However, the Angolan raid was featured prominently, if briefly, in national and local television news broadcasts last night.

SA increases aid to Unita, says UK paper

12/19/85

(5)

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South African supplies to resistance movement Unita have been stepped up since the formal withdrawal of SA troops from Angola, according to a report in the *Guardian* today.

The newspaper's correspondent in Luanda, Victoria Brittain, said journalists were flown by the Angolan military to within 40 km of the Namibian border to see for themselves "the damage caused by the South African troops" during their previous stay in the country.

Brittain quoted the Angolan Air Force chief, Colonel Iko Carreira, as saying: "The 40 tons of equipment we found in Malange earlier this year is just one example of the regular South African supplies." On that occasion, the parachute which had been used to drop the arms was found with it.

This week's attack by the SADF was not entirely a surprise. A build-up of South African troops along Namibia's border was announced by Angolan President Eduardo Dos Santos about a fortnight ago.

Colonel Carreira told reporters: "In the past year, we have made considerable advances in our air cover of our southern provinces."

He also said the eastern towns of Mavinga and Cazombo had been razed. "If Unita tries now to make a conventional military stand at some place like Cazombo or Mavinga, it will be a costly strategic error."

"We have come quite close to the liquidation of Unita's combat capability in recent months."

However, writes Brittain, the mood in Luanda "is still far from one of triumph or relief. Unita's capacity for economic sabotage and civilian kidnappings and killings has been felt throughout the country."

SADF bid to save Unita Angola

Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — Angola has claimed that South Africa is fighting a large-scale battle on land and in the air to save Unita guerrillas from defeat.

Asked to comment on the claim by the Angolan Defence Ministry that South African aircraft had bombed Angolan forces attacking Unita targets, an SADF spokesman in Pretoria said:

"The statement is probably directed at the Angolan people and armed forces in an attempt to bolster their morale in the present offensive against Unita.

"The SADF has nothing to add to the statements in regard to our actions against Swapo terrorists in southern Angola."

It was reported in Luanda yesterday that the Angolan army offensive against Unita had advanced to within 16km of Dr Jonas Savimbi's headquarters at Jamba on the SWA/Namibian border.

It added that heavy bombing of the forward Angolan positions by South Africa was under way.

Earlier an Angolan Defence Ministry communique said 18 Canberra and Mirage fighter bombers had been in action 240km inside Angola near the ruined town of Mavinga.

FRONTLINE REPORTS

The Angolan offensive against Unita in the eastern provinces of Moxico and Cuando Cubango, around the destroyed towns of Cazombo and Mavinga, began about six weeks ago.

According to frontline reports, more than 1,000 Unita guerrillas have been killed in Moxico alone since mid-August.

The South African attempt to save the Jamba base is a clear indication of how serious a threat the Angolan offensive now poses, according to the Guardian's Angolan correspondent, Victoria Brittain.

● South African Air Force aircraft have attacked a Swapo forward command post in the Nehone area, about 60km north of the SWA/Namibia-Angola border, in the latest cross-border operation.

In a communique issued in Windhoek yesterday by the South West African Territory Force (SWATF) it was said that the results of the air strike were not yet known.

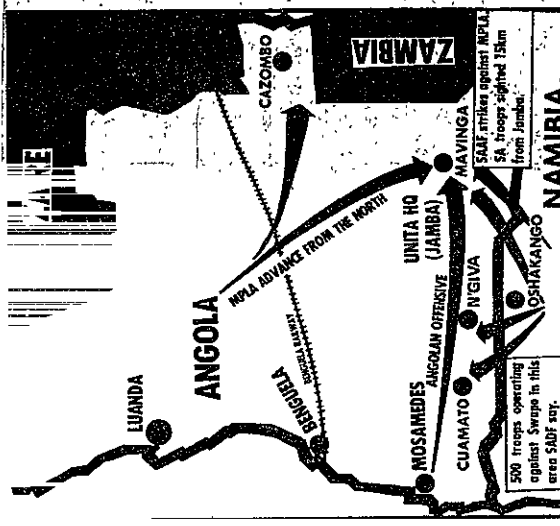
● US disturbed by SA's 'invasion' of Angola — Page 3.

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COLLISION COURSE

Angola claims SADF heading for battle with MPLA



As the Angolan army tightens its grip around Jamba (Mavinga), the headquarters of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels, SA troops are sighted in the area.

LISBON — South African troops had penetrated 250 km into south-eastern Angola and a direct clash with Angolan forces appeared imminent, the Angolan Defence Ministry said today.

South African armoured cars reached a point 15 km from Mavinga in Kuando-Kubanga province, not far from the main base at Jamba of Unita rebels under threat by Angolan forces, said the ministry, quoted by the official Angolan news agency, Angop.

An Angolan Defence Ministry spokesman said the South African operation was "aimed purely and simply at saving Unita" who have been under attack for six weeks, losing, according to MPLA sources, around 1 000 men.

A ministry communique said 18 South African Air Force planes had bombed Angolan troops advancing on Jamba. Six were killed and 25 wounded in the air attacks. South Africa has steadfastly maintained its operation was aimed at Swapo insurgents preparing a new terror campaign in Namibia from their bases in Angola.

Angola's Defence Ministry identified the South African armoured cars in the Mavinga area as belonging to the mainly black Buffalo Battalion, which is also equipped with troop-carriers, artillery and grenade launchers.

A ministry statement said the invaders were "ready to be brought into combat against our troops operating in that direction". The ministry added there were no Swapo guerrillas in either Kuando-Kobango or Mexico provinces in south-eastern Angola — the main areas of Unita operations.

It also reported South African troop concentrations and air overflights by warplanes in the Ruacana Falls area of Cunene province, on the south-western border with Namibia.

In turn, a Unita communique issued in Lisbon last night said Soviet-built planes piloted by Russians, Cubans and Portuguese had indiscriminately bombed the Mavinga area, causing heavy casualties — even among Angolan and Cuban troops.

Unita, which has been waging a guerrilla war since Angolan independence from Portugal in 1975, said its anti-aircraft guns had shot down several planes, including two Mig-23s and a Mig-21, and seven helicopters during the six-week government offensive.

New diplomatic crisis

The Star's Political Correspondent writes that South Africa is embroiled in a new diplomatic crisis following its military thrust into Angola and last night's confirmation that the Defence Force, in contravention of the Nkomati Accord, assisted the Mozambican National Resistance movement via secret visits and a submarine mission.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was due to fly to Komatipoort today to try to patch up differences with the Frelimo Government.

On the other front, the Leader of the Opposition and defence spokesman for the Progressive Federal Party, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, has demanded the Government disclose exactly what it is doing in Angola.

"How deeply are we involved in their civil war and is it Government policy that our conscripts must be prepared to die in Unita's struggle against the MPLA Government?" Dr Slabbert asked.

Evidence SAAF fighter pilot Gorongoza, a SA Navy submarine mission to fetch an MNR general from Mozambique, secret visits by the former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, to the rebel main base, and a claim of US pressure on South Africa to get the MNR to release Russian prisoners was presented to Mr Botha by President Samora Machel in Maputo on Monday.

● To Page 4, Col 8

P.T.O.

'SADF STAR fighting deep in Angola'

● From Page 1

The SADF says it sent a limited force into Angola in a pre-emptive strike against Swapo in the south-west of the country.

But Angola claimed the attack was aimed at beating off an MPLA offensive against Unita.

Condemnation of the raid is pouring in and major Western countries are demanding that South Africa withdraws immediately.

South Africa is now under diplomatic fire for actions in both the former Portuguese colonies to the east and west.

At today's meeting between South Africa and Mozambique, Mr Botha will admit that the SADF assisted the MNR after the signing of the Nkomati Accord.

But he will plead that South Africa did not violate the spirit of the Accord.

INVESTIGATION

Humanitarian aid and regular SA Air Force flights to the MNR's Gorongosa headquarters since last year were aimed at bringing the rebels to the negotiating table with a view to a ceasefire in the Mozambican civil war, according to the SADF.

The details were contained in a neatly written diary found among documents when Mozambique and Zimbabwe forces recently overran the Gorongosa base.

Mr Botha said last night that an immediate investigation appointed by the State President, Mr P W Botha, and headed by the former chief of the Air Force, General Bob Rogers, and a senior civil servant with extensive civil aviation experience, Dr James Gilliland, had broadly confirmed the diary allegations.

● See Page 17.

Is SADF hitting Swapo, or aiding embattled Unita?

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South Africa has come under fire from the United States, Britain and the European Economic Community for its raid into Angola.

The South African Defence Force insists the raid is to disrupt Swapo's lines of communication and put the Eighth Battalion to flight — but the Angolan Defence Ministry claims their presence in the territory is to assist the embattled Unita forces of Dr Jonas Savimbi which, according to MPLA sources, have lost 1 000 men in the recent six-week drive on Jamba.

Asked to comment on an Angolan Defence Ministry claim that SAAF aircraft had bombed Angolan forces attacking Unita targets, an SADF spokesman in Pretoria said: "The statement is probably directed at the Angolan people and armed forces in an attempt to bolster their morale in their present offensive against Unita. The SADF has nothing to add to the statements in regard to our actions against Swapo terrorists in southern Angola."

'SURPRISINGLY' LARGE OFFENSIVE

In London the BBC reports that Britain will make "strong representations" to Pretoria to withdraw its forces from Angola. The news bulletin said Angola claimed South Africa had launched two air strikes against Angolan troops advancing on the main base of the Unita rebel movement in south east Angola.

Diplomatic sources regarded an operation against Swapo as "surprisingly large-scaled" during the dry season when Swapo was least likely to launch its own offensive into Namibia.

Angola Radio said yesterday the Angolan army offensive against Unita had advanced to within 16 km of Dr Savimbi's headquarters at Jamba, about 200 km from the Namibian border. It added that "heavy bombing" of the forward Angolan positions by South Africa was underway.

The Guardian's correspondent in Angola, Victoria Brittain, says the South African attempt to save the Jamba base is a clear indication of how serious a threat the Angolan offensive now poses.

STATE DEPARTMENT SUMMONS

In Washington, South African envoy Mr Herbert Beukes has been summoned to the State Department to inform him of US displeasure over the SADF raid into Angola and to urge an immediate withdrawal.

In Luxembourg the European Community today criticised the raid and underlined support for the front-line states.

A statement on behalf of the 10 member countries and Spain and Portugal, which join the community in January, said they strongly opposed South Africa's move into Angola and described it as an attack on its sovereignty.

"We reaffirm our support for the front-line states and the Namibian people in the political and economic area," it added. — The Star, Bureaux, London, Washington, Windhoek, The Star's Foreign News Service, Luanda and Reuter.

Angola says SA raid in defence of Unita

B-Day

19/9/85

BUSINESS DAY REPORTERS and Sapa

A MAJOR international row is brewing over SA's latest military raid into Angola.

Angola claims the attack is aimed at beating off a powerful MPLA offensive against Unita.

The fighting continued through its third day yesterday, with contradictory accounts from Pretoria and Luanda on the locations and aims of the offensive, raising questions about whether there was more than one operation underway.

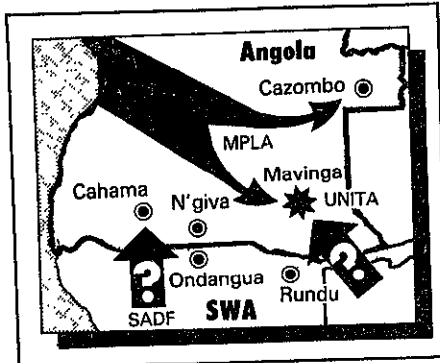
The SWA Territory Force yesterday reported its forces had launched an airborne strike against a Swapo command post at Nehone, in southern Angola, adding that the combined SA-SWA raid had already disrupted the organisation and uncovered an arms cache 30km north of the border.

An SA Defence Force spokesman denied Luanda's claim that the incursion was in defence of Unita's main base, Jamba, in the Mavinga district of south-eastern Angola.

"This statement is probably directed at the Angolan people and armed forces in an attempt to bolster their morale in the present offensive against Unita."

He rejected suggestions that a head-on clash appeared to be looming between SA-SWA assault units and Cuban-backed Angolan security forces in southern Angola.

He said the SA action was in south-



western Angola and involved a small force of nearly 500 SA and SWA troops deployed into 12 reaction teams of about 40 men each.

It was a follow-up operation, he added, against a semi-conventional Swapo battalion of between 400 and 800 men.

"We would never use such a small force against MPLA troops with Cuban backing," he said.

Angola's Defence Ministry later claimed, however, that SA Canberra bombers and Mirage jets carried out two air strikes, apparently blunting an MPLA drive on Unita guerrillas in the Mavinga district.

Unita's Jamba base is believed to be south of Mavinga, a settlement about 200km north of the border.

Angolan Defence Minister Colonel Pedro Maria Tonha said the South Africans

were acting in support of Unita.

Angolan television reported on Tuesday SA had intervened after the MPLA had killed more than 1 000 rebels in eastern Moxico province, north of Cuanda-Cubango, in the past 45 days.

SADF Chief General Constand Viljoen announced on Monday the Angolan border had been crossed in a follow-up operation to eliminate Swapo cadres and arms caches.

He said the Angolan forces had been informed of the operation and asked not to interfere.

Army Chief of Staff Lieutenant-General Ian Gleason said the operation should be finished by the end of the week.

Meanwhile, condemnation of the raid has come from the United States, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia and Nigeria.

The US criticised the raid, saying it had "no previous facts that would warrant such action".

Bringing you news from around the world

20/9/85
SOWETA

Angola raid condemned

LAGOS — Nigeria has condemned "in the very strongest terms" South Africa's military push into Angola in pursuit of Swapo insurgents. A statement from the Ministry of External Affairs described the incursion as "bankrupt and illegal under international law."

"It cannot distract attention from the domestic turmoil within South Africa itself, and will not save South Africa from the consequences of its ill-advised policy of apartheid domestically and (from) aggression internationally."

The statement said the newly-appointed Minister for Special Duties, Air vice-marshal Ishaya Shekari, would visit Angola and the other Frontline States to express solidarity.

Nigeria's new leader, Maj-Gen Ibrahim Babangida, who took power in a coup last month, had sent a message of sympathy to Angola, the statement added.

Gen Babangida last week appointed Mr Bolaji Akinyemi, who has a reputation as a radical on African Affairs, as Foreign Minister. His Ministry has condemned Western sanctions against South Africa as too weak to bring about change in apartheid. — Sapa-Reuter.



ASSASSIN WIDOW IN RACE: Mrs Bimal Kaur Khalsa, seen with her Sikh supporters, is a strong candidate in two state assembly districts in Punjab state despite the fact that she is the widow of Beant Singh, a former security guard who assassinated Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Warning on extremists

PATHANKOT — Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi stood near the Pakistan border yesterday and told an election rally in Punjab state to beware of outsiders posing as Sikh extremists. With one week left until Punjab's September 25 election, Mr Gandhi went ahead with the rally despite drenching rain which turned the field where he spoke into a quagmire. Security officials also made no concessions to the weather and snatched umbrellas from Ghandi supporters as they passed through two metal detectors into the field about 30 km from the Pakistan border.

Security officials also made no concessions to the weather and snatched umbrellas from Ghandi supporters as they passed through two metal detectors into the field about 30 km from the Pakistan border. "In this election you must see where the roots dhi has addressed."

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2/10/85
B. Day

We're pulling out of Angola, says Viljoen

PETER HONEY

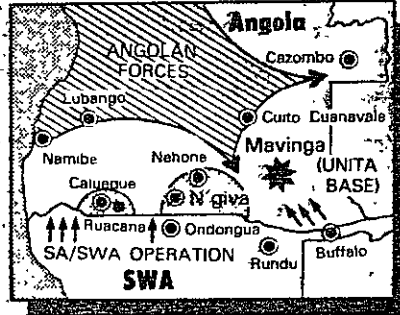
SOUTH Africa's operation against Swapo in southern Angola was being phased off and would be over by the end of the weekend, Defence Force chief, General Constand Viljoen, said yesterday.

He said the withdrawal order had already been given to some 500 SA and SWA troops operating in the central border region of southern Angola.

But Viljoen made no mention of Angolan claims yesterday that the security forces had penetrated three distinct parts of southern Angola.

SADF spokesmen refused to confirm or deny Luanda's claims that:

- A head-on clash was looming between



its Cuban-backed MPLA troops and SA's crack 32 Battalion near the Unita stronghold at Mavinga in south-eastern Angola.

- SA had deployed a "heavy" troop pres-

ence, with air reconnaissance, around the Ruacana-Calueque hydro-electric scheme in south-western Angola.

□ Mechanised forces with air support were active around the settlement of Namacunde, south of Ngiva in the central border area.

It could not be established yesterday whether all of these alleged deployments would be withdrawn by Sunday in the context of yesterday's SADF order to tail off its five-day-old anti-Swapo operation.

This involves some 500 SA and SWA troops near the settlements of Ngiva and Nehone, within 100km of the central SWA border, it was reliably learned.

Viljoen said he had ordered a phased withdrawal of the reaction teams because they had completed their objective of disrupting Swapo's logistics lines without losing any of their own men.

He also said they had destroyed large arms caches found near Nehone and had shot dead two Swapo guerrillas in the action which began on Monday.

Viljoen's announcement followed fierce international condemnation of the raid.

It is understood both the US and Britain issued diplomatic protests against the action, calling for an immediate SA withdrawal.

But Viljoen did not answer Angolan accusations that 32 Battalion — a quasi-mercenary unit from western Caprivi's "Buffalo" base — equipped with armoured cars, troop carriers and artillery was preparing to intervene in defence of Unita's Jamba base near Mavinga, 250km inside Angola.

The official Angolan news agency, Angop, said the incursion was aimed exclusively at saving Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces from defeat by Angolan troops advancing on the rebel stronghold of Jamba.

According to Luanda, its troops are

SA raiders pulling out

5
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B. Day

engaged in an offensive against Unita rebels in Cazombo in Moxico province and Jamba in Cuando-Cubango province.

Earlier this week Angolan Defence Minister Pedro Maria Tonha claimed SA Mirage fighter-bombers and Canberra bombers had twice struck at the advancing MPLA column near Mavinga, killing six soldiers, wounding 15 and destroying 12 supply vehicles.

The Angolans rejected SA's claim that its raid was directed at Swapo positions, saying there were no Swapo guerrillas in south-eastern Cuando-Cubango province, which contains the Unita stronghold.

An SADF spokesman in Pretoria said earlier he had nothing to add to Wednesday's statement that the Angolan claims were designed to bolster morale of its population and troops.

Unita said in the Portugues capital of Lisbon this week Soviet and Cuban troops were backing the Angolan army offensive against Unita and that Soviet-built CU-2, Antonov 26 and MiG aircraft were bombing rebel-held areas with napalm.

2/10/85 ← ● From Page 1
A rebel communique issued in Lisbon last night said its anti-aircraft batteries had shot down several Angolan warplanes including two MiG-23s, a MiG-21 and seven helicopters during a two-month government offensive against Unita forces.

The SADF had said its operation was a pre-emptive strike directed against Swapo's 8 Battalion which planned to attack "military bases and so-called soft targets in SWA".

"Evidence of this is the discovery of 124kg of explosives in the black residential area of Katatura (Windhoek) and a further 106kg in the operation area that was destined for use in the south of SWA," the SADF said.

Confessions had been obtained from two captured Swapo insurgents that at least 30 of their comrades — members of Swapo's "Charlie Detachment" — were still in SWA, it added.

● To Page 2 →

PRETORIA. — South African and SWA/Namibian forces have been ordered to withdraw from Angola.

The Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, said yesterday that troops who entered Angola on Monday in a follow-up operation against Swapo insurgents had succeeded in their objective, and had been ordered to be back at their bases by the weekend.

So far, there had been no casualties on the South African side and in one of the last skirmishes, two Swapo insurgents had been killed. Swapo logistic lines had been disrupted and large quantities of weapons and ammunition destroyed, he said.

The withdrawal of the 12 reaction teams (consisting of about 40 soldiers each) "would be done in phases".

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday said

SA troops out of Angola 'by weekend'

it was "sheer madness" for South Africa to be embroiled in the civil strife in Angola "given the times we find ourselves in".

He said that ever since the Defence Force had gone into Angola, he had been waiting for General Malan to "open his mouth and tell us what is going on."

"Let him get on to the box and answer one simple question: Is South Africa being taken for a ride again by this government?"

"What exactly are we doing in Angola? Is it government policy that our conscripts must be

prepared to die in Unita's struggle against the MPLA government? If so, I unequivocally condemn this."

If it were government policy to interfere in the internal affairs of another country "we stand defenceless before the world and have no right to complain when they intervene in our internal affairs", he said.

"I have personally told the Minister of Law and Order that it is my considered opinion that the future of all of us is being sjambokked and shot away on the Cape Flats."

"Now we are increasingly becoming em-

broiled in the civil strife of another country."

The British government has condemned the South African operation in Angola and called for the immediate withdrawal of troops.

A statement issued by the Foreign Office said: "The South African incursion into Angolan sovereign territory can only undermine the stability of the region and damage efforts to achieve Namibian independence."

In a statement from Luxembourg the ten member countries of the European Economic Community yesterday said they strongly opposed the raid and it was a challenge to Angola's sovereignty. — Sapa- Reuter and Political Staff

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close)	\$316,75
Rand	\$0,3760/80
JSE	1066,70
Dow Jones	1306,79

Sex-in-the-sky case settled

...prescribed to combat jet lag

'SADF ^{South African} 250 km into ^(S) ^(Angola) Angola

20/9/85

LISBON — South African troops have penetrated 250 km into south-eastern Angola and a direct clash with Angolan forces appeared imminent, the Angolan Defence Ministry said yesterday.

South African armoured cars reached a point 15 km from Mavinga in Kuando-Kubanga province, not far from the main base at Jamba of Unita rebels under the threat of Angolan forces, the Ministry, quoted by the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said.

An Angolan Defence Ministry spokesman said the South African operation was "aimed purely and simply at saving Unita" — Dr Jonas Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

CAPL TIMES 21/9/85

Malan unrepentant on support for Unita

PRETORIA. — The government yesterday admitted that it supported the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, but said it would end this connection if all foreign forces were withdrawn from Angola.

"This connection is of a material, humanitarian and moral nature," the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said in a statement here.

He said it was the first time the government had publicly admitted links with Unita.

The statement came in the wake of Angolan allegations that South African security forces had assisted Unita in fending off attacks by Angolan Government forces.

The government announced earlier this week that the Defence Force had entered southern Angola in military operations against Swapo. However, no reference was made to the alleged action in support of Unita.

General Malan yesterday described the links between the South African Government and Unita as "an open secret". He said it was government policy to support anti-communist movements, such as Unita.

"I clearly stated (in Parliament) that in the past, the present and in the future, South Africa, when necessary and in our security interests, would give its support to such movements."

General Malan said his statement was not an apology on behalf of the government for the links with Unita.

He said he was not ashamed of the links which were "justifiable". Through these links "we maintain the interests of the Free World on our sub-continent".

General Malan said the government was prepared to stop supporting Unita "on condition that all foreign forces are withdrawn from Angola".

He said communist forces, including the Russians and Cubans, wanted Unita "out of the way" in Angola. The new Russian Premier, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, had "new initiatives" for the Southern African region.

He said that if Unita was unsuccessful in Angola, "then the West will be to blame because they permitted Eastern Bloc countries to act undeterred against Western interests".

● Angola, accusing South Africa of aggression, asked the United Nations Security Council yesterday to demand the immediate withdrawal of the invading troops and to expel the Republic from the UN.

South Africa has already been ejected from the General Assembly.

Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, the Angolan delegate, told the Security Council at a meeting summoned at his request that South African troops entered Angola to save Unita.

"The international community is surely not taken in by South Africa's pathetic attempts to portray this invasion as a pre-emptive strike against Swapo," he said. — Sapa

SA aiding Unita, admits Minister

Pretoria Correspondent

South Africa has admitted for the first time it is supporting the rebel Unita movement in Angola. Revealing what he described as this "open secret", Defence Minister Mr Magnus Malan said in Pretoria last night that South Africa would break these links

with Dr Jonas Savimbi's movement, on condition that foreign forces be withdrawn from Angola.

Otherwise, he said, South Africa would continue to help Unita to help itself by providing material, humanitarian and moral aid.

Mr Malan's admission follows Angolan accusations that South

African units — comprising armoured personnel carriers, troop transports, field artillery and aircraft — have been operating against MPLA forces in support of the rebels in south-east Angola.

These operations were not linked to the South African strike into Angola against Swapo units. Defence Force

chief General Constant Viljoen has said South African forces involved in the action against Swapo would be pulled out this weekend.

Mr Malan reacted to accusations in political and media circles that he had been lying about South Africa's relations with Angola.

● To Page 2, Col 2

Minister admits SA aiding Unita

From Page 1

He said he was not ashamed of South Africa's connections with Dr Savimbi, who was a "God-fearing and determined man" and "a great leader in international terms."

By supporting him and his movement, Mr Malan said, "we serve South Africa and Southern Africa and the West's interests."

Moscow was exercising its "new muscled aggressiveness" in Angola and pouring in its most sophisticated weapons to crush Unita, and the West was yielding to the Kremlin's "refined strategy of pretty words."

"Supporting Unita in Angola concerns stopping foreign intervention by Cubans and other communist soldiers," Mr Malan said.

"It concerns stopping Marxist infiltration and expansionism. That is why the MPLA is so important to Moscow. That is why Unita and its connections are an obstacle to Moscow."

Unita was also the movement controlling southern Angola, thereby closing this area to Swapo insurgents.

"Now it is on record that South Africa support Unita. We will do it again if it is necessary and on condition that it is in our own interests," said Mr Malan.

UNITA Talks on the Reels

S. Times 22/9/82

By STEPHAN FERBLANCHE: Jamba, Angola

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi said yesterday that Soviet soldiers and airmen were actively involved — and dying — in frontline fighting against his army.

Dr Savimbi said Soviet military personnel were directing ground fighting and leading air attacks in the all-out MPLA Government offensive to crush him.

He disclosed that his men had killed three Soviet soldiers and wounded nine since the battle started 55 days ago.

"Soviets are dying," he said. "Angola and South Africa are not such low priorities as we thought."

Dr Savimbi was speaking at a midnight war briefing at his bushveld stronghold, Jamba, in Southern Angola. He had flown in 20 South African and foreign journalists in a bid to counter "Angolan propaganda" and give UNITA's version of the fighting.

Calling for help from the United States, he said the alleged Soviet involvement in the fighting introduced a new element to the civil war.

"This big, offensive is planned and directed by Russians commanding sections and companies."

"We have had offences before, but never have we had Russians planning and directing artillery, tanks and armoured cars, and flying helicopters and jets against us."

He was certain that Jamba was the ultimate target because it had become UNITA's spiritual centre since it was built in 1980.

The bearded rebel chief said his guerrilla movement would survive the huge onslaught by the combined Soviet, Cuban and MPLA forces.

While conceding that he

Savimbi tells of all-out move to crush him

expected an attack on his Jamba headquarters, he vowed that UNITA would defend its well-equipped bush base "to the last man".

He said: "I am not the one to run away. My friends and my enemies know where to find me. I have been with my men throughout the offensive."

Should Jamba be overrun by the MPLA, he said, UNITA would merely build another headquarters deeper in the bush.

Dr Savimbi displayed several parts of an advanced Soviet Mi-25 armed helicopter shot down by UNITA. These were used with devastating effect in Afghanistan.

Several pictures of other Soviet helicopters shot down by UNITA were shown to journalists. On the pictures could



Dr JONAS SAVIMBI talks to the world ... yesterday's picture

be seen the bodies of the air crews, presumably Russians and Cubans.

Dr Savimbi strongly denied reports that South African troops were aiding UNITA in the fight against the MPLA forces.

There was no sign of any South African presence at Jamba, and Dr Savimbi offered to take journalists to Mavinga to prove that they were not there either.

But he did admit that South African doctors, as well as French and international Red Cross doctors, were helping UNITA to treat wounded soldiers. He also admitted

that he received "humanitarian aid" such as medicines, from South Africa.

"Our relationship with South Africa has never been a secret. Nothing has changed in the form of aid we get from South Africa," he said.

As Dr Savimbi spoke, heavy fighting was raging at Mavinga, 200km north of Jamba, and at Cazombo, 750km north-east near the Zaïre border.

Dr Savimbi, who admits that his forces are struggling against the sophisticated Soviet military hardware being used against UNITA, is confident

that his soldiers will hold Mavinga.

A two-pronged attack has been launched against UNITA, with nine MPLA brigades at Cazombo, and 11 at Mavinga, according to UNITA's intelligence officers.

In addition there are 30 Soviet T-34, T-55 and T-62 tanks and 62 armoured vehicles being used against UNITA at Cazombo.

At Mavinga, said Dr Savimbi, 30 tanks, 62 armoured vehicles, 71 aircraft including the latest MiG-23 fighters and Mi-25 helicopter gunships, were being used by the MPLA's Fapla forces.

Dr Savimbi claimed the Soviet and Cuban pilots were using napalm bombs against UNITA positions in the Mavinga area.

He said his logistics base had been attacked at Lipua and a hospital, housing orphans, was hit. Nobody was killed.

According to Dr Savimbi, UNITA losses stand at 150 dead, 630 wounded and 15 captured or missing in action. Of the Fapla forces 712 have been killed at Cazombo and 407 at Mavinga, while more than 1 000 Fapla troops have been wounded and 85 captured by UNITA.

Losses

Cuban losses, he claims, stand at 41 killed and 32 wounded. UNITA has also destroyed three tanks, 34 armoured vehicles, five MiG-25 aircraft and 4 helicopters.

Four of the captured Fapla soldiers, one with his arm bandaged, were displayed to the Press at Jamba in the early hours of yesterday.

The four fold of low morale in the Fapla forces, of their commanders running away in the face of advancing UNITA forces and leaving their troops leaderless, and of Soviet distrust of the Fapla soldiers — to the extent that the Soviets insisted on cooking their own food.

They also said that Swapo fighters were being used to guard strategic points and towns so that more Fapla troops were available for the offensive.

The four captives said they had encountered no South Africans.

Morale among Savimbi's men is extremely high. Officers and troops are confident that they will beat back the MPLA forces. They claim that UNITA has not lost an inch of territory held before the offensive started.

"They still believe that if it's only a matter of time before UNITA enters Luanda. Dr Savimbi and his men also claim that more and more Angolans are becoming disillusioned with the MPLA Government and are joining UNITA."

He said he now had his forces spread from Cabinda in the north to the Namibian border in the south.

Foreign aid to UNITA was increasing and people in the United States were working towards obtaining US aid for his movement. A group of influential Americans visited Jamba recently for this purpose, but he declined to name them.

SA in a desperate gamble to buy time for Savimbi

ALL

S-Times 22/9/85

By BRIAN POTTINGER and HILTON HAMMAN in PRETORIA and KEN POTTINGER in LISBON

SOUTH AFRICA and Angola stand perilously close to war as Unita forces reel under the most determined military onslaught in its history.

The Angolan official news agency Angop says South African forces are deep in Angola helping Dr Jonas Savimbi's army — now threatened by a major MPLA-Cuban offensive.

Angop said a confrontation between South African units and Angolan forces, reportedly led by Soviet field commanders, appears imminent.

The purpose: a desperate gamble to buy Savimbi's army time until the rainy season turns to Unita's advantage.

South Africa's Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, admitted this week that South Africa was giving "material" aid to Savimbi, and senior Foreign Affairs sources confirmed yesterday that South Africa's relations with Angola and the Soviet Union had reached their gravest point ever.

In response to the crisis, Pretoria is to send a special Foreign Affairs working group to Washington next week. Their mission: to try to restart stalled Angola-South African talks, but more specifically lobby for White House support for Unita.

The crisis is the worst since the Angolan civil war of 1975/76 and comes amid a serious setback to the prized Nkomati Accord with Mozambique. On both fronts the South African peace initiatives of 1984 are now seriously foundering.

South African officials believe Angolan Fapla and Cuban forces — with Soviet field commanders — are embarked on a mad dash to the Namibian border in an attempt to sweep away Savimbi.

With him would go the no-man's land created along the border by the SADF more than five years ago. And with it would also go the tenuous Pretoria-Moscow-Luanda "understanding" that has regulated relations in the border area for the last two years.

Darkest hour

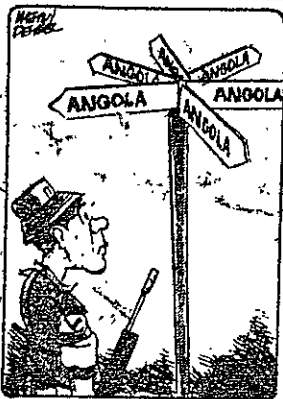
Pretoria and the Kremlin could thus soon be eyeball-to-

SAVIMBI SPEAKS:



We will survive
See Page 2

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S-Times

House support for UNITA.

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Darkest hour

Pretoria and the Kremlin could thus soon be eyeball-to-eyeball north of the Kunene.

With stunning rapidity the high peace hopes of 20 months ago have been converted to the darkest hour in South Africa's relations with its neighbours.

On the western flank, the situation is back to the worst days of 1981, and on the eastern flank the hailed Nkomati Accord is in trouble.

The South African Government is apparently determined that Luanda should not regain control over the whole country — it would be seen as a major defeat of South African strategic interests at a time when the country is especially vulnerable.

Responsible quarters in Foreign Affairs suggested the massive Angolan land and air attack — reportedly led by eight MPLA brigades supported by Cuban air, armour and artillery against the Unita-held south and east — was specifically sanctioned by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to take advantage of South Africa's isolated position.

The Unita forces are apparently holding the line against a two-pronged attack — but only just. The Angolans claim they have recaptured the town of Cazombo in the eastern province of Moxico and "expelled South African and Unita forces".

Danger

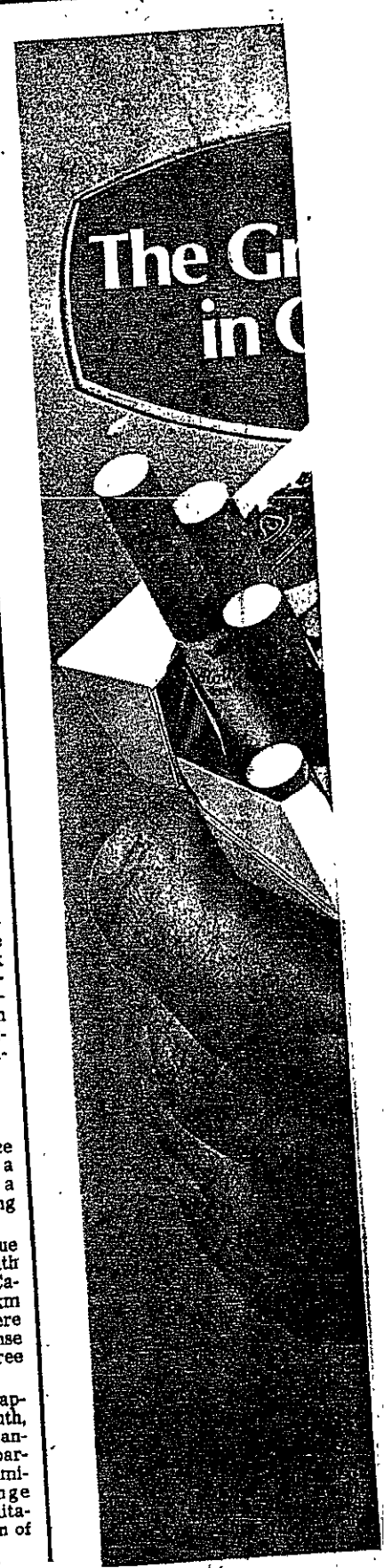
The South African Defence Force has admitted losing a South African soldier — a medic — who was helping Unita.

The Angolan communique did not explain how the South Africans had reached Cazombo, more than 700km north of the border where Unita has been under intense pressure for the last three weeks.

But the biggest danger apparently lies in the south, where a powerful mechanised column is sweeping parallel to the Angolan-Namibian border in a lunge towards the heart of Unita-held territory — the town of



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the Reds

From Page 1

Mavinga in Kuando Kubango province north of the Unita capital of Jamba and 150km north of the border.

Angop claimed yesterday that the SADF's crack 32 Battalion — South Africa's "Foreign Legion", backed by air cover, had moved in with armour around Mavinga to ward off the pending attack.

The same sources claimed South African aircraft struck at the Fapla-Cuban armour involved in the Mavinga thrust earlier this week in an effort to draw pressure off Savimbi's men.

The crisis situation brought about by the determined Fapla-Cuban thrust has dramatically shattered the fragile "understanding" which has governed relations in the region since January last year.

It has also forced the South African Government after years of denials to openly admit that it is materially supporting Unita.

Yesterday, South Africa's representative at the United Nations, Kurt von Schrning, told the UN Security Council that all SADF elements involved in allegedly anti-Swapo operations in southern central Angola had been withdrawn.

The SADF has insisted these operations were not connected with the Fapla-Cuban thrust.

On Friday night, General Magnus Malan admitted South African support for Savimbi. He said such support would continue until all foreign forces left Angola.

"We dare not give in," he said.

SA and Angola close to war

Other sources reported that more than two weeks ago General Savimbi was boasting that the South African Government would never let him down.

The present crisis represents a virtual unravelling of South Africa's regional policy which began in 1981 with massive support of Unita and the establishment by the SADF of a no-man's land in southern Angola.

In December 1983 the SADF launched a major attack against Swapo bases in Angola which was interpreted by the MPLA as a prelude to an all-out attack on Luanda.

The offensive drew an immediate warning from the Soviet Union to South Africa — if the Luanda Government was directly threatened, the Soviets would come to its aid.

Shortly afterwards the Lusaka Accord was signed between South Africa and Angola, which allowed for the

phased withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

This week a senior Foreign Affairs source said the Lusaka Accord had been based on shaky ground from the beginning and was regarded by both sides as merely a tactical measure.

In June the SADF withdrew unilaterally from Angola to the border amid warnings that if the Fapla forces could not control Swapo, the SADF would be back.

At the same time Pretoria cold-shouldered a carefully-crafted "synthesis" by the United States which Washington hoped could have led to Cuban withdrawal and eventual settlement in Namibia.

The South African Government said the proposals did not meet the demands of parallel and simultaneous withdrawal of Cubans from Angola and South Africans from Namibia.

But at the root was Pretoria's concern about allowing Savimbi's support lines to be cut as a result of a Namibian settlement.

South Africa's response meanwhile, angered the US State Department. The Cabinda incident in which SADF commandos allegedly tried to blow up oil installations in Cabinda further infuriated the US and led to a complete cessation of negotiations with Angola.

But the latest and most serious Fapla-Cuban push now drastically alters the position. The South African Government has decided that under no conditions will it allow Fapla and Cuban troops back to the Namibian border.

ed soldiers. He also admitted
"We had no idea where we

Pretoria lobbies US for support in Angola

By David Reagan
Political Correspondent

With South Africa poised to intervene militarily in the Angolan civil war, senior officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs have flown to Washington to lobby for American support.

Pretoria sources would not say today what line the delegation would take but it is expected they will try to explain why South Africa has made public its alliance with the Angolan rebel movement Unita.

It is also expected that the South African team will ask for American support for Unita or at least for some understanding of South Africa's position with regard to its assistance to Unita.

The leader of Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi, told a Press conference at his bush headquarters on Friday night that he hoped for American humanitarian assistance or the supply of arms now that the Clark amendment had been repealed.

Unita has been hit hard by the latest MPLA assaults.

Washington has not yet reacted officially

to the crucial battle now raging in southern Angola and to the possibility of South African intervention to help Unita, reports Gerald L'Ange of The Star's Africa News Service.

But knowledgeable sources consider it extremely unlikely that the US would intervene in any way or give any kind of support to South African intervention.

MALAN'S WARNING

In an interview with an Afrikaans newspaper today, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said South Africa's security interests in southern Angola were of the greatest importance and that its security forces would react against the danger there.

He warned that, in the circumstances, in which, for the first time, Soviet soldiers were fighting in the offensive against Unita, South Africa was still giving Unita only material, humanitarian and moral support.

But, if the situation changed, military intervention could not be ruled out.

South Africa has vital interests at stake

in the battle. The defeat or even dispersal of the Unita guerilla forces, which South Africa has now openly admitted to supplying, would be a serious blow to Pretoria's prestige.

It would also remove the buffer that Unita has provided against Swapo incursions into Namibia from south-eastern Angola. And it would deprive Pretoria of a major bargaining point in its dealings with Angola (and Washington) over independence for Namibia.

The United States is also believed to be concerned at the escalation of the war in Angola and at the reports of increased Soviet involvement. Although these reports have yet to be substantiated they have contributed to what a source described as "a very fluid and live political situation".

Knowledgeable sources believe, nevertheless, that, however much the Reagan administration might want to counter Soviet penetration, it is politically impossible at present for it to take any concrete action.

Conservative elements are expected to increase their demands for the US to go to the aid of the West-supporting Unita. But

the administration has made it clear it does not intend to take advantage of the recent repeal of the Clark amendment, which barred US aid to Unita, to start giving direct support to the rebel movement.

Any move by the Reagan to give military support to Unita would draw cries of alarm from Americans still suffering from post-Vietnam jitters and deeply suspicious of the administration's intentions in Central America.

The administration is considered unlikely to depart from its stance that the conflict between the MPLA and Unita is an internal Angolan affair and one that is best resolved through negotiation.

HOPES DASHED

Both the recent SADF incursion into southern Angola, ostensibly against Swapo targets, and the MPLA offensive against Unita have dashed Washington's hopes that the Namibian independence negotiations will soon get moving again.

But these hopes would not be revived by any action to support Unita or South Africa.

SADF out of Angola; no losses

From MIKE CADMAN

JOHANNESBURG. — The South West African Territory Force (SWATF) announced in Windhoek yesterday that all the South African and SWA/Namibian troops involved in the cross-border raid mounted last Monday have left Angola.

In a statement released yesterday, the SWATF commander, Major-General George Meiring, said 15 Swapo insurgents were killed and 54 captured.

The troops reportedly fought nine gun battles near Nehone and Evale, about 100km inside Angola, but suffered no casualties, he said.

The troops seized 260kg of explosives, seven limpet mines, four anti-vehicle mines, 11 anti-personnel mines, more than 200 detonators, 25 rifles, two pistols, 56 handgrenades and large quantities of ammunition, medical stores and uniforms.

Describing the raid as a success, General Meiring said: "Apart from the large-scale disruption of the command and control structure, the objectives of Swapo's Eighth Battalion were defeated."

He said 32 "agents" were captured with explosive devices in their possession and 17 others who were part of an information-gathering network. Five more were captured inside SWA/Namibia.

Unita says SA aid is medical

Yesterday's statement made no mention of the fighting between Unita and Angolan Government forces. Angola has claimed that South African aircraft attacked Angolan troops last week.

The incursion, the second since a formal South African withdrawal from Angola on May 17, has been condemned by most Western governments and the United Nations Security Council.

Meanwhile the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, said Soviet soldiers were directly involved in planning and fighting fierce battles against Unita.

Dr Savimbi stressed several times at a press conference, at his Jamba headquarters in southern Angola, that South African troops were not assisting Unita in the battles, although he did admit that South African doctors were in the field. French and Red Cross doctors were also helping Unita, he said.

Dr Savimbi said a major offensive had been waged against Unita since July 29 this year. He said that in major battles being fought at present in the Mavinga and Cazombo areas, 150 Unita troops and 1119 of the MPLA government's Fapla troops had died. Unita had also killed 51 Cubans and three Soviets.

SA to ask US for backing on Unita

23/9/85 (5) (18) B. Day
SENIOR SA foreign affairs officials are expected in Washington early this week to discuss the Angolan war and possibly to seek support for Unita, Western diplomats say.

A government statement from Pretoria said the visit had been arranged some time ago to discuss South West Africa, but diplomats say the delegation has been upgraded to deal with the Angolan crisis.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has appealed for US aid, saying the Angolan offensive against him is being led by Soviet officers.

Both Washington and Moscow have condemned the SADF strike into Angola. Soviet TV news at the weekend quoted the government as condemning "the criminal aggression staged by the Republic of South Africa".

In Washington, a State Department official said "SA forces should never have entered Angola. They should be withdrawn as soon as possible."

He said it was impossible to judge whether SA had gone into Angola with the primary intention of hitting at

Business Day Reporters and Sapa

Swapo or of assisting Unita. "It should be clear by now that there are no military solutions to the region's problems," he said.

Angola claimed units of SA's crack 32 Battalion were already deep inside Angola in support of Unita, and that SA fighter aircraft and bombers had blunted the Angolan offensive against the rebel strongholds in Cuando-Cubango province.

Yesterday the SWA Territory Force said the nearly 500 SA and SWA troops which had been engaged in an operation against Swapo in Angola's central border region with SWA since Monday had all returned to base.

SWATF commander, Lieutenant-General George Meiring, said 15 Swapo guerrillas had been killed in nine clashes in the Nehone and Evale districts, about 100km north of the SWA border.

Meiring said 17 Swapo members engaged in intelligence gathering had been captured, and a further five insurgents had been taken prisoner.

Talks on Angola Namibia

The Star Bureau

25/9/85
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STAR
WASHINGTON Senior South African Foreign Affairs officials held talks yesterday with State Department representatives on the Namibia impasse and Angolan crisis.

Mr David Steward and Mr Les Manley met Africa desk specialists at the State Department. Further discussions are possible today before the Pretoria team returns to report to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Some quarters believe the South African delegation will seek American diplomatic efforts with the Soviet Union to forestall heightened military conflict in Angola, or US aid — arms and supplies — for the Unita rebels.

The US State Department has not commented on the contents of the talks.

