

ANGOLA - GENERAL

1992

Crocker takes lid off Africa deals ⁵

A BOOK to be published soon by a former top US diplomat could throw some light on bitter divisions over southern Africa policies inside former President Reagan's government.

Dr Chester Crocker, former United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, will soon publish a book on the negotiations with South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the Soviet Union, which led to Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The agreement also opened the way for the Angolan peace accords which brought the US and South African backed Unita rebel movement nearer to power than ever before.

Crocker, who now lectures at the prestigious Georgetown University, said the book would disclose that there were people inside the Reagan administration who actively opposed his policies. He stopped short of accusing them of trying to sabotage his peace efforts. They had tried "to do their things", he said.

Crocker instituted the policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa which came under severe criticism from anti-apartheid opponents and African countries. Those critics said the policy legitimised the South African government and only encouraged South African aggression in southern Africa.

However, the former diplomat who took almost eight years to negotiate the tripartite peace accords between Angola, Cuba and South Africa, hinted that those who opposed his policies within

the Reagan administration did it for other reasons.

It is now believed that certain rightwing elements within the Reagan administration and the intelligence services strongly opposed Crocker's peace efforts in Angola believing there should be no compromise with pro-communist regimes such as the Angolan government.

Speaking about his forthcoming book, Crocker acknowledged that within the Reagan administration there had been opposing views on "how to deal with certain aspects of policy".

Crocker rejected the argument recently put forward by former Mozambican security minister Sergio Vieira, who recently said South Africa had lost the war in Angola because it had lost the will to fight.

Crocker said South Africa had lost exactly the same thing as the Cubans and Angolans.

"What all of them had lost was the sense that it was worth carrying on fighting. The will or determination to fight is something completely different. I don't think the South Africans lost the will to fight.

"In their particular case I think what they lost was the sense that it made sense to carry on fighting like that because the war in Angola and Namibia was not leading anywhere. It made more sense to look in a more open manner to the alternatives," Crocker said. His book is expected to be published by the middle of this year. - Sapa-Reuter

Britain confronts Angola on tourist killings

LONDON — Britain is seeking an explanation from Angola for the murder of four of its citizens in an ambush near a camp holding former rebels.

The foreign office said the victims were among a party of seven British tourists attacked near Quilengues in the southern province of Huila on Friday night.

Two men were injured and another escaped unharmed.

"We are seeking an explanation of what happened from the Angolan authorities but have not received that yet," a foreign office spokesman said yesterday.

The four victims were named as Mercedes Mackendrick, 25, Andrew Chandler, 31, Paul Couchman, 28, and Jai Pilbeam, 27.

British media reports identified the dead woman as a 25-year-old doctor and granddaughter of Lord Cudlipp, former chairman of the Daily Mirror newspapers.

The British vice-consul in Luanda, Alan Marshall, was expected to speak to the survivors yesterday.

Angolan state radio yesterday quoted a Unita spokesman as saying the murders might have been carried out by common criminals. — Sapa-Reuter.

Friday 6/11/77

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Slain tourists: Britain to ^(S) STAR 61192 press Angola

LONDON — Britain is to seek an explanation from the Angolan government today about the murder at the weekend of four British tourists who were on safari in the south of the country.

The victims were ambushed on Friday night near a camp holding former Unita rebels.

The three men and one woman who were killed near Quilengues, in the southern province of Huila, were named yesterday as Mercedes Mackendrick (25), Andrew Chandler (31), Paul Couchman, (28) and James Pilbeam (27).

The British vice-consul, Alan Marshall, travelled from Luanda to the scene of the ambush yesterday to talk to the sur-

vivors, one of whom was being treated in hospital for gunshot wounds in both legs.

The other two were unhurt.

The Scottish Sunday Mail said Dr Mackendrick was the step-granddaughter of Lord Cudlipp, a former chairman of the Daily Mirror newspaper group, and was on a six-month trip across Africa with her boyfriend, Mr Pilbeam.

The Foreign Office said that Mr Marshall was still trying to establish the identity and motive of the killers.

It said he would remain in the area until he could locate the bodies of the victims. — The Independent News Service.

Unita linked to slaying of UK tourists

STAR 7/1/92

By Dale Lautenbach
and Sapa-AP

(5)

WINDHOEK — The Angolan government believes there is a strong connection between the murder of four British citizens in the south of the country last week and an incident in which members of Unita wounded a United Nations official at the same place earlier.

However, Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi denied yesterday that his fighters were responsible for the slayings and said it was more likely the killers were soldiers of the Angolan army.

Seven British tourists were attacked near Quilengues in Huila province on Friday.

Resisted

According to unofficial Angolan government sources, there is an "obvious link" to the earlier incident in the vicinity of Quilengues, a town about 130 km north of the provincial capital Lubango.

In that incident, members of the UN Angola Verification Mission (Unavem) travelled to Quilengues with the deputy governor of the province and officials of Fapla, the Angolan army. According to government sources, Unita troops resisted handing over authority of the territory and a Unavem official and a Fapla official were wounded. The deputy governor

was assaulted.

The government views the recent ambush as similar resistance to the recognition of government authority, sources said.

They said, however, that it had not yet been established whether Unita personnel were involved in the ambush.

Dr Savimbi told a news conference in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, that the killings more likely were the work of some of 40 000 government soldiers who had deserted confinement areas.

"Though I deplore the killings, I must say this is not the time to enjoy tourism in Angola. We have just finished a war," Dr Savimbi said.

The British Foreign Office has advised against travel outside the Luanda area.

Dr Savimbi said his organisation had yet to investigate the slayings of Dr Mercedes "Merry" Mackendrick (25), her friend Jai Pilbeam (27), Paul Couchman (28) and Andrew Chandler (31). They were killed when their convoy of three Land Rovers was attacked on Friday night near Quilengues, 275 m from a road leading to a Unita confinement area.

Three of the tourists escaped. "The details we get from Luanda is that they were robbers. They took all their (victims') clothes, everything. My army is very disciplined; not only I say this but also the United Nations," Dr Savimbi said.

Britain's Foreign Office said it would seek an explanation from the Angolan government about the attack.

UK demands justice on killings

LONDON — Britain has applied extreme pressure on the Angolan government to track down the killers of four British tourists murdered there last week.

A spokesman for the Foreign Office said that the British charge de affaires in Luanda held urgent talks with the Angolan foreign ministry yesterday.

The authorities were asked to "investigate, report and bring to justice those who were responsible", said the spokesman.

He said it was too soon to speculate about who was responsible for the killings in southern Angola on Friday. The tourists were travelling 300 metres from an approach road to a camp for former Unita rebel soldiers when they were ambushed.

Sapa-Reuter reports from Abidjan, Ivory Coast, that Angolan opposition leader Jonas Savimbi said at a media conference there yesterday his former rebels were not responsible for the deaths.

But the Unita leader also said he did not think it was wise for foreigners to travel in a country which had just ended a civil war.

"While I deplore the killing of tourists, it is not the time to generate tourism in

VICTORIA HOLDSWORTH

Angola," Savimbi said. "We have just finished 16 years of civil war."

Seven Britons were travelling in three Land Rovers when they were attacked near Quilengues in Angola's southern Huila Province. One of the three survivors was shot in the legs.

Dr Mercedes Mackendrick, 25 and her boyfriend James Pilbeam, 27 were said to be making their way to Cape Town through Zaire and Mozambique.

Dr Caroline McGuinness, a flatmate of Mackendrick said she had received a letter from her friend in which she had described the fighting in Zaire. In it, Mackendrick said other travellers had persuaded them to use the 'safer' Angolan route.

The other two murdered Britons were named as Andrew Chandler, 31 and Paul Couchman, 28.

Savimbi suggested former government troops might be to blame. He claimed 40 000 of them had left encampment sites and many had not been paid. — Sapa-Reuter.

Anglicans do not oppose Sunday trading

ANGLICAN authorities say they are not officially opposed to Sunday trading.

This follows a recent decision by UK Anglican Church commissioners to try prevent big stores from trading on the Sabbath.

Sapa reports that commissioners who administer the Church of England's £2.5bn investment portfolio wrote to major supermarket and retail chains, in

ANDREW KRUMM

which the church is a major shareholder, deploring Sunday trading.

Church of the Province of SA provincial executive officer Father Rowan Smith said his church held no official view on the matter. He

said a recent circular among senior Anglican officials found a divided response. Views ranged from

the orthodox religious viewpoint towards more "liberal" values.

Smith said there had been consensus among all church officials that family life should be protected and store workers not forced to work seven days a week.

He believed Sunday trading would not erode traditional Christian values as individuals had a choice. Smith said he was opposed to Sunday liquor trade.

Angola battles to unify its longtime warring armies

W/Mail 17/11-23/11/92.

(5)

The end to the civil war has brought peace — and problems — to war-ravaged Angola.

VICKI FINKEL looks at the difficulties in unifying Jonas Savimbi's guerrilla movement and government forces into a single national army

AFTER battling half his life for the Angolan government against guerrilla rebels, Alindo Ferreira now finds himself joining forces with his longtime enemies to restore peace to the war-battered country.

"We are all Angolans and now we have to learn to work together," says Ferreira (33), an army major based in Lubango, capital of the southern Huila Province.

Alongside fighters from Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel movement, Ferreira now prepares for a joint battle — to unify the two previously warring factions into a single national army.

"The process sounds simple, but it is very complex," says British Colonel John Longman, one of a team of British, Portuguese and French advisors assisting the formation of the new army. "We are talking about two very different groups, a guerrilla army and a conventional one, and the integration of the two."

Under the ceasefire signed on May 31 by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Savimbi, both sides and their weapons must be secured in 45 assembly points scattered throughout the country before the actual unification process can commence.

However, the assembly process has dragged behind the schedule of the peace accord which calls for internationally monitored elections to be held in September.

The peace agreement called for all troops to be contained at the points by August 1 1991. But so far only about 65 percent of the total estimated forces have been counted in the assembly points.

While the estimates of troop numbers were probably inflated, it is clear that many soldiers have been discouraged from settling at the



President Jose Eduardo dos Santos

assembly points because of acute food shortages.

"Now thousands of idle young men without food remain near arms in the assembly points," says Ramiro Da Silva, director of the UN's World Food Programme. "Without guaranteed food they will form banditry groups."

Citing "critical" food shortages as threatening the peace process, the UN launched a \$27.3-million emergency appeal in October, with the demobilising of troops as one of the main targets of the aid.

The US has committed about one-third of this target figure, and has begun to deliver emergency relief supplies in a bid to safeguard the peace.

"We want the peace process to succeed with free and multi-party elections held in the country," says Philip Davis, an Air Force captain who is one of six American military officers serving as monitors of the peace agreement. Davis is administering the delivery of the relief supplies.

Unlike the years when Washington supplied covert aid and open assistance to Unita, the current American assistance is going to both sides. However, in a continuation of its support for Unita the US Congress has earmarked \$30-million to help Unita transform itself from a military movement into a political party vying for votes.

Even when supplies are available they do not always reach the assembly areas, many of

which are inaccessible due to war-damaged roads. It is estimated that Angola suffered \$30-billion damage to its infrastructure in the years of hostilities.

Insufficient food has sunk morale in many areas, especially among the more numerous government forces, many of which are not coping well with the do-it-yourself conditions at the assembly points. Some government troops are simply sleeping on damp ground without shelter.

In contrast, the Unita fighters, who have survived in the bush for years, have demonstrated more organisation. About 250km east of Lubango, roughly 900 Unita soldiers and their families gather in the Mucuiu assembly point. They live in impressively constructed grass-thatched houses and retrieve water from a specially designed reservoir. They have also built schools and health posts for their members.

Of the assembled soldiers, the government and Unita will contribute equally to the new, scaled-down army of 40 000, while the existing national navy and air force will remain at the present level of 10 000. That will leave an estimated 150 000 soldiers who will fall into the rising ranks of the unemployed.

"Many of these soldiers have little education, and now with the absence of the war-time curfew, it is very likely that the level of crime will increase here," says an Angolan police officer.

While delays have set back the unification timetable, observers generally concur that the long-negotiated peace process is not in serious jeopardy of collapsing. And war-weary Angolans on both sides have no desire to return to the bloody fighting which claimed about half a million lives.

"Our points of view were different. Now they have converged around peace," says Padrino Pilartes, Unita colonel of the southern region, which encompasses four of Angola's 18 provinces. "No one here is interested in war anymore."

The real test of trust, some believe, will come with the as yet unscheduled final demobilisation, when each side will give up control of weapons in their respective camps.

"Demobilisation and the relinquishing of arms to a national storage centre will only happen when both sides no longer feel they face a security threat," says Davis. "And politically they have not been ready to make that decision."

Angola consulate worries residents

Dale Lautenbach
Africa News Service

STAR 23/1/92

(S) (2/2)

WINDHOEK — The Angolan government has opened a consulate at Rundu in northern Namibia, but the move has reportedly been greeted by some Angolans in Namibia as a move by the ruling MPLA to secure votes in that country's elections later this year.

According to Namibian Radio, a second consulate will open in Oshakati soon and the Nami-

bian government will respond by opening similar offices in Lubango in south-west Angola.

Angolan Deputy Minister of External Affairs for the Community Joao Miranda, said the offices would help establish the number of Angolans in Namibia and issue them with identity documents.

He said it was still uncertain whether Angolans living outside the country would be eligible to vote in the country's first multiparty elections

due to be held in September. A multi-party conference in Luanda is studying the electoral law.

However, Namibian Radio reporters in Oshakati said numbers of the Angolan community there had expressed fears that they would be forced to return to Angola to vote. They told a reporter they had been living in Namibia for many years and had participated in Namibian elections.

It can be expected that

elections in Angola will cause a certain amount of political tension in Namibia, especially in the north east around Rundu.

The communities in that area live a fluid existence on both sides of the border.

A rough estimate of the number of Angolans living in Namibia is 30 000 although many of these have been there for a number of years and have established homes and businesses.

Pik to break ice in Angola

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha will visit Angola today, ending 15 years of hostility that included several South African invasions of Angolan territory.

South African Foreign Ministry spokesman Awie Marais said yesterday Mr Botha would be in Luanda for a day, but declined to say who he would meet there.

"This is Mr Botha's first visit to Angola in terms of bilateral relations, though he has been there before for multinational talks about Namibia," he said.

South African troops invaded Angola repeatedly between 1977 and 1988 in an effort to crush the Angola-based Swapo.

Pretoria also armed and trained Angolan opposition leader Jonas Savimbi's Unita through 15 years of civil war.

Mr Botha met President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and senior Angolan officials repeatedly during protracted US-brokered negotiations leading to Namibia's independence in 1990.

Government sources said in Cape Town this

week they expected Pretoria and Luanda to end their diplomatic freeze soon and said trade links were on the horizon, including Angolan oil sales to South Africa.

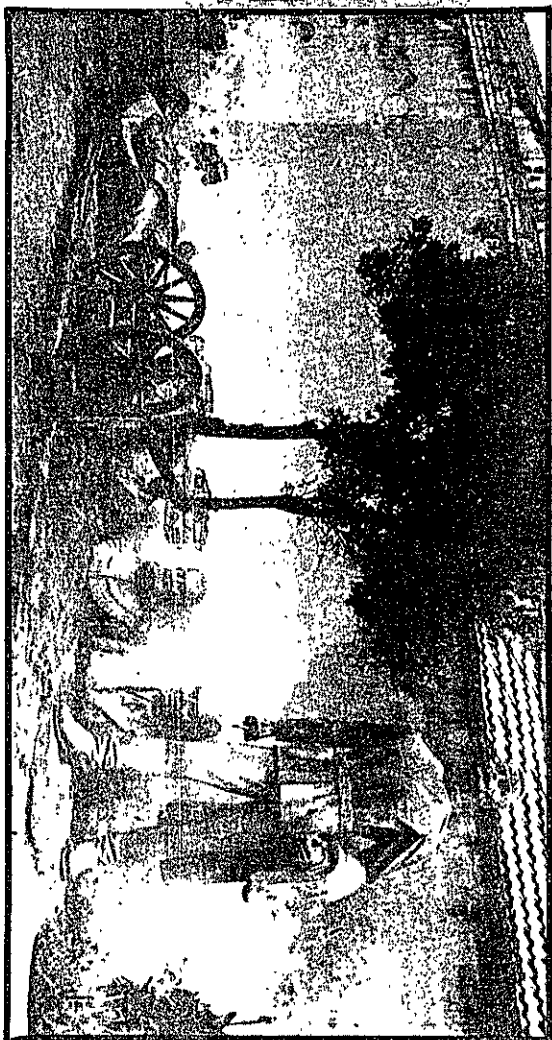
Mr Botha and President FW de Klerk have travelled extensively in Africa since Namibia's independence and the legalisation of Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.

Trade Ministry officials say South African trade with Africa is booming. — Sapa-Reuter.



Just another burnt-out wreck. All along the Lubango road, once can see memorials to battles past like this wrecked tank. Movement is tortuously slow as trucks weave their way between the craters. Photos: PHILIP VAN NIEKERK

Take it. If you survive the landmines, watch out for bandits who kill for a cigarette.



The forgotten statues of colonial Portuguese history rust away in the backyard of the Lubango museum

are smashed, the collapsed heavy concrete looking like it has been melted down in a furnace.

The destroyed town — and the countless civilians that must have died in the South African air raids — exposes the lie that "our boys" only hit military targets. Also bombed out are the road bridges that once straddled the Cunene River at Xangongo. A pontoon bridge has taken its place, forcing passengers to alight from the trucks and cross the river on foot.

At Xangongo, a middle-aged woman, Isabella, bent on iron crosses throughout the town.

office doesn't open till 5pm. It's a funny town that doesn't have any phones.

Buildings along the war route with murals of Leonid Brezhnev and Fidel Castro and the aprons of Lenin on their walls are riddled with bullet holes and have no roofs nor windows.

In keeping with the mood of the times, four Angolan doctors at a Lubango Hospital project to train specialists; physicians have quit for the far more lucrative offerings of private practice.

But 225 tons of wheat and grain went from Canada has been held up at the port of Namibe for months. First there was a problem with transport, now the dockworkers are on strike.

American surgeon Peter Cole wearily sits down in the neat doctors' rest-room at Lubango Hospital, and says "That's it for the day." There's have made off with the batteries of the hospital generator so when the town lapsed into another of its frequent power failures there was no back-up.

"Whoever was on the list to be operated on

vacante, instead of being kept cool, is left out for days in the sun before use.

The fault is not always that of the locals. In Xangongo, a yellow caterpillar tractor lies rusted and unused under a baobab tree, the spot where it was last driven to before its tyre burst. At the mission hospital at Caluquembe a solar energy panel, a donation from Canada, lies unused. An expensive X-ray, this one from the US, is still stranded in the centre of a darkened room. It has never been used. The hospital photocopier has broken down, and there are no spare parts to fix it.

"It's a problem," says hospital administrator Ezequiel Carqango. "Sophisticated machines arrive that we don't know how to use."

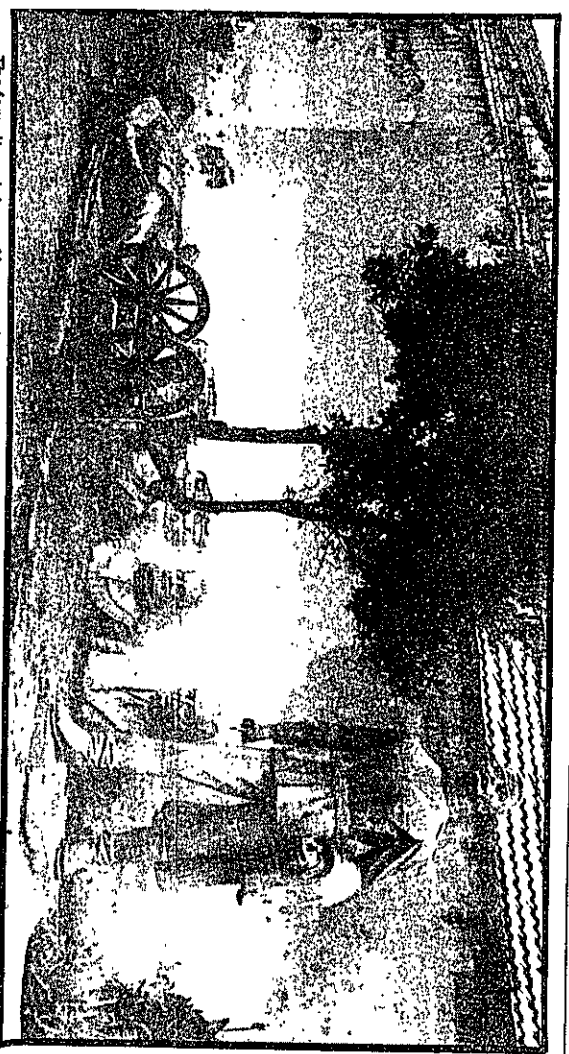
The hospital at Caluquembe is a model of Swiss efficiency amid the chaos. The Swiss missionary, Urs Beerli, cheerily rides a bicycle each day to the hospital and the adjoining leper colony — where he has set up a woodwork shop manufacturing pushchairs and where he urges the inmates, who have lost their fingers, to knit and crochet.

Along with his wife and the four young children, Beerli has staked out the headquarters of the Angolan war zone since 1964. At one stage the mission was cut off from the world for two years.

Last year Unita captured Caluquembe for six weeks. Beerli continued as if nothing had happened, cycling to work each day, even when government M10s bombed the town, and several shells struck the hospital compound. "Most of the bombs missed their targets and landed in the fields," he said.

"The mission is bitterly divided these days over a dispute that has nothing to do with the war. Eber Simon, who sees his purpose in life as stamping out heathen practices, has excommunicated his church administrator for having his son circumcised in the tribal tradition — even though the administrator decided to do it in the hospital rather

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are smashed, the collapsed heavy concrete looking like it has been melted down in a furnace.

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At Xangongo, a middle-aged woman, Isabelia, kept an open throughout the war — catering first for the Cubans, now for the UN and the trucks. She has painted spent missile shells, white and unred them into flower pots.

Sebastian, a UN volunteer from Zimbabwe monitoring the peace, is bonded with Xangongo and complains: "It's a funny town where the post office doesn't open till 5pm. It's a funny town that doesn't have any phones."

Buildings along the war route with murals of Leonid Brezhnev and Fidel Castro and the aphorisms of Lenin on their walls are riddled with bullet holes and have no roofs, no windows. In keeping with the mood of the times, four Angolan doctors at a Lubango Hospital project to train specialist physicians, have quit for the far more lucrative offerings of private practice.

Canadian missionary doctor Stephen Foster believes everyone is in survival mode right now. He has developed unique techniques to keep the hospital operating. On any one day, he says, 35 percent of the staff don't show up. So the hospital has decided to make its own bread and hand out loaves to every staff member who comes to work.

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"Whoever was on the list to be operated on today has been cancelled," he says. "You scramble to do what you can for a person whose belly is open. You have to use a hand pump to suction out the pus. And it's hard to see in the dark."

Such, he notes resignedly, are the frustrations of the Third World, where even seemingly successful child vaccination programmes fail because the

vaccine, instead of being kept cool, is left out for days in the sun before use.

The fault is not always that of the locals. In Xangongo, a yellow caterpillar tractor lies rusted and unused under a baobab tree, the spot where it was last driven to before its tyre burst. At the mission hospital at Caluqueembe, solar energy panel, a donation from Canada, lies unused. An expensive X-ray, this one from the U.S., is still shrouded in the centre of a darkened room. It has never been used. The hospital photocopier has broken down, and there are no spare parts to fix it.

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Along with his wife and his four young children, Beerli has stuck out the hardships of the Angolan war zone since 1984. At one stage the mission was cut off from the world for two years.

Last year, Ulina captured Caluqueembe for six weeks. Beerli continued as if nothing had happened, cycling to work each day, even when government MIGs bombed the town, and several shells struck the hospital compound. "Most of the bombs missed their targets and landed in the fields," he said.

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"We treat more people for motor accidents now than for war injuries," says Beerli. But the war is still highly visible in Angola, not least in the large numbers of amputees (estimated to be between 50,000 and 100,000) hobbling on crutches on the roadsides.

If Savimbi wins, a mess. If Savimbi loses, a mess

THE war touched everyone. Hospital administrator Ezekiel Campongo lost his mother, his wife and his young daughter in a Unita ambush in 1985 on the road to Lubango.

He personally would find it impossible to vote for Ulina in the elections scheduled for September but recognises that 16 years of MPLA rule has brought nothing to the country. "We need to see if another party will organise the country better," he says.

"There is no enthusiasm for the one or the other party," says Pedro Arenas, a Dutch development worker at the village of Churruque in the remote Angolan bush. "The MPLA has no credit but Ulina has no credit either."

A plethora of smaller parties that have sprung up in Lunda do not have the resources to spread their campaign messages to the interior, where most of the Angolan electorate resides.

On the surface there is a polite co-operation between the two parties in the southern towns where Ulina has set up election campaign offices.

In Lubango, Ulina officials pour around in the General Motors trucks without number plates — gifts from the US taxpayer and the Central Intelligence Agency.

The senior MPLA officers are billeted at the Grand Hotel, while the Ulina team is at the more dingy quarters of the Hotel Imperial. The former battle-field trunks tend to eat at the Grand where they maintain polite formalities. Opinions on the election vary greatly, but on balance Savimbi has the edge. Though his support in Lunda and its surrounds is weak, the rebel leader is sure of the support of most of the Ovimbundu, his own tribe, who view him as having mystical powers,

Barren outside his traditional base, the odds favour Savimbi. "People in the villages say: 'What has the MPLA provided?' There has been no improvement in education, health or housing. The MPLA brought them nothing," says Pedro Arenas. "They don't like Ulina because it stole their cows. But most of the people are afraid that if Ulina loses the elections, the war will go on."

With millions of dollars in US aid, Ulina is poised to launch a high-profile election campaign. A large coloured poster of Savimbi, the "defender of peace and democracy" marks Ulina buildings all along the main route between Lubango and Huambo. The Ulina chief at Caluqueembe is

A barman at the Grand Hotel believes that if Savimbi comes to the country will be in for a second round of thieving because his supporters will want to fill their pockets. "The MPLA have taken their money," he explains philosophically. "A lot of children are interested in Ulina because it's like strange animals showing up from the sky."

The prospect of a Savimbi victory appears the intelligentsia, who are aware of the atrocities committed by Ulina and of Savimbi's reputation for burning villages on bonfires and eliminating rivals to his leadership.

The Chingunji, former Ulina representative in Washington who disappeared after emerging as too much of a threat for Savimbi, has not been heard of for more than a year.

Maria, a university-educated Ovimbundu woman who was too scared to give her real name, says Savimbi captured her parents, her brothers and her sisters and took them into the bush where they were held as captives for four years. "If Savimbi loses, she says, 'It will be a big mess. If he wins, it will be a big mess.'"

Jaio Pinto Calenga Shimhamba, a student in Lubango, is more blunt: "If Ulina wins, I'm going to Namibia."

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RADIOWATCH

Humphrey Tyler follows the world on shortwave radio



Anniversary of a dreadful day

THIS has been a time to say sorry. A few weeks ago, the Japanese government told the United States formally that it didn't really understand how it could have detected 50 years ago, out of the blue, to bomb Pearl Harbour and, well, sorry about that. Rather grudgingly, and possibly with a view to increasing automobile exports to Tokyo, the United States replied, in effect, okay, let's forget it.

More recently there was another 50th anniversary, this time of another of the horrendous deaths of World War II, possibly one of the most outrageous and disgusting in world history, in fact. This was the anniversary of an evening get-together in a villa just outside Berlin of 15 top German officers under the leadership of the head of the Gestapo.

After cheery greetings they shed their overcoats, handed their caps to respectful heel-clicking aides, took up goblets of fine brandy, lit Havana cigars and got round to discussing how best, finally, to get rid of all the Jews in Europe, "quickly and efficiently", as the Gestapo could contrive. They did it in the evens. Germany's leading manufacturers produced to the very highest technical specifications that could be expected in a modern "civilised" society.

But today's German government clearly believes the best way to exorcise the horror is to remember it. "What people need to know is what was it that really happened; how did it happen, and how could it happen," said one of the officials in charge of the memorial. "That's what people need to know, and we are ready to tell them."

It's interesting that the report on the same Holocaust memorial by the Israeli broadcaster Kol Israel the same day was much less detailed. It recorded the Gestapo leader's meeting which decided on the "mass slaughter of the Jews" but kept its report very short. Then it turned almost abruptly to news about the weather conditions expected in Israel the next day.

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WORLD

WARREN'S townships are buzzing with the news of the return of the Rev. Ndeaningi Sibhole. The veteran nationalist politician was expected to arrive in Zimbabwe yesterday, ending seven years of self-imposed exile in the United States.

"Sibhole is coming back to sort things out and President Robert Mugabe is really scared", says a hospital worker.

"Sibhole returning to challenge Zanu-PF" blazoned a banner headline in Zimbabwe's independent *Financial Gazette*. "Sibhole breaks his exile and comes out fighting," proclaimed *Horizon* magazine.

Adding to the excitement surrounding his return is the question of whether Sibhole will be arrested for his links with Mozambique's Renamo rebels.

Yugoslav's breakaways forget to remember

BY RICHARD WEST

THE European Community's recognition of Slovenia and Croatia is a setback, but not a death blow, to the cause of Yugoslav federation. It has infuriated Serbia and the orthodox in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, but the biggest sufferers from this disastrous decision will be the Slovenes and Croats themselves.

Independence, in economic terms, has been bad for the Slovenes and catastrophic for the Croats.

The industrial success of these northern republics since the war depended upon a supply of cheap raw materials from Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as a market throughout Yugoslavia. The development of an efficient tourist industry brought prosperity for the first time to the barren and stony Dalmatian coast, whose principal export before had been emigration.

Over four decades, the capitals of Slovenia and Croatia, Ljubljana and Zagreb, developed into two of the most prosperous and pleasant cities in central Europe, as well as the pride of Yugoslavia.

Slovenia can still survive as a poor dependency of Austria and Italy, but Croatia faces ruin. The Dalmatian coast, except for the small stretch in Montenegro, is finished for tourism, which used to bring in 40 per cent of Yugoslavia's foreign earnings.

The attempt by Croatia to grab for itself the country's most valuable asset has enraged the Serbs, especially since the militia has driven out tens of thousands of Serbs from Dalmatia and has burnt or dynamited Serb-owned houses. This persecution, which started before the

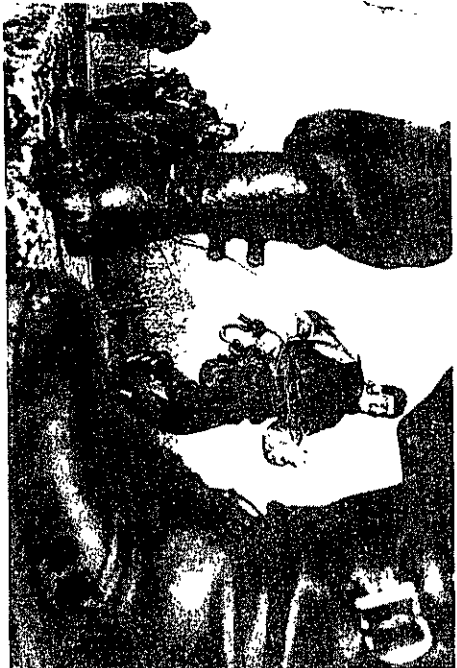
Zimbabwe's

The Rev. Ndeaningi Sibhole's highly-coming has precipitated a flurry of excitement
BY ANDREW MELDRUM

The flurry of excitement is all the more remarkable by way of contrast to his departure in 1984, which barely caused a murmur, and considering that his subsequent statements in support of Renamo have been broadly unpopular. Yet now many Zimbabweans are looking to Sibhole to shake up the country's stultified political status quo.

"Certainly his timing is impeccable," comments a political analyst. "He is coming just as people are looking to opposition parties for an alternative to Zanu-PF, and just as there are independent papers to give publicity to the opposition."

So far Sibhole and his backers have flawlessly stage-managed his return as that of a liberating hero. But the question is whether Sibhole, who



Danke Deutschland ... Croatian soldiers on an exercise near Zagreb

The Croatian regime can drive Serbs from the coast and Zagreb itself, but it cannot get rid of the large and well-armed Serbian enclaves stretching along the old military frontier from the Adriatic to the Danube. The status of these communities is guaranteed by pledges made to the EC and will soon be reinforced by United Nations troops.

The Serbian enclaves in Slovenia include some of Yugoslavia's richest farming land. The one around Karin controls the road, rail and power links between Zagreb and Split. The military frontier also cuts the Dalmatian coast road. Croatia now depends economically and politically on the support of Germany and the states of the former Austro-Hungarian empire. It is back where it was in 1914, when the central powers launched the first of their two punitive wars against Serbia.

At present the Croats rejoice in this. In Zagreb, the song *Danke Deutschland* is making its way up the local hit parade, and as early as last July, the Croats officially changed the spelling of "sport" and "start", as used in football reports, to the more Teutonic-sounding

of the equestrian statue of Governor Jelacic a Croatian general of the Imperial Army who helped to put down the revolution of 1848. The Croats and Slovenes now want to forget that they were not all happy under the Austro-Hungarian empire, nor under the German Reich. Those who greeted the statue of Jelacic seem to forget that his army consisted of Serbs whose descendants are now fighting in places like Karlovac and Vukovar. Indeed, Jelacic himself was a pro-Yugoslav who admitted and envied the people of Serbia, then fighting for independence against the Turks.

In the 19th century it was Croats, like Bishop Strosmayer, who saw a Yugoslavian union as a way of escaping from Austro-Hungarian cultural and political domination. At first most Croats welcomed the setting up of Yugoslavia in 1918, and although most resented the subsequent Serbian domination, they did not welcome the German puppet government, run by the Ustasha. By 1945 the majority of the Yugoslavs, including the Croats and Slovenes, were violently hostile to Germany and Austria.

Photo: AP

of the Gestapo.

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It was reporting the establishment of a memorial to the Holocaust on the site of the villa where the infamous meeting took place on January 20, 1942.

As one of the organizers of the memorial said, many Germans born after the war ended — and many of their parents — would like not to be reminded about the "liquidation" of millions of Jewish men, women and children as "quickly and efficiently" as the Gestapo could contrive. They did it in the ovens Germany's leading manufacturers produced to the very highest technical specifications that could be expected in a modern "civilized" society.

But today's German government clearly believes the best way to exercise the horror is to remember it. "What people need to know is what was it that really happened, how did it happen, and how could it happen," said one of the officials in charge of the memorial. "That's what people need to know, and we are ready to tell them."

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Why Deutsche Welle might have been persuaded to give greater prominence to the special Holocaust memorial could be apprehension about the increasing violence that has been erupting in Germany against foreigners working or just traveling there.

The very day of the dedication of the monument, for example, there was a vicious clash between young Germans and a group of foreigners that left five of the foreigners badly injured. Deutsche Welle reported with satisfaction that six German youths were quickly arrested.

Germany is not alone with problems: Deutsche Welle reported that a scientific evaluation just completed in Bonn has proved that global warming is an element of fertile imaginations. It is getting hotter everywhere and two of the results have been increased wind speeds "and more violent storms".

The scientists called for "urgent, immediate action" to try to put the situation right; they said it was undoubtedly the result of mankind's depredations, ie stupidity, greed and neglect. The message was pretty plain: Get wise or we've had it.

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forget to remember

By RICHARD WEST

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The attempt by Croatia to grab for itself the country's most valuable asset has enraged the Serbs, especially since the militia has driven out tens of thousands of Serbs from Dalmatia and has burnt or dynamited Serb-owned houses.

This pretension, which started before the declarations of independence, explains — though it does not justify — the ferocious Serbian attacks on Dubrovnik, Zadar and Siberik.

Arab states court former Soviet republics

By NICK WILLIAMS, Moscow

THE emergence of six Muslim states from the ashes of the Soviet Union has triggered a headlong rush of diplomacy in the Middle East, where Iran, Turkey, Pakistan and the Arab states are reaching for a global balance not weighted toward the United States.

Arab analysts are discounting support from Russia and the other Slavic republics of the old Soviet Union, concluding that they will march west in the years ahead, into the European-American realm already chosen by the independent Baltic countries. But the vision of Kazakhistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan, with more than 50-million Muslims, and now freed from a foreign policy drawn up in Moscow, looks solid in a changing world.

The exchange of diplomatic missions is as frantic as a *Kanavie Cypre* revival. In the past



Danke Deutschland ... Croatian soldiers on an exercise near Zagreb

Photo: AP

The Croatian regime can drive Serbs from the coast and Zagreb itself, but it cannot get rid of the large and well-armed Serbian enclaves stretching along the old military frontier from the Adriatic to the Danube. The status of these communities is guaranteed by pledges made to the EC and will soon be reinforced by United Nations troops.

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Nostalgia for the old Austro-Hungarian empire was first made manifest in October 1990, when vast crowds in Zagreb cheered the return

from their Iranian cousins by an artificial border. Lake Turkey, Iran granted blanket recognition to the new republics. The drawback for Iran is the vast Sunni Muslim majority in most of the six states.

Pakistan, which is Sunni and the most populous Muslim state in the region, is also reportedly exploring the potential for relations with the former Soviet republics.

The former Soviets also see a cultural connection but have reservations about committing to Islamic political leagues. Tajik Foreign Minister Lakim Kayumov, discussing the Slavic and Muslim tiffs, said earlier this month: "That is natural. There are peoples that feel closer to certain quarters, like the Islamic world ... (But) all the republics of Central Asia have much in common with the European part of Russia, and it would be difficult to separate them." — Los Angeles Times

of the equestrian statue of Governor Jelacic, a Croatian general of the Imperial Army who helped to put down the revolution of 1848.

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They may now sing *Danke Deutschland*, but one day, perhaps not far distant, the Croats and Slovenes will have to remember that they are Yugoslavs. — The Guardian

NON-ACADEMIC POSTS

University Librarian

The University of Fort Hare is in a period of transformation and requires a University Librarian to make a dynamic contribution to the University Library. The successful candidate will be a proven leader with excellent administrative and communication skills. An action-oriented, creative and analytical developer of ideas is the prime requirement. The ability to develop a team approach, to encourage others, to lead and to move with equanimity from task to task, as well as to be a firm but fair manager of people who is time conscious and results oriented is essential. Closing date: 28 February 1992.

Librarian/Assistant Librarian

(Two posts)

To qualify for these posts, you need to be in possession of a B BPhil degree or equivalent qualification. Experience in library computerised systems and CD-ROM in Technical Services and/or Reference Work will be a definite advantage. Send your curriculum vitae to SAMAR, DDC/20th and SABINET is required. Professional membership of SAILUS will be a recommendation. Closing date: 14 February 1992.

Fort Hare is a rapidly changing University set on positive affirmative action and one which does not practise racial discrimination and religious and gender bias, and now invites suitably qualified persons to apply for the above-mentioned posts. In addition to competitive salaries, the University offers attractive fringe benefits subject to certain conditions.

TO APPLY

Prescribed application forms (obtainable from the University) should be addressed to the Personnel Manager, University of Fort Hare, Private Bag, X1314, Alice 5700, Republic of South Africa. Telephone: (0404) 3-2011 ext. 2471. Telegraphic address: Unifort, Alice.



IDASA WORKING FOR DEMOCRACY

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA) is an independent non-profit organisation which has as its mission: to assist a peaceful transition in South Africa and to foster and strengthen a culture of democracy.

IDASA aims to:

- Address fear, prejudice, anger and other obstacles in the transition to a non-racial democracy in South Africa
Engage influential groups and individuals who may be outsiders to the transition process
Provide, wherever possible, information on critical issues and to explore ways of addressing these

Millions of rands at stake

in student loans squabble

URSARY organisations are due to meet this weekend to settle a squabble over shares in foreign funding and the Independent Development Trust's student loan scheme.

The conference, entitled "Funding Access to Tertiary Education", is to be held in Cape Town by the Bursary Council of South Africa (BCSA), a networking forum for 23 non-governmental organisations and universities. Among its members are the Education Opportunities Council, the South African Council for Higher Education (SACHED), the South African Students Congress, the South African Council of Churches, and the Universities of Natal, Cape Town, Western Cape and the Witwatersrand.

Late last year the BCSA strongly opposed a Kagiso Trust decision to throw in its lot with the Independent Development Trust and channel European Community funding directly to universities and some colleges. Under pressure from funders, Kagiso will now bypass the network of bursary-allocating organisations that have served as the chief conduits of EC funding since 1987.

This will save on administrative costs, but could mean intermediary structures will collapse. Already it has meant the retrenchment of eight workers at a Cape Town-based bursary organisation, the Students' Services Centre (SSC), and the Education Aid Programme in Johannesburg could lay off between 12 and 20 of its workers this year.

Millions of rands is at stake: the EC has increased its funding for South African students to R47-million this year, and the IDT is likely to allocate more than last year's

Bursary organisations aim to find a solution this weekend to the looming crisis in student funding

By PORTIA MAURICE and MOIRA LEVY

R25-million through its new Tertiary Education Fund.

And the future of more than 12 000 prospective students hangs in the balance, although university sources have assured there will be no drastic changes. Chaos is predicted when students arrive to register at the start of the academic year, because scant information about the new arrangement has caused anxiety and uncertainty.

Holders of existing bursaries administered through non-governmental organisations will now have to apply directly to their universities or technicians for this year's funds.

The IDT's Tertiary Education Fund plan includes the guarantee that loans will only become repayable once a R20 000 annual income has been reached, at 1990 rates. But bursary organisations are concerned that their target constituency, the poorest of the poor students, will effectively bear the greatest burden.

The BCSA is also concerned about students at less-established colleges and technicians which lack the administrative resources to cope with a rush of applicants. The IDT includes in its criteria for institutions to qualify a well-staffed financial-aid office, although administration grants may be offered to assist.

Laura Schultz of the SSC predicts that the bulk of funding will go to

universities with well-established bureaucracies able to cope with the increased load.

Correspondence universities, lecturers' training colleges and the less-established black universities will lose out, she says.

Bursary organisations also fear that affirmative selection programmes they have set in motion will not be sustained. These have taken into consideration gender, human-resources requirements and the correction of the rural-urban imbalance, over and above financial need.

The BCSA has questioned the economic feasibility of the IDT scheme, which is based on an Australian model. "Political conditions there are entirely different," says a spokesman. "South Africa is in the process of transformation. Employment prospects are poor and the per capita income low. A future democratic government may be saddled with a scheme which is not feasible in the long term."

Nonetheless, all accept that, in principle, student loans are the way of the future. Education funds are bound to run out and will have to be reorganised.

"Hand-outs belong to a bygone era when European and United States governments needed to show the oppressed here that they supported them," says one observer. "Now funders want firm accountability."

Kagiso Trust spokesman Joe Adam says his organisation will maintain its commitment to current students and that an announcement will be made shortly about the distribution of the rest of the money. The IDT was not available for comment at the time of going to press.

Labour, business take initiative

By DREW FOREST

IN A giant stride towards co-determination, business leaders this week signalled their clear backing for macro-economic negotiations with the labour movement.

At a heavy-weight meeting convened by the Consultative Business Movement in Johannesburg, both sides agreed to set up a working group with 50/50 representation within two weeks which will debate the aims, scope, powers and compo-

and the government yielded a draft agreement on a procedure for establishing a forum, which business and the state subsequently failed to endorse.

"The dominant employer view is that this must be pursued," said a business source. "Other business organisations will come in as the process develops."

A potential stumbling-block is the issue of state involvement. Influenced by its experience of the

at restructuring by business and the state.

Employers are more cautious. Some appear to see the forum as a way of setting principles and guidelines rather than policy.

It is likely that the parties will agree to draw a range of political players into the process, including the African National Congress and civic organisations, but as junior partners. "If we're discussing transitional measures, major political groupings

throw in its lot with the Independent Development Trust and channel European Community funding directly to universities and some colleges. Under pressure from funders, Kagiso will now bypass the network of bursary-allocating organisations that have served as the chief conduits of EC funding since 1987.

This will save on administrative costs, but could mean intermediary structures will collapse. Already it has meant the retrenchment of eight workers at a Cape Town-based bursary organisation, the Students' Services Centre (SSC), and the Education Aid Programme in Johannesburg could by off between 12 and 20 of its workers this year. Millions of rands is at stake, the EC has increased its funding for South African students to R47-million this year, and the IDT is likely to allocate more than last year's.

Labour business take initiative

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CALWORLD 24/11 - 30/11/92

IN A giant stride towards co-determination, business leaders this week signalled their clear backing for micro-economic negotiations with the labour movement.

At a heavyweight meeting convened by the Consultative Business Movement in Johannesburg, both sides agreed to set up a working group with 50/50 representation within two weeks which will debate the aims, scope, powers and composition of an economic forum, as well as urgent issues such as its relationship with the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

The plenary will reconvene within weeks and sources were confident a forum would be in place by mid-year.

Speaking for labour were the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and the largest representative of organised white workers, the Federation of Salaried Staff Associations.

Proponents of existing outseries administered through non-government organisations will now have to apply directly to their universities or technicians for this year's funds.

The IDT's Tertiary Education Fund plan includes the guarantee that loans will only become repayable once a R20 000 annual income has been reached, at 1990 rates. But bursary organisations are concerned that their target constituency, the poorest of the poor students, will effectively bear the greatest burden.

The BCSA is also concerned about students at less-established colleges and technicians which lack the administrative resources to cope with a rush of applicants. The IDT includes in its criteria for institutions to qualify a well-staffed financial-aid office, although administration grants may be offered to assist.

Laura Schuler of the SSC predicts that the bulk of funding will go to the state subsequently failed to endorse.

"The dominant employer view is that this must be pursued," said a business source. "Other business organisations will come in as the process develops."

A potential stumbling-block is the issue of state involvement. Influenced by its experience of the National Manpower Commission — where employer-union compromise proposals were regularly overriden last year — Cosatu insists that the government must participate directly in the forum as a negotiator.

The government's view is unclear, but the dominant view appears to be that the forum should be a bilateral affair with advisory powers. Unionsists see Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Law and Order Minister Henrus Kriel as key obstacles.

Employment prospects are poor and the per capita income low. A future democratic government may be saddled with a scheme which is not feasible in the long term.

Nonetheless, all accept that, in principle, student loans are the way of the future. Education funds are bound to run out and will have to be regenerated.

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Employers are more cautious: some appear to see the forum as a way of setting principles and guidelines rather than policy.

It is likely that the parties will agree to draw a range of political players into the process, including the African National Congress and civic organisations, but as junior partners. "If we're discussing transitional measures, major political groupings must be included," said Cosatu spokesman Neil Colman. "Agreements on job creation schemes, for example, must involve the ANC as a potential future ruling party."

TO APPLY

Prescribed application forms (obtainable from the University) should be addressed to the Personal Manager, University of Fort Hare, Private Bag X1314, Alice 5700, Republic of Ciskei.

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The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA) is an independent non-profit organisation which has as its mission:

to assist a peaceful transition in South Africa and to foster and strengthen a culture of democracy.

- IDASA aims to:**
- Address fear, prejudices, anger and other obstacles in the transition to a non-racial democracy in South Africa
 - Engage influential groups and individuals who may be outsiders to the transition process
 - Provide, wherever possible, information on critical issues and to explore ways of addressing these
 - Facilitate discussion of constitutional and developmental issues relevant to Southern Africa

IDASA has recently opened an office in Bloemfontein to promote its aims and activities in the Orange Free State.

Apart from promoting participation in the national political debate, IDASA OFS will strive to obtain its goals in the Orange Free State through public education and political facilitation in the areas of local government, education and the economy of the region.

If you are interested in obtaining more information about the activities of IDASA OFS, please complete the reply form below and send it to:

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I would like to obtain more information about IDASA and its activities.

Name: _____

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HE road from Namibia to Lubango in southern Angola has been destroyed by 16 years of bombs, handmines and the strafing of jets. Giant trucks weave painfully from one crater in the asphalt to the next, past burnt-out shells of tanks and army trucks, memorials to battles past.

South Africa waged its anti-insurgency war against the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) across this dense stretch of African bush with its glades of baobab and thorn trees.

To the east and the north the rebel Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), backed by South African troops and United States money, fought Cuban and Angolan forces. Now the frontier with independent Namibia has brought a new invasion from the south, this time of opportunists and fortune hunters.

Trucks jam up at the Oshkango border post — prefabricated and superimposed on the ruined Portuguese town of Santa Clara — loaded up with Fanta, Sprite and South African beer for Angola's commodity-starved economy.

From there to Lobito on the west coast the trucks run a gauntlet of bad roads, overflowing rivers and bandits.

"Those guys would kill you for a packet of cigarettes," says James Grobler, a Namibian who was ambushed south of Lobito on the coastal road last week. AK-47 fire smashed his windshield, and, as he ducked below the dashboard, grazed his head and his backside.

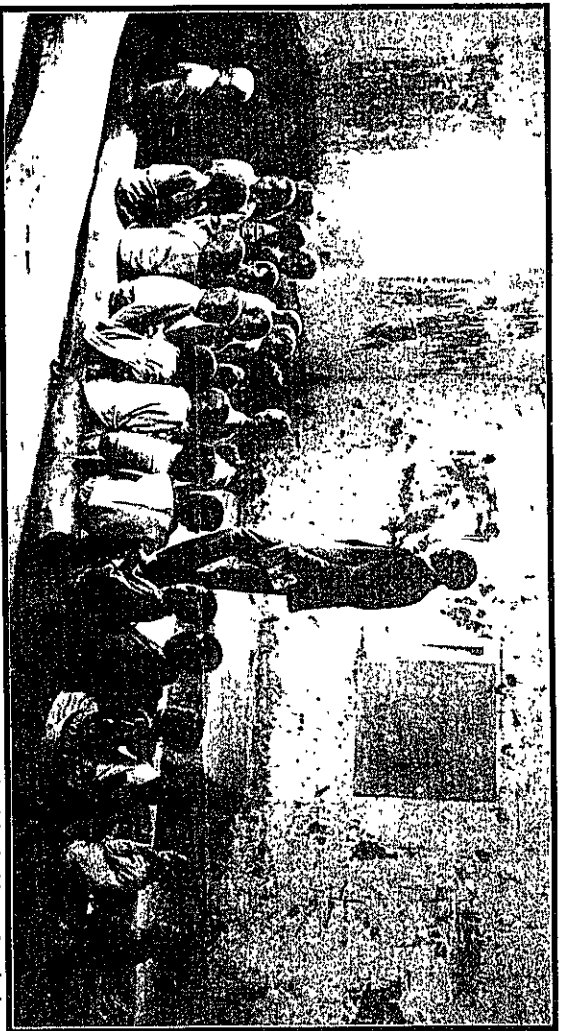
The current going rate for driving a load of cool drinks from Windhoek to Luanda is R30,000 — and rising daily along with the danger of riding over a virtually lawless land.

The peace accord, between the ruling People's Movement for Angolan Liberation (MPLA) and Unita in May last year, sought to confine the more than 200,000 combatants from both sides to assembly points in preparation for their demobilisation and the creation of a unified army.

But negotiations on demobilisation have bogged down. At an assembly point near Lubango, bored men idle around, their only recreation a makeshift game of checkers. Many have come from the front — bringing their tents with them — and are living in squalid conditions.

Acute food shortages have been reported at most of the 50 assembly points, and the US has sent emergency food and from its own military supplies to feed them.

It is the first rainy season without war. Human settlements — mud and wood kraals — are rising from the deep red earth.



Back to normal... schoolmaster José Dumbe delivers a Portuguese lesson in his classroom furnished with tree-log desks

policeman from Holland, sunning himself at the "Unaven" (UN Volunteer Mission — Angola's version of Namibia's Unitag) headquarters. "The soldiers here are hungry, they need money."

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In exchange for the beer and cool drink, diamonds are flowing back across the Namibian border stuck to the underside of trucks.

Little of real value is coming in. There is a chronic shortage of medical supplies, spare parts and equipment in Angola, but over a period of more than a week I saw not a single truck carrying any of these.

Lubango, formerly Sa da Bandeira, is well preserved, partly thanks to radar mounted on a hill over the city that kept the South African jets at bay.

The décor at the Grand Hotel is frozen in the 1960s, before the Portuguese packed up and fled. Sea horses on the blue tiles of the swimming pool mix with live amphibious insects that crawl on the murky green surface of the water. The best Portuguese restaurant in town is a converted truck container.

The statues of Portuguese colonial governors and expatriates — unceremoniously removed from the town squares 16 years ago — rest in the backyard of the museum at Lubango.

the strength of the informal economy.

In a refreshing contrast to the tales of famine and economic gloom, however, the January rains have been good in southern Angola. Deep in the bush, many peasants are ploughing their fields of maize and vegetables. It is the first rainy season without war in decades.

Human settlements — mud and wood kraals — are rising from Angola's deep red earth. "There is a tremendous feeling of relief," says schoolmaster José Dumbe, who lives in the small rural village of Cuito. He has a battered Portuguese textbook in his hand, his classroom is a grimy room without windows or doors and tree trunks serve as benches.

"Since the peace accord people felt better. People are going back to their farms — they feel more confident." Reverend Eliser Simoen, president of Evangelical Church and victim of anti-religious persecution under the MPLA, cautions however, that people's houses have been destroyed and most of their cattle have been lost. "They are starting at zero," he said.

The whole of Angola seems to be on the move, carrying a suitcase or a basket on their head, crammed like sardines on to the back of large trucks, humping over the craters.

Refugees are returning home from Zambia and Zaïre — but not from relatively prosperous Namibia, where the 50,000 or so Angolans are people displaced by the war. More than 40,000 government soldiers have stripped out of the assembly points.

The war curtailed freedom of movement, now people are out visiting relatives they haven't seen in years, picking up pieces of their lives lost in the war.

Shortly after the ceasefire last June the roads opened up and thousands of people streamed in to

the hospital at Calquequebe, camping for months under the trees outside. "Patients came from everywhere — with broken legs, weak hearts, everything," says hospital director Urs Peter Berti, a Swiss missionary.

There is also a less pleasing influx into the country. Cheap land has gone on sale and a new wave of white settlers is recolonising the vast empty spaces of Angola. Ruben Simidoff, a 22-year-old from Port Elizabeth, works for a middle-aged Afrikaner identified only as Basse, who bought a 15,000ha ranch near Matalla north-east of Lubango for \$9,000.

A conscript who once fought in southern Angola, Simidoff plans to drive beer to Luanda to earn the money to buy his own farm as well as the fencing and piping and cattle that he needs to start farming. Then, he says he will "pay the kafirs R20 a month" to work for him.

Several more new settlers sit sipping beer at the pool bar of the Grand Hotel, discussing how much more peaceful Angola is than South Africa with its prospect of a "communist" African National Congress government led by Nelson Mandela.

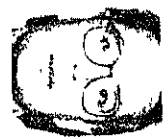
Thousands of Portuguese, who fled Angola in 1975 have had their hand returned to them, though many are waiting to see if Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is elected in September before committing themselves to coming back.

"It's very easy to start something in Angola now," says Caroline Torfs, a Belgian development worker based in Lubango. "You just have to know the local officials."

But the country the Portuguese will come back to is barely recognisable from the one they left 16 years ago. The once picturesque villages on the route to Lubango are bombed out ghost towns.

The villas and government buildings in Angola's most southern city, the former provincial capital of N'Gauva, 40km from the border,

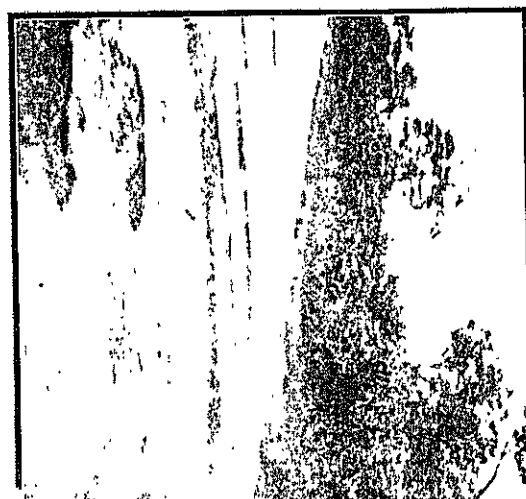
PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD; COURTESY OF THE PORTUGUESE CONSUL IN LUBANGO



PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK reports from southern Angola

DRIVING DOWN THE HELD ROAD

After 16 years of war, the road to Lubango is open. But you need to be a little crazy to



The road from Namibia to Lubango in southern Angola has been destroyed by 16 years of bombs, landmines and the strafing of jets. Giant trucks weave painfully from one crater in the asphalt to the next, past burnt-out shells of tanks and army trucks, memorials to battles past.

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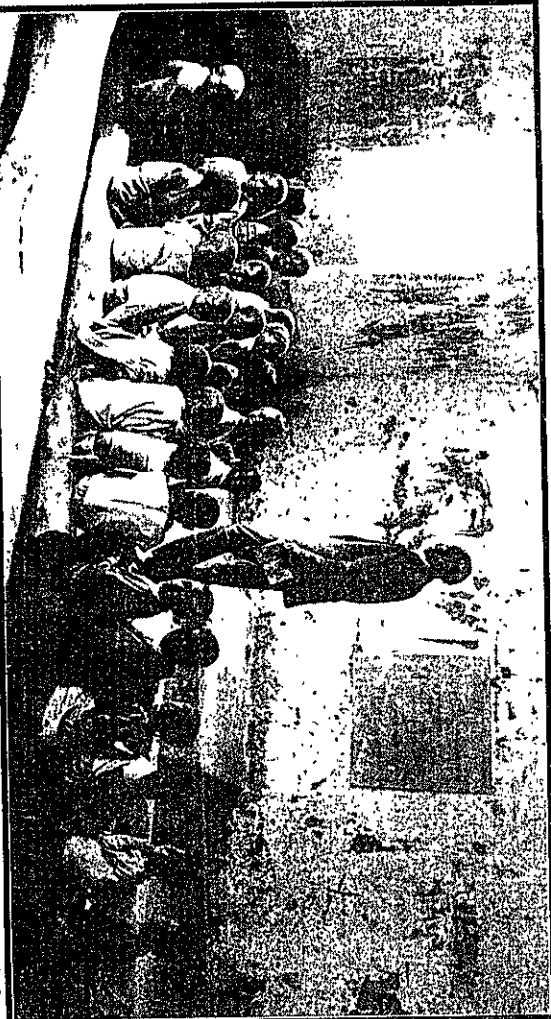
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SA and Angola to exchange envoys

STAR 24/1192

LUANDA — Angolan Foreign Minister Loy van Dunem and South African counterpart Pik Botha broke the ice of a 17-year diplomatic freeze yesterday with an agreement to exchange envoys.

The two countries, which have had no road, air or telephone links since Angolan independence from Portugal in 1975, agreed to open "representative offices" with full diplomatic immunity.

Mr van Dunem welcomed the thaw, saying in an interview that his government would not dwell on the history of invasion and covert South African action in Angola.

"We are trying hard to forget the past. Angola and South Africa are the two most important countries in the region. One cannot grow without the other."

Mr Botha, who also met President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and opposition leader Jonas Savimbi in Luanda, said he would promote a regional trade and technical alliance to protect southern Africa against the stronger economies in the northern hemisphere.

"This is an historic moment. After all those years of isolation

under apartheid, we have now opened offices in nine of the 10 countries we regard as southern Africa," he said in an interview aboard his government jet.

Mr Botha said negotiations had started with Zambia over an exchange of representatives that would put South Africa in direct contact with all its nearest neighbours.

South Africa had some form of diplomatic representation in Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, Malawi and Madagascar.

Mr Botha told Mr van Dunem before the signing that South Africa would build two labour training centres in Angola and would offer medical assistance and technical advice on communications.

He said South Africa would train and equip Angolan troops to clear landmines scattered throughout the country during conflicts involving Angola, Cuba, South Africa and Dr Savimbi's opposition Unita.

South Africa backed Unita against the Luanda government for 13 years and fought directly against Angolan and Cuban troops helping Sam Nujoma's Swapo during its battle for independence from Pretoria.

Mr van Dunem said Angola would need South African help to rebuild its shattered economy but would not seek official reparations for the destruction of the war.

"We want South Africa to play an important part in repairing the damage of the war. We cannot survive without an infrastructure," he said.

One official said more than 200 bridges were destroyed during the war years, railway lines were uprooted, roads were bombed and large areas were mined.

Mr Botha said South Africa would consider helping Angola to rebuild roads, railways, bridges and reservoirs damaged by its own troops and by Unita.

He said a reciprocal agreement on landing rights was imminent and urged Angola to join a three-nation pact with Mozambique to protect southern African fishing grounds against foreign exploitation.

"The time has come for southern Africa to stand together, to put people first and not ideologies. I am trying to wake up my African brothers but some of them don't want to wake up," Mr Botha told Angolan reporters. — Sapa-Reuter.

Africa's newest best

STAR 25/1/92

(5) (RESEA)

Angola comes to the party and South Africa has yet another

GERALD L'ANGE
Editor, Africa
News Service

ANGOLA, potentially one of Africa's economic giants, has opened what could be a glittering association with South Africa by agreeing to restore diplomatic relations.

The signing of the agreement in Luanda on Thursday is perhaps the most dramatic manifestation yet seen of South Africa's acceptance by black Africa.

It is remarkable for several other reasons as well.

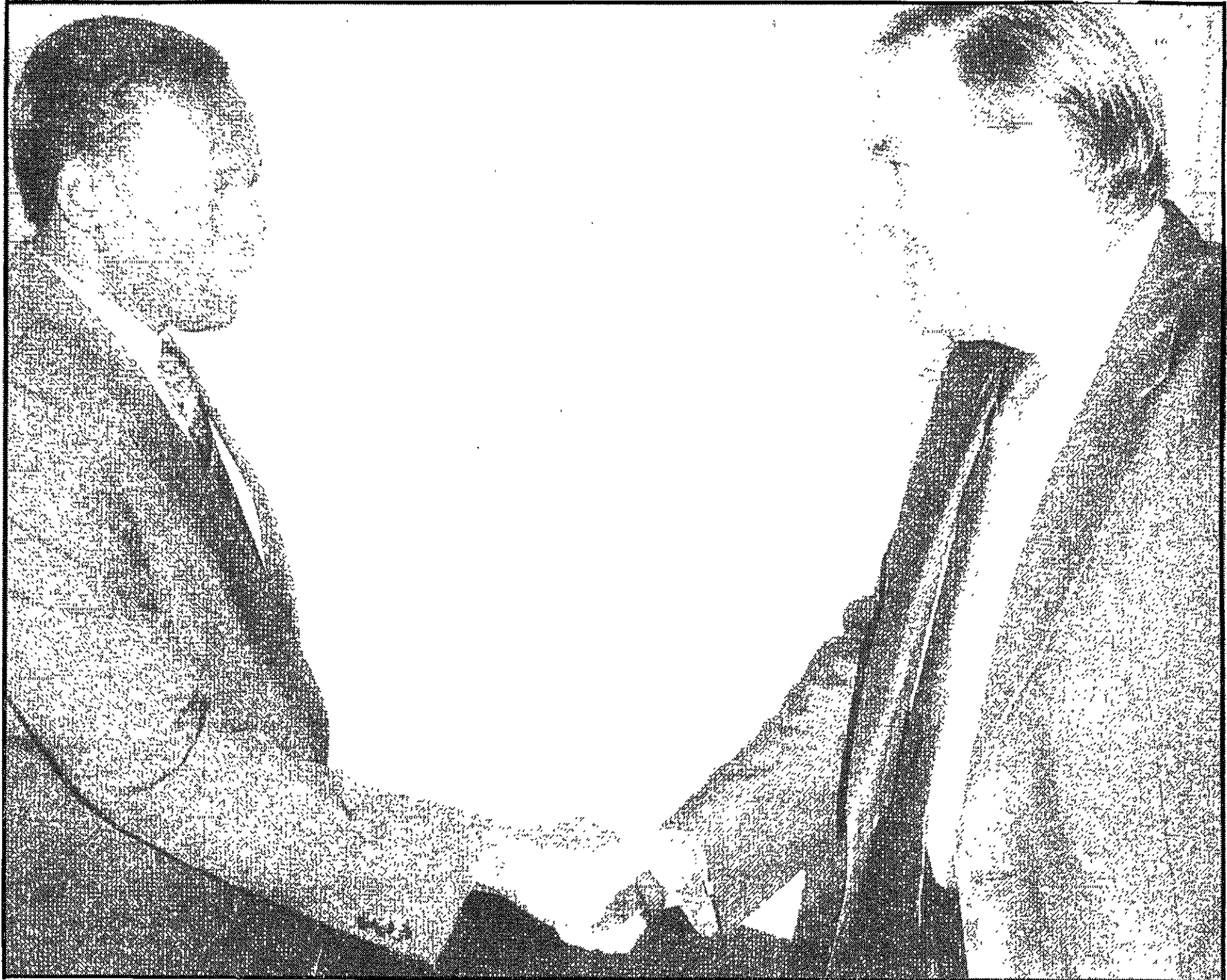
It comes barely three years after South African and Angolan troops fought each other in one of Africa's bloodiest wars. Memories of the bitter fighting around Cuito Cuanavale, for instance, are still fresh on both sides.

South Africa and Angola will establish diplomatic offices in each other's capitals while the ashes of the war are still hot, so to speak. The two main "domestic" antagonists, the MPLA and Unita, are still moving through an uncertain ceasefire towards an election that is intended to give Angola its first elected government since the Portuguese withdrawal in 1975.

The country is still littered with landmines from the war, the opposing armies are still confined uneasily in assembly points and no start has been made on repairing the damage of the war.

By signing the agreement before the election has been held, Pretoria has in a sense bypassed its ally in the war, Unita, and done a political deal with its former enemy, the MPLA government.

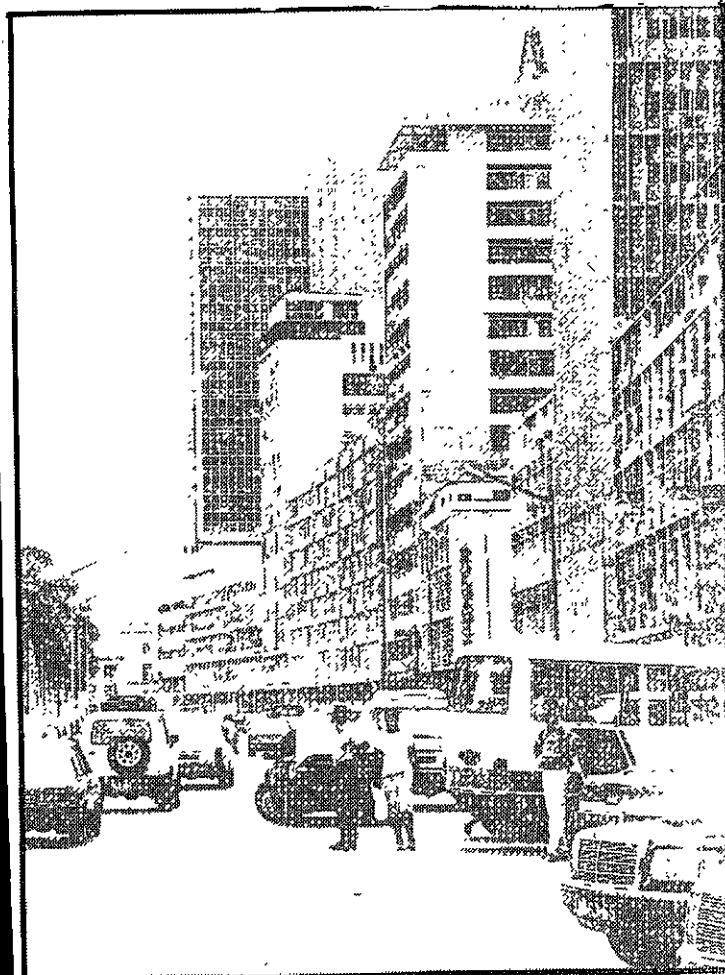
Unita obviously has no objection, however, for it no longer needs South Africa — unless it wins the election and forms the new government.



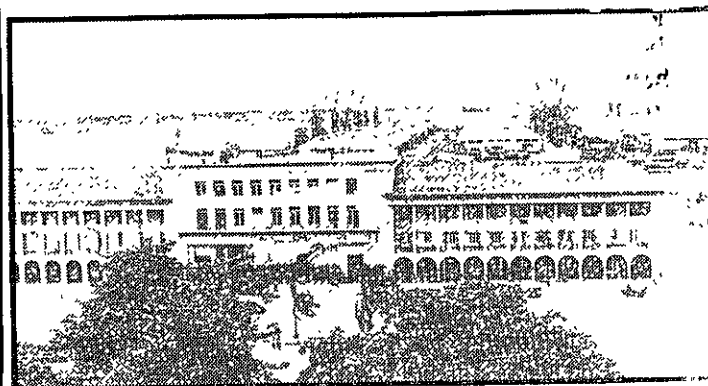
JOINING HANDS: Angola's President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos and Foreign Minister Pik Botha in 1989 at the end of the war. On Thursday, South Africa and Angola agreed to restore diplomatic relations — perhaps the most dramatic manifestation yet seen of South Africa's acceptance by black Africa.

friends

dancing partner



THE CAPITAL, LUANDA: Although Angola's economy is still in ruins, it could begin supplying South Africa immediately with oil — provided it can see its way around the UN oil embargo.



LUANDA HARBOUR: Angola needs investment, technical assistance to revive the economy, and manufactured goods.

The signing act, however, been held up while South Africa continued to station diplomats as "observers" in the Unita capital, Jamba, even after the cease-fire.

While the MPLA was anxious to sign, it could not agree to do so until the diplomats were pulled out of Jamba. This was done only after Unita and its leader, Jonas Savimbi, moved to Luanda last October.

The agreement to restore diplomatic relations was signed less than four months later, indicating the MPLA's anxiety to begin peaceful dealings with South Africa.

Although its potentially wealthy economy is still in ruins from the war, Angola could begin supplying South Africa immediately with the commodity that the Republic wants most — oil — provided it can see its way around the UN-imposed oil embargo.

The MPLA government has

said it will not breach that embargo but if Unita wins the election, or if a coalition government is formed, that policy could change.