Striking into Angola

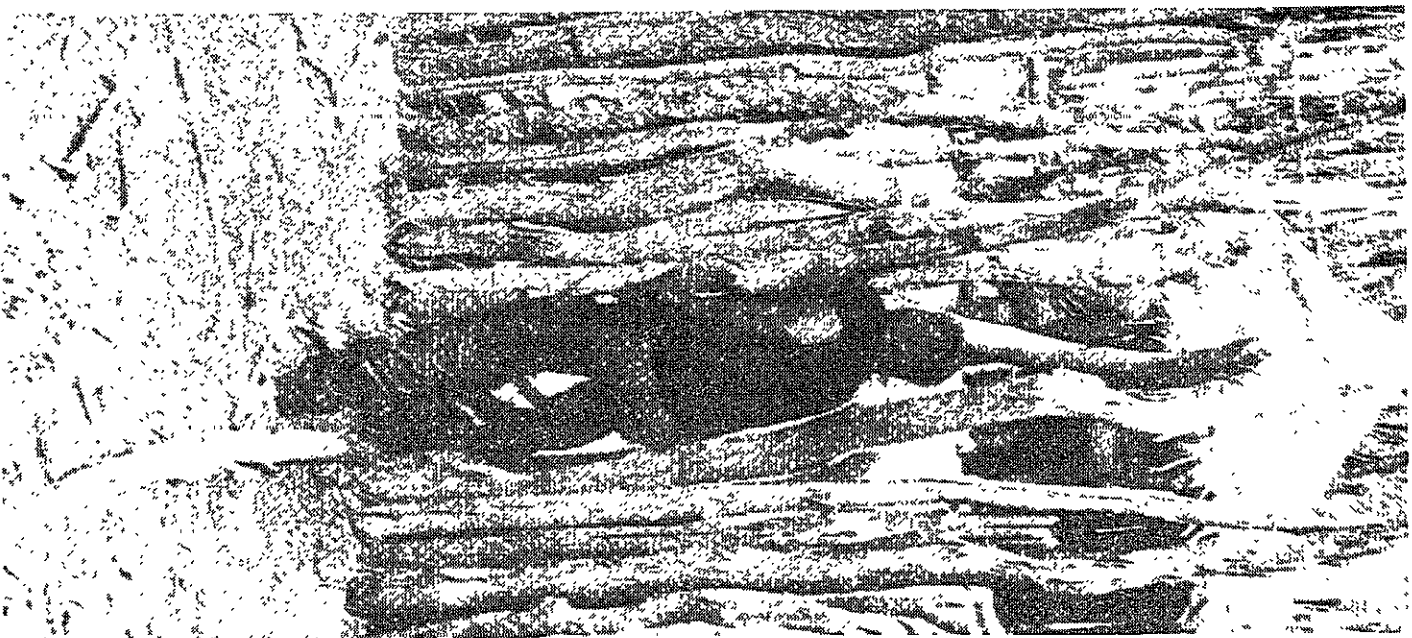
STARS

Defence Force Headquarters yesterday released photographs and details of the latest operation into Angola. Swapo's plan to carry out an intensive campaign of intimidation and sabotage during the first part of Namibia's rainy season from late October had been seriously disrupted by the Security Force operation of the past week, military spokesmen said.

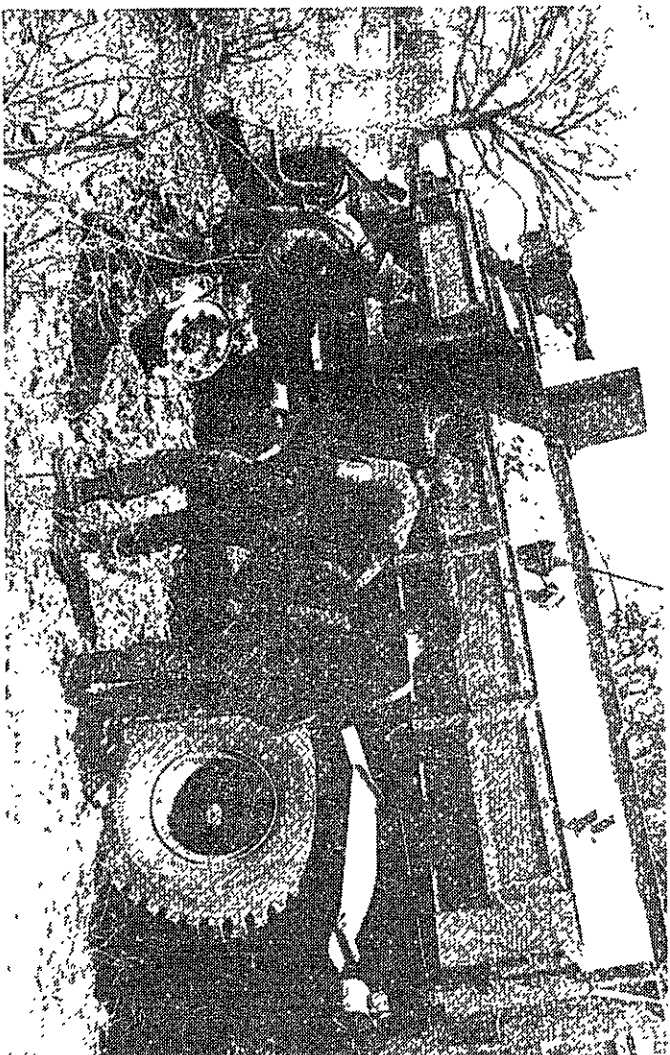
The operation resulted in the elimination of 15 positively identified members of Swapo's military wing, the arrest of

five others and the detention of 32 local agents in possession of explosives, while another 17 agents were also held.

The decision to launch the operation was precipitated by information obtained from two captured insurgents who said 30 of their comrades were still in Namibia — but the tracks led into Angola. The crack 101 Battalion struck northwards, combing the bush, turning up arms caches and killing insurgents.



A soldier of 101 Battalion enters a kraal through a gap in the fence to ask for information about Swapo insurgents. The photograph was taken in the final stages of the pursuit.



A Casspir stands nose-down in a stream bed after a Swapo mine blew off its left front wheel — the only operational casualty to man or machine suffered during the follow-up.



Far from the spit-and-polish of routine military life, Lieutenant Bernie de Waal crouches before the dusty map in his Casspir command vehicle while formulating his next move.

Eyebrows raised at SA reasons for Angola raids

By PATRICK LAURENCE

INITIAL suspicion in diplomatic circles that the real purpose of South Africa's present raid into Angola is to take the heat off the pro-South African rebel Unita movement hardened into near certainty on Thursday as Angola accused South African aircraft of bombing its troops engaged in a major offensive against Unita.

When the incursion was first announced on Monday, sceptical eyebrows were raised at the official explanation offered by the South African Defence Force: a pre-emptive attack to forestall an offensive by Angolan-based Swapo fighters.

Major Swapo attacks from Angola normally occur during the rainy months of December, January and February when the bush and grass has grown enough to provide cover for the infiltrating insurgents, one diplomat noted.

Another questioned whether the extensive air support was really necessary when the South African soldiers were engaged in search and destroy operations against Swapo fighters.

Scepticism sharpened later on the same day when the Chief of the South African Defence Force (SADF), General Constand Viljoen, announced that a South African medical orderly was killed in Angola last weekend during a clash between Unita rebels and Angolan government forces.

The death of Corporal Bruce Fidler while with Unita was the first open evidence that the SADF directly helps Unita.

Viljoen said: "It is believed that his body has been taken to Luanda. Lance Corporal Fidler was part of a medical team which, at the request of Unita, was rendering help to seriously wounded Unita soldiers."

Requests for "humanitarian aid" from Unita were considered on merit, Viljoen added.

It is, of course, an open secret that Pretoria would dearly love to see Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, who was on official South African guest at the inauguration of President P W Botha a year ago, in an Angolan government of national unity.

But Professor Deon Fourie, professor of strategic studies at the University of South Africa, rejected conjecture that the real reason for the

incursion was to save the rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi, from defeat.

Fear that Swapo guerrillas planned to open a "second front" in Namibia in support of the African National Congress struggle in South Africa itself was the main factor which prompted the raid by South African soldiers into Angola, he said.

A full-scale offensive by Angolan-based Swapo guerrillas on military and civilian targets in Namibia would create the impression that a "second front" was being opened, the "first front" being South Africa's troubled black townships, Fourie said.

The desire to forestall the offensive with a preventive raid on Swapo bases in Angola outweighed the disadvantages of again incurring the displeasure of the United States, which had been partly mollified by last week's decision to reverse the policy of depriving blacks of South African citizenship and the recommendation by the President's Council that the pass laws should be scrapped, Fourie argued.

He rejected the view that it would have been easier - and less risky in terms of international condemnation - for South African soldiers to have ambushed infiltrating Swapo fighters on the Namibian side of the border.

Nor did Fourie find the use of aircraft against insurgents incongruous. Once the SADF obtained intelligence on the whereabouts of the Swapo bases it made sense to strike at them as quickly as possible, he said.

The SADF has given the size of its invading forces at about 500 men, divided into 12 smaller units of about 50 soldiers. "We would never use such a small force against (Angolan) MPLA troops with Cuban backing," a SADF spokesman said.

But, of course, one explanation does not preclude the other.

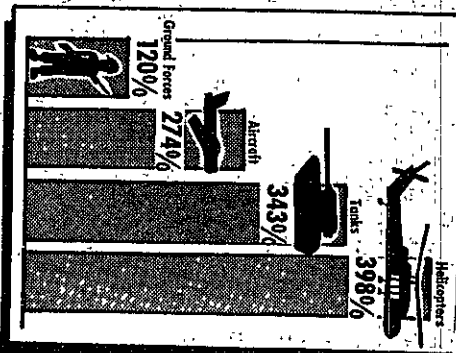
● Late yesterday Gen Viljoen announced that the South African and South West African forces had succeeded in their objective and had been ordered to withdraw to their bases by the weekend.

This announcement came shortly after the Angolan Defence Ministry said that the South African troops had penetrated 250 km into south Eastern Angola and a direct clash with their own troops was imminent. — SAPA

US

Warns

Reds on Angola conflict



Massive military build-up — Malan

Conventional military equipment worth about R25,000 million flooded into Angola between 1977 and 1982, says Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan. Speaking in an interview on South Africa's military involvement in Mozambique and Angola, he said the build-up was much more than Angola needed to deal with the Unita threat, or with South Africa's "limited series of military actions against Swapo".

Is this prepositioning of military equipment to be used, ultimately, against South Africa? he asked. He said he believed the Russians wanted to develop a stable base in Angola, and then use the map and the equipment stationed there wherever necessary in Southern Africa. General Constand Viljoen, chief of the SADF, said recently that there had been a massive increase in military equipment in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania. Ground forces had increased by 120 per-

cent, tanks by 343 percent, military aircraft by 274 percent and helicopters by 398 percent (see graph at left). Asked if South Africa would take action against the build-up in Angola, General Malan said this would depend on this country's security interests. But if the equipment was moved to near the Namibia border, where it could be used to provide a security umbrella for Swapo, South Africa would have to "rethink" its position.

See Page 13 for the full interview.

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

Washington

The United States Government yesterday told the Soviet Union to stop fueling the Angolan conflict and warned that such actions could affect relations between the superpowers.

Washington's public message to Moscow was delivered, twice — in a statement to journalists at the State Department and in a televised Press conference held by Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

US concern over the Soviet role in Angola makes it almost certain that the issue will be raised in November at the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in Geneva.

President Reagan is expected to emphasize the American belief that a military solution to the problems of Angola and Southern Africa is not possible. US spokesman Mr Charles Redman told newsmen at the State Department yesterday: "Intensified Soviet involvement in combat operations in Angola is a matter of concern to the United States. It is important that the Soviet Union understand that such actions could have an effect on our relationship."

Involved

In a news conference televised via satellite to Europe and South America, Dr Crocker said the Soviets had delivered massive quantities of arms to their Angolan allies and that they had been involved in the current campaign against Unita.

Asked whether he thought an early Namibian settlement was still possible given the stagnation of the situation, he said: "The level of fighting and violence in that area is increasing and the Soviets are actively influencing the civil war in Angola. I don't believe that scenario leads anywhere except to bloodshed and killing."

The US hoped that the parties in the region would take a second look at negotiations which were the only track that led anywhere, Dr Crocker said. In reply to another question, Dr Crocker said that the repeal by the US Congress of the Clark Amendment (which prohibited US military aid to rebel groups in Angola) did not mean that the US had plans to assist Unita.

By John D'Oliveira,
Editor of The Star's
Africa News Service

Will Angola become South Africa's Vietnam?

Will South Africa's commitment to Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Unita rebel movement draw her deeper into a "foreign" war that she cannot win?

Will military action against Swapo put South Africa eyeball-to-eyeball with the mighty Soviet Union?

The answer of the South African Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, to all these questions is a clear "no" because he believes South African military commanders and their political bosses know the dangers and they understand the high stakes involved.

Sitting in his office in Pretoria today, General Malan explained the three major military considerations involved in the Angolan situation: the "limited" military action against Swapo; the "moral, material and humanitarian aid" to Unita; and the massive accumulation of sophisticated communist military material in Angola.

Position clear

On Swapo, the General said the South African position was clear: "If, contrary to the Lusaka Agreement, Swapo is allowed to build up a presence in the area covered by that agreement, we will be forced to take action, but only against Swapo."

"We have told Angola that and we have already taken such action. And we will do it as often as it is necessary in the future."

But have these repeated South

African invasions of Angola not prompted the communists to provide Angola with modern anti-aircraft systems, tanks, aircraft and other weaponry which might one day be used against South Africa?

"We will discuss more about the weaponry later."

"There is a political and military price to pay for almost everything. We warned that we would hit Swapo supply lines and we did hit those supply lines. When Swapo was allowed to integrate their supply lines with those of Fapla (the Angolan military force), we warned that we would hit the combined supply lines and we did."

"As a result, an anti-aircraft system was set up which was obviously to our disadvantage. But this was a price we had to pay in order to disrupt Swapo's supply lines in order to protect the local inhabitants. On balance, I believe South and South West Africa's interests were well served."

What about the rest of the sophisticated weaponry?

"In the five years ending in 1982 something like US\$10 000 million worth of military equipment flooded into Angola. More came in each year than our entire military budget, of which not all goes on the purchase of weapons."

"Why?"

"Not much of this was necessary to cope with our limited series of military actions against Swapo or to cope with the guerrilla war being waged by Unita. You do not need this level of sophistication. You are, in fact, over-securing."

"In the latest action against Savimbi's guerrillas, it has been

Angola — Will it be SA's Vietnam?

STAR 27/9/85

reported that the Angolans used MiG 23 aircraft and Mi 25 assault helicopters.

"Nowhere else in the world has a bush war been tackled with this level of sophistication."

"Again I ask: why?"

"Is this prepositioning of military equipment to be used, ultimately, against South Africa?"

Well, is it?

"I personally believe that the Russians want to develop a firm, stabilised base in Angola and then use the equipment and the personnel positioned there wherever necessary in the sub-continent."

Including South Africa?

"If you look at our massive reserves of strategic minerals, don't you ask yourself whether this mineral treasure house is not the cherry on top of the

African cake?"

"When you look at the progress Marxists made with their effective form of revolutionary warfare in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola, you may ask why there is such a sudden interest in conventional arms?"

Security interests

"The communists want a black-white polarisation in South Africa so that they can attack our country with conventional military forces, knowing that not a single country in the world will lift a finger to help South Africa because they would be acting against 'those white racists'."

Given the defence force commitment to seizing the initiative, must one take it that you



General Magnus Malan . . . South Africa's military and political bosses understand the high stakes involved.

will act against this weapons build-up?

"It depends on South Africa's security interests."

"But, if they should move the men and the material from the present position about 300 km north of the South West African border to the immediate vicinity of the border, this will affect us directly."

"Because then they would be giving Swapo's terrorists a security umbrella under which they can operate. It will give Swapo the freedom of action to plan, equip, train, attack across the border and then withdraw to the safety of the security umbrella."

"Well, if a situation like that should develop, we would have to rethink our position."

It seems those forces are now directed against Unita. If it ap-

pears the Angolans and their allies are about to wipe Dr Jonas Savimbi off the map, what will you do?"

"If these forces should wipe out Savimbi, then South Africa will be able to say that she did her bit to sustain this anti-Marxist force. The West will have to accept that it did not do its duty and that, as a result, a potent anti-communist force has been lost to us and to the West."

On to another issue. Do you not believe that the SADF's credibility in terms of information is now in tatters?"

"Our credibility in this area may have been affected but let us look carefully at one or two specific issues."

"There are people who say we have broken the Lusaka Agree-

EMPLOYMENT STATUS : Not economically active - N (i.e., not working for an income and not wanting to do so, because of schooling, duties at home, maternity illness, disability, resting, expecting to start a job later, retired, etc.)
 Employed - E (includes people home on leave)
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VOCATIONAL EDUCATION: Write in post - J.C., teaching diploma, nursing qualification, trade qualification, etc.

The Star Friday September 27 1985 13

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"But the agreement dealt with a specific, clearly defined area in Angola. It had nothing to do with any other area, we were addressing a particular problem in a specific area."
 "We agreed to a phased withdrawal while the other side made certain commitments."
 "Ultimately, we fulfilled our side of the agreement."
 "In fact the other side committed 145 violations of the agreement against our four violations. Our violations were done deliberately because we needed aerial reconnaissance to determine whether Swapo was building up a presence in the area and thus violating the agreement."
 "What we may or may not have been doing in other parts of Angola, whether we may or may not have been gathering intelligence, has absolutely nothing to do with the agreement."

Intelligence

"Now people come to me and say you claim you are out, but you are still in."
 "When it comes to gathering intelligence other countries use aircraft like the U2 or they use satellites, we do it on virtually on foot."
 And your aid to Savimbi?
 "Savimbi is not part of that agreement. What we may or may not do to help Savimbi has absolutely nothing to do with that agreement."
 "But, let me add, what Swapo does outside the specified area also has nothing to do with the agreement, nor does it deal with the Angolan Government's aid to Swapo and African National Congress terrorists outside the area in question."

And the Nkomati Accord?
 "I can only discuss the specific allegations made by the Mozambique Government and dealt with in our meeting at Nkomati last week."
 "Maputo wanted the embattled parties in Mozambique to come together and we consulted with President Samora Machel."
 "I am satisfied that everything we did was aimed at facilitating reconciliation between the MNR and Frelimo."
 "If you turn around now and say that the SADF, in its effort to bring them to the conference table, gave the MNR certain limited assistance, I will say: yes, fine, I agree."
 "But we gave to the other side as well. We flew two Dakotas with medical supplies into Maputo to help Frelimo."
 "It was a question of getting each of the two sides into the right frame of mind for a reconciliation."
 "You may ask about the submarine that went in to extract some of the MNR commanders."
 "Fine. We did it because we were asked to do it and because we believed that if we could separate the MNR commanders from the Portuguese element, we might get them to accept a ceasefire and to be more accommodating."
 "And we had some success."
 "We got the MNR to accept Mr Machel as head of state and we got both sides to say that they wanted peace."
 "We came close to succeeding."
 "Had we got one step further and brought peace to Mozambique, we would have been heroes and today nobody would be worried about technical violations of the accord."

ACADEMIC

RESIDENT

Note :

RELATION

MARRIAGE

AGE

SEX

NAME

1. NUMBER : Write 'R' against the number of all household members who participate in answering questions.

THE ANGER GROWS

SOUTH Africa's latest military incursion into Angola and its admission that it has violated the security pact with Mozambique is certain to harden the attitudes of these states — and those of their black-ruled neighbours — towards Pretoria.

Even before South African troops and aircraft crossed the Namibia border into Angola, and before Mozambique's President Samora Machel confronted Pretoria with incontrovertible evidence that it had not held to the Nkomati Accord of March 1984, there were signs of a toughening attitude towards South Africa's beleaguered government.

After their summit meeting in Maputo, Mozambique, last weekend, the leaders of the six Frontline States — Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Botswana — issued a sharply-worded communiqué condemning the "violence perpetrated by the Pretoria regime against the defenceless population" and hailing the "growing condemnation of apartheid by western countries."

Noting the mounting campaign of sanctions against South Africa, the Frontline States called on the Western countries to broaden and intensify the pressure, a message which Machel will certainly deliver during his current visit to the United States.

SA's raids make the Frontline States see red

The statement was made in spite of the heavy economic dependency of most of the black-ruled states on South Africa.

South Africa has made it clear that if sanctions are applied against it the whole sub-continent will be affected and setback economically. The economic inter-dependence of states in the region make it impossible for South Africa to be singled out for punitive measures because of its race policies, Pretoria avers.

South Africa's strategy in the face of the threat of effective sanctions — which has become more real now that President Reagan has taken the first step by applying limited and, in the view of most economists, relatively harmless sanctions — is to warn her black-ruled neighbours will suffer adversely and maybe even more severely than South Africa itself. Its purpose is to try to

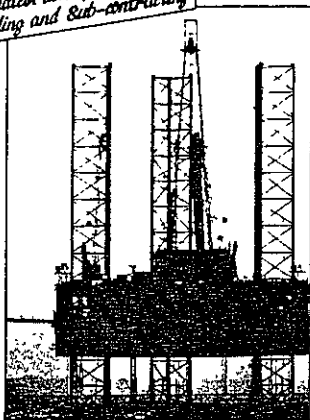
5 and those of their black-ruled
27/9/85

prod the black-ruled states into publicly opposing sanctions. So far, however, it has not had much success, as the communiqué issued by the Frontline States illustrates. The only black state to speak out loudly and clearly against sanctions is the tiny kingdom of Swaziland.



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AT HOME

SA troops with air support invade Angola to pre-empt what High Command describes as a big Swapo build-up ahead of strikes on Namibian towns. The force of 500 withdraws at the weekend, but reports emerge of the presence of a much larger force in south-eastern Angola which is said to be protecting



Will the Angola war spread?

Unita from a concerted MPLA onslaught. Defence Minister Magnus Malan claims Soviet troops are fighting in the front line against Unita. This makes the US State Department extremely nervous and Washington expresses fears of full internationalisation of the conflict. After a five-month delay, President Reagan accepts the credentials of SA Ambassador Herbert Beukes.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha admits that "technical" violations of the Nkomati Accord have taken place — despite government denials. He claims the violations had been permitted in an effort to promote peace talks between Frelimo and Renamo.

The gold price rises \$10 as a result of agreement between the Group of Five to hold the dollar down to reasonable levels in the interests of smoother international trade flows — and to avert danger of protectionism. The rand makes heavy weather of breaching US\$0,40.

About 200 people gather in Sandton to form the Convention Alliance — a "third force" of the moderate centre "seeking direction for a post-apartheid SA" and "occupying the middle ground between government repression and black revolt." The alliance hopes to overcome hostility to its Left and to its Right and to engage support from UDF, Azapo and nationalist Afrikanerdom.

Swindler Gert Rademeyer, former assistant chief accountant at Escom, is jailed for an effective 12 years for defrauding Escom.

KwaZulu's "insane" consolidation proposals were deliberately unveiled by government before they were completed, to ensure that they would be stillborn in the welter of condemnation that greeted them. Implementation of the plan would mean, inter alia, that 42 000 people would have to be moved.

The Big Five commercial banks announce they will cut their prime rate from 19,5% to 18,5% on October 7. This follows the lowering of the bank rate to 15%, announced by Church Square last Friday.

The Treasury announces a R500m package designed to regenerate the economy and stimulate employment creation. It will be partly financed by a 10% imports surcharge. President P W Botha tells the Transvaal congress of the NP of an ambitious project to privatise State departments.

The Rev Allan Boesak has been charged with subversion. He is released on R20 000 bail

SA's best-loved Afrikaans poet, Dirk Opperman, dies in Stellenbosch after a long fight against illness.

A senior police officer, Major General Dirk Genis, is to investigate charges of police brutality in the western Cape.

Zambia is set to introduce a foreign exchange auctioning system to set a more realistic external value to the kwacha. It is part of an agreed package of economic reforms which would lead to an IMF loan later this year.

ABROAD

A large part of Mexico City is demolished by three successive earthquakes; one tremor registers 7,8 on the Richter scale. So far, the official death toll reaches 3 600, but the final tally could be as high as 20 000. A massive international relief effort is launched, as Mexican authorities try to beat the clock to contain health hazards. Underwriters are bracing themselves for a possible \$1 billion payout in claims. The disaster coincides with the IMF suspension of \$450m of loans to Mexico because of its failure to comply with economic reforms.

Kharg Island — Iran's main export terminal — is severely damaged by an Iraqi air-strike. Some of the debris settles on the oil spot market where North Sea quotations rise US\$0,10-US\$0,15 in a day's trading. The market is also affected by the Mexican earthquake.

Hawks ascendant



Just when you thought it was safe to merely worry about the near civil war in the townships, and the worst economic crisis in decades, the South African Defence Force invaded Angola again.

The situation is grave. The SADF seems poised to strike into Angola any day now on a large scale — SADF elements are there already. The aim would be to defend an onslaught by Angolan troops on Jamba in south-eastern Angola, main base of the rebel movement Unita. That would — if Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi are to be believed — bring us into direct confrontation with soldiers from Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Such a scaled-down repeat of the disastrous Operation Savannah of 1975 would be costly in terms of lives, money, and international esteem. It would come at the worst possible time, when we desperately need to convince the West that southern Africa is a safe place for its investments.

Even if the action is honourable and just, and the stated reasons reflect this, who will stand by us? After the debacles of the Cabinda raid in June, and the MNR disclosures, Pretoria's credibility is in tatters. Not even the people of SA believe their government any more on these matters.

Let's look more closely at the events of the last two weeks.

Some 500 South African soldiers — mechanised infantry supported by the Air Force — were sent into Angola the Sunday before last in what SADF chief General Constand Viljoen called "a follow-up operation against Swapo." The target, a SWA Territory Force spokesman added, was a "semi-conventional Swapo battalion of between 400 and 800 men."

Credibility gap

This was not entirely credible, as the US immediately recognised. Swapo's guerrilla war in Namibia is at its lowest level in many years and the rainy season, when the main incursions take place, is months away. What is more, just a week earlier Savimbi appeared on our television screens in an "exclusive interview" with Jamba correspondent Cliff Saunders saying that a major onslaught against his movement had started. Coinciding with the operation, the Angolan government began complaining of South African Canberra bombers and Mirage jets carrying out air strikes against the MPLA drive against Unita.

US State Department Bernard Kalb voiced the Reagan administration's unhappiness: "Any use of force — even in self-

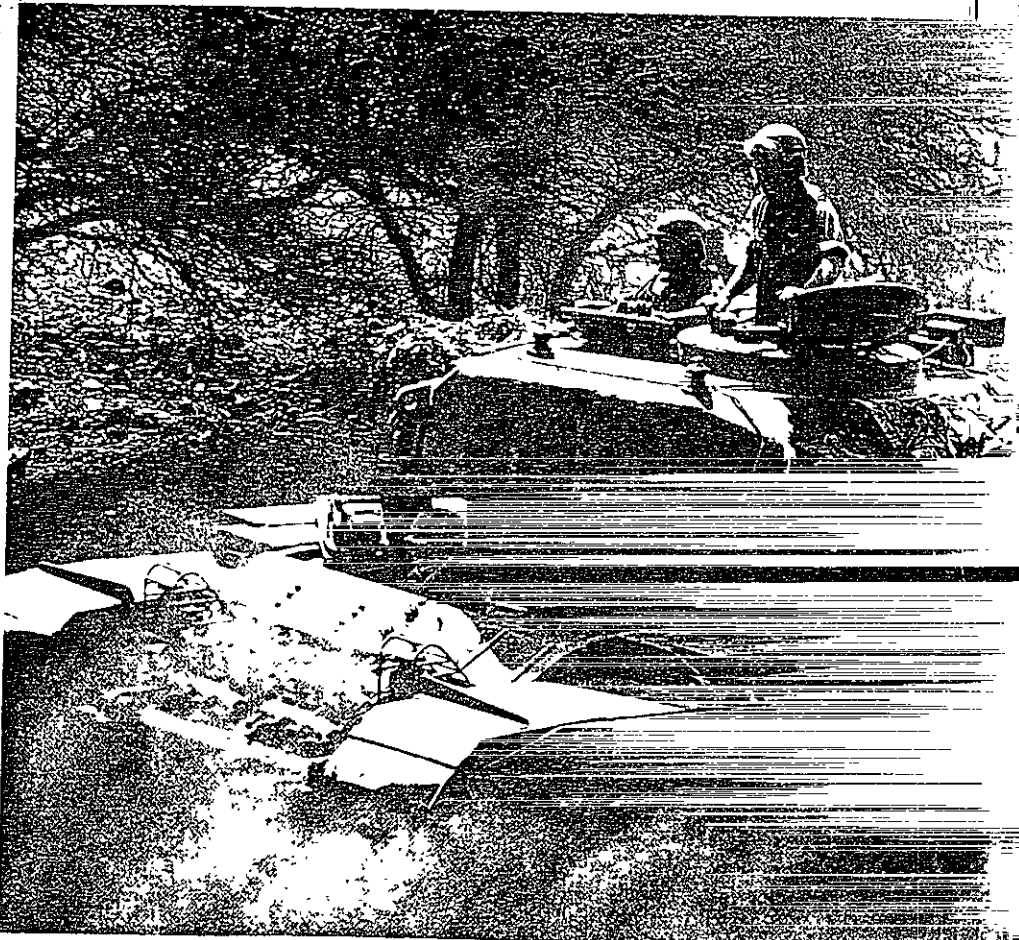
South African troops could soon be engaging major Soviet bloc forces in southern Angola. The Nkomati Accord has been imperilled by revelations of support for the MNR. What a way to win friends and influence people!

defence — must be proportionate to the threat posed. We have no reason to believe SA faced such a threat."

Three days later the SADF announced that a South African soldier, Lance-corporal Bruce Fidler, had been killed in a clash between Unita and the MPLA. He was a member of a medical team assisting Unita, and had nothing to do with the "anti-Swapo offensive," the SADF said.

Then, last Friday Malan, for the first time since 1975, publicly admitted government's "material, humanitarian and moral" backing of Unita. "We have had links with Unita, we do have links with them, and we shall have links again with them in future if the circumstances demand it," he told military

Big battalions are on the move



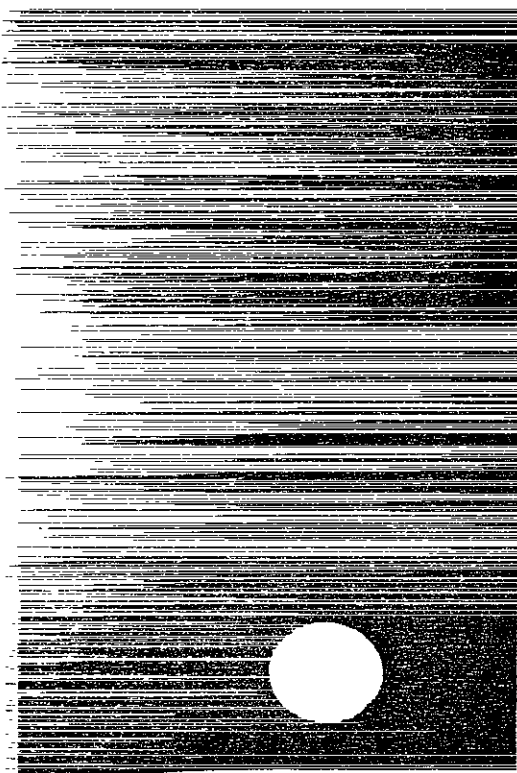
correspondents at a briefing. "We will break our links with Unita only on condition that all foreign forces are withdrawn from Angola."

He added: "As far as Angola is concerned, we have reached a watershed. The West will now also have to state clearly where they stand on Cubans and other meddlers."

Two days later SWA Territory Force commander General George Meiring announced that the 500 troops had withdrawn to Namibia. Fifteen Swapo guerrillas had been killed and 23 captured.

The same day a group of local and foreign reporters flew from Pretoria, via the South African Air Force base Mpacha in Caprivi, to Jamba. Savimbi told them that Unita faced the biggest offensive ever against it from the MPLA, led by Russian officers. It was a conventional onslaught with land and air forces and the fighting was only 200 km to the north, where the MPLA had already taken back Mavinga. Unita needed help more than ever, Savimbi said, adding that "one cannot expect SA to wait passively while Unita's liberated areas are taken over by the MPLA to be used later by Swapo."

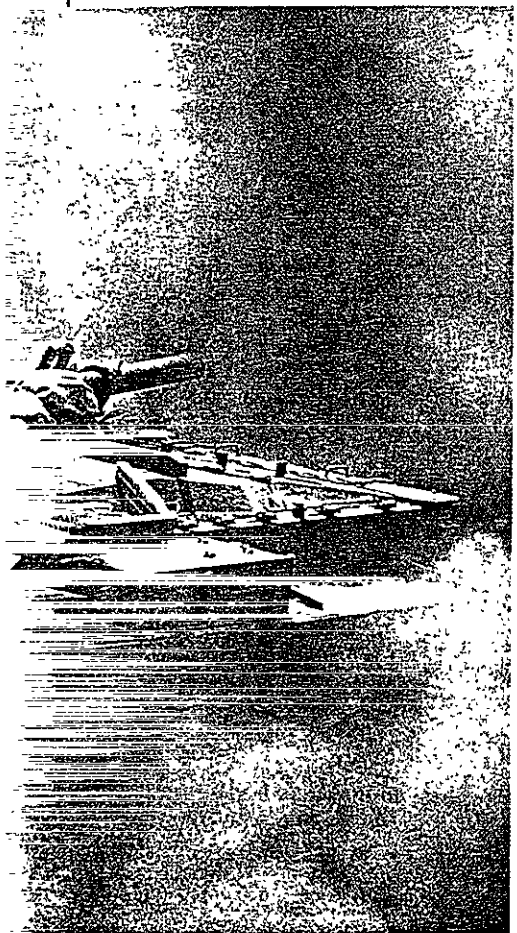
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Air drop ... are the Angolan charges true?

Their own security situation is also involved."

The next day *Beeld* reported Malan as having told them in an interview: "SA's security interests in the south of Angola are



of the utmost importance and its security forces will act according to the threat to it. In the present circumstances in Angola, where Russian soldiers are involved directly for the first time, SA still only offers Unita material, humanitarian and moral support, but the situation is changing fast and this position is revalued accordingly. Military intervention is not excluded."

This week a delegation from the Department of Foreign Affairs was sent to Washington to brief US officials on the Angolan situation. Diplomatic sources were quoted as saying the delegation would seek US support for a South African decision to step up its support for Unita.

Intelligence sources tell the *FM* the MPLA's target is undoubtedly Jamba, Unita's main base and operational headquarters in Quando Cubango province, not far from the Caprivi border. Jamba in "liberated Angola" is also a town with some 10 000 inhabitants and an extraordinarily sumptuous infrastructure: a hospital, workshops, fuel depots, briefing room, and so on.

There are several reasons why the MPLA has never tried to attack Jamba. It is logistically a difficult task: the ground force would have to be large, and would have to travel several hundred kilometres through guerrilla-infested bush to get there. Air attacks would not be as effective, and Jamba has an extremely effective system of anti-aircraft guns and missiles. What is more, it is barely within reach of the air base at Lubango in the east; and there has always been the fear that South African Mirages stationed at Mpacha or Ondangwa air bases in northern Namibia could interfere. Angola does not have many MiG 23s, and the MiG 21 is obsolete. Almost as valuable as the aircraft are their pilots.

Jamba's strategic focus

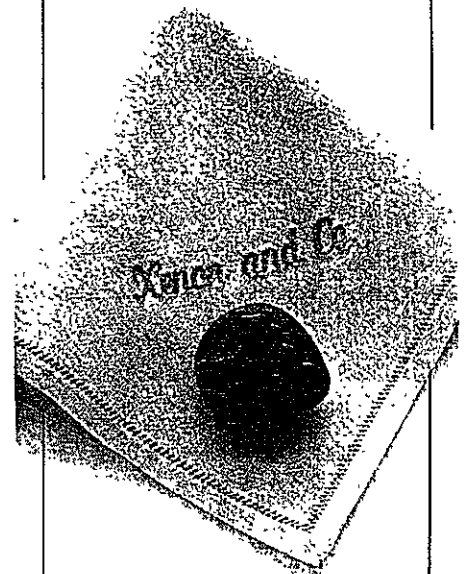
The loss of Jamba would be a very heavy blow to Unita. Says Pretoria University's strategic studies expert Mike Hough: "The loss of Jamba would be a massive psychological defeat for Unita and a big morale booster for the MPLA." The movement would have to go back into the bush.

It thus seems fairly certain that the SADF will step in and defend Jamba in the event of a full-scale MPLA offensive. And that could be a drawn-out and bloody battle. According to Savimbi, the MPLA force is formidable, with Cubans manning the rearguard, the helicopter gunships and the MiGs; and Russians the tanks, armoured cars and heavy artillery.

The Angolan government says the SADF's crack 32 Battalion, consisting mostly of black, Portuguese-speaking ex-FNLA soldiers, who can easily pass as Unita fighters, are already fighting in the Mavinga area and that the MPLA force have been attacked several times by South African Air Force strikes.

Hough says Malan has, in his recent statements on Angola and Unita, "crossed his own Rubicon," and defeat for Savimbi would

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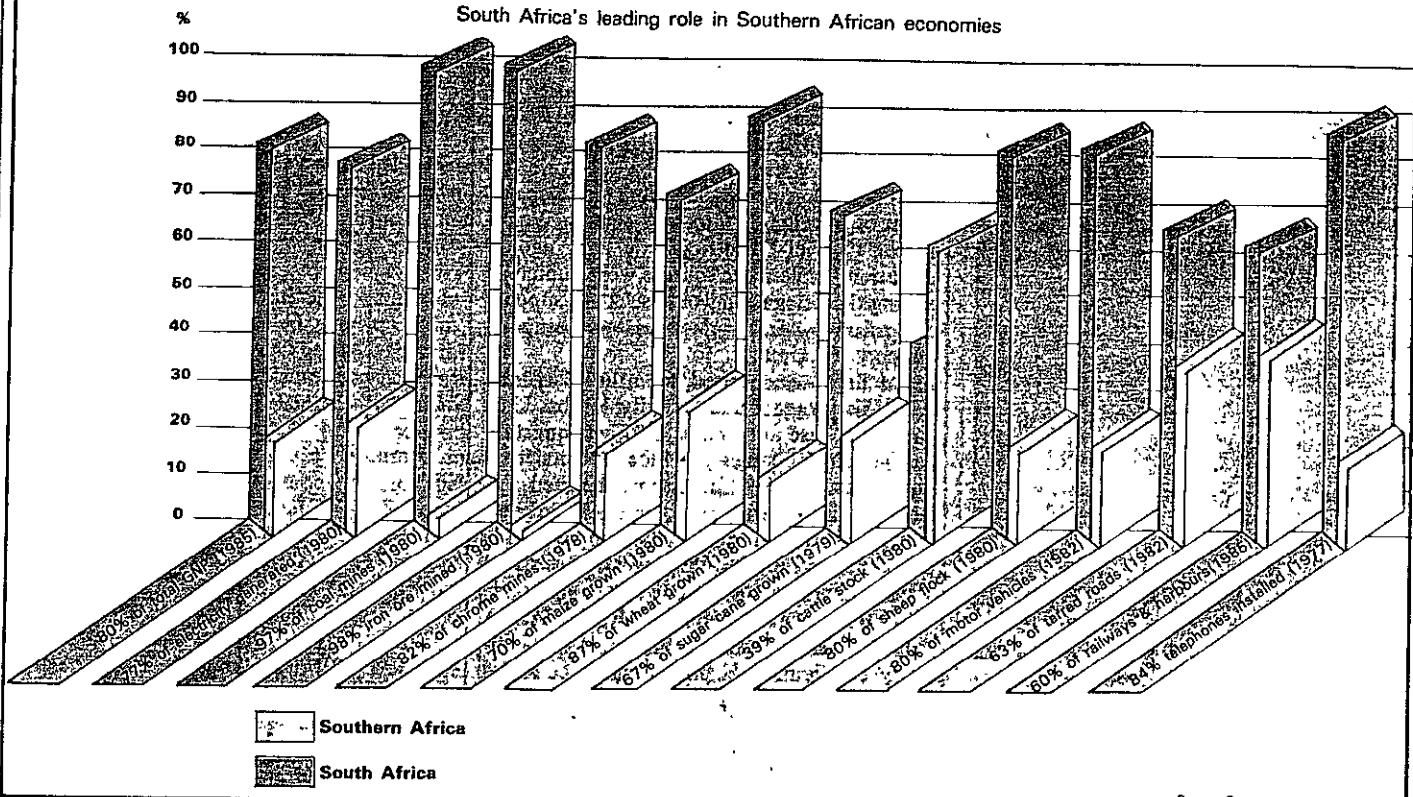
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Source: Department of Foreign Affairs

now also be seen as defeat for SA. Institute for International Affairs director John Barratt agrees that a South African intervention could cause a serious escalation of the war. He points out that South African intervention in Angola in 1975 caused a substantial stepping up of Cuban and Russian involvement in the region.

Why did the MPLA choose this time for their biggest onslaught ever against Unita? Barratt sees two possibilities. Either the MPLA and their Russian and Cuban allies calculated that SA is too weak at the moment, because of internal turmoil, to undertake a big pro-Unita operation; or they reckoned SA's international position is such that it will get no sympathy for its actions anywhere. That could lead to a repeat of the 1975 adventure when SA had to retreat, more or less humiliated.

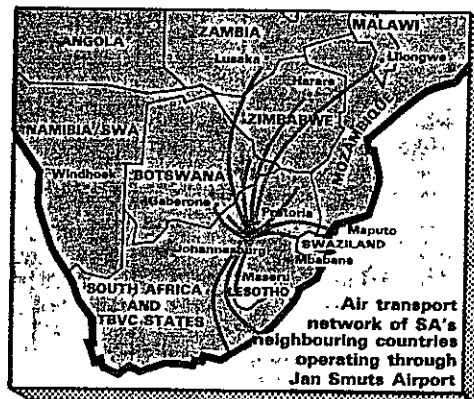
The US is in a dilemma over Angola. On the one hand the administration is clearly sympathetic to Unita — it recently had the Clarke Amendment (prohibiting aid to Unita) repealed, and it wants the Cubans out. At the

same time it does not want to upset the MPLA too much because of economic considerations — mainly the Gulf Oil operations in Cabinda. It is unlikely that the US — in the present climate of strong anti-SA public opinion — would be prepared to openly back SA and Unita.

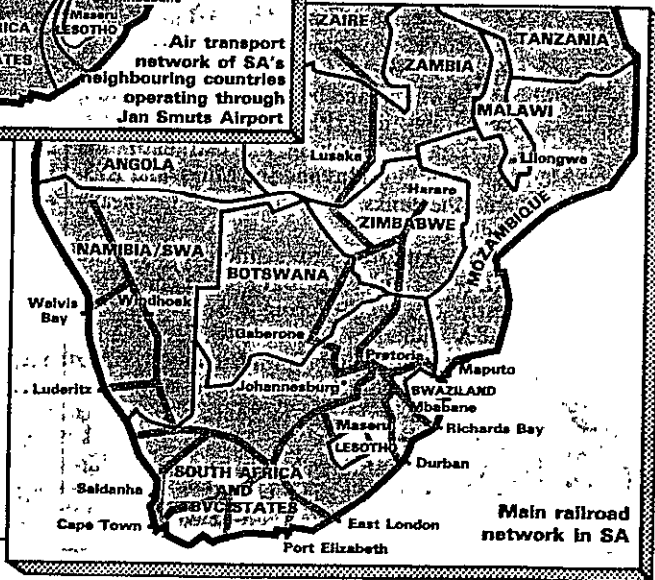
It must be asked: why is Savimbi so important to SA? Why does Malan say SA's security interests in

southern Angola are "of the utmost importance?" Hough suggests that in Pretoria's perspective a stable Angola would only be possible after a political settlement between the MPLA and Unita, a precondition of which would be the withdrawal of the Cubans. SA, so the argument continues, wants a stable and non-hostile Namibia when it eventually has to let the territory go — and that would be unlikely with a large Cuban and Soviet presence in Angola. With the Marxist MPLA in full control and a Marxist Swapo government in an independent Namibia, a formidable Soviet satellite bloc would have been forged that could eventually extend its influence to Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

THE TRANSPORT NUB



Air transport network of SA's neighbouring countries operating through Jan Smuts Airport



Main railroad network in SA

The argument obviously has some merit, but also several fundamental flaws. With its present deteriorating internal economic and political situation, SA will not be able to hang on to Namibia for very much longer. All indications are that Swapo would win an election by a landslide. And when Namibia goes, Unita goes — because SA will not be able to prop it up any more. Also, an independent Namibia would be highly dependent on SA economically. As for Angola, it will take years to recover from the ravages of war.

What is more, indications are that Swapo is not exactly the

most dedicated Marxist movement around. Even if it were, present attitudes of the Marxist governments in Zimbabwe and Mozambique towards SA should be telling Pretoria something. The old fear of ANC bases in southern Namibia ignores totally the fact that the areas north and south of the Orange River are semi-desert and sparsely populated: hostile territory for guerrillas.



Another thought: if SA could conclude a peace agreement with Marxist Mozambique, why not with an independent Namibia and even Angola itself?

Says Barratt: "It is time to sit down and think hard and long what is in SA's interest and what not. It is time for an unemotional, realistic assessment of exactly how important Unita is to SA."

On the wider regional front, government's credibility, very low after the SA commando raid on Cabinda, received a fatal blow with the admission that material and moral support for the MNR continued for 18 months after Nkomati. Foreign Minister Pik Botha was desperately seeking to save the Accord at a last-minute Komatipoort meeting with the Mozambicans late last week.

The disclosures were dramatic. A South African submarine fetched an MNR general from the Mozambique coast; another MNR leader travelled by Navy ship from Mozambique to Durban; tons of "humanitarian" and other aid were dropped at MNR bases; and Deputy Foreign Minister Louis Nel made several secret visits to the main MNR

base deep in Mozambique.

Most of this information comes from the diary of one J Vaz, secretary to MNR leader Alfonso Dhlakama, found by Frelimo soldiers when they overran the main MNR base, Casa Banana, at Gorongosa on August 28. The Frelimo government followed this up with a long list of violations of their air space by South African aircraft, and is now sifting through other operational documents and agendas of meetings between SADF officers and MNR men.