Luanda is more interested, however, in what it can get from South Africa immediately — investment and technical assistance to revive the economy, and manufactured goods.

Luanda has hinted it might demand reparations from South Africa for war damage, but knowledgeable observers doubt that this claim will be pressed since it could sour relations with Pretoria.

Once the Angolan economy begins to pick up the country could supply South Africa with coffee and other agricultural products. It is, in fact, one of the few African states capable of maintaining a viable two-way trade with South Africa. Many of the others either have no foreign exchange with which to buy South African products

or no products that South Africa does not already produce itself.

This has not deterred African states from seeking new ties with a South Africa that has become unofficially acceptable, even if not officially respectable, as its politicians meet in Codessa to try to shape the post-apartheid state.

Although neither the Organisation of African Unity nor the Frontline States group has given its open blessing to the exchanges, members of both organisations have opened diplomatic relations with Pretoria and the list is expected to grow.

ONE of the factors that makes the Angolan agreement remarkable is that the exchange of diplomats will be on a relatively high level. There are essentially five levels of representation: an interests of-

office, a trade mission, a representative office, a consulate and finally an embassy.

South Africa's office in Luanda, and Angola's office in Pretoria, will be at representative level, which makes it the highest in Africa other than the embassy in Malawi.

The next African country to open formal links with South Africa will be Botswana. Their agreement to do so was announced last month and the signing to make it official is likely to take place soon. This exchange, too, will be at representative level.

South Africa will then have official representatives in Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Zaire, Madagascar, Comoros, Ivory Coast and Morocco. In addition, it will have formal relations — but not yet offices in — Mauritius, Kenya, Rwanda, San Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde and

Togo. Zambia is expected to join the list soon, followed by Cameroon, Congo (if it can resolve its current power struggle), Gabon, Senegal and other states.

Morocco set the lead for the Maghreb states with its decision to open formal relations and Egypt is expected to follow.

The Algerian government had indicated an intention to do likewise before the army stepped in recently to keep Muslim fundamentalists from winning the election. Algeria's stance towards South Africa is now in a state of suspense.

The scope of South Africa's acceptance in the continent is reflected by the attitudes of the Frontline group, which was formed to support the fight against white rule first in Rhodesia and then in South Africa. Once Zambia opens formal links, Tanzania will be the only

Frontline state still giving South Africa the diplomatic cold shoulder.

Nigeria is the biggest of the African states still abiding by the OAU dictum of no formal relations until majority rule is in place. While its informal dealings with South Africa have become increasingly open and friendly, its formal stance continues to be a major element of discouragement to other African countries considering diplomatic acceptance of South Africa.

The OAU's attitude is based largely on the wishes of the ANC, which is opposed to any African country establishing formal relations with South Africa. But with these wishes being increasingly flouted by the OAU member countries the ANC's influence in this respect is waning and will presumably become progressively weaker as Codessa moves South Africa nearer to democratic govern-

ment.

At the same time the power of the Government that created apartheid is weakening as it relinquishes it gradually through negotiation. It is this, rather than the wishes of the ANC, that appears to be the yardstick being used in Africa for measuring Pretoria's diplomatic acceptability.

There is another irony: that Pretoria's road back to acceptance has been smoothed by the rise of democracy in Africa. The dictators and one-party governments that formerly ruled most of Africa, like the Marxist governments, were never much interested in dealing with South Africa because they seldom saw any need to do so.

But the democratic or semi-democratic authorities that are taking their place all over the continent are adopting free trade policies that point clearly to the economic advantages of dealing with the South African giant.

The whole growing struggle of relations between South Africa and the rest of Africa would be threatened with collapse if the Codessa negotiations themselves collapsed. But a growing number of African states appear to be willing to bet that they won't.

A new giant rising

GERALD L'ANGE

Weekend Argus Africa Service

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It is remarkable also because it comes barely three years after South African and Angolan troops fought each other in one of Africa's bloodiest wars. Memories of the bitter fighting around Cuito Cuanavale, for instance, are still fresh on both sides.

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landmines from the war, the opposing armies are still confined uneasily in assembly points and no start has been made on repairing the damage of the war.

By signing the agreement before the election has been held, Pretoria has, in a sense, by-passed its ally in the war, Unita, and done a political deal with its former enemy, the MPLA government.

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Angola gets off its knees to link up with new SA

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It is, in fact, one of the few African states capable of maintaining a viable two-way trade with South Africa. Many of the others either have no foreign exchange with which to buy South African products or no products that South Africa does not already produce itself.

One of the factors that makes the Angolan agreement remarkable is that the exchange of diplomats will be on a relatively high level. There are essentially five levels of representation: An interests office, a trade mission, a representative office, a consulate and, finally, an embassy.

South Africa's office in Luanda, and Angola's office in Pretoria, will be at representative level, which makes it the highest in Africa other than the embassy in Malawi.

South Africa then will have official representation in Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Zaire, Madagascar, Comoros, Ivory

Coast and Morocco. In addition, it will have formal relations — but not yet offices — in Mauritius, Kenya, Rwanda, San Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde and Togo.

Zambia is expected to join the list soon, followed by Cameroon, Congo (if it can resolve its current power struggle), Gabon, Senegal and other states.

Morocco set the lead for the Maghreb states with its decision to open formal relations and Egypt is expected to follow soon.

Nigeria is the biggest of the African states still abiding by the OAU dictum of no formal relations until majority rule is in place.

While its informal dealings with South Africa have become increasingly open and friendly, its formal stance continues to be a major element of discouragement to other African countries considering diplomatic acceptance of South Africa.

At the same time, the power of the government that created apartheid is weakening as it relinquishes it gradually through negotiation. It is this, rather than the wishes of the African National Congress, that appears to be the yardstick being used in Africa for measuring Pretoria's diplomatic acceptability.

ARG 25/1/92



JONAS SAVIMBI

Savimbi ⁵
Sowetan 28/1/92
meets FW

UNITA leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi will see State President FW de Klerk this morning in Cape Town; the State President's office confirmed yesterday.

Unita officials who were understood to be in town preparing for the visit, which is a sequel to Mr. Pik Botha's visit to Luanda last week, were unavailable for comment. Sapa.

No SA help for Unita campaign

CAPE TOWN — SA would not interfere in the peace process in Angola by funding Unita's September election campaign, President F.W. de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking briefly at a photo session at Tuynhuys after welcoming visiting Unita president Jonas Savimbi, he said, however, SA was "involved in negotiations on how we can help the reconstruction in Angola in an affordable way".

De Klerk, who was accompanied by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, said Savimbi was "playing a pivotal role" in Angola. — Sapa.

Winning peace or elections in Angola won't be easy, writes Dale Lautenbach

Redefining the battle lines

STAR 311192.

(5)

WARRING countrymen for 16 years, two Angolan officials from the MPLA and Unita respectively seek each other's company and chat amicably at an American embassy cocktail party in Windhoek.

Questioned together about the peace process in their country they defer generously to one another: "You first," "No, please."

Taking turns finally, they both concede important problems but, slimly veiled by the polite context of cocktails and canapes, it is clear that the MPLA is still pointing accusing fingers at Unita and vice versa.

"They are still struggling to trust each other," said Bob Kandetu, a Namibian government official who co-chaired a meeting where these two Angolans were among a "wonderfully varied group of southern Africans from Anguldas to the Zaire River in discussions about furthering democratic elections in the region. Multiparty elections in Angola are just eight months away but

before a single ballot is dropped into a box there is work to be done which makes armed conflict look simple by comparison.

Not that there are any indications that either the MPLA government or the former Unita rebels are tempted to resort to civil war again. After 16 years of fighting, by far the majority opinion remains that Angolans are tired of guns.

But Angola right now is like a nation with too many balls in the air. The execution of the complicated terms of the May 31 1991 peace accord and the unravelling of two warring armies is still absorbing most attention and creating enormous problems.

And at the same time that the war machine is being dismantled must come the creation of a whole new set of circumstances to allow elections to take place. Even the law which provides for multiparty polling has still to be finalised and, in terms of the peace accords again, the government has to consent all parties to the new process (27 of them so far, including

Unita) to establish consensus about the rules of the game.

A recent multiparty meeting began this process but found it was not plain sailing. Furthermore, Unita declined to attend, saying it would deal with the government bilaterally.

A number of opposition parties among the 26 that have sprung into existence since April last year are now muttering that it will be impossible to hold elections in September.

Bornito de Sousa Baltazar Diogo, the MPLA party official at the cocktail party, disagrees but is gripped with the problem of how voter registration should take place in Angola.

There has been no census since before the civil war began in 1975. According to United Nations estimates, 827 000 people have been internally displaced by war.

A further three million have fled the country over the years, half that number in troubled Zaire from where Angola probably seems a better option now.

"Unita and the United States

want registration on voting day but that will be impossible," says Mr de Sousa. "We insist it must take place before." He notes that among Angola's estimated nine to 10 million people, many are without identity documents.

A programme to issue identity papers is "beginning" but with nearly a million displaced persons in a country littered with landmines and bereft of a passable road infrastructure, that is just one ball in the air.

Another, which is more like a hand grenade in the air, is the issue of the confinement of government Fapla troops and Unita's Fala soldiers to approved assembly points for demobilisation, 27 for Fapla and 21 for Fala.

"There have been problems at the Fapla assembly points," says Mr de Sousa. "But the UN is helping and the problem is being solved."

"I'm glad to hear there are no problems," says Mr Abel Chivukuvuku, the Unita man at the cocktail party and his organisation's deputy representative on the

CCPM.

He says that UN food had been coming into these camps until October when the UN announced that the stores would be bare until February.

"It was our first Christmas in peace and we couldn't let it happen without food so we made our own effort," says Mr Chivukuvuku.

"With a lot of money," says Mr de Sousa in what could be read as a criticism of the fact that Unita is still receiving covert aid from the United States.

Mr Chivukuvuku grins and goes on with what he believes is Unita's superior organisational ability. "We set up programmes in the assembly points. We went to our sympathisers in Portugal and asked for footballs. Now the men have something to do."

He says Fapla had problems with administration at its camps and with the distribution of food. Much of the food didn't even reach the camps but was sold on the black market.

Mr de Sousa counters that it's

— Star Africa Service □
going to make elections happen multilayered. Talking alone is not the problem is so enormous and other is alarming. And the scale of with which one side blames the On the other hand, the speed ing, thrashing things out. warm Angolan way and then talk embracing each other in the lesst Angolan village you see huddled from Luanda to the summit. And from Luanda and again. They have both asserted their in making peace. Two sides are still deeply engaged There is no doubting that the about the nature of the problem. with that strange mixed feeling party intervene and one is left The demands of the cocktail structure to speak of. points where there is no intragarrisons. Now they too are "in Fapla on the other hand were in ways been, in the bush." "And that's where Unita has assembly points are "in the bush": all very well for Unita. The as-

Where squatters wear posh suits, Italian shoes

STAR 4/2/92

SQUATTERS are notoriously difficult to get rid of anywhere. When they wear Italian shoes and mohair suits and drive big black limousines with diplomatic licence plates, the problem becomes even more complex.

Not that the people in the old South African consular residence in Luanda are squatters in the strict sense of the word. They are paying rent. The problem is that they are not paying it to the South Africans — who want their building back, anyway.

The fact that the building now houses the Polish embassy in Luanda makes it a more delicate problem for the South African Government than anything it has faced at Zevenfontein, Hout Bay or Crossroads.

It is an even more delicate problem for the Angolan government. They are the ones who put the Poles in there and they are the ones who are going to have to get them out.

But the Poles probably don't see why they should get out. As far as they are concerned, they are legal tenants and perhaps they intend to stick to the letter of their lease.

At the same time, they do have a problem. It was not a problem when Warsaw and Pretoria were still at daggers drawn during the days of the Cold War and total onslaught. But it is one now that they are friendly again and have diplomatic missions in each other's capitals. The Poles obviously don't want to offend the South Africans by squatting in their consular residence in Luanda.

For their part, the South Africans don't want to offend the Poles by having them evicted. Quite apart from the diplomatic niceties, you just can't call in the bailiffs and have an ambassador thrown out on the street, especially when his residence is also being used as an embassy. Where would he fly his flag, for one thing?

One can't really blame the Angolan government for putting the Poles in there in the first place. Or for taking over the building at all after the South African diplomats pulled out of Luanda. At the time, South African troops had in-

Out of Africa
(S)
GERALD L'ANGE



vaded Angola and as far as the new MPLA government was concerned the two countries were at war.

The Poles were not, in fact, the first to move in. When the South Africans moved out of the building in 1975, consul-general Mike Malone locked the door and figuratively threw away the key. Nobody knew whether or when they might be back.

The MPLA government, undoubtedly relishing the irony, wasted no time in changing the lock and installing the people Pretoria would least like to see in the building: first the ANC and then Swapo. Or maybe it was the other way round. It doesn't make much difference; the tenants were equally anathema to Pretoria in either sequence.

Just when the Poles moved in, I am not sure. The question is academic since the South Africans couldn't move back in and they might even have been comforted by the thought that the building was being looked after by those nice Poles and not by some Angolan government department that could not afford to keep it painted. Or by some Swapo guerillas cooking stiff porridge in the middle of the living room floor.

It was never more than a distant problem until Foreign Minister Pik Botha flew to Luanda this month to sign an agreement for the resumption of diplomatic relations with Angola. Then it became immediate, if not urgent.

Clearly the Poles will have to move. But with leakproof buildings at a premium in Luanda they may have difficulty finding alternative accommodation.

Perhaps they will agree to share. Imagine the Polish ambassador pounding on the bathroom door in the morning because his South African counterpart is taking his time shaving! □

Angolan team to explore SA trade, investment ties

STAR 6/2/92
By Gerald L'Ange
Star Africa Service

Only two weeks after signing an agreement to restore diplomatic relations with South Africa, Angola has sent a delegation to explore the possibilities offered by trade and other exchanges with South Africa.

The visit is historic in that it is the first formal visit by an Angolan government delegation since relations were severed in 1975 at the time of the SADF invasion in support of the Unita and FNLA movements.

The delegation, headed by the MPLA government's roving ambassador, Miguel Neto, nominally represents the MPLA rather than the opposition parties South Africa supported during the civil war.

But the delegation is, out of necessity, looking ahead beyond the election in September that is to put the seal on the ending of the 16-year civil conflict.

It is looking to promote the interests of the country under whichever

government is elected to office.

Thus the delegation's main preoccupation is with trade, investment and Angola's development prospects.

The group includes representatives of the ministries of agriculture, fisheries, health, construction and finance.

The speed with which the authorities in Luanda have followed up the restoration of relations is seen to reflect their anxiety to exploit the opportunities it has opened up.

South Africa is expected to play an important role in the post-war reconstruction of Angola, which is likely to offer lucrative opportunities to South African commerce and industry.

Much of the delegation's three-day visit has been taken up with meetings with the South African Foreign Trade Organisation, the South African Chamber of Business and other business organisations in SA.

Besides investigating business and development matters, the delegation sought South African co-operation in lifting the many thousands of landmines laid across Angola during the war.

Aids adds to Angolan dilemma

Sowetan 6/2/92

Sowetan Africa News Service

Apart from the 300 000 in Zaire there are about 60 000 in Zambia.

For those who have been

out of Angola long enough to become citizens of other countries, Miranda says Angola accepts dual nationality as long as an individual has retained his or her Angolan nationality.

About 500 000 Angolans are in Portugal and "plenty" in South Africa. There are also about 40 000 in Namibia and a number in Sweden and the United States. In South Africa

former Angolans are particularly well organised, he says.

With a smile he concedes that the Angolans in South Africa are predominantly the white conservative Angolans deeply linked to the former Portuguese colonial administration in Angola, and who fled the country at independence for fear of black and ideologically leftwing rule.

Asked whether they are not anti-MPLA, the party of the Angolan government that has been in power since

1975, he shrugs: "We consider this normal but what interests us more is that they should consider themselves Angolan and contribute to the rebuilding of Angola. All we demand is that people should be patriotic."

What Angola wants most of all is to attract people with skills and many of those are the ones in developed countries who left to escape MPLA rule.

"We want to encourage them to come back and create their own conditions with their skills. We will

make land and loans available. My job is to make contact with these Angolans especially and to convince them to have confidence in Angola."

He says Angolans abroad are still very divided along the lines that fought the war: Unita versus MPLA and, going further back, FNLA.

Miranda rules out any form of reprisals. "My message to them is that we are in the process of reconciliation. The past is the

past."

country where the usual mobility of people has not been possible.

There is equally no definitive data on Aids in Zaire but it seems to be fairly widely accepted that it is a major problem.

Apart from dealing with the Zaire headache, Miranda's task is to build confidence among Angolans abroad and to promote their return.

Many who left the country, particularly the white Angolans who fled at independence in 1975, have established lives elsewhere, especially in South Africa and Portugal.

Asked how many will want to return home Miranda says indications are that there is interest but those who most seriously want to return are refugees living in poor conditions.

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country where the usual mobility of people has not been possible.

All peace-loving people should contribute to fight the problem of Aids in Southern Africa.

WINDHOEK - Seemingly insurmountable problems face the Angolan government trying to control the repatriation of more than one and a half million of its nationals in Zaire.

The increasing instability in Zaire has created new pressures, among them a possible large-scale importation of the HIV virus into Angola.

Mr Joao Miranda, Deputy Minister of International Relations for the Community, a post created specifically to address the problem of an estimated 3 million Angolans outside the country, acknowledges that the turmoil in Zaire has "aggravated" the repatriation of Angolans from Zaire, about 300 000 of them refugees living in camps.

The (Angolan) government has discussed repatriation from Zaire and agreed that Angola did not have the conditions to receive such high numbers. This was because the country is not yet free of mines and because we do not have state administration in all areas.

(In terms of peace accords signed with former rebels Unita, the government should by now be in control of the entire country but there are a significant number of areas where Unita remains in control and the government has not been able to establish its authority.)

Repatriation

"We agreed that the repatriation should start in March, taking into account measures to fight Aids. But the situation has been worsened by problems in Zaire and we have no concrete solution yet. It has become a humanitarian problem and now we have Zairean refugees coming to Angola too."

He says posts will be established in two provinces "to try and test people; a form of detecting Aids carriers and trying to establish ways of preventing the spread".

"But there is a problem because the population is coming in numbers even now and during the rainy season. We have to fight Aids inside Angola and we can't refuse our nationals. The situation is very preoccupying."

He acknowledges that the government does not have enough money to establish an effective testing infrastructure and is trying to mobilise the international community.

"All peace-loving people should contribute to fight the problem of Aids in Southern Africa," he says. It is a thinly disguised way of saying "we have to help each other".

Sixteen years of civil war in Angola which ended in May last year has meant that there is little reliable data on the spread of the HIV virus in that country. However, the war itself might have contributed to containing the problem in a

Angolans look at SA links

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — SA is poised to rapidly expand trade with Angola, and oil could be at the top of its shopping list. (S)

This follows the visit to SA by a 23-strong delegation of government officials, businessmen and military officers led by Angola's roving ambassador in southern Africa, Miguel Neto. *5/21/92*

He said meetings had been held with officials of the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs.

Asked about possible oil sales to Pretoria, he said: "We are proceeding with discussions on that... with good results."

However, government sources said discussions were at an early stage and no firm commitments had been made.

They said, however, that SA and Angola — which has, largely through oil sales, maintained a healthy balance of payments in spite of its protracted war — could soon become twin pillars in the economic recovery of southern Africa.

Neto said the SADF could send officers to southern Angola to help lift landmines that were still claiming victims.

Officials of Sonangol, the Angolan oil company, have also visited Soekor sites and said there were many areas for co-operation between the two.

ISABEL CASSINDO never dreamed she would see any members of her family again. But the unimaginable became reality recently when she was reunited with a cousin who had been separated from her 12 years ago.

"I could not believe it was him. After all these years I thought he was dead," Cassindo said.

Their joyful reunion was one of many accomplished by Angola's Family Tracing Project, which is striving to locate the families of some of the estimated 50 000 children orphaned and abandoned during the 16-year civil war.

"We feel it is important for children to be in a stable family environment, to re-establish a normal life and alleviate the war trauma affecting many of them in institutions," said Julia Antonio, head of the National Department of Orphaned and Abandoned Children, and co-ordinator of the Family Tracing Project.

Cassindo's cousin, Luiz Alfredo, was fleeing an attack on his village by Unita rebels when he

Joyful reunions help to

was picked up by government troops 12 years ago.

"At 4 o'clock one morning, Unita encircled our village," recounted Alfredo, now 21. "I hid in the grass for the entire day of the attack and then returned to our house, where I found my mother dead on the floor."

Having already lost his father, Alfredo was transported by a military convoy to an orphanage in the capital, Luanda. He remained there until the ceasefire paved the way for the tracing project to escort him on a search for surviving family members in Huambo.

Many of the youths who live in orphanages dotting the country of 10-million have parents who are still alive. But they have been separated for so long that the missing children's funerals

An ambitious family tracing project aims to help reconstruct war-ravaged Angola.

By VICKI FINKEL

have already been held.

The return of some 500 000 refugees is drastically increasing the demands on the project.

In a bid to track down families, the project, which links government departments and 10 private organisations, has installed special tracing teams in each of Angola's 18 provinces.

"We photograph and interview all the children at the orphanages to find out as much as possible about their histories," said Alinda Chelombo, a

heal Angola's past

Huambo tracing-team member.

Project staff work through village networks, talking to *sobas* (tribal chiefs), as well as through newspaper, radio and television advertisements. A training video on effective tracing strategies is being made to accelerate the programme.

The team's work does not end with the successful location of a child's family. An evaluation of the family's emotional and material conditions is vital to the placement of the child.

"People in the war-ravaged villages suffer from hunger and a lack of health and education services," said Abilio Chivala, a Huambo team participant. "We have to make sure the children do not leave the orphanage to live in even worse conditions."

The project's objective is to provide a com-

plete reintegration package, supplying food and other assistance to complement a family's nurturing capacity.

Many of the children in the institutions have lost all trace of their past identities. A large portion of them were taken to the orphanages as infants after being found strapped to the backs of their mothers lying dead in the bush.

Project organisers are confident that many young children can be placed with substitute families. The older ones are generally more difficult to place, especially the boys, so the project has a different strategy to encourage them to begin independent lives.

Amid the banana trees ascending the hills of Ekhunha village, about 30km outside Huambo city, war orphans aided by the project have begun

to construct their own homes.

After six years of living in the Ekhunha orphanage, Antonio Sitila proudly resides in the adobe house he built himself.

"I wanted to start my own life," said Sitila, whose one empty trouser leg is a bleak reminder of the war that maimed an estimated 80 000 people. Angola is the country with the largest number of amputees per capita in the world.

Despite limited funds and inexperienced staff, the ambitious tracing project has united about 650 children with their families since its inception last year.

"We are working with many people who have only a primary school education and a week's seminar for training, but the project works because it makes sense to them," said Maggie Brown, of the United Kingdom's Save the Children which has spearheaded the project. "I see this as a positive move towards reconstructing the country by investing in individual lives."

Idasa team set to visit Angola

STAR 10/2/92

Staff Reporter

(5) (DGA)

A delegation from the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa is to visit Angola this week as part of Idasa's ongoing Africa Programme, the institute announced yesterday.

In its first visit to Angola, Idasa will make contact with a range of political players and observers, particularly with regard to the country's planned elections in September.

The delegation hopes to visit one of the camps where former guerillas are gathering for demobilisation. Talks will be held with the Joint Political Military Commission which was set up in terms of the peace accord.

Shelagh Gastrow, co-ordinator of Idasa's Africa Programme, said the aim of the programme was to build links with people and organisations involved in the transition to democracy in Africa.

"We want to observe how other countries have managed the post-colonial period, gain from their experience and learn from their mistakes," she said.

The Idasa delegation will comprise executive director Dr Alex Boraine; Mrs Gastrow; Moira Levy from the media department; Professor Jeremy Grest from the University of Natal; Sydney Kubheka from the ANC; and journalists Chris Gutuza and Dale Lautenbach.

Graham Linscott looks at prospects of Angola renewing old links with SA

Ideology gives way to African pragmatism

STAR 16/2/92

TRADE follows the flag. But way out ahead, it seems, is beer. A colleague who met the recent Angolan delegation says he was told that six-packs of Castle Lager are selling for R18 on the black market in Luanda.

That is an interesting price. High, by South African standards, but not all that high, considering the immense distance. Businessmen speak of paying prices like \$5 (R13,85) — hotel prices granted — for a pint of beer in West African countries. The Luanda price suggests that Castle Lager might not be in all that short supply.

In any event, surprise at the discovery of South African beer on sale in a distant capital is on a par with bemusement at the fact of the Angolan delegation being here at all. Not all that long ago our forces were in combat with theirs.

But really there should be little surprise at South Africa and Angola finding one another now that the intervening ideologies — apartheid and Marxist socialism — have been removed. Although not neighbours, much is complementary.

Angola exports oil. We refine oil. Angola has diamonds: We have De Beers. Angola has coffee. We have farmers on the front stoep. Angola has sugar cane. We have the Sugar Association. Angola is hot and thirsty. We have Castle Lager. And so it goes on.

In fact Angola is potentially one of Africa's wealthiest countries. About the size of South Africa, it has a population of only 10 million, most of them concentrated in coastal settlements and towns on the inland plateau. Oil royalties earn it millions every day.

~~16~~ (S)

Before independence and the civil war there always was a strong South African connection. A well-known South African tractor firm had a showroom and workshop in central Luanda. Many South Africans actually farmed in the south of the country, along with a sprinkling of Germans and others and the Portuguese colonials, who had a long history of resisting Salazar's fascism.

They were a thriving and vibrant community, situated in some of Africa's finest savannah country. The southern port of Lobito used to produce a particularly villainous whisky — "distilled under the direction of two Scottish technicians" — and if somebody managed to blow up the still during the civil war, that would be probably its only plus. The war otherwise destroyed what had

been built up in the south. The whites all emigrated.

Southern Africa is nevertheless ratcheting toward a shared future centred on South Africa, and Angola will be part of it.

A friend of mine was once hunting in southern Angola (before the hostilities). A group of Afrikaners turned up at the camp one evening to talk about Johannesburg. They were walking from Zairi to work on the mines, they said, and of course they would be unrecruited at any border control point. My friend suggested it was a long walk for very low wages.

Not at all, their leader said. In his country you could buy a new car for one pound. The mines meant great wealth.

Market forces and the ancient wisdoms and migratory rhythms of Africa will beat ideology any day. □

WS

Angola seeks livestock aid

By George Nicholas
Agricultural
Correspondent

STAR 11/2/92

Angola is turning to South Africa for guidance and technological assistance to build up its livestock industry, decimated by 16 years of civil war.

A high-powered Angolan agricultural delegation has paid a week's visit to South Africa as guests of Select Genes, a subsidiary of the Taurus Stock Improvement Co-operative, and two animal health companies.

The purpose of the visit was to study livestock production in South Africa and to initiate negotiations for training and technological assistance in Angola.

The delegation was headed by Dr. Philippe Vissesse, national director of the Angolan Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development.

Taurus has agreed to provide intensive training in the artificial insemination of cattle, as well as essential equipment and technical back-up. Select Genes will supply semen from top South African sires of indigenous breeds. To date no artificial insemination has been carried out in Angola. The civil war has reduced the cattle population by millions.

Export doors open to Benz

Sowetan 13/2/92

By JOE MDHLELA

POLITICAL changes in South Africa have opened up export markets in Africa previously closed to Mercedes-Benz of South Africa, according to the chief executive of the company, Mr Christo Kopke.

Kopke said the company exported vehicles to Zimbabwe, Zambia,

Malawi, Mozambique and Burundi.

Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were already part of the Southern African customs agreement and were already supplied with vehicles directly from MBSA, he added.

With the establishment of an export department, the company would ag-

gressively pursue opportunities in the African export market.

He said Angola would at this stage be the only neighbouring country not to benefit from the export deal.

He said this was mainly because the MPLA did not represent all the people of that country.

Even if a representative

government were to be formed, the fact that Angolans drove on the right side of the road made the prospect of having export trade with it difficult.

He said the export target on commercial vehicles, the market that has potential at the moment, would be around 300 units this year, a total of R60 million.



Mr Christo Kopke

STAR 157219Z

Unita denies cache plan 5

LISBON — Unita, the former Angolan rebel movement, yesterday denied having plans to use secret arms caches if it lost September's elections. Unita spokesman Tony da Costa Fernandes said the rebels hid weapons during the 16-year civil war which ended with a peace accord last May, just as the ruling MPLA had done. — Sapa-Reuter

Unita disowns 'infiltrator' 5

LISBON — The Angolan rebel movement Unita has disowned an officer accused of selling explosives on the black market and charged the Luanda government with encouraging arms trafficking and banditry.



Unita said in a statement issued yesterday that the man, Captain Abel Cogi, had been infiltrated into Unita by the government. — Sapa-Reuter.

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SAP 22/2/92

Re balanced Pope tells flock

Angola today: poor soil in which to root democracy

STAR
24/2/92 (5)

Seven months before voters go to the polls in independent Angola's first election it is apparent that many do not understand basic democratic concepts, reports DALE LAUTENBACH of the Star Africa Service.

AN ANGOLAN teenager, asked what he thinks of elections, is sceptical about these things called votes. There just won't be enough to go round, he says, and when it gets to his turn, the votes will have run out.

After 16 years of civil war and Marxist socialism it is a fair view. It is also a measure of just how little grasp Angolans have of democracy.

While a handful of intellectuals in the capital use the word quite freely now, for most Angolans an old slogan remains good and it is not *aluta continua* but a *vida continua*, life goes on.

One Western European diplomat notes that in the local Angolan languages the word for "opposition" is the same as for "enemy". Again, this is poor soil in which to root democracy.

But the diplomat, like most of his colleagues, believes elections will happen in September. "They have to face it," he says.

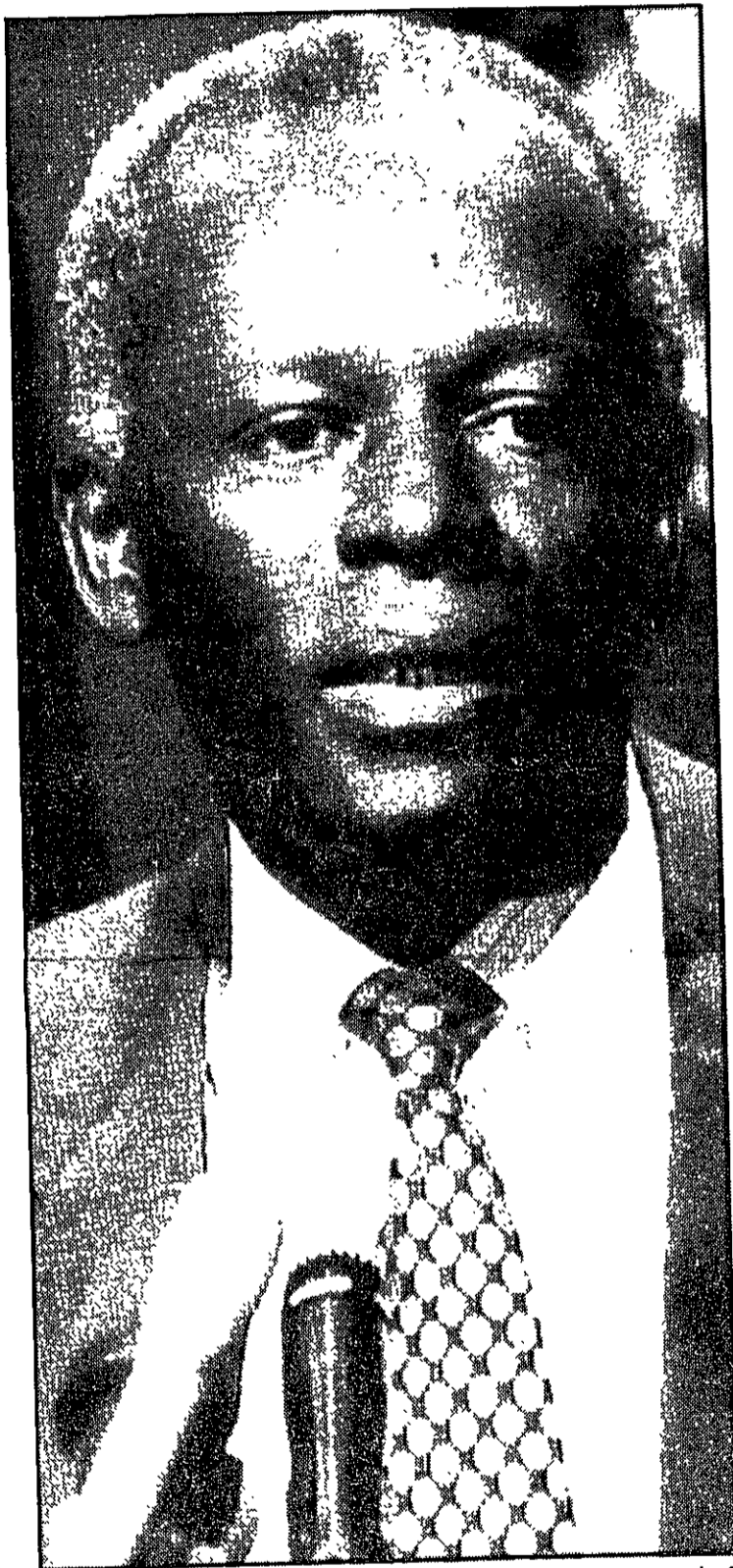
It appears, however, that the election will be essentially a contest between the two main parties, the ruling MPLA and the rebel Unita.

Soon after the peace agreement signed in May last year between the government and Unita, there was much talk of the emergence of a third force in Angola. Laws providing for multipartyism saw a rash of new parties (the latest count is 27) and there was some optimism that the most democratic outcome might be a third force coalition.

Now observers feel that the smaller parties which might make up a third force are just too weak and locally based to really constitute a bloc. The Partido Renovador Democrático (PDR), led by MPLA dissident Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, appears the strongest of them but is still not a serious contender for power.

"You don't hear third force talk anymore," says a senior United Nations official. "In the last three months I've not heard a word."

The smaller parties are not to be discounted though in the support they could take to either of the main players. In this respect Unita seems to have shot itself in the foot by refusing to acknowledge their existence.



President Jose Eduardo dos Santos . . . praised for running a "democratic show" at the multiparty conference.

A multiparty conference convened by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos last month to discuss the electoral laws was boycotted by Unita. The former rebels insisted that in terms of the peace accords it was prepared to discuss things only with the government.

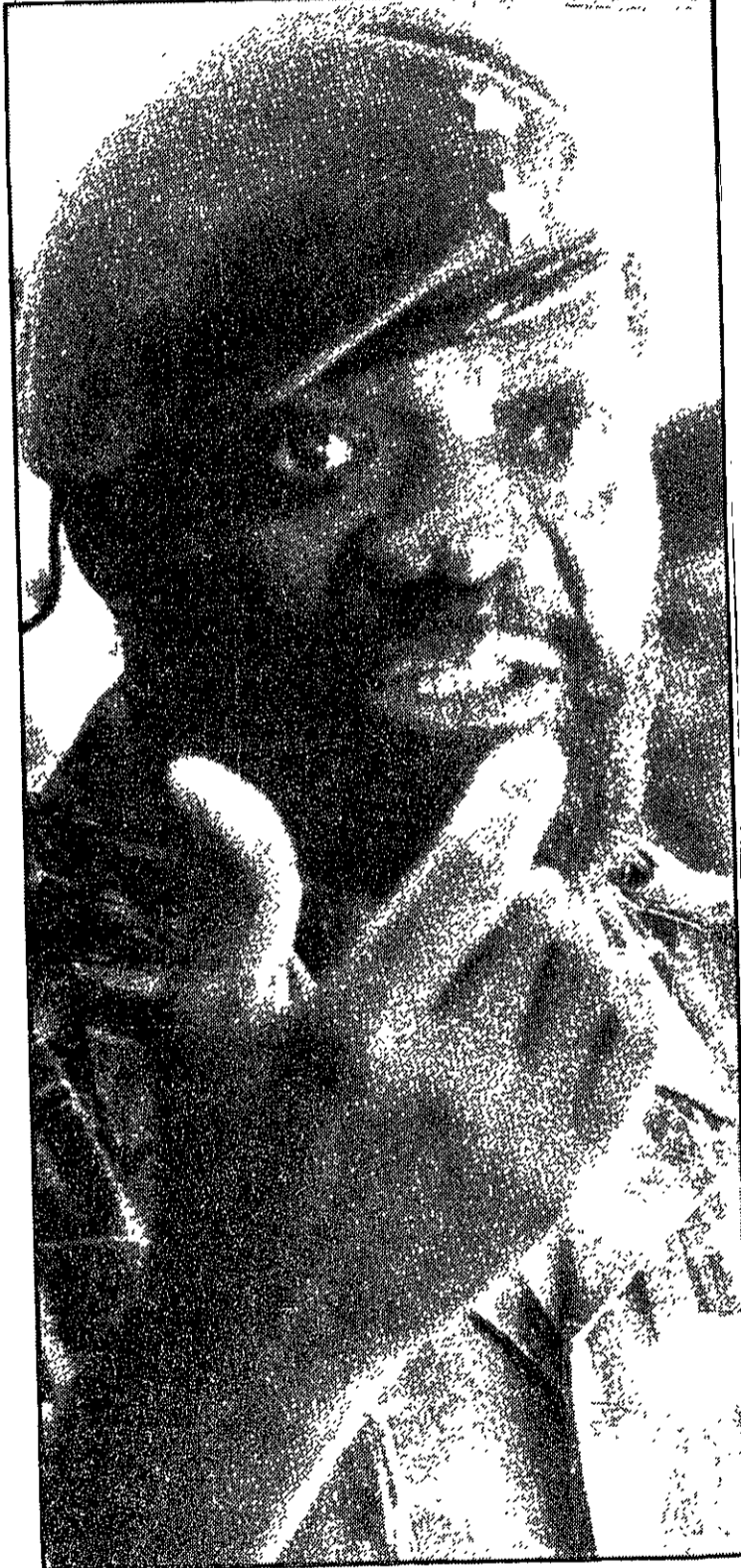
Mr dos Santos won praise for running a rather democratic show at the multiparty conference. In contrast, Unita has been criticised by both Angolans and the international community for putting itself above

the democratic process.

Further, having discussed the electoral law multilaterally, the government was forced to begin discussions afresh on the same subject bilaterally, with Unita. Luandans were not impressed.

"It's a waste of time," said one.

The government has not shown much skill, however, at wooing the smaller parties. An extremely complicated process is required for registration of a party, which includes gathering 3 000 signatures with photoco-



Jonas Savimbi . . . criticised by the international community for putting Unita above the democratic process.

pies of identity documents, 150 from each of 14 of the 18 Angolan provinces. As the small parties point out, photocopying machines are hard to find in the provinces.

Bemoaning the political stupidity of this, a diplomat says: "You've got a bunch of Marxist idiots in the bureaucracy working against their own party. They're being as thick as two short planks because the MPLA needs the smaller parties to offset Unita."

The government has pro-

Cont
nounced itself open to alliances before the elections and in favour of the idea of a government of national reconciliation.

Says Marcelino Moco, general secretary of the MPLA: "If necessary we would favour a government of national reconciliation. It could be a multiparty government, that would be a stabilising force and a way of making sure all regions of the country are represented."

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi rules out alliances before the election but not a coalition gov-

ernment afterwards.

"We have contacts with about five of the small parties. After the election a coalition is possible as a way of healing wounds."

These apparently reconciliatory messages Mr Savimbi delivers through the foreign media are not trusted on the home front. At a political rally just outside Luanda recently he created a furore when, speaking in his own language, Umbundu, he pledged that "our heroes will be revenged".

A number of Luandans speak of leaving if Unita wins the election. They fear reprisals and witch-hunts and mistrust the still deeply militaristic nature of Unita culture. A Western diplomat notes that Unita has a "very thin layer of competent people at the top, below that nothing".

"And Unita knows nothing of administration, just destruction. It's a frightening prospect that such people could take over."

The same diplomatic voices can be just as critical, however, of the government, which they often characterise as corrupt and inept.

"Aid money goes into a black hole," says another diplomat, noting how difficult it is to secure detailed project plans from government. Real investment, he says, discounting the thousands of "carpetbaggers" who are flocking to the capital now and managing all manner of deals and steals, will not come in before a new government is in power.

Angola is a messy place now, inevitably perhaps, given the enormous transition of the past year. The best wisdom is that anyone who claims to know definitively what is going on should be heard with scepticism.

There are certainly no clear winners yet. Within the MPLA itself, according to Angolan sources close to the party, there could still be either a split or a successful wooing of former dissidents to create a more flexible and broad-based MPLA.

A positive note in all the uncertainty is that the mechanisms of peace are still working strongly and the international community, including the Americans and the United Nations, remain committed to seeing it through.

One of the measures of this is that the stream of senior envoys from Western governments to Luanda has not let up. And who greets them now at the airport, always a favourite spot for government slogans, is Angola's *Coracao*, loosely, Angola in Hearts. Strangely sentimental that, but a typically Angolan factor and one not to be underestimated over the seven months. □

Rates anomaly makes Angola a rand paradise

STAR 26/2/92 (5)

A GOVERNMENT-OWNED travel agency in Angola is offering a one-day excursion to Johannesburg on March 1 for the Formula One race.

Vapt ... Vupt ... says the advertisement in what can only mean Vroom Vroom. The "monumental programme" to see the "sensational contest" of the Formula One racers includes a tour of Johannesburg for the Angolan day trippers and a meal at a tourist complex on the outskirts of the city.

It sounds like any other promotion, but this "tourist package" is a quaint measure of just how much relations between the two countries have changed.

The advert for the trip has appeared in the State newspaper, the Jornal de Angola, and while Angolan government officials and the odd business groups have been regular visitors to South Africa for about a year now, this must be one of the first civilian trips.

At \$700, the Formula One package is not exactly cheap, but if you had enough rands to buy the ticket — and rands are welcome currency in Angola now — you would be spending about R900 for the same trip as opposed to R1 995 based on the normal \$1 to R2,85 exchange rate.

It is all rather confusing, but an explanation of sorts resides in the fact that the Angolan currency, the kwanza, is virtually worthless and given the increased trade in consumer and other smallish items between Angola and the rand areas of Namibia and South Africa, Angola wants to attract rands.

The relationship of the kwanza to international currencies, as determined by the Angolan Banco Nacional, bears little relation, of course, to normal exchange rates.

A recent devaluation of the kwanza, the third since 1990, has created a three-tier system with the official exchange rate being \$1 to 180 kwanza, an intermediary rate being \$1 to about 500 kwanza and the rate available to Angolan citizens and visitors being \$1 to 1 250 kwanza.

If you point out to Angolan officials that the latter rate is effectively a legalisation of the black or parallel market, they balk at the terminology but eventually shrug and say: Well, if you want to put it that way, yes.

A powerful black market has

DALE LAUTENBACH of The Star Africa Service reports from Luanda.

operated in Angola for years now and when the official exchange rate was \$1 to about 30 kwanza, the black market rate was as high as \$1 to about 2 500.

Commodities like beer and eggs were virtually currencies in their own right and there were a number of fascinating examples of how, using the black market, you could effectively buy an air ticket for Europe for the equivalent of two crates of beer.

Two subsequent devaluations and a 95 percent rounding-up of the inflated money supply with the creation of a new kwanza forced the black market rate down to about 850 kwanza.

When the latest devaluation took place a couple of months back, introducing the three-tier system, a rand-kwanza exchange appeared in Luanda hotels giving 940 kwanza for R1. The same hotel offered 1 250 kwanza for \$1 which, if you do the sums, puts a hypothetical rand-dollar exchange rate at 1,33.

South African Foreign Affairs sources point out that there is not yet any sort of trade or commercial agreement between South Africa and Angola. The two countries have agreed to exchange officials soon at the level of a representative office and given South African business interest in Angola, a trade and commercial agreement must follow.

This agreement would have to be realistic in terms of the international rand-dollar exchange rate, so the anomalous rand bonanza in Angola at the moment cannot last.

All foreign-exchange experts were at a loss to read into the rates the basis on which the Angolan bank is fixing the rand-kwanza. It is obviously an enormously artificial pegging and is best expressed in the reaction of one banker: "They must be really desperate for foreign currency."

But, for a period which could be days or months, it's certainly a whole lot cheaper to pay for your \$174 a night bed in rands, which, at Angolan rates, would be R231 as opposed to R495. □

SA spent R12-m ^(S) on peace in Angola

ARC 27/2/92

THE South African government had contributed more than R12 million to the Angolan peace process, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said.

The money was mostly used for providing food at assembly points for former combatants, as well as providing training for Angolan troops involved in mine-lifting operations.

Replying to a question by Mr Frank le Roux (CP Brakpan), Mr Botha said R12,827 million had been allocated to the Angolan peace process.

South Africa, like many other governments, supported the peace process in Angola.

He also said that R10 million had been used for feeding schemes and a further R2,75 million had been set aside for projects in the TBVC states. This money came from the sale of strategic oil reserves.

R5 million had been spent on overseas trips and R1,12 million had been spent on bringing foreign guests to South Africa.

The food supplied at troop assembly points in Angola, especially those for Unita, had been aimed at preventing former fighters from going back to the bush and sparking new hostilities.

Money had also been allocated for training Angolan troops



PIK BOTHA ... SA provided food.

on how to detect and lift landmines.

The South African Defence Force had provided the training, but was not involved in mine clearance.

South African money had also been required for a proposed technical training college in Luanda to teach people self-reliance.

The South African government had rejected claims for compensation resulting from the Namibian and Angolan conflicts. — Sapa.

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Many diamonds 'pouring out Angola'

LUANDA.— All the whites in this hotel are here for diamonds, says a young Israeli, looking nervously around the restaurant of the establishment where a bed costs \$170 (R476) a night.

He is exaggerating, of course, but his assertion is not too far off the mark. Casual conversations in the lifts and the lobby turn regularly to diamonds.

A man from Brussels is into diamonds. So is a South African who barks into his walkie-talkie just like the Unita men who are also resident at Le Presidente Meridien.

"But export is still illegal so how does all this work," you ask the South African. "Ag, a few people get picked up back in South Africa. For the rest it's an open door."

Before the civil war began in 1975 Angola was the fourth largest producer of diamonds in the world with an output of 2,4-million carats in 1974.

The government attempted to revive the industry in the late

Like bees to the honeypot, visitors of a new kind are coming to Angola since recent legislation made it legal for any Angolan to possess diamonds. DALE LAUTENBACH of the Argus Africa News Service reports.

eighties and by 1988, production had reached 1,1-million carats.

De Beers, whose interests in Angola lapsed in the mid-eighties is also back on the scene now with a \$100-million (R280-million) deal for marketing and for exploring kimberlite pipes. Details of the project are still being negotiated.

But De Beers representatives are viewing the situation with concern as diamonds apparently pour out of the country unchecked.

Mr Peter Gallegos of De Beers Centenary AG (the offshore arm of the company in Switzerland) and Mr Ken Kempson of their of-

fice in Luanda said that since the signing of the peace accords last year, diamonds had been "flooding" out of the country, a "logical" consequence of the new freedom of movement in a peacetime Angola.

"The government recognised the growth in this activity and that it was deriving no benefit, so it thought to legalise possession for locals and set up buying offices where the locals could sell."

Mr Gallegos said his company has vehemently opposed the move from the outset.

There is also the more cynical interpretation of the government move as a way to win votes in the September elections: If you can't deliver the goods directly to your electorate, you instead present them with the opportunity to make their own goods and what better way than diamonds.

An Angolan Government source argued that the government's intention was to "soak up" the many diamonds floating around the country, mainly, he said, because of illegal diamond dealing by "Unita and the South Africans" during the war.

FNLIA leader fiercely confident as Angolans prepare for polling

STAR 28/2/72

THE 69-year-old leader of the Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLIA) was not pleased when he was asked whether the Bakongo dominance of his party would not put it at a disadvantage in Angola's first election.

"We'll see," was all Holden Roberto would say. Traditionally, the FNLIA support base lies in the Uige, Zaire and Cabinda provinces of the north-west with perhaps a scattering in northern Malanje and Bengo.

Mr Roberto's irritated refusal to be drawn on whether he has penetrated any of the 13 other Angolan provinces in the 10 months during which multi-partyism has been allowed in Angola could be taken as an answer in itself.

But beyond this, the small man exudes a fierce confidence. The brother-in-law and friend of President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, Mr Roberto has lived most of his life outside Angola, much of it in Zaire and, he says, France.

He was as critical as ever of his old enemies, the ruling MPLA and former rebels, Unita. He dismissed the MPLA as Marxist and its present message of democracy as false. And he accused Unita of seeking votes through intimidation.

Mr Roberto was unhappy that the MPLA government had left Unita in charge of a large num-

The FNLIA was one of the 'big three' of Angolan politics when the Portuguese pulled out, but during the civil war it declined into insignificance. Now its leader, Holden Roberto (right), is trying to stage a comeback. DALE LAUTENBACH of The Star Africa Service spoke to him in Luanda.



ber of communities despite an agreement to the contrary under the peace accords.

This has been one of the sticking points in the implementation of the accords. Unita has claimed that the government is welcome but that it is the people of the villages who are resisting, not Unita. This goody-two-shoes argument does not wash with most Angolans, and certainly not with Mr Roberto.

And the international community, including some Americans, believe that Unita is indeed resisting government law and order and administration.

"If all the conditions of the peace accords are not met I'll

campaign that people should not vote," Mr Roberto said.

The Angolan society Mr Roberto envisages is not very different from what most of the contesting parties in the forthcoming elections are propounding. This is a democratic society with all the usual attendant freedoms, separation of powers and a free market.

To rebuild the country, he said, the first essential was to give medical assistance to the people, then food and after that rebuild the infrastructure, which he accused the other parties of destroying.

Some would say that the FNLIA's hands are not entirely clean either. The movement was formed in 1962 and most of

its guerrilla activity was in northern Angola and was launched from bases in Zaire. In the Sixties it received covert aid from the US through the CIA in Zaire, and in the early Seventies it got military aid from China.

In June 1975 the FNLIA was forced out of Luanda by the MPLA. In trying to get back, it received support from South African and Portuguese forces.

In November 1975, in the terrain around the Kitangondo bridge just north of Luanda, the MPLA army drove back the FNLIA with Cuban help. By March 1976 the FNLIA was back in Zaire from where it conducted a low-level guerrilla campaign against the MPLA in the north.

According to Mr Roberto the FNLIA was "the strongest" in 1975 and "could have seized power but we wanted the Angolan people to choose, we wanted an election."

If Angolans vote for the FNLIA in the election in September they will not get a government of national reconciliation, which both Unita and the MPLA say they are prepared to entertain.

"I don't believe in a coalition government," Mr Roberto said. "I'd prefer a majority and then some compromise with the others, especially ... where the economy is so fragile." □

Is Roberto Angola's

'Mr Clean'?

Sowetan 28/2/92 (5)



HOLDEN ROBERTO: "MPLA's message of democracy is false."

LUANDA - The 69-

year-old leader of the Front for the Liberation of Angola was not pleased when he was asked whether the Bakongo dominance of his party would not put it at a disadvantage in Angola's first election.

"We'll see," was all Mr Holden Roberto would say. Traditionally the FNLA support base lies in the Uige, Zaire and Cabinda provinces of the north-west with perhaps a scattering in northern Malanje and Bengo.

Roberto's irritated refusal to be drawn on whether he has penetrated any of the 13 other Angolan provinces in the 10 months during which multi-partyism has been allowed in Angola could be taken as an answer in itself.

But beyond this the small man exudes a fierce confidence. The brother-in-law and friend of President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, Roberto has lived most of his life outside Angola, much of it in Zaire. He was as critical as ever

The FNLA was one of the "big three" of Angolan politics when the Portuguese pulled out but during the civil war it declined into insignificance. Now its leader, Mr Holden Roberto, is trying to stage a comeback. DALE LAUTENBACH of the *Sowetan Africa News Service* interviewed him in Luanda.

of his old enemies, the ruling MPLA and former rebels, Unita. He dismissed the MPLA as Marxist and its present message of democracy as false. And he accused Unita of seeking votes through intimidation.

Roberto was unhappy that the MPLA government had left Unita in charge of a large number of communities despite an agreement to the contrary under the peace accords. Unita has claimed that the government is welcome but that it is the people of the villages who are resisting, not Unita.

And the international community, including some Americans, believe too that Unita is indeed resisting government law and order and administration. "If all the conditions of

the peace accords are not met I'll campaign that people should not vote," Roberto said. The Angolan society Roberto envisages is not very different from what most of the contesting parties in the forthcoming elections are propounding. To rebuild the country, he said, the first essential was to give medical assistance to the people, then food.

Some would say that the FNLA's hands are not entirely clean either. The movement was launched from a base in Zaire in 1962 and most of its guerrilla activity was in northern Angola. In the sixties he received covert aid from the United States and in the early seventies military aid from China.

In June 1975 the FNLA was forced out of Luanda by the MPLA and in trying to get back, it received support from both South African and Portuguese forces. In November 1975 in the terrain around the Kifangondo bridge just north of Luanda, the MPLA army drove back the FNLA with Cuban help. By March 1976 the FNLA was back in Zaire from where it conducted a low-level guerrilla campaign against the MPLA in the north.

According to Roberto the FNLA was "the strongest" in 1975 and "could have seized power but we wanted the Angolan people to choose, we wanted an election". If Angolans vote for the FNLA in September they will not get a government of national reconciliation, which both Unita and the MPLA say they are prepared to entertain. "I don't believe in a coalition government," Roberto said. "I'd prefer a majority and then some compromise with the others especially ... where the economy is so fragile."

Lawless in Luanda — but it works

BY MOIRA LEVY: Luanda

GUNSHOTS ring out throughout the night and into the early morning from the port of Luanda. No one runs; Angolans are used to the sound.

This is part of the shifting political scene in the run-up to the elections in September or, at the very latest, in terms of the peace accord, by November.

It is a transition marked by chaos bordering on anarchy: escalating crime and violence, and the flourishing black market trade, largely in goods stolen from the harbour.

Apart from a few small-scale factories on the city outskirts, there is little evidence of a formal economy.

No one is predicting the outcome of the elections. Only the two chief contenders — the ruling MPLA and Unita — speak with any certainty; both declare they are convinced they will win.

The worst possible scenario is an all-out MPLA victory, a poor showing

by the emerging independent parties and a return to war by a disgruntled Unita.

But the consensus is that the peace accord signed on May 31 last year will hold, that some form of coalition is in the pipeline and that Unita would not find its former backers — the United States and South Africa — willing to renew military aid.

The possibility of a government of national unity has not been discounted by the chief rivals, Unita's Jonas Savimbi talks of a "government of national reconciliation". Marcelino Moco, the secretary general of the MPLA, said: "A party of national reconciliation is not repugnant to us. It could be a way of making sure that the government represents all the people of Angola."

A new law of association passed shortly after the signing of the peace accord opened the way for the proliferation of political parties. To date an estimated 26 independent parties

Winnick 28/12-5/13/92

have emerged. But so far only two or three have met the stringent government requirements for recognition.

The process of campaigning and signing up party members becomes meaningless in a country where 80 percent of the population is illiterate and where the last census was conducted years ago. The electoral law requires proof of the identities of signed up supporters — this in the face of an almost complete absence of identity documents, photocopyers, typewriters, cars and basic administrative equipment.

The independent parties want a complete overhaul of the electoral law, and an interim government to oversee the run-up to the elections. The chances of this are slim. The government indicated some willingness for reform by holding a multi-party conference to discuss these grievances. Unita, unwilling to recognize the smaller parties, boycotted the

talks.

In less than a year election fever has gripped this country, and it has been accompanied by a corresponding opening up of civil society. A range of organizations have emerged out of the vast squatter slums.

But none of the parties have mobilised at the political level around the obvious grievances — lack of running water, unemployment and crime.

Lining many streets are battered freight containers. It is estimated that 80 percent of goods on the streets are stolen from the port. Most people are engaged in some form of black market trade. Beggars are rare; along the streets and in the markets one can purchase anything from air conditioners to car parts and freezers. And along an avenue appropriately dubbed "Wall Street" women trade kwanzas for dollars. A refrain in Luanda is "somehow it works". And somehow it does.

Fears that election losers will return to arms

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APR 23/92

ALTHOUGH the ceasefire in Angola is holding, there are fears that the party that loses the election in September will return to arms. DALE LAUTENBACH of The Argus Africa News Service assesses the brittle mood as the former combatants compete for votes.

LUANDA. — Several of the smaller opposition parties that have established themselves in Angola's new multiparty environment, are equally critical of the two major parties: the governing MPLA and Unita, the former rebels.

They fear widespread intimidation during the election campaign, particularly on the part of Unita, and that once the result is known, the loser will not accept defeat gracefully.

The Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), which was also a major party at independence in 1975 but whose fortunes waned thereafter, is concerned about a return to civil war. And Dr Antonio Alberto Neto, president of the Angolan Democratic Party (PDA), says both Unita and the government's Fapla army are hiding weapons.

He claims too that there are 8 000 black Cubans at the presidential compound, Fungo de Belas.

These are strong allegations, perhaps containing more party politicking than fact, but there is an unmistakable nervousness in Angolan society now.

A question often asked is: What happened to all the men from the Ministry of State Security, the East German-backed system that was disbanded by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos last year?

An official from the ANC office in Luanda chuckles: "They're all in the agriculture ministry."

Another question is: How does Unita, a quintessentially military culture, transform itself into a civilian society?

"Unita is so tainted by war and violence," remarks a diplomat (who is no less critical of government corruption and inefficiency).

Another source of worry is the big increase in crime.

"There's great concern among the former soldiers for their future and some of them turn to banditry," says

Fannie Phakola, chief representative of the ANC in Angola.

He and other non-Angolans nevertheless remain cautiously optimistic that peace will prevail.

"We see the elections as the final chapter of the war," says a Western diplomat. "If they are flawed or seriously delayed then there could be a return to war but probably not on the same scale as before. That's long past."

Mr Phakola says there are some grounds for fearing Unita might return to war if it loses, but on a smaller scale than in the past. He notes that the United States and South Africa, having economic interests in Angola, could be expected to support the winning party. Old cold war allegiances cannot be counted on by either Unita or the MPLA.

Almost everyone one talks to advances as the main reason for optimism the fact that Angolans are simply tired of war.

"And that includes the soldiers," says Mr Phakola. "They're not prepared to go back."

The creation of the new national army, a force of 50 000 to be made up in equal parts from the former warring sides, could also be a factor in preventing post-election chaos.

The army is supposed to be fully formed by the time Angolans go to the polls in September. It could, however, face a crisis in attracting quality officers, many of whom have degrees and seek opportunities in civilian life.

By all accounts the formation of the army, even though somewhat delayed, is going well.

Mr Jeffrey Davidow, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, saw a passing-out parade of the first 75 officers recently and was impressed.

"You couldn't tell Falpa from Fala," he said, referring to the MPLA and Unita armies respectively.

"It's quite impressive," says a Western diplomat in Luan-

da. "There's no way of knowing who's who and they're reasonably cheerful about it. As with any professional group they will work well together unless ideology is injected into the situation."

Both the MPLA and Unita profess themselves committed to peace and deny any suggestion that they might return to war.

"Our principal objective is the consolidation of the peace," says MPLA party general secretary Mr Marcelino Moco. "Unita will not get the assistance it needs to restart the war therefore we are confident that peace is irreversible."

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi chooses to deliver an equally reassuring message when speaking to the international Press: "There should be no fear that we will go back to war, not on the government side or on our side." However, some of his political campaign speeches have sounded more aggressive recently, with a promise to "avenge our heroes".

The United States observers remain confident of the peace process. Says Mr Geoffrey Millington, head of the US liaison office: "It's remarkable to have held the ceasefire for nine months and it's not a ceasefire where you have the two sides separated."

"Unita is all over the place, here in Luanda and elsewhere and they are aggressive, they have a chip on their shoulders. But somehow they know where to draw the line."

According to observers who have been present at CCPM meetings, Unita and MPLA members thrash out enormous differences in a very hostile atmosphere. Yet each time hostilities seem to have reached a point of no return, the Angolans call a halt, take a break and crack jokes with each other like old friends.

"That's the way it works," says one observer. And, with hopes and fears, it's still working.

Angola predicts a bright future for oil

LUANDA — Petroleum Minister Joao Lourenco Landoite predicts a bright future for Angola's oil industry as exploration proceeds and new fields start producing.

Current production was about 500 000 barrels a day (bpd), he said, adding that he expected production to average between 500 000 and 520 000 bpd this year. (5)

He said output in 1991 had started at 488 000 bpd, increasing over the year to average about 500 000 bpd.

Landoite said new fields, expected to start producing in offshore blocks Six, Seven and Eight and the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company B and C areas in the next three years, should add at least 50 000 bpd to overall output. B/10 am 313/92

The minister said Angola's policy was to increase exploration to determine geological structures and reserves.

Oil accounted for up to 85% of Angola's foreign exchange earnings.

Landoite said surveys were under way to find out exactly what the country's reserves were. Most of the oil is off Angola's northern coast.

"We may have fresh fields in Block Three very, very soon — tests are under way," he said. There was also interest in onshore areas, he said.

Surveys were being conducted onshore in the Cuanza area south of Luanda in Bengo Province.

Exploration contracts had also been signed with the US oil company Occidental for the northern onshore area in the Cabinda enclave and with British Petroleum for the central Cabinda area.

Landoite said he expected the exploration contract for the southern onshore Cabinda area to go to Petrofina.

Asked if there was likely to be any oil policy changes, the minister said the government was happy with the current situation in its dealings with foreign oil companies. — Sapa-Reuter.

M & R takes in Angola on path through Africa

JABULANI SIKHAKHANE

INDUSTRIAL holdings group Murray & Roberts (M & R) is positioning itself to play a major role in the rebuilding of the economies of southern African countries.

M & R said yesterday it had signed a protocol with the oil-rich province of Cabinda in Angola providing for M & R to assist with infrastructural projects.

The deal was signed in Johannesburg at the weekend by Cabinda governor Augusto Thomas and M & R CE Dave Brink.

Last month M & R signed a memorandum of understanding with Zambian local government and housing minister Michael Sata.

Sata signed a similar deal with financial services group Investec, which will act as an adviser on the restructuring and unbundling of Zambian government assets.

In Zambia M & R will incorporate a subsidiary to help with the reconstruction of Zambia's infrastructure, expected, according to Sata, to cost more than \$6.5bn.

M & R is also investigating business possibilities in Kenya, which has a free trade zone in Mombasa, and is already involved in Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana and Namibia.

In Cabinda M & R will assist with training in aspects of construction and engineering, supply of prefabricated houses, schools and hotels, and production of concrete bricks and blocks. It will also assist with harbour works and road construction, construction materials, agriculture and mining exploration.

The first prefabricated schools, hospitals and houses will be delivered in the next three months.

In a statement Thomas said Cabinda was the richest province in Angola with vast potential for development. "I believe M & R will be able to assist Cabinda in this regard and am looking forward to a close relationship with the group."

Brink said while the recent agreements represented an important initiative, they were not expected to have a substantial

□ To Page 2

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□ From Page 1

effect on M & R's bottom line, at least until the projects got off the ground.

He added that the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation spent billions of rands on project finance in southern Africa and they needed delivery mechanisms. The World Bank alone is estimated to

spent \$9bn a year financing projects on the subcontinent.

"We see ourselves as efficiently providing those delivery mechanisms. Cabinda and Zambia are obvious targets. Both have the fundamental ability to pay. Cabinda has oil and Zambia has copper and cobalt," Brink said.

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The first prefabricated schools, hospitals and houses will be delivered in the next three months.

In a statement Thomas said Cabinda was the richest province in Angola with vast potential for development. "I believe M & R will be able to assist Cabinda in this regard and am looking forward to a close relationship with the group."

Brink said while the recent agreements represented an important initiative, they were not expected to have a substantial

□ To Page 2

Angola

effect on M & R's bottom line, at least until the projects got off the ground.

He added that the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation spent billions of rands on project finance in southern Africa and they needed delivery mechanisms. The World Bank alone is estimated to

spent \$9bn a year financing projects on the subcontinent.

"We see ourselves as efficiently providing those delivery mechanisms. Cabinda and Zambia are obvious targets. Both have the fundamental ability to pay. Cabinda has oil and Zambia has copper and cobalt," Brink said.

□ From Page 1

8/1 Day 5/31.92

Sanctions leave US firms in Angolan cold

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — US businesses are asking President George Bush and Congress to lift US sanctions on Angola, arguing that they are giving SA and other countries an unfair competitive edge in the country.

The plea is opposed by Unita and its US supporters who contend that the sanctions — similar to those Bush has lifted from SA over the past year — are needed to force the MPLA to accept a date for elections.

Ironically, their reasoning is almost identical to the ANC's own argument for maintaining economic pressures on SA.

General Motors Africa sales director Stevan Koch complained to the House international trade policy subcommittee this week that SA and European trade delegations were "aggressively pursuing investment opportunities", while US companies were kept at the starting gate.

While GM was not considering direct investment in Angola at this stage, Koch said, the troubled car maker was anxious to export US-made vehicles but could not compete because the US government refused to subsidise exports to Angola.

Franklin Kennedy, president of partly

US-owned Equator Bank, said SA, Japanese and Portuguese companies were snapping up opportunities.

He noted that SA banks were already opening lines to the Banco Nacional de Angola and providing export insurance cover, while Pretoria had moved to exchange commercial representatives and reciprocal airline flight arrangements were being planned.

SA firms were "getting a foot in the door" by providing emergency relief and forming joint ventures with Angolan concerns "to take advantage of technical assistance contract and other future commercial opportunities".

Angola, to which the US has yet to grant diplomatic recognition, is subject to many of the same sanctions the Congress imposed on SA in the '80s.

US firms operating there are subject to double taxation provisions. Access to Exim financing is effectively barred and, until recently, the US administration was obliged to oppose Angolan requests for IMF and World Bank loans.

Barlows in R70m Angola mine deal

S Times [Buss] 8/3/92.

By CURT VON KEYSERLINGK

SOUTHERN African Caterpillar dealer Barlows Equipment Co this week concluded a \$25-million (about R70-million) agreement to supply mining equipment to Angola.

The machinery will go to State-owned diamond-mining company Endiama (Empresa Nacional de Diamantes de Angola).

It is thought to be the biggest deal yet for equipment exports from SA to Africa.

Alluvial

Endiama chairman Noé Balthazar says the company and its mining partners used to buy their requirements from South America, North America and Europe.

"This was not always satisfactory because of long lines of communication."

Political change has made SA a suitable partner.

The order is for the total equipment requirements of the Luzamba project — a major alluvial diamond ven-

ture. It is operated by Brazilian multinational Odebrecht in the Cuango River basin in North Lunda province on the Zaire border.

The mine is expected to recover 6,25-million carats of gems worth about \$1,5-billion in seven years. Part of the scheme is to provide 1 750 jobs and to improve health and education services in the area.

It is planned to establish a self-supporting community with its own water distribution and sewage disposal systems. An agricultural project will produce food and provide jobs. Electric power will come from Caterpillar diesel generators supplied by Barlows.

Initially the project will be supplied entirely by air.

A former military base is being converted for use as the mine's headquarters.

Mining in the area ceased eight years ago in the civil war.

Endiama Odebrecht Mining Services International (Odebrecht Servicos no Exte-

rior) has the rights to mine the area on its behalf.

Mr Balthazar considers the 88-month duration of the project to be its most important feature. Historically, mining contracts between Endiama and foreign firms have been short term.

Cranes

"For the first time we are establishing a partnership with an outside supplier for an extended period. It will allow the country to increase diamond production while training Angolan professionals in several fields," he says.

The project is the largest of proposed trade deals between Angola and Brazil.

Barlows Equipment Co and Barlows Engine Co will supply more than 60 Cat earthmoving machines and generator sets. New subsidiary Barlows Trading & Finance (BT&F) will supply concentrators, cranes, transformers, sub-stations, light-

ing towers, compressors and pump sets.

Technical back-up, on site and from SA, is part of the deal. Barlows will have technicians on site for the duration of the mining contract, with additional expertise available from the company's Southern African operations.

It has helped geologists in determining which deposits to mine first, provided preliminary production costing schedules and made equipment recommendations.

The vice-president of Odebrecht Mining Services Inc, Delmar Siqueira, says his company has been involved in Angola since 1984, including the Capanda hydro-electric power plant — one of southern Africa's largest construction projects.

Barlows Equipment Co is associated with Caterpillar dealerships in Botswana, Bulgaria, Lesotho, Namibia, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

Clive Parker, chairman of Barlow Rand Industries, says: "This is a major opportunity for our group which can lead to even greater involvement."



CLIVE PARKER: Big chance

Opportunity knocks for SA in Angola

5
ET 10/3/92

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Business Editor

THE infrastructure in Luanda is deteriorating fast and there are tremendous opportunities for SA firms to take part in projects funded by the World Bank and African Development Bank, says Paul Runge, manager of the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) for Africa.

Runge, who has just returned from Luanda, said SA was being "openly courted" to provide desperately needed expertise and give training in basic skills.

He was in Angola for a meeting at which Luanda Chamber of Commerce signed a formal agreement with Safto covering the exchange of delegations, documents and "all aspects of business and trade relations, with particular emphasis on training and export management in Angola."

But, Runge pointed out, a major conference organised by Safto on trade and investment in Southern Africa, planned for the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg this

month, has had to be postponed until April 28 and 29 when the outcome of the referendum is known.

Stressing that Safto was not a political organisation, Runge said it was a simple fact that if the result of the referendum was "No", key speakers from America, Europe, Zimbabwe, Zaire, Kenya, Botswana, the Ivory Coast and Angola would not come to the conference and it would have to be cancelled.

He pointed out that a "No" vote would make it embarrassing for the World Bank and African Development Bank to fund projects carried out by SA firms.

"They justify themselves now, when they are criticised for dealings with us, by saying that we are changing ..."

Discussing the situation in Luanda now, Runge said: "It is worsening, with the basic infrastructure breaking down.

"There are huge squatter camps. Desperate people are pouring in from the devastated countryside and there is no work for them.

"But the crime rate is not as high as one

would think and people are friendly.