Botha said the extracts from the Vaz diary were correct in broad terms, but that no weapons were sent to the MNR. The aid

given to the MNR was mostly "humanitarian," such as fuel, seeds, blankets and medicine. The excuses were unconvincing.

Malan admitted that the SADF had regular radio contact with the MNR in Gorongosa, and that it gave the MNR army radios for use by their units throughout the country. But he denied that the SADF and its officers do not wholeheartedly support the Accord, saying there is no question of any officers being disloyal to government.

Botha and Malan, and later State President P W Botha himself, maintained that although there were "technical violations" of the Accord, the motivation behind it was always to try to bring the two sides together for talks on a ceasefire.

That could be true of Minister Pik Botha, maybe even of Deputy Minister Nel. But the evidence is just too strong to believe that the SADF had only that as its motivation.

Another factor: the animosity between



General Viljoen ... the 'follow-up' got bigger

Malan and Botha at the briefing for political correspondents on the Nkomati violations was tangible. Barratt says: "There are clearly strong differences in government on the Nkomati Accord. They obviously appreciate the advantages it has as far as the ANC is concerned, but I doubt if they are all 100% behind the Accord."

The graphs on page 38 clearly illustrate SA's undisputed position as the regional powerhouse. Without SA, our neighbours will suffer terribly. That in itself is enough guarantee that if our leaders keep cool heads, we will not be threatened by our neighbours.

Economic leverage

That SA could bring the Frontline states to their knees "within weeks rather than months," as Harold Wilson once said in another context, is widely acknowledged. SA's trump card is the regional transport infrastructure. It is estimated that five countries — Botswana, Malawi, Zambia, Zaire and Zimbabwe — rely on SA's transport system for about 85% of their imports and exports. The five have bulk trade of some 15 Mt annually of which, under present conditions, about 2,5 Mt go along non-South African routes — 1,7 Mt using the Tazara link from Zambia to Dar es Salaam and 800 000 t using Beira. If SA were to pull out the transport plug, Zimbabwe — 90% de-



Unita's Savimbi ... his front line is Jamba

pendent on the South African system, Zambia, about 50% dependent and Botswana, totally dependent — simply couldn't survive.

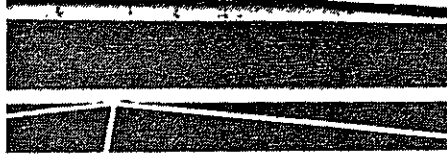
Even without applying transport sanction, Pretoria has a range of other options at its disposal. It could seriously damage Zimbabwe's manufacturing industry, for instance, by terminating the preferential trade agreement. Last year Zimbabwe sold 15% of its exports to SA and it would be impossible for Zimbabwe to find alternative markets in the medium term. And Zimbabwe has every reason for continuing to import heavily from SA given the unrealistic exchange rate whereby one Zimbabwe dollar is worth 150 South African cents

Costs of war

Mozambique, with 60 000 migrant workers in SA, and Lesotho with 146 000, are also extremely vulnerable to South African counter-sanctions. Almost every country in the region benefits from SA's short- and long-term credits. R80m in such short-run credit lines were outstanding early this month, while a further R200m were outstanding in long-run credits.

There are several other important considerations that government needs to bear in mind:

- SA is moving into a period of extended instability as decades of apartheid are dismantled and black anger and frustration erupt. The last thing SA needs in the next few years is unstable neighbours;
- SA is, in the days lying ahead, going to need the goodwill of the West, and especially the US, very badly indeed;
- SA faces a medium-term future prospect of very little foreign capital. It will have to generate its own for development and growth, and exports are the obvious answer. Our black neighbours cannot afford to boycott South African imports; and so we can



Frelimo's Machel ... all the moral credit he needs

export goods to them that we cannot export to the West. But then these neighbours must have healthy economies — and stability is a precondition for that; and



MNR's Vaz ... very embarrassing diary

□ War is expensive. In our present economic crisis, the ideal place to cut government spending is in defence. That can only be done if you are at peace with your neighbours.

Pretoria has for too long been dominated by people who have a kneejerk "send in the troops" reaction when something doesn't go according to plan. Right now the last thing we need is super-hawks calling the shots. We need cool heads and sober thinking. ■

BANKING SUPERVISION

A stitch in time...

The recent short-term debt crisis and problems experienced by local banks operating in foreign countries have brought home the urgent need for a new approach to banking supervision in SA. Now that the dust has settled, the problem is clearly more complex than many originally thought.

It runs to the heart of the debate over the proper mix of monetary and fiscal policy, and drives home the lesson that long-term objectives should not be sacrificed for shorter-term political gain.

The urgent need for a new look at banking comes against the background of foreign debt which could be higher than the \$22 billion owed to foreign banks. A senior banker has suggested that the figure could be some 30% higher — that is if inter-company loans are taken into account.

The blame for SA's debt crisis has many sources — in large part political. The emphasis is now shifting towards supervision of banks' borrowing policies.

But at present the issue is extremely sensitive and accurate information hard to come by.

For example, in recent weeks, it is believed the Reserve Bank has intervened in the international clearing system a number of times to smooth matters out, particularly when foreign banks have intercepted money destined for South African banks operating overseas. But no further details are available.

Says Reserve Bank Deputy Governor Ja-

pie Jacobs: "The fundamental weakness of South African banks' foreign operations has been a mismatching of funds by borrowing short and lending long."

Foreign banks have for some time been scrutinising SA's foreign debt position, apparently because of concern that a serious bottleneck could develop in repayment. This, they saw, could result from the growing short-term nature of the country's debt.

As early as last year, officials from the Bank of England visited SA to discuss certain banking matters with the Reserve Bank. Although denied by Pretoria, it is believed that some thorny issues were on the agenda, including the foreign operations of South African banks which were seen as becoming increasingly aggressive and unacceptably risky.

W/FAAGS 28/9/85 (5) (24)

'Little chance' for SA in war

SOUTH AFRICA did not stand "even a whisper of a chance" of solving its internal problems if it became involved in a regional war against countries backed by the Soviet Union, the Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, has said.

He said in a statement yesterday that he had observed with "growing disquiet and apprehension" the way in which the Government had responded to the escalation of Soviet interest in Southern Africa, particularly in Angola.

"Obviously Soviet expansion in this part of the world is cause for alarm, and it is extremely important that South Africa does nothing to provoke or increase it," he said.

"Therefore it would be sheer folly to use such expansion as a propaganda ploy to drum up a kind of white unity against some external "total onslaught" and to draw attention away from our internal instability.

Soviet interest

"Equally, it would be the grossest delusion of grandeur to create the impression that South Africa can take on the Soviet might in preventing its increasing involvement in Angola."

The PFP had warned repeatedly that nothing was calculated to provoke Soviet interest in this part of the world more than any South African involvement in destabilising its neighbouring countries.

This involvement also made South Africa "totally vulnerable and diplomatically indefensible" in the international community.

"It is pointless for the State President to object to 'unnecessary interference' in our internal affairs if his Government is prepared to interfere militarily in the internal affairs of Angola and Mozambique," he said.

Dr Slabbert asked what the Government hoped to achieve with such 'adventurism'.

"Does it seriously think that the United States will come to its aid in South Africa's open support for Unita? Especially as South Africa gives such support from an internationally highly disputed territory such as Namibia."

"Does it seriously think that by showing how it is fighting communism outside our borders it will gain any sympathy for the manner in which it is trying to do away with apartheid at home?"

CAF 10/1
28/9/85

Dangers of 'provoking' Soviet interest

By BARRY STREEK

NOTHING was more calculated to provoke Soviet interest in Southern Africa than if South Africa was involved in destabilizing its neighbours, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, warned yesterday.

In a sharp attack on the government's regional policies, Dr Slabbert said the government, by its own admission, had been or was busy doing so in Angola and Mozambique.

He also said South Africa should stop pretending to be a regional superpower that could afford to intervene in the domestic affairs of its neighbours.

'Disquiet'

In a statement yesterday, Dr Slabbert said he had observed with "growing disquiet and apprehension the way in which the government has responded to the escalation of Soviet interest in Southern Africa, particularly in Angola".

"Obviously Soviet expansion in this part of the world is cause for alarm, and it is extremely important that South Africa do nothing to provoke or increase it.

"Therefore, it would be sheer folly for the government to use such expansion as a propaganda ploy to drum up a kind of white unity against some external 'total onslaught' and to draw attention away from our internal instability.

"Equally, it would be the grossest delusion of

grandeur to create the impression that South Africa can take on the Soviet might in preventing its increasing involvement in Angola.

"We have warned repeatedly that nothing is calculated to provoke Soviet interest in this part of the world more than if South Africa is involved in destabilizing its neighbouring countries," Dr Slabbert said.

Destabilization meant the active intervention in the internal affairs of another country and its disruption socially, economically and politically.

"By our own admission we either have been, or are busy doing so, in Angola and Mozambique.

"This admission makes us totally vulnerable and diplomatically indefensible in the international community.

Interference

"It is pointless for the State President to object to 'unnecessary interference' in our internal affairs, if his government is prepared to interfere militarily in the internal affairs of Angola and Mozambique," Dr Slabbert said.

"To solve our domestic difficulties is a challenge of gigantic proportions.

"If we become involved in a regional war against those with superpower backing, we do not stand even a whisper of a chance of meeting that challenge. Especially if we insist on respect for international conventions which we disregard ourselves."

SA-Angola

CAPC Trinks 30/9/88

— war

warning

Own Correspondent

LISBON. — The guerilla conflict in Angola may soon widen into a full-scale regional war drawing in South Africa if the escalating involvement of Soviet combat troops in Angola is not halted.

This warning was given here at the weekend by Mr Alcides Sakala, a Unita spokesman.

Alarm

Unita's alarm was sounded amid growing signs that the rebels are having serious difficulties resisting the current 45-day-old Angolan Government offensive against them.

Luanda has already succeeded in driving Unita from the eastern Cazombo area, which the rebels controlled for more than two years, and is pushing strongly towards Dr Jonas Savimbi's main base at Jamba 16km from the SWA/Namibian border.

The Angolan news agency Angop reported in Lisbon that Dr Savimbi's base had been moved across the frontier into the South African-controlled Caprivi Strip, hailing this as a major victory in the 10-year fight against the rebels.

Both Mr Sakala and authorities in Pretoria denied the claim.

Mr Sakala said Unita would soon release doc-

umentary proof of the size of the Soviet military presence in Angola. He claimed it stood at around brigade strength and said there had been a qualitative change in Angolan strategy since Soviet combat troops had moved into the front line.

Danger

"We would not be surprised if South Africa, determined to defend its interests in the region, decided to make war on Angola to force the Soviets out. There is a clear danger of the conflict escalating to unprecedented levels because of the massive Soviet involvement in Angola," he warned.

Similar concern about the Soviet presence in Angola was voiced in Washington this week after South African diplomats flew there to brief US officials on the situation.

'Soviet threat'

Meanwhile, reports from Luanda reaching Lisbon show that Angola also fears a major attack. Angolan Government officials were said to be concerned about the repeated South African references to a "Soviet threat".

"They have used this pretext before for major incursions. We seem to be seeing a renewed build-up of pressure by Pretoria," one official said.

The Angolans formally denied that Soviets or Cubans were leading the struggle against Unita but admitted their advisory role.

The reports from Luanda also claimed that South Africa's Buffalo battalion had not withdrawn from southern Angola, and had been involved in violent artillery duels with troops near Mavinga last week.

Deterred

Angola has previously been deterred from attacking Jamba by the superior air-power of South African squadrons stationed in Caprivi and providing air cover for Jamba.

However, sources in Luanda say the Angolans have been reinforced by sophisticated Soviet equipment and feel able to confront South Africa in the air.

The consequences of such a battle could be traumatic and are clearly worrying South African strategists and Western observers.

Angola SA's Vietnam?

ARE US 30/9/85



The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, says the answer is a clear "No". JOHN D'OLIVEIRA, Editor of Argus Africa News Service, reports

WILL Angola become South Africa's Vietnam?

Will South Africa's commitment to Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Unita rebel movement draw her deeper and deeper into a "foreign" war that she cannot win?

Will military action against Swapo put South Africa eyeball to eyeball with the mighty Soviet Union.

According to the South African Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, the answer to all these questions is a clear "No" because he believes South African military commanders and their political bosses know the dangers and they understand the high stakes that are involved.

Sitting in his office in Pretoria, General Malan explained the three major military considerations involved in the Angolan situation: the "limited" military action against Swapo, the "moral, material and humanitarian aid" to Unita and the massive accumulation of sophisticated communist military material in Angola.

Clear

On Swapo, the general said the South African position was clear: "If, contrary to the Lusaka Agreement, Swapo is allowed to build up a presence in the area covered by the Lusaka Agreement, we will be forced to take action ... of course, only against Swapo itself.

"Nowhere else in the world has a bush war been tackled with this level of sophistication. "Is this prepositioning of military equipment to be used, ultimately against South Africa?" "I personally believe

that the Russians want to develop a firm, stabilised base in Angola and then use the equipment and the personnel positioned there wherever necessary in the sub-continent."

Including South Africa? "If you look at our massive reserves of strategic minerals, don't you ask yourself whether this mineral treasure house is not the cherry on top of the African cake?"



General Malan

"We will discuss more about the weaponry later. "There is a political and military price to pay for almost everything ... for instance, we warned that we would hit Swapo supply lines and we did hit those supply lines previously. When Swapo was allowed to integrate their supply lines with those of Papia (the Angolan military force) we warned that we would hit the combined supply lines and we did.

Weaponry?

"As a result, an anti-aircraft system was set up which was obviously to our disadvantage. But this was a price we had to pay in order to disrupt Swapo's supply lines in order to protect the local inhabitants ... on balance I believe South and South West Africa's interests were well served."

What about the rest of the sophisticated weaponry? "In the five years ending in

"In the latest action against Dr Jonas Savimbi's guerrillas, it has been reported that the Angolans used MiG 23 aircraft and MI 25 assault helicopters. "Nowhere else in the world has a bush war been tackled with this level of sophistication. Again I ask: why. "Is this prepositioning of military equipment to be used, ultimately against South Africa?"

Well, is it?

Russians

"I personally believe that the Russians want to develop a firm, stabilised base in Angola and then use the equipment and the personnel positioned there wherever necessary in the sub-continent."

Including South Africa? "If you look at our massive reserves of strategic minerals

attack our country with conventional military forces, knowing that not a single country in the world will lift a finger to help South Africa because the communists would be acting against 'those white racists'."

Given the defence force commitment to seizing the initiative, must one take it that you will act against this weapons build-up?

"It depends on South Africa's security interests ..."

"But, if they should move the men and the material from the present position about 300km north of the South West African border to the immediate vicinity of the border, this will affect us directly."

"Because then they would be giving Swapo's terrorists a security umbrella under which they can operate. It will give Swapo the freedom of action to plan, equip, train, attack across the border ... withdrawal

her bit to sustain this anti-marxist force. The west will have to accept that it did not do its duty and that, as a result, a potent anti-communist force has been lost to us and to the west."

On to another issue. Do you not believe that the SADF's credibility in terms of information is now in tatters?

"Our credibility in this area may have been affected ... but let us look carefully at one or two specific issues. "There are people who say we have broken the Lusaka Agreement. "But the Lusaka Agreement dealt with a specific, clearly-defined area in Angola. The agreement had nothing to do with any other area ... we were addressing a particular problem in a specific area. "We agreed to a phased withdrawal while the other side made certain commitments.

"But we gave to the other side as well. For instance, we flew two Dakotas with medical supplies into Maputo to help Frelimo."

Reconciliation

"It was a question of getting each of the two sides into the

And your aid to Savimbi? "Savimbi is not part of that agreement. What we may or may not do to help Savimbi has absolutely nothing to do with that agreement. "But, let me add, what Swapo does outside the specified area also has nothing to do with the agreement, nor does the agreement deal with the Angolan government's aid to Swapo and ANC terrorists outside the area in question."

And the Nkomati Accord? "I can only discuss the specific allegations made by the Mozambique government and deal with in our meeting at Nkomati last week. "Maputo wanted the embattled parties in Mozambique to come together and we consulted with President Machel ... "I am satisfied that everything we did was aimed at facilitating reconciliation between Renamo and Frelimo."

"If you turn around now and say that the SADF, in its effort to bring them to the conference table, gave Renamo certain limited assistance, I will say: Yes, fine, I agree. "But we gave to the other side as well. For instance, we flew two Dakotas with medical supplies into Maputo to help Frelimo."

ANGOLA - GENERAL

1985

OCTOBER - DECEMBER

422 - PRIVATE HOTEL AND BOARDING-HOUSE TRADE, CERTAIN AREAS.

Superseding w.d. no's: 261, 263, 361 & 363

AREA A: Bellville, the Cape, Goodwood, Simon's Town, and Wynberg.

AREA B: Kuils River.

AREA C: Alberton, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Durban, Germiston, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Krugersdorp, Nigel, Oberholzer, Pinetown, Pretoria, Randburg, Randfontein, Rodepoort, Springs, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Westonaria and Wonderboom.
Municipal Area: Port Elizabeth.

AREA D: Paarl. Municipal Areas: Despatch, Sasolburg, Uitenhage and Umlanga.

AREA E: Bloemfontein, East London, Kimberley and Pietermaritzburg.

AREA F: Klerksdorp. Municipal Area: Beacon Bay.

Footnotes

1. Length of the week - Monday to Sunday

Angola alleges SA air attack

CAPE TOWN 1/10/78

LISBON. — Angola said South African aircraft attacked its forces in a south-eastern province early yesterday, killing more than 50 soldiers in an operation in support of South African ground troops helping Angolan rebels.

The Angolan Defence Ministry, quoted by the official Angolan news agency Angop, said more than eight South African aircraft also shot down six helicopters in the attack on Angolan forces in Mavinga area, Cuando Cubango province.

It said the aircraft acted in support of South African infantry troops, which it said were still inside Angola helping Unita rebels to resist a major government offensive.

Support

A SADF spokesman said from Pretoria last night that he had nothing to add to the statement made by Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, who had earlier stated "quite clearly that South Africa was prepared to render humanitarian, material and moral support to Unita".

The Angolan ministry

said the aircraft intervened as Angolan forces were engaged in combat with white South African troops after breaking through successive lines of Unita guerillas.

It added that South African aircraft had also violated Angolan air space by flying over the Mavinga area on Sunday and the day before.

'Pursuit'

South Africa has said its forces launched a raid into southern Angola on September 16 in pursuit of Swapo fighters. But Pretoria said the soldiers withdrew six days later after killing 15 insurgents.

Unita and South Africa have both denied a claim by the Angolan Government that the offensive by Angolan troops has forced Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to transfer his headquarters from Cuando Cubango province to South African territory.

Angola says more than 1 300 rebels have been killed in the offensive, which Unita says is being carried out by Angolan army brigades, Cuban troops and Soviet military personnel. — Sapa-Reuter

Slabbert queries control of SADF

CALL TIME 2/10/85

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ZYL
SLAB

From PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

JOHANNESBURG. — Documents released by the Mozambique Government this week cast a huge question mark against the government's ability to control its Defence Force, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

Dr Slabbert said if even half the allegations contained in notebooks captured from the MNR in Mozambique were true, it would be a "devastating comment" on the executive's ability to control the military.

Academics and observers agreed yesterday that, if the disclosures were true, the military could be in effective control of the country's regional foreign policy.

The documents include startling claims about the role of the Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, and senior officers in military intelligence, in violating the Nkomati Accord.

However, President P W Botha told the Cape National Party congress in Port Elizabeth yesterday that he believed General Viljoen when he denied having broken the accord.

Discredit

He said no communist attempt to discredit him or the former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, would succeed.

Dr Slabbert called for a "full-scale and thorough investigation" into the allegations.

"The allegations imply that not only did the head of the Defence Force contradict government foreign policy, but

was "calling the tune" in terms of regional foreign policy.

The documents, which disclose numerous military as well as cabinet violations of the Nkomati Accord, were made public in Maputo this week.

According to the documents, Mr Nel violated the accord on numerous occasions and the Deputy Minister of Law and Order and Defence, Mr Adriaan Vlok, supported the MNR "100 per cent".

'Technical'

The Frelimo government made the documents public two weeks after a South African investigation into Mozambican allegations disclosed that there had been violations of the accord. The South African Government said, however, that these were "technical" violations.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, did not dispute the authenticity of the diary, drawn up by Mr Joaquim Vaz, secretary to MNR president, Mr Afonso Dhlakama.

However, Mr Botha and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, denied the most serious allegations in the diary — the continued supply of arms to the MNR after the accord was signed and covert support for the rebels from the military.

President Botha said he was confident the accord could be maintained if both sides were prepared to carry it out in both the spirit and the letter of the accord.

'Honourable'

On the allegations against General Viljoen, Mr Botha said: "Whatever you say of him, you can surely say that he is an honourable and brave officer."



Mozambique's Minister of Security, Colonel Sergio Vieira, releases the documents on the SADF in Maputo on Monday, deliberately and systematically undermined it". He said the status of the allegations had to be established.

"If not, the impression that the SADF is a wild card working to its own agenda will increase and make a mockery of the domestic reform programme as well as the government's claim that South Africa is a source of regional stability."

A research officer with the South African Institute of International Affairs, Mr Brian Bench, said that it would appear that the SADF

Soviets and Cubans succeeded in Angola, SWA-Namibia would be the next to follow, then Botswana and then South Africa.

Mr Botha appealed to other countries in Southern Africa to support his call for the removal of all foreign troops from the region and to stand together against the presence of Soviet and Cuban troops.

"As soon as they do that (leave Southern Africa), I will be prepared to keep all South African troops in the Republic," he said.

President Botha said he was prepared to sign agreements, like the Nkomati Accord, with other countries, including Angola, to incorporate provisions that their respective territories would not be used for attacks on neighbouring countries.

However the PFP chairman and acting leader, Mr Colin Eglin, yesterday said that Mr Botha's attempt to justify South Africa's active involvement deep inside Angola was "deeply disturbing".

"I must warn against the danger of turning Angola into South Africa's Vietnam, with its forces trapped and its young men dying in a no-win war on foreign soil," he said.

"South Africa's involvement inside Angola will intensify, not reduce, Soviet involvement in the region. The government must realize that the best bulwark against Soviet imperialism is to be found not in military escapades in foreign countries, but in the strength of a united apartheid-free South Africa," he said.

"I asked him in front of witnesses whether he was guilty of transgressing the accord. He denied it and assured me that he had kept to the government's decisions."

"I believe General Viljoen."

BARRY STREEK reports from Port Elizabeth that Mr Botha also said that South Africa could not ignore the increasing involvement of Soviet and Cuban troops in Southern Africa. He warned that if the

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To page 2.

Angola (5) in plea to Security ^{STAR} Council _{2/10/85}

UNITED NATIONS — Angola has asked for a meeting of the Security Council to consider an alleged South African air raid on Angolan territory on Monday in which it claims 50 of its soldiers were killed.

The request was made in a letter yesterday from the Angolan Ambassador, Mr. Elisio de Figueiredo, to the US Ambassador, Mr. Vernon Walters, who is president of the Security Council for the month of October.

The Council will meet today to consider the request.

In Lisbon, Unita claimed yesterday that its forces had killed 139 Angolan, Cuban and Soviet troops in the past three days and had shot down four Soviet-built helicopters.

In a note distributed to reporters, Unita claimed ground-to-air missiles fired by its forces near Mavinga yesterday shot down four Angolan helicopter gunships.

It said its forces killed 120 Angolan regulars, seven Soviet troops and 12 Cubans in fighting in the same area on Sunday.

Unita losses in the same action, it said, amounted to 27 dead and 85 wounded.

But the Angolan Defence Ministry announced yesterday that six of its helicopters had been shot down earlier in the day — by attacking South African warplanes, not Unita ground fire.

Hours after the Angolan announcement, Unita claimed it had downed the helicopters. — Sapa-

AP

Unita claims major victories as Angola accuses SA

R. Day

SOUTH AFRICAN-backed Unita forces in Angola yesterday claimed their units had killed 139 Angolan, Cuban and Soviet troops and shot down four Soviet-built helicopters in fighting over the past three days.

In a note distributed to reporters in Lisbon, Unita claimed ground-to-air missiles, fired by its forces near the southern town of Mavinga, shot down four MI-25 helicopter gun-ships of the Angolan Air

Force. The note, signed by Unita's Chief of Staff, said Unita forces killed 120 Angolan regulars, seven Soviets and 12 Cubans in fighting in the same area on Sunday.

Unita losses in the action, it said, amounted to 27 dead and 85 wounded. As the battle continued yesterday, SA State President P. W. Botha was declaring in Port Elizabeth that government could not remain inactive while Russians

and Cubans were involved in subjugating the people of Angola.

He called on SA's neighbours to join forces to get rid of the foreign military presence on the sub-continent.

The Angolan Defence Ministry, which has charged SA troops are backing up Unita in the Mavinga action, announced on Monday that six of its helicopters had been shot down by attacking SA war planes, not Unita ground fire.

Hours after the Angolan announcement, a Unita statement, issued through the SA Defence Force, claimed the Angolan rebels had downed the six MI-25s.

South Africa, which admitted for the first time 10 days ago it supported Unita, has denied Angolan charges that it sent its troops into southern Angola on September 16 to aid beleaguered Unita forces in the Mavinga area.

According to SA officials, that incur-

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sion ended on September 22 after the destruction of ammunition dumps and supply lines of Angolan-based Swapo groups.

The Unita statement issued yesterday also said an Angolan government report that the rebels had been forced to abandon their bush headquarters at Jamba, 210km south of Mavinga, was untrue. — Sapa-AP.

5) B. Day 3/10/85
Move to give Unita \$27m

WASHINGTON — Congressman Claude Pepper introduced legislation yesterday to give anti-Communist rebels in Angola direct United States aid for the first time in a decade.

The Florida Democrat filed a Bill to provide \$27m in so-called non-lethal aid to Jonas Savimbi's Unita group, a spokesman for Pepper said.

Congress cleared the way for the move by voting earlier this year to repeal a ban on aid it imposed in 1976, after the Central Intelligence Agency was found assisting Unita and another pro-Western group in their unsuccessful

bid to block Marxist nationalists from seizing power in Luanda.

Congress this year has acted increasingly to back anti-Communist movements around the world, approving \$27m in aid for anti-Sandinista guerrillas in Nicaragua and \$5m for anti-Communist groups in Kampuchea.

Pepper's aide said the Congressman wanted support for the Angolan rebels on the same lines as that given by the US in Nicaragua.

"There are Cuban fighters in both areas and the Soviet Union is also involved," the aide said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Swapo rejects SADEF claims

2 3 5

BY WEEKLY MAIL
REPORTER

Windhoek 3/10/87

SWAPO (South West African People's Organisation) claimed this week there was "absolutely no truth in the South African claims that its forces fought nine armed encounters with Swapo combatants during a recent strike into Angola".

In a statement released in Lusaka on Wednesday, the Swapo secretary of information, Hidipo Majutenya, also denied that 15 Swapo combatants had been killed, and large quantities of ammunition captured.

"There has not been a single encounter between Swapo forces and South African troops inside Angola during the last seven days, and the claim that a 'forward base' had been destroyed was equally unfounded," the statement said.

"The attacks were directed at units of and positions of Fapla, the Angolan Army, and there is not and never has been any presence of Swapo guerrillas in the province of Cuando-Cubango where Angolan Army positions have been under attack."

The statement also quoted the Angolan News Agency, Angop, denying that any guerrillas had been killed or captured in Southern Angola, saying:

"There was not one person South Africa could present to the Press as a Swapo fighter captured in Angola in the past seven days."

The reaction followed a statement issued last weekend by the SWA Territory Force (SWATF) claiming there had been nine encounters with Swapo insurgents in the vicinity of Nehone and Evale, about 100km inside Angola. Fifteen Swapo combatants had been killed and 49 captured, and a forward command post destroyed, the statement said.

The SWATF later confirmed that the operation included "action inside Namibia itself."

TEN YEARS ago Portugal left behind a vast country of eight million people with one of the lowest literacy rates and most pitiful infrastructures on this continent. In addition, for more than two decades, war, first with Portugal and Unita, then with South Africa and Unita, has meant a desperate haemorrhage of Angola's people and resources.

The United States spent millions of dollars trying to prevent the MPLA coming to power 10 years ago. And Washington has refused diplomatic recognition to Angola ever since. In the last three years, while the US has pursued "constructive engagement" in Southern Africa, a key aspect of their policy has been to coerce the MPLA to negotiate with Unita, whose leaders have been frequently feted in Washington. Then in June this year, US hostility to the MPLA came further into the open with Congress' repeal of the Clark amendment forbidding US aid to Unita. "The Reagan Administration has been a catastrophe for Southern Africa," said Lucio Lara speaking in Luanda immediately before the South African invasion.

Angola's own economic catastrophe is the party's top priority. The departing Portuguese broke the country's distribution system and bequeathed an entirely dependent economy. Shortages, queues and a thriving black market are the everyday life of Luanda and a brake on all administration. In the countryside peasants lack the most essential goods from seeds and tools to paraffin, salt and soap, and agricultural production is down.

An elegant Mediterranean-style palace overlooking the sweep of Luanda's peaceful bay houses the Ministry of Planning. Not one telephone is working. All statistics are highly approximate. The minister is Lopo de Nascimento, a veteran of the anti-colonial war, imprisoned by the Por-

tuguese, and the MPLA's first Prime Minister after independence. With the serenity of those who take a long view of history, he describes the economy as one where "everything is an urgent priority". Half a million Angolans are in urgent need of food, and 80 percent of them are displaced from their homes, according to UN officials. These people have no shelter, clothing, blankets or cooking materials. Uncounted thousands more are existing on the very margin of subsistence over the borders of Zaire and Zambia.

Angola is high on the list of the UN Emergency Office for Africa: R24-million required for emergency survival needs, R20-million for logistics needs ranking next to Ethiopia and Sudan and an 80 000-ton cereal shortfall ranking after Ethiopia, Chad, Mali, Niger and Mozambique.

But unlike all those countries, Angola has wealth — oil, diamonds and coffee. President Eduardo dos Santos said recently that the war has caused more than R24-billion worth of economic destruction. Military spending absorbs between one third and one half of the budget.

"Without this war Angola would be a paradise," said Lucio Lara. "Angola has paid — our people have paid — for all of Africa in the liberation of South Africa."

That price is being paid in many ways. Random death strikes at any time — a child blown to pieces playing with a grenade on a Luanda street earlier last month, a Catholic priest and nun killed by Unita while driving patients to a hospital in the southern province of Cunene a couple of weeks before, eight people killed by a bomb laid on a Huambo street a few days later.

But there is nothing random about the more devastating economic destruction wreaked on this country by South

Africa during the past decade. Last week in a court in Luanda an elderly Portuguese citizen was sentenced to death for economic sabotage. The case of this shipping agent from the port of Lobito and four Angolans is a graphic illustration of South Africa's methods.

Holiday

On holiday in Portugal, Amilcar Freire was contacted by the South Africans and then went to South Africa for two months. As he returned through Angolan customs his sophisticated radio equipment attracted attention and got him watched. The court case revealed how he had been radioing to South African security details of all ship movements in the port of Lobito. Based on his information an attempt to blow up a Cuban ship leaving Lobito for Luanda a year ago led to the sabotage instead of two other ships by South African frogmen.

The South African-organised group also monitored all cargo inputs at

the port and their shipments up the Benguela railway. The railway has been sabotaged again and again in recent years and military escorts now accompany the trains taking supplies to the highland town of Huambo which has been one of the focal points of terror against civilians.

The destruction on this line, which should be the lifeline to empty eastern Angola and western Zambia, has always been claimed by Unita. However, this court case exposes Unita's complete dependence on South Africa. There have been pointers in the past: in May, a South African, Captain du Toit, was caught red-handed trying to blow up the Cabinda oil refinery and two weeks ago a South African military doctor was killed with Unita in Mexico.

Against this background of systematic insecurity organised with all South Africa's high-tech military expertise, it is unrealistic to expect any fundamental improvement in the Angolan economy in the short

Spotlight on war-torn Angola

A PARADISE LAID WASTE BY STRIFE

Special Correspondent

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Spotlight on war-torn Angola



PARADISE AND WASTE 'STRIFE

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PRESIDENT Jose Eduardo Dos Santos.
term. However the Party Congress will produce important economic policy changes, according to Lopo de Nascimento. "There will be some decentralisation, giving power to regions, to managing directors, and an attempt to foster initiative. Only better planning, organisation and management can accelerate production."
Diamond production has fallen by about one half in recent years, coffee production is down from 180 000 tons to 17 000 and maize from 300 000 to 20 000 in the last decade. Only Sonangol, the state oil company responsible for 90 percent of export earnings, is a visible economic success story today.
On the high plateau outside the southern town of Lubango, with its impregnable air defence system, there is a vision of what Angola's agriculture could be with capital, security and expertise. Orchards of peaches and oranges frame 25 000 hectares of pasture grazed by thousands of cattle.
Fernando Borges, the farm-owner, is one of the few landowners who did not flee at independence. His farm used to belong to a famous South African family — the Bothas. One niece of the present prime minister lies buried under the eucalyptus trees of this farm which, by coincidence, bears the other name most hated in Angola today — Jamba. This was also the name of the bush outpost on the Namibian border which Mr Botha made Savimbi and Unita's "capital". — Guardian News Service.

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Friday, October 4, 1985 ★

British abuse over SA troops in Angola

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — South Africa told the UN Security Council that its forces were right now confronted with a major Soviet-directed offensive sweeping down from Angola — and received in response abuse, with Britain among the most scathing in assailing Pretoria's credibility.

His voice rising, British delegate Sir John Thompson expressed "deep indignation" over South African military operations in the area.

"We find it incredible that the South African authorities fail to perceive how dangerous such behaviour is to their own national interests and security, to say nothing of others," he told the council yesterday as South African Ambassador Mr Kurt von Schirnding watched impassively.

Moments earlier, the South African envoy had told the council that So-

viet-led forces supported by Soviet-piloted warplanes were on the move and that "even now, Swapo is sending major units southward as part of the Soviet-directed offensive".

Lost in the welter of heated rhetoric was a fresh South African call for resumed talks with Luanda.

Back in the Security Council dock for the second time in a fortnight and expressing much the same righteousness as Israel — in alternating sessions — has been doing in justifying its long-range air strike on the PLO in Tunis, South Africa sprang a surprise by tabling a draft resolution.

Doomed

This sought to have the council demand the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola "forthwith and unconditionally" and to request states to refrain from interfering in that country's domestic affairs "so that self-determination

can at last be achieved".

Without a council sponsor, the draft seemed doomed to act only as the butt of delegates' wit.

"We agree," Sir John responded, only to mock heavily the proposals as hypocritical and applicable in the first place to Pretoria itself. "What business then do the South African forces have in Angola fighting the legitimate government?" he asked.

Angola told the council how the September 28 air strike smashed into its forces near Mavinga just as they were breaking through the third and final defensive positions of Unita.

In reply, Mr Von Schirnding called the need for the resumption of direct talks between Pretoria and Luanda "more urgent than ever" and he described his proposal for a total foreign troop withdrawal as a "sincere and serious" attempt to bring peace.

SA forces still in action

STAR

Angola

5/10/65

LISBON — The Angolan Government has denied its forces retreated from a battle with rebels earlier in the week and repeated charges that South African ground and air forces were fighting alongside the insurgent Unita movement, reports monitored in Lisbon yesterday said.

A spokesman for the South African Defence Force said last night he had "nothing to add to the numerous statements already made on this subject".

And a statement issued in Lisbon by Unita repeated the rebels' claim on Thursday that their guerilla troops had forced government units into retreat near the southern city of Mavinga on Monday — and denied South African forces were taking part in the fighting.

In a dispatch from Luanda, the Angolan capital, Angola's official news agency Angop quoted a Defence Ministry statement as saying "fighting between (government) forces and the South African army are continuing in the Mavinga region".

The Ministry statement, released in Luanda late on Thursday, said South African air raids, using Canberra aircraft, "left dozens of dead and wounded" among government forces on Tuesday and Thursday, while "South African artillery" targeted Angolan positions in the area on Wednesday.

The Ministry said the South African attacks also destroyed an unspecified number of Angolan army vehicles and downed an Angolan air force Soviet-built MiG-21 jetfighter.

SOVIETS JOIN CUBANS

On Thursday Unita claimed its forces forced the Angolan troops into retreat on Monday in the fighting outside Mavinga. The rebels, whom South Africa has admitted supporting in their nine-year bush war against Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's MPLA government, claim Soviet forces have joined Cuban back-up troops fighting with the government units.

The Unita statement yesterday said rebel forces outnumbered government troops by a margin of six to one in the Mavinga battle.

"This fact explains the demoralisation of the Russians, Cubans and (government) forces and their hasty retreat," the note said.

Unita guerillas, it said, had captured 37 government troops on Tuesday, the day after fighting allegedly broke off.

Calling on the United Nations to "take note of" a call by the Organisation of African Unity at a meeting in Addis Ababa on January 21, 1976 for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola, the rebel movement said its fight against the MPLA government "will go on as long as the Russians and Cubans hold on to the idea they can impose a minority regime on the Angolan people".

The Unita note then called on the United Nations to permit a spokesman from the movement to address the world body on the rebels' behalf.

"The MPLA doesn't even represent Luanda, let alone the rest of Angola," it said.

In closing the statement, signed by the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, called on the United States, Britain, and the People's Republic of China to "thoroughly examine the Angolan conflict... an apparent repetition of the group's calls earlier this week for Western support. — Associated Press

SA told
CAPL Tim 9/10/85
to get out
of Angola

From RICHARD
WALKER

NEW YORK. — The Security Council delivered a unanimous call on South Africa on Monday night to get out and keep out of Angola and it recommended helping that country strengthen its defences to cope with the Republic's "escalating aggression".

The United States went along with the other 15 members in approving the resolution — the third such call this year and the second inside a month — but registered an abstention on the call for more defence aid.

More weapons meant more death and more misery for Angolans, said US Ambassador Vernon Walters. He spoke out strongly against Pretoria's strategy, which he said was "exacerbating an already volatile situation".

The British delegate called South Africa's actions in Angola "inadmissible".

CONTINUED

Unita rebels claim major victory in repelling government offensive

9/10/85 (5) STAR

LOMBA RIVER — The rotting corpses of Angolan government soldiers and their charred Soviet weaponry bear witness to a major victory for the Unita rebels in the bush of south-east Angola.

At the end of September, on the banks of the Lomba River about 270 km north of the Namibian border, the South African-backed rebels, led by Dr Jonas Savimbi, turned back a government offensive in bloody fighting.

The battlefield is strewn with the corpses of soldiers of the Marxist Luanda Government and with their wrecked equipment, including armoured personnel carriers and a Soviet Mi-25 helicopter gunship complete with rocket pods.

Amid trees pock-marked with shrapnel, a fully-loaded multiple rocket launcher, a "Stalin Organ", has been exploded by heavy mortar fire.

In a camouflaged bunker near Mavinga, away from the stench of death on the battlefield, Dr Savimbi told reporters

that he was receiving increasing international support after indications that Soviet soldiers, as well as their Cuban allies, had helped to direct the offensive.

Dr Savimbi, currently based at Jamba close to the border with South African-ruled Namibia, has been fighting the Marxist Government in Luanda since Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975.

He said the aim of the now-routed government offensive was to use Mavinga, which has a major airstrip and was captured by Unita four years ago, as a staging point for an attack on Jamba.

Dr Savimbi put his own casualties since August 15 at 410 dead and 832 wounded, and said Luanda had lost more than 2 000 killed, including nine Russians and 38 Cubans, as well as 22 aircraft and scores of vehicles.

"It is my conviction that the Russians wanted to test the will of the West," said Dr Savimbi. He added: "In the past

four weeks we have received more sophisticated weapons than in 10 years of war."

Supplies, among them anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, came from various sources including South Africa and the Arab world.

Dr Savimbi denied Angolan Government allegations of strikes by South African aircraft and ground forces to support Unita, although the massive logistical support supplied by Pretoria — including ammunition, trucks, rations and medical help — is evident in the war zone.

Help is also received through neighbouring Zaire.

Dr Savimbi said one reason for the offensive by government troops, now apparently retreating north-west towards Cuito Cuanavale, was a split in the ruling MPLA between those who favour talks with Unita and those who did not.

The hardliners wanted to finish Unita before a major MPLA congress in December, he said, while the current inter-

national vulnerability of South Africa gave an added impetus.

Dr Savimbi said his forces had failed to capture any Russians but he displayed a Soviet-trained pilot whose MiG-21 jet was shot down.

Francisco Matamba (22), who speaks fluent Russian, said he had flown 45 missions in Angola, including 20 bombing raids on Mavinga. He said he had never seen any South African planes and supported Dr Savimbi in saying that Russians were piloting some of Angola's jets.

Unita troops are confident and seem well-disciplined and highly organised, although few see a quick end to the war while Angola's major cities remain in the hands of the Government, supported as it is by Soviet weapons and about 25 000 Cuban troops.

Dr Savimbi said that the government forces, despite being mauled in the offensive, were likely to attack again and he appealed to the West for help. — Reuter.

No U S aid for S A

IN TRYING to divine what Dr Chester Crocker and his colleagues are up to, it is often useful to pay closer attention to their silences than their utterances.

Right now they are not saying much about what is going on in Angola. They admit that there is an 'escalation' in the civil war and that Soviet men and material may be playing a larger-than-usual role. They have condemned Pretoria's latest intrusion, observed that negotiation might be more fruitful than fighting, and expressed, rather mildly, 'concern' about Soviet 'actions ... which could have an effect on our relationship'.

5) ~~6)~~ 9/10/85 against Soviets in Angola *Mercury*

Washington Letter

Simon Barber



This relative muteness could suggest that the Reagan Administration has decided to exploit the recently repealed Clark Amendment to restart surreptitious backing for Unita but doesn't want anyone to notice because what Washington doesn't need at the moment is to be seen doing something that coincides with Pretoria's interests.

Infinitely more plausible, however, is the notion that the State Department does not particularly mind what is happening to Dr Jonas Savimbi, even if it means Soviet involvement considerably deeper than at any previous point in 'constructive engagement's' five-year span.

Indeed, the administration may even be perfectly candid when it insists that it only wanted the Clark Amendment repealed because it disapproved, on principle, of congressional intrusion

on the President's foreign-policy powers.

From Dr Crocker's perspective a major military setback for Unita poses no problem, and could even be a positive blessing. The more decisive the better, in fact. If only 'the rainy season' could be delayed.

The reason is clear: all other avenues towards achieving the Cuban troop withdrawal that all sides, Luanda included, have agreed will unlock implementation of UN resolution 435 have failed — thanks in large measure to South Africa. As the Cabinda episode last June and the new evidence that Pretoria brazenly violated the supposedly hallowed Nkomati Accords have both amply demonstrated, South Africa is simply not a credible negotiator.

Which is to say, any hope of Pretoria and Luanda coming to terms on a package involving

some form of Cuban withdrawal in return for South Africa promising to end support for Savimbi and start the 435 clock ticking — well, forget it. If South Africa can't even sever its ties with the shadowy and unconvincing Renamo how can it ever be trusted to abandon its best friend in the region, the only African leader to attend the inauguration of the new constitution, Jonas Savimbi?

Short of matching the Soviet Union bullet for bullet to end the stalemate in Savimbi's favour, thereby stirring up an impossibly risky confrontation on a piece of real estate neither superpower is all that desperate for, the Americans realistically have only one option: let Moscow cut both Unita and South Africa out of the action and in the meantime get back to wooing the MPLA with the kind of blandishments that seem to be working so effectively with Mozambique.

Very clear

It is very clear to Pretoria that it can expect no sympathy from the United States if it fails to heed the lessons of Operation Askari and tries to commit main forces to bail out Savimbi.

As an administration official put it with what sounded like satisfaction: 'South Africa will be stretched in its ability to deal with the situation. They've been claiming they're the regional superpower. Well, now they're up against the real thing.'

If Unita can be defanged to the extent that the MPLA feels itself to be securely in charge of its territory and able to deter any South African incursion, then Luanda may finally be willing to start sending home the foreigners. The Russians and the Cubans will be able to boast they saved the revolution, and the Americans to welcome their second largest sub-Saharan trading partner in from the cold.

Pretoria has already had to learn that President Reagan is not the set-in-concrete ideologue he is often said to be: not only did he do a complete *volte-face* on sanctions, but he actually meant it. Now his Secretary of State George Shultz is saying that the US must be 'cool and rational' in dealing with marxists.

Made sense

Backing pro-Western guerrillas in Nicaragua made sense in its own context, he told the National Committee on Foreign Policy in New York last week, but could not be a paradigm for US policy against every Soviet satellite.

'The wide range of challenges we face requires that we choose from an equally wide range of responses: economic and security assistance, to aid for freedom fighters to direct military action when necessary. We must discriminate, we must be prudent, we must use all the tools at our disposal.'

In Angola, one of those tools may well be Moscow itself.

Unita claims major successes as it hits provincial capitals ⁵

LISBON — Unita rebels said today they had attacked and damaged an airport and a railway depot in two Angolan provincial capitals, killing more than 70 government troops in these and other actions over the last two weeks.

A statement by Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), issued in Lisbon, said the rebels destroyed a fuel dump, three buildings and radar antennae on September 27 in a raid on the airport at Luena, in eastern Moxico province.

On October 4, Unita guerillas attacked the central depot of the Benguela Railway Company in the central provincial capital of Huambo, destroying machinery, a locomotive and three carriages, the statement said.

It added that 13 government troops and one Cuban soldier guarding the installations were killed.

The rebels said that on October 6 they shot

down five helicopters in south-east Cuando Cubango province. Eight helicopter crewmen were killed and one captured in the action. Unita said it had won a major victory in the same area against government forces last month.

STAR 10/10/85
Unita, which has been fighting the marxist government in Luanda since Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975, said it captured the town of Hote in the coastal province of Kuanza Sul on Monday, killing 52 government troops and three Cubans.

The rebels said this week that they had turned back a government offensive in bloody fighting last month in the Cuando Cubango province, killing more than 2 000 government troops including nine Russians and 38 Cubans as well as destroying 22 aircraft and scores of military vehicles.