"SA Airways is flying people into Luanda, but there is no accommodation available and prices are through the roof. A steak costs \$50.

"It is a tragic situation, but it means work for us to build things up again. They are desperate for SA to play a leading part.

"Everything is waiting for the elections in September. But the World Bank has already got cracking on preparations for rehabilitation."

Runge said the agricultural sector was among those which would have to be rehabilitated. SA could rebuild Angola's vanished dairy industry if the finance were available.

● Angola's state-owned diamond company Endiama has awarded a \$25m contract to Barlows Equipment Co, a division of the Barlows Rand, for the supply of mining equipment.

Reuter said the deal represented the biggest by South Africa for equipment exports into Africa.

A case for peaceful change

A STABLE political culture is likely to take some time to develop in Angola's newly-open society, but there is no shortage of the entrepreneurial spirit. DALE LAUTENBACH, of the Argus Africa News Service, reports from Luanda.

SIX MONTHS ago at the tip of the peninsula across the bay from the city there was a military base where surly soldiers barred your way.

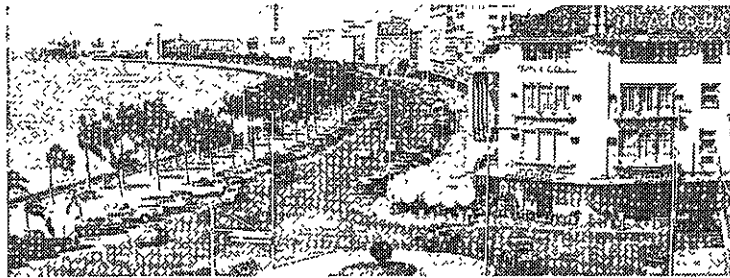
Now there is a mirrored disco ball above the open-air dance floor at Point Final and a cluster of tables serving very acceptable food and a range of beers from Namibia, South Africa and just about everywhere in the EEC.

The food outlets that have sprung up around Angola's capital are called "luncheonettes" but they do a pretty good job after dark, too.

The lowliest of them serve their fare from shipping containers while on the peninsula — which is really an island called, naturally enough, Ilha — a string of classier joints like Point Final do a pretty good plate at less than R30 counting your beer.

Luanda has changed remarkably since peace came to the country in May last year. It is not an ordered change from the top, not a change that has improved living conditions or mended seeping sewers and broken water-pipes.

It has nothing to do with good governance and everything to do with the spirit of people,



BAYVIEW: To South Africans of an earlier generation, one familiar aspect of the capital

from the worst opportunists to the best survivors.

And survive is what Angolans have learnt to do. Just as an aggressive parallel market saw people through the worst years of a worthless currency and a shortage of all consumer products in a badly-run centralised economy, this entrepreneurial spirit is now translating into a myriad initiatives like the luncheonettes and a few shops that are looking more like real shops nowadays.

There is also quite a bit of construction and renovation happening in Luanda as mainly Portuguese companies get a foot back in the door of this potentially richest of African countries.

They are not the only ones with an eye on Angola: the capital is alive with visitors looking for openings in the newly-liberalised market. A Western diplomat dismissed most as small-timers, "carpet-baggers". The general wisdom is that the big and serious investors will probably wait until after the multi-party elections due in September before committing themselves.

There has also been a noticeable increase in the flow of consumer products to the capital. Business people from Namibia and South Africa have been quick to spot a hungry market, be they one-off operators with a single truckload of soft drinks for sale or the bigger consumer manufacturers doing deals with an Angolan government desperate to sweeten the lot of its potential electorate.

This is nowhere more visible than in the enormous influx of beer into the capital.

"In the past six months the atmosphere has changed enormously," said a representative of a Canadian non-governmental organisation. "The emer-

gence of a civic society here is very exciting."

Historically, the Angolan government were suspicious of international non-governmental organisations (commonly known internationally as NGOs). Only in the past five years have they really been able to establish a working presence in the country. Now, with a new law on freedom of association permitting the emergence of civic groups, Angolan NGOs are springing up, organising themselves into a federation and beginning to outnumber the internationals.

At community level, people are finding expression through their churches, parent-teacher associations and a group similar to the YMCA.

Many of the problems that are finding expression now are the lack of basic needs like water, sanitation and education, particularly in the the *musseques* or squatter communities.

"This understanding of civic freedom has not been articulated in the political context yet," said the Canadian NGO worker. "It's surprising that the political parties have not exploited it. They haven't realised what a tremendous force there is in the community."

The Angolan Woman's Association, once a wing of the MPLA, seem to be breaking their party links, too, and seek a federation with the Unita women's movement. Other new local NGOs have sprung up around issues like Aids, orphans, rural development and hunger — but not yet human rights.

"The civic energy is there," said the Canadian. "I am amazed by the optimism of the people. During the worst parts of the war even there were flashes of hope, and there is a willingness to put everything in to make it work now."

Angola looks to mining

B/D ay 12/3/92

LUANDA — Angola is seeking foreign investment to develop its mining industry, which officials say has a huge untapped potential.

With an end to three decades of anti-colonial and civil war, Angolan geologists are setting out to determine just how much mineral wealth lies beneath the soil.

"We know the reserves are there, we just don't know how much, and that is going to be our first task ... everyone is confident there are huge reserves to be found," said the Angolan Secretary of State for Geology and Mining, Jose Dias.

Little exploration and surveying was done under Portuguese colonial rule up to 1974, while 16 years of post-independence civil war prevented any further geological work.

But with the signing of a peace accord between the government and rebels in May last year, geologists are fanning out to search for minerals and quantify reserves.

Angola's main mineral exports at the moment consist of diamonds — under threat from smuggling and illegal mining — and "ornamental stone" such as marble and black granite.

Dias said the government was placing priority on minerals that could generate hard currency in the short-term. These were diamonds, ornamental rocks, gold, quartz, phosphates, kaolin, and metals such as

copper, zinc, iron and manganese. The country also had mineral and medicinal waters, he added.

"However, some of these resources have had no evaluation made.

"And we also have other minerals like rare earths and energy-producing minerals," Dias said.

He said there had been considerable foreign interest, particularly from the SA mining giants and other international mining companies.

At independence from Portugal, the mining industry was "completely paralysed" through the withdrawal of technical experts and lack of training for Angolans, he said.

Marxism

Mining was placed under a directorate of the industry ministry, but it had become obvious that those who took over lacked suitability, Dias said.

In March last year, as the government ditched Marxism and central control for a market economy, a secretariat of geology and mines was formed to exploit some of the country's richest resources.

It now co-ordinates all mining activity in the country and draws up general mining policy.

"Our first concern was to draw up a mining law as the basic instrument to govern development of the mining

industry.

"The law covers three basic areas: prospecting and research, exploration and exploitation, and taxation," Dias said.

He said private, mixed or state companies could work alongside each other, with state enterprises no longer taking precedence.

"We arrived at the conclusion that state enterprises were fully concerned with administration — and were bad administrators," he added.

On taxation, Dias said a company which was awarded a fixed-period concession would pay a one-off tax covering the surface area.

"The rate works as a ratio of the given area and also a function of the amount of interest produced by a specific mineral.

"In the event of the concession being renewed or extended, the tax would be payable again."

Dias said the government would levy a royalty tax, varying between zero and 6% of production, while the finance ministry would levy a company tax on profits.

He said there was already a law governing the remittance of profits overseas, so no problems were foreseen in that area.

A number of companies had exploration contracts drawn up which were awaiting approval by the council of ministers. — Reuter.

Zimbabwe
STAR
signs deal
17/3/92
with Angola

HARARE — The Zimbabwe-Angola joint commission has signed a memorandum of association between the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) and the Central Bank of Angola and an agricultural protocol.

RBZ assistant general manager (exchange controls), Paul Sigauke said the issue of credit terms which hindered trade had been resolved.

Credit terms for consumer goods would now range from 90 to 180 days whilst terms for capital goods would range from one to seven years.

He said the inter-bank agreement would be finalised within the next 60 days.— Sapa.

Angola plans radical measures

LUANDA — The Angolan government plans new economic measures this year, including a 67% currency devaluation despite the approach of the country's first multiparty elections, Planning Minister Emanuel Carneiro said.

"Our government cannot be accused of electioneering over the economy," the minister said recently.

"We are going to be taking new measures this year that would make any government blanch in the run-up to an election — but our responsibility to the Angolan people means they have to be applied," he said.

Carneiro outlined the next stage — expected imminently — in a series of currency devaluations begun in 1991 which will leave Angola with two working rates against the US dollar.

These are an official exchange rate of 550 kwacha to the dollar compared to a current rate of 180, and a floating parallel rate for personal transactions close to the black market rate of around 1 500 kwacha to the dollar.

Carneiro said the MPLA would win the elections set for September and thus "we have to implement what may be unpopular measures regardless of the election campaign".

The MPLA and the main opposition Unita signed a peace accord last May ending 16 years of civil war and opening the way for elections this year.

Carneiro's view that the MPLA must push

ahead with unpopular reforms is not echoed by senior echelons in the party apparatus. Their opposition, however, has been defused temporarily by the recent reshuffle of the government's economic team.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos accepted the resignations of Finance Minister Aguinaldo Jaime and Central Bank governor Fernando Teizeiro, leaving Carneiro in control with the president's blessing to push ahead with reform.

"The results so far have fallen within our expectations, with some problems caused by our failure to obtain short-term credits allied to a hard currency cashflow crisis.

Arrears

"At the same time, we have been forced once again to print money to cover salary arrears — particularly for the military — and to rely on our own national resources to pre-pay imports," Carneiro said.

Economists in Luanda said although Angola's balance of trade showed a \$2bn surplus due to its oil income, the balance of payments was in deficit because of huge outlays on transport and post-war construction.

Carneiro said current foreign debt amounted to nearly \$9bn, of which \$1bn was in short-term credits.

"The government has been trying to meet payments on short-term debt, but not at entire-

ly satisfactory levels, while much of the medium and long-term debt is guaranteed by oil production and will be met," he said.

The \$9bn was the equivalent of Angola's GDP for 1991, of which \$3.9bn was earned from oil.

The international community is reluctant to issue new credits in the pre-election period, both because of a possible change in government and the belief that corruption has increased to the point where some diplomats speak of Angola "going the way of Zaire".

The short-term solution of printing money has led to soaring inflation — figures for Luanda produced last week showed an annualised inflation rate for February of 13.7% and 24.1% for January.

"This shows that once again the currency has lost its value, hence the need for further measures to counteract the situation."

Carneiro noted a debt rescheduling, "which could be a substantial help to our balance of payments, will only occur after we have reached agreement with the IMF".

"The foreign exchange situation is critical, so we must reach rapid agreement, but I can say that negotiations are under way and our relations, particularly with the World Bank, are excellent," Carneiro said.

But he added that economic reform also had to "take into account the national realities" and could not just be put mechanically into place. — Sapa-Reuter.

BiDay 18/3/92

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Was Jonas Savimbi an Idi Amin?

5 APR 24/3/92

THE 26-year-old Unita movement in Angola could be on the brink of collapse with diehard faithfuls from the very heart of the organisation calling leader Jonas Savimbi to question for human rights abuses.

And in the subsequent flurry of statements and accusations between Savimbi and his challengers, the Unita leader has admitted to killings of some of the organisation's top leaders last year, according to independent news sources in Luanda.

"There will be a certain time and place to defend the organisation," Savimbi was reported as saying late last week.

It seems, however, that he might have a harder time keeping the lid on the can of worms than before. Formerly pro-Unita journalist and Savimbi biographer Fred Bridgland has reacted to the admission saying it places Savimbi "in the Idi Amin league".

"The time has come for the United States and the West to pull the rug from under Savimbi. This man has now shown himself in the Idi Amin league. But worse because Amin was an ill-educated sergeant and Savimbi is an intelligent and highly educated man who posed as a moral force in Angola," said the author of "Savimbi: A Key to Africa".

The unravelling began when General Miguel N'Zau Puna and General Tony da Costa Fernandes, respectively Unita's shadow interior minister and foreign affairs spokesman, defected in the last days of February and early this month seeking refuge in Lisbon and subsequently Paris.

A Portuguese newspaper, quoting the Angolan state daily Journal de Angola, said the two had professed themselves not anti-Unita as such but against Savimbi's leadership.

Their defections, they said, were motivated by the desire to "unleash from the bosom of Unita itself a movement aimed at democratic elections for the leadership".

Much more likely to attract the attention of the international community, however, was the demand made by Fernandes, co-founder of Unita with Savimbi in 1966, that an independent commission investigate the "disappearance and subsequent deaths" of two senior Unita office bearers.

It is not the first time Unita has been accused of human rights abuses, the burning of witches among them, and not the first time that the names of Tito Chingundji and Wilson dos Santos, formerly Unita representatives in the United States and Portugal, have been mentioned as victims. Fred Bridgland incurred the wrath of the Unita leader

Two senior defectors from the Angolan opposition movement Unita and a new scrutiny of human rights abuses in the organisation could threaten the all-powerful reign of its leader. The Argus Africa News Service's DALE LAUTENBACH reports from Windhoek.



when in 1989 he publically questioned the whereabouts and safety of Chingundji and Dos Santos after reliable reports began emerging the previous year that the two Unita envoys had fallen into disavowal at Savimbi's bush headquarters in Jamba, south-east Angola.

The contents of the Chingundji file remained the concern of a few people only. The US — where Savimbi's image as a democratic leader has been carefully nurtured with the help of top-flight PR agencies and where the government continued to back Unita militarily until the end of the war in May last year and financially even later — failed to demand an explanation.

Now Fernandes has opened the file again and it was reported that he and General Puna, Savimbi's number two in the bush for a quarter of a century, were to attend a commemorative mass for Chingundji and Dos Santos in Lisbon on Sunday.

The report from Luanda of Savimbi's admission that there were killings in Jamba last year says Chingundji and Dos Santos were among the dead but it does not clarify whether this too was admitted by Savimbi. It is widely held that the killings occurred in August after the ceasefire in the 16-year civil war between Unita and the Angolan government.

Unita is operating from Luanda now, a chaotic but open

place. The sort of controls on Unita members which were in place at Jamba are just not possible in this post-war society; there is access to the international community and across party political lines. Coincidentally too as this human rights story warms up again, there is reportedly an Amnesty International team in Luanda questioning Unita, among others factions.

"If Tito Chingundji has been killed, it can only have been with the approval of Savimbi," said Mr Bridgland whose closeness to the movement he once believed was the moral alternative for Angola is well known and has earned him much criticism in the past.

"Savimbi exercises iron-fisted control over Unita. If Chingundji is dead, he's proven himself the monster that some people have always said he was and which I've always disputed."

Savimbi has already responded to the defections by accusing both the Angolan and Portuguese governments of complicity and by asserting that generals Puna and Fernandes, both natives of the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda, had defected to the separatist movement there, Flec.

The Unita leader accused the Portuguese government of exploiting internal divisions in Angola's political parties to help the MPLA government win the general elections scheduled for September.

The Angolan government has kept a low profile in the affair although the defectors reportedly sought its help in their flight.

Far from being smug about events which are threatening the very existence of Unita, however, the government appears worried.

In the words of one government source, "It takes two to tango." Unita and the MPLA are joint signatories of the Angolan peace accord, a complicated document designed to take the country to its first multiparty elections with the support of the UN, the US, Portugal and Russia.

If one of the major players collapses, it could have severe implications for the peace process.

Mr Bridgland, who spent nearly a decade writing the Savimbi biography, believes Savimbi will fight like a cornered rat. "Knowing his style he'll try to fob (responsibility for the killings) on to someone else. I've heard rumours that he intends blaming N'Zau Puna. But nothing happens in Unita without Savimbi's approval. He's set up a Messianic movement in which the word of one man goes."

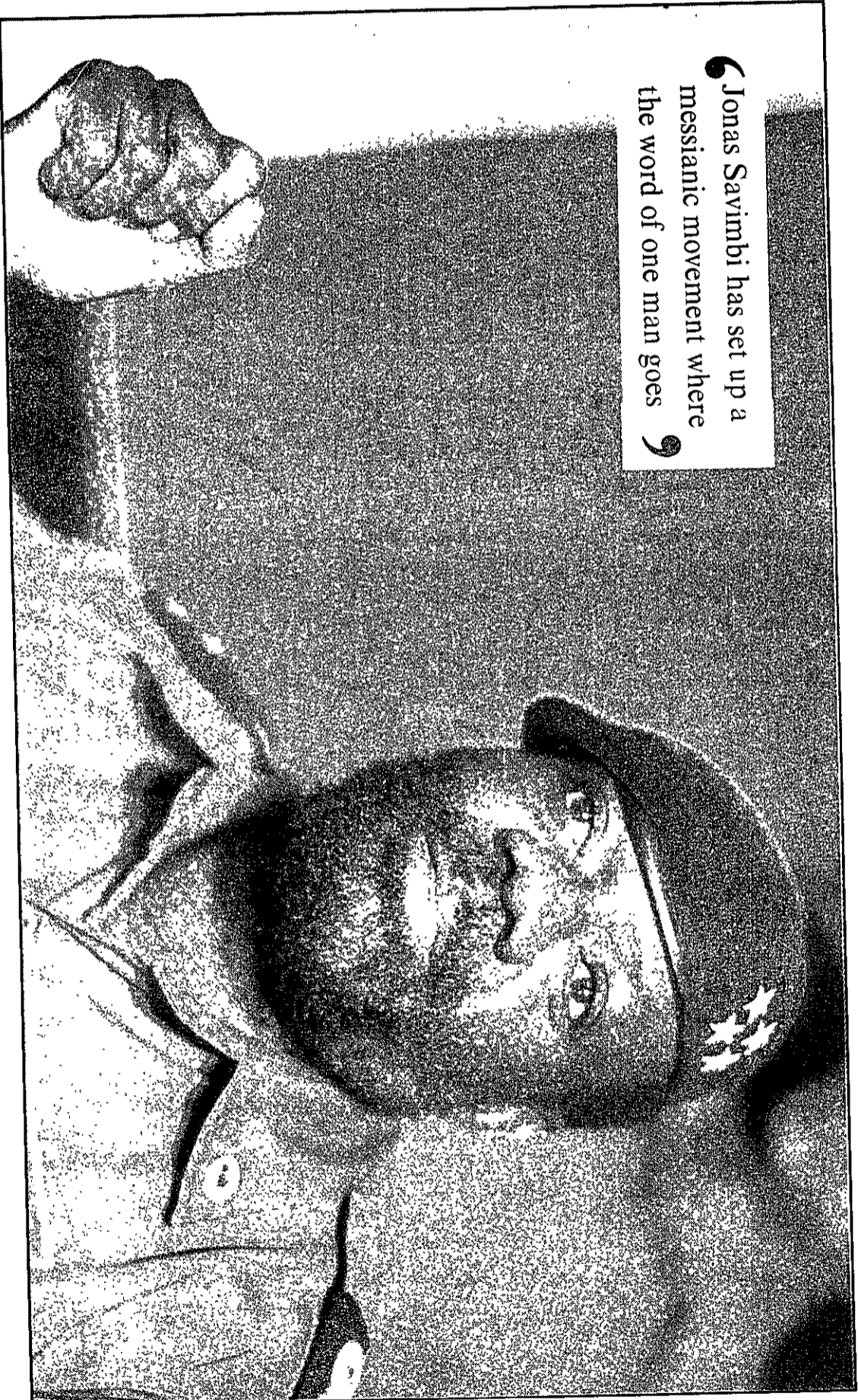
A moral force or a monster?

Two senior defections from the Angolan opposition movement Unita and a new scrutiny of human rights abuses in the organisation could threaten the all-powerful reign of its leader, reports DALE LAUTENBACH of The Star Africa Service.

STAR 24/3/92

(5)

Jonas Savimbi has set up a messianic movement where the word of one man goes



THE 26-year-old Unita movement in Angola could be on the brink of collapse, with diehard faithfuls from the very heart of the organisation calling its leader, Jonas Savimbi, to question for human rights abuses.

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Moral dilemma . . .
Unita rebel movement leader Jonas Savimbi has admitted to the killings of some of the movement's top leaders — but says there will still be a time and place to defend his organisation.

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bush headquarters in Jamba, south-east Angola. The Chingundji file was never closed but its contents remained the concern of only a few people. The US, where Dr Savimbi's image as a demagogue nurtured with the help of top-flight public relations agencies, and where the government continued to back Unita militarily until the end of the war in May last year and financially even until now — has failed to demand an explanation.

Now Mr Fernandes has opened the Chingundji file again. The report from Luanda of Dr Savimbi's admission that there were killings in Jamba last year said Mr Chingundji and Mr dos Santos were among the dead, but it does not clarify whether this too was admitted by Dr Savimbi. It is widely held that the killings were in August last year — tellingly, after the ceasefire in the 16-year civil war between Unita and the Angolan government.

Perhaps the difference between the 1989 reports and this time is that Dr Savimbi is no longer operating from Jamba, a place perfectly designed in the interests of military and civil control and accessible by Unita invitation only.

Units is now operating from Luanda, where Jamba-like control is just not possible. There is access to the international community and across party-political lines and, coincidentally, there is reportedly an Amnesty International team in Luanda questioning Unita, among others.

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United Nations to expand peace mission in Angola (S)

STAR 25/3/92
NEW YORK — The UN Security Council yesterday unanimously approved expansion of an existing UN peace-keeping operation in Angola to enable it to monitor elections in September. The UN Angola Verification Mission II, at present consisting of 440 military and police observers, plus support staff, was set up to monitor peace accords signed last May by Angola's government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita). (S)

STAR 25/3/92
The electoral assistance, which Angola requested, will require about 100 foreigners. — Sapa-Reuter.

Two senior defections from the Angolan opposition movement Unita and a new scrutiny of human rights abuses in the organisation could threaten the all-powerful reign of leader Jonas Savimbi. DALE LAUTENBACH of Sowetan Africa News Service reports.

Savimbi reign facing threat

WINDHOEK - The 26-year-old Unita movement in Angola could be on the brink of collapse with diehard faithfuls from the very heart of the organisation calling leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to question for human rights abuses.

And in the subsequent flurry of statements and accusations exchanged between Savimbi and his challengers, the Unita leader has admitted to killings of some of the organisation's top leaders last year, according to independent news sources in Luanda.

"There will be a certain time and place to defend the organisation," Savimbi was reported as saying late last week.

It seems, however, that Savimbi might have a harder time keeping the lid on the can of worms than before.

Formerly pro-Unita journalist and Savimbi biographer Fred Bridgland has reacted to the admission saying that it places Savimbi "in the Idi Amin league".

"The time has come for the United States and the West to pull the rug from under Savimbi. This man has now shown himself to be in the Idi Amin league but worse because Amin was an ill-educated sergeant and Savimbi is an intelligent and highly educated man who posed as a moral force in Angola," said the author of Savimbi: A Key to Africa.

All this recent apparent unravelling began when General Miguel N'Zau Puna and General Tony da Costa Fernandes, respectively Unita's shadow interior minister and foreign affairs spokesman, defected in the last days of February and early this month seeking refuge in Lisbon and subsequently Paris.

A Portuguese newspaper, quoting the Angolan state daily Jornal de Angola, said the two had professed themselves not anti-Unita as such but against the leadership of Savimbi. Their defections were motivated by the desire to "unleash from the bosom of Unita itself a movement aimed at democratic elections for the leadership".

Much more likely to attract the attention of the international community, however, particularly Unita's backers in Washington, was the demand made by Fernandes, co-founder of Unita with Savimbi in 1966, that an independent commission investigate the "disappearance and subsequent

deaths" of two senior Unita office bearers.

It is not the first time Unita has been accused of human rights abuses, the burning of witches among them, and not the first time that the names of Mr Tito Chingundji and Mr Wilson dos Santos, formerly Unita representatives in the United States and Portugal respectively, have been mentioned as victims.

Bridgland incurred the wrath of the Unita leader when in 1989 he publicly questioned the whereabouts and safety of Chingundji and Dos Santos following reliable reports that had begun emerging the previous year that the two Unita envoys had fallen into disfavour at Savimbi's bush headquarters in Jamba, south-east Angola.

The Chingundji file was never closed after that but its contents remained the concern of a few people only.

The US, where Savimbi's image as a democratic leader has been carefully nurtured with the help of top-flight public relations agencies and where the government continued to back Unita militarily until the end of the war in May last year and financially even until now, failed to demand an explanation.

Now Fernandes has opened the Chingundji file again and it was reported that he and General Puna, who was Savimbi's No 2 in the bush for a quarter of a century, were to have attended a commemorative mass for Chingundji and Dos Santos in Lisbon on Sunday.

The report from Luanda of Savimbi's admission that there were killings in Jamba last year, says that Chingundji and Dos Santos were among the dead but it does not clarify whether this too was admitted by Savimbi.

It is widely held that the killings were in August last year, tellingly, after the ceasefire in the 16-year civil war between Unita and the Angolan government.

Perhaps the difference between the 1989 reports and this time is that Savimbi is no longer operating from Jamba, a place perfectly designed in the interests of military and civil control and accessible by Unita invitation only.

All those who have been to Jamba, including this correspondent, can testify that there is no move you can make there to escape the shadow of your Unita minder.

Unita is operating from Luanda now, a chaotic but consequently open place. Jamba-like control is just not possible in this post-war society, there is access



Jonas Savimbi is being called to order by his most trusted leadership.

to the international community and across party political lines.

Coincidentally too as this human rights story warms up again, there is reportedly an Amnesty International team in Luanda questioning Unita among others.

"If Tito Chingundji has been killed, it can only have been with the approval of Savimbi," said Bridgland.

whose closeness to the movement he once believed was the moral alternative for Angola is well known and has earned him much criticism in the past. "Savimbi exercises iron-fisted control over Unita. If Chingundji is dead he's proven himself the monster that some people have always said he was and which I've always disputed." Savimbi has already re-

sponded to the defections by accusing both the Angolan and Portuguese governments of complicity and by asserting that generals Puna and Fernandes, both natives of the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda, had defected to the separatist movement there, Flec.

According to reports of a one-hour statement made by Savimbi in Luanda last week, the Unita leader ac-

cusied the Portuguese government of exploiting internal divisions in Angola's political parties to help the MPLA government win the general elections in September this year.

The Angolan government has kept a publicly low profile in the affair, although the defectors reportedly sought government protection in their flight.

Far from being smug about events which are threatening the very existence of Unita, however, the government appears worried.

In the words of one government source "It takes two to tango." Unita and the MPLA are joint signatories of the Angolan peace accord, an immensely complicated document designed to take the country to its first multiparty elections with the United Nations, the US, Portugal and Russia on hand in a supportive capacity.

If one of the major players collapses, it could have severe implications for the peace process.

Bridgland, who spent nearly a decade writing the Savimbi biography, much of it, ironically, with Tito Chingundji's help, believes Savimbi will fight like a cornered rat.

"Knowing his style he'll try to fob (responsibility for the killings) on to someone else. I've heard rumours that he intends blaming N'Zau Puna but as I said, nothing happens in Unita without Savimbi's approval. He's set up a messianic movement in which the word of one man goes."

The Patron, Mary Slack, and the Board Members of Johannesburg Dance Foundation, wish to congratulate all the nominees for, and winners of the 1991 A. A. Vita Contemporary Dance Awards - in particular Johannesburg Dance Foundation graduates and company members:

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Angolans hope talks in SA will spur investment

STAR 26/3/92

Political Staff **S**

CAPE TOWN — Military and humanitarian aid for Angola dominated talks between President de Klerk and a top-level mission from Luanda yesterday, but Angolan sources hoped the meeting would go further in encouraging South African investment.

Money and skills remain Angola's most critical requirements. Most essential services are run-down.

The South African Government has already made it clear it does not have spare cash to help on the scale Angola needs, but investment

from South African business remains a largely untapped resource.

Sources in the delegation hoped the meeting with President de Klerk would send a positive signal to South Africa's business community.

Yesterday's meeting at Tuynhuys followed a meeting on Tuesday between the leader of the delegation, Angolan Defence Minister Colonel-General Pedro Maria Tonha, and SA Minister of Defence Roelf Meyer.

This meeting focused largely on a South African programme in Angola to train soldiers to lift landmines left over from the war. Large areas have been rendered uninhabitable by the landmines.

An inventory of humanitarian aid from

South Africa was also discussed.

Mr Meyer said yesterday: "We have already started the training in Angola on how to lift these mines."

President de Klerk said: "All the announced programmes are being implemented. Details are being negotiated."

Mr de Klerk's talks with General Tonha come just days before the reopening of a South African office in Luanda.

A member of the Angolan delegation, Manuel Augusto, has been designated as Luanda's representative in South Africa.

The Angolan army and Unita are to begin a two-month demobilisation on March 31, part of the preparation for multi-party elections scheduled for September.

Angola urges stronger ties with SA

CAPE TOWN — Regional co-operation between SA and Angola was in the interests of the whole southern African region, Angolan deputy foreign minister Joao Bernardo de Miranda, said yesterday.

"Given our recent past, this visit is regarded by us as a top symbol of our new relationship with SA," he said before having brief talks with his SA counterpart Renier Schoeman.

"In the wake of the transformations taking place in both countries, may we project our region world-

wide. This is the best weapon for what would be in the best interests of the region."

Schoeman said this was the third time this year ministers of the two countries had met, which pointed to the increased importance attached to SA's relations with Angola.

"We have always acknowledged the importance of Angola. SA stands ready to do whatever we can to help the country exploit its full potential. It is a high priority for us, particularly in view of the financial advantages." — Sapa.

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B/Daw 27/3/92

Death threats won't stop Unita's peace bid

⑤ NT 27/3/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Unita says it is still committed to peace and democracy in Angola, despite reports of a plot to kill the group's leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

In a statement distributed here yesterday, unconfirmed Portuguese press reports about an Angolan plan to murder Dr Savimbi were linked to the defections of two top Unita officials.

"These reports cast new light on the defection of two senior Unita officials last month," said the statement, which was signed by Unita's Washington representative Mr Jardo Muekalia.

Diplomats said the departures of Mr Miguel N'zau Puna and Mr Tony da Costa Fernandes, respectively Unita's

Angola-SA links 'beneficial'

REGIONAL co-operation between South Africa and Angola was in the interests of the whole Southern African region, the Angolan Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Joao Bernardo de Miranda, said yesterday.

"Given our recent past, this visit is regarded by us as a top symbol of our new relationship with South Africa," he said before having brief talks with his SA counterpart, Mr Renier Schoeman. — Sapa

former head of security and former head of foreign affairs, have deeply embarrassed the group, which hopes to win Angola's first multi-party elections in September.

Unita has accused Mr Fernandes of blackmail and Mr Puna of causing the deaths of two other Unita leaders who have disappeared.

Call for Unita to explain disappearances

WASHINGTON — The United States yesterday called on Unita to explain the disappearance — and reported deaths — of two of its senior officials.

The call came after the Washington Post newspaper reported that Unita leader Jonas Sa-

vimbi had confirmed reports that serious human rights abuses had taken place within his movement.

State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler said the administration was unable to confirm independently

that the two prominent Unita officials were killed but noted "recent reports about the deaths of these individuals appear increasingly credible".

The two men are Tito Chingunji and Wilson dos Santos. — Sapa-Reuter.

Fear in a handful of dust

W/Mail 23/12 - 29/12/92

War in Angola and Mozambique, political changes in Malawi and Zambia — and drought allround.

ANDY MELDRUM
reviews 1992 in southern Africa

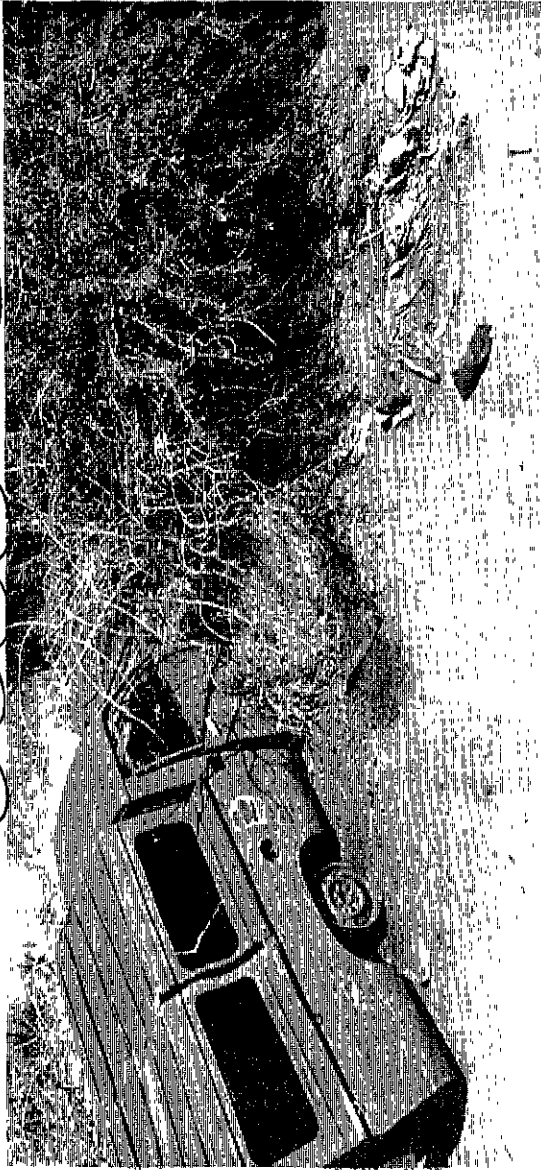
ANGOLA'S elusive quest for peace and Mozambique's determination not to repeat the same mistakes marked 1992 as a transitional year for southern Africa. While the entire region coped with the drought, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe continued their journeys towards more democratic systems.

Throughout most of the year it appeared that Angola was far ahead of Mozambique in the race for peace. Angola achieved a ceasefire and peace process leading to elections before Mozambique's interminable negotiations in Rome had even produced a cessation of violence.

But by the time the results of Angola's elections were announced in early October, the whole settlement quickly unravelled as Jonas Savimbi's Unita rejected the outcome and fighting erupted throughout the country.

As 1992 came to a close Unita had taken control of the provincial capitals of southern and central Angola, where its ethnic support is based, and had also taken key positions in northern Angola. Despite Unita's return to the government of two northern cities and Savimbi's conciliatory statements, it appears highly probable that Unita will attempt to seize control of the entire country before January 20, when Bill Clinton becomes US president.

The Bush administration has withheld its recognition of the newly elect-



The famished road ... A victim of the hell-ride from Komatiipoort to Maputo

ed Angolan government, making it easier for Savimbi to wrest control.

At the same time, there are gathering rumours that the MPLA, under pressure from military hardliners, is preparing for a massive new year offensive to drive Unita back to its traditional strongholds.

The sinister hand of South Africa's Department of Military Intelligence (MI) cannot be ruled out as a factor in Angola. Known MI agents were with Savimbi throughout his election campaign and afterwards. The frontline states have accused South African planes of repeatedly violating their airspace, charging that South Africa's C-130 jets are flying heavy artillery and tanks to Unita-held areas. That equipment could well be used in an assault on Luanda.

The violence, chaos and despair in Angola at the end of 1992 contrasts sharply with the guarded optimism prevailing in Mozambique. Although its ceasefire only took effect in November, Mozambique rapidly learned the mistakes made in Angola and appears to be sprinting towards a lasting settlement.