Unita put its losses in the fighting at 418 dead and 832 wounded. — Sapa-Reuter

(5) B Day
10/10/85

Angolan town is ravaged by the war

MAVINGA — Mavinga's decorative purple-blossomed jacaranda trees are blooming, but the town itself is an empty shell, victim of a 10-year-old African civil war that shows no sign of ending.

Not far from the overgrown fountain and the shattered buildings of this former Portuguese settlement in southeastern Angola, the bodies of dead soldiers rot in the sun, crawling with flies and maggots.

The sandy earth just outside the town is honeycombed with camouflaged bunkers and foxholes, a Unita stronghold.

Jonas Savimbi's South African-backed forces recently routed a major offensive by the Marxist Luanda government, stopping the attackers in their tracks on the Lomba River just north of Mavinga and its vital airstrip.

But the Unita victory, costing hundreds of casualties on both sides, does not seem to have brought an end to the civil war any closer.

Unita guerrillas can move freely in many parts of this sparsely populated country, but the government, supported by sophisticated Soviet weaponry and about 25 000 Cuban troops, holds the major cities and the crucial offshore oil industry.

Difficulty

Savimbi acknowledges the difficulty of an outright military victory for his Unita forces and says he is trying to press the embattled government of the MPLA to negotiate with him.

"We need a transitional government ... then from there I think we will ask for elections," he told reporters in Mavinga. "I am not a soldier by profession.

I am a guerrilla leader. I have to combine politics with military knowledge.

"I am not afraid of anyone. I represent the biggest tribe in this country (the Ovimbundu)."

Savimbi, who previously fought the Portuguese colonists, came into conflict with the MPLA in the Angolan in-fighting that followed the Portuguese withdrawal in 1975.

He says he is prepared to spend another 10 years in the bush.

Savimbi's men appear to be confident, well-disciplined and highly organised.

Unita says it numbers 50 000, against a total of more than 100 000 on the government side.

Luanda has blamed its recent defeat on the intervention of South African air and ground forces, while Unita soldiers deny such help and say that they are better motivated than the MPLA forces, many of whom are conscripts.

Wreckage

Unita also appears to have made devastating use of light and heavy mortars, pounding the enemy mercilessly for days in the battle at Lomba River and bringing down at least one Soviet-made helicopter gunship as it delivered supplies.

Among the wreckage of the MPLA's vehicles, a charred leaflet of military orders in Portuguese hints that all may not be well with the government forces. It urges officers "to combat theft and alcoholism" among the troops.

One of Unita's officers, a 29-year-old lieutenant who asked to be referred to only as David, said: "It's much more comfortable than life on the other side."
— Sapa-Reuter.

Soviets are fanning violence in Angola, says the United States

5 The Star's Foreign News Service

WASHINGTON The United States has again accused the Soviet Union of fanning violence in Angola.

3 The Soviet approach was in contrast to that of the United States, which sought a negotiated settlement to the problems of Southern Africa, said State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman.

Mr Redman had been asked for a response to reports from Angola which said Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi had asked for American assistance.

According to the reports, filed by foreign correspondents who visited the bloody scene of recent battles between Unita rebels and MPLA forces, Mr Savimbi said he wanted US aid to be on the same basis as the help Unita was getting from South Africa: "Humanitarian, material and moral."

STAR NO MILITARY SOLUTIONS 10/10/85

Mr Redman said: "We believe there are no military solutions. The only permanent solution is a negotiated agreement on Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola."

There had been no change in US policy on the question of aid to Unita, he said.

Although the Clark Amendment that prohibited the United States from supplying aid to Unita has now been repealed by Congress, the Reagan Administration has made no effort to assist the rebels.

Instead it has tried to act as a broker between the Angolan and South African regimes in an attempt to create conditions that would lead to Namibia's independence and a Cuban troop withdrawal.

Supplying aid to Unita is seen by administration officials as likely to lessen the chances of winning MPLA co-operation in the peace initiatives.

UN diplomats to visit Angola

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK — A nervous expedition of United Nations diplomats is bound for the Angolan war zone this weekend on a mission some of its members consider impossible and others highly dangerous.

Their brief from the Security Council is "to evaluate the damage resulting from the invasion by South African forces" up to and including the recent battle for Mavinga.

According to the Luanda government — disputed by Unita — it was South African firepower that repulsed the Angolan advance on the rebels.

South Africa claims that advance was directed by a Soviet general and supported by Soviet air cover. What all sides do agree on is that Mavinga remains outside government control.

On the expedition are three middle-ranking diplomats from Australia, Egypt and Peru all drafted — there were no volunteers — to accom-

pany them is a UN support staff of 12, ranging from secretaries to a civil engineer with experience in assessing war damage.

They flew out of Kennedy Airport last night and are due in Luanda tomorrow.

Secretary general Javier Perez de Cuellar was put in the awkward position of having to ask South Africa for its cooperation.

Could South Africa perhaps guarantee the party's safe conduct, he enquired of Ambassador Kurt von Schirnding less than 24 hours after the Security Council had blasted Pretoria with a get-out-and-keep-out ultimatum.

The approach drew unconcealed smiles from Mr Von Schirnding's staff and polite regrets from the ambassador himself.

Absolutely ruled out is any sort of approach to Unita, so the party will move south — if it does move south — with only the protection that Luanda can provide.

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, October 15 1985

Russians killed and helicopters damaged — Unita

LISBON — Angola's rebel Unita movement claimed yesterday that its guerrilla units planted a bomb that killed 12 Soviet military advisors, shot down an Angolan Air Force helicopter and damaged four others in separate incidents over the past week.

The Unita claims, contained in a statement distributed to reporters in Lisbon, came four days after the rebels claimed to have shot down another five French-built Alouette heli-

copters and a week after rebel leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi told foreign reporters his movement had repelled a six-week Angolan offensive in south eastern Kuando-Kubango province.

According to the latest Unita statement, four additional Alouette helicopters were "seriously damaged" by a rebel ground fire on October 7 over the Lomba River battle site in Kuando-Kubango where the group claimed it shot down the original five Alouettes a day earlier.

Another Alouette of the Angolan Air Force, the statement said, was shot down in northern Lunda Sul province on October 9.

A bomb placed in a barracks for Soviet military advisors in Huambo, capital of the central province of the same name, the note said, went off in the early morning hours of October 10, killing 12 Soviets.

In a separate action, according to

the Unita note, rebel forces attacked an Angolan army post at the town of Que in southern Huila province the same day, killing 17 government troops.

The Angolan Government has charged that South African troops entered southern Angola last month. They were said to be there to back up the beleaguered rebels in the Kuando-Kubango offensive — Sapa-AP.

Soviet arms build-up in Angola: Heated US row

American policy towards Angola has become the subject of a serious argument in the United States government. NEIL LURSSSEN of The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington

A HEATED dispute is taking place at top levels in the United States government over the best way to counter the massive Soviet arms build-up in Angola.

At issue is whether the US should continue its "honest broker" approach of trying to achieve a negotiated settlement that would include Cuban troop withdrawal and independence for Namibia — or whether it should stand firm against Moscow in the run-up to next month's superpower summit meeting and send military or humanitarian aid to Unita.

Powerful elements in the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon are said to favour the latter, perhaps even providing covert aid to the forces of Dr Jonas Savimbi in the same way that the US supplies anti-communist forces in Afghanistan.

Opposed to this plan is the State Department where Dr Chester Crocker and his top officials insist that a diplomatic solution is the answer with the US providing no military assistance to anyone.

The argument is taking place behind closed doors here, sparked off by a major policy review of the issue by the Reagan Administration and by a special intelligence assessment being made of the Soviet role and intentions in Angola.

However, details are leaking out now with the Washington Post referring to an "acrimonious inter-agency debate" between the administration's



Dr Crocker ... diplomatic solution is the answer

global strategists who want to demonstrate US resolve against the growing Soviet military role in Angola and the regionalists who are afraid that US aid to Unita will destroy diplomatic efforts in the region.

The dispute has been given added urgency by US preparations for next month's Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Geneva where some US hardliners want the US to stand firm against Soviet adventurism all over the world, including Angola.

They support their case with claims that Cuban troop strength has increased by about 5 000 since last year, up to a possible 35 000, and that the Soviets have sent highly sophisticated weaponry to the region including the latest equipment for tracking opposing forces.

Also playing a role in the dispute is the conservative lobby in Washington which has been angered by US support for marxist regimes in Africa, notably Mozambique.

According to the Post, rightwing Republican groups like the Conservative Caucus and the American Security Council are urging the administration to consider a trade embargo against Angola that could include a ban on US exports and as well as imports from Angola, notably oil.

If the new policy review opts for assistance to Unita, there is certain to be a furious political row in the US Congress similar to the quarrel over US assistance to anti-communist rebels in Nicaragua.

The Democrats will argue that such aid will bring the US into closer alliance with South Africa which supports Unita.

Ten years ago, after it was discovered that the CIA was secretly funnelling arms to Unita and the FNLA in opposition to the eventual winners, the MPLA, the Congress passed the Clark Amendment to cut off the supplies.

This year, to the anger of the MPLA regime, the Congress repealed the amendment, largely because of conservative pressure. But the State Department has declined to take the opportunity to send assistance to Unita. "We think that negotiating is the way to solve the problem," a senior State Department official said.

A bill asking for humanitarian aid to Unita has been introduced in the House of Representatives by a congressman from Florida where anti-communist fervour is high because of the close proximity of Cuba and a similar bill may be aired in the Senate soon.

18/10/85

Angola accuses SA of bombing raids

(5) ~~SA~~ B-Dary

LISBON — Angola said yesterday that South African warplanes had carried out further attacks on its forces to support Angolan rebels resisting a government offensive.

The Defence Ministry, quoted by the official Angolan news agency, Angop, in a dispatch received in Lisbon, said 10 SA Air Forces aircraft had bombed Angolan government positions in the area of Mavinga in south-east Cuando Cubango province on Wednesday. The ministry gave no details of casualties.

Angola has twice in the past month accused Pretoria of sending warplanes to attack its troops around Mavinga, where Angolan

forces had launched a big offensive against Unita rebels.

Unita claims to have halted the offensive and denies Angolan charges that it is receiving support from SA aircraft and infantry.

SA has admitted giving aid to Unita but denies it has troops directly involved in the fighting.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has formally protested to the United Nations Security Council about the alleged South African attacks and a UN commission arrived in Angola on Sunday to investigate the Angolan charges. — Sapa-Reuter.

SPECIAL FEATURES

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Annette Eve is Computer Mail's advertisement executive. You can contact her on (011) 710-2486.

ANGOLA

No peace in sight

FEATURE

After several weeks of grave concern in Pretoria and Washington, Angola seems to be more or less back to normal.

"Normal" meaning Jonas Savimbi's pro-Western rebel movement Unita is safe, for the moment, in the southeast of the country with its guerrillas operating in virtually all provinces, and the Marxist MPLA government is back to ruling from the capital and the bigger towns.

Two weeks ago, Unita, reportedly with support of the SA Air Force (SAAF), stopped a major MPLA military offensive in its tracks at a bloody battle on the banks of the Lomba river a few kilometres north of Mavinga.

The feared onslaught on Unita's nerve centre, Jamba — some 250 km further south — did not materialise. Nor did a massive SADF intervention or direct clashes with Cuban and Soviet forces.

Thus Angola is no closer to an end to the 10-year-old civil war. The battle only proved that the MPLA is unlikely to wipe out Unita militarily, even with Cuban and Soviet help, and that Unita can never seize power by force.

Suddenly, Savimbi's prediction late last year that he would be in Luanda by Christmas 1985 has lost all credibility. But his warning last week that he is prepared — and equipped — to fight for another 10 years does not.

As in most wars, truth was also the first casualty in the Angolan conflict. But, with the help of intelligence sources and war reports from the two sides, the following picture could be pieced together:

In June the MPLA government started a well-planned offensive against Unita in the central areas around Malange, and on the Benguela railwayline. It seems to have been largely successful, and shortly afterwards Cuban soldiers started replacing Fapla soldiers guarding the railwayline to make them available for the onslaught on Cazombo in the east — a town Unita has occupied for two years.

Intelligence sources maintain that SAAF C-130 aircraft flew Unita troops and equipment to Cazombo between September 2 and September 16, but shortly after the village of Caianda fell to government forces, the Unita troops lost Cazombo on September 18.

Fapla then started its main offensive on Mavinga from two of its army and air force bases in the south, Cuito Cuanavale and Menongue. At about the same time, the SADF announced an anti-Swapo offensive

into Angola.

SA denied having sent troops to help Unita, but intelligence sources allege that the anti-Swapo drive was merely a smokescreen for the troops sent to Mavinga.

These sources also confirm MPLA allegations that the mechanised Fapla columns advancing on Mavinga were attacked by SAAF bombers, and that SA's 32 Battalion fought with Unita till the end. (This unit consists mainly of black, Portuguese-speaking, ex-FNLA soldiers who can pass for Unita very easily.)

The two forces met in the Lomba valley just north of Mavinga, and the victory was Unita's. More than a thousand men died. The Fapla forces retreated to Cuito Canavale and Menongue, and Unita is still holding Mavinga.

Mavinga is strategically important. To force Unita back to ordinary guerrilla warfare instead of semi-conventional warfare, Jamba, has to be destroyed. Mavinga is the closest airstrip to Jamba and is also on Unita's main route of infiltration to the rest of Angola.

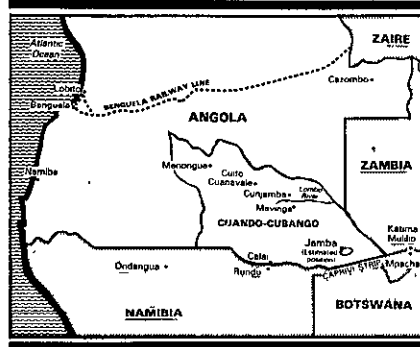
The only reason Jamba has not been bombed to pieces by the Angolan Air Force is that it is too far from air bases such as Cuito Canavale. A trip to Jamba, ten minutes of bombing and back is just about as much as the MiG-21 and MiG-23s can handle. If they get involved in dog-fights with SAAF Mirages, they will not be able to get back to base. Unless they operate from Mavinga.

That is the other reason why Jamba has not been bombed: the SAAF has Mirages and Impalas stationed at two major air bases very close to Jamba — Rundu in Kavango and Mpacha near Katima Mulilo in Caprivi. And the SAAF pilots are rated some of the best in the world . . .

Angola-watchers do not doubt that the MPLA will give Jamba another try, probably in the next dry season. Unita did lose many valuable men, equipment and some ground this time and, unless their Western allies jump to their rescue quickly and in a big way, the next round could be much easier for Fapla.

The one thing that is certain after this offensive is that Unita cannot keep Jamba without SA's help.

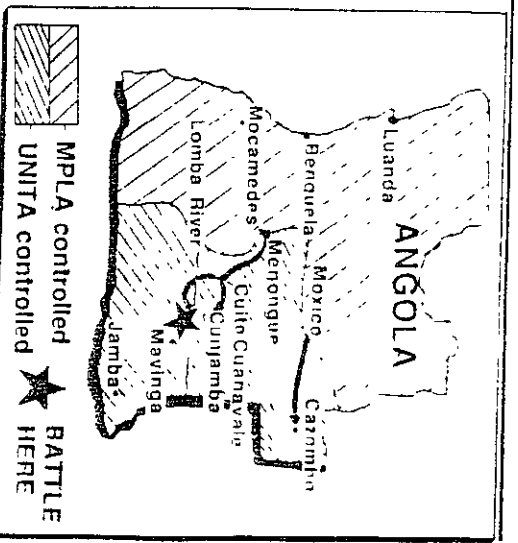
A major US diplomatic initiative to cool down Angola and to restart the SA/Angolan talks with a view to a Cuban withdrawal and Namibian independence is now expected. ■



Angola: First Inside Story

18/10/85

5
W. Mail



It has obviously been a major battle. The only question is, who fought it?

I was in a group of foreign correspondents who visited a battlefield at the Lomba River, nearly 300km inside Angola, on Monday. The flat hush country was strewn with the corpses of Angolan soldiers and the burnt out hulks of Russian-built armoured cars and troop carriers.

Unita claims to have won a great victory here over the past few days, turning back a determined attempt by the Angolan army, under the command of Russian officers, to drive through to Jonas Savimbi's headquarters at Jamba.

Savimbi told us at a briefing in a forward bunker that he had been able to repel the attack by massing his guerrillas in the area north of Mavinga, and that they had inflicted more than 2 000 casualties on Angola's Tupla army and destroyed vast quantities of Russian-made military hardware, including 79 vehicles, five big Mi-5 helicopter gunships and 16 other aircraft.

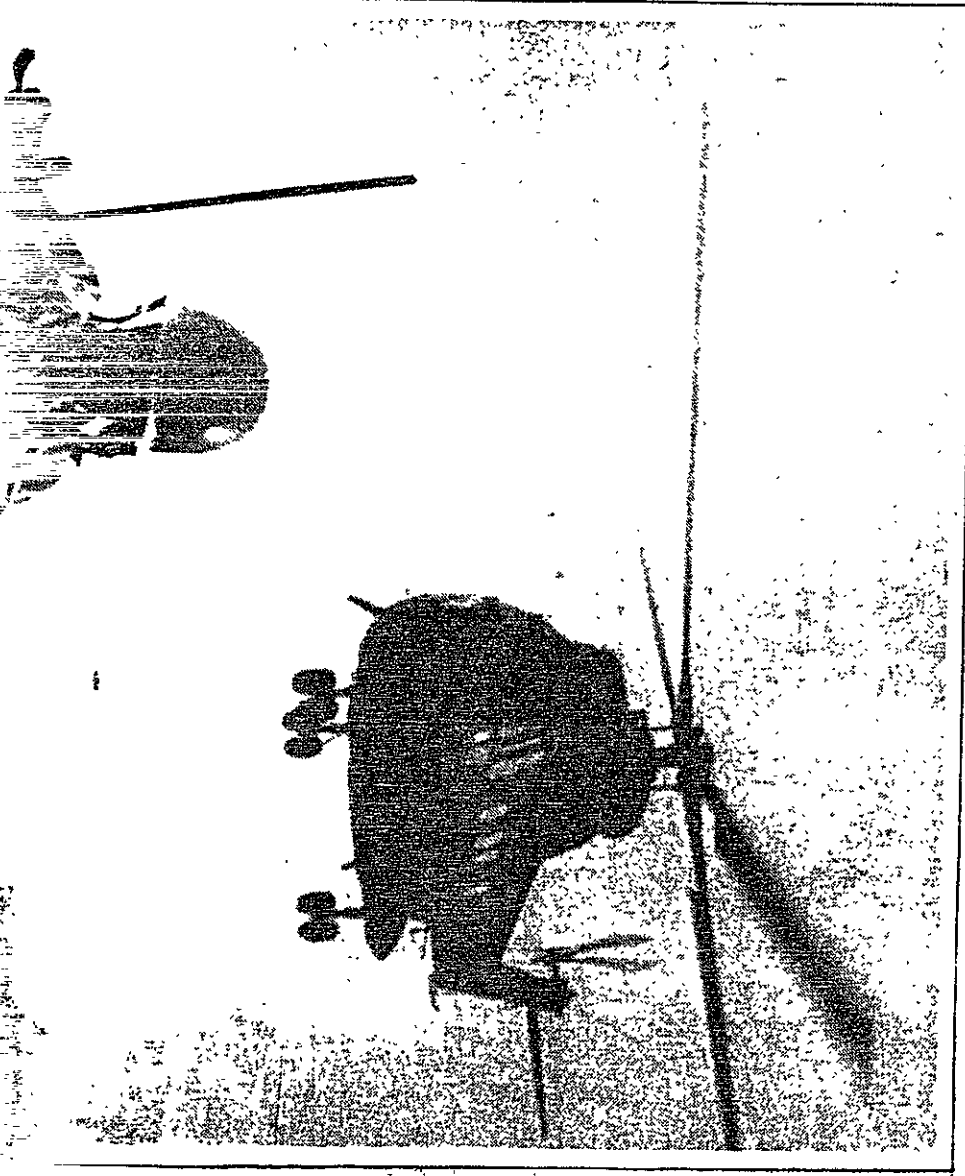
But as we were being given this account of the battle by Savimbi, a top Portuguese journalist was being given a different version by Angolan military commanders at the town of Kuito, a few hundred kilometres north of where we were.

He was told that the heavy damage and casualties which we saw had been

Two weeks ago, Jonas Savimbi looked a worried man. Today he is safe, at least for several months. Did he save himself, or did the SA Air Force save him? ALLISTER SPARKS gives the first details

It is also clear that this sudden mauling, which took place over a few days last week after a campaign that had lasted nearly two months, is what turned back the Angolan attack and saved Savimbi.

Two weeks ago Savimbi looked a worried man when he addressed a group of foreign journalists at Jamba, and some thought he hinted at the possibility of having to abandon his headquarters. Defence Minister



Portuguese version of the town of Kuito, a few hundred kilometres north of where we were.

He was told that the heavy damage and casualties which we saw had been caused by a series of South African air raids.

In a long telephone conversation between Johannesburg and Lisbon on Wednesday, the Portuguese journalist, Benjamin Formigo, foreign editor of the respected weekly Expresso, and I compared notes.

Clearly we had both been briefed by opposite sides about the same battle. Except for who inflicted the heavy damage on the Angolan column, other details and dates coincided.

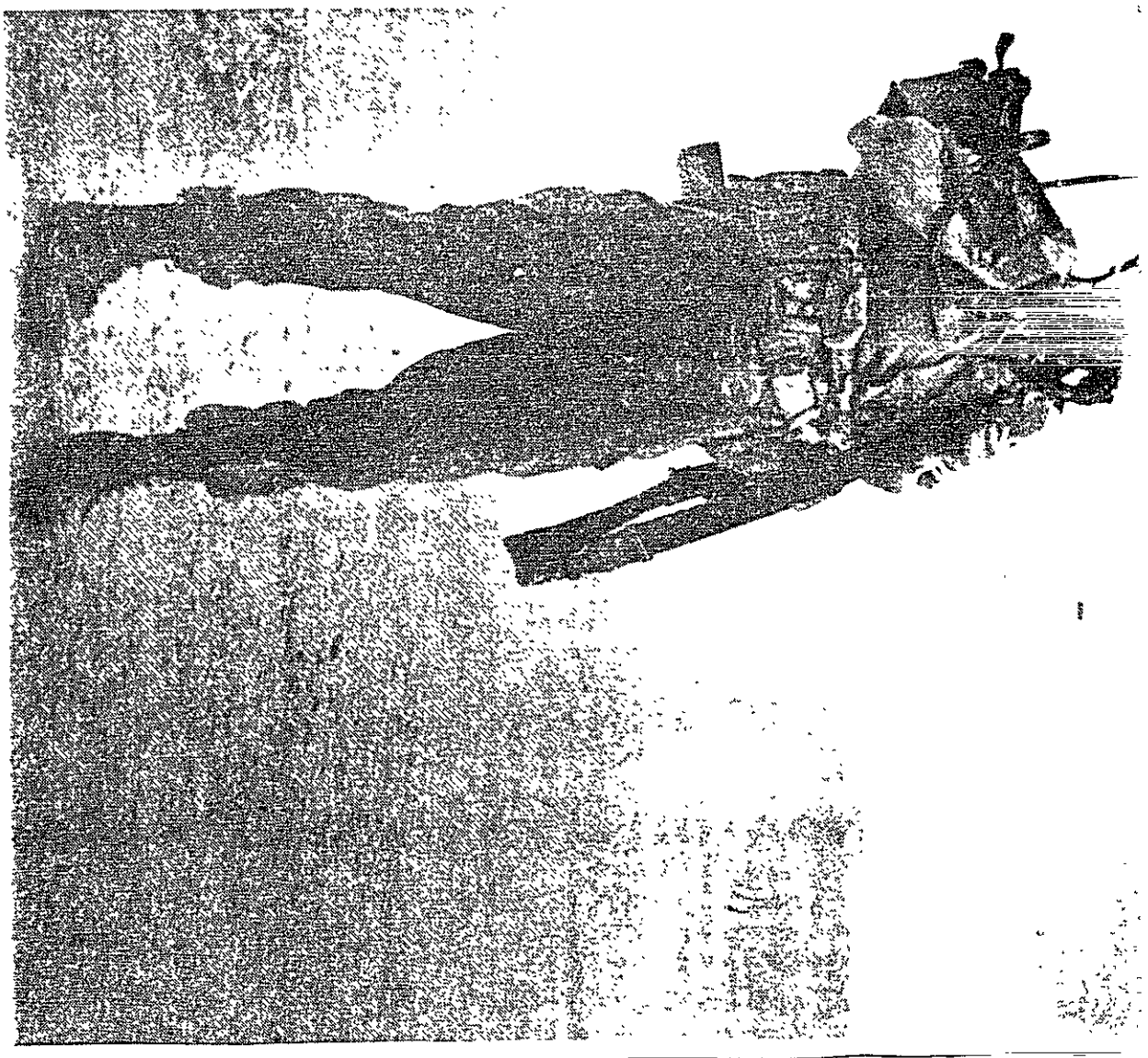
Two weeks ago Sawimbi looked a worried man when he addressed a group of foreign journalists at Jamba, and some thought he hinted at the possibility of having to abandon his headquarters. Defence Minister Magnus Malan also seemed worried at that time and spoke about the possibility of military intervention if South Africa's "interests in the region" were threatened.

Now the Angolan Army is retreating towards Unjamba, north of the Lomba. With Angola's tropical rainy season due to begin before the end of this month, another offensive at this stage is unlikely. Sawimbi is safe at least until the start of the next dry season in May.

Did Sawimbi save himself, or did the South African Air Force come to his rescue during those decisive few days last week?

Formigo was given the dates and precise times when the Luanda Government claims the SAAF carried out its alleged raid. They were:

- September 28, five South African planes raided Fapla positions at 0950 hours and again at 1748 hours.
 - September 29, two South African planes flew over the Fapla lines, presumably recording their positions.
 - September 30, eight South African planes strafed Fapla positions killing 50 troops, wounding hundreds and destroying six Mi-25 helicopter gunships. No time given.
 - October 1, six South African Canberras bombed Fapla positions at 0548 hours.
 - October 2, South African-made artillery, including 120mm mortars, heavy cannon and rocket launchers, bombed Fapla positions.
 - October 3, eight South African Canberras bombed Fapla positions at 0200 hours and again at 0430 hours.
- Defence headquarters in Pretoria declined to comment when I put these detailed allegations to them on Thursday. A spokesman said the
- TO PAGE 3



Looking for all the world like a Hollywood war-film, a helicopter bearing Deputy-Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok leaves Soweto after a meeting with mayor Edward Kunene.

Picture: TREVOR SAMSON, AFP

Angola: First inside story

●From PAGE 1

SADF had nothing to add to previous ministerial denials that South Africa had been involved in the fighting between Unita and Fapla.

It was impossible for the correspondents to verify either Luanda's claims about the South African air raids, or Savimbi's claim that the Angolan forces were commanded by Russian officers.

The extensive damage we saw was certainly consistent with an air strike, but it could equally have been caused by the well-armed and efficient Unita guerrillas who have armour-piercing rockets and a few portable Sam-3 ground-to-air missiles.

The large number of unburied bodies, and a group of about 20 big troop carriers that had been destroyed in one place, seemed to indicate a sudden, large-scale attack. Can guerrilla troops on the ground destroy 20 trucks all at once?

There is the question, too, about a wrecked Mi-25 helicopter gunship which we were shown. The Angolans told Formigo that six of these huge machines had been destroyed by the South African planes. The Unita officer who conducted us around the battlefield, Lt-Col Paulo Gato, told us the one we saw had been brought down by a 120mm mortar as it hovered low to pick up some Russians.

Is it possible to shoot down the biggest helicopter in the world with a mortar?

Savimbi emphatically denied he had received any active South African assistance, either on the ground or from the air, during the campaign. "There was not a single South African soldier here," he said. "We did not need it, we did not request it, and South Africa was not prepared to give it."

Savimbi told us he had hoped to put some Russian prisoners on display,

Picture: PETER KENNY AFB



UNITA soldiers show off a Soviet-built Mi-25 helicopter gunship, shot down on Monday.

but his guerrillas had been unable to capture any because the Angolan army had gone to great lengths to remove them from dangerous situations with helicopters.

In the event, we saw only two prisoners, both Angolans. One was the pilot of a Mig-22 who gave his name as Francisco Matamba, 22. He said Russians and Cubans were helping to fly the Angolan air force's Mig-21s, Mig-23s, Sukhoi SU-22 ground-strike fighters and Mi-25 helicopter gunships.

Matamba, who spoke Russian, said he was shot down by a Unita anti-aircraft cannon while flying a bombing raid on Mavinga on October 3. He said he had not seen any South African aircraft during the 45 missions he had flown in the campaign, although Angolan radar operators had told him they had seen some on their screens.

The visit to the Lomba River battlefield was the deepest any group of journalists have gone with the Unita rebels into war-torn Angola.

We flew in a chartered aircraft to a bush landing strip at Mavinga, the 42-year-old Dakota crossing at night and dropping to treetop height in the dark

to come in below the Angolan radar network, which can alert Migs based within easy range at Lubanga and Menongue.

The pilot switched off his navigation lights and ordered us not to show any illumination inside the lumbering old crate. "If they see us we're a sitting duck," he warned. He put the Dakota down between paraffin-flame flares on a runway which finishes in the main street of Mavinga, a shattered shell of a town which was once the capital of Angola's southern Cuando Cubango province.

After spending the night in underground bunkers as a safeguard against frequent Angolan air raids on the town, a Unita patrol took us in trucks along sandy bush tracks to the battlefield 40km further north.

According to Savimbi, the Angolan army launched its campaign on two fronts from the central town of Menongue on August 15.

One column, using the latest Russian T-62 tanks, moved east into the Cazombo salient which juts into neighbouring Zaire. It gained control of Cazombo town, and the plan was presumably for it to turn southwards later, linking up with the other

column.

The second column moved south to Cuito Cuanavale, where it split into two prongs, making a pincer movement towards Mavinga. This posed a direct threat to Jamba, 250km further south and close to the Namibian border.

Savimbi said the two pincers of the southern attack came together on the south bank of the Lomba River on September 7. By that time, he said, he had managed to concentrate his guerrillas in the area to stop it.

For nearly three weeks the two sides were deadlocked there. According to Savimbi, Unita launched a counter-attack on September 26 and after three days of heavy fighting the Russian commanders decided to withdraw across the Lomba.

But the Unita leader expects a renewed offensive some time. "The Russians are like the elephants," he said. "They will come back the same way, again and again."

Formigo agrees. He believes the way the campaign was halted will increase Russia's determination to help Angola against Savimbi, and deepen the Luanda Government's involvement with the Soviet Union.

WORLD

US opposes overt assistance to Unita

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration continues to oppose overt aid to anti-government rebels in Angola, according to Congress sources.

American officials are apparently still debating whether to request a secret aid programme, the sources said.

Angola, meanwhile, still maintains that South African-supported forces are mounting attacks on its vehicles and artillery.

US State Department officials noti-

fied Congress recently that the decision was made not to request a new, public programme of humanitarian or military aid to the rebels.

In addition, Secretary of State George Shultz notified House Republican leader Robert Michel that he opposes attempts by members of Congress to initiate such aid.

"The State Department doesn't like the idea of overt aid," one congressional source said yesterday. "There's lots of other ways the same thing could be done."

But at the same time, congressional officials, who are normally informed about administration requests for covert aid, said they did not know the outcome of an internal administration debate on the subject.

A senior Angolan government official said yesterday that recent attacks by South African planes and artillery against Angolan forces destroyed aircraft and vehicles and caused more than \$50m damage.

Angola has accused South Africa on several occasions in the past five weeks of sending warplanes and infantry equipped with artillery to attack Angolan troops fighting right-wing Unita rebels in Angola's southeast Cuando Cubango province.

Deputy Defence Minister Air Force Colonel Iko Carreira told a visiting UN commission in Luanda that six Angolan army helicopters and one air force MiG 21 fighter were destroyed in the attacks, reports the Angolan news agency Angop.

Fifty-seven motorised vehicles were also destroyed, and there was other material damage, Carreira said.

The UN commission began a 10-day visit to Angola on October 13 to investigate the Angolan allegations.

South Africa has admitted giving aid to guerrillas of Unita but has denied taking any direct part in the fighting — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

IN BRIEF

WASHINGTON — Pakistan's President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq said in Washington yesterday that Soviet and Afghan forces suffered about 70 000 casualties this year in Afghanistan. He added that Moscow must know it could not win a military victory there.

□ □ □

BEIRUT — Christian and Muslim militias battled across the dividing Green Line in Beirut yesterday. Three people died.

□ □ □

BOSTON — Smoking mothers gave birth to 31 000 underweight children in 1983 in the US. The cost of caring for these infants was about R420m a year, a Harvard study on smoking says.

□ □ □

TOKYO — Nearly 900 people were listed killed or missing in Vietnam after floods and typhoons in the past six weeks, Japanese reports say.

© Reports by Sapa-Reuter-AP

Dutch set to accept missiles

AMSTERDAM — The Dutch government is set to accept the deployment next month of 48 US Cruise nuclear missiles on its soil.

This will make the Netherlands the last of the five Nato nations to accept the missiles intended to counter the Russian SS-20 arsenal aimed at western Europe.

The alliance proposed the deployment of the missiles in Europe in 1979.

The Netherlands had previously accepted on the condition that Moscow increased its SS-20 deployment by November 1.

Latest Nato figures show 441 SS-20s are now in place compared to 378 in June 1984.

Public misgiving over the deployment in this traditionally anti-militarist country runs deep, while pacifist groups are probably more strongly supported and more active than in many other countries.

By linking the Dutch decision to an attempt at international arms control, the centre-right coalition government of Ruud Lubbers appeased much of the opposition to Cruise in the Christian Democrat Party.

The decision throws doubt on whether a stable government could be formed after general elections in May and it could lead to sustained unrest by anti-nuclear weapon protesters. — Sapa-Reuter.

Summit sanctions

Angola blames SA for Cuban presence

RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — President Eduardo dos Santos has blamed SA for the continued presence of Cuban troops in Angola and pledged himself committed to a policy he described as constructive peace.

Addressing the UN General Assembly on Tuesday, he appeared at pains to placate the West and especially the US.

Though sceptical of Washington's constructive engagement policy, "we appreciate all the initiatives for peace in Southern Africa".

He was almost apologetic on the Cuban presence, which he went to lengths to defend as something forced upon his government by the constant aggression of SA and its "surrogate", Unita.

He said SA armed forces had committed about 4 000 violations of Angolan territory and air space in the past four years and cited 168 air attacks, 100 substantial land incursions and four sea-borne attacks.

In the face of this, Angola had been "compelled to ask aid from friendly countries".

"The Cuban forces cannot constitute a threat to the states of the region, since they have never crossed our borders to infiltrate into neighbouring countries," he said.

"Their presence is therefore justified in terms of being a defensive support to the Angolan armed forces, until these attain a stage of full capacity that enables them to fight against major attacks."

Every time Angola made a "goodwill effort" SA launched new attacks, he charged.

Such a policy — to various degrees also directed against other Frontline States — was "reckless and dangerous", especially considering the way in which every South-

ern African country was increasing its economic links with the West.

With the Reagan administration close to a decision on aiding Unita, the Dos Santos visit is crucially timed.

Sapa-AP reports that supporters of US assistance to Unita yesterday complained about Secretary of State George Shultz's opposition to their plan.

"It's disappointing that the State Department bureaucracy has positioned themselves against support for freedom fighters," said Republican Representative Jack Kemp, who supports legislation to authorise \$27m in humanitarian assistance to Unita.

The Star Bureau:

WASHINGTON — South Africa and Angola have signalled their willingness to re-kindle the stalled peace efforts in Namibia and Angola, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, -Dr Chester Crocker, said here yesterday.

Dr Crocker said both countries had recently said they wanted American help in settling the disputes.

In recent weeks, and in part a result of diplomatic

pressure and the recent round of violence, the South Africa Government has signalled renewed interest in advancing a negotiated settlement," he said.

"The Angolans have, probably for the same reasons, also let us know that they wish to renew negotiations. We hope these will be productive."

All sides seemed well aware that, until a peaceful solution could be found to regional problems, the outlook was for con-

tinuing stalemate at higher levels of violence.

Dr Crocker said the US had put forward a series of ideas aimed at settlement to both parties in March. America was still awaiting satisfactory responses from them.

Regional events, including South African raids on Cabinda and Gaborone and the installation of an interim government in Windhoek, had "worsened the atmosphere for talks and led us

to call our ambassador in Pretoria back for consultations".

At the same time, the Angolan leadership had not pursued the negotiating track with seriousness either, suspending negotiations while it launched a major military counter-offensive against Unita.

Dr Crocker said the recent moves had followed a "long period of delay and dithering" by Luanda and Pretoria. As well, any settlement would have

SA, Angola want to renew peace talks

to have in-built assurances and devices to verify it.

The repeal earlier this year of the Clark Amendment (banning US covert aid to Unita) had left the need for a signal of some sort to all parties concerned in Southern Africa.

He said there was widespread feeling in the US about Soviet expansionism in the Third World. The US had to indicate it was not intending to watch An-

golans bleed because of Soviet expansionism.

At the same time, the US was looking for decisions from South Africa.

Dr Crocker said a congressional move to give Unita R827 million in non-lethal or humanitarian aid was perhaps not the best way of sending that signal.

"There is also a question of timing and a question of impact on various parties along the way," he said adding he agreed with the view of the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, that such aid would be "ill-timed".

Angolan reports 'were CIA lies'

3/10/85

(5) S/aw

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Many newspaper stories about the war in Angola were CIA lies, a former CIA colonel has alleged.

Speaking on Channel Four Television's "Diverse Reports" yesterday, ex-CIA man John Stockwell said: "We had set ourselves well above and beyond the law, beyond the Congress, beyond the Constitution. We were lying to the President, lying to the Secretary of State, lying to the Congress about what we were doing."

The programme, which posed the question "How much war reporting can be believed?" said that after the end of the war in Vietnam, Washington was flooded with returning CIA agents.

There was no work for them and morale was very low.

"Angola was convenient," said Mr Stockwell.

Officially, the rationale for involvement in the area was that the Russians, taking advantage of both the post-Vietnam US and Angola's independence, were moving into Angola, he said.

"Our own files disprove that. We moved into Angola first and

the Russians were responding to us." Cubans were captured after a battle, were identified by the

Mr Stockwell said one-third of rape victims, were tried and his Angolan task force were rape victims, were finally executed by the rape victims using the 'Cubans' own rifles

This story was reported in the London Daily Telegraph, Daily Express and Evening Standard.

The Daily Telegraph diplomatic correspondent, John Bulloch, told Channel Four. "I haven't the faintest idea if it was true ... I certainly didn't report the facts, I reported sources ..."

Reported

Former Reuters journalist, Fred Bridgland, said: "I remember reporting that very clearly."

"Years later I discovered a little CIA misinformation expert had sat in the US Embassy in Lusaka and composed that communique. It bore absolutely no relationship to truth."

Another CIA story, which according to Mr Stockwell "ran for weeks", concerned a group of Cuban soldiers who, it was claimed, had raped several young Angolan women.

Later, the story went, these

Mr Stockwell commented "Editors of most Western newspapers are not going to be too sceptical of Cuban rapist stories — it sort of fits what the West wants to read about

"The truth is from all the information we were getting, the Cubans were handling themselves brilliantly and very generously towards the Africans"

Part of the reason he had left the CIA was that what it was doing was a travesty of the UN principles of freedom and democracy, while the Soviet Union was ending up as the champion of real freedom, he said.

D-

Menacing build-up of arms in Angola

London Bureau

(5)

THE arsenal of sophisticated Soviet military hardware in Angola has increased dramatically and menacingly in the past year, according to the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

The unprecedented scale of Russian military backing for Luanda's MPLA regime includes the deadliest missiles, combat aircraft and detector equipment allowed outside Warsaw Pact borders.

The institute's annual military balance report for 1985/86, published today, says that Angola is the only neighbouring country to South Africa which might be capable of formal conventional military operations against her.

But even with the huge increase in communist equipment and manpower, Angola is 'stretched to her limits' containing UNITA forces and could not defend against a major South African offensive, says the report.

South Africa remained the only African country capable of significant force projection operations against her neighbours.

With the possible exception of Angola, South Africa's other neighbours were not powerful enough to act singly or in concert against her.

Advisers

President Ronald Reagan's warning to Moscow this month that the Soviet and allied communist military presence in Angola was an unacceptable level of interference is reflected in the institute's figures.

It said there were 26 000 Cubans in Angola including 6 000 civilian instructors/advisers and 500 East German technicians and advisers.

The report gave no support to recent claims that Russians were now in combat roles in Angola but said 700 were in the

country in technical and advisory roles.

It said 500 Bulgarians, Palestinians, Portuguese and others included combat pilots and technicians.

MERCURY There was no comment on the significance of the presence of Palestinians.

The report said the total armed forces in Angola numbered 49 500 with possibly 24 000 conscripts and a reserve militia of 50 000.

Spectacular

The report said army power had grown dramatically with 10 tank battalions using 465 Soviet tanks including 175 T-34s, 200 T-54/55s and 90 T-62s.

There were now 10 SAM missile batteries as well as Soviet Sagger anti-tank guided weapons and a spectacular increase in artillery, howitzer and mortar power.

The airforce of 14 combat aircraft included 28 of the feared MiG-23s, 8 MiG-21s, 20 MiG-17s, 13 SU-22s and 12 armed helicopters of uncertain service ability and more than 70 other helicopters and transport aircraft.

Angola and Syria are the only two countries outside the Warsaw bloc where Moscow allows the ultra-sophisticated MiG-23s, considered superior to any combat aircraft in South Africa, to operate.

Radar

Aircraft on order include SU-26s, Antonov 267s and six AS-341 Gazelle attack and four SA-365 Dauphin rescue helicopters as evidence of French sales to Angola.

The high-capability ra-

Red arms build-up

FROM PAGE 1

dar systems in Angola now include Tall King Rest electro systems, E Lock, Flat Face and Squat Eye search systems. Side-Net height finders, Low Blow (SA-3)

and Land-Roll (SA-8) missile command, and Flap Wheel, Fire Can and Gun Dish anti-aircraft artillery. SAM units are 40 SA-6, 72 SA-6, 48 SA-8 and an unspecified number of SA-9s.

TURN TO PAGE 2

SA economy 'may not stand strain of military demands'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa's damaged economy may not be able to stand the strain of increased military demands, says *The Military Balance*, the latest world survey of the respected International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS).

And, it adds, there are problems with white manpower.

South Africa has 106 400 regular troops, of whom 64 000 are conscripts. There are 21 000 members of the South West Afri-

ca Territory Force.

They face "perhaps 10 000 trained guerillas" of the ANC, and between 6 000 and 8 500 Swapo troops.

There are also 20 000 Cuban troops in Angola, backed by 6 000 civilian instructors. The Soviet Union has 700 advisers and technicians there.

Opposing them is South Africa-backed Unita which has 18 000 "regulars" and 23 000 "militia" in a support and logistic role.

"Angola, under the combined

pressure of Unita and South African forces operating from Namibia, is in the process of substantially improving her air defence systems with Soviet and Cuban assistance, and maintaining large ground forces," said the IISS analysis.

It says Mozambique which has 15 800 troops and which faces Renamo forces reported up to 15 000 men, of whom "perhaps 6 000 are trained" was struggling to contain the MNR.

"South Africa remains the only African country capable of significant force projection-operations against her neighbours"

But IISS analysts add: "The severe damage sustained by the South African economy in recent months is likely to put pressure on South Africa's defence Budget precisely at the moment when the demands placed on the SADF seem likely to peak.

"This does not mean that the SADF is likely to be weakened in the immediate future through lack of equipment, but the relative defence burden is likely to increase if the SADF is to be maintained or even improved over the longer term.

"Some white military manpower problems are also becoming evident. South African industry and the armed forces are competing for the limited pool of white manpower that is available."

The IISS's Colonel Jonathon Alford refused to speculate on South Africa's rumoured nuclear capability.

US and Russia 'set for a deadly arms build-up'

LONDON — The United States and Russia have laid the groundwork in the past year for the deployment of new and deadlier nuclear systems, claims the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Publishing its annual review, *The Military Balance 1985/86*, the London-based institute concluded: "While there have been no dramatic changes in the past year in the deployed nuclear weapon systems on either side, both super-powers will be deploying new systems over the next few years at the same time as they are improving the nuclear weapons deployed in the 70s and early 80s."

The US was deploying nuclear armed sea-launched cruise missiles and air-launched cruise missiles while proceeding with development of the MX inter-continental ballistic missile (ICBM) which was scheduled for deployment next year, the report said.

The first squadron of a new generation of strategic bombers, the B-1B, was also expected to become operational next year, considerably boosting US nuclear-delivery capacity.

Russia announced an 11,8 percent increase in official defence spending last year, its biggest rise in 25 years.

It had also stepped up modernisation of its nuclear arsenal. —
Reuter.

CIA prodding White House

Massive aid package for Unita urged

Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States Defence Department and the Central Intelligence Agency are urging the White House to approve, before the US-Soviet summit, a large covert military operation to aid Unita rebels in Angola, the *Washington Post* reported today.

Quoting congressional and intelligence sources the report said it was told the money proposed was in the range of "two to three hundred million dollars," (about R500 million to R750 million) a figure eight to 10 times higher than any proposed aid packages for Angolan rebels being considered by Congress.

REGIONAL CONFLICTS

Top Pentagon officials reportedly were particularly anxious to have the administration reach a decision before the November 19-20 summit in order to strengthen President Reagan's hand in any negotiations with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev about regional conflicts in which both superpowers are engaged, the newspaper reported.

Meanwhile, the Reagan Administration was reported yesterday to have given "private assurances" to Congressman Claude Pepper that it will back the bill he is co-sponsoring with Congressman Jack Kemp to provide \$27 million (about R81 million) in non-lethal aid to Unita.

An aide to Mr Pepper said administration officials, who had

asked not to be identified, had given these assurances "very recently" and announcement of the decision was "a question of timing."

If true, this would represent a major policy shift over the last three weeks. On October 12, the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, wrote to house minority leader, Congressman Robert Michel saying the administration thought the Pepper/Kemp bill was ill-timed and urged him to oppose it. Mr Michel rejected the request.

Various proposals to provide Unita with aid have been discussed within the administration and Congress for a month, with some principal policy-makers shifting positions on the issue.

CIA Director Mr William Casey recently switched from supporting only humanitarian aid to favouring a covert military programme according to one source in the intelligence committee the *Washington Post* reported.

● A coalition of congressmen and religious, human rights and anti-apartheid groups today launched a campaign against congressional aid for Unita.

Financing Unita would directly ally the US with South Africa, the coalition told a news conference.

Democratic Congressman Walter Fauntroy said aid "would constitute hostile intervention against the interests of black people throughout southern Africa."

w/c ARGUS 2/11/85

Angola dilemma for Reagan

WASHINGTON. — The Reagan Administration and Congress are in the throes of an intense debate over proposals to aid Jonas Savimbi's South Africa-backed Unita rebels in their 10-year fight against the Angolan Government.

The Central Intelligence Agency, the Pentagon and the key members of the National Security Council reportedly want to help Savimbi to counter Soviet and Cuban military support for the Angolan Government now that the Congressional prohibition on such aid imposed by the Clark Amendment has been lifted.

Standing against them is the State Department, which has made it clear that any move to give the rebels either overt or covert aid would align the United States with Pretoria and derail efforts to settle the conflicts in SWA/Namibia and elsewhere in South Africa. — *Observer News Service.*

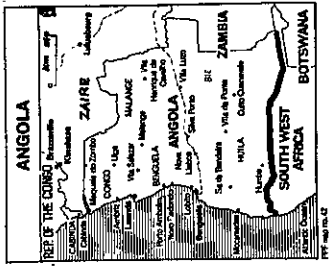
'Reports were CIA lies'

● The Weekend Argus Foreign Service in London reports that a former CIA colonel has alleged on British television that many newspaper stories about the war in Angola were CIA lies.

Ex-CIA man John Stockwell said: "We had set ourselves well above and beyond the law, beyond the Congress, beyond the constitution. We were lying to the President, lying to the Secretary of State, lying to the Congress about what we were doing."

"Angola was convenient," said Mr Stockwell. "There never was a study done on who was who in Angola, what would be best for Angola, or who would be best for the CIA or the United States."

War reports: 'Pack of lies'



Officially, the rationale was that the Russians, taking advantage of both the US post-Vietnam and Angola's independence, were moving into Angola.

"Our own files disprove that. We moved into Angola first and the Russians were responding to us."

Roberto on payroll

Mr Stockwell said one-third of his Angolan task force were propagandists with the job of making the war in Angola look like Russian and Cuban aggression.

The FNLA's Holden Roberto had been on the CIA payroll for 14 years, so the CIA moved into Angola in his support.

One newspaper story, based on a Unita communique, described how the rebel group had captured the

town of Melanje and had taken 20 Russian advisers prisoner. This was reported in both The Guardian and The Times.

Former Reuters journalist Fred Bridgland, who has reported on Angola, said: "I remember reporting that very clearly. I was not the only journalist to report it. We pinned it on an official Unita communique."

"Years later I discovered a little CIA misinformation expert had sat in the US Embassy in Lusaka and composed that communique. It bore absolutely no relationship to truth."

Another CIA story, which according to Mr Stockwell "ran for weeks," concerned a group of Cuban soldiers who, it was claimed, had raped several young Angolan women.

'I reported sources . . .'

Later, the story went, these Cubans were captured after a battle, were identified by the rape victims, were tried and were finally executed by the rape victims using the Cubans' own rifles.

This story was reported in the London Daily Telegraph, Daily Express and Evening Standard.

The Daily Telegraph correspondent, John Bulloch, said: "I haven't the faintest idea if it was true and I never said it was true. I reported somebody as saying that, as telling me that story. I certainly didn't report the facts, I reported sources."

Cape Times 4/11/85 5

Peace still possible in the Angola war

WHAT are the Russians up to in Angola? To that question General Malan and President Botha clearly know the answer — at least to their own satisfaction.

In July the MPLA launched the biggest military offensive it has ever undertaken against the rebel forces of Unita. The Angolan Government forces had at their disposal a considerable range of Russian equipment and they were assisted by Russian and Cuban military advisers.

Before the offensive was finally halted at the end of September in a battle in which, according to MPLA sources, the South African Air Force played a decisive part, General Malan accused the Soviet Union of a new "muscle aggression in Angola", "the Soviet-controlled offensive" being directed against "all of Southern Africa" with Angola serving as "Moscow's springboard" into the region.

President Botha sees the Russians as attempting to subjugate the people of Angola.

"If the Russians and the Cubans succeed in Angola," he told the Cape congress of the National Party, "the next target will be Namibia. If they succeed there, their next target will be Botswana. When they succeed there, their next target will be the Republic of South Africa."

Powerful lobbyists

For the past 10 years Mr Botha and General Malan have been following a policy of bolstering Unita. Now at long last they can count on open allies in the United States.

In July the Clark amendment that had prevented the US government from giving secret aid to Unita was replaced by Congress. Since August, according to a report in the Guardian of October 17, "the Pentagon, the CIA and members of the National Security Council have been lobbying hard for covert military aid to Unita on the lines of the aid being given to the guerillas in Afghanistan".

These powerful lobbyists are reported to be sweeping aside the objections being put forward by members of the State Department, who argue that only through negotiation will it be possible to bring the Cubans out of Angola and achieve independence for Namibia.

Valiant power

So it looks as if the concept of "total onslaught" is riding high once again.

The concept has the advantage of simplicity: it is easy to grasp — and at the same time emotionally satisfying, presenting South Africa as a valiant minor power standing up to the Soviet colossus.

But "total onslaught" is also a shorthand way of describing a certain form of international relations. As such it needs to be subjected to critical analysis — not in a carping spirit but because it is desperately important to try to interpret the situation in Southern Africa as accurately and coherently as possible.

Any discussion of Soviet policy must in all honesty start with an avowal of ignorance. Even in the best informed quarters there is an aggravating lack of precise information about the way those who rule the Soviet Union are thinking.

To assert that the Soviet Union is committed to a "total onslaught" on Southern Africa is to make a leap in the dark, ignoring the fact that hard evidence for such an assertion — evidence in the form of high-level policy directives — does not exist.

On the other hand, if one makes an effort to see what the world looks like from the battlements of the Kremlin, then it becomes absolutely clear that Southern Africa must always, in Russian eyes, be a region of minor significance.

The United States, China, Eastern Europe, Western Europe, the Middle East, Japan, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Cuba — these, in descending importance, are the countries and regions to which Soviet policy makers must always give priority over Southern Africa. To try to get away from the hard facts of geopolitics, to assert that Southern Africa is a region of unique significance to the Soviet Union, is to reveal oneself as suffering from tunnel-vision, an affliction which seems commonplace enough among rulers who become obsessed with ideology.

Then how and why, it will be asked, did the Soviet Union ever become involved in Southern Africa?

So far as Angola is concerned, the links were first established in 1964 when the MPLA turned to Moscow for aid in its recently launched armed struggle against the Portuguese colonial regime.

The MPLA's leading members were committed Marxists, they had established close links with the underground Portuguese Communist Party; it was natural for them to turn to Moscow for assistance.

By 1975, with Angola on the verge of independence, a bitter struggle had developed between MPLA on the one hand and the two other liberation movements, FNLA and Unita, on the other. By this time FNLA was receiving substantial aid from the United States and China and the Soviet Union simply could not have been

By ROBIN HALLETT
historian and writer on
world affairs who lives in
England



MPLA soldiers pose for the camera during the early stages of the Angolan civil war.

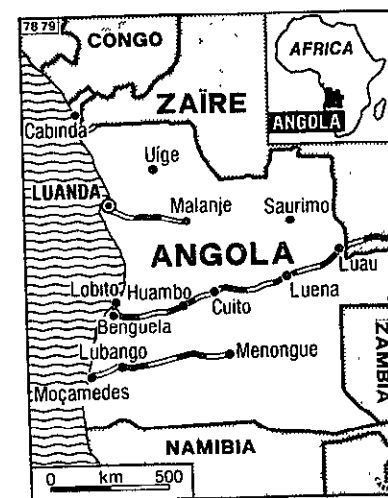
able to avoid a deeper involvement.

If the Soviet Union had refused to intervene to assist the MPLA, then, as A J Klinghofer, an American scholar who has made the most detailed study known to me of Soviet policy in Angola in "The Angolan War" (Boulder, Colorado, 1980), puts it "it would have lost its credibility as a supporter of national liberation, leaving Southern African movements to forge closer relations with China. By becoming so deeply involved the Russians 'strengthened their credentials as the leading patron of revolutionary transformation in the Third World'."

But Klinghofer goes on to point out that Soviet policy was "reactive rather than primary in the sense that there was no preconceived plan activated without regard to the intrinsic realities of the conflict".

In other words, the Russians found themselves sucked into a situation where their actions were to be seen not as the working out of a carefully premeditated plan of conquest, but rather as a response to the shifting vicissitudes of a complex power struggle, one major consideration being the South African military involvement in Angola from August 1975.

Foreign commitments become aggravating and costly. For 10 years the Russians and the Cu-



bans have been propping up the MPLA in its struggle with Unita. This year, so the MPLA government and its Russian and Cuban advisers must have thought, there was a reasonable chance of settling with Unita for good; reasonable because Unita's prime backer, South Africa, appeared to be convulsed by the gravest internal crisis in the country's history.

For Angolans of all persuasions the last 10 years of war have been a devastating experience. The Luanda government has to spend up to half its budget on defence. The economy, disastrously dis-

rupted by the Portuguese exodus in 1975, presents a picture of chaotic breakdown. Yet Angola, with its oil and diamonds and rich agricultural potential, could become one of the most prosperous states in Africa. But there can be scant hope of improvement without ending the war.

There are only two ways in which wars can end: by the defeat of one party or by negotiation. Victory usually seems an easier option than negotiation.

In Angola the possibilities of negotiations are vitiated by the intense bitterness the conflict has aroused. For the MPLA to launch, as it did in July, its biggest offensive yet against Unita, was the most rational policy it could pursue. Absurd to describe that offensive as a new "muscle aggression" by the Soviet Union.

Russian influence

Suppose that Pretoria refused to give further aid to Unita and Washington also agreed to leave the movement to its fate, what then? At the very least one might expect some diminution of violence in southern Angola, a blessing for those who actually live in the area and whose interests seem rarely to be considered by the interventionists.

If the MPLA were able to extend its control over the whole country, would this necessarily mean a great extension of Russian influence?

For the Luanda government the Russians and the Cubans have proved expensive comrades-in-arms. With the war ended and the South Africans withdrawn, neither Russians nor Cubans would have any justification for staying in Angola, at least in their present numbers.

Add to this the fact that the Russians are not exactly popular.

"One thing is certain," wrote Le Monde's correspondent Francois Chipaux after visiting Angola in August, "the big brothers from the East are not loved. To get some insight into the situation observe with what contempt they are treated by Angolans of all walks of life from custom officers to waiters." It has been the same in other parts of Africa — the Russians' clumsy arrogance is the most unendearing of qualities.

Unhappy country

But as long as South Africa goes on backing Unita, the Russians will have no alternative but to stay in Angola. And so the awful war will go on, the casualties mount, the circle of misery widen.

Pretoria wants to see a diminution of Russian influence in Angola, yet Pretoria's own actions have played a major part in inducing the Russians to increase their stake in that unhappy country.

Judged by any reasonable standard of statesmanship, President Botha and General Malan have served both their own country and the whole region ill by their crude belief that only through military *kragdadigheid* can peace and security be achieved.

New radar has turned tide, claims chief

Angola: SAAF air superiority 'is lost'

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — Colonel Iko Carreira, commander of the Angolan Air Force, claims South Africa has lost its vital air superiority over his country.

And he says a new radar system installed in Angola will soon mean the defeat of Unita.

In an interview with the Paris-based news magazine *Afrique-Asie*, he said South Africa had more aircraft, some of which it built itself, but "from the point of view of quality, our planes can now compete with the best of theirs."

At the same time, a right-wing newspaper here has claimed the French state-owned company, Aerospatiale, is actively helping South Africa develop a combat helicopter.

Armstrong refused to comment on the report.

The paper, *Le Quotidien de Paris*, said five senior engineers had been in South Africa since the beginning of September. The move followed a United States refusal to sell the advanced Black Hawk aircraft to Pretoria.

A spokesman for Aerospatiale said. "This is fantasy — I don't believe it. But I will be checking."

Colonel Carreira said South Africa had the advantage of ultra-modern air bases just over the Namibian border and therefore near to the southern Angolan combat zones.

But Angolan anti-aircraft systems were so effective

that South African planes had to attack from heights of more than 9 000 ft "They have lost air superiority," he said.

He admitted South African planes were able to evade Angolan radar by flying low. But this advantage would not last long.

"We will soon be able to hit these attacks, even by night. South Africa is aware of this, and knows that the result will be the defeat of Unita."

He stressed that without substantial South African air support, the rebels could no longer exist as a fighting force.

THROWN INTO BATTLE

Asked about the training of Angolan pilots and ground crews, he said "We had to train them in double quick time, which is naturally not desirable. Our young pilots and ground crews are sometimes thrown into battle the moment they are trained."

He went on: "South Africa managed to shoot down and capture one of our pilots, and hand him over to Unita for obvious propaganda reasons. He is a 22-year-old Angolan, and there are many like him willing to train as pilots."

He added. "We will never lack manpower in our struggle against South Africa."

Colonel Carreira, who spent 18 months in the Soviet Union and reportedly returned to Luanda with the rank of Soviet general, has made a number of trips to Europe to build up the Angolan Air Force, which has mainly Soviet aircraft and equipment.

Aircraft obsolete, TV viewers told

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa's "obsolete" aircraft could be knocked out of the sky by even "indifferently piloted" Soviet MiG-23s, the editor of the authoritative *Africa Confidential*, Mr Charles Meynell, has told British television viewers.

He was interviewed in a news report which showed rare pictures of the fighting in Angola.

Unita troops were seen using South African heavy mortars to fight off MPLA troops attacking their base at Mavinga. Unita moved in West German trucks.

Bodies of MPLA troops were shown lying near their burnt-out truck and a Soviet armoured personnel carrier. Two Soviet newspapers lay on the ground, evidence, said Channel 4 news reporter

Charles Hodson, of Soviet involvement in the conflict.

Also featured was an Angolan helicopter gunship — its rockets still in their firing pods, shot down by Unita using Moroccan-supplied anti-aircraft guns.

Mr Hodson said there was a suspicion that South African troops had played a part in the downing.

Mr Meynell said Unita's success depended on South Africa. "Everybody knows South African Canberra bombers were deployed at Mavinga," he said.

"The South African aircraft are pretty ancient, obsolete really."

The Angolans had better equipment but their forces were not as well trained, he said.

"Even an indifferently-piloted MiG-23 will be able to knock the South Africans out of the sky," he said.

(5) U.M 8/11/85

bi-partisan leadership the rank and file members of the committee endorsed the plan after hearing another secret briefing by Secretary of State George Shultz late last week. Shultz, who was packing to leave for Moscow shortly afterwards, reportedly argued to the committee that knocking Gaddafi off

balance was an integral part of the American negotiating strategy with the Russians in Geneva.

The problem is not that anyone is fond of Gaddafi in Washington. Rather, there is a deeply held fear in many quarters that the CIA must not undertake covertly the kind of operations that risk America appearing morally worse

than the enemy they seek to destroy. To use Gaddafi's own weapons against him is to become no better than he is, the argument goes. There also is considerable doubt about the CIA's capacity to carry out such operations, even if they are desirable. The agency's intelligence failures in Beirut and in the Grenada invasion are still fresh in the minds of many critics.

But the real danger in the current affair is the breakdown in confidentiality that has



Gaddafi

always been an essential ingredient in the relationship between the White House and Congress over how the CIA operates. Almost certainly the Reagan administration will think twice before it seeks congressional assent to a covert operation somewhere else and, without a knowledgeable congressional watch over US intelligence activities, a valuable safety mechanism has been removed.



AFRICAN MILITARY BALANCE

Angola stocks up

American anxieties about the build up of Soviet arms in Angola are borne out by the latest assessment of the London-based International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS). The 1985-1986 issue of *The Military Balance* shows the number of combat planes in the Angolan air force more than doubled last year from 64 to 141.

And the threat of the South African Air Force in support of Unita forces saw the number of surface-to-air missiles rise by a factor of eight, from only 20 SA-3s to 160, ranging up to SA-8/9s. The deployment of battle tanks is also higher, at 465 against 445 the previous year. But there appears to have been some reshuffling of Angola's armour: T-54/55s have risen from 150 to 200 while the figure for T-62s is 30 down on the last

survey at 90 The balance is made up of an unchanged number of T-34s.

At sea the Angolans have acquired two more fast attack craft of the Osa-11 type to bring these to six.

But the chief change in the air force features the introduction of interceptors, 12 MiG-19s and 30 MiG-21s. The bolstering of fighter-ground attack squadrons has seen the addition of 25 MiG-23s, 10 MiG-21s and a new plane to Angola, 5 SU-22s. On the IISS estimates 5 MiG-17s have been withdrawn.

To the 20 000 Cuban troops and combat pilots, the IISS now adds 6 000 civilian instructors/advisers. These are backed by another 500 East Germans, 700 Russians, and a mixed bag of 1 500 Bulgarians, Portuguese and "Palestinians" who include pilots and technicians.

The total complement of Angola's armed forces is put at 49 500 regulars, compared with 43 000 previously.

For Unita's part, the survey reckons its regular forces are 3 000 higher at 18 000. Equipment additions (no numbers are given) include captured AT-34/85 tanks, 120 mm mortars, 85 mm RPG-7 rocket launchers with new anti-aircraft defences in the shape of 23 mm guns and SAM-7 missiles. The IISS also notes a "light aircraft" is reported among Unita's new weaponry.

Zimbabwe has also received reinforcements, chiefly in the air. According to the IISS, the number of combat aircraft has

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(5) ~~35~~ increased from 35 to 53 — of which "perhaps 25 are operational." The main changes are the addition of three Hunter and 12 Chinese J-7 fighter-ground attack jets. By contrast Mozambique appeared to be unilaterally disarming. Its combat aircraft numbers have dropped from 35 to 18 — all MIG 17s. How many are functional is not known. The IISS notes that "serviceability (is) questioned; some in store." Among transport aircraft Mozambique has also apparently lost 6 Noratlas and 4 Cessna 182 planes. U.M 8/11/85

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Anglo allows media to see dismantled tear gas system

By Andrew Beattie

R750-m goldmine opens

American lifted the lid on the security arrangements that may reveal an extensive network of gas installations which have been used on its own in an emergency. Installations — which are controlled centrally by a "red button" in the manager's office — were locally placed around all station buildings, liquor outlets and at the entrance to canyons at Anglo's Deep Levels Mines.

The general manager, Mr. Fred Bayley, who was not in charge of the mine when it was installed 10 years ago, said yesterday that until last week he did not know the system was there.

"I first heard of the installation (made by Mr. Malcolm former Australian Minister), I thought it could not possibly be true. When I heard that it was, and here at Western Deep, I immediately instructed that it be dismantled."

"It has connotations reminding me of the gas chambers," said Mr. Bayley.

Reporters were shown the control point in the hostel managed by the mine.

Mr. Bayley gave the assurance that all tear gas systems on the mine under his authority had been dismantled, denying allegations by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) that this was not true.

Mr. Themba Manyosi, the NUM's secretary at Elandstrand Mine, which came into production a few years after Western Deep Levels, said that some workers were convinced that there were "more sophisticated" tear gas systems at Elandstrand.

This suspicion was also held by several of the miners interviewed.

However, Mr. Manyosi said that he could not produce any proof of the existence of any similar installations.

In another development, the General Mining Corporation (Gencor) refused to name or grant access to the mine it admits has a similar system to that in the Anglo mine.

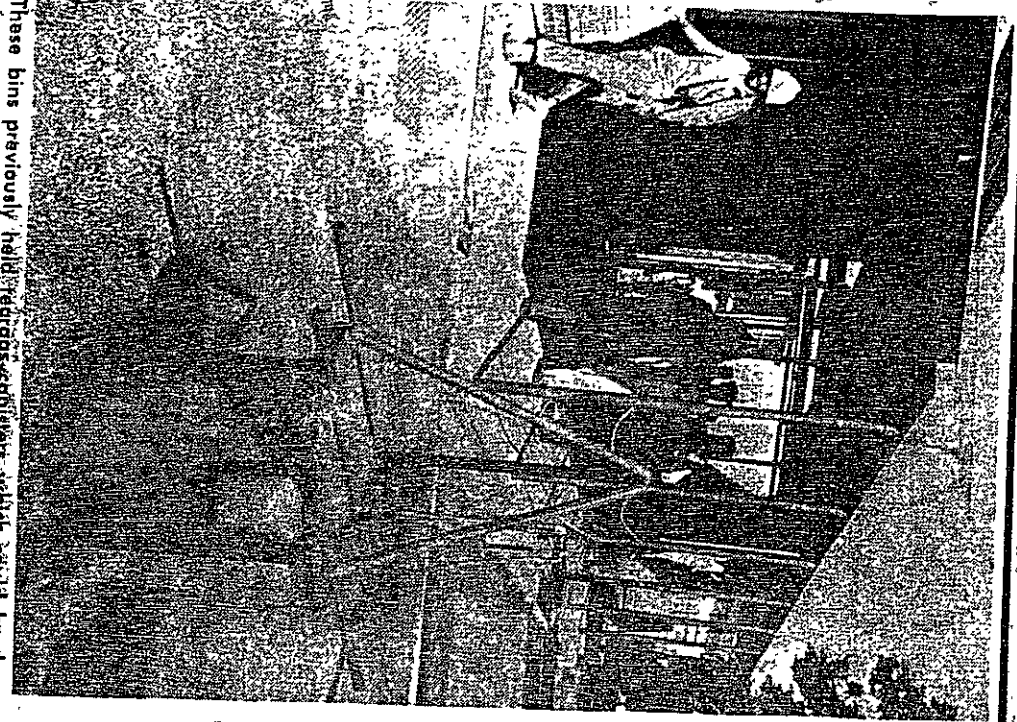
Reporters who visited the mines yesterday could find no evidence to contradict him. Anglo personnel allowed free access to all hostels in the Western Deep Levels area housing thousands of workers, who could be interviewed at random.

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These bins previously held tear gas canisters which could be detonated in the event of an emergency.

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tion of the 10 percent import sur- full said industry sources.

inp — Sans

Angola's first ceasefire has been more relieved trauma

Angola, a huge country twice the size of France whose potential riches match those of South Africa, reaches its tenth anniversary of independence today. There will not be much to celebrate. The country's birth was almost an abortion and its first decade of life has been one of intense, unrelieved trauma. The immediate future offers nothing better.

How can it be that this intensely beautiful country, the jewel in the Portuguese crown which seemed to have a golden future if it attained independence, has been reduced to a state of deepest misery?

There are plenty of trite answers to offer, with South Africa as number one whipping boy because of its involvement, but these are unhelpful.

There is a long list of villains in bolt-holes in Moscow, Washington, Whitehall, Pretoria, Peking, Paris, Rabat, Riyadh, East Berlin, several black African countries and other places.

An epic novel on the Angola story awaits its author because only that way can the scope and complexity of the struggle be conveyed.

In short, Angola is a focus of international intrigue and dirty tricks because it has become a key to Central and Southern Africa.

HUMAN FACTORS

Grasp the key and you unlock the door, ideologically and historically, to the rest of the region and the vast rock raft of mineral riches on which it sits.

Of living authors, only Graham Greene, or perhaps Umberto Eco, could adequately grasp the nuances, subtleties and the human factors which strategic analysts miss and trample over.

As good a way as any to understand why Angola is in turmoil is to go back ten years to November 10 1975, the eve of independence. That day the Portuguese

Angola reaches its tenth independence anniversary today in a state of intense civil war. Fred Bridgland of The Star's Foreign News Service, whose book on the war, "Savimbi: Che's Friend, Fidel's Foe", will be published in Britain and the United States soon, gives a personal assessment of why independence brought death and destruction, not peace, to Angola.

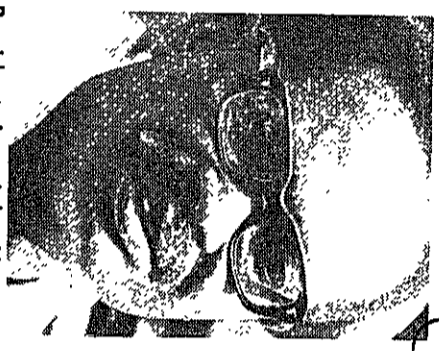
brought five centuries of colonial rule to a pathetic, whimpering end. The High Commissioner, Admiral Leonal Cardoso, and his staff scuttled out of the capital, Luanda, leaving their Angolan subjects to shoot it out among themselves.

Admiral Cardoso appeared at midday in the High Commissioner's palace and read a short statement in which he handed sovereignty to "the Angolan people".

No Angolans were at the ceremony. Admiral Cardoso rejected any Portuguese responsibility for a civil war which was raging round him, and ended by thrusting his fist in the air and shouting "Viva Angola, Viva Portugal". No one responded.

Independence day dawned with the last of the Portuguese "raj" steaming northwards along the west coast of Africa aboard a Portuguese naval fleet.

Independence was celebrated in three different cities by three different movements. All three — the FNLA, the MPLA and Unita — had signed a solemn accord with the Portuguese in January 1975 which provided for multi-party elections to be held before independence.



President Agostinho Neto ... taking aid from the Devil.

Unity (OAU) sent a ten-member fact-finding commission to Angola which reported that public support was greater for Unita than for either the MPLA or the FNLA.

This was the judgement also of most foreign correspondents covering Angola in the months before independence.

The OAU team called for a ceasefire in the civil war, which had begun between the MPLA and FNLA in April 1975 and which encompassed Unita in August 1975.

INTERFERENCE

It also called for a termination of foreign arms deliveries, cessation of outside interference, and the establishment of a government of national unity.

Instead, the civil war intensified. Foreign troops became involved — 20 000 Cubans and some East German specialists with the MPLA, some 2 000 South Africans with Unita and the FNLA, Zaire's best armoured brigade with the FNLA, and in due course a sad band of British mercenaries with the FNLA — recruited with CIA money while the Labour Government of the time turned a blind eye.

The quality of these mercenaries was exceptionally low. They were not the tough, professional adventurers who had



Dr Jonas Savimbi ... his army is still holding out in the bush.

made the word "white mercenary" something to be genuinely feared in the Congo of the sixties.

They were the new young British unemployed of the mid-70s, and for the most part were the most socially ill-equipped of their generation.

Among the causes of the civil war, along with lack of Portuguese backbone, were massive arms supplies by Russia to its clients, the pro-Moscow Marxist MPLA, and the Chinese and Zairean help to the FNLA, along with a \$300 000 sweetener (about R800 000) from the CIA.

The leader of Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi, who had trained as a guerrilla in China and forged a strong friendship with Cuban revolutionary Che Guevara, was widely acknowledged as the main architect of the election agreement.

When he saw it was being undermined he asked for help from his close friend, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

President Kaunda and his senior officials paid a series of visits to Washington where, in private consultation, they pleaded with President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger to help Unita and the FNLA to ensure the promised elections were held. The American response, in the wake of their retreat from



Dr Henry Kissinger ... pointed Dr Savimbi to Pretoria for aid.

Vietnam earlier that year, was to guide Dr Kaunda and Dr Savimbi in the direction of South Africa, with the promise of covert back-up aid from the CIA.

The result was that South Africa invaded Angola at the invitation of the US, West European states, Zambia, and other black African nations, ostensibly to uphold the democratic process.

South Africa's light armour made spectacular progress — a 1 000 km into Angola.

When the South African invasion was discovered and the going got tough as the Cuban army reorganised its defences, the South Africans asked the West to stand up and be counted.

In another piece of spectacular opportunism, the West and black African allies declined to associate themselves publicly with Pretoria.

CONTEXT

The South Africans therefore packed up their guns, went home and handed over Angola to a pro-Moscow government which could not have won the legally guaranteed election. Western nations, except the US, quickly recognised the MPLA — and if anyone is looking for a root cause of the conflict it with which Pretoria now



Dr Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia ... sought help for Dr Savimbi.

dismisses Western calls for it to implement one man, one vote in South Africa, they have only to look back to Angola in 1975-76.

Once the MPLA had taken power, most Western nations would have been content to do business with it and gradually wean it over to a more capitalist point of view.

Human rights and elections? Oh, these Africans have a different way of doing things, old boy.

The human factor left out of this question was Dr Savimbi. Urged by his Western "allies" to flee and exercise his immense intellect as a professor in some cosy West European university, he instead led his people on a long march into the interior of Angola.

Many of his people died of starvation and exposure and in fighting with the Cubans and the MPLA, but he gradually reorganised them and the civil war in Angola is now more intense and dreadful than ever before.

President Agostinho Neto of the MPLA, who died in mysterious circumstances on an operating table in Moscow in 1979, once said: "To win our independence we should even take aid, as they say, from the Devil himself." He was referring to Russia.

The devil Dr Savimbi turned to once more in the late '70s was South Africa, which pumps weapons and other supplies into his camps in south-eastern Angola.

Dr Savimbi makes no apology for it. To assorted Western social democrats, democratic socialists and liberals who condemn him for taking such aid, he says: "Give it to me yourself, and then I'll refuse help from South Africa, but in the meanwhile don't demand of me that I commit suicide."

Of course, he knows he will get no help from these armchair quarters: past history has already shown that.

Dr Savimbi pins his main hope now on a move by the US Administration to give him R540 million in aid, and on the belief that the collapsing Angolan economy will inspire MPLA moderates to negotiate with him.

But Russia and the Cubans are unlikely to permit that in the near future. It would lead to an enormous loss of face for them in black Africa, and the Third World as a whole.

POLL CALLS

The South Africans have refused to withdraw from neighbouring Namibia and permit elections as the United Nations is demanding, until Cuban troops are withdrawn from Angola and multi-party elections are held there.

Why so many impassioned cries for elections and the removal of foreign troops in Namibia, and no similar cries for Angola?

In the end, what everyone is ignoring is the human factor of the black Angolans themselves. The movement that the OAU itself said would have won elections, is contemptuous of the agonising by Western democrats while they themselves die before Russian guns and helicopter gunships.

Unita calls for US military aid

'Better
to end
situation
where
Angolans
are shot
than to
heal their
wounds'

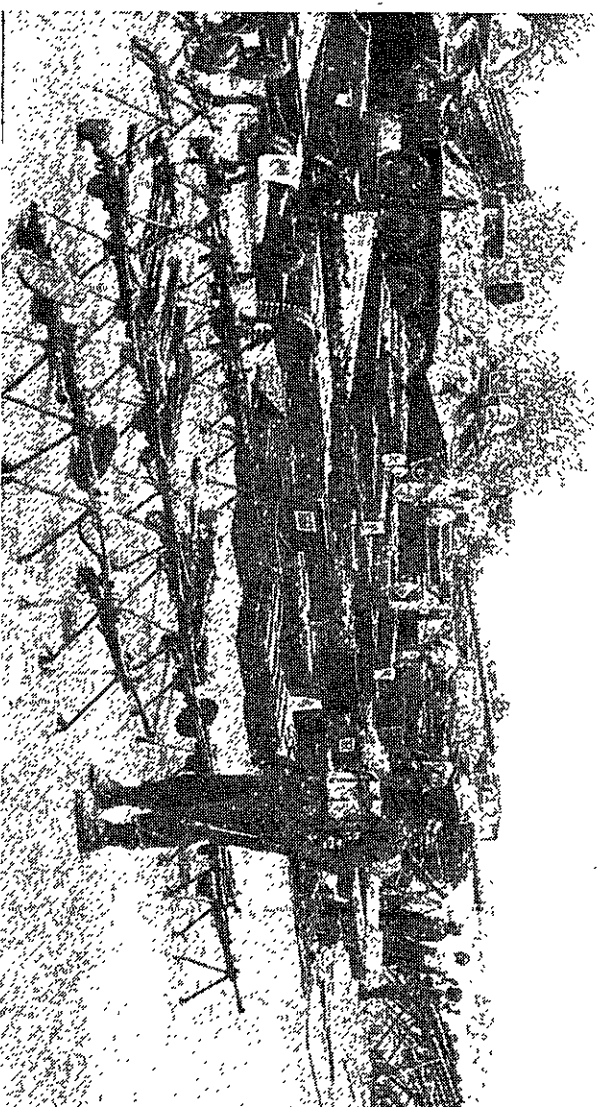
By Gerald L'Ange,
The Star's Africa
News Service

JAMBIA (Angola) — Dr Jonas Savimbi has called for United States aid to Unita to help stop Angola from becoming a base for Soviet operations against other countries in the region.

The Unita leader's indirect but strong appeal for US assistance was backed by a declaration by the Unita National Committee warning that "the hesitation of the Western governments and mainly of the Government of the United States ... could represent in the long range the handing over of all Southern Africa to the Soviet empire."

Dr Savimbi read the declaration at a rally held this week at Jamba, Unita's headquarters in the southern Angolan bush, to mark the tenth anniversary of Angola's independence from Portugal.

The publicity arranged for the ceremony was clearly aimed at influencing the White House and the US Congress, which has before it a draft Bill providing for \$27 million (about



Tanks and armoured cars stand behind rows of mortars and machine-guns as the guerrilla force displays the ornaments captured in the major assault by MPLA and Cuban troops in southern Angola.

R66 million) in military aid to Unita and another for the same amount in humanitarian aid.

According to unconfirmed reports, the Pentagon and the CIA are in addition urging the White House to approve covert military aid of "two to three hundred million dollars" to Unita.

Possibly with all this in mind, the declaration adopted by the Unita executive contained an apparent attempt to dissociate the appeal to the US from Unita's links with South Africa.

PARADED

At the Jamba rally Unita paraded armoured and other vehicles, including three tanks captured in the recent battle at Cazombo and 200 MPLA soldiers captured in the battle at Mavinga.

Unita's view of the threat posed by the Soviet military buildup in Angola was expressed by Dr Savimbi at a Press conference before the rally.

"Angola will become an operational base for the Russians against everybody in the area unless we stop them before they are too strong," he said. "The battle for the control of

all of Southern Africa is being waged here ... anything happening in Angola will have a bearing on the whole situation in Southern Africa."

In a briefing for visiting journalists Unita's chief of intelligence, Colonel Peregrino Wambu, said if Unita was destroyed by the combined MPLA, Cuban and Soviet onslaught, the Soviets would have a major base from which to launch attacks against Zaire, where the Americans had a major interest.

They would also be able to influence the Namibian situation.

Colonel Wambu said Unita had information that the MPLA were building up their forces for another assault on Jamba.

In an interview with The Star's Africa News Service Dr Savimbi was asked how he viewed the accumulation of Soviet arms in Angola and the sophisticated radar and ground-to-air missile umbrella said to have been strung across the country by the Soviets.

He said he was concerned about the buildup because the MPLA army would not be able to use the weapons and the Soviets would have to bring in personnel to do so.

Both Dr Savimbi and Colonel Wambu denied South Africa had provided any air cover for the Unita forces in the battles at Cazombo and Mavinga.

Dr Savimbi also denied that South Africa provided Unita with air reconnaissance information.

During his news conference Dr Savimbi played down the importance of the MPLA's Soviet-provided air strength and said the main threat to Unita came from the heavy armour and artillery introduced into Angola by the Soviets.

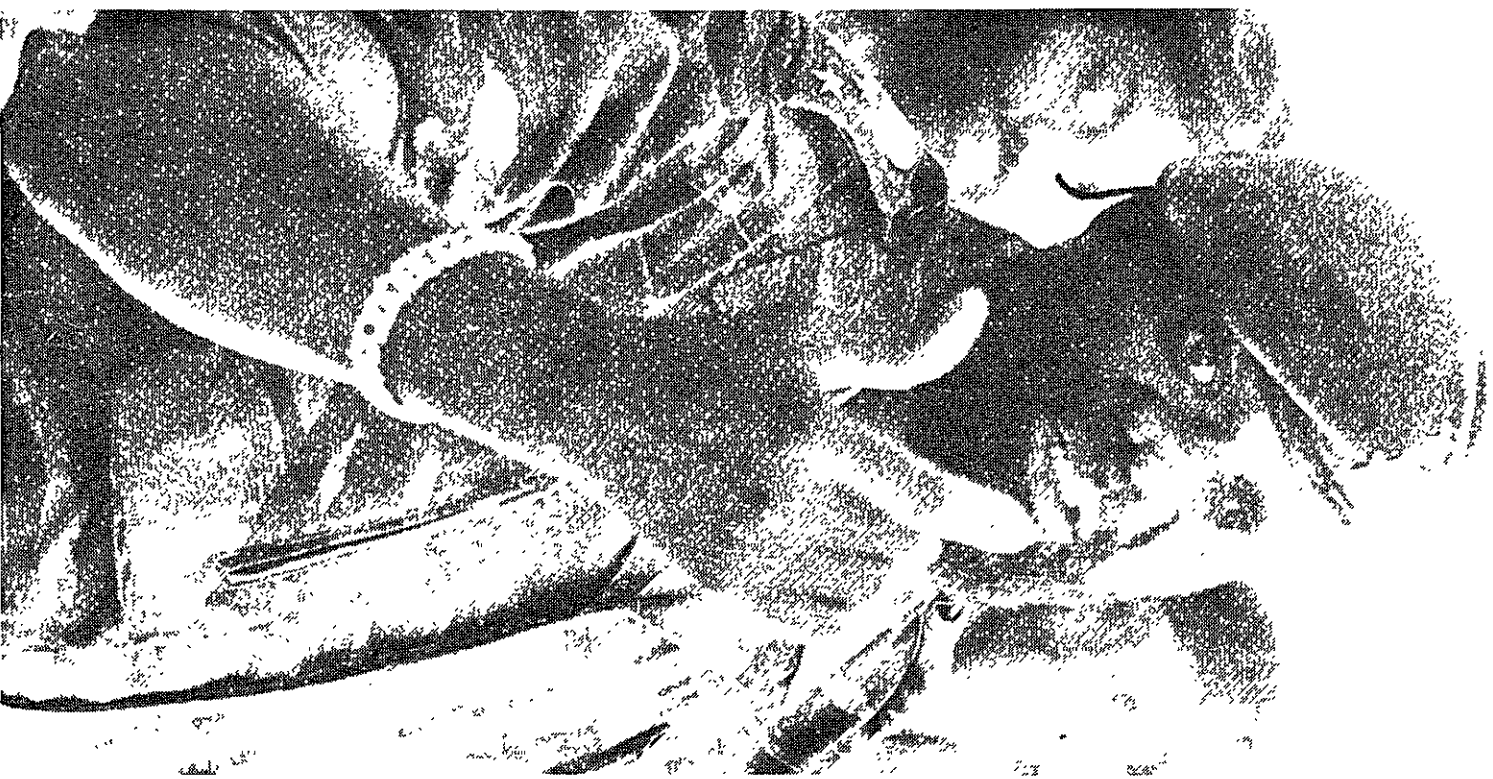
SOLVED

He said the Namibian problem would not be solved until the Angolan one was resolved.

Dr Savimbi indicated he would prefer military to humanitarian aid from the US because he said that might be more effective in ending Angola's suffering.

It was better, he said to apologise from Unita members present, to end the situation that was causing Angolans to be shot than to provide medication to heal their wounds.

He emphasised that the amount of US aid was not as important as the gesture of support for freedom that would be made in giving it.



Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi talks to his senior officers at their Jamba headquarters during a parade to celebrate Angola's independence from Portugal.



if Unita fails

5 THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPER FOR DECISION MAKERS

B. Day 13/11/85
Savimbi warns of Soviet expansion



● SAVIMBI

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has warned that unless the West gives his rebel movement military aid it could lose the war in Angola.

Savimbi told *Business Day* Unita had been weakened by the recent MPLA offensive. If the rebels were defeated, Angola would become the base for Soviet expansionism throughout southern Africa, he warned.

The Soviet Union had turned Angola into a military base that threatened the stability of the sub-continent.

"Angola is the battle ground for southern Africa" he said.

PETER WALLINGTON

Savimbi said that while Unita had lost control of a number of towns in the north-east, the MPLA and their Cuban allies had failed in their main objective — to take Mavinga and Jamba.

Business Day visited Savimbi's Jamba headquarters as Angola celebrated its 10th year of independence.

Savimbi said the number of Cuban troops had increased from 12 000 to about 40 000 and the Angolan government had obtained sophisticated Russian weaponry, including

MIG 21 and 23 jet fighters.

Intelligence sources indicated that government forces were regrouping and Savimbi expected another offensive "at any time".

He said a defeat for the MPLA, before December's meeting of its hierarchy would strengthen the hand of MPLA moderates, who argued that talks were the only way to stop the Angolan war.

"This is why it is so important for the US to help Unita. Helping the moderates will ultimately contribute towards peace in this country," Savimbi said.

His comments came soon after the Reagan administration's expression of "sympathy" for Unita and as a Bill seeking \$27m humanitarian aid is before Congress.

The US Central Intelligence Agency is also believed to be waiting in the wings with \$300m of weaponry for Unita.

Chief of Military Intelligence, Colonel Peregrino Chindondo, said Unita had lost 461 men with 2 000 wounded, in the offensive. The MPLA had lost 2 700 men and 200 had been captured. Twelve Russians had been killed and 17 wounded, while 26 Cubans had died and 80 had been wounded.

Savimbi: The fight goes on

14/11/85

JONAS SAVIMBI has been a guerrilla for nearly half of his 51 years, at first leading Unita in its battle against Portuguese colonial domination and continuing the fight against those he sees as the new colonialists — the Cubans and their Soviet advisers.

While Angola this week officially celebrated 10 years of independence Savimbi recommitted Unita to the struggle for a "free Angola" at a colourful rally at Jamba's parade ground.

Disciplined troops, captured armaments and a stream of newly-taken prisoners were paraded before a few thousand supporters against a backdrop of huge posters hinting at Savimbi's ideological leanings — pan-Africanism and non-alignment.

The rally was largely for the benefit of visiting newsmen but one sensed that Savimbi also sought to reassure his followers that Unita's struggle could, and should continue despite the costly offensive launched recently by government troops.

The offensive, the Unita high command concedes, caught the rebels off guard. It had two main thrusts, but was concentrated on Mavinga, with the main prize Jamba.

Unita had to pull troops back from the northern Moxico province to thwart the main thrust, a move that was successful. The MPLA's military wing, Fapla, together with their Cuban allies, retreated in late October, but Unita lost control of a number of towns in Moxico.

"The 10 years of independence has been a time of frustration. We expected more and we must strive to make sure the next 10 are better."

Despite the cost to Unita, and though Savimbi concedes he is unlikely to win the war, he says he has no regrets about starting the battle in 1975, nine years after he formed Unita.

"The 10 years of independence has been a time of frustration. We expected more and we must strive to make sure the next 10 are better."

He says he has no preconditions for talks with the MPLA — such overtures have been spurred to date — but insists the first point on the agenda must deal with the repatriation of the Cubans and Russians.

However, he says Angolans first have to learn the meaning of the word *dialogue*.

"We have to cultivate enough tolerance to live with the differences between people here.

"We want Angola for Angolans. We accept Angola is an important place in the sub-continent, and we accept the



PICTURE: THELOR SAMSON, AFP

struggle we have to bear. Despite all our suffering and the thousands of disabled and widows we now have, we still have something to defend — the honour of our people and the right to be different."

Talking through an interpreter to 15 of the prisoners highlighted the human tragedy that has scarred Angola. The youngest was 15, the oldest 23, and only four had volunteered to join Fapla.

Some had not seen their families since 1983, and will doubtless not see them for some time to come. According to Unita, they will be free to continue their education or start working once they "accept the Unita way of life."

Savimbi says the MPLA reneged on an agreement with the Portuguese to hold elections and called in the Cubans to keep Unita out.

"The MPLA represent only a portion of the Angolan people, while we represent the majority. Therefore, we do not ask them as a favour to come to terms with us."

While clearly disappointed at the lack of military aid from the West to date, he is optimistic it will come one day.

"If you keep fighting, your friends will come forward. In 1976 everyone left us, but France and SA have already come back with some humanitarian aid."

Savimbi defends the SA connection, though it was emphasised that SA Air Force aircraft had not been involved in the recent two-month offensive.

He says SA and Unita share a common enemy in the Soviet Union and Russian expansionism, and points out that Angola would become the launching pad for such activity were Unita defeated.

He says fuel comes through South West Africa to Jamba, while diamonds and ivory go the other way, raising some desperately needed cash for the rebels.

Unita claims to control the south-eastern third of Angola. In that area they

have built and administer schools, agricultural schemes, hospitals and clinics.

They also have administration committees that oversee the control of natural resources.

Savimbi's vision for the future appears to be based largely on developing a mixed economy, concentrating on the vast agricultural sector.

He says a sound agricultural policy would be the basis for a prosperous Angola. He is highly critical of the MPLA government because Angola has been transformed from a country that produced enough food into an "international beggar".

He says State co-operatives must be abolished and the land must be returned to the peasants.

"The State's role should be limited to ensuring that conditions exist for land to be cultivated and for the produce to be sold."

An adequate rural infrastructure has to be created — roads developed and health and educational centres built and manned. Apart from restoring profitability to rural areas, Savimbi says these moves would stem the flood of people to the cities, where they have little or no chance of finding employment.

"What we have to do is restore the people's pride and sense of responsibility. The government calls itself socialist, but they don't do anything for anyone. They are just corrupt."

Other economic proposals include the creation of a new national currency and reserve bank to operate with private banks and insurance companies, while free enterprise would be encouraged to a far greater extent.