Both the Frelimo government and the Renamo rebels have stated their commitment to the peace process and open elections. Even more decisively in favour of peace has been the United Nation's decision to send 7 500 personnel to Mozambique — it sent 800 people to Angola.

The UN special envoy to Mozambique, Aldo Ajello, has taken a high profile and is determined to see the UN force push Mozambique towards a genuine settlement. Admitting the UN made mistakes in Angola, Ajello insists the international force in Mozambique will not permit the election campaign to begin until all military forces are disarmed and dispersed from their camps.

Clearly, Mozambique's peace timetable, which calls for elections in October 1993, is unrealistic as it is already behind schedule in several key regards. In Angola, such lapses from the timetable were glossed over by the UN monitors, but in Mozambique Ajello has stipulated that a lengthier time frame must be set, giving the country at least 18 months to prepare for elections.

Political developments were not as decisive in the rest of the region, although drought continued to bring misery to millions and sap economic development. Millions of tons of food were imported to avert famine.

Malawi experienced tumult as activists pressed for an end to the one-party stranglehold in which President for Life Hastings Banda has held the country. Although Banda's regime is still firmly in control, former leaders like Chakufwa Chihana, now jailed, challenge the system, and it will be hard to turn back the clock.

In Zambia, the new government of President Frederick Chiluba struggled to run the bankrupt country more justly and efficiently than his predecessor, Kenneth Kaunda. As cholera broke out again in Zambia, the jury is still out on whether Chiluba's government can achieve real improvements in the living standards of Zambians.

Zimbabwe's political situation remained largely static, with President Robert Mugabe's government widely unpopular in the cities, but with no effective opposition to pose a challenge to it.

There are hopeful signs of economic recovery in Angola, writes Colin Legum

Light at end of a long tunnel

STAFF 30/3/72

(5)

ANGOLA is still on course for holding its first democratic elections in September since its independence in 1975.

Meanwhile, though, serious difficulties remain between the MPLA government and its main opposition, Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita, over conditions for the elections.

Unita boycotted a national conference of 26 parties and the Catholic Church, called by the government to formulate conditions for the elections. (The Protestant Churches refused to take part on the grounds that to do so would provoke divisions rather than facilitate a peaceful transition.)

Dr Savimbi claimed the conference breached the terms of the Bicesse Agreement between Unita and the MPLA which established the Joint Political Military Commission (CCPM) with exclusive powers to determine conditions for the transition.

Unita also objects to a proposal that Angolan exiles should be al-

lowed to vote. There are some three million exiles still living in neighbouring countries.

Two positive developments are agreement between the MPLA and Unita over a semi-presidential style of government, and their acceptance of a possible coalition government irrespective of the outcome of the elections.

Angola's shattered economy is slowly beginning to show signs of recovery almost a year after the end of the devastating 15 years of civil war. What gives most encouragement for the future is the interest being shown by foreign investors, including the multi-national oil companies which are negotiating agreements to develop further the country's rich petroleum resources.

The most dramatic change has been in the relations between the MPLA government and its one-time bitter enemy, South Africa, which through its military support for Unita contributed in large measure to Angola's critical destabilisation. The two countries have now

established diplomatic relations and economic co-operation has begun to develop.

Welcoming the change in relations, Angola's Foreign Minister said on the signing of a diplomatic accord with South Africa: "We are trying hard to forget the past."

The state-owned *Empresa Nacional e Diamantes de Angola* (Endiama) has completed a \$25-million (R62 million) agreement with the South African Barlow's Equipment Co for the supply of mining equipment which was formerly imported from North and South America and Europe.

Endiama's chairman, Noe Baltazar, said the deal would benefit Angola because the transport routes were so much shorter. Supplies from South Africa will be by air. The equipment will be used to develop the new alluvial diamond venture at Luanda which is operated by the Brazilian multinational Odebrecht Mining Services International.

The mine is expected to recover 6.25 million carats of diamonds worth \$1.5 billion over a seven-year

period. This project is the largest of Brazil's investments in Angola.

The National bank of Angola has allocated \$5 million (about R14 million) to purchase rolling stock from South Africa, which is seen as the beginning of a lucrative export trade connected with the rehabilitation of the transport system.

A formal trade agreement has been signed between the Luanda Chamber of Commerce and the South African Foreign Trade Organisation (Safro) which is planning to hold a conference in Johannesburg on trade and investment in Southern Africa next month.

After visiting Luanda, Safro's manager, Paul Runge, reported that South Africa was being courted to provide investment and training for Angola.

South Africa's two most important competitors for trade and investment are Portugal and Brazil. The Portuguese Central bank has signed agreements worth over \$90 million with its Angolan counterpart for the purpose, *inter alia*,

of arranging control exchange rates for oil shipments.

Portugal imports at least 20 000 barrels of oil per day from Angola.

Portugal also provides export credits which are set to rise to \$330 million later this year. Portuguese banks are being allowed to open branches in Angola, and talks have begun about the complete restructuring of the country's banking system.

Dr Savimbi has expressed concern about "Brazilian domination" of Angola's economy. He promised that if Unita came to power Portugal would be given preferences in certain areas.

However, there has been no great interest shown by most Brazilian investors although the government is actively pursuing a policy of expanding Brazil's involvement in the Angolan economy through joint ventures with Portugal.

Apart from Odebrecht's major project in the Luanda alluvial diamond venture, its main under-

taking is the huge Capanda dam, which began as a joint venture with the former USSR. Brazil is now looking for more reliable partners to replace the Russians.

Angola owes the former USSR about R6.5 billion, mainly for the arms supplied since independence. Dr Savimbi insists that Luanda is not to be held responsible for the debt incurred, mainly in the context of the war against Unita. The question of settling this debt will soon be taken up with the new Russian government.

The Spanish Prime Minister, Felipe Gonzalez, promised during his recent visit to Luanda that Angola would be a "privileged partner for Spain" in keeping with its relations with Latin American countries. Spain's principal interest in Angola has so far been in fisheries.

Its previous agreement has been replaced by that of the European Community which largely favours Spanish fishing fleets. Spain has provided loans to the value of \$430 million, including a "tiding-over" loan.

US demands that Savimbi answer murder allegations

SIMON BARBER (5)

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State James Baker has written to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi demanding a full accounting for the disappearance of the movement's former Washington representative Tito Chingunji, and other alleged human rights violations.

Baker warns that, left unresolved, the questions could inhibit the Angolan peace process and hopes for UN-supervised elections in September.

Baker also makes it clear he is not satisfied with Unita's claim that two high-level defectors, former secretary-general N'zau Puna and former foreign minister Tony Fernandes, were responsible for the abuses.

In an unusual turnabout, it is the administration — long a loyal backer of the Angolan rebel movement — that has taken the lead in voicing concern about Unita's human rights record, rather than congressional Democrats.

State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler has described as "increasingly credible" reports that Chingunji and another senior Unita official, Wilson dos Santos, were murdered.

US aid is continuing to flow to Unita, but officials insist the aid is available to all other Angolan parties and is solely designed to help the movement implement last May's peace accord and prepare for elections. Hitherto, the administration has avoided lending credence to widespread reports of Unita atrocities — including the murder of dissidents and "witch" burnings — fearing that to do so might lead the MPLA to conclude it still had some alternatives to accepting a negotiated settlement and elections. *B. 10/24 3/13/92*

The administration continues to apply a variety of sanctions to the MPLA government, including restrictions on aid and denial of access to Export-Import Bank and Overseas Private Investment Corporation finance — at Unita's request. *3/13/92*

Savimbi fans

Killed henchman

WASHINGTON - Supporters of Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi tortured to death the organisation's former chief foreign spokesman, Mr Pedro "Tio" Chingunji.

Several members of Chingunji's family were also tortured, according to a report in the *Washington Post* by Fred Bridgland, who covers Southern Africa for the *Sunday Telegraph* in London.

Bridgland, author of a laudatory biography of Savimbi, said the "wall of lies" around the Unita leader began to crumble when two of the organisation's top politburo members fled to Portugal re-

Sowetan Foreign News Service

3/13/92

cently in fear of their lives and revealed details of the gruesome bloodbath in which Chingunji and many others succumbed.

According to Bridgland, Chingunji had told him in September 1988 that he feared being killed because he had confirmed reports that his parents were beaten to death on Savimbi's instructions after the elderly couple had confronted the Unita leader with reports that some of their other children had been executed.

In November 1988, Chingunji and all other Unita foreign representa-

tives were ordered to return to Jamba, the organisation's bush "capital", for consultations. Although friends had urged Chingunji not to go, he went - and was never seen again.

"The first overt sign of trouble came when Unita announced he (Chingunji) had been demoted from his leadership posts. Soon, I was inundated in London with calls from his friends in Europe and America asking me to go to Jamba to find out what had happened.

"I agreed - and stepped into one of the most bizarre and sad encounters of my life," Bridgland says.

"On the night of December 21 1988, I was ushered past guards toting AK-47 assault rifles into a circular conference hut in Jamba. Savimbi was sitting in a big red chair facing 13 pistol-packing members of his politburo.

"Chingunji, his face a mask of fear, sat in the middle. We hardly dared look at each other, much less say anything."

Bridgland said Savimbi had exploded and berated him for more than two hours, during which he had also taunted Chingunji. During this time Chingunji had interrupted several times to utter disjointed praise of Savimbi. "Then

Bridgland was escorted out of the hut.

"As I walked to my hut under millions of stars twinkling like diamonds in the African sky, I heard the sound of politburo laughter mocking me. I began writing notes on the encounter," Bridgland said.

"When I got back to London, I worked with diplomats and human rights groups to save Chingunji. But I never saw him again. Now he, his wife and tiny children are dead, victims of a man of immense potential who has been overcome by megalomania. It is a tragic and disgusting waste of one of Africa's finest young men."

US demands Unita answers charges of murder, rights abuse

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State James Baker has written to Angolan Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to seek an explanation of charges of murder and human rights abuses in Unita.

State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler did not disclose the contents of the let-

STAR 3/13/92
ter but said "the issue of alleged Unita human rights abuses has been a part of our ongoing dialogue with Unita.

"We have called upon Unita to address these allegations, including the welfare and whereabouts of two former Unita officials," she added.

5 The men are reported to have been killed.

The Washington Post said yesterday that Mr Baker had warned that failure to address charges of abuses could derail Angola's ceasefire and UN-supervised elections scheduled for September. — Sapa-Reuter.

Amicability now — but once they slugged it out

STAR 31/3/92

(5) ~~254~~

GENERAL Kat Liebenberg and General Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale first crossed each others' paths in Angola and they did so in anger — not personal anger but the detached yet deadly anger of war.

When they met again last week it was in Cape Town and in a spirit of utmost amicability, over grilled sole or something similar and, no doubt, a bottle of good Cape wine.

As soldiers, the generals fought each other in war with dedication but probably never with personal animosity. The fighting was ferocious, though, for nothing less than the future of southern Africa — indeed, of all of Africa in some ways — seemed to be at stake when the SADF was locked in battle with Angolan and Cuban forces armed with modern Soviet weapons in the Angolan bush in 1977 and 1988.

With hindsight, it now seems that much of the fighting may have been unnecessary since the will to sustain the conflict was already waning in Moscow, without whose supplies the Cubans and the MPLA could not have carried on fighting the SADF. At the time, however, glasnost had not gone far enough for Pretoria to gamble on it curbing the Cubans.

As chief of the South African Army, General Liebenberg had a key role in directing the South African troops who fought at Lomba River, Cuito Cuanavale, and other places that were then household names in South Africa.

General Liebenberg, studying beflagged maps at the battlefield in Angola and in Pretoria (where sometimes, no doubt, he had President Botha breathing down his neck), was engrossed in trying to outfox General Pedale.

And General Pedale, as chief of the MPLA government's forces, was no doubt studying beflagged maps in Luanda (with Soviet and Cuban officers breathing down his neck) and thinking of ways to outwit General Liebenberg — and, of course, his own opposite number, General Jannie Geldenhuys, then SADF chief.

That was less than five years ago, yet it seems like a decade at least, so far and so fast have events moved since then. South Africa and Cuba have withdrawn

Out of Africa

GERALD L'ANGE



their troops from Angola, Namibia is independent, and the MPLA and Unita have signed a ceasefire and agreed to an election. Reform is far advanced in South Africa. Pretoria and Luanda are about to restore diplomatic relations and to begin trade. The SADF may even help train the new combined Angolan army!

In this situation it seems quite natural that General Pedale, while in South Africa with an Angolan government delegation, should sit down to lunch in Cape Town with General Liebenberg. Both are hard men who give the impression of looking at life unsmilingly through their thick spectacles. Yet there must have been some twinkles behind the lenses during that lunch.

What one would have given to be a fly on the wall there! Not having that facility, one can only speculate that the conversation might have gone something like this:

Pedale: Your planes certainly gave us a pasting at the Lomba River. We would have smashed right through Unita had it not been for them.

Liebenberg: Yes, I know, that's why we were forced to send the planes in. But I have to admit that your aircraft and your ground-to-air missiles were making life very difficult for us by the time we stopped at Cuito Cuanavale. We could have taken Cuito, you know, but it would have served no purpose so we just tried to make it unusable to you fellows.

Pedale: Yes, we knew you could have taken Cuito. But we knew you were unlikely to try because it would have been crazy. Firstly, it would have been very costly and then you would have had to defend the place — and your supply lines — against our growing command of the skies. But we had to pretend that we had defeated you at Cuito for the sake of our politicians. You know how politicians are.

Liebenberg: Do I ever! □

Codesa agreement on states of emergency ^{ARC 114/92} 5

JOHANNESBURG. — A Codesa working group has agreed that the State President should not be allowed to unilaterally declare a state of emergency during the transitional period.

Delegates said there was general agreement yesterday that an interim authority would have to agree to a state of emergency before it could be implemented by the State President.

A delegate said the near consensus was a shift away from the ANC's previous demand. — Sapa.

'Harassment' of Ciskei king — appeal to Pretoria ⑤

ARC 11/4/92

EAST LONDON. — The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has asked the South African government to intervene in the alleged harassment of the Ciskei king by the Ciskei government.

Contralesa's Eastern Cape chairman, Chief Mwelo Nonkonyana, said the organisation had sent a memorandum to President De Klerk and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, seeking an urgent meeting to discuss the matter.

Chief Nonkonyana said a similar memorandum had been sent to the chairpersons of Codesa's management committee

and the subcommittee on traditional leaders.

This comes after the Ciskei Council of State last week wrote to the king, Chief Maxhoba Sandile, threatening to cut his salary of R800 a month for not performing all his duties.

Chief Nonkonyana said Contralesa wrote to Codesa because they regarded the Ciskei's threat as "an affront of superlative degree.

"Having witnessed numerous previous provocative actions against King Sandile, as his subjects we fear for the worst," he said. — Ecna.

NEWS IN BRIEF

8/10/92 11492
Unita to hand over man

UNITA said it would hand over to the government a man accused of killing British tourists in the southern part of the country (5)

Four young British tourists were shot dead near a Unita camp at Quilengues in the Huila province in January.

Another Briton was wounded and two escaped unhurt.

Visiting rights ⑤

BISHO. — The International Committee of the Red Cross has been granted rights to visit police stations throughout the Ciskei. — Sapa.

APR 21 1992

Cold war leaves bitter harvest

in Angola's killing fields

Guardian Weekly (in w/m) 03/4-9/14/92

Amidst a violent fragmentation of power reminiscent of the struggle preceding independence in 1975, the MPLA government in Luanda is fighting to maintain authority as its Unita opponents persistently violate the peace treaty signed only eight months ago. Victoria Britain reports

ANGOLA appears to be on the verge of collapsing back into uncontrollable civil disorder after only eight months of an internationally monitored peace settlement.

In a chilling re-run of the violent fragmentation of power on the eve of independence in 1975, the rebel movement Unita, led by Jonas Savimbi, is persistently violating the peace accord signed in Portugal last May, according to international observers. Former Unita leaders who have recently defected say it has a secret army in waiting on the Namibian border.

The weakened MPLA government is finding it impossible to establish its authority, and the UN-supervised elections planned for September are in doubt.

Behind universal fears for the future lies the devastating legacy of the cold war, of which Angola became one of the most notorious battlegrounds between 1975 and 1990.

Material damage amounted to \$30 billion in the last 12 years alone, according to UN figures. But, more seriously, the lingering superpower attitudes and protracted fighting

man for 30 years, said: "I do not want to be responsible for what is going to happen."

His warning was well understood in Angola, where observers see the transition fraught with tension and fear of the still-armed Unita cadres in civilian clothes who have moved into towns across the country.

Unita arms caches have been reported to the UN in many places by frightened local people, and Unita heavy arms have not been brought into the internationally supervised cantonments of troops as the peace process requires.

One government official asked: "Does the UN not see the Unita committees with arms, or the Unita trucks driving through town, or that those who killed the four British tourists were Unita? What kind of peace is this?"

Last week, in the southern town of Lubango, two government officers were buried alive by Unita, another was burned to death, a fourth shot dead in one incident. It was one of dozens of such incidents of Unita violence reported over the last month to the monitoring committee in the Portuguese town of

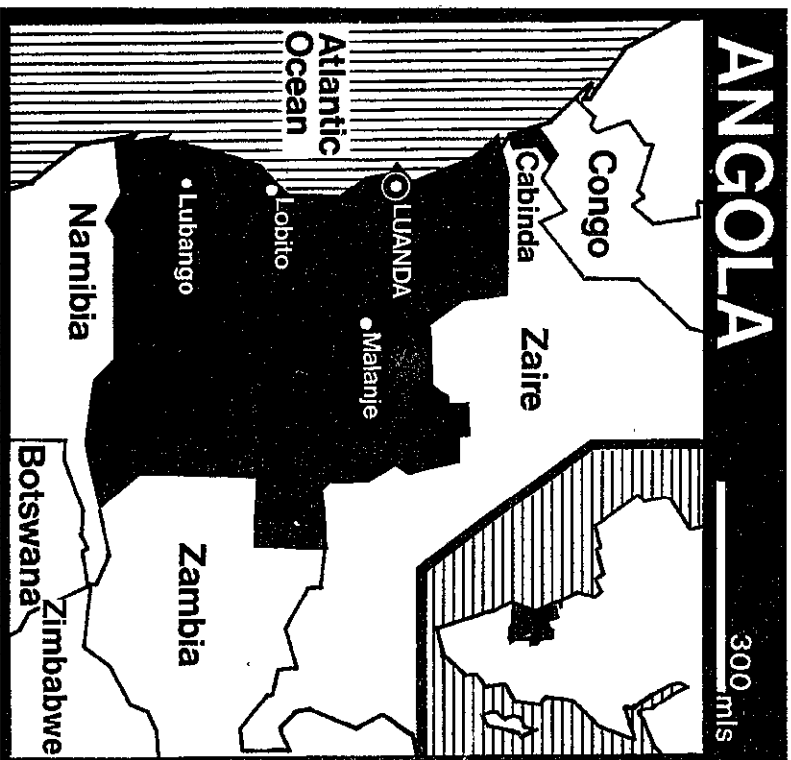
arrived in Luanda. Mr de Nascimento said: "We need to fix a date for the election and then put a final date on extending territorial administration so that we can start registration."

"Where we cannot register, we cannot have elections," he said, referring to the 162 communes and 24 municipalities still held by Unita in defiance of the agreement.

This struggle for control replays the history of Angola's contested struggle for independence from Portugal 16 years ago. The difference now is that Unita is militarily far stronger than it was two decades ago, when it was just the cover for South Africa's invasion 1,000 miles into Angola.

On the run-down streets of the capital, the new era of peace is proclaimed with banners of the emerging political parties, Unita's "Dr Savimbi, symbol of unity, dignity, identity" competes with the MPLA's "Make Angola a garden of love".

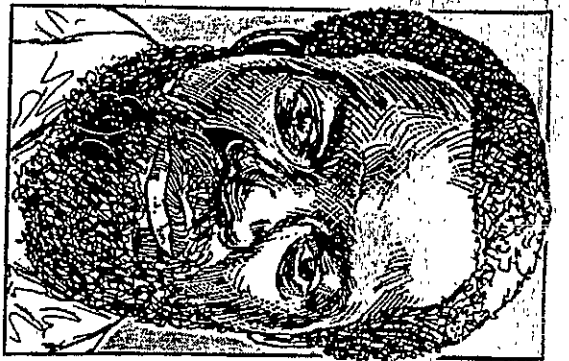
Middle-class youths crowd the brand-new seaside cafes. But the blank eyes and the flapping trouser legs of the maimed soldier who has



machine to political party. Several Unita officials involved in the peace monitoring mission have been recalled to the closed world of Dr Savimbi's remote wartime capital, Jamba, after disobeying orders not to fraternise with their MPLA counterparts or contact family members on the MPLA side.

President Neto, and later briefly joined both Dr Savimbi and the US-funded FNLA of Holden Roberto. But not all the MPLA's influential dissidents have returned to the fold. The country's best known writer, for instance, Luandino Vieira, has said publicly that he does not believe in "The Big Family". Many leaders of the 28 small parties waiting to be registered are former MPLA members.

Most respected of them is the



Jonas Savimbi — arms and money from US

death and destruction. The US is still backing Dr Savimbi, its longtime ally, despite the unprecedented defections from his movement and denunciations by lieutenants of 30 years' standing of his personal involvement in killings.

Eight months ago, in the Portuguese resort of Estoril, the MPLA government signed a peace agreement with Unita, which they had been fighting since before independence 16 years ago. Rivalry between the factions was stoked by the cold-war, with the US increasingly drawn into an attempt to block Soviet and Cuban influence in a regional giant rich in oil and diamonds.

The US, the Soviet Union, and Portugal, involved since 1988 in negotiations over the region, which included independence for Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops, agreed in Estoril to sponsor a peace process in Angola under United Nations supervision.

The peace meant forming a united army, demobilising 250,000 soldiers (starting this week), and installing a multi-party democracy in this vast country which has never been successfully brought under central control.

But, taking political asylum in Portugal earlier this month, General Nzau Puna, Dr Savimbi's right hand

for territorial administration, and the official preparing for the election by extending government administration throughout the country, said: "Unita has a totalitarian conception — they cannot accept that where they are there could be other opinions."

The UN last week stepped up its election team in Angola, and the special representative of the UN secretary-general, Margaret Anstee

one wants to hear now, of those who sacrificed so much — for nothing.

He is a symbol of Angola's forgotten war legacy which includes 300,000 dead, 80,000 war cripples, 50,000 children orphaned, the highest infant mortality rate in the world, well over a million people displaced.

In the shanty-towns of rural refugees surrounding the capital, whose misery aid donors ignored all these years, one rainstorm turns the dirt roads to rivers full of rubbish ready to start another bout of cholera.

Now, as in 1975, the US is the key player behind the scenes in the future of the country's 10 million people. Then Henry Kissinger gave the first \$14 million, "to avoid a cheap MPLA victory", to two of the three liberation movements — Unita and FNLA — and western mercenary forces on the side of South Africa and Zaire.

Neither the end of the cold war nor the beginning of the peace has changed Washington's refusal of diplomatic relations with Luanda — a consistent snub unique in US foreign policy. The US mission overseeing the peace process therefore has no building in Angola but operates out of what must be the most powerful portable cabin in the world, bristling with antennae on the hill overlooking Luanda's great bay.

The history of the last three decades with their deep involvement of outside powers, from the US and the Soviet Union to Cuba, Portugal, and South Africa, mean that Angola is not just another African country among the dozen now stumbling from a one-party state to multi-party democracy. Too much is at stake.

Dr Savimbi has been groomed with White House visits and US military aid of between \$15 million and \$30 million a year over most of the last decade to succeed the MPLA. Articulate and charming on his visits abroad organised by effective US public relations firms, Dr Savimbi has been put forward as the democratic, disciplined, well-organised alternative for Angola.

But Unita is having difficulty making a transformation from war

courses will leave the military academy in Huambo for Jamba.

The recent defection of General Nzau Puna and General Tony da Costa Fernandes, Dr Savimbi's third man and his longtime CIA conduit, is a crisis with likely repercussions for his external support, as well as within Unita.

Further, the mutual accusations between these two and Dr Savimbi of the killing of the former foreign minister, General Tito Chingunji, who was arrested in 1988, have re-awakened the long-standing criticisms of Unita's human rights record by Amnesty International and others.

Against this powerful but fragmenting force stands Angola's ruling party, the MPLA. The party's first generation were veterans of the liberation war who made the MPLA a symbol of the post-colonial Africa that opted for socialism, non-alignment, and multi-racism. Its intellectuals, like the first president, Agostinho Neto, who was respected across the continent, articulated its revolutionary ideology.

The MPLA sacrificed a generation to repel the years of South African aggression and US-funded destabilisation by Unita. Now Angolans are finding, like the Vietnamese before them, that defeating a US client brings a bitter reward and many of them are ready to blame the MPLA for the country's broken state.

The party, fighting to buck the trend of African elections one after another ousting their ruling parties, has begun to change its image by dropping its post-war "Worker's Party" tag and calling for the unity of all in "The MPLA's Big Family".

At an emotional rally in the capital's football stadium recently to launch this reconciliation, many prominent cadres of an earlier epoch, who had been expelled, or had resigned from the party in bouts of in-fighting, embraced, and promised the party one more fight against Dr Savimbi.

An extraordinary MPLA congress is to be held this month and is expected to bring into the party leadership some of these old stalwarts of the MPLA, and even one of its earliest traitors, Daniel Chipenda, who led a revolt against

ary 0 emocra, c... (PRD) headed by Joachim Pinto de Andrade, a historic figure from the days of the liberation war against Portugal when he was jailed and became honorary president of the MPLA.

He said: "These two parties have destroyed the country — Unita physically and the MPLA with corruption and arrogance. The people are exhausted and have no confidence in either."

Mr de Andrade is deeply pessimistic that elections can possibly be organised in the next six months. "We wanted 18 months at least to be able to reach people. Unita has had so much support from the US over the years, and the MPLA has state funds, how can we possibly match them?"

Even with the \$100 million the MPLA has made available to the small parties, most do not even have more than a makeshift office and no possibility of covering its vast country with its broken infrastructure.

Mr de Andrade, a former priest, has the sympathy of the Catholic church, which counts 50 per cent of the population as its adherents, but believes that in the tense and chaotic situation in which the election is to be held only one thing will count — the ethnic vote. "The war has deepened ethnic splits," he said.

While many of the small parties are at pains to put the two big ones on an equal basis and say they would work with which ever wins the election, De Andrade is categorical that he could not work with Dr Savimbi's Unita. "I would rather have a stone tied round my neck and be thrown into the bay," he said.

In this fractured political atmosphere one western ambassador keeps a crystal ball on his desk to deflect anyone who asks him what will happen in this country over the next vital months.

The only optimism in town comes from the South African businessmen who occupy the lobbies of the newly refurbished hotels. "If Unita wins they'll have the country handed to them on a plate, if the MPLA wins they'll still have the country, for a handful of rands," say the cynics of Luanda.

Angolan officials 'are smuggling diamonds'

810am
3/4/92 DIRK HARTFORD (S) (E) (B)
SENIOR MPLA officials — extending up to but not including Angolan president Eduardo Dos Santos — have been smuggling diamonds worth more than \$1bn, the London-based SouthScan publication reported this week.

The smuggled diamonds are allegedly worth several times the official receipts from diamonds traded through Angolan parastatal Endiama. Leading cabinet ministers, a provincial governor and other leading officials are said to be involved.

De Beers spokesman Richard Lamont said yesterday it had tried to warn Dos Santos in London last year of the danger of smuggling if a law allowing ordinary Angolans to trade in diamonds was passed. The law was passed in December.

Lamont said De Beers' Central Selling Organisation (CSO) signed a contract with Endiama last April to buy all Angola's Cuango basin diamond production.

The secretary of state for mines and geology as well as planning minister Emmanuel Carneiro are aware of the operation — but are apparently powerless to prevent it. A presidential adviser allegedly heads a group of traffickers who did an arms-for-diamonds deal with Israel.

SouthScan said European diplomats in Luanda had told their governments to stop all but essential humanitarian aid until after the September elections.

Three secret diamond buying houses are said to be operating in Luanda. The uncut stones, some of up to 120 carats, are carried out by VIPs or in bulk aboard Hercules aircraft that belong to Endiama.

Savimbi returns from bush to face row

STARZ 6/4/92

LUANDA — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi returned to Luanda yesterday to face a controversy about human rights abuses in his movement.

Back from six weeks at his bush headquarters in Jamba, Dr Savimbi told supporters at the airport he accepted responsibility for Unita's mistakes, but insisted the movement was not in disarray.

"In any organisation it is the leader who has to bear the ultimate responsibility for any errors that are made and while I remain leader of Unita I take responsibility," he said.

Dr Savimbi did not respond in detail to allegations by top-level defectors that he had ordered the executions of former leaders of Unita.

He said the ruling MPLA had

consistently abused human rights during 16 years of one-party rule in Luanda and had no right to judge Unita.

Explaining his stay in Jamba, he said, "If I went to Jamba it was to reflect and not because Unita is in crisis."

He said he would remain in Luanda permanently to prepare for the country's first multiparty election — Sapa-Reuter.

Under fire ... a Boshian special forces soldier fires at Serbia
Serbian extremists were firing at 30 000 people demonstrating fc

SAA back in Luanda

STAR 7/4/92
A South African Airways air-
liner landed in Luanda, An-
gola, yesterday for the first
time in 17 years.

Animosities of the past
were clearly forgotten as
Angolan government and
aviation officials warmly
welcomed those aboard the
"Olifants" 737.

Among those on SA 054
were Renier Schoeman,
South Africa's Deputy Minis-

ter of Foreign Affairs, con-
troversial CP MP Koos van
der Merwe, SAA executives,
businessmen and members
of the media.

Joao Bernardo Miranda,
Angola's Deputy Foreign Af-
fairs Minister, said it was
an important day for both
countries and proof that
South Africa was on the
right track. — Pretoria Cor-
respondent.

Angola faces uphill task

South African 8/4/92 (5)



LUANDA - With only six months to go before Angola's first democratic elections, the country's political leaders are facing an uphill task selling democracy in a country ravaged by 30 years of civil war.

Ten months after the Marxist government and Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita movement declared a ceasefire after 16 years of conflict, Luanda, once the "pearl of the Atlantic", is run down and filthy, children play soccer amidst heaps of garbage and the country's economy is dominated by black marketeers.

"Everyone is a black marketeer, we want to be people (with) integrity once again," Savimbi, leader of the Movement for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), told a political rally here on Sunday.

But Savimbi was speaking in a city designed by former colonial masters Portugal to house some 300 000 people, rather than the present three to four million.

"Everything in Luanda is like it was when the Portuguese left (in 1975)," Unita official Mr Joao Rebelo said on Monday.

Luanda's wide streets are filled with the stench of garbage, which is piled up on virtually every street corner.

"The people here have lost their human side," Rebelo said.

But Savimbi believes that Luanda has "to be attractive again . . . it has to be the pearl of the Atlantic that it used to be", he told around 10 000 supporters at Luanda's airport on Sunday.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos announced the country's first democratic elections on April 3, saying Angolans will go to the polls on September 29 and 30.

Already more than two dozen political parties have sprung up, some with no more than a name and a leader, a government official said.

Both the main players, Savimbi's Unita and Dos Santos' MPLA government, are

faced with major problems.

Unita's credibility has taken a knock this year over alleged human rights abuses -- the executions of two Unita leaders last year and in February two of the movement's top generals defected to a separatist movement in Angola's oil-rich Cabinda enclave.

The executions of Mr Tito Chilungji and Mr Wilson Santos, former Unita representatives to Washington and Lisbon, earned Savimbi the chagrin of the United States, Unita's main sponsor.

On Sunday, Savimbi said four Unita members were in custody in his southeastern bush headquarters Jamba for the execution of the two men.

He blamed the executions on Unita's former No 3 man, Mr Miguel Nzau Puna, who defected to a separatist movement in Cabinda in February.

Savimbi conceded that Unita had had severe problems in reverting from a guerrilla movement to a legitimate political party, saying "the war is one thing, after the war is another".

Unlike Unita, Dos Santos' government has not yet begun its election campaign while posters bearing Savimbi's image are scattered across the streets of Luanda exhorting potential voters to vote for Unita for "peace and democracy".

Observers believe the MPLA government's main problem is to keep its armed forces appeased. In February, government troops went on the rampage in Luena, the capital of Angola's Moxico province, because they had not been paid for several months.

The troops sacked the house of the army commander and razed the army pay office, aid and relief workers told AFP.

Last week, UN-supervised demobilisation of Unita and government forces began, but both sides are still flaunting weapons and gunfire can be heard in most Angolan cities at night. - Sapa-AFP

'Everyone is a black marketeer, we want to be people (with) integrity once again.'

— JONAS SAVIMBI

Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement declared a ceasefire after 16 years of conflict.

Diamond smuggling 5

IN THE article "Angolan officials are smuggling diamonds" (Business Day, April 3), it may have been possible to draw the conclusion that allegations about the involvement of an Angolan presidential adviser, and the inability of the Angolan government to prevent this operation, were made by De Beers. All these allegations were made by the publication Southscan.

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Soldiers⁵ of fortune cash in on peace

Former Soviet troops are wheeling and dealing in Luena, Angola, reports MARIUS BOSCH.

IN THE capital of Angola's central Moxico province, the last major battlefield of the civil war, the main profiteers from peace are Red Army veterans running the black market.

Former rebel leader Jonas Savimbi flew into Luena at the weekend and told several thousand supporters that his Unita movement launched its first attack on Portuguese colonists in this town.

Three blocks away from the Savimbi rally, brand-new bicycles ferried to Luena on an Aeroflot cargo aircraft were on sale for about \$200 (R560) apiece. An old Red Army truck could be had for the same price.

Ex-Soviet soldiers who backed the government in Luanda against Unita have cornered the black market, local residents say.

Weekly Aeroflot flights from Luanda bring in truckloads of goods for sale at rickety steel tables in the open-air market. Hawkers also offer spaghetti made in South Africa, Portuguese wine and Angolan cloth.

Victor Borges, a Portuguese settler who has lived in Luena for 36 years, said he buys all the alcohol he sells in his shop from "the Soviets". They run the whisky trade and a crate of South African beer is worth about \$36 (R101).

Using Aeroflot planes, the Red Army veterans can undercut local competition. Black marketeering in provincial towns is said to be easier than in Luanda, where the risks of being caught are greater.

The troops stayed on when hostilities ended in May, after a 45-day siege of Luena by Savimbi's forces. The US-backed UNITA that month signed a peace accord with the government and the United Nations is due to supervise elections in September.

Mr Borges has lived through 30 years of conflict in Angola, first the war against the Portuguese and then 16 years of fighting between UNITA and the governing People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, backed by Cuba and Moscow.

"I've never been afraid," Mr Borges said. But bullet-ridden walls bear mute testimony to the Angolan war which devastated the economy.

Fuel tanks from a Soviet-made MiG fighter are used to store water. Western relief and aid workers have to pay about \$40 (R115) for delivery of about 4 000 litres of water to their homes, Lem Weston, a US medical aid co-ordinator said.

"Crime is rampant here, anything you don't nail down is stolen," he said, adding that shots could be heard every night. Much of the gunfire came from government soldiers.