Savimbi is openly anti-Soviet, though he and many other Unita leaders have had training there. After the Soviet Union backed the MPLA, Savimbi received support from China, but today is

regarded as one of Africa's moderate leaders.

He is particularly keen to get military aid now. Apart from the fact the MPLA are receiving increasingly sophisticated weapons for which Unita has no adequate reply, he believes a stronger Unita will win the day for moderates within the MPLA hierarchy who favour a negotiated settlement.

Unita, though based in the south-east, have guerrillas who operate throughout the country and recently were active in the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda.

"What we have to do is restore the people's pride and sense of responsibility. The government calls itself socialist, but they don't do anything for anyone."

Savimbi's support in the northern regions is evident from the forced marches captives have had to endure in the past. About 75 hostages marched unhindered for 33 days and 570km through MPLA territory last year.

Unita's regular army now stands at 26 000, while they say they have 34 000 guerrillas. This represents an increase of 20% on their total forces a year ago. But ranged against them are about 80 000 Fapla troops, up to 40 000 Cubans and thousands of Russian and East German advisers.

Savimbi says his forces had great difficulty in containing the tanks used against them but he is not too concerned at Fapla's firepower, despite the fact it has MiG 21 and 23 jet fighters.

He is confident his anti-aircraft system is more than adequate. As we left Jamba, its buildings dotted among the bush, towers with anti-aircraft weaponry were seen.

US divided over support for Unita in stand against Soviets

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States Government said yesterday that it wanted to support Unita in its resistance to Soviet aggression in Angola — but the US statement left open the question of whether the support would be military, humanitarian, political or just moral.

The statement comes at a delicate time for US policy towards war-torn Angola.

The US Congress is engaged in a lively debate over a plan to send aid to the rebel forces of Dr Jonas Savimbi. The dispute hinges on whether the US should help a pro-Western anti-Marxist movement or whether it should ignore the pleas of one of South Africa's "surrogate forces".

American conservatives and liberals have taken strong positions on either side. The issue is said to have split the Reagan Administration.

At the same time, President Reagan intends raising the Angola issue at next week's Geneva summit, asking Moscow to join Washington in underwriting a negotiated settlement between Unita and the MPLA regime. The Soviets are expected to reject the scheme.

Complicating the issue further is the contention by State Department diplomats that they need the co-operation of the MPLA in order to achieve the goals of getting Cuban troops out of the country and winning independence for Namibia. Arming Unita would not secure that co-operation.

Yesterday's US statement was in response to a plea by Dr Savimbi this week for US assistance, widely published here and in South Africa.

US spokesman Mr Bernard Kalb said: "The Administration shares the American public's sympathy with Unita resistance to Soviet aggression in Angola."

Mr Kalb outlined US policy goals in southern Africa and said the US wanted to act in concert with its

allies in the Frontline states.

"As we proceed to work towards these goals, we want to be supportive of Unita, but the way we demonstrate that support is important and we will be working with Congress in the coming weeks to meet this objective in a way compatible with our broad policy goals," Mr Kalb added.

But analysts noted, working with the Congress will not be easy, given the strong views that divide the liberals and the conservatives.

Congressman Jack Kemp of New York, a conservative leader and potential Republican presidential nominee in 1988, told a congressional hearing yesterday: "I believe that we cannot proclaim our support for freedom and democracy and then prohibit any assistance to people fighting against totalitarian governments and foreign communist troops."

Liberal Senator Steven Solarz, also of New York, argued that supporting Jonas Savimbi would increase Angola's dependence on Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Luanda is luring US businesses

NEW YORK — Angola's Marxist government has been largely successful in wooing capitalist businesses to the country, according to a report in the *Wall Street Journal*.

The article says the Dos Santos government has good relations with many American-owned firms, despite its poor relations with the Reagan administration.

It lists various US companies "contentedly doing business in Angola undaunted by the government's Marxist rhetoric".

Among them are Chevron's Gulf subsidiary Conoco, Texaco and a Louisiana sugar manufacturer, who recently took over a sugar cane mill from Cuban technicians.

The Chase Manhattan bank is a willing lender, and the US administration's export-import bank has lent the government \$230m (R622m).

The article quotes Angolan Foreign Minister Alfonso van Dunun as saying: "The paradox is that we don't have diplomatic relations with the US

when we have such good relations with American business.

"We protect all foreign enterprises in Angola because we know that the work is for our benefit."

The report says Western oil companies drilled 118 exploration wells in Angola from 1976 to 1983, doubling oil reserves to more than 1,7 bn barrels.

It adds: "Angola is sub-Saharan Africa's second-largest producer after Nigeria, and production is expected to be close to 400 000 barrels a day by 1988."

The government pays cash for its share of businesses and contributes its share of costs in joint ventures. Profits can be repatriated easily.

The US business dealings have annoyed US conservatives and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

Said Savimbi: "Gulf is supporting the government war effort. We could live with that, but Gulf is making politics, too. If they make politics they run political risks." — Sapa.

Unita needs Uncle Sam's helping hand

On the dusty parade ground at Unita's headquarters in Jamba in the Angolan bush the guerrilla movement this week celebrated one of its most important victories in the 10 years of civil war.

While Unita soldiers stood in immaculate ranks, prisoners, tanks, guns and other weaponry captured in the battle of Mavinga were paraded triumphantly past cheering and flag-waving Jamba residents.

In throwing back the determined drive on Jamba by Soviet-officered MPLA and Cuban troops a few weeks ago Unita gave the Luanda government a military bloody nose and Moscow a political black eye.

But behind the rejoicing at Jamba was a sober realisation that by stopping the MPLA thrust at Mavinga, Unita had won only a respite.

As Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader, told the cheering crowd, Unita's fight against the MPLA has entered its "crucial hour."

The movement is facing a two-pronged political and military assault by the Marxists in Luanda that seems to be aimed not at its total defeat but at reducing it to relative impotence.

Realising the virtual impossibility of destroying Unita as a guerrilla force, Luanda appears to be attempting to drive it out of its Jamba headquarters and back into the bush.

This would weaken the movement's ability to direct and supply its fighting forces, to maintain virtual control of a third of Angola and to send its guerrillas ranging as far north as the outskirts of Luanda. It would also deprive the movement of the political credibility it now gets from being able to maintain Jamba and invite foreign visitors there.

Pressure on Luanda to negotiate a political accommodation with Unita would thus be eased. Since Unita would not want to negotiate from a position of weakness its own demands for negotiation would be muted.

GERALD L'ANGE, of *The Star's* Africa News Service, this week interviewed Dr Jonas Savimbi in his Jamba stronghold, and found that in spite of his recent triumphant victory, Dr Savimbi realises that without US aid his back is still very much to the wall.

Guerrillas threw back Luanda's air power, armour and artillery in bloody fighting — an achievement that has persuaded foreign observers that the guerrillas had air support from South Africa, despite both Unita's and South Africa's denials. Unita believes, however, that the Luanda forces are being regrouped and will shortly be flung back at Jamba's defences.

To keep fighting them off Unita will need more sophisticated weapons than it now has. To get them it is looking towards the United States, where Congress recently repealed the Clark amendment that had blocked US aid to Unita.

To achieve these aims the MPLA and its Soviet backers have built up a formidable and sophisticated armed force including substantial numbers of late-model warplanes as well as tanks and other armour and artillery. Directed in the field by Soviet soldiers, this force was thrown into a determined drive on Jamba that overwhelmed the Unita defences at Cazombo in mid-September and rolled on to Mavinga, where there is an airstrip putting Jamba within easy range of air strikes. At Mavinga, however, the Unita

the face of what he sees as a Soviet threat from Angola to the whole of southern Africa.

The gesture alone, he believes, might be enough to deter Moscow from a clear plan to extend its influence throughout the sub-continent, backed by the arsenal assembled in Angola — now one of the strongest military forces in Africa.

Dr Savimbi's argument is that the US has given aid to anti-communist guerrillas in Cambodia, Nicaragua and other countries, why not therefore to Unita?

The answer to that question is simple: South Africa. American reluctance to aid Unita stems largely from wariness about being associated with Pretoria, which has been Unita's most prominent backer, and the Reagan administration's strong desire not to scare the MPLA out of the delicate Namibia settlement negotiations.

Unita is thus in a dilemma: it cannot get massive US (or other Western) aid while still closely tied to South Africa but cannot afford to dump South Africa.

It is a dilemma that Moscow and Luanda are exploiting as they prepare to go again for Unita's jugular at Jamba.

THE BIG Africa issue in the US Congress has ceased, for the time being at least, to be apartheid. President Reagan's Executive Order has combined with PW Botha's obduracy to "Lebanonise" the question. Everything that can be done has been done with no observable result. Futility has bred contempt, and the caravan has moved on to make mischief elsewhere. In Angola, to be precise.

The arresting feature of the current debate over whether to provide aid to Unita is that virtually none of the participants have more than the vaguest notion of what they are talking about. This is not necessarily their fault. Angola is a long way off, and its society firmly closed. Good intelligence on the place simply does not exist.

However, the absence of intelligence has rarely been known to keep a Congressman down, and close to a hundred of them have signed on to sponsoring a variety of bills that would have the US grant the arbitrary sum of \$27m in humanitarian and/or military aid to assist the overthrow of this mysterious country's government because it happens to be backed by Cubans, Soviets, North Koreans and other such villains.

On Tuesday, half a dozen of these Congressmen sought to explain to the House Africa sub-committee what it was they were trying to achieve and why. It was an illuminating event.

Congressman Mark Siljander, the panel's senior Republican, spoke graphically of "squelching the creeping cowardice of the Vietnam syndrome" by helping to liberate the "Angolian" people.

Congressman Samuel Stratton, a crusty New York Democrat, waxed lyrical on the Western virtues of Unita's leader, but had trouble with his name, which emerged variously as "Dr Sabimi" and "Dr Savimimi".

More to the point was Congressman Claude Pepper, the veteran, and almost legendary, chairman of the House Rules committee, who started the ball rolling last July by sponsoring the repeal of the Clark Amendment which had previously blocked US aid to Dr Savimimi or whoever.

Pepper observed that he hadn't given much thought to Angola until a few months ago, when he was taken to lunch by the Cuban-American

Impotent US posturing over \$27m aid to Unita

5
B. Day
15/11/85

SIMON BARBER in Washington

National Foundation (CANF), who told him a thing or two about what Fidel Castro was up to over there.

The CANF are big in Pepper's Miami district, so he listened. He also could not help remembering how "my late wife and I began our honeymoon in Cuba in 1936. We used to call it the jewel of the Caribbean..." Who could not be moved by this grand old man?

Memories of one's honeymoon and pressure from the survivors of the Bay of Pigs are no great foundation for a foreign policy, and, to his credit, Pepper probably knows as much.

As chairman of the Rules committee he could easily have slipped his Unita aid bill on to the House floor by now. That he hasn't hints that he is going through the paces to please his constituents.

The arguments mustered against his position were not much more impressive than his own, however. Congressman Howard Wolpe, the panel's chairman, persevered with the single (and, in his own estimation, brilliant) observation that Savimbi was no capitalist.

Neatly turning the tactics of the late Senator McCarthy, he spent most of the afternoon retailing brief quotations from the Unita leader and his lieutenants "proving" they were Maoists and therefore undeserving of US support.

This tended to undermine the position taken by Congressmen Stephen Solarz and William Gray that Savimbi was a demon for the simple reason that he was a stooge of the "apartheid" regime and that backing him meant cohabiting with Pretoria, and, heaven forbid, overriding the express wishes of the OAU.

Instead, argued this duo and their allies, it was time to give "constructive engagement" a chance and let the "linkage" between Cuban withdrawal and Namibian independence have a chance. Which, from the very people who until recently wanted the heads of "constructive engagement" and its author, Dr Chester Crocker, served up on a platter, was extraordinary.

Coherence finally debuted in the unlikely form of Congressman Ted Weiss, a liberal Democrat of the whining persuasion. Unlike his colleagues, Weiss had gone to the trouble of asking the Library of Congress to provide him with the sum of available and undisputable information about Angola. The resulting memorandum filled just 17 double-spaced pages.

Using this evidence, Weiss asked a series of eminently sensible questions: "Is this a project to overthrow the Angolan government? If so, what will be the cost, human, economic and

If Crocker can't get Luanda and the South Africans back to the negotiating table any time soon, goodbye common sense. It's one hell of a way to make foreign policy.

political, of such a project? How long will it take? Will \$27m, or \$200m or \$20bn be enough?

"What will be the fruits of victory, if victory is achieved? Do we have reason to expect democracy and prosperity at the end of the bloody road, or will we be sowing the seeds of another generation of bloodshed and destruction?"

"Does Unita have the capacity to accomplish the overthrow of the Angolan government? If not, what will be the cost, in dollars, in lives, in our credibility, of a failed attempt?"

"The US is Angola's largest trading partner... Western economic aid is greater than East bloc aid by a factor of 40 to 1, according to the latest based overwhelmingly on Western ern-based and capital formation is based overwhelmingly on Western investments."

US direct investment in Angola was \$178m in 1983, the latest year for which figures are available. The Export-Import Bank has an exposure of some \$261m. American companies sell oil field and mining equipment, aircraft and food to Angola. American oil companies are responsible for much of Angolan oil production.

"Among American companies doing business with Angola are Boeing, General Electric, General Tire, Morgan Guaranty Trust, Fluor Corporation, Gulf Oil (Chevron), Texaco, Marathon Oil and Occidental Petroleum... does the evidence really suggest that Angola is a Soviet satellite?"

Finally, after all the posturing — and what is \$27m if not the most impotent posturing? — someone had had the guts to ask: can we win this one?

No heartrending reminiscences about honeymoons, no thunderings about Soviet expansionism, no dire warnings against siding with Pretoria, no quibbles over Savimbi's political leanings. Just a perfectly reasonable question about the possibility and value of "victory" in this instance.

Unfortunately, Congress is in the mood to look tough, and apart from Crocker and the State Department, most of the administration is similar.

ANGOLA

ARGUS 20/11/85

(5) 

Left-wing Americans turn on Jonas Savimbi

The Unita movement is under attack for its 'South African connections'. NEIL LURSSEN of The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington

DR JONAS Savimbi's Unita movement has become the latest target of leftwing Americans both inside and outside the Congress who are working themselves up into a moral lather over the Angolan rebel group's connections with South Africa.

Double standards have always been a striking feature of US politics, and in the suddenly lively matter of US aid to Unita, it is reaching new heights — or depths, depending on your perspective.

Leftwingers and liberals, who have always quite correctly rejected the concept of guilt by association, have taken to castigating Unita as a puppet force of its apartheid masters in Pretoria.

The fact that Unita is a home-grown African resistance movement, fighting a repressive regime, and accepting whatever helps comes its way, does not count for the leftists. All that matters is that it gets support from South Africa. Therefore it must, by definition, be wicked.

For the past decade, while the Clark Amendment was in place, Unita was not much of an issue in the US. It was seen as a remarkably tenacious band of African bushfighters whose exploits occasionally got into the papers, and that was it.

What has changed the situation is the repeal of the Clark Amendment, a development that caught the US left off guard.

This measure was introduced in the mid-seventies when word reached the US that its Central Intelligence Agency was supplying weapons to anti-marxist factions in the Angolan civil war.

Moved partly by a fear of getting trapped in another Vietnam-type conflict, Congress voted in favour of liberal Senator Dick Clark's amendment to stop all such aid. Senator Clark was later rejected by voters of his home state of Iowa, but his amendment survived — until a few months ago.



Dr Savimbi

Jackson, New York Congressman Ted Weiss and New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis say that helping Unita will put the US in the same camp as the hated South African government.

"Our character as a nation is threatened when we align ourselves with the racist regime of South Africa," Mr Jackson thundered at a recent conference in Washington.

Mr Weiss made a speech in the Congress outlining the "Cowardly and brutal deeds" of Unita terrorists. But the worst

Now, conservatives are demanding that the US stand behind Unita. Some want to supply medicine and clothing. Other want to send weapons.

But liberals are outraged and some, like the Rev Jesse

thing about them, he spluttered, was that they were surrogate forces of the S A Government.

The absence of logic in their argument seems to have embarrassed some of their colleagues who have avoided making the apartheid connection but who contend, reasonably, that US aid to Unita will simply lead to more Soviet help for the MPLA with a steady increase in violence and bloodshed.

If the US had to take into account all the policies of its allies and friends, it would have had to stop its military supplies to the Soviets in World War 2. Today, it would have to end its ties with the Red Chinese who remain communists in spite of some halting moves toward private enterprise.

Besides, Messrs Jackson, Weiss, Lewis and their friends could be said to be pro-marxist because they are aligning themselves with the MPLA which is avowedly communist. Obviously, they are not marxists.

MIDDLE EAST

American Left in huge dilemma over Unita

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star's
Washington Bureau

Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement has become the latest target of leftwing Americans, both inside and outside Congress, who are working themselves up into a moral lather over the Angolan rebel group's connections with South Africa.

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But liberals are outraged and some, like the Rev Jesse Jackson,

The jittery attitude the American Left has adopted in all its dealings with any issue remotely connected with South Africa, has led to an ironic situation regarding Dr Savimbi's anti-communist Unita movement.

New York Congressman Ted Weiss, and New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis say that helping Unita will put the US in the same camp as the hated SA Government.

"Our character as a nation is threatened when we align ourselves with the racist regime of South Africa," Mr Jackson thundered at a recent conference in Washington.

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Besides, Messrs Jackson, Weiss, Lewis and their friends could be said to be pro-Marxist because they are aligning themselves with the MPLA — which is avowedly communist. Obviously, they are not Marxists.

The liberals protested when the late Senator Joe McCarthy took guilt by association to an extreme, tarring innocent people with a commie brush to pursue his own political ends.

Now they are doing the same thing — saying that those who support Unita must be SA-style racists.

5 Star

20/11/85

The strange salesman in the bundu 5 Mail W. 2/11/85

WHAT is an American Korean War veteran and expert in military matters, purporting to be a corporate insurance analyst examining "investment risks" for an unnamed company, doing in Jamba, headquarters of the Angolan rebel movement, Unita?

That is what journalist John McKay asked when he met this man, who would give his name only as "Chuck", in Jamba last weekend.

About 50 years old, wearing a black

beret with a Savimbi badge on it and sporting a very lived-in face, he spoke about the weaponry:

"See those two snub-nosed machine-gun mortars? Well that's what they need here in quantity. Great anti-personnel weapon. Even when you hit a tree, the shrapnel has a devastating downward burst."

McKay interjected: "You're not a journalist, Chuck?"

"Hell, no, I'm what you would term a corporate insurance analyst. I'm

doing a tour of this region to examine investment risks," he said.

Asked which corporations he represented, he said only, "the biggest".

"Chuck" also said he was a tank commander in Korea, gave a detailed account of the strength of Unita troops and did not answer when asked if he was from Langley (headquarters of the CIA).

He then left the journalists in order to visit Jonas Savimbi personally.

CAPE TIMES
21/4/85

SADF 'to invade Angola

LUBANGO. — The commander of the fifth Politico-Military region, Major Luis Faceira, said on Tuesday that South African troops were massed in SWA/Namibia ready to invade Angola's sovereign territory.

Speaking at the opening of a seminar of the organizing and mobilizing directorate of the Fapa General Staff, Major Faceira denounced the alleged massing on the Angolan border of about 20 000 South African troops deployed in three brigades, 18 independent infantry battalions and two landing and assault battalions, supported by 150 tanks, 400 artillery pieces, 300 mortars, several hundred armoured personnel carriers and 80 aircraft and helicopters.

● Last night a South African Defence Force spokesman in Pretoria said he had no comment.
— Own Correspondent and Staff Reporter

5 Day 22/11/85

Unita claims ambush deaths

LISBON — Angola's Unita rebels claim to have killed or captured a number of leading government officials in the central province of Benguela.

A spokesman said in a telephone call yesterday to an international news agency in Lisbon that Unita forces had ambushed a convoy of

11 cars on November 11.

He claimed the chief of the Benguela military recruitment centre and his Cuban adviser had been killed.

Provincial government representatives and Angola's budget director had also died in the attack, he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Angola holds secret ⁽⁵⁾ talks with rebel group ^{Stew}

By Godwin Matatu of The Observer

22/11/85

CABINDA — The Angolan Government and rebels of the secessionist Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (Flec) have been engaged in secret negotiations aimed at ending the low intensity 10-year guerilla war that has made this tiny oil-rich enclave on the Atlantic coast one of the most militarised of Angola's 18 administrative provinces.

Observers here say this is the first time that the usually uncompromising government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has consented to direct talks with any of the armed groups actively fighting it.

At the same time the rebels have been forced to sue for a settlement because, as one of their leaders put it, "no military plan is now conceivable" to achieve their aims.

MILITARY COMMANDER

A senior military commander of the mainstream of the secessionist movement arrived here last week from Flec's hideout in the thick tropical forests to continue the delicate discussions with Angolan authorities. His group, one of the three claiming to be the authentic Flec, is clearly taken seriously here.

Led by Tiago N'zita, a prominent figure in Cabinda's secessionist politics for over a decade, this faction is believed to have several thousand guerillas who, though not well armed and also under-supplied, continue to threaten the strategic oil installations here.

Authoritative sources here say the talks between the Government and Mr N'zita's Flec began in earnest in September last year after contact had been established through intermediaries in Congo and Zaire.

Though neither side has publicly announced it, it is now known that a breakthrough was made in February

this year when a ceasefire was signed at the timber centre of Buco-Zau.

So far this ceasefire appears to be holding and local sources say there have been virtually no attacks by the guerillas. Huge lorries ferrying timber now travel without running the gauntlet of guerilla ambushes.

A durable peaceful settlement, however, remains elusive. Sources close to the talks say the N'zita faction is holding out for a referendum in the enclave to determine whether the 100,000 population wants to remain an integral part of Angola or opt for "total and unconditional independence".

The Luanda Government rejects this and insists on the inviolability of its present territory. What it is prepared to discuss, sources say, is a measure of autonomy for the enclave with greater local say in matters of social and economic development.

All along the frontier with Zaire, through which Flec infiltrated its fighters, there is a heavy army presence and garrisons manned by 2,000 Cuban troops. Unlike other parts of Angola, the Cuban presence here is in high profile. Last week on the road to the Zaire-Angolan border town of Yema, there was a convoy of 23 Cuban military vehicles complete with artillery pieces and heavy field guns coming from border duties. Other cars on the road were waved off to the verges until the convoy had gone through.

The Cubans are here not only to guard against possible invasion from Zaire. (A mercenary-led force almost overran the enclave in 1975). Most of them are deployed around the Cabinda oilfields which are the mainstay of Angola's foreign revenue.

Last May, a South African commando unit was intercepted near the Gulf Oil-owned Malombo storage tanks. According to one of the commandos who is held in captivity here, their mission was to destroy the oil tanks.

US ponders Unita aid

Cubans may step up Angolan war as

By Neil Lurssen
The Star Bureau

national crusade such as that fought against Hitler." Such a war would be likely to be fought mainly in Angola, said the paper.

President Reagan has been under pressure from Republican congressmen and analysts in his administration to back Unita in their fight against the Marxist MPLA.

At a Press conference at the White House, President Reagan was asked about moves in the Congress to provide \$27 million (R68 million) of humanitarian or military aid to the rebels.

According to a *Washington Post* report, the president replied: "We all believe a covert operation would be more useful to us and have more chance of success right now than the overt proposal made in the Congress."

That statement is the firmest indication the US government may be moving away from its opposition to any direct aid to Unita.

In the past it was feared aid would destroy any chance of co-operation from the MPLA in the effort to get the Cubans out of Angola and internationally acceptable independence for Namibia.

In an attempt to end the Angolan conflict, Mr Reagan proposed a joint US-Soviet peace initiative, when he met Mr Mikhail Gorbachev in Geneva last week.

The US idea was for the two Superpowers to act as referees to underwrite a negotiated settlement between the battling factions, leading to a withdrawal of foreign troops — South African and Cuban.

Mr Reagan's proposal had little success in Geneva. He told the Congress at a joint sitting afterwards:

"As for Soviet expansionism in a number of regions of the world — while there is little chance of immediate change, we will continue to support the heroic efforts of those who fight for freedom."

The Soviets did agree, Mr Reagan added, to continue the meetings between Russian and American officials on the Angolan issue and other regional conflicts "and to work toward political solutions".

In the light of that agreement and the effort by both Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachev to surround the Geneva talks with an aura of mutual understanding and some rapport, this weekend's report that Cuba wants

to upgrade the conflict has surprised analysts.

One suggested it may be part of a Cuban-propaganda effort to stop the United States from supplying aid to the Unita rebels.

According to US analyst Mr Cord Meyer, Reagan administration officials see no alternative to a policy of active support for Jonas Savimbi because Unita's defeat would have disastrous consequences for US interests throughout Southern Africa.

By posing a real communist military threat (to Namibia), complete Marxist control of Angola would strengthen the hand of white racists inside South Africa and further reduce the chances of liberalising reform. Mr Meyer wrote in *The Washington Times* this week.

WASHINGTON — Any attempt by the Cuban Government to widen the conflict in Angola would be a direct challenge to the Reagan administration which appears to be on the brink of endorsing covert aid to Unita rebels.

The *Observer* newspaper reported at the weekend that Cuban leader, President Fidel Castro, was seeking Soviet approval to declare war on South Africa. The liberal British weekly quoted an unidentified senior Cuban official, involved in Havana's representations to Moscow, as saying the aim was to turn the struggle against the South African Government into "an interna-

Unita has diverse band of supporters

WASHINGTON — A diverse assortment of lobbyists and lawmakers has lined up behind Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Angolan guerrilla leader, seeking millions of American dollars to shore up his resistance movement.

Backing Dr Savimbi, among others, are the oldest member of the House, a potential Republican presidential candidate, a 24-year-old elementary school teacher and the US Navy Secretary's brother.

They include a civil-rights leader and former presidential candidate, the Rev Jesse Jackson, the Congressional Black Caucus and Mr Randall Robinson, the head of TransAfrica, a lobbying group opposed to the

Pretoria Government.

Gulf Oil Corporation, which does business with Angola's Marxist Government, has also questioned the wisdom of assisting Dr Savimbi.

The Unita leader wants help in carrying on the battle he has been waging against the Government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

The question of US support for Dr Savimbi was moot until last September when a congressional ban on aid to any party in Angola was lifted.

Now there are Bills pending in the House that would give Dr Savimbi \$54 million (R145 million), divided evenly between military assistance and humanitarian aid such as food.

On another level, the Reagan Administration is weighing whether to ask Congress for millions of dollars in covert aid for Unita.

Although the State Department has consistently opposed Unita aid in the past, that policy is being re-evaluated.

Dr Savimbi's cause in Washington is being furthered by lawmakers ranging from Democratic representative Mr Claude Pepper, the House's oldest member and chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee, to Republican representative Mr Jack Kemp, the conservative whose name is mentioned as a 1988 presidential candidate.

And Dr Savimbi has hired as his lobbyist Mr Chris Lehman, Navy Secretary Mr John Lehman's brother and a former staffer at the National Security Council.

"What we're trying to do is make the case that this is an important issue and it is in the best interests of the US to help Savimbi," Mr Lehman said.

Conservatives have leapt on Dr Savimbi's bandwagon. One of those is Miss Christanne Lemmon (24), a school teacher, who is director of the six-week-old American Angolan Public Affairs Council.

Miss Lemmon and two helpers receive money from Free the Eagle, a conservative lobby. — Sapa-Associated Press.

US politicians square up over Savimbi

WASHINGTON. — A diverse assortment of lobbyists and lawmakers has lined up behind Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Angolan guerrilla leader seeking millions of American dollars to shore up his resistance movement.

Backing Dr Savimbi, among others, are the oldest member of the House, a potential Republican presidential candidate, a 24-year-old elementary school teacher and the US Navy Secretary's brother.

Fighting the aid proposal are many of the same people who persuaded Congress to impose sanctions last fall on South Africa. They include a civil-rights leader and former presidential candidate, the Rev Jesse Jackson; the

Congressional Black Caucus, and Mr Randall Robinson, the head of TransAfrica, a lobbying group opposed to the Pretoria government.

Allied with Congressional blacks is the Free South Africa movement, which spearheaded anti-apartheid protests across the US during the past year.

Gulf Oil Corp, which does business with Angola's Marxist government, has also questioned the wisdom of assisting Dr Savimbi. Chevron Corp recently bought Gulf.

Dr Savimbi, the head of Unita, wants help in carrying on the decade-old battle he has been waging against the Soviet-supported Angolan

Government of President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos — which has no diplomatic relations with the US. Unita, which controls the southeast corner of Angola, operates in most of the country.

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Mr Pepper says his involvement stems from the interest his constituents in Miami have in Angola. Close

links between the Angolan Government and Dr Fidel Castro's government have angered Florida's Cuban-Americans, said Mr Pepper, whose South Florida district includes many people from that ethnic group.

"Why should that little country be counted out of freedom?" asked Mr Pepper, noting there are some 35 000 Cuban military advisers and troops in Angola and the Soviets have poured \$2 billion (about R5.4 billion) worth of arms into the country over the last two years.

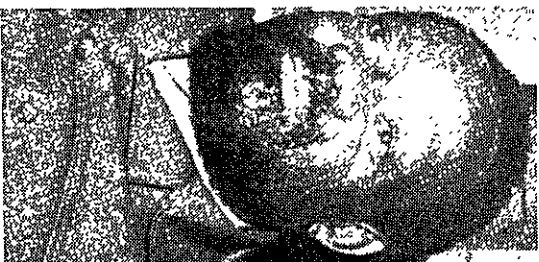
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Gulf's lobbyists defend their company's partnership with Angola, in which the Dos Santos government has a 51 percent interest in the operations at Cabinda. — Sapa-AP



Dr Savimbi

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — The Angolan Government still rejects any negotiations with Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel movement, thus maintaining intact one of the major obstacles to a Namibian settlement.

It is understood the Angolan position was made clear to Dr Chester Crocker, the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, in Lusaka yesterday by Mr Alexander Rodrigues, the Angolan Interior Minister and the man most deeply involved in the Namibian negotiations.

Dr Crocker flew to Lusaka for discussions with Mr Rodrigues in a bid to restart talks between Angola and South Africa which could lead to the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 setting out the framework for a Namibian settlement. The talks continue today.

Cuban troops

Central to the issue of a Namibian settlement is South Africa's refusal to press ahead with implementation of UN Resolution 435 until the 35 000 Cuban troops in Angola are withdrawn — or until a satisfactory timetable for their withdrawal is negotiated.

However, while Angola insists the Cubans are in the country to protect it from South African aggression, the Cubans' main role is to defend the Luanda Government against the South African-backed Unita rebel movement.

Mr Rodrigues is understood to have claimed the issue of Cuban troop withdrawal was being used by the United States to delay Namibian independence — and that this remained unacceptable to Angola.

Instead, he urged, the United States should pressure South Africa towards a Namibian settlement and away from aid to Unita.

Dr Crocker is understood to have repeated his government's opposition to apartheid, its rejection of South Africa's destabilisation policies and its commitment to a Namibian settlement within the framework of UN Resolution 435.

He is also understood to have warned Mr Rodrigues that the

Reagan Administration would shortly be reviewing its relationship with Unita and that, even if the Administration rejected aid to Unita, it could be overruled by the United States Congress.

Mr Rodrigues reportedly responded that his government would not go along with any suggestion that called for negotiations with Unita.

● Sapa reports that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night that Angola and the United Nations were trying to create the impression that South Africa was responsible for the "calamitous situation" in Angola.

South Africa rejected a United Nations commission report on the situation in southern Angola because of its one-sidedness and its misrepresentation of the facts, Mr Botha said.

Angola tells Crocker: No negotiations with Unita

AKAS 28/11/85

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NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

bombed and extensively damaged

Angolan
US talks

LUSAKA. — Senior Angolan and US officials began crucial talks on Southern Africa here on Tuesday as Pretoria welcomed indications that Washington might aid Angola's Unita rebels.

A US Embassy spokesman said the talks began in earnest earlier on Tuesday with Washington's Africa expert Dr Chester Crocker heading the American side. Luanda's delegation is headed by the Interior Minister, Mr Alexandre Rodrigues Kito.

Both American and Angolan officials said the talks would centre on US conditions for the independence of SWA/Namibia, the deteriorating political situation in South Africa and the establishment of diplomatic relations between Luanda and Washington.

Another key issue before the officials is US aid for the Unita rebels.

State-run Radio South Africa said in a commentary ahead of the talks that the Reagan administration had given its firmest indication yet that aid for Unita was a distinct possibility, which was "heartening news".

— Sapa-Reuter

Angola needs aid because of SA raids UN report

Star 28/11/85

NEW YORK — Angola needs international aid to alleviate the suffering caused by recent South African aggression, as well as to help refugees from Namibia, South Africa and elsewhere, a United Nations report said yesterday.

It was drafted by a three-member commission set up under a Security Council resolution last September which condemned South Africa and called on it to pay full compensation.

South Africa has rejected the report.

The UN panel said: "The commission believes that there is a need for international assistance to alleviate the suffering of the people who have been displaced and/or otherwise affected by South African aggression against Angola, as well as refugees from Namibia, South Africa and elsewhere."

EQUIPMENT DESTROYED

It stressed that this appeal did not diminish South Africa's responsibility to pay full compensation to the Angolan Government.

The commission — representatives from Egypt, Australia and Peru — said material damage estimated at about R92 million was caused by South African attacks during September and October at two locations, Cazombo and Mavinga, but the real losses were much higher.

More than R97 million of the total was accounted for by military equipment destroyed at Mavinga — including a MiG-21 aircraft, nine helicopters and more than 50 vehicles.

The panel was unable to visit Mavinga because of ongoing military operations and had to rely on Angolan estimates, which it believed accurate.

The commission had also not taken into account the consequences of the latest fighting on the livelihood of the people in the affected regions, or on the economy as a whole. This was

because of lack of data, continuing military operations, and because many of the effects would become apparent only over time.

In Pretoria, South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said Angola and the UN were trying to create the impression that South Africa was responsible for the "calamitous situation" in Angola.

"The fact of the matter is that the situation in Angola is the result of the civil war which is currently being waged between the MPLA and Unita. The civil war, in turn, was caused by the MPLA, which in 1975 broke the Alvor Agreement and drove Unita and the FNLA out of Luanda.

"The fact of the matter is that the situation in Angola is the result of the civil war which is currently being waged between the MPLA and Unita. The civil war, in turn, was caused by the MPLA, which in 1975 broke the Alvor Agreement and drove Unita and the FNLA out of Luanda with Cuban and Soviet assistance."

The free and fair elections which were to have been held before independence have never taken place, said Mr Botha.

"This is primarily because the MPLA, which has its cultural roots in Lisbon and its political roots in Moscow, knows that it would lose in a free election against Unita."

Instead of allowing the people of Angola to decide their own future, the MPLA "had imported more than 35 000 Cuban troops and thousands of Soviet surrogates to protect it against its own people".

"The commission would have done well to report on the untold suffering that these elements have inflicted on the Angolan people and on the manner in which they have devastated Angola's economy.

"It should also have assessed the damage done in Namibia by Swapo terrorists operating from Angola." — Sapa-Reuter.

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(5) Stan 29/1/78
US, Angola end useful meeting

LUSAKA — American and Angolan envoys concluded their first discussions in five months last night, saying the meeting was "useful" and they planned more talks within a few weeks.

The two countries have no diplomatic ties and there has been a semi-public debate in the Reagan Administration over resuming aid to the Angolan Government's guerilla enemies.

Differences between the two governments are centred on the future of Namibia and the presence of Cuban troops helping the Angolan Government.

After two days of talks, Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and Angola's Interior Minister, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexandre Rodrigues Kito, went to the Lusaka State House to brief Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

Dr Crocker told reporters the discussions paved the way for further negotiations "in the search for a peaceful solution to the Namibian independence problem".

"From the standpoint of the United States Government we had a useful discussion," said Dr Crocker.

He said the US wanted to "re-energise" the negotiations which broke down with Angola's withdrawal in protest against the repeal of the Clarke Amendment by Congress.

The amendment had barred US aid to Unita, which is fighting the Angolan Government.

Lieutenant-Colonel Kito said the two states would meet for another round of talks in Luanda, the Angolan capital, within the next few weeks. He said the Lusaka talks were "very useful." — Sapa-Reuter.

CAPE TOWN 27/11/83
US, Angola in
(5)
'useful' meeting

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The amendment barred US aid to Unita, which is led by Dr Jonas Savimbi and is fighting the left-wing Angolan Government.

Colonel Rodrigues said the two states would meet for another round of talks in Luanda, the Angolan capital, within the next few weeks. He described the Lusaka talks as "very useful". — Sapa-Reuter

From RICHARD WALKER

Unita ^{CME Time 3/12/85} finding support from US right wing

NEW YORK. — A boycott of Gulf Oil's products is among projected ventures emanating from a surge of right-wing activity in support of Unita.

Borrowing from the anti-apartheid disinvestment campaign, a group called the American Republican Foundation says it is promoting the boycott as a way of protesting against Gulf's support for the Angolan government, in that its oil royalties help provide an annual \$500 million needed for the upkeep of Cuban forces.

The foundation is unusual in one respect. The amount of its boycott budget is known — \$130 000, plus free office and telephone provided by the American Security Council, a more es-

tablished conservative group.

None of the many bodies entering the field against Luanda will reveal how much they have raised to promote the Savimbi cause, nor will they identify their contributors.

Director Mr Michael Glasser says the American Republic Foundation was set up five months ago as a tax-exempt education group

to promote the 1987 bicentenary of the American constitution. "After a few trips to Africa we found a greater calling," he explains.

Others rallying to the Savimbi cause are even younger.

Among them is the College Republic National Committee, a right-wing youth group that first came up with the boycott idea about four months ago.

Activity includes the promotion of a film about Dr Savimbi, titled "The Challenger", and pressing the argument that Chevron Oil, Gulf's parent company, is siding with Marxists.

Another is the American Angolan Public Affairs Council. Two months old, it aims to lobby for Unita in the US Congress.

Angola to increase military spending

LISBON — Angola's ruling party has agreed to step up military spending and give priority to defence against South Africa and anti-government guerrillas, the official news agency Angop has reported.

Angop said yesterday the 700 delegates to the MPLA five-yearly congress unanimously approved a report urging for more funds to be allocated for defence against South Africa and Unita guerrillas.

The agency said the 154-page report, read to the congress by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos yesterday, concluded that in spite of security problems Angola had made progress in stabilising its foreign debt, reducing its budget deficit and repairing war damage.

It said, however, a policy of austerity was required over the next five years.

The report urged more encouragement for investment from socialist countries instead of a tendency for uncontrolled reliance on capitalist firms. Legal changes would be made to give the government more control over foreign investment and make overseas firms more responsible to companies they supplied in Angola, the report said.

OIL SECTOR

Angop quoted the report as saying there should be more domestic participation in Angola's most important industry, oil, which it said was dependent on foreign technology and multinational companies.

The oil sector accounted for 35 percent of gross domestic product and about 90 percent of exports, the report said, adding that production rose to 75 million barrels in 1984 from 47,5 million in 1981.

The industry is dominated by the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, owned by America's Chevron, which with the state-owned Sonangol produces almost 80 percent of Angola's crude oil.

The congress is expected to continue until December 9. — Sapa-Reuter.

'S A-Angola peace talks face revival'

LONDON—Stalled efforts to find a southern African peace settlement are reviving rapidly, according to Western diplomatic sources who predicted a 'pre-Christmas flurry' of contacts.

The sources said that Angola and South Africa, the key parties to any package deal, were now anxious to resume negotiations with US mediation.

Both sides were alarmed by heavy fighting in Angola in October and November between Cuban-backed Government forces and rebels supported by South Africa, they said.

The package has come out of the 'ice-box', a diplomat who closely follows developments in the region commented. 'People on all sides are worried about the escalating violence down there.'

He said Angola's MPLA Government had invited Dr Chester Crocker, the Reagan Administration's top official for African affairs, to continue talks in Luanda in mid-December.

Dr Crocker, an Assistant Secretary of State, had not yet replied but it was probable that Washington would accept, the diplomat said.

He did not rule out a direct Angolan-South African meeting shortly afterwards.

The first indication that Luanda was keen to revive the US-brokered peace process after a five-month lull came early last month when Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, at the UN General Assembly in

New York, met Dr Crocker privately.

That meeting led to talks in Zambia last week between Dr Crocker and the Angolan Interior Minister, Mr Alexandre Rodrigues Kito.

No details of the talks were disclosed but the diplomatic sources said Angola's position on the key question of withdrawing Cuban troops had softened.

Luanda refuses to send home the estimated 30 000 Cubans until South Africa stops aiding UNITA guerillas, withdraws its forces from neighbouring South West Africa and proceeds towards South West African independence, in line with UN Security Council resolution 435. — (Sapa-Reuter)

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'Flurry' of peace talks in S Africa predicted

Cape Times 6/12/88 (5)

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WCC divided on sanctions

HARARE. — Churchmen at the World Council of Churches meeting on South Africa were divided on the sanctions issue yesterday with leading Western bishops cautioning for limited economic sanctions and other churches promising support for guerilla movements calls for a total embargo.

While the ANC and PAC lobbied for churches to support a blanket economic embargo British and

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The sources said the US was still insisting that this synthesis must be the basis for any future settlement.

The renewed fighting inside Angola has paradoxically given fresh impetus to negotiations, the sources added. "The main actors are alarmed that the conflict is turning into a modern 30 Years' War," one source said.

Hardware

Pretoria is keenly concerned about the danger of enhanced Soviet involvement in an escalating bush war in Angola.

US analysts say that Angola received vastly-increased Soviet arms and military hardware last year, and President Dos Santos said this week that Angola would have to spend over a third of its budget on defence in coming years.

President Reagan's announcement recently that he favoured giving Unita \$27 million (R75 million) worth of covert military aid also worried Luanda, the sources said, and gave new urgency to its search for a settlement. — Sapa-Reuter

WCC divided on sanctions
CARE trips 6/2/88

WCC divided on sanctions

HARARE. — Churchmen at the World Council of Churches meeting on South Africa were divided on the sanctions issue yesterday with leading Western bishops cautioning for limited economic sanctions and other churches promising support for guerilla movements calls for a total embargo.

While the ANC and PAC lobbied for churches to support a blanket economic embargo, British and Canadian prelates insisted they would only recommend targeted sanctions.

The disagreement came on the second of a three-day emergency meeting of 85 church leaders to map out strategy to force an end to apartheid.

The Very Rev John Haggood, the Anglican Bishop of York, said the British Council of Churches is "committed to targeted sanctions with a specific aim of negotiations in view".

"Some of us believe the best way to use sanctions is very protective, very selective sanctions," said the Most Rev Edward Scott, Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada.

An ANC official said: "We are going to try to force this issue... But it doesn't look like the (West) Germans, the British and the Canadians are prepared to go far enough." — Sapa-AP

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MPLA congress elects new ruling committee

Argus Africa News Service

ARGUS 9/12/85 (5)

LUANDA. — The MPLA congress here has ended in a secret ballot for a new 90-strong committee to lead the party which has ruled Angola since independence from Portugal 10 years ago.

Months ago hundreds of hopeful candidates for power presented themselves to their party cells, then to municipal and regional assemblies. A hundred made it through the hours of open debate on their merits.

The MPLA's 35 000 members in a country of 10-million have a direct say in both the ruling personalities and policies.

The vote came at a time when the MPLA was taking stock of itself. All weekend, in day and night sessions behind closed doors in Luanda's Congress Palace, the country's leaders debated, criticised and argued over past and present failings of their men and their policies.

President José Eduardo dos Santos set the tone of self-criticism in a six-hour marathon reading of the central committee's report. A third of it was devoted to economic problems and particularly to the failings in the agricultural sector.

Among the more than 600 delegates to the congress were only 12 peasants — a sign of the party's failure to engage the countryside in the years since the liberation war which was so dependent on the MPLA's rural bases in Cabinda.

New optimism

But even if the party of peasants and workers has not been achieved in the way envisaged by Angola's first President, Dr Agostinho Neto, the Marxist-Leninist orientation set by the MPLA's founding fathers has been clearly reiterated throughout this congress.

In organisation and in language, the congress has reaffirmed that the debate here is how, not whether, to build a socialist state.

However, the war continues as the daily background.

At the weekend foreign radio stations reported new optimism in Washington for a Southern African settlement bringing independence to SWA/Namibia and peace to Angola.

And from Lisbon, Unita announced that it had shot down two helicopters and killed 28 Cubans — a claim treated with scepticism, as are all Unita's claims here.

A delayed report from Kinshasa that an Angolan military plane lost a week ago on a flight from the northern province of Uige to Cabinda was found in Zaire with 40 Cubans on board is a fresh indication of the strained relations which still exist between the two countries.

Cuban protection of the oil installations in Cabinda, which is surrounded by Zaire, is crucial.

Angolans, Cubans try again

Unita is facing major offensive

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Angolan troops, backed by a Cuban regiment and Soviet bombers and helicopter gunships, have launched a second major offensive on Unita rebel positions in south-eastern Angola, it has been learned in Washington.

The attack, which started on Friday with "saturation bombing" of rebel-held territory, signalled the start of the second mass attack this year by soldiers of the Angolan army, Fapla, which is bent on destroying Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel headquarters at Jamba near the Namibian border.

A Unita spokesman said in Washington yesterday that about 3 500 Fapla troops and 1 500 Cubans were at Cuito Cuanavale and moving slowly southwards. The bombing started after several weeks of "intensive activity" in which Fapla, the Soviets and Cubans had ferried military material in Soviet transport aircraft from the ports of Luanda and Lobito to Cuito Cuanavale.

The ferry operation, the Unita spokesman said in an interview, had averaged 15 flights a day.

The spokesman noted that this was the first major Fapla offensive against Unita in Angola's rainy season. He said the rains had started and the ground was becoming muddy.

It is not known at this stage

if they are going to use tanks. The soil is getting soggy which means that they are most likely to make use of their air superiority to carry out saturation bombing of our positions in that area.

So far there had been no reports of pitched infantry battles, he said. The progress of the Fapla/Cuban columns had been slow, retarded still further by Unita forces which had deployed between Cuito Cuanavale and Menongue.

Light casualties had been suffered in the bombing of Unita positions since Friday. He could not specify how many people had been hurt or killed but said Unita positions east of Cuito Cuanavale had been bombed by MiG-21 aircraft and helicopters.

COVERT US AID

The *Washington Post* reported early today that the Reagan administration had "tentatively" decided to give Unita less than \$30 million (R75 million) as the first installment of a covert aid programme.

Quoting administration sources, the report said that disbursement had been delayed until at least January because the State Department hoped to use the threat of US support for Unita to pressure the Angolan Government into negotiating the withdrawal of 35 000 Cuban troops from Angola as part of a settlement in Southern Africa.

Influential US newspapers

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Two of America's most influential newspapers have rejected US aid to Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita in a widening argument at the highest levels of government on the Angolan rebel movement.

The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* simultaneously shot down moves to provide Unita with overt military or humanitarian assistance, or covert aid.

The argument intensified as the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, returned to Washington to review his talks with the Angolan Government in Lusaka last week.

Dr Crocker, the Reagan Administra-

US newspapers condemn plan to aid Unita

tion's key figure in Southern African peace efforts, has just revived efforts to seek settlement after months of inactivity amid diplomatic strain between South Africa, Angola and the US.

While many brand his efforts a failure, some see the present moves as a last-ditch attempt for progress towards settlement.

The *New York Times* said in an editorial yesterday that aid to Unita would be folly. It said that President Reagan's statement that covert aid would be more useful than an overt operation would make it another "secret but unidentifiable" US intervention.

"Having advertised his intentions, Mr Reagan could never deny involvement, even if prudence prevailed and he finally decided against it," the news-

condemn plan to aid Unita

paper said. The *Washington Post* said Dr Savimbi was a leader of significance in Angola who could claim to deserve a place in the country's future. "But that is not the whole of it. Mr Savimbi is South Africa's man in Angola. He takes apartheid's support reluctantly and only for his own goals, he insists, but he takes it. "That makes any foreign backer at least an implicit partner of South Africa. To ask Africans to overlook this link, or to explain it to them as a tactical alliance that the United States enters for necessary purposes of curbing Soviet power, is absurd," the newspaper said.

Dr Savimbi's chances for a place in Angola's future diminished, the *Post* said, if the US intervened in the Angolan civil war. Large-scale aid, enough to replace that from South Africa, would have to match a Soviet commitment of, so far, billions to the Angolan Government.

Supporting the revival of settlement negotiations, the *Post* editorial summarised many of the arguments heard on Capitol Hill in recent weeks.

The other congressional view, aired by a powerful conservative element of representatives and senators is, primarily, that aid would combat more Soviet adventurism in a world trouble-spot. Aid to Unita would also, they argue, wean the rebels from Pretoria and force the Marxist Luanda regime to call general elections.

Religion survives in the Angolan bush

STAR 3/12/85

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The arrival of the Cubans in Southern Angola in 1976 came as a complete surprise. Still the church hierarchy did not feel threatened. It was only when church leaders were arrested and executed that they discovered too late that the onslaught was aimed at them.

As in every other country that was taken over by the Marxist revolution before, it was primarily the church leaders who were singled out in the attempt to destroy the church.

The leaders of the revolution are fully aware of the structure of the traditional church that is built around the pastors. They are also aware that the congregations are usually unprepared for persecution.

At the impressive complex of the Evangelical Mission of Chilesó, central Angola, the Cubans hardly found any resistance. The congregation was worshipping as usual in the big church. Pastor Aurelio Chicamba Saunje was killed in front of his frightened congregation. His blood was spilled over the carved wood of the pulpit, even as he prayed.

What happens when communism takes over the Christian Church? The accompanying article is made up of excerpts from writings that originally appeared in *New Vision* magazine on what communism has done to the Church in southern Angola.

The frightened congregation tried to escape through the doors. Soviet-made machine-guns mowed down 150 of them. Only a few escaped.

To celebrate their great "victory" the Cubans slaughtered some of the cattle of the mission that night — September 12 1977 — and held a barbecue with fires made of the chopped up church pews.

To complete their celebrations, they decided that the church building was to be desecrated. The heads of the slaughtered cattle were mounted on top of the pulpit.

A notice was put up on the pulpit: "These (the cattle heads) are now worshipped as usual in the big church."

The incident of Cuban atrocity at Chilesó was no isolated case. For some unknown reason the media did not regard it as important enough to inform the world of atrocities in An-

gola, and more so the systematic attempt to destroy the church.

On October 24 1976 the Cubans launched a surprise attack on Cavin-go mission station. The Christians fled with the exception of a few.

Among those that were captured by the Cubans were 26 lepers who were all church members. The following day they were put in two grass huts. The doors were wired up from the outside and the huts set alight. In this way 26 Christians died a horrible death.

Their pastor, Augusto Chingalule, was captured and tied up. His 37 cattle were mowed down by machine-gun fire. He was chopped to death and his body dumped on top of the pile of dead cattle.

In all 54 defenceless Christians were murdered. In the Chimbo district the Cubans

told the people: "From now on God does not exist anymore. From now on the gun is god."

The believers were systematically sought out and killed. As a result of this threat, only 11 people in the village of Sakumba were brave enough to continue to worship together. Because they made this stand, they had to pay with their lives and were buried in a mass grave.

A few pastors survived. They managed to flee into the bush with their Bibles. Around these spiritual leaders the believers gathered. Denominational differences and traditions had fallen away. There were no buildings — even temporary grass shelters as places of worship were a luxury.

In the south-east of Angola where Unita is in control, the church found a haven of peace again.

Church leaders explained: "We suddenly realised that denomination was no longer of any importance. Nor was it important for us to worship in a building of brick and mortar. What we did discover was that where the congregation is, there is the church."

The Church in Southern Angola today is known as the "Evangelical Church of Angola in the Bush". It is controlled by a Christian Council of Churches.

In the bush the pastor finds himself in a completely new situation. Because so many church leaders were executed by the Cubans, several congregations are shepherded by one pastor — sometimes as many as 15 spread throughout the bush area served in this manner.

To reach them the pastor has to walk. If he is lucky, he is allowed to go with a Unita vehicle going in the same direction.

It is a hard life, but once again the Church has shown that no amount of persecution can keep it down.

STAR 3/12/85

Angola 'building up forces to fight SA'

(5)

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — Angola is building up its military forces to fight South Africa, Angolan commanders have claimed.

And they have revealed that Angola is buying French helicopters and British telecommunications equipment.

Threat

Commanders said increased air superiority was vital "in our fight against South Africa" and in the campaign to sever South African supply lines to Unita rebels.

And the navy is threatening action against "pirate trawlers" fishing in Angolan waters.

Air force commander Colonel Iko Carreira told the Paris-

based weekly "Afrique-Asie": "It is absolutely essential that we wrest air superiority from South Africa.

"Before 1983 our idea was to have an air force capable of defending our urban and strategic centres and we spent more on anti-aircraft guns than on planes.

"We must admit that these guns, together with our army, did manage to stop South African invasion of Cunene, southern Angola, in 1981 and 1983.

"But anti-aircraft guns are passive and we have to go over to the defensive and liberate the territory occupied by Unita and cut off its supply lines from South Africa."

Pretoria could deploy 200 planes and helicopters on the Angolan war front without tak-

ing them from other sectors.

The colonel admitted: "We have not yet reached our desired combat level — though we have been able to take on South African planes in dog fights. They are the ones who are avoiding all air duels in our skies."

He said the South African Air Force was using planes that were a generation out of date because of the international arms boycott.

Helicopters

He admitted for the first time that "we are buying French helicopters and British telecommunications equipment".

Colonel Jose Codesse "Yoka Toka", commander of the Angolan navy, said: "We have to defend 2 000 km of coastline from South African naval operations

mainly supporting terrorist action in our territory. They avoid open warfare.

"Although our navy is small it has made very significant progress since independence.

"But a major training programme mainly with the help of Cuban instructors, has given us a relatively high fighting capacity.

"It is true that the navy has not progressed as quickly as our army, but we are beginning to flex our muscles."

He said that one of his major aims was to halt the huge fleet of pirate trawlers fishing off the Angolan coast.

The Angolan Government has decided to make the MGPA, as the Angolan navy is called, responsible for protecting territorial waters in co-operation with coastguards and the fishing ministry.

War blasts Angolan economy

BUS. DAY
4/12/85

LISBON — More than a third of Angola's budget will be spent on defence in coming years because of a threat from South Africa and the Unita guerrillas it supports, Angolan President Jose Eduardo, dos Santos said yesterday.

According to the official news agency Angop, Dos Santos said in a report to the congress of the ruling MPLA party that the government and population should give priority to helping fight Angola's enemies.

Over the past five years Angola had been invaded three times by South Africa and had suffered hundreds of air, ground and sea attacks, Dos Santos said in the report compiled by the party's central committee.

Dos Santos took five hours to read the report on the opening day of the MPLA congress, which lasts until December 9.

The president said the country had not been able to develop economically because it had to funnel its resources into defence, and its economy had been hit by high international interest rates and a fall in its oil and diamond revenues. Sapa-Reuter.

HERE IS a proposal for solving the Angola problem. It may not be original. The infuriatingly pythian Dr Chester Crocker might just be thinking along similar lines. And "solving" is probably asking a little too much. How about plain "handling"?

The first thing to agree upon — proposition one — is that empirical linkage, as former Secretary of State Alexander Haig once called it, is empirically dead. It was a nice idea, but then so was a flat earth until no one fell off.

The theory that SA will begin handing Namibia to the United Nations when Angola's Cubans start going home (or vice versa) can no longer command confidence.

It implies a reasonable willingness to take risks in the hope of greater benefits, which simply does not obtain on either side.

It must be abundantly obvious by now that the SA government has no intention of acceding to what Crocker has, in its view, been asking of it: an abandoned Dr Jonas Savimbi, a Swapo-ruled Namibia and an Angola still run by Soviet surrogates.

That being the bottom line, neither is there the thinnest shred of evidence that Pretoria is willing to negotiate about it in good faith. Cabinda and other incursions need no refreshing.

This leads to proposition two: stop wasting time trying to cajole, accommodate and persuade SA into surrendering a piece of real estate about which nobody fundamentally cares.

Go through the rhetorical, condemnatory motions, but let it go at that. The opportunity will present itself later. There is far more important business to be conducted to the north. The next thing to do is proposi-



SAVIMBI . . . prepared to to turn his back on Pretoria?

tion three — is to develop a policy towards Angola that is as tightly insulated as possible from SA's baneful influence.

This looks difficult, not least because the US and SA seem to have such a confluence of interest here. Both want the Cubans out.

Hence "linkage". Trouble is, the confluence ends right there. On the whole, the US would like to see the Cubans go quietly in an atmosphere of national reconciliation.

Pretoria would not only prefer that they be swept away with the MPLA by Unita, but is also more than content that the country should be devastated and emptied in the meantime. If Swapo must one day rule Namibia, better that it have no powerful friend to the north.

US sympathies also lie with Unita, of course, and there are those in Congress and the Administration who are more than willing to go along with the SA scenario because they feel "think" suggests processes that have not occurred) that beating up on pro-Soviet regimes is intrinsically a good thing, no matter what the cost in lives, human misery and treasure.

Forcing Moscow to pay a price

for its global expansionism is a fine, if not imperative, goal. But the strategy and tactics must be of Washington's deliberate and careful choosing, not thrust upon it by ideological whim or by the actions of another semi-hostile power.

As things stand now, with Congress calling blindly for aid to Savimbi and elements within the Administration braying for massive covert operations, this is precisely what is happening.

Simply by prevaricating over any Angolan Cuban withdrawal offer, SA can pick the US policy of its choice.

Therefore, it must be taken out of the process. The way to do this — proposition four — is to persuade Unita to do to SA what SA adamantly refuses to do to it: renounce the relationship utterly, vituperatively and finally. In other words, make the Angolan civil war just that — a matter for Angolans.

What about the superpowers? Well, let's take a few steps back and consider the circumstances under which Savimbi might puta-

tively bite the hand that fed him. It could work as follows.

Savimbi knows that SA's support makes his movement deeply ambivalent, not only in Africa but for almost all potential allies. He also knows that it is limited.

PW Botha is not going to commit substantial ground forces, because ground forces take politically-unacceptable losses. SA aircraft can protect him only within their operational radius. Beyond that, as the FAPLA campaign that culminated at Mavinga last September demonstrated, he is vulnerable.

The weaponry he needs to overcome that vulnerability — accurate portable anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles — is not available from SA. Which is why his people are lobbying so hard in Washington.

So the US says to him: we will run you what you need to maintain your position, but first you must forewear SA and all its works and you must also reaffirm that you are ready to negotiate with the MPLA if they are willing to start dismissing the Cubans.

The US then informs the MPLA that Savimbi is prepared to turn

Angola: four propositions to 'handle' the issue

Bus Day 6/12/85

SIMON BARBER in Washington

his back on Pretoria and, if he does, will be receiving American weapons and logistical support as a guarantee against a renewed FAPLA offensive.

Bear in mind that he informed the UN Secretary General in a letter in October that he is "convinced that a military solution to Angola's conflict is neither possible or desirable".

If you are ready to talk about the Cubans, he is ready to talk. Period.

The alternative, need we say, is an open-ended superpower conflict and this time, unlike in 1975, we have the Congress behind us.

In the meantime, Moscow is kept fully apprised and invited to consider what it stands to gain — or rather, not to lose — if it participates in the brokering of an internal peace.

A proxy war in Southern Africa is all very well when the US proxies are openly pro-SA. It fits in with the propaganda.

However, Kenneth Kaunda is not the only regional leader with a soft spot for Savimbi. And once Unita is de-South Africanised, the chances are they are going to feel

fewer qualms about showing it, particularly after it has taken the lead in seeking a peaceful resolution.

The fact is that what people want down there is peace and economic development, not the US and the Soviet Union at each others' throats at the expense of the long-suffering indigenes.

So what about it? Let's both declare victory in Angola. You can still use SA and Namibia against us.

To sum up: linkage must be buried, emphasis on a Namibia settlement shelved, SA removed from the Angola equation and Savimbi prevailed upon to turn against his mentor (even, one might add, to the extent of resisting SADF hot pursuits of Swapo with US rockets).

If it works, Angola is stabilised and the Cubans are finally sent back to Castro, then will be the time to present Pretoria with the bill for Namibia.

Is this, or anything like it, what Crocker was up to in his talks last week with Angolan Interior Minister Kito Rodrigues in Lusaka? In part, perhaps.

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Angola must eject Swapo, says Malan

BUS DAY Business Day Reporter 6/12/83

SOUTH AFRICA was not looking for trouble with Angola, although its sympathies lay with the country's pro-Western forces, Defence Minister Magnus Malan said in Pretoria yesterday.

Responding to the recent visit to Angola by a United Nations investigating commission, Malan said: "If Angola is seeking peace in the sub-continent, all it has to do is stop Swapo terrorists using its territory."

He said it was unlikely Angola would do this, because it wanted to blame SA for the country's war damage.

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Moutse move to go ahead says Heunis

By David Bram, Political Correspondent

The transfer of Moutse to kwaNdebele is to go ahead on January 1, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, announced yesterday.

The decision to proceed was made in spite of the objections of Pedi people living in the area.

Mr Heunis said those who did not wish to stay under a kwaNdebele government could move to ground made available for them in the Saliesloot/Immerpan area near Roedtan.

There would be no forced removals and only those who wanted to go voluntarily would receive compensation for their property. They and their personal effects would be transported free to their new homes.

The necessary infrastructure, schools and clinics would be provided.

Mr Heunis said he and his two deputies had met the leaders of Moutse on two occasions and "divergent opinions on the inclusion of Moutse were expressed".

If Angola wants peace it's easy, says Malan

STAR 6/12/85 Political Correspondent

(5)

If Angola wanted regional peace, all it had to do was to prevent Swapo from using its territory, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

In a statement issued in Pretoria, General Malan said that, after the recent visit to Angola by a United Nations investigating commission, it was necessary to put certain facts into perspective.

"It is common knowledge that the United Nations is not well-disposed towards South Africa and, therefore, it could have been expected that Angola would have exploited this situation to the maximum — as it has done.

"Angola is in a stranglehold of a comprehensive rebellion in which the government forces cannot shape up to the Western-orientated Unita movement without Russian and Cuban support.

"Unita evidently occupies and controls large parts of Angola while carrying out guerilla actions in all that country's provinces.

"Angola has always tried to explain away its inability to remedy this situation by laying it at the door of South African aggression."

The Minister said he wished to state clearly that, although South Africa's sympathies lay with the pro-Western forces for obvious reasons, South Africa was not looking for trouble with its Marxist neighbour.

"South Africa acts against Swapo terrorists who are stealthily accommodated by Angola for actions against South West Africa.

"If Angola is searching for peace in this sub-continent, then the solution is very easy. All Angola has to do is prevent all Swapo terrorists from using its territory.

"It is unlikely that Angola would take such a step because it would mean that South Africa would no longer carry out hot-pursuit and follow-up operations in Angola.

"The Luanda Government would then be forced to credit the multi-million-rand war damages it suffers to the real reason — the civil war in its own country."

Attack to smash Unita rebels is likely within two or three weeks, warns Miller

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South Africa's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, warned here that the combined communist forces in Angola may try to wipe out Unita rebels this month.

"Any initiative with a reasonable prospect of success must be launched before the heavy rainy season — and that is a time scale of approximately two to three weeks from now," he said.

Speaking to American and South African newsmen at Washington's National Press Club yesterday, Mr Miller said the situation in Angola was very serious.

"We are very definitely of the opinion that the communist forces, combined Russian and Cuban, have very specific intentions to penetrate Southern Angola in the near future," he said. If they succeeded, it would destabilise the whole region.

Mr Miller said the US should become involved, either diplomatically or by providing material assistance to Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader.

The destruction of Unita would be a tremendous blow in favour of communist expansion and a probable decline in Western influence — particularly in Angola and Namibia.

The situation required a strong statement from the US, through its diplomatic channels, about the

possible demise of Unita and Dr Savimbi. "The Soviet Union certainly takes note of what the US says," Mr Miller said.

The recent assault on Dr Savimbi's capital, Jamba, by combined MPLA and Cuban forces, backed by hundreds of Russians, had been repelled. But South Africa believed that the communists would take advantage of the few weeks remaining before the start of the rainy season.

"We are waiting to see whether a second attempt is made to wipe out Dr Savimbi," he said.

"If it's successful, it will start a whole new ball game of Russian expansionary possibilities in Southern Africa."

'FRIEND OF DEMOCRACY'

Mr Miller said the South African Government was concerned about what happened to Dr Savimbi because it believed he was one of the few pro-West black leaders and that he would be friendly to democracy and private enterprise in Southern Africa.

"We will support him diplomatically, we will support him in terms of our motivation and we will also provide him with material and humanitarian aid," the Deputy Minister said, adding that South African aid to Unita was insignificant in comparison

with the sophisticated weapons the Russians were ranging against the rebels — including MiG-23 fighters, Mi-25 helicopter gunships, and Sarn 7, 8 and 9 missiles.

Questioned about Pretoria's attitude towards recent Zimbabwe's request for Soviet weapons and allegations that insurgents had brought landmines from there, Mr Miller said Zimbabwe was considered a good neighbour. Economic co-operation between the two countries was mutually beneficial.

South African forces would not enter a neighbouring country on a military or police basis unless it was a matter of a last resort to save lives in South Africa.

"The probability is fairly low at this stage that South Africa would enter Zimbabwe space," he said.

On Mozambique, Mr Miller said that, politically, South Africa wanted the country to succeed, the Frelimo Government to expand its influence and to find an accord with the Mozambique National Resistance movement.

Both South Africa and Mozambique would benefit from a strong economy in Mozambique.

"We are able to live with Marxist socialism on our border as long as it does not include Soviet communist expansionism programmes — and Mozambique is not threatening us," he said.

9/12/85 (5) STAR

Leaders elected as MPLA takes stock

The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA — The MPLA congress in Luanda has ended with a secret ballot for a new 90-strong committee to lead the party which has ruled Angola since independence from Portugal 10 years ago.

Months ago, hundreds of hopeful candidates for power presented themselves to their party cells, then to municipal and regional assemblies. One hundred made it through the hours of open debate on their merits.

The MPLA's 35 000 members in a country of 10-million have a direct say in both choosing the ruling personalities and in policies.

The vote comes at a time when the MPLA is taking stock. All weekend, in day and night sessions behind closed doors in Luanda's Congress Palace, the country's leaders debated, criticised and argued over the past and present failings of their men

and their policies.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos set the tone of self-criticism in a six-hour marathon reading of the Central Committee's report. One-third of it was devoted to economic problems and particularly to failings in the agricultural sector.

Among more than 600 delegates to the congress were only 12 peasants — a sign of the party's failure to involve the country people in the years since the liberation war which was so dependent on the MPLA's rural bases in Cabinda.

SOCIALIST STATE

However, even if the party of peasants and workers has not been achieved as envisaged by first president Dr Agostinho Neto, the Marxist-Leninist orientation set by the MPLA's founding fathers has been clearly reiterated throughout this congress.

In organisation and in language, the con-

gress has reaffirmed the debate is how, not whether, to build a socialist state.

However, the war continues as the daily background.

At the weekend, foreign radio stations reported new optimism in Washington for a southern African settlement bringing independence to Namibia and peace to Angola. From Lisbon, Unita announced it had shot down two helicopters and killed 28 Cubans — a claim treated with scepticism, as are all Unita's claims in Luanda.

A delayed report from Kinshasa that an Angolan military plane, lost a week ago on a flight from the northern province of Uige to Cabinda, was found in Zaire with 40 Cubans on board, is a fresh indication of the strained relations which still exist between the two neighbours.

Cuban protection of oil installations at Cabinda, which is surrounded by Zaire, is crucial to the country.

Britain rules out aid to Unita

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Western aid to Unita would lead to an escalation of the superpower confrontation in Southern Africa, a leading spokeswoman for the British Government said here.

Baroness Young, Minister of State in the Foreign Office, ruled out British aid for Unita on the grounds that it would immediately be matched by further Soviet and Cuban military aid to the MPLA.

She said Britain would continue to support the US-led negotiations "which would lead to the removal of foreign troops, and to a reduction in the Angolan Government's dependence on Russian and Cuban military assistance".

Meanwhile **MICHAEL HARTNACK** reports from Harare that one of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group has hinted that it may not visit the Republic if it is denied a chance to see all the political figures it chooses — who would be certain to include jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Archbishop Ted Scott, primate of the Anglican Church of Canada, said before he left Harare for London at the weekend that the group saw no point in travelling to South Africa if it would not have access to "all political parties involved in that country's political problems".

He noted that the group's task necessitated the co-operation of all those involved in South Africa — including the liberation movements.

Angola and Cuban troops poised to attack Unita

Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — Angolan and Cuban troops are poised to attack Unita rebels after bombing their positions from the air, a congressional source said here.

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"All indications show that there will be another major battle within the next few days," said Mr Mark Siljander, a member of the House foreign affairs sub-committee on Africa.

He said he had been told that about 100 "top-level" Soviet military advisers had landed in Angola in the past month. A huge airlift was in progress — there had been 582 flights since October.

Mr Siljander said that about five brigades of the Angolan army Fapla — numbering about 5 000 men — and two Cuban regiments of between 2 000 and 3 000 men were lined up on two fronts.

One column was at Cazombo, about 650km north of Unita's Jamba headquarters in south-eastern Angola, the other at Mavinga, about 250km from Jamba.

Unita said on Monday that a second offensive had started, with Soviet aircraft backed by sophisticated MI-24 Hind helicopter gunships bombing their positions since Friday. There had not yet been any battles.

Extensive military activity in Angola follows a major Soviet-backed Fapla offensive between July and October this year, resulting in bloody fighting and heavy losses of men and equipment. The Government forces were driven back.

A senior US official estimated this week that the Cuban presence in Angola consisted of about 27 000 combat troops, with 7 000 to 8 000 more in advisory and training roles.

There were also about 1 200 Soviet advisers in Angola, and the Soviet Union had pumped about R6 000-million in military aid to the Angolan Government in the past two years.

Mr Siljander's report on the airlift tallies with a Unita claim of about 15 flights a day from the ports of Lobito and Luanda to Cuito Cuanavale in the south-east.

Mr Siljander has proposed a Bill in the House of Representatives specifying R81-million in military aid to the rebels.

ARLWS 12/12/85 (5)

Angola's legacy of war enters a second decade

JOHN D'OLIVEIRA of The Argus Africa News Service reports on the first 10 troubled years of Angola's independence

BY almost any standards, Angola should have been an African success story.

Instead, 10 years after independence, this vast and potentially rich country is little more than a series of battlefields separated by vast tracts of under-developed and undeveloped land.

Daily life is dominated by the war between the MPLA Government and the South African-backed Unita rebel movement and, to a much lesser extent, the fight against the Zaire-backed FNLA guerillas in the Northeast.

For more than a decade, South African forces have crossed into Angola at will as they have tried to crush Swapo and, one suspects, teach the Angolan Government a lesson for supporting Mr Sam Nujoma and his fighters.

More than a third of Angola's budget is spent on defence and, clearly, the need to defeat Dr Savimbi (and his South African allies) is the Luanda Government's top priority.

This, coupled with the devastation and dislocation brought on by the fighting, has greatly aggravated economic problems caused by the hurried departure of Angola's Portuguese settlers and the resulting collapse of the modern sector of the country's economy.

Although some observers have claimed progress in the provision of medical and educational services, about the only obvious improvement has been in the Angolan Defence Force's equipment and in the training of its personnel.

Ironically, Marxist Angola has paid for all this with the hard currency earned from the export of oil pumped out of the ground by Western companies, its one economic success story.

Conflict is not new to Angola.

For years the MPLA, FNLA and UNITA fought the Portuguese. Sometimes they fought each other and sometimes they were racked by internal dissent.

East-West rivalry exacerbated the situation, with communist countries backing the

MPLA and with Western countries and the more conservative African and Arab countries providing support for the FNLA and UNITA, thus effectively internationalising Angola's civil war.

Although all three movements swore unity when they negotiated independence from the Portuguese (there were going to be elections for a constituent assembly which would provide Angola with a democratic constitution), within days the different factions were manoeuvring for power.

The subsequent conflict is history, having dominated the front pages of South African newspapers for more than ten years.

The promised election never materialised



Dr Jonas Savimbi

and political power in Angola is effectively in the hands of a small elite — the 30 000 members of the ruling MPLA party (or, to give it its full title, the Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola-Partido de Trabalho).

Angola's constitution purports to guarantee the populace "broad, effective participation in the exercise of political power", but the resulting "election" in 1980 did not even approach Western concepts of democracy.

Whatever say the masses might have in the running of their country, the MPLA's second congress (which ended in Luanda this week), demonstrated how firmly the ruling elite have grasped the levers of power.

In his own state-within a state, Dr Savimbi seems as strong as ever, having just beaten off (with significant South African aid) yet another bid by the Luanda Government to destroy his "capital" at Jamba in the Southeast. His guerillas roam over most of Angola's one-and-a-quarter million square kilometres, concentrating on so-called "economic targets".

But the Angolan defence force is fast becoming stronger — on paper, at any rate.

Billions of dollars have been spent on modern Russian military equipment in the past five years, with some observers claiming that Angola has spent

more on materiel in recent years than South Africa's entire defence budget.

Despite recurrent rumours to the contrary, there appears to be no significant backing in Luanda for a reconciliation with Dr Savimbi.

Instead, the regime clearly appears to be poised for yet another attack on Jamba.

South Africa has admitted that it has given "moral, material and humanitarian" aid to UNITA and now the United States appears ready to provide the rebels with some assistance as well.

But Western aid to Dr Savimbi (whether it comes from South Africa or elsewhere) is more than matched by the flow of equipment from the Russians.

As the military stakes in Angola increase, so does the danger of South Africa being drawn into a conflict in which the relative ineffectiveness of the enemy's manpower will be more than compensated for by the superiority and sophistication of its equipment.

South Africa's Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has said that his Government would not allow Angola to become South Africa's Vietnam — but the danger remains.

Essentially South Africa's involvement in Angola is a product of its Government's determination to prevent a Swapo take-over in Namibia.

On paper, South Africa says it will implement the United Nations plan for Namibian independence as soon as it is satisfied with the plans for the repatriation of the 35 000 Cuban troops who are still in Angola.

However, the Cuban troops will remain until Dr Savimbi has either been defeated or taken into a Luanda Government of "national reconciliation". In other words, a Namibian settlement depends in large measure on an Angolan settlement.

And 10 years after independence, an Angolan settlement seems as far away as ever.

Angolan troops set to attack Unita 'within days'

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Angolan and Cuban troops were poised to attack Unita rebels after bombing their positions from the air, a congressional source said here yesterday.

All indications show there will be another major battle within the next few days," said Mr. Mark Siljander of Michigan, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa.

He said his information was that about 100 top-level Soviet military advisers had landed in Angola in the past month. There was also a massive airlift in progress — there had been 582 flights since October.

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Cuban regiments of between 2,000 and 3,000 men were lined up on two fronts.

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Extensive military activity in Angola follows a major Soviet-backed Fapla offensive between July and October this year, resulting in bloody fighting and heavy losses of men and equipment, and the government forces being driven back.

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this week that the Cuban presence in Angola consisted of about 27,000 combat troops, with 7,000 to 8,000 more Cuban military in advisory and training roles.

There were also about 1 200 Soviet advisers in Angola, and the Soviet Union had pumped roughly \$2 billion in military aid to the Angolan Government in the past two years.

Mr. Siljander's report on the airlift of military material tallies with a Unita claim of about 15 flights a day from the ports of Lobito and Luanda to Cuito Cuanavale in the south-east.

Mr. Siljander is a central figure in present congressional efforts towards aid for Unita. He has proposed a Bill in the House of Representatives, specifying \$27 million in military aid to the rebels, and is expected to play a

major role in pushing for Unita support after the Christmas recess on Capitol Hill.

It was learned yesterday that there is a strong possibility of Dr. Jonas Savimbi, the charismatic Unita leader, visiting Washington early next year.

It is understood this visit depends largely on the intensity of the push war in Angola, but efforts are being made by congressmen and some conservative groups in Washington to ensure he appears in the US at the height of the fiery debate on American aid to his organisation.

Currently, meetings, Senators and representatives on this issue are Unita's Brigadier Tito Chingunji, Dr. Savimbi's assistant, and the movement's information secretary, Mr. Fernando Wilson dos Santos.

US considering aid programme to Unita

CAPE TOWN 12/12/85

WASHINGTON. — US officials say the Reagan administration is considering an aid package for anti-Marxist forces in Angola, but the Senate yesterday decided not to act on a R125 million programme to help the rebels.

By a 58 to 39 vote, the Senate decided that an amendment seeking aid for the rebels was not germane to a nearly R1 250 billion omnibus spending bill for 1986 which it has been considering for three days.

The vote appeared to ensure that Congress will not approve overt aid for the rebels of Unita (Union for the Total Independence of Angola) in 1985, although President Reagan could still provide covert funding after consultation with congress-

sional intelligence committees.

The amendment was introduced by conservative Republican senators, who argued the funds were desperately needed to help the rebels, headed by Jonas Savimbi, defend against a major Soviet-backed government offensive.

"How can the United States sit idly by and let the Soviets wipe out the only democratic resistance force" in Southern Africa, they asked.

Next month

Earlier, US officials said a more concrete administration decision on aid to the rebels would probably be taken early next month.

The officials said that by next month it was expected that the Assistant

Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, would have had another round of talks with Angolan leaders on a regional peace accord.

Those talks, expected to take place before the end of the year, would probably give Washington indications of whether prospects for an accord were sufficient to put the aid proposal back on the shelf, they added.

The Reagan administration has accused Cuban troops in Angola of taking part in combat operations against Unita.

A senior State Department official said no date had been set for Dr Crocker's next round of talks, but that it was likely to be held in Luanda this month — Sapa-Reuters and Own Correspondent

Angola: 10 trouble-torn years

By almost any standards, Angola should have been an African success story.

Instead, 10 years after independence, this vast and potentially rich country is little more than a series of battlefields separated by vast tracts of under-developed and undeveloped land.

Daily life is dominated by the war between the MPLA Government and the South African-backed Unita rebel movement and, to a much lesser extent, the fight against the Zaire-backed FNLA guerrillas in the north-east.

For more than a decade, South African forces have crossed into Angola at will as they have tried to crush Swapo and, one suspects, teach the Angolan Government a lesson for supporting Mr Sam Nujoma and his fighters.

More than a third of Angola's budget is spent on defence and, clearly, the need to defeat Dr Jonas Savimbi (and his South African allies) is the Luanda Government's top priority.

This, coupled with the devastation and dislocation brought on by the

fighting, has greatly aggravated economic problems caused by the hurried departure of Angola's Portuguese settlers and the resulting collapse of the modern sector of the country's economy.

Although some observers have claimed progress in the provision of medical and educational services, about the only obvious improvement has been in the Angolan Defence Force's equipment and in the training of its personnel.

Ironically, Marxist Angola has paid for all this with the hard currency earned from the export of oil pumped out of the ground by Western companies, its one economic success story.

Conflict is not new to Angola. For years the MPLA, FNLA and Unita fought the Portuguese. Sometimes they fought each other and sometimes they were racked by internal dissent.

East-West rivalry exacerbated

the situation, with communist countries backing the MPLA and with Western countries and the more conservative African and Arab countries providing support for the FNLA and Unita, thus effectively internationalising Angola's civil war.

Manoeuvring

Although all three movements swore unity when they negotiated independence from the Portuguese (there were going to be elections for a constituent assembly which would provide Angola with a democratic constitution), within days the different factions were manoeuvring for power.

The subsequent conflict is history, having dominated the front pages of South African newspapers for more than 10 years.

The promised election never materialised and political power in Angola is effectively in the hands of a

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Sophisticated

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Essentially South Africa's involvement in Angola is a product of the determination to prevent a Swapo takeover in Namibia.

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However, the Cuban troops will remain until Dr Savimbi has either been defeated or taken into a Luanda Government of "national reconciliation". In other words, a Namibian settlement depends in large measure on an Angolan settlement.

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By John D'Oliveira, Editor of The Star's Africa News Service

star 13/12/85

New SA response to US Angola proposals

BUS DAF

13/2/85

(5)

SIMON BARBER in Washington looks in on a 'background' briefing

ONE OF the US bureaucracy's quieter charades is the "background" Press briefing. The briefers are normally someone important, but he speaks on condition that he be identified only as an official of the department on behalf of which he speaks.

On Tuesday, a "senior State Department official" took the podium to explain US Angola policy. The rules will not be breached here, but there are no prizes for guessing who he is, or why he is worth quoting at length. So here, edited only for space and to avoid repetition, is a transcript of that briefing.

OFFICIAL: Let me start with a few remarks on where we are... we are engaged in a fresh round of contacts with the two key parties, the government of SA and the government of Angola. As you will recall, approximately a year ago there were some proposals put forward by both sides and on the basis of those proposals and other contacts we had with the two parties, we put forward some ideas of our own in March aimed at accelerating the process of finding a compromise, a package settlement, that would bring about the independence of Namibia and, in that context, an agreement on the departure of Cuban troops from Angola.

So we do that in March. In the intervening months, roughly up until this September, we found that the parties, for a variety of reasons, were distracted from the negotiating process, were not responsive to the ideas put forward and were engaged in the pursuit of other options, military principally.

We brought our influence to bear throughout that period to make it abundantly clear that in our view there is only one way forward to settle these problems, through a negotiated solution, that the parties need such a solution as least as much as we do and that we urge them both to get on with it.

There has been an escalation of the fighting. There have been SA raids, there has been a Soviet-fuelled offensive inside Angola against Unita. More recently we have seen some indications that the two sides are showing renewed interest in the negotiating table, and it's because of that that we are involved in a fresh round of talks to push this process forward.

I think it's too soon to draw any sweeping conclusion. We see some indications that perhaps both sides, for their differ-

ent reasons, have begun to sense some of the drawbacks, perhaps some of the dangers, of proceeding down a purely military track.

There continues to be cross-border action in both directions between Angola and Namibia. There continues to be a stalemate of fighting inside Angola, but at a significantly higher level of violence. It has never been our analysis on the Angolan side that there can be a military solution for either side, and that remains our view.

The recent round of talks I'm describing occurs in a context as well of some impatience in this country over the conduct of the parties and their inability and unwillingness to move forward in terms of the proposals we put forward in March.

I think it's pretty clear that the reaction in this country and other Western countries to the recent round of heightened fighting inside Angola demonstrates that there is considerable sympathy in the US and elsewhere for the struggle being waged by Unita against an Angola which is heavily influenced by the Soviet Union.

To be more specific, we have in recent weeks had a number of exchanges with the South Africans, urging a substantive reply to our March ideas. We have now received a substantive reply that does give us something to work with. At the same time, we have met an Angolan delegation in Lusaka on November 27 and 28 in which we described the state of play as we saw it. We made clear the urgency of getting on with the process. We described the news that we had from the SA side, and that was basically the ground we covered.

I would say that our talks with the Angolans were positive and that we have

asked to meet them again in the very near future. I have no dates or specifics in that regard, but we do intend to do so.

This clearly is a moment in which there is a chance for the parties to grab an opportunity before the window closes down — a moment particularly for the Angolans to act decisively. I will leave it there and move to questions.

QUESTION: If the negotiating path is not followed, is the US prepared to do something to help Unita? **OFFICIAL:** I think it is clear, and this has been said by people in higher pay grades than myself, that we emphasize with and wish to support those who are resisting a Soviet-backed military track aimed presumably at bringing out an internal opposition movement. Clearly the behaviour of both parties (SA and Angola) will have consequences in terms of what we do.

QUESTION: What form would this empathy take? **OFFICIAL:** Well, the whole question of policy towards Angola remains under review. Our position I think has been made as clear as it can be. I'm not going to make it any clearer today. We have (opposed) certain Congressional initiatives (to aid Unita), and we have also said that we wish to aid Unita in a way that would be effective in the context of our broader goals that I have been describing here.

QUESTION: You spoke critically of those who would exercise the military option. I think your main message was that it was an opportunity to negotiate and you would recommend negotiations on the parties rather than fighting... **OFFICIAL:** That's what we are saying to the parties, by all means.

QUESTION: What do you say to yourself? Do you support fighting with the weapons for (one) of the parties? Or is

your advice just for the parties (i.e., and not for yourself)? **OFFICIAL:** No, I think we are not — we are not negotiating with Angola and with SA. We are mediating between the two of them. Anyone in the mediating position wants to have the maximum amount of tools to work with.

QUESTION: And could those tools include weapons to one of the parties? **OFFICIAL:** I certainly wouldn't exclude anything. We are talking about, however, an effort to push the negotiating process forward. If I had announcements to make of the sort you're suggesting I would make them — but I don't.

QUESTION: I realise that, that's why we're all speaking in code. Would you suppose that if one of these tools was military, that might help pressure the Angolan government into giving you a better response to the March proposals than you have got so far. **OFFICIAL:** I think it is a political fact of life, and it is shared widely in Washington, that people don't want to stand by and watch a military course of action with massive support from one side that could lead to dire questions inside Angola. But I don't want to suggest that we are talking about a massive shift of policy in this country. We have a negotiating framework on the table. We don't think there is any alternative to it, because if one side pursues the military track, the other side jumps in.

QUESTION: You said you'd received a "substantive reply" from SA. What does that mean? **OFFICIAL:** We had made it clear that we had wanted a constructive forthcoming reply from both sides, and we're going to continue to lean on them both to get that. When I say a "substantive reply," I mean it represents a new SA position in response to our March proposals — one which, as I say, will require further work but which is from our standpoint useful.

QUESTION: Are we back to the philosophical drawing board right now? **OFFICIAL:** No, no. I think we are beyond that. We are talking about such issues as geographic lines of restraint and pull-back. We are talking about issues of timing, schedules for withdrawal of Cuban forces.

We are talking about numbers in various timeframes. We are talking as well about the form various agreements would take, how they would be internationally recognised, who would be the parties to the agreements, what kind of formulas for ceasefires that would begin the implementation of the UN process on Namibia. Those kinds of things.

QUESTION: Is reconciliation between the MPLA and Unita part of the package? **OFFICIAL:** No, there is no change in this regard. The package of proposals we put forward involve the issues of Namibian independence and a formula for Cuban troop withdrawal. It is our view that if we can get foreigners out of places where they have no business being — that includes the South Africans from Namibia as well as Cubans from Angola — the climate for national reconciliation will be much better.

QUESTION: Will SA accept abandoning Unita? **OFFICIAL:** I think the question needs to be looked at on both sides. The proposals we have put forward would lead to the reduction of outside involvement on both sides, in a time-sequenced, phased way.

QUESTION: There are reports of a new Angolan offensive against Unita. **OFFICIAL:** Well, I can't reject that claim, nor can I confirm it. We don't have any confirmation from our own sources of any renewed offensive underway now. But that doesn't mean it's not happening.

QUESTION: How long will the "window of opportunity" remain open? **OFFICIAL:** It's not for us to be issuing ultimatums or deadlines... I'd put it this way: that there is growing impatience in this country with any suggestion that we might have our diplomatic efforts used as a sort of device to buy time — as a kind of cover. If you will, for the pursuit of other objectives. We're not going to participate in that kind of stall game, and we have said that to the South Africans. We've said it to the Angolans, too.

Savimbi holds key to Namibian settlement

By Alan Dunn of The Star's Washington Bureau

13/12/85

Dr Jonas Savimbi, charismatic leader of the Unita rebel movement in Angola, has become the fulcrum to peace in that country and Namibia. Senior government officials in Pretoria believed four or more years ago that he held the key to settlement for both Angola and its southern neighbour.

The Reagan Administration is now, after years of diplomatic activity and little success in the region, acting on that premise.

Signs are that Washington has in the last few days started carefully dangling the weighty threat over Luanda of covert aid to the bush rebels, a support openly favoured by President Reagan.

This was the likely message Mr Reagan's top diplomat in Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, took with him when he met Angolan government representatives in Lusaka at the end of November to "Re-energise" his stalled US settlement drive.

While Dr Crocker and his boss, Secretary of State Mr George Shultz, prefer a negotiated solution, the envoy's words would have contained a new edge in these talks.

Mr Shultz is believed to oppose any immediate covert aid to Angola in the hope that the delay will spur the Marxist MPLA Government towards a settlement.

"We support Savimbi," Mr Shultz told reporters. "The question is, what's the most effective way to do it? And if the negotiation can take place that withdraws foreign forces from Angola and Namibia — that gets a Namibian settlement — well, then that's a good way to support Savimbi."

In seeking for five years to achieve the withdrawal of 30 000 Cuban troops from Angola and the South Africans from Namibia, the US tried several tactics and treadmills. But the course currently set was never open to Dr Crocker because of a congressional ban since the mid-seventies on US aid to Unita.

In earlier days, the Reagan Administration advocated repeal of the prohibition, known as the Clark Amendment, but Congress resisted. After the 1984 election, however, the mood shifted on Capitol Hill, seeing the lawmakers agree to finance rebels

fighting Moscow-backed governments in Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

In July, Congress killed the Clark Amendment, unleashing what has become a crowded and fiery debate among congressmen, the Reagan Administration, anti-apartheid lobbyists and activists, with visiting South African politicians and other interested parties adding to the clamour.

More than a hundred congressmen, seeing this mainly as a chance to strike at Soviet adventurism in Southern Africa, are tugging for aid of some sort to Dr Savimbi. At least 100 of their colleagues are pulling the other way, arguing it is an effort the US cannot sustain and one which will ally Washington with Pretoria.

This, the nays fear, would be disastrous for US friendships in Africa and elsewhere.

Dr Crocker left for Lusaka as three Bills proposing help to Unita lay in wait for congressional attention first thing next year. The first intending \$27 million in open "non-lethal", humanitarian aid, the second suggesting \$27 million in military aid supplied

openly, and the third wanting an end to US investments in Angola that pay for the Cuban presence."

Then there were the moves to counter those Bills... and Mr Reagan himself, saying shortly after the Geneva summit where regional trouble spots such as Angola were discussed, that his Administration held that covert aid to the rebels "would have much more chance of success right now".

But this cauldron of debate armed Dr Crocker with a diplomatic switch to goad the Angolans in a kiss-and-slap manner into ridding that trouble-torn country of the Cubans.

Luanda must at this stage clearly understand it has to move on the Cuban issue, or face more and possibly fiercer fighting from a better equipped Unita.

It would have been put to the Angolans as simply as that — the Reagan Administration is feeling the heat too for its faltering Southern African policy which so badly needs a boost.

Whatever the deal, Washington and Pretoria seem to agree, Dr Savimbi will be part of it.

Shake-up in MPLA as Dos Santos firms rule

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

LUANDA. — Angolan President Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos has strengthened his authority to an unexpected degree in the new 13-man Politburo announced this week at the end of the congress of the MPLA Workers' Party.

All personalities from the MPLA's liberation war against Portugal have been dropped. The most prominent loss is Lucio Lara who, next to the late President Agostinho Neto, has been the symbol of the MPLA's stand against the South African Government for more than 20 years.

A Central Committee member said afterwards the decision was "a scandal". Mr Lara's name was among those cheered most loudly in the 200 000-strong 10th anniversary rally in Luanda's May 1 Square this week.

Two other former guerrilla veterans dropped are Colonel Ludi Kissasunda, a former chief of security under Neto, and Mr Henrique Santos Onambwe, Minister of Industry, party secretary for judicial affairs and a former security official. Also out is Agricultural Minister Major Domingos Kimba.

Several of those removed from top positions have been mentioned by US officials as "obstacles" to the US regional peace plans framed by US negotiator Dr Chester Crocker, who believes the MPLA will eventually have to negotiate with Unita.

A former Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, and Air Force commander Mr Iko Carreira, were among Central Committee candidates elected only as alternate non-voting members in an enlarged Central Committee of 90.

Colonel Carreira's political downgrading is particularly surprising given his important role in the war. He is a graduate of the Soviet military academy and is generally credited with the strengthening last year of the Angolan air force.