"The worst job here is to be a general in Fapla (the government army)," Mr Weston added.

Fapla troops have not been paid in months and in February scores of them went on the rampage, sacking the army pay office and the house of their commander in search of their money. — Sapa-AFP. □



Savimbi ^{ARG 13/4/92} asked to explain murder of Unita men

Mr Herman Cohen

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Herman Cohen, has flown to Luanda for a meeting with Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, amid growing outrage in the United States over reports that top Unita officials were murdered on Dr Savimbi's orders.

According to well-placed administration sources, the once close and amicable relationship that existed between Washington and Unita is in the balance and Secretary of State James Baker is said to have insisted on a full explanation from Dr Savimbi.

He is known to have written a letter to Dr Savimbi three weeks ago seeking details of the alleged execution-style shooting of Unita's popular former representative in Washington, Mr Tito Chingunji, and the organisation's former representative in Portugal, Mr Wilson dos Santos.

His letter followed more than six months of what was described as frustrating and fruitless diplomatic efforts by the US to get to the bottom of reports that Mr Chingunji and Mr Dos Santos were murdered on Dr Savimbi's orders, and that Mr Chingunji's father, his two small children and his brother were also killed.

Although Mr Cohen was scheduled to fly to Angola as part of a visit to several Southern African countries, including South Africa, his meeting with Dr Savimbi has assumed major importance and could lead to a drastic revision of US relations with Unita.

Last week the Washington Post quoted Dr Savimbi as having confirmed the shootings of Mr Chingunji and Mr Dos Santos, and as having also conceded that Mr Chingunji's father, brother and children were murdered. But he denied personal involvement, and blamed others in the Unita leadership.

US awaits Savimbi reply on killings

STAR 13/4/92

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration is waiting for a forthright and detailed account of the killing of two prominent Unita officials, allegedly on the orders of the organisation's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

US officials have disclosed that they have been pressing Unita for an explanation for at least six months to no avail, and that Secretary of State James Baker eventually wrote a personal letter to Dr Savimbi last month urging him to respond.

Dr Savimbi's once glowing reputation in the US has taken a battering following allegations of his personal involvement in the killings. The allegations were made by two former Unita leaders, Miguel N'Zau Puna and Tony da Costa Fernandez, who defected from the organisation last year claiming to be in fear of their lives.

They claimed that Unita's popular former Washington representative, Tito Chingunji, who was responsible for much of Dr Savimbi's support in the US, and the former representative in Portugal, Wilson dos Santos, had been executed on Dr Savimbi's orders after having been ordered to return to Jamba, Unita's bush capital in southern Angola.

The two defectors also alleged that Mr Chingunji's father, his two children and a brother were murdered by Unita following years of rivalry between the Savimbi and Chingunji clans within the organisation.

Although the US officially cut off military assistance to Unita when the current peace agree-



Jonas Savimbi . . . denies Unita ambassadors were killed by him.

ment was signed with the MPLA, substantial US funds still are being sent to the movement. These funds might now be in jeopardy.

The Washington Post reported this week that Dr Savimbi had confirmed the deaths of Mr Chingunji and Mr Dos Santos, as well as the deaths of Mr Chingunji's father and two children, but had denied personal involvement.

In a report by its southern Africa correspondent, David Ostaway, the newspaper quotes Dr Savimbi as having told reporters that Mr Chingunji and Mr Dos Santos were shot at Jamba last November, and not in August as was claimed by the defectors.

But US officials say they have been pursuing reports of the executions for at least six months, and that they suspected the two Unita ambassadors had been killed well before November.

Dr Savimbi is quoted by the Washington Post as having denied any personal involvement in the killings. He is reported to have assigned Unita's vice-president, Jeremiah Chitunda, to head a commission of inquiry into the deaths.

Sidestepping the Savimbi scandal

STAR 14/1/92

Jonas Savimbi has asserted that his Unita movement is not on the point of collapse, but the heat on him to account for murders in his organisation is not off. DALE LAUTENBACH of The Star Africa Service reviews the story so far.

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INTERNATIONAL voices, particularly from the US, are demanding that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi account for murders in his organisation, but South Africa has remained mysteriously quiet about the apparent misdemeanours of its former ally in Angola.

American newspapers have noted the potential embarrassment to the US administration as the image of the guerrilla leader it backed in the Angolan war crumbles — following evidence of murder and human rights abuses in so-called democratic Unita.

The US channelled hundreds of millions of dollars to the movement as its Cold War surrogate in Angola. By way of damage control, the US administration is now calling on Mr Savimbi to account.

South Africa also poured an untold sum into its military operation with Unita in Angola during the 16-year civil war. But the cost to South Africa was also one of lives. In spite of this, all queries to

the Department of Foreign Affairs regarding an explanation from Mr Savimbi have drawn a blank.

However, pressure from the US on Unita is continuing. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen was expected in the Angolan capital yesterday on a mission to stress US demands for an explanation following Mr Savimbi's admission that two senior Unita members had been killed by his organisation.

Mr Savimbi said that as the leader of Unita he accepted "moral" responsibility for the slayings, but sought to distance himself. He said Tito Chingundi and Wilson dos Santos, former Unita representatives to Washington and Lisbon respectively, had been murdered in Unita's bush headquarters at Jamba in November last year.

He blamed General Miguel N'Xau Puna, who as head of internal affairs defected from Unita in February with fellow defector and Unita co-founder Tony da Costa Fernandes. The



pair of defectors effectively blew the whistle on Unita.

Hard evidence, accountability and responsibility have been shifting since the murders hit the news afresh following the defections. But in his response to Mr Cohen's impending visit and US insistence that a full investigation take place, Mr Savimbi was probably at his most revealing.

In an interview last week with the Lisbon daily newspaper Publico, he said he was prepared to accept an international inquiry into human rights abuses, provided it also investigated other Angolan parties.

Mr Savimbi added that the inquiry should not take place until

after Angolan elections, scheduled for September 29 and 30 this year. He felt an investigation now would distract Angolans from the elections.

The New York Times (NYT) commented that Mr Savimbi's responsibility for the killings should not be underestimated.

The NYT points out that while Mr Savimbi says the Chingundi and Dos Santos killings happened in Jamba in November when Mr Savimbi was in Luanda, defectors say they were in August when Mr Savimbi was at his bush headquarters.

Either way, the killings took place after the May 31 peace accord with the Angolan government and cannot be explained away as actions in the interest of wartime security.

It is also significant that the dead men represented Unita in its two most sensitive capitals, Washington and Lisbon. By all accounts they were well liked.

Mr Savimbi has said that the defections and admissions of murder have in no way undermined his organisation or threatened to collapse it. Perhaps this is true in Angola, but among the more sophisticated international supporters beyond Mr Savimbi's Maoist doctrine and upon whom Mr Savimbi has always relied, the concern must run deep. □

Savimbi takes the heat for murders

WINDHOEK - International voices, particularly from the United States, are demanding that Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi account for murders in his organisation but South Africa has remained mysteriously quiet about the apparent misdemeanours of its former ally in Angola.

Important American newspapers have noted the potential embarrassment to the US administration as the image of the friendly guerilla leader it backed in the Angolan war crumbles in the face of evidence about murder and human rights abuses in the so-

Sowetan 15/4/92 (5)
Dr Jonas Savimbi has asserted that his Unita movement is not on the point of collapse but the heat on him to account for murders in his organisation is not off. DALE LAUTENBACH of the Sowetan Africa News Service reviews the story so far.

called democratic Unita. The US channelled hundreds of millions of dollars to the movement as its cold-war surrogate in Angola. By way of damage control, the US administration is now exerting highly publicised pressure on Savimbi to account for himself.

South Africa also poured an untold sum into its military operation with Unita in Angola during the

16-year civil war. But the cost to South Africa was also one of lives. In spite of this, all queries to the Department of Foreign Affairs as to what kind of explanation they were going to call for from Savimbi have met with a blank.

The story is much the same on the question of Malawi. The international clamour against that country and its apparent human

rights abuses is growing. Leading trade unionist and opposition activist Mr Chakufwa Chihana was arrested on his return last week and there are fears for his life. But still South Africa has not challenged the Malawi administration that was one of its few African friends during the "total onslaught" years.

Pressure from the US on Unita is continuing in the

form of a visit to Luanda by Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen. He was expected in the Angolan capital on Monday on a mission to stress the US demand for an explanation following Savimbi's admission that two senior members of his organisation had been killed by Unita's hand.

Slayings

Savimbi said that, as leader of Unita, he accepted "moral" responsibility for the slayings but sought to distance himself, saying no leader could know everything that went on in his movement. He said Mr Tito Chingundji and Mr Wilson dos Santos, former Unita representatives to Washington and Lisbon respectively, had been murdered in Unita's bush headquarters at Jamba in November last year.

And he blamed General Miguel N'Xau Puna who, as head of Internal Affairs, defected from Unita at the end of February and, with fellow defector and Unita co-founder Mr Tony da Costa Fernandes, effectively blew the whistle on Unita.

Afresh

Hard evidence, accountability and responsibility have been on shifting sands ever since the murders hit the news afresh in the first week of March following the defections.

But in his response to the announcement of Cohen's visit to Luanda and the US insistence that a full investigation take place, Savimbi was probably his most revealing yet.

In an interview last week with the Lisbon daily newspaper *Publico* he said he was prepared to accept an international inquiry into human rights abuses, provided that it investigated other Angolan parties, no doubt meaning primarily the ruling MPLA.

But then, even more revealingly, coming from a man who was supported by both the US and South Africa as the democratic hope for Angola in the face of a communist dictatorship, he said the inquiry should not take place until after the Angolan elections now scheduled for September 29 and 30 this year.

Elections

He felt an investigation now would distract Angolans from the main objective: elections.

Clearly this position reveals little grasp of basic democratic principles; Vote for me now and we'll address the bothersome little matter of human rights later, is essentially Savimbi's message.

The *New York Times* has

US wants Savimbi to account for deaths in Unita

Sowetan 15/4/92 (5)
● From page 14

commented, in a piece entitled *Deaths and Desertions may Undermine Angolan Rebel Leader*, that Savimbi's direct responsibility for the killings should not be underestimated.

The nature of his guerilla movement, said the *New York Times*, was based on the Maoist concept of "people's war" in which absolute discipline and unquestioning obedience was expected.

"To foster loyalty, Unita has created a cult of personality around Savimbi that approaches what the Chinese lavished on Mao Tse Tung.

respected by Unita supporters in both cities so that the Unita support bases there now must be going through some hand-wringing conflict about just who and what it is that they support.

Defections

Savimbi has said that the defections and the admissions of murder have in no way undermined his organisation or threatened to collapse it. Perhaps this is true in Angola where, as the BBC correspondent in Luanda said, there is a hard core of unshakeable support for Savimbi by those who regard him as a demagogue.

But among the more sophisticated international

● To page 15

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DR JONAS SAVIMBI

Picture

"Savimbi's picture hangs everywhere. Songs extol his leadership and wisdom. In such a climate it seems inconceivable to many that executions would take place without his knowledge or consent."

The writer points out that, while Savimbi says the Chingundji and Dos Santos killings happened in Jamba in November while Savimbi was in Luanda, the defectors say they took place in August when Savimbi was indeed at his bush headquarters.

Either way, it must be significant too that the killings took place well after the May 31 peace accord with the Angolan government and cannot in any way be explained away as actions in the interest of war time security.

It is also significant that the dead men represented Unita in its two most sensitive capitals, Washington and Lisbon. By all accounts they were well liked and

supporters who were beyond the reach of Savimbi's Maoist doctrine and upon whom Savimbi has always relied, the concern must run deep.

Even South Africa — while its silence on the human rights question is worrying if not revealing — has been working hard and quite successfully at its relationship with the Angolan government and is unlikely to come to Savimbi's support right now.

Quite

So far the Angolan government has been quiet on the threatening Unita debacle but it must be aware that its work in the past few weeks at establishing the election date, processing the election laws in the People's Assembly and generally getting on with the business of peace, places it in favourable contrast to what Unita has achieved during the same time.

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Angolan aid tied to rights

8 (Day) 16/4/92 (5)
LUANDA — US Africa expert Herman Cohen has tied economic aid for Angola to respect for human rights and democracy.

Cohen, assistant secretary of state for Africa, told a news conference on Tuesday at the end of a two-day visit to Angola that Washington would urge other foreign governments to help ensure the success of the country's transition to multiparty democracy.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has called the country's first democratic elections for the end of September after signing a peace accord last year that ended 16 years of civil war.

"It is important now to look beyond the elections," Cohen said after talks with dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

"Speaking for the US, if human rights are not respected and if democracy is not allowed to flourish there will be no co-operation in terms of assistance and investment," Cohen said.

He said the US had confidence in the peace process under way in Angola, but that it was moving too slowly and that any delay in the September elections would be unacceptable. "There is much to do and little time," he said. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

He is also scheduled for talks with the ambassadors of European Community states in Luanda.

Call for new start in class

By THEMBA KHUMALO
CIP 19/11/92

BLACK pupils will return to school with a sense of purpose when they re-open for the second term on Tuesday.

They go back to class amid renewed calls by community organisations to gear themselves for effective learning.

This hope was also expressed this week by Oupa Mpetha, information officer for the South African Democratic Teachers Union.

At least half of the schools in Soweto alone have been thrown into turmoil this year and there has been hardly any effective learning since January.

Mpetha attributed the school upheavals to the shortage of textbooks and teachers and harassment of Sadtu members by principals.

There were other problems which created instability in schools, he said.

Teachers were scrutinised by inspectors who expected them to dress formally. They were often away on week-long courses and pupils were left without a teacher, he added.

Overcrowding at schools was also common, with an average of 1 500 pupils in each institution.

Pupils tended to be unruly when they did not have teacher supervision. They normally came to school at 8 am and left two hours later.

At Orlando High School in Orlando East pupils went on a month-long class boycott before

the schools were closed early this month to protest against the shortage of teachers. The DET treated the matter lightly that the boycott went unnoticed, Mpetha said.

"How are the pupils expected to learn in classrooms that don't have furniture and books? When they protest against these shortcomings they are dismissed as anarchists who are not interested in education."

DET officials had launched an anti-Sadtu campaign to discredit active members of the union, Mpetha said.

Headmasters who belonged to the union were often excluded from DET meetings with principals.

"The authorities' obstinacy has forced us to take to the streets in order to get their attention. It's only then that they take us seriously."

DET spokesman Corrie Rademeyer said he found Mpetha's allegations strange in view of the fact that the department had started a grievance procedure through which teachers' problems would be handled.

A staff commissioner had been appointed by the department's director-general to probe grievances independently and objectively.

Mpetha said despite all the hurdles, Sadtu committed itself at a recent two-day Soweto regional meeting to "rekindle and resuscitate the culture of learning and teaching at our schools".

As an alternative to the current DET system, Sadtu had established subject committees and standard committees which would involve pupils in motivation programmes.

This method would also encourage parent involvement, said Mpetha.

He said delegates at the teachers' meeting called on the DET to recognise the "visible amount of work done so far by the Soweto Schools Sports Congress".

Wooing the voters with pants

STAR 2114192

5

LISBON — Ex-jungle fighter Jonas Savimbi believes trousers could be the key to success in Angola's first ever free elections.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa reported on Sunday that Dr Savimbi had launched the cam-

paign slogan "New trousers in September" for his former rebel movement Unita at a rally in the northern city of Uige.

Rejecting a possible coalition with the ruling MPLA party after the September presidential and parliamentary polls,

he said: "It's no longer necessary to mend our trousers, we have got to get new ones."

"We need a new government, change, we don't want patched hand-me-downs ... new trousers in September." — Sapa- Reuter.

Angola's chalk battle begins

Open 26/4/92

(S)

ANGOLA faces a massive education crisis. Forty-five percent of the country's

total population, or 2,7 million people, are between the ages of five and 14. A massive 1 435 000 children have not been accommodated in schools.

Until the signing of a peace accord between the ruling MPLA and Unita on May 31 1991, the most serious war-related factors affecting education included an impaired supply distribution network, overburdened facilities in safe areas, the drafting of teachers to the army and the closure of schools as a result of attacks.

The most serious State management problems are now insufficient state investment in facilities, teacher training and supplies, parental illiteracy and inadequate incentives for teachers. Education receives less than 10 percent of the national budget.

When the Portuguese ended colonial rule in 1975, very little educational infrastructure was in place.

"In the 1960s I went to a rural (primary) school," says Lemos Mukwa, a truck driver. "Our teacher was the only teacher in the whole village. We studied under trees."

Lemos began fourth grade in 1971 when he was 14 years old. He didn't finish because he was an older student and the head of the colonial Administrative Post said he would have to pay tax. "It was impossible for me to pay and so I had to abandon my studies. It was not until 1976 that I finished fourth grade."

The lack of schools plus the difficulty of getting into the few existing schools account for the fact 85 percent of the population were illiterate when Angola

became independent. Women made up the largest proportion of this group.

Since 1976, another 1 240 000 Angolans have become literate. About half the population is still illiterate.

Another colonial legacy was intimidation against the population, including students. Ana Perreira van-Dunem, from Luanda, passed an aptitude exam at Maria Pia hospital in Luanda in 1958 and then studied nursing.

"I worked at the maternity and at Americo Boavida hospital. But there were problems of PIDE (Portuguese secret police). They intimidated students. Many students went to prison. In 1964, I left my nursing studies. I wanted to finish, but I didn't. I tried to get work, but this was hard due to Portuguese colonialism."

The need to repeat classes and abandonment of studies are now serious problems in Angola. In 1989-1990 the rate of repetition and abandonment was about 50 percent.

Adult education is available for people who are too old for regular primary education. Courses are given at night using the facilities of regular schools. However, because of shortages of facilities and teachers, enrolment in adult education courses has declined from 235 000 students in 1980 to 187 000 in 1986.

Now that peace has come, a larger proportion of the national budget could begin to be directed to improving and expanding essential social services such as education and health.

But Angola has few trained and experienced personnel. By 1985 there were only 35 221 teachers for the first five years of school, and 75 percent of teachers lack qualifications to teach even at primary level. — AIA

Problems beset union of Angolan armies

Source: 28/4/72 (5)

LUANDA - The two commanders of Angola's new armed forces stood on the tarmac of Luanda military airport, stranded in the capital for the second day.

General Joao Matos, formerly of the MPLA government's army, and Mr Abilio Numa, who fought for Unita rebels in Angola's civil war, were trying to get to Benguela to oversee the formation of their peacetime force.

But the one pilot who knew how to fly the Soviet-made Ilyushin 76 transport plane parked on the tarmac was ill and no other aircraft was available.

Inefficient bureaucracy, a ruined infrastructure and a critical lack of resources are haunting Angola's transition to peace after 16 years of civil war.

Numa said there was no way a united army could be created in time for the country's first multi-party elections on September 29-30.

"We lack decent quarters, trans-

000 men would be fully trained by the deadline.

Ms Margaret Anstee, the UN Secretary-General's representative in Angola, said about 70 percent of the estimated 150,000 personnel in the MPLA and Unita forces had been processed and 6,000 demobilised.

She blamed a tight timetable and budget and extremely difficult logistics in the huge country.

"This must be the world's cheapest peace-keeping operation," she said.

She said the UN budget for Angola was about R270 million, about a quarter of that spent a couple of years ago on neighbouring Namibia which had one-tenth of Angola's 10 million people, far less territory and an efficient infrastructure.

The logistical and financial difficulties also extend to monitoring the elections. Whether the embryonic new armed forces can ensure stability after the vote is a fear preying on many people's minds.

What is clear, however, is the

goodwill of many Angolans weary of more than a decade of war against Portuguese colonial rule and the civil war which followed independence in 1975.

The two sides in the new army appear to respect each other professionally and officials say there are few difficulties.

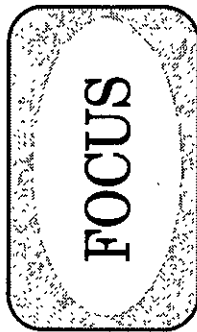
"He caused many problems for us," Matos joked about Numa, whom he battled several times.

"Everyone said there was trouble where Joao Matos went," said Numa, slapping his former nemesis on the back.

A major problem has been conditions at demobilisation assembly points, where boredom and acute food and water shortages encourage banditry.

At the Luachimo camp, about 100km from the northeast border with Zaire, hundreds of young men lounged in the blazing heat.

Their \$80-a-month salaries were eight months in arrears and none knew when they could return to their families after years away. - Sapa-Reuter.



Leader of the p or killer of his f

THE TIME has come to reveal how a former top official and spokesman for Unita, the Angolan rebel movement backed by South Africa and the United States, predicted he might be slain at the behest of his own leader, Jonas Savimbi.

The man is Pedro "Tito" Chingunji, who was well known and liked in Western capitals as a charming, determined and effective advocate of the movement, which he portrayed to all as a democratic insurgency.

But now Chingunji is dead, killed on the direct orders of Dr Savimbi, who has led Unita (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) since its founding in 1964 to end Portugal's colonial rule. Chingunji is the best known of scores of bright Unita members killed in bloody leadership purges stretching over more than 15 years. The murders have long been hidden from the West, but the truth is now emerging.

The glory of Tito Chingunji and other victims is important because, with Angola's first-ever democratic elections due in six months — after nearly 30 years of civil war — Dr Savimbi hopes to gain ultimate power in the country and be embraced by Western democracies as an African saviour.

Grisly tales of Unita torture, beatings and burnings have surfaced over the years, but until the end of last month Unita always bitterly assailed those making the charges.

I, myself, author of a sympathetic book on Unita and Angola's tangled civil war, "Jonas Savimbi. A Key to Africa" (Coronet, London, 1987), have been publicly denounced by Dr Savimbi's henchmen, who have threatened me with death and have menaced my family with obscene and violent warnings.

But when Dr Savimbi's two closest confidantes defected recently in fear of their own lives and began recounting horrors from within the ruling circle, the wall of lies at last began to disintegrate. Unita broke its habit of denial and issued a report admitting that serious abuses had occurred within the movement.

The report said Chingunji had "unaccountably disappeared". Then, under pressure from US Secretary of State James Baker, Dr Savimbi said Chingunji was slain last year — this unblushing admission came despite Dr Savimbi's avowal, at a press conference in January this year in Cape Town, where he was officially received by President de Klerk, that Chingunji was alive and well.

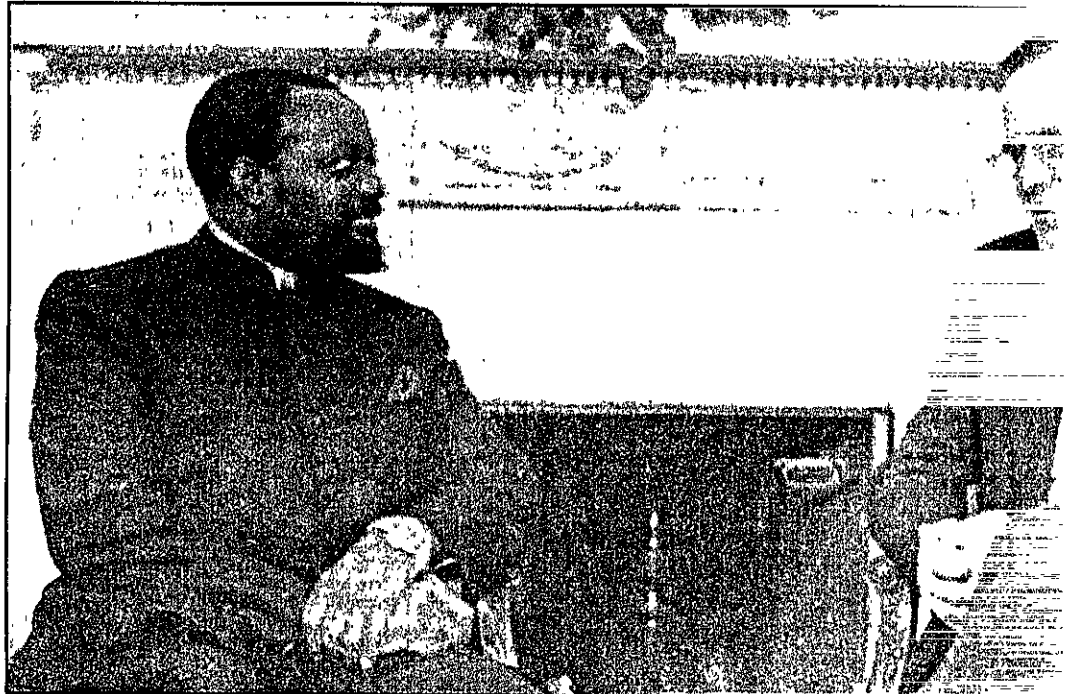
Dr Savimbi then issued another communique blaming Chingunji's death on the two high-level defectors, Tony Fernandes, co-founder with Dr Savimbi in 1964 of Unita, and Miguel N'Zau Puna, Unita's deputy leader for nearly all the 24 years he spent with Dr Savimbi commanding guerilla forces in Angola. (Mr Fernandes and Mr Puna have vehemently denied Dr Savimbi's story.)

However, 3½ years ago, Chingunji gave me — a long-time close friend — a detailed account of what he concluded was Dr Savimbi's strategy of ruthlessly eliminating anyone he thought a rival.

It is a terrible irony that

The terrible tale of a movement whose democratic ideals are fading at the hands of its ruthless leader is revealed by author **FRED BRIDGLAND.**

STAR 29/4/92
5



Chingunji arrived at his conclusions even as he was reaching the height of his diplomatic success in his dual role as Unita's foreign secretary and the movement's representative in the key post of Washington. Before that success came, Tito had worked with me on my book through eight difficult years at the same time as he served Unita and Dr Savimbi abroad — initially in London and Paris.

He encouraged, and arranged for me to make journeys many hundreds of kilometres behind Cuban lines with Unita guerillas in Angola. It was as a result of these treks that I reached conclusions about the war that were in conflict with conventional received opinion.

6 My parents were beaten to death on Savimbi's instructions

Angola was always more complex than the kind of East-West ideological battlelines drawn for it by northern hemisphere white men and which pitched Unita into warfare against Leonid Brezhnev's Soviet Union, Fidel Castro's Cuba and a then notably undemocratic African National Congress.

The US government encouraged Unita to fight the Soviets and Cubans, but the only real help Washington provided came in the shape of the defence force of South Africa, one of the planet's favourite moral

pariahs. Dr Savimbi, educated in Switzerland and trained as a guerrilla in the early Sixties in China, fought the Portuguese and led the movement from the bush. The Chingunji elders, led by Tito's parents, Jonatao and Violeta Chingunji, organised the clandestine movement, gathering intelligence and arranging "safe houses" in the Portuguese-run towns. Jonatao and Violeta raised 10 children, who all became Unita activists. All 10 offspring and their parents have died violently.

In 1976, after the Soviets and Cubans took over in Angola and installed the Marxist MPLA dictatorship in power in Luanda, Jonatao and Violeta Chingunji fled with tens of thousands of other Unita supporters to join the guerillas in the bush.

According to my book, Chingunji's parents were slain in 1979. Dr Savimbi told Tito they had died during an MPLA offensive. At first, Tito accepted this and passed it on to me. Meanwhile, Tito was rising fast in Unita ruling circles. By 1983 he was in the politburo and had become foreign secretary, ranked No 3 in the movement behind Dr Savimbi and Mr Puna. But that year, he told me later, relatives smuggled star-

ling information out of Angola: his parents had died at the hands of Dr Savimbi's henchmen.

Tito gathered evidence and kept his own counsel. He advised me on my book and played a pivotal role in negotiations that culminated in the December 1988 New York accords providing for the withdrawal of Cuban and Soviet forces from Angola and the South African Defence Force from neighbouring Namibia.

In September 1988, Tito phoned me in London and asked me to fly to Washington to talk to him. He said it was a life-or-death matter that could not be discussed by phone.

Mystified, but deeply con-

cerned about a man I loved as a brother, I flew to Washington. We met in a city centre hotel.

Tito told me that things were more complicated within Unita than he had ever told me. He went on: "Each time I return to Jamba I do not know whether or not I will come out again, or whether or not I will be killed. I have heard that my parents were beaten to death on Savimbi's instructions. I have now confirmed that this is true. My sisters and their wives and husbands are under arrest and have been severely beaten. One of my sisters, Xila, has been executed."

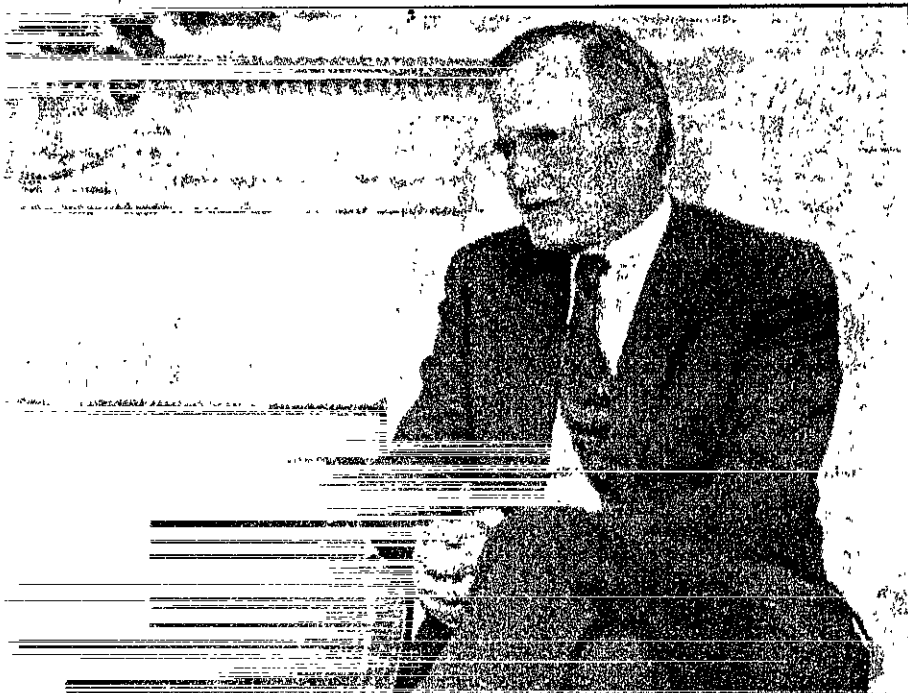
Tito said there had been rumours for a long time that four of his brothers had been killed on Dr Savimbi's orders, not by the Cubans, MPLA or Portuguese, as Dr Savimbi had assured him. Tito dismissed the rumours. He had lived through incredible adventures in the bush with Dr Savimbi and genuinely admired the man. "Then I heard that my surviving brothers and sisters had been arrested, and they got reports out to me saying that the strong-arm men who surround Savimbi had beaten our parents to death."

Jonatao and Violeta were tortured and beaten to death. (According to an account I was

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One face of a rebel chief... Jonas Savimbi was treated like a statesman in Washington, but has he gone too far with dreams of power?

not a spot of blood on my hand. Yes, it is true Tito's parents were killed, but not by me."

At a particularly high point of his rage, Dr Savimbi pointed to Chingunji, turned towards me and taunted: "There is your friend Tito. So what do you want to do with him now? Take him to a room where you can discuss alone? Or take him out altogether so that you can be the guarantor of his safety?"

Tito himself interrupted several times, mumbling disjointedly: "You, Fred Bridgland, must know that you and other people are creating big problems for me with all these accounts, which are completely untrue... You know yourself that in conversations with me that you have always asserted the brilliance, like a shining star, of Mr President, who has taught me politically everything I know..." Tito was fighting for survival.

At one point Unita's information secretary Jorge Valentim, a man with a well-deserved reputation for being hideously evil, leaned across to Tito, tapped his knee and said: "These imperialists not only spread all these lies about your family, but they were writing untrue things like 'Tito is the most intelligent man of Unita, he is the cleverest one', trying to divide us." Tito, near to tears, nodded agreement.

As the grim session wound down, Dr Savimbi in mercurial fashion changed mood, apologised if he had insulted me and suggested I embrace each politburo member. Like an actor in a surreal play, I did so.

I was escorted out. As I walked to my hut under millions of stars winking like magic diamonds in Africa's sky, I heard the sound of politburo laughter mocking me. I began writing notes on the encounter.

When I got back to London I worked with human rights groups and diplomats in an effort to engineer safe passage for Tito out of Jamba.

But I never saw him again. Now he, his wife and tiny children and scores of relatives are dead, victims of a man of immense potential who has been overcome by megalomania amounting to madness I miss Tito badly.

But it's curious. The dead Tito lives on vividly for his many friends in Angola and around the world. Many of us will celebrate his nobility, compassion and humility at a big memorial service in Washington early next month. Dr Savimbi lives on physically, but spiritually he is dead.

He may even still win Angola's elections in September, but history will record that his processed devotion to democracy and human rights was as meaningful as Josef Stalin's belief in peasant upliftment and Winnie Mandela's commitment to child welfare. □

● Fred Bridgland is the southern Africa correspondent of the *Sunday Telegraph* and the *Daily Telegraph* in London. His latest book, "The War for Africa — Twelve Months that Transformed a Continent" (Ashanti Press) records the final months of the Cuban-SADF conflict in Angola and was last year shortlisted for the Alan Paton Literary Prize.

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Jonatao and Violeta were tortured and beaten to death. (According to an account I was

ted the killings and repented. Tito said he believed Dr Savimbi was a "changed man".

Tito believed he was personally inviolate because of the invaluable diplomatic work he was doing in Washington, working closely with the likes of then White House chief of staff Colin Powell, the then US under-secretary of state for Africa Dr Chester Crocker, and the then presidential adviser on Africa Herman Cohen.

In November 1988 Tito and all Unita representatives abroad were called back to Jamba, ostensibly to confer prior to the signing of the New York accords. Many people warned him not to go.

Tito ignored the advice. He

dent PW Botha, was sitting in a big red chair facing 13 pistol-packing members of his politburo, including Mr Puna and Mr Fernandes, the recent defectors. Tito Chingunji, his face a mask of fear, sat in the middle of the politburo men. We hardly dared look at each other, much less say anything.

I was invited to sit on Dr Savimbi's right. I said I had come to inquire about Tito on behalf of many other people and because, during the time I worked with him on my book, I had come to see him as a brother.

Dr Savimbi exploded. His face contorted, he shouted and berated me: "You have come here to insult me. Do you think you can still come to Africa to

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given by a senior Unita representative still in Europe, the two were run over repeatedly by an SADF-supplied two-ton VW Unimog truck).

Despite the gravity of his accusations, Tito insisted, out of fear for relatives still in prison, that the information remain confidential. He would tell me when I could use it, or, if something serious happened, I would know that the time had come to make it public.

Tito said he had confronted Dr Savimbi with his findings and the Unita leader had admit-

went to Africa — and never returned.

I was inundated with calls from his friends in Europe and America asking me to go to Jamba to find out what had happened. I agreed — and stepped into one of the most bizarre and sad encounters of my life.

On the night of December 21 1988 I was ushered past guards totting AK-47 rifles into a circular conference hut known as a *django* in Jamba. Dr Savimbi, who had just flown back from a meeting in Pretoria with Presi-

patronise us, puffing yourself up and saying Tito is your brother and getting him into a lot of trouble?" He raged on and on.