For the first time there is a woman on the top body — Mrs Maria Mambo Cafe — secretary for economics.

Aid to Unita 'entrenches Cuban presence'

NEW YORK. — Professor Robert Rotberg, one of America's foremost foreign-policy experts, said yesterday that if outsiders wished to entrench the Cuban presence in Angola, they should advocate US aid to Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Unita forces.

Professor Rotberg, a professor of political science and history at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, warned that any US aid, covert or overt, would seriously undermine the interests of America in Angola and the en-

tire Southern African region. "The congressional sponsors for overt aid believe that giving funds to Unita would be an anti-Marxist, anti-Cuban act," he said. "The Reagan administration believes the same and equates the cause of Unita with the free Afghanisthan movement. But support for Unita is support for South Africa."

"To give aid and comfort to a South African surrogate at precisely the moment the US and its major banks and industries

are attempting to persuade that embattled power to dismantle apartheid makes no sense.

"Doing so undoes any good that is beginning to flow from the Reagan administration's gradual de-emphasis on the now-discredited policy of constructive engagement."

On the surface, said Professor Rotberg, supporting Unita appeared to have global foreign-policy benefits, that is, it showed the Soviets that the US could help the enemies of its

clients, but it also made the Angolan Government more dependent on Soviet and Cuban backing and would only entrench the Cuban forces.

Professor Rotberg said giving assistance to Unita would prevent any internationally-acceptable settlement in S.W.A./Namibia. The Angolan Government was prepared to move the Cubans out to that end, but only when Unita was weak or weakened, not when it was being strengthened.

"Curiously, the levels of aid to Unita now being considered by Washington, would hardly be crucial to Unita's existence or power," Professor Rotberg said.

Besides, "in Southern Africa Unita is South Africa's proxy. The destabilization of Angola is part of South Africa's policy of keeping the Southern African region crippled and under its thumb."

He noted that the US was protesting with new vigour against South Africa's policies on

Botswana, Mozambique and Angola, and simultaneously to criticize and then to align itself with South Africa, was hardly the course it should be taking.

"Nor will it convince whites or blacks in South Africa, that the US truly intends to work for serious change within that troubled country," he said.

"The end of Soviet influence in Angola and in the region depends on diminishing the power and spread of apartheid, not the reverse." — Sapa

SADF in action in Angola — AIM

STAR
17/12/85 (5)

The Star's Africa
News Service

MAPUTO — Mozambique's national news agency has claimed that South African forces were once again operating in Angola.

AIM reported that South African forces had advanced to a point about 7 km south of the ruined town of Ongiva, capital of Angola's southernmost province of Cunene and about 40 km north of the Angola/Namibia border.

At the same time, South Africa's "notorious" Buffalo Battalion (which consists mainly of black mercenaries) had occupied the village of Chiede, south-east of Ongiva.

AIM said the Angolan Military Command at Ongiva believed this penetration could herald another major invasion of Angola.

However, the report said, contacts between Angolan and South African officers were still taking place under arrangements set in place by the Lusaka Agreement — in terms of which South Africa promised to withdraw all military forces from a defined area in Angola while Angola undertook to limit the activities of Swapo in the area.

SWAPO VIOLATION

AIM said the latest meeting took place on December 5 on the border between Santa Clara, in Angola, and Oshikango, in Namibia. The meeting was requested by the South Africans who claimed the border had been violated by Swapo forces.

● A report in *The Guardian* yesterday said two battalions of South African troops had invaded southern Angola's Cunene province and were occupying the destroyed towns of Cuamoto and Caluêque, according to Angolan military sources.

The South African attack on the Angolan border guards at Caluêque dam came on December 2 and left 14 Angolan soldiers dead. The SADF moved to Cuamoto four days later. *The Guardian* reported.

After heavy losses by both Angolan and Unita forces during a battle near Mavinga six weeks ago, new South African military initiatives began, including the upgrading of Unita artillery, the paper added.

South Africa's determination to continue a sporadic air war after the intervention with Mirage fighter-bombers over the Mavinga battlefield was shown clearly last month when a Mirage fighter brought down a Soviet plane on a regular food supply run to Cuito Cuanavale, 360 km inside Angola.

Unita said in Lisbon that their guerrillas destroyed the plane.

ARGUS 17/12/85

AFRICA



Unita soldier and rocket launcher.

Help Unita now says American spokesman

NEW YORK.— A senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, has called on the Reagan administration to stop its procrastination on providing aid to Unita forces in Angola, saying US support would contribute to a moderate Soviet foreign policy.

Mr Dimitri Simes claims the US State Department, a firm opponent of congressional aid, is reluctant to do anything that would put America on the same side as South Africa and that the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, is eager to compensate for the lack of progress in dismantling apartheid by succeeding in resolving the issue of SWA/Namibia's independence.

"They fear that giving support to Dr Savimbi may discourage the Angolan government from agreeing to a stage-by-stage withdrawal of Cuban troops," he said.

"But the arguments against helping Unita are as numerous as they are unpersuasive. Dr Savimbi's association with South Africa causes particular outrage. But nobody in the respectable political spectrum claims that this black nationalist... is an admirer of apartheid.

PRETORIA'S POCKET

"Nor is there any evidence that he is in Pretoria's pocket. He had no alternative but to accept South African assistance or surrender. Should he be blamed for refusing to commit political suicide and to abandon his fight?"

If he should, asked Mr Simes, then what about other rebel movements who accept help from wherever they can, such as the ANC who admit taking weapons and funds from the Soviets?

He said if taking arms from the Kremlin "did not disqualify Mr Tambo and his associate Nelson Mandela from being perceived as legitimate nationalist leaders, why should Savimbi be treated any differently?"

"As for giving priority to negotiating a Namibia settlement and the Cuban withdrawal from Angola, it is unclear why these should be viewed as being more in the US interest than helping Unita."

CUT THE LIFELINE

Mr Simes said Luanda's condition for Cuban withdrawal would turn over the power in SWA/Namibia to "radicals" of the South West African People's Organisation, who would cut Dr Savimbi's "lifeline with the world."

With Unita effectively finished, he said, and Angola's marxist regime firmly in control, the Cubans indeed may begin to depart.

"Why should it be an aim of American diplomacy to aid in the victory of a Soviet-allied government?" he asked. "Another charge is that Savimbi may be unworthy of US support because he may not be committed to Western-style pluralism.

"It is even alleged that in the past he had maoist sympathies. So what? Ronald Reagan used to be a liberal democrat."

Mr Simes said people can change, and noted that today Unita had professed its commitment to democracy. And, more important than just words, he said, Dr Savimbi's forces had a good human rights record.

NOT THE BEST

He said the Reagan administration should not be deterred by arguments that most African states would oppose US aid to Dr Savimbi.

"The vast majority of African countries are ruled by authoritarian regimes, with varying degrees of brutality," he said. "They are not the best judges of morality, especially since quite a few of them are willing to do business with South Africa when it suits their interests.

"The US is hardly dependent upon African nations: They need us, not vice versa. Most of them oppose Unita, but their sentiment does not outweigh their need for good relations with the US."

Mr Simes said support for Unita may one day promote the possibility of power sharing in Angola, and would send a message to those fighting Soviet-supported regimes that Washington is not indifferent to their plight.

"Most important, by upgrading the costs of Moscow's expansionism, the assistance to Savimbi would contribute to a more moderate soviet foreign policy," he said.

"Such a policy is a precondition for a better US-USSR relationship. For the sake of detente, Savimbi should be offered a helping hand from the US. — Sapa.

Decision on Unita aid expected soon

By Alan Dunn,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The hotly debated question of American aid to the Angolan rebels, Unita, is likely to be decided at a meeting in a few weeks time of the Washington and Luanda governments.

A great deal is at stake for Angola's MPLA regime when it next sees President Ronald Reagan's chief Africa specialist, Dr Chester Crocker, probably before the year's end.

He will be expecting to hear substantive responses from the Angolans to proposals he tabled in March this year concerning the withdrawal of about 35 000 Cuban troops from that country — the key to settling the Namibia problem.

South Africa's reply to the March proposals, which were drawn up by the Americans from suggestions from Pretoria and Luanda, has apparently gone some way towards full agreement.

A senior State Department official described the reply from Pretoria as "substantive". It represented a new South African position in response to

the March proposals: "It gives us something to work with," he said.

Now it is Angola's turn. Dr Crocker will see the MPLA soon amid powerful pressure in Washington, particularly from Capitol Hill, for aid of some sort to Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Unita guerrillas.

Reagan's backing

The feeling in conservative circles here is that covert backing for Unita, openly preferred at this stage by Mr Reagan, is only a few weeks away.

Exactly how much this would be has not been pinpointed. Estimates in Washington range from \$15 million (R40.5 million) to a helix by one congressman strongly in favour of Unita aid that initial help would be less — \$5 million (R7.5 million) to \$10 million (R13.7 million).

It seems unlikely that Dr Crocker will be able to block such aid if he returns to Washington with an inadequate Angolan response signalling lit the progress towards peace.

If he does return empty-handed, the United States will almost certainly

find itself pitched into the awkward situation of backing both sides in the conflict: the MPLA rulers through flourishing trade ties on the one hand, and direct support to Unita on the other.

Pro-Unita quarters in Washington find this untenable. One conservative group, for instance, last week announced a boycott of the Chevron Corporation's Gulf Oil, which operates extensively in the Cabinda fields of Northern Angola, because it generated 89 percent of that country's revenue.

There is considerable feeling in Congress that US businesses in Angola, particularly the oil industry, are making huge profits for Angola which are, indirectly at least, actually financing the Cuban presence there.

"If they can have Gulf Oil pay for the troops while the Cubans provide the cadres," said Congressman Newt Gingrich of Georgia, "It seems to me that you have the ultimate Soviet colony. A colony the West subsidises while the Soviet Union exploits it."

Said Congressman Henry Hyde of Illinois: "The Soviets, who are, after all, our major global antagonists,

have poured billions in weaponry into Angola in the last two years, for which they are being paid from the oil revenues paid by American companies in the Cabinda enclave to the Luanda government."

Politically ticklish

The Reagan Administration admits the millions of US investments in Angola are politically ticklish while it is pressing for a negotiated regional settlement through Cuban withdrawal.

But the State Department defends these business links — Angola is the United States's third largest sub-Saharan trading partner — by noting that other interests standing in the wings would be eager to scoop up any opportunities left them there by American firms.

If Dr Crocker succeeds in the upcoming talks, returning with sufficient Angolan input for him to show definite progress has been achieved, it might pave the way for a secret US aid for Unita, for a while.

Angola agrees in principle to withdrawal of Cuban troops

By Ross Mark of the *London Daily Express*

WASHINGTON — The Marxist Government of Angola has agreed for the first time, in principle, to the phased withdrawal of 30 000 Cuban troops from its soil, according to American diplomatic sources.

They say this is part of a package that will end South Africa's rule in neighbouring, mineral-rich Namibia.

The reported breakthrough is said to have come in talks between US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker and Angolan Interior Minister Kito Rodrigues after negotiations in Lusaka.

The Cuban troops have supported the Angolan Government for the past 10 years.

The agreement in principle is said to come as President Ronald Reagan makes plans to ask Congress for \$75 million in overt military aid to Jonas Savimbi, the pro-Western leader of Unita rebel forces in Angola.

Both the CIA and the Pentagon have pushed for a large covert military operation against the Marxist Government valued at \$950 million.

But President Reagan is being urged by the State Department to delay action to see if the new agreement can bring peace to that area of southern Africa.

6 Swapo men killed in operation

BUS DAY
20/12/85

SADF forces deep inside south Angola

SOUTH AFRICAN security forces are currently involved in an operation against Swapo deep in Angolan territory, according to informed Pretoria sources.

At least six Swapo members have already been killed in the operation, the sources say.

A large quantity of arms and ammunition as well as military uniforms — of the kind used by Swapo, the Libyan forces and, for the first time, Kenya — have been also been captured.

A spokesman for the South African Defence Force yesterday declined to comment on the highly detailed report.

According to the sources, South African troops followed tracks into Angola on December 12 and the Swapo members were killed in a contact on Sunday, December 15.

Among weapons captured were 130

JAYNE LA MONT

60mm mortar bombs, 137 82mm mortar bombs, mortar propellant cartridges, nose cones, hand-grenades, detonators, mines and RPG7 ammunition, as well as medical supplies and equipment, a large number of handguns and ammunition and several AK47 guns and ammunition.

Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) rebels claimed there was fierce fighting in southern Angola yesterday and said they killed 69 government troops and shot down a MiG aircraft in attacks in various parts of the country last week, reports SAPA-REUTER.

At a military ceremony on the SWA/Namibian side of the border on April 17, South Africa said it had withdrawn its last troops from southern Angola in accordance with the Luanda agreement, signed by SA and Angola.

D... ..

uled for next year. The 66 000 ha area will almost double KwaNdebele's size. Moutse is a well-established area with infrastructure and the hospital KwaNdebele lacks. It also has good small business potential. ■

'RELEASE MANDELA' RALLY

FIN MAIL 20/12/85 UDF re-enters fray

The incident-marked United Democratic Front (UDF) rally in Durban at the weekend signalled the re-entry into politics of the acquitted treason trialists.

It was the UDF's first legal open-air meeting in Natal since the trial began and a crowd of about 5 000 turned out. Even the heavy contingent of police did little to dampen their enthusiasm. As former trialist and UDF official, Mewa Ramgobin, observed, it "showed we have not lost our political cue. From here the struggle goes on."

The rally was originally called to urge the unconditional release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. But it ended up having the dual purpose of welcoming back members of the UDF Natal executive who last week had charges of treason withdrawn against them in the Maritzburg Supreme Court.

The gathering was treated to fiery speeches from UDF national presidents, Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede and treasurer Curnick Ndlovu, all of whom praised Mandela's qualities as a national leader and urged that he be "released to the people."

As the crowd was filing from the Curries Fountain stadium, police and UDF supporters clashed. Police say a bus, police vehicles and shop windows were stoned. They retaliated by charging a section of the crowd and bull-whipping them. Several people were treated in hospital for minor injuries.

Judging by the mood of the meeting, it would seem that Mandela's release is a high priority before the UDF gives up its campaign of civil disobedience.

There are encouraging signs, too, that government is being less intransigent on the issue. However, last week's landmine blasts in Messina must come as a setback to those who believe Mandela's release is imminent. Indiscriminate killing of that kind serves to lend plausibility to government's contention that one cannot negotiate with terrorists.

Ramgobin says for the time being current UDF strategy will stay on course. He confirms that he and several other trialists are considering legal action against the Minister of Police for their detention under Section 28 of the International Security Act. At issue will be the illegality of their detention and the loss of earnings and personal dislocation to their lives they suffered.

Says Ramgobin: "The ball is very much in government's court. It must realise that it cannot talk only to its paid functionaries. Dialogue must be with those who oppose its policies and its power. There is no point in talking to people with whom it shares power — even if they are only junior partners." ■

FIN MAIL 20/12/85 COMMONWEALTH COMMISSION

Treading cautiously

The Eminent Persons Group (EPG), assigned by the Commonwealth to enter into dialogue with President P W Botha over apartheid reforms, has concluded its preliminary meetings in London and dispersed for the Christmas holidays to ponder on its delicate mission.

The EPG has decided that the best way to steer a safe course between the Scylla of the Pretoria government and the Charybdis of the ANC-Anti-Apartheid Movement, is to keep such a low profile that it is almost invisible. Fewer people have actually seen the EPG than saw that other visitor from beyond, ET.

This explains why public comment by members of the commission has been almost non-existent. With the example of the ill-fated EEC troika to Pretoria behind it, the EPG is determined to advance step by cautious step.

President Botha can rest assured, therefore, that the EPG is not going to Pretoria to pick a quarrel with him or hold a pistol to his head. It genuinely wants dialogue, or at least, most of its members do.

This, anyway, is the EPG's present intention: what happens when the irresistible force of Pik Botha meets the immovable object of Kenya's John Malecela or Nigeria's General Olusegun Obasanjo, is another matter. There are wild cards in the pack (*People* December 13).

Soft ultimatum

Implied in the EPG's visit is an ultimatum: if Pretoria does not make adequate progress with apartheid reform within six months of the issuing of the Commonwealth communiqué (on October 20), some Commonwealth members will proceed to impose even tougher sanctions.

April 20, therefore, is the nominal deadline. But the EPG's starting point is January 1, so that will postpone the deadline to June 30. And if the talks make reasonable progress by then, even that deadline will recede into the distance.

Can reasonable progress be made? Within the EPG itself there are varying opinions, with Lord Barber at one polarity and Malecela and Obasanjo at the other. One good knockabout session with Pik Botha, and the EPG's consensus could be sent flying.

As for the ANC-AAM, they are sceptical about the visit. At best they see the EPG as Commonwealth tourists who will achieve nothing; at worst, as a kind of Contact Group which will deflect the pressures now building up on the Botha government. Possibly, neither the ANC nor the AAM will go as far as Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, who is openly hostile to the visit and who would regard a meeting between the EPG and Mandela in a prison cell as a betrayal of the Commonwealth position — Mandela must first be released and the ANC legalised, declares

Huddleston. But the ANC-AAM will watch every EPG move like hawks, and it can be only a matter of time before Lusaka starts to take issue with the EPG over its programme.

There is another problem. If Botha agrees to see the EPG before he makes his "Son of Rubicon" speech in late January, he will be seen by many of his own followers to be yielding to international pressure. But if he says he can see the EPG only after he has made his speech then what will there be to talk about, except an accomplished fact? It's all very tricky. Perhaps ET should be sent to Pretoria instead of the EPG. After all, both ET and the Pretoria politicians understand the language of outer space. ■

CONSUMER BOYCOTTS

FIN MAIL 20/12/85 A black Christmas

The consumer boycotts on the Reef and in Pretoria presage a black Christmas for township dwellers. Economic realities are being elbowed aside as escalating boycott-related violence takes hold in the townships, catching ordinary black folk in the crossfire.

There have been widespread reports of intimidation and attacks on blacks still shopping in city centres, leading to security force intervention to protect those who want to Christmas shop despite appeals from consumer boycott organisers.

There have been open offers to negotiate over the boycott. The Associated Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) has declared its willingness to talk to boycott organisers, and public support for such a move has come from retail industry leaders.

However, one problem in the PWV area appears to be a lack of leadership. This suffered another setback with the detention last week of Jabu Ngwena, chief spokesman for the Soweto Consumer Boycott Committee, which is likely to hamper negotiations. And retailers face the problem that none of the committee's (political) demands can be met by them, since that is obviously in government hands. A boycott leader has reportedly said that it is not the committee's intention to force retailers out of the market but rather to motivate them to force the authorities to meet their demands.

Official consumer body spokesmen say it is too early to gauge the effects of the boycott in Johannesburg, which relies on Soweto for as much as 80% of its trade, according to National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) president, Sam Motsuanyane.

For small business in Pretoria the boycott has certainly begun to bite. Some shopkeepers report trade is down more than 50% and fear the blow to turnovers that even two more weeks of the boycott will take. This is despite Assocom's information that business picked up over the weekend after Mamelodi residents were assured by police that they could shop (and return home with their goods intact) freely and in peace.

SA group killed 6 ^{STAR} 20/12/85 Swapo men in Angola ⁵

The Star's Foreign
News Service ⁵

A small South African task force has killed six Swapo guerrillas in Angola and captured a relatively large amount of military equipment.

While South African Defence Force spokesmen yesterday refused to comment on the reported activity deep into Angola, it is clear from diplomatic and other sources that the operation is continuing.

Earlier this week the Mozambican news agency, AIM, claimed South African forces had advanced to a point about 7 km south of the ruined town of Ongiva, capital of Angola's southernmost province of Cunene and about 40 km north of the Angolan/Namibian border.

AIM also claimed South Africa's Buffalo Battalion (consisting mainly of black mercenaries) had occupied the village of Chiede, south-east of Ongiva.

It said the Angolan Military Command at Ongiva believed this penetration could herald another major invasion of Angola.

However, it is clear from information gathered by Western diplomatic sources that the latest incursion into Angola is a "hot pursuit" operation in search of a Swapo group which crossed into Angola on December 12. The Swapo guerrillas were killed in a contact with security forces at the weekend.

A quantity of arms and ammunition was captured together with medical supplies and equipment and a number of uniforms.

and minds

Angolan border calm belies battle for 'hearts and minds'

STAR 20/12/85

By Kevin Toolis of The Observer

WINDHOEK — Amid the sandbags and mortar emplacements of Oshikango base on the Angolan/Namibian border, white South African conscripts play volleyball or sunbathe in the afternoon heat.

But the calm at the frontier belies the military activity and political indoctrination in the rest of the crucial Ovamboland region as Pretoria battles in its self-defined war for "hearts and minds".

Traditionally the heartland of Swapo's support, no one could mistake Ovamboland now for anything other than a war zone. Since the start of the year, everyone has required a police permit to pass through the military checkpoints on the main tarred road between the northern frontier town of Ruacana and the copper-mine city of Tsumeb to the south.

A strict dusk-to-dawn curfew on traffic movement has been imposed and military bases line the road every 30 km. South African military convoys, led by mine-proof vehicles

mounted with heavy machine-guns, constantly patrol and mine-sweep the road to the Angolan border.

Ovamboland, which runs for 500 km along the Angolan frontier, is effectively under martial law. Along the main road, the garrison towns of Oshakati, Ondangwa and Ruacana are whites-only bastions surrounded by double layers of security fencing and machine-gun posts.

REAL WAR

But it is outside the white laagers in the Ovambo villages and towns, which contain more than 50 percent of Namibia's population, that the real war is being fought. It is here that the South Africans have deployed their latest counter-insurgency tactic — a shadowy 5,000-strong "cultural" wing of the army known as Etango.

The South West Africa Territory Force commander, Major-General George Meiring, who heads the locally recruited "Namibianised" forces, said Pretoria's overwhelming

firepower and successful recruitment drive has broken the back of Swapo's military wing.

"Of the potential Swapo force of about 8 500, more than 3 400 are actively engaged in fighting Unita. That is how they pay for their keep in Angola. Only about 1 500 are available at any one time to fight against South West Africa, and only about half would come down during the rainy season offensive," Major-General Meiring said.

"We are winning I think because we get the local population on our side. Despite the fact that we are winning militarily, we get the locals' hearts and minds."

A central element in the "spiritual aspect" of Major-General Meiring's "hearts and minds" has been the emergence of the Etango ("sun" in Ovambo) cultural movement and a similar body known as Eyuza in the neighbouring Kavango-speaking region.

Originally recruited from SWATF black members who say military sources "felt the need" for some form of cultural-religious back-up, Etango is geared towards bolstering

support for the security forces and South Africa's transitional government in Windhoek.

Recruits pass through a diplomatic-style course which emphasises tribal identity and is vehemently anti-Swapo and anti-communist.

Etango's and Eyuza's philosophy ties in neatly with recent remarks by the interim government constitutional council chairman, former judge Mr Victor Hiemstra, who was assigned the task of drafting an independence constitution in direct defiance of United Nations Resolution 435.

MINORITY RIGHTS

"Ethnicity is a factor. Minority rights will be safeguarded as far as the constitution can do that," he said at the formal launch of the council which has two years to complete its task.

Sponsored by donors and administered by white officials from Oshakati, Etango's public activities are targeted at young people.

Ethnic cultural festivals are organised to promulgate their views and recruits are offered diplomas in the education-starved region.

The meetings frequently take on a quasi-religious air with Etango's own pastors giving sermons, urging people to denounce Swapo insurgents and inform the authorities.

Essentially the political wing of the SWAFT, Etango, like the interim government itself, is part and parcel of the same Pretoria strategy to dictate its own terms for Namibian independence.

As yet too small to make a major political impact, Etango, with a membership of 500 000, seems set to become a major quasi-military tribal opposition force to the Swapo leadership.

The "light at the end of the tunnel" in South Africa's view is not a thriving democratic state but a weak and compliant regime subservient to Pretoria's security demands.

SA Group - keep in

Angola

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20/12/85

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SOURCES

PRETORIA. — A small contingent of South African troops has penetrated deep into Angola, killing at least six members of Swapo and capturing an extensive cache of weapons, informed sources in Pretoria said yesterday.

The raid was reported to be the third since the formal withdrawal of South African troops eight months ago.

The sources, who asked not to be identified, also claimed that the SADF soldiers had taken possession of Swapo military uniforms, several of which came from the security forces of Libya and, for the first time, Kenya.

An SADF spokesman

here said the Defence Force had no comment on the report.

An SABC-TV report last night said that the operation began at the weekend and still was continuing.

According to the sources, the SADF contingent had been in western Angola since the weekend, and that the mission was still in progress.

The SADF had cap-

tured more than 260 mortar bombs, seven RPG rockets, a large quantity of handgrenades and landmines, as well as medical equipment, they claimed.

According to the Luanda Agreement, signed jointly with the Angolan Government, the South African Government undertook to withdraw all its troops from Angola.

At a military ceremony on the SWA/Namibian side of the border on April 17 this year, South Africa said it had withdrawn its last troops from southern Angola in accordance with the agreement.

The latest raid continued as diplomatic sources in Washington reported a possible breakthrough in negotiations on SWA/Namibian independence.

According to press reports in Britain, the sources said Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and Angolan Interior Minister, Mr. Kito Rodrigues, agreed in principle that 30 000 Cuban troops would leave Angola after 10 years of support for the Luanda Government.

The US and South Africa have made a Cuban pull-out a condition of SWA/Namibian independence, but Luanda has insisted it needs the troops to counter South African aggression.

South Africa has mounted numerous raids into southern Angola since the country won independence from Portugal in 1975 and began to offer sanctuary to Swapo rebels opposed to Pretoria's administration of their homeland.

The reported agreement between Crocker and Rodrigues is linked to U.S. moves towards overt military support for Savimbi's strongly anti-Communist Unita movement, which controls at least a third of Angola, but could be complicated by Pretoria's latest incursion. — Sapa and UPI

SA border talks in next few days

CALL TIME 20/12/85

20/12/85

From JAYNE LA MONT

PRETORIA. — The meeting between military commanders of South Africa and Zimbabwe to discuss the recent landmine blasts along the common border would take place "within the next few days".

This was disclosed at a press conference here yesterday by the Defence Force Chief Director of Operations, Major-General Jan van Loggerenberg.

He denied allegations that South Africa was massing troops on the Zimbabwe border but said additional personnel had been sent into the area to "help in the search for landmines".

A statement by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, accusing Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe of being involved in a "well-coordinated propaganda war to discredit South Africa" was released at the conference.

"I wish to state categorically, again that South Africa's goal is to work with her neighbours for greater stability and, like good neighbours, to take up problems so that they can be solved in the broad interests of our whole sub-continent.

"Accommodating and condoning terrorists, terrorism and blatant propaganda is not in the interests of peace," the statement concluded.

Referring to the talks to be held between military commanders of the two countries along the Zimbabwean border, General Van Loggerenberg said talks of this nature took place "regularly".

"We do hold regular talks with our opposite numbers in neighbouring countries — we speak frequently to them in Angola and in Zimbabwe for instance — in an effort to prevent having to take military action," he said.

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CAP Times 21/12/76
Angola
knows of
SA raid

LUANDA. — South African troops have raided southern Angola, an Angolan military spokesman said yesterday.

"We know the South Africans are active in the area, but we can't give you details at this stage," an armed forces spokesman said.

Informed sources in South Africa said on Thursday that South African forces had been operating in Angola since the weekend, tracking Swapo guerrillas.

At least six Swapo men had been killed in the fighting, they added.

South Africa's last known raid into Angola was in September, Luanda, which said some troops did not leave the country afterwards, claims the raids are intended to give support to Unita rebels.

A Swapo spokesman in Luanda denied that six of the movement's members had been killed by South African troops.

"No Swapo guerrillas were killed in these last few days. South Africa always finds an excuse to invade Angola. In the areas where the South African troops are reported to be now, we have only refugees," said Mr Kandy Nehova, Swapo deputy information secretary. — Sapa-
Reuter

LISBON — South Africa has moved four battalions into Angola in the past week, the official Angolan news agency Angop said at the weekend.

The report added that three Angolan soldiers had been killed and 14 were missing after clashes with SA forces in the past few days.

In a dispatch monitored in Lisbon, Angop also said SA aircraft had been making frequent flights over areas of conflict between Angolan government forces and Unita rebels.

The agency said two battalions, including one made up of SWA troops, had crossed into Angola on December 15, and two more had followed on December 17.

It said the SA forces were being helped by a fifth battalion made up of Unita soldiers.

Angop said SA troops had attacked a border post at Calueque in Cunene province earlier this month, killing three government soldiers. Fourteen more were missing, it said.

The agency said SA aircraft were constantly flying deep into Angolan ter-

23/12/85 BUS DAY

Angolans confirm SA incursion

ritory in south-eastern Moxico and Cuando Cubango provinces, where Unita is fighting off a government offensive aimed at reaching the rebel headquarters.

SADF spokesman Commandant John Rolt said he had no comment to make on the reports.

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has condemned the raid.

"This raid is in defiance of numerous Security Council resolutions which have demanded that South Africa cease all acts of aggression against Angola and respect scrupulously its sovereignty and territorial integrity," the statement said. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

SADF 'moves 4 battalions into Angola'

Cape Times 23/12/85

LISBON — South Africa has moved four battalions into Angola in the past week, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported at the weekend.

In a dispatch monitored here, Angop reported that two South African battalions had crossed into Angola on Sunday, December 15, and two more had followed on December 17.

A battalion usually consists of between 600 and 800 men.

Angop said the South African forces were being helped by a fifth battalion of guerillas from Unita, which has been fighting the government of Mr Eduardo dos Santos since 1975.

Angop said the first two South African battalions, backed by tanks and aircraft, including Puma helicopters, infiltrated Angolan territory last Sunday "under the false pretext of an alleged pursuit of Swapo fighters."

It said another South African battalion and a battalion made up of SWA/Namibian troops reinforced them on Tuesday.

Two South African motorized infantry brigades were poised near the border "ready to launch a new large-scale aggressive action".

Angop also said South

African aircraft had been making frequent flights deep into Angolan territory in south-eastern Moxico and Cuando Cubango provinces, where Unita is defending its headquarters against a government offensive.

South African Defence Force spokesman Commandant John Rolt declined to confirm or deny the Angop report. "We have no comment," he said in a statement.

South African media, including SATV, on Thursday quoted "informed sources" as saying that "a small contingent of South African troops had penetrated deep" into Angola last weekend, killing six members of Swapo.

However, a Swapo spokesman in Luanda has denied that six of the movement's members had been killed by South African troops.

"No Swapo guerillas were killed in these last few days. South Africa always finds an excuse to invade Angola. In the areas where the South African troops are reported to be now, we have only refugees," said Mr Kandy Nehova, Swapo deputy information secretary. — Sapa-
Reuter-AP

● US aid to Unita 'could resume', page 5

Copy Tracts 23/12/88

US aid to Unita 'could resume'

WASHINGTON. — US aid for Unita could resume within weeks as State Department resistance to involvement in the bush war crumbles under a conservative assault.

Congressional and administration sources said the first instalment of money and arms for Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita could be flowing down secret channels controlled by the CIA by February. Estimates of the size of the initial package differ but a Washington Post report said it could be worth between R21 million and R40 million.

Congressional sources said it would probably

include Red Eye and Stinger anti-aircraft missiles as well as anti-tank rockets.

The plan could be derailed if the State Department's veteran Southern Africa peace negotiator Mr Chester Crocker produces an 11th-hour deal to remove Cuban forces fighting for Angola's Marxist government under President Eduardo dos Santos, the sources said.

Struggling

But Mr Crocker has been struggling for five years for a peace agreement linking withdrawal of the estimated 35 000 Cubans from Angola to independence for neighbouring SWA/Namibia.

Without a deal, the State Department seems ill-equipped to resist further the pro-aid forces in the Pentagon, the CIA, the National Security Council and conservatives in Congress.

Dr Savimbi has become a rebel with a cause worth supporting for American conservatives determined to roll back what they regard as a worldwide communist assault on freedom.

The right-wing American Security Council last week bemoaned the withdrawal of US aid from Dr Savimbi's forces in 1975 after a row over America being allied in the war with Unita's main backer, South Africa.

Repealed

A law banning aid to Unita was repealed last July.

Conservatives brush aside State Department arguments that support for Unita would ruin the US role as a mediator in Southern Africa as well as its reputation among African states deeply offended by South Africa's apartheid racial policies.

They say that while apartheid is deplorable, South Africa remains a key US ally in the fight against Soviet communism and that Unita is on the front line. Officials say the Soviet Union has pumped nearly six billion rand in military aid into Angola in the past 18 months.

But even if US aid to Unita were to be covert, news would inevitably leak out, State Department sources said. And, one Congressional aide predicted: "As soon as news of American support is out, Luanda will cut off negotiations, charge the State Department with hypocrisy and step up military action."

— Sapa-Reuter

29/12/85 (5) BUS DAY

SA mum on Angola raid

THE SWA Territory Force (SWATF) yesterday refused to comment on Windhoek reports that heavy fighting involving SA, Cuban, Angolan and Unita forces was continuing in southern Angola.

The news reports said SA and SWA soldiers were inside Angola supported by tanks, helicopters and fighter planes, reportedly in search of Swapo insurgents.

At the same time, Unita forces were fighting off renewed assaults by Angolan government troops and Cuban forces in southeastern Angola.

The SWATF reported earlier that Swapo was mustering its forces for its annual rainy-season offensive. Observers in Windhoek believed the incursion into Angola from SWA was aimed, at least partly, at taking preventive action to stop the Swapo infiltration effort.

Reports by the Angolan news agency, Angop, said SA had moved four battalions into Angola in the past week and that SA aircraft were making frequent flights over areas of conflict between Angolan government forces and Unita rebels.

The Angop report said the first two SA battalions, which included SWA combat elements, had crossed the border into Angola nine days ago. Two days later, they were reinforced by two more battalions that had moved in from SWA.

Informed sources in Pretoria said earlier a small unit of SA troops had penetrated Angola last weekend to flush out Swapo insurgents.

Asked about the reports, an SWATF spokesman yesterday declined to comment. — Sapa.

Angolan push by April — study

The Star Bureau

5

WASHINGTON — The Angolans and the Soviets are probably boosting their air strength to match or overcome South Africa's air superiority in southern Angola, an American expert on the conflict says.

"Prospects for an intensified offensive against Unita and even a direct clash between Angolan and South African forces will mount with the end of the rainy season in April 1986," Mr John Marcum writes in a study published by Georgetown University's Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington.

Mr Marcum, former vice-chancellor of the University of California at Santa Cruz, travelled widely in Southern Africa and visited the Soviet Union.

He writes that the Angolans see the extension of their air power as the key to success.

"The Soviets will presumably work with the Angolan Government during the December-April rainy season to prepare for this extension of air power.

"It is probable that the next battle for Mavinga

and Jamba (Unita bases) will require greater air protection for Unita ground forces. The alternative is for Unita to abandon conventional, fixed-position warfare and to return to guerilla-style insurgency."

The report comes at a time when US assistance to Unita has turned into a heated issue in Washington.

American conservatives demand that President Reagan honour his commitment to opposing communism worldwide by helping the rebels, while liberals say that aid to Unita will amount to a damaging military US alliance with South Africa.

Some opponents of US aid argue that a Unita government is likely to be as socialist and as authoritarian as the ruling MPLA.

The US Government — which said yesterday it was deeply concerned about the recent escalation of fighting in southern Angola — hopes that renewed diplomatic initiatives will bring South Africa and the MPLA back to the negotiating table before the Reagan administration is forced to provide the aid.

Both South Africa and the MPLA are showing an interest in negotiating, a senior US official said last week.

WASHINGTON — Scores had died in fighting as the Angolan Government backed by Cuban forces and Soviet weaponry continued its second major offensive this year in South-eastern Angola, a Unita official said here yesterday.

About 50 Unita fighters had so far been killed, Unita spokesman Mr Jeremias Chitunda reported. The Angolan forces, Fapla, had lost 200 men, he added.

There had been several "pitched battles", Mr Chitunda said, as about 3 500 Fapla troops advanced from three axes on Unita positions at Mavinga and its headquarters at Jamba.

The second offensive, following a bloody Fapla push between July and October, started with bombing of Unita positions on December 6 in what Mr Chi-

Scores killed in 24/12/85 STAR Angolan offensive

tunda described as the first rainy season offensive.

The present Fapla drive, he said, was less intense than the previous one because heavy rains had slowed advancing columns of men and equipment.

Between 1 500 and 2 000 Cuban soldiers are believed to be based at Cuito Cuanavale, so far offering only logistic support to the Fapla columns. "They are helping in the piloting of Migs (Mig-23 fighters) and helicop-

ters," he said. Unita had not had ground clashes with the Cubans.

Fapla soldiers were moving towards Mavinga and Jamba from Cuito Cuanavale to the North, from Menongue, Caiundo and Savate to the west, and from the eastern-most reaches of the country where they were finding great difficulty in crossing the Languembungu River.

Fapla forces had lost a large number of vehicles, he said, because they were bogging down in the mud.

The offensive had begun, he said, after a massive airlift of military hardware from the Angolan ports of Luanda and Lobito which had seen 15 flights a day landing at Cuito Cuanavale.

A former US ambassador to the United Nations, Mrs Jean Kirkpatrick, said yesterday Cuban troops commanded by Soviet officers "fresh from Afghanistan" were being deployed in the present offensive.

Writing in *The Washington Post*, she said the Angolan struggle was growing more lopsided by the day: "Last year more than \$2 billion in new military equipment was delivered to Angola to supplement the 1 500 Soviet military personnel, 35 000 Cuban troops and assorted Soviet bloc forces already working to prop up Angola's faltering Marxist government."

Bus DAY 5

SA forces kill 15 in Angola

27/12/85

SOUTH AFRICAN security forces have killed a total of 15 Swapo insurgents, destroyed seven caches of arms and knocked out a temporary base during their present raid into southern Angola.

According to Pretoria sources, there have been a total of eight contacts between the security forces and Swapo since the South Africans crossed the border about two weeks ago.

Six Swapo members were killed in the first contact, while another nine have died during actions in the past few days. No SA deaths have been reported.

It has not been a quiet, festive Christmas in that part of Southern Africa, where two major conflicts are in progress.

The Angolan army, backed by about 20 000 Cubans, are trying for the second time this year to overrun Jonas Savimbi's Jamba headquarters in south-eastern Angola.

Further west, the SA forces are hunting down Swapo insurgents in the "shallow area" north of the border to prevent them reaching SWA at the start of Swapo's annual rainy-season offensive.

Earlier this week, Major-General George Meiring, who commands the SWA Territory Force, said this year's Swapo offensive was not expected to be as big as last year's. At some stages during the last offensive there were up to 400 insurgents inside SWA.

The SA Defence Force has refused to comment on the latest details to come from the war front or to say if and when its

Own Correspondent

forces will withdraw from Angola.

Meanwhile, the tactical deployment of troops in parts of the eastern Caprivi earlier this month appears to have blocked Swapo efforts to reopen that region as a second front in the 19-year-old border war.

According to sources in Caprivi, the security forces were aware that the Swapo contingent had retreated and were expected to try to infiltrate through another route.

The sources would not give the insurgents' strength or where they were from, but it seems most likely they would attempt to use Zambian territory, although there has been speculation that the group could be deploying from refugee camps in northern Botswana.

In 1978, Swapo carried out a mortar bombardment from across the Zambian border, killing 10 soldiers based at Katima Mulilo.

Security forces lashed back at Swapo bases across the Zambezi River, and Zambia moved the camps out of striking distance.

The sources believe Swapo was trying to exploit the tribal conflict between the Mafwe and Sasubia tribes which share the far-eastern corner of the territory.

Meiring said he did not believe President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia would voluntarily allow his country to be used for such purposes again for fear of SA retaliation.

15 terrorists killed in ⁽⁵⁾ Angola raid

27/12/85 Mercury

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG— South African security forces have killed a total of 15 Swapo terrorists, destroyed seven caches of arms and knocked out a temporary base during the current 'limited' offensive into southern Angola.

According to sources in Pretoria there have been eight contacts between the security forces and Swapo since the South Africans crossed the border about two weeks ago. In the first contact six members of Swapo were killed while another nine have died during actions in the

past few days.

There have been no reports of South Africa fatalities.

It has not been a quiet, festive Christmas in that part of southern Africa where two major conflicts are in progress.

The Angolan Army backed by an estimated 2 000 Cubans are trying for the second time this year to overrun Dr Jonas Savimbi's home base at Jamba in south-eastern Angola.

Further west the South Africans forces are hunting down Swapo insurgents in the 'shallow area' north of the border, to try

to prevent them from reaching South West Africa at the start of their annual rainy season offensive.

Earlier this week, the Officer Commanding South West Africa Territory Forces, Maj-Gen George Meiring, said this year's Swapo offensive was not expected to be as big as last year's.

Retreated

At some stages during the last offensive there were up to 400 terrorists inside the territory.

In Pretoria the SADF has refused to comment on the latest details to come from the war front, or say if and when its forces will withdraw from Angola.

Meanwhile the tactical deployment of troops in parts of the eastern Caprivi earlier this month appears to have blocked efforts by a Swapo 'fighting element' to reopen that region as a second front in the 19-year-old border war.

According to sources in Caprivi, the security forces were aware that the Swapo contingent had retreated and were expected to try to infiltrate through another route.

It seems most likely they would attempt to use Zambian territory, though there has also been speculation that the group could be deploying from 'refugee camps' in northern Botswana.

Mortars

In 1978 a bombardment using mortars from across the Zambian border was carried out by Swapo, killing 10 soldiers based at Katima Mulilo.

Security forces lashed back at Swapo bases across the Zambezi River and Zambia moved the camps out of striking distance of Caprivi.

The sources believe Swapo was trying to exploit the tribal conflict between the Mafwe and Sasubia tribes which share the far eastern corner of the territory.

Maj-Gen Meiring said he did not believe President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia would voluntarily allow his country to be used again, for fear of retaliation by South African forces.

CAPE Times
27/12/85

SA forces kill 15 insurgents in Angola raid

Defence Reporter
SOUTH AFRICAN forces have killed 15 Swapo insurgents, destroyed seven caches of arms and knocked out a temporary base during its "limited" offensive into southern Angola.

According to sources in Pretoria there have been eight contacts between the security forces and Swapo since the South Africans crossed the border about two weeks ago.

In the first contact six members of Swapo were killed while another nine have died in actions during the past few days.

There have been no reports of South African fatalities.

Overrun

The Angolan Army, backed by an estimated 2 000 Cubans, is trying for the second time this year to overrun Dr Jonas Savimbi's home base at Jamba in south-eastern Angola.

Further west the South African forces are hunting down Swapo insurgents in the "shallow area" north of the border, to try and prevent

them from reaching SWA/Namibia, at the start of their annual rainy-season offensive.

Earlier this week, the General Officer Commanding SWA Territory Forces, Major-General George Meiring, said the coming Swapo offensive was not expected to be as big as the last.

At some stages during the last offensive there were up to 400 insurgents inside the territory.

Refused

In Pretoria the Defence Force has refused to comment on the latest details to come from the war front, or say when its forces will withdraw from Angola.

The deployment of troops in parts of the eastern Caprivi earlier this month appears to have blocked efforts by a Swapo "fighting element" to re-open that region as a second front in the 19-year-old border war.

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The sources would not give the insurgents' strength or where they were from, but it seems most likely they would attempt to use Zambian territory, though there has also been speculation that the group could be deploying from "refugee camps" in northern Botswana.

Bombardment

In 1978 a mortar bombardment from across the Zambia border by Swapo killed 10 soldiers at Katima Mulilo.

SA forces lashed back at Swapo bases across the Zambezi River and Zambia moved camps out of striking distance of Caprivi.

General Meiring said he did not believe President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia would voluntarily allow his country to be used again, for fear of retaliation by South African forces.

'US decision will be crucial'

30/12/85. STAR

Savimbi warns of watershed ⑤ year in Angola

WASHINGTON — The civil war in Angola may reach a watershed next year and the coming decision on US aid for rebels could determine whether all of Southern and Central Africa falls under Soviet domination, Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said today.

Dr Savimbi made the statement in the winter issue of *Policy Review*, magazine of the Heritage Foundation, a conservative research group.

"Hesitation, and the refusal to aid Unita in its fight against the Cubans and Soviets, will be taken as a signal by all the countries in the region that the United States has abandoned them to the Soviets as the West abandoned Czechoslovakia and Eastern Europe to Hitler in 1938," Dr Savimbi wrote.

"Should massive Soviet air and armour attacks succeed in defeating Unita when the dry season begins in March 1986, then 45 000 Cuban troops and advisers, thousands of Eastern-bloc 'technicians' and an untold quantity of tanks, fighter planes, helicopters and artillery will stand uncontested along the borders of Zaire, Zambia, Namibia and Botswana," he said.

APPEASEMENT

"They will be forced to make their political accommodations with the Soviets just as most of Eastern Europe fell under Nazi political domination without a shot being fired," he said, calling Angola "the Munich of Africa".

This was a reference to the

1938 Munich Agreement in which Britain and France acquiesced in Hitler's dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, and which has become a symbol for appeasement of aggression.

Bills before the US Congress, backed by Savimbi supporters and lobbyists, would provide \$27 million (about R67,5 million) of military hardware and \$27 million of humanitarian aid for Unita.

President Ronald Reagan's administration has been reported as considering covert rather than overt aid and the State Department said last Friday it was still studying policy alternatives.

NEGOTIATIONS

State Department officials have stressed to Congress that the aid issue is complicated by the fact that the South African Government is among those helping Dr Savimbi.

They have said US aid to Unita could scuttle current delicate negotiations on a package to include Cuban withdrawal from Angola and an end to South African rule over Namibia.

Dr Savimbi skirted the Namibia question but he asserted "Yes, Unita receives aid from the Republic of South Africa, but it is hypocritical of the Soviets to claim this means we endorse the Pretoria Government.

"Nor did my acceptance of Chinese military training and aid, when no other nation would help me, make me a Maoist in economics or politics," he said.

— Sapa-Associated Press.