"Our struggle is a big one, bigger than your book. Your book may be thick, but it is a very thin thing in the history of our struggle."

The harangue boomed on for some two hours. In one grotesque moment — grotesque, because I had made no allegations against Dr Savimbi — he raised his left palm upwards and outwards to his politburo and said: "I can tell you there is

AFRICA BRIEFS

Konare's election assured

MALI'S main opposition leader, Alpha Oumar Konare, a key figure in the uprising which toppled military dictator Moussa Traore, coasted towards victory this week in the second round of Mali's presidential elections, which saw only 16 percent of eligible voters turn out. The former teacher won 70.71 percent of the votes cast. His rival, Tieoule Mamadou Konate, won 30.07 percent, according to provisional official results. The trial of ex-president Traore on corruption charges will start on April 30. He will stand trial with 30 members of his government, including his former defence and interior ministers and army chief of staff.

Senegal, Mauritania resume ties

SENEGAL and Mauritania re-established diplomatic ties broken off three years ago after a border dispute over grazing rights in August 1989 sparked bloody riots between the mainly Arab Mauritians and black Senegalese. Human-rights groups say that at least 40 000 black Mauritians were forcibly expelled to Senegal and whole villages razed by Mauritania's Arab-run army during the clashes.

Mobutu praises conference

ZAIRE's President Mobutu Sese Seko says he is confident that the much-halted national conference will bring about peaceful political change. "The work under way at the conference will allow a significant advance in the democratisation process," he said. In conciliatory terms, he praised the chairman of the conference, Catholic Archbishop Monsengwo Pasinya, who has been one of his most vocal critics.

Cabinda grenade attack

A GRENADE tossed into a crowded market wounded 24 people last week in

the city of Cabinda, capital of Angola's oil-rich northern province. The attack comes amid spiralling violence, as guerrilla groups battle for independence from Angola. Last month, separatists from the Front for the Liberation of the State of Cabinda (FLEC) raided Cabinda Airport, killed nine government soldiers and destroyed 10 buses belonging to the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, which operates Cabinda's oil fields.

Angola's opposition party splits

A LEADING Angolan opposition party, the Democratic Renewal Party (PRD), split in two this week, effectively destroying its chances at the country's first multi-party elections in September. Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, former honorary president of the PRD, and his supporters resigned after alleged vote rigging for a new executive at the party's national convention at the weekend.

Mugabe urged to sack cabinet

THE fighters who won Zimbabwe's independence urged President Robert Mugabe to sack his entire cabinet. He was raked over the coals on Saturday when he addressed the inaugural meeting of the Zimbabwe National War Veterans' Association, made up of former fighters from Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (Zanla) and rival Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (Zipra). Numerous fighters stood up to tell Mugabe their grievances: no jobs, no land, no training, no money, no influence. They charged Mugabe's cabinet ministers were just lining their own pockets and loading the civil service with relatives and supporters from their own regions.

Compiled by Mark Huband in Abidjan and The Guardian staff

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Angola prepares for democracy ⁵

So we fan 30/4/92
SAURIMO (Angola) - Jose Cassinda wears his first civilian clothes in 13 years and, like many Angolans, wonders what lies ahead now that peace has come.

Blinking his bloodshot eyes in the searing sunlight, the 32-year-old former soldier joined hundreds of other troops at a demobilisation camp near the northeast border with Zaire, waiting to be told when he could go home.

He is eager to return to his village near Lubango, 900km away, for the first time since 1979 but does not know what he will do once he gets there.

"I want to see my mother, if she's still alive, and get married," he said, shuffling in his new leather shoes. "But what will I do? I have no skills, except how to use a gun."

An accord signed 11 months ago between the Soviet-backed MPLA government and US-backed Unita rebels ended 16 years of war which killed, maimed or displaced a million people.

Life is slowly returning to normal in some respects, but the initial euphoria has worn off as Angolans contemplate the wreckage that remains.

The end of curfews has restored nightlife, and seaside bars and cafes are flourishing in the capital Luanda. Basic goods such as soap, matches and rice are again available.

Hotels are crammed with foreign businessmen seeking to cash in on Angola's potential oil, mineral and agricultural wealth.

There is a mood of greater freedom, now that the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) government has abandoned its Marxist single-party system. Foreign currency is traded openly on the streets and opposition groups stage large public rallies unthinkable a year ago.

But for many of Angola's 10 million people, life is still a struggle for a cup of water or loaf of bread and the future is an anxious wait until the first multiparty elections in September.

In Luanda, acute water shortages and electricity cuts have worsened since the end of the war, as a swell of refugees strains the resources of the city of 2 million.

Cholera has broken out. At some hospitals, desperately short of supplies, floors are slippery with blood and medicine is running out.

"Peace hasn't brought us water or a decent life," said a resident of Rocha Pinto, a slum of mud huts outside Luanda, gesturing at toddlers playing in garbage.

The breakdown in infrastructure across the huge country could take a decade to rebuild, economists say.

Roads are ruined and strewn with mines. The telephone system barely functions. Thousands of bridges were blown up or damaged. Cash crops like coffee were neglected on many big estates and countless Angolans have gone without schooling.

Behind the multi-billion-dollar material damage is a nation psychologically traumatised by 30 years of war - 15 years of insurrection against Portuguese rule followed by civil war after independence in 1975.

"The war touched everyone," said Mr Marcolino Moco, MPLA secretary-general.

Western governments have pledged more than R2,7 billion in aid and credit lines to help economic recovery. The United Nations has sent several hundred observers to monitor the demobilisation of the two enemy armies and the September 29-30 elections.

Diplomats say there are too few observers to ensure the vote will be free of intimidation and fraud in a country with no democratic traditions.

The elections are a race between the two former civil war foes, as the 20-odd emerging political parties carry little weight.

A lack of firm political programmes by both the MPLA and Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) is less worrying to Angolans than the possibility that whoever loses will not do so gracefully.

International observers will leave when the new government is sworn in and Angola will finally be on its own after centuries of colonial rule and 16 years of superpower rivalry and military intervention by Cuba and South Africa. - Sapa-Reuter

LUANDA — The EC and African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) oil producers and exporters met in Angola yesterday for talks about improving dialogue and expanding trade.

"Greater co-operation is needed," Angolan Prime Minister Fernando Jose Franca Van Dunem said at the opening of the three-day conference on Monday.

More than 100 delegates are attending the talks in Luanda which are aimed at improving dialogue between oil and gas companies on both sides and increasing investment in developing countries.

Oil producers discuss expanding trade

The ACP group had 69 members, of which Nigeria, Gabon, Trinidad and Tobago, Cameroon, Congo and Angola were oil exporters, delegates said. The six were expected to produce up to 3.5-million barrels a day of crude until 1995.

The ACP had 23-billion barrels of proven oil reserves at end-1990, the last available figures, and supplied Western Europe with 10% of total oil needs. Nearly 60% was shipped by Nigeria and

16% from Angola, delegates said. ACP gas reserves were 3,64-trillion cubic metres in 1990, or 3% of the total worldwide. Nigeria held 76% of gas deposits and Trinidad and Tobago 16%.

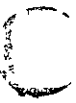
Van Dunem proposed the EC protect ACP oil-exporting countries from slumps in world energy prices by paying them compensation, as it did for commodities and minerals under the Lomé Convention's

Stabex (System of Stabilisation of Export Earnings) and Sysmin (minerals scheme) programmes.

"Furnish us with technical assistance to make an inventory of our resources, teach us to exploit them rationally and help us when times are hard," the Angolan prime minister appealed to the EC, reports the Portuguese news agency Lusa.

European energy commissioner Antonio Cardoso e Cunha said the idea merited discussion. Van Dunem's request "would not fall on deaf ears", he told the meeting. — Sapa-Reuter.

UK lending



'Unita will march to power' Jonas Savimbi shrugs off controversy

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Dr Jonas Savimbi has brushed aside foreign concern.

DR JONAS Savimbi has brushed aside foreign concern over mysterious deaths in his Unita movement, saying the controversy will not block his march to power in Angola.

The opposition leader says his support has never been stronger among Angolans, weary of 17 years of one-party rule by his erstwhile civil war foe, the MPLA.

"If there are free and fair elections there will be a Unita government," Savimbi said in an interview in his stately villa overlooking Luanda's port. "I am confident."

The United States, his main foreign backer, demanded an inquiry by Unita into charges by two of his deputies, who defected in March, that Savimbi had ordered the murders of Unita officials Mr Tito Chingunji and Mr Wilson dos Santos last year.

Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen, who met Savimbi last month in Luanda, stressed human rights violations would not be tolerated if Unita came to power.

Savimbi handed a report on the probe to Cohen and then shrugged off the controversy, saying, "The best of friends sometimes criticise each other."

Savimbi says he accepts moral responsibility for the deaths but blames them on one of the defectors — former Interior Minister Mr Miguel Nzau Puna.

He says he (Savimbi) was a victim of a defamation campaign and his followers will vote for him overwhelmingly in Angola's first multi-party poll on September 29 and 30.

Allegations by Unita dissidents that Savimbi may have been involved in other killings seem to make little impact on his popularity at home, say Western diplomats who expect a close electoral race with the MPLA.

"Some Westerners may see him as the butcher of Angola but many Angolans feel he is acting like a strong tribal leader," said one diplomat.

His supporters say they expect him to take firm action to demonstrate his power.

Savimbi has commanded particular backing among Angola's largest ethnic group, the Ovimbundo, during 30 years of fighting — first against Portuguese colonial rule and then against the MPLA after independence in 1975. By setting up a propa-

ganda machine and schools and clinics in Unita-controlled areas, he has cultivated sympathy around Luanda slums and his southern bush headquarters of Jamba.

Even some MPLA officials admit Savimbi is a powerful orator who can electrify crowds unlike shy President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

But they point to reports by the International Committee of the Red Cross that Unita still has political prisoners, or by dissidents that people are held against their will in Unita-controlled areas.

"People see Unita has not made the transition

from a bush guerilla movement to a political party," said MPLA secretary-general Mr Marcolino Moco.

"Savimbi talks about democracy but suppresses it in his own group."

Threat

Aware of the electoral threat posed by Unita, the MPLA has been trying to gain ground in Savimbi's traditional power bases and bring back to the fold prominent dissidents who quit when the MPLA adopted Soviet-style socialism at independence.

Even before the human rights controversy, Unita was losing international backing for a variety of rea-

sons. When Unita signed a peace accord with the MPLA last May, the superpowers halted military support for their Angolan proxies who had been at war for 16 years.

After meeting Savimbi, Cohen called for more aid for other emerging political parties. He said Washington backed the democracy process and not explicitly Unita.

South Africa, which offered Unita military help from 1975 to 1988, is now actively courting the MPLA government with which it restored diplomatic ties this year. - *Sapa-Reuters*.

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How I survived

Angolan night

As a teenager Bertus Kapp was sent by the SADF to be a killing machine in a foreign land. His remarkable story is testimony to the ravages and dehumanisation of war. He speaks to GAVIN DU PLESSIS:

BERTUS KAPP remembers the charred bodies, the bombs falling in the night and naked soldiers being gunned down after they had surrendered. He recalls how the madness of war drove combatants to regard killing as just another job, even one that had a perverse pleasure.

It was the late eighties and the young Afrikaner was caught up in the Angolan conflict.

Now a graduate, the former SADF crew commander was assigned to the Olifant Tanks when he made his journey into hell. It was a nightmare in which he and his fellow combatants were forced to loll strangers in a foreign land.

"Today I don't even know why I was there," he says.

He has made a remarkable emotional recovery from an experience he found horrific, traumatic — and confusing. A baffled expression plays across his "booy next door" face as he tells his story.

"We were based in Bloemfontein where we were briefed that we were being sent to South West Africa to fetch military vehicles. Only once our plane had landed did we realise we were located 20 to 30km inside Angola. The whole situation was totally deceptive."

He found the basic training he had undergone in South Africa unsuited to the style of war they had to wage in Angola.

"We were trained on the open plains and suddenly found ourselves confronted with a bush war with almost no visibility of the location of our supposed targets.

"Planes heard flying overhead at night would cause inner panic and questions like, 'Is that one of our mirages or is it an enemy aircraft?'"

"Meantime the sound of gunfire roared ominously in the distance. We could not tell from the sound of the canons whether they belonged to the SADF or not.

"Bombs would fall and someone would call out, 'Oh God that was close.' We had difficulty sleeping."

Bertus remembers being alone some evenings while on radio duty.

I was the only one left awake. I tried not to walk anywhere during those hours. It was easy to wander off in the wrong direction.

"We stayed put because bumping into someone accidentally could spark a fright-induced skirmish.

"The thick vegetation instilled indescribable fear in me, especially once I started witnessing the consequences of that war with its burnt out military hardware, charred bodies and

wounded casualties on both sides. I learned about death and the knowledge that I could be next at any given moment."

Bertus complained about the food supplied to the conscripts.

"We were given RAT (ration) packs which was supposedly 100 percent nutritious. After a month of living on that stuff, most of the guys were suffering from chronic diarrhoea — aggravated by a lack of toilet paper."

He says the shortage of fresh produce and vitamin-enriched foods made the combatants susceptible to sepsis. A minor scratch festered immediately.

I RECALL OUR joy when we received fresh T-bone steaks every four months or so. We even devoured the bones." As letters were subject to censorship, it was impossible to complain and ask families to send a greater variety of food, he recalled.

And then there was the unbearable tension between the troops caused by restricted movement in the war zone and a lack of proper recreational facilities.

"All we had to do was sit and wait and wait. The longer the waiting continued, the more the tension mounted.

"It was a war of waiting and waiting between contacts with opposing forces. This resulted in the sickly combination of boredom, uncertainty and constant fear.

"After three weeks to a month of inactivity,

we would be given orders to go into action. If we asked our officers when and where, we were simply told once more to wait for further instructions. Twelve to 24 hours later the message would be relayed to us that the attack had been cancelled.

"Eventually, because of the stress caused by the uncertainty, we fought among each other. Substance abuse — alcoholism or dagga obtained from the Unita forces — became a rampant problem among individuals who were normally abstemious."

Bertus seems saddened when he speaks of the physical and mental destruction his friends went through in that futile two-year exercise.

The strained relationships between SADF soldiers were compounded by the presence of their Unita allies.

"They worked with us and lived with us. But still I felt threatened by their presence because of my conservative upbringing. I was young and inexperienced at the time; they appeared to be very different from me."

He says the mistrust between SADF and Unita soldiers was aggravated by language differences.

"In desperation to communicate, we learned to speak a kitchen Portuguese."

SADF soldiers distrusted Unita troops because of the Fapla (Angolan) soldiers who infiltrated SADF bases disguised as members of Unita.

"They planted anti-personnel mines and set booby traps which injured a number of our men. We were subjected to a state of illusion. They dressed the same as the Unita guys, looked the same and spoke the same language. There were so many of them that it became difficult to tell who was who.

"In desperation, we were told to shoot anyone in front of us if they didn't keep a distance of two steps behind our chaps during manoeuvres.

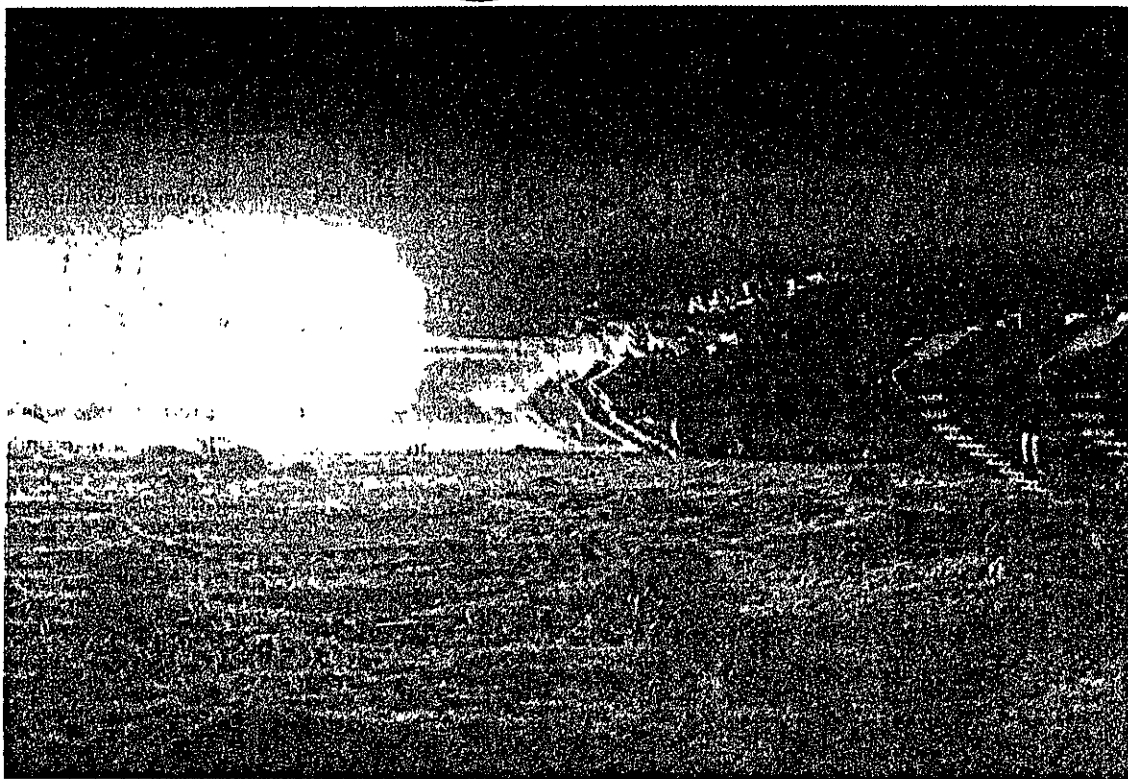
"Today I think back and it occurs to me that many people may have been wounded or killed because it was so difficult to distinguish between the Fapla and Unita forces."

TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES resulted from the conflicting instructions given to the SADF and Unita on how to deal with the capture of the enemy.

"We fired out pamphlets stating the terms of surrender to the Fapla forces. These conditions required the troops to undress completely and to stand with their hands in the air when we arrived. This was supposed to guarantee that they would not come to any further harm.

"We advanced towards the surrendering Fapla troops and saw them standing naked. Then the Unita contingent arrived, not knowing about the conditions of surrender. So they opened fire.

"This in turn created pandemonium among



FIRE POWER AT NIGHT: SADF Stealth tanks spew out their deathly ammunition into Angola

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During therapy, the psychiatrist asked me what it felt like to kill others. My reply was that, in a perverse sort of way, it became quite pleasurable.'

the defeated Fapla forces who couldn't understand why they were being mowed down after complying with our terms.

"In the heat of the moment we would join in and do exactly the same as Unita — shoot the surrendering soldiers."

In another incident involving the Fapla forces, the 21st Brigade (Kapp's division) came across four Fapla soldiers towards late evening. They were clearly shell-shocked and totally disorientated.

"We began to interrogate them, but they were unable to answer. They were told they were to be handed over to the Unita forces for transportation to their headquarters in Jamba.

"Then a Unita soldier killed one of the captured men. This added to the state of bewilderment among the Fapla captives who, after seeing one of their comrades shot, didn't even know whether they would see the next day.

"I often wonder what happened to the prisoners of war handed over to Unita."

Bertus says he was traumatised by the grim and gruesome side of the war.

After completing his military duty, Bertus could not adapt to civilian life and had psychiatric treatment.

HE FOUND his value system had changed drastically: "Killing others became just another job I had become insensitive to the value of life around me, including my own.

"During therapy, the psychiatrist asked me what it felt like to kill others. My reply to him was that, in a perverse sort of way, it became quite pleasurable."

Bertus says that because of the frustrations of fighting a bush war, "killing became a release of this frustration".

"At the time we were so anxious to obliterate our opposition that we couldn't do it fast enough. We may have been overcome by a temporary psychopathic state — at the time the killing became addictive.

"When I began my training, I was a naive 18-year-old. Later I began to grow cynical when I realised I was risking my life every day but that it was worth no more than a few miserable rands to the state."

For a long time after his bush war experiences he was afraid to form close relationships in case the person died.

"I just did not know if I could deal with that." Only well into his second year as a student did he manage to form a stable relationship. But there are still times he struggles to communicate with his peers.

Bertus entered a war without a free choice, without any historical perspective or an ideological direction at the time. In concluding the interview, he comments: "Fighting to maintain a bogus colony which we no longer possess — what did we achieve? Nothing. We cannot even regard ourselves as war heroes. I was awarded a medal but where shall I wear it?"

"They also awarded me a certificate stating that I had fought against terrorism.

"In 10 or 20 years time, will I be telling my children I was a war hero who fought against terrorism? Maybe they will ask... but I doubt it."

THE GRIM AND GRUESOME SIDE OF WAR

"We came under artillery fire from the side of the Fapla (Angolan) forces. One of our men was climbing into the driver's compartment of the tank when a 150mm projectile hit him.

"His whole upper body was shattered, his inner organs dangling sideways from the torso. Part of his arm was lying in a different place. We picked up pieces of teeth but part of the jawbone was nowhere to be found.

"Lots were drawn to determine who would clean up the grizzly remains and transport the body back to Rundu.

"The lot fell on me and my buddy. By then I was a seasoned trooper and able to handle these experiences. But my buddy was gagging and retching while we used pieces of cardboard and a hand broom to sweep up tiny sections of flesh scattered all over the scene."

Collecting bits of human hair, skin and bone felt like an endless task. "That day we must have used up litres and litres of anti-septic

cleaning fluids in an attempt to quell that nauseating smell of death, blood and rotting flesh.

"Towards evening we took the corpse back to Rundu but were reluctant to touch anything inside the tank as the blast had showered the soldier's remains over the driver and passenger areas.

"There were still minute bits of hair and skin cleaving to the steering wheel and gears... even the radio was smeared.

"It's difficult to understand how I managed to retain any semblance of sanity under those circumstances.

"The tank driver survived this direct RPG rocket strike. But when the medic with him was killed the driver was spattered with flesh and blood.

"After this he was subject to violent outbursts, despite a lengthy spell of psychiatric treatment.

"He has never been quite the same person since that incident."



SADF ALLIES: Unita soldiers prepare for an onslaught on their country men with the aid of the SADF

SA exports to Angola soar but imports lag far behind

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FOODSTUFFS, beer, household and manufactured goods are reaching Angola from SA in increasing quantities but, as an indication of the lopsided trade between the two countries, ships are returning empty.

Unicorn has been operating vessels to Angola for about a year.

Executive director Allan Ford says since the end of last year, cargoes of foodstuffs, beer, soft drinks, household goods and manufactured goods, oil rig supplies and equipment have sailed once every three to four weeks.

Characteristic of the trade between the two countries, Unicorn's vessels return to SA empty, he says.

In 1990, SA imported goods from Angola worth R59 000. SA's exports reached R50m in that year. Angola's main exports include oil, gold, diamonds and other minerals.

Central Energy Fund crude oil deputy GM Johan de Jager said there were not yet any firm indications of a deal to supply oil to SA from Angola.

Factors against such a possibility

EDWARD WEST

included the fact that Angola was pumping to full capacity and that most of the oil was already committed to various markets, said De Jager. Also, oil was freely available to SA at present and there was no need to search for new markets.

A Sasol spokesman said yesterday the group was not involved in any oil deals with Angola, but would be interested in investing in oil exploration activities off the Angolan coast.

Skills

Meanwhile, diplomatic relations have improved. SA has an office in Angola and talks are under way to establish an Angolan office in SA.

SA Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister Renier Schoeman yesterday handed certificates to a group of Angolan manpower training instructors in Bloemfontein. The training aimed to equip demobilised Angolan soldiers with technical skills, Schoeman said in a statement.

Spornet African affairs manager Andre Heydenrych said rail authorities would make technical capacity available to Angola to reconstruct war-ravaged infrastructure.

He said the reconstruction of the Benguela railway line would not be in SA's short-term interest because it would divert Zairean copper through Angolan ports instead of through Durban and Dar-es-Salaam.

Murray and Roberts Construction (M & R) has proactively established links with Angola. MD Charl van der Merwe said Angola had signed a memorandum of understanding with M & R for the construction of infrastructure. But it was early days and all M & R had so far exported to Angola was a small number of prefabricated buildings for schools.

Safto spokesman Charles Kuzmanich said the next trade delegation to visit Angola on June 15 would be the seventh of its kind this year. But he warned that business was still hampered by poor payment and a blanket of insecurity as the country prepares for elections on September 29.

... who has held the job only for weeks.
the accusations. — Sapa-Reuter.

Crisis killing Angolan patients S 16/5/92

LUANDA — Lack of medical care is killing dozens of Angolans daily because of a strike by Luanda hospital workers, officials said yesterday. The indefinite stoppage, in its fifth day, is the second in six months by the strikers demanding better wages and working conditions. "We don't have a single aspirin, anti-diarrhoea medicine or malaria pills," said one striker. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mine blaze halts production S 16/5/92

UNDERGROUND production at the Libanon gold mine outside Johannesburg was affected when a fire was detected about 2 400 m below the surface on Wednesday, a spokesman for Gold Fields SA said yesterday. The fire has been successfully sealed off, and no injuries were reported. — Sapa.

Art vanishes in gallery move

DURBAN — Three paintings insured for R42 400 have disappeared from the collection of Maritzburg's Tatham art gallery, be-



C

The African phoenix

S(Times) (Buss) 17/5/92

JOHN CAVILL IN LONDON



(5)

OF all the African countries embracing market economy reforms and putting out the welcome mat for foreign investors, few can beat the potential offered by Angola.

South African businessmen with the patience needed to overcome the irritations and discomforts of establishing a foothold, stand to benefit most from the rediscovery of Angola which, apart from oil, was forgotten in 17 years of civil war and Marxist government.

Political uncertainty remains, however. It is far from clear whether the first multi-party elections in September will set the seal on Angola's newly achieved peace or re-ignite tensions between the MPLA led by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi's Unita.

But if words have any meaning, both sides are so wholly committed to growth and investment that a return to conflict would be to inflict an act of unthinkable and suicidal madness on Angola's 10-million people.

The World Bank is optimistic, saying: "For the first time since 1975, Angola has achieved enough political stability for foreign investors to begin developing its legendary wealth in natural resources, virtually untapped since independence."

There was nothing equivocal in President Dos Santos's message in a survey of Angola by the Financial Times in London this week.

He said: "Our goal is straightforward: to turn Angola into an economic engine in a regional power bloc that will provide the base for development and growth in sub-Saharan Africa."

"Our determination offers Western investors major opportunities in a society certain to be one of Africa's future economic powers."

Many big investors are taking

the plunge without waiting for the outcome of the elections.

Oil is booming. It has been Angola's sole economic success story, output quintupling since 1975 to 555 000 barrels a day — enough to meet SA's needs twice over — worth about \$3.5-billion a year and generating 90% of export earnings.

Chevron, the US giant which functioned uncomfortably under the security provided by Cuban troops in the war, has made development of oilfields its main foreign investment priority.

ELF of France, the second-biggest producer, and the American Texaco are also pouring in hundreds of millions.

British Petroleum and Occidental of the US are moving in to join the others which include Petrofina (Belgium) and AGIP (Italy).

British oil analyst Matthew Shaw of County NatWest Woodmac, estimates that annual investment, which more than doubled to \$500-million in the past three years, will hit \$750-million in 1993 and 1994. By the end of the decade, \$4.7-billion will have been spent.

Output from known reserves of 4.9-billion barrels is set to rise 34% to 680 000 barrels a day by the mid-1990s.

Operating outside the quotas of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (Opec),

Angola is free to sell as much as it likes.

By the turn of the century, as new deep-water wells (110 metres, which is commonplace in the North Sea) come on stream, production will head for a million barrels daily.

Sonangol, the state oil company which is a partner in all the fields, wants to build a refinery.

The oil developments alone promise SA — its exports to Angola were worth R50-million in 1990 — a fast-growing doorstep market where its competitive price edge will be almost impossible to beat.

Rebuilding Angola's war shattered infrastructure with aid from the World Bank and rehabilitating its agriculture offers even more long-term potential.

Murray & Roberts is already there after the February agreement with the Angolans.

Diamonds lead the expansion of the mining industry.

De Beers' marketing agreement with Endiama included a \$50-million loan for development in the Cuango region. A new deal is expected soon under which De Beers will spend \$50-million on exploration.

Officially, Angolan diamond output has more than halved from 2.4-million carats to about 1-million since independence — worth \$190-million last year.

But far more than that is illicitly mined and smuggled out — as much as \$260-million worth

which the Central Selling Organisation has had to buy back from the secondary market to maintain stability.

Outside diamonds, there awaits the resumption of iron-ore mining at Cassinga, which once exported 6-million tons a year, when rail links are rebuilt.

But Jose Dias, in charge of the Department of Geology and Mining says there is much more potential from a range of minerals.

"No new investment has been made in mines. Many of our minerals have been forgotten," says Mr Dias, who is negotiating exploration agreements with RTZ and Anglo American as well as De Beers.

ANGOLA's undoubted oil boom raises the question of whether Namibia will join its neighbour as a significant producer in the 1990s.

A consortium headed by Norsk Hydro of Norway has been awarded the licence — it involves spending \$45-million and drilling three deep wells — to explore more than 11 000 square kilometres off the Namibian coast.

It joins Etosha, the Taiwanese group, which has rights over a northern block and another 18 oil operators whose applications are being considered by Namcor, the state petroleum authority.

So far only the Kudu gasfield — first drilled by Chevron and later by Soekor — offers tangible proof of hydro-carbons.

According to Intera ECL Petroleum Technologies, the British consultants advising the Namibians, the Kudu field's reserves are anything between 142-billion and 490-billion cubic metres. But it requires more evaluation — and not least what markets there would be for its gas.

Some analysts consider Namibia could be the world's next "oil province".

Angola offers peace mission

JERUSALEM — Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem, making a first visit to Israel, was quoted yesterday as saying his country would like a role in US-brokered Middle East peace talks.

An Israeli foreign ministry statement quoted Van-Dunem from a meeting with Israeli counterpart David Levy, during which they also signed an agreement for economic and scientific co-operation.

The statement made no indication of Levy's response to this suggestion.

It said Levy told Van-Dunem he knew Angola had also grappled with problems "that don't lend themselves to quick solutions" and that Israel was ready to help Angola. — Sapa-AP.

ANGOLA has a curious ability to make journalists eat their words. Describing the country's descent into civil war following the Alvor Accords in 1975, Jane Bergerol, then writing for the Financial Times, described Unita's Jonas Savimbi as a deft and committed peace-maker "whose original claim to fame as the single leader to have spent the war (against Portugal) entirely inside Angola has been overtaken by his immediate popularity at the hustings".

Bergerol, the daughter of a British diplomat, stayed on in Luanda after the MPLA victory, joined the party and became a Cuban-trained doctor to piece together the victims of Savimbi, the imperialist puppet.

Fred Bridgland, author of the 1986 Key to Africa, from which the above quote is taken, has found himself obliged to do a similar, though much more belated, about face. In late March, he informed readers of the Washington Post that Savimbi had become a megalomaniac tyrant responsible for the death of Tito Chingunji, the former Unita Washington representative, most of his family and countless other innocents besides.

Bridgland's reassessment followed the defection of two of Unita's co-founders who claimed that Savimbi had had Chingunji and his brother-in-law, Wilson dos Santos, killed. That claim, plus Bridgland's apparent authentication of it, led US Secretary of State James Baker to write personally to Savimbi demanding an explanation.

The truth of these allegations is for the voters of Angola to decide, assuming they will finally get a chance to cast their ballots in September. For better or worse, now that the outside world has stopped sponsoring the civil war, outsiders have little leverage with which to affect the outcome, as much as some interests, most notably the oil companies, might wish it otherwise.

The safest course is to be agnostic and focus not on the parties and their individual leaders, but on the process set in motion by the Bicesse Accords last year. Although it may yet take some expensive midwifery by the

Claims by shadow Unita officials add to festering intrigue

By SIMON BARBER in Washington

April 19/1992

UN, the only settlement that has a chance of sticking is an indigenous one.

Unfortunately this view does not seem to be shared by the dissidents, Gen Miguel N'Zau Puna and former foreign secretary Tony da Costa Fernandes, who were in town last week trying to whip up support for Savimbi's removal. Were Angolans to make the error of electing him, they argued, he would embark upon a "hologanist".

If this is true, and they have the level of support within the movement which they claim, their efforts would surely be better directed at convincing their own countrymen than running to the petticoats of the State Department and House and Senate intelligence committees. What, exactly, do they think the Americans can do at this stage? Force Savimbi to hold a party conference that would, if they are right, result in his ouster? Get a grip, gentlemen. US "cover" aid to Unita ended on March 31 and there is really very little else, other than harsh language, that Washington can use to twist Savimbi's arm.

My tentative judgment, based on their performance here, and which, the subject being Angola, I fully expect to have to amend, is that Puna and Fernandes are not credible. The kindest interpretation may be that they compromised themselves and are desperately trying to find some

way out of their predicament. The circumstances of their defection remain murky. Cabindans both Puna hails from one of the royal families of the enclave's Woyo tribe — they initially aligned themselves with Cabindan separatists. Whether the jet that took Puna from Luanda to Portugal in late February was provided by the MPLA government, as Savimbi alleges, or by Jose Ndele, a former Unita official and vice-president of the Cabinda rebel movement Flec, is unclear. What is certain is that their story thereafter has kept changing and expanding.

While the pair claim they had been planning their move long before they actually left Angola, it was some time before they announced that they had not defected from the organisation but intended to work within it for "democracy". Only last week did they get around to saying that they were launching what they called the Democratic Reflection Tendency inside Unita, of which they remained "loyal" members.

Members, perhaps, but not terribly concerned that their attempt to splinter the movement might cost it the election. "We are aware that the government in Luanda may take certain advantages of our political stance,"

Fernandes remarked. "But there is nothing we can do." Now, if he had said that the Democratic Reflection Tendency was trying to strengthen the party to assure its victory, the assertion of loyalty might have been more believable. It might also have helped their case if they had been willing to criticise the MPLA in any but the most general and anodyne terms.

Their credibility was not enhanced by their appearance at a shamelessly staged "memorial service" for Tito Chingunji at the start of their visit. The congregation had altogether too many MPLA lobbyists in it shunned when he was stationed here. Fernandes delivered an extravaganza of pliant, elegant sighs, much mopping of the brow with a handkerchief — which he ended with a plea that "Savimbi's personal greedy ambition must be stopped".

Savimbi's version of events, contained in his reply to Baker and the report of a commission of inquiry into the Chingunji and Dos Santos deaths chaired by Unita vice-president Jeremias Chitunda, may also be less than honest. Certainly it has not satisfied Senate intelligence committee chairman David Boren, who has called on the UN secretary-general to conduct his own inquiry. Even so, Savimbi's account,

though overblown in parts, hangs together slightly better than that of the dissidents. His basic claim is that in the late '80s, Chingunji, a rising young star in the movement, plotted to oust, even poison, him — possibly with encouragement from elements in the CIA — and make peace with the MPLA which had expressed a willingness to settle so long as Savimbi himself was removed.

Chingunji was recalled to Jamba in 1988. Bridgland reported that he went knowing his life was in danger. He was brought before a tribunal chaired by Puna the following February to which he supposedly confessed. Savimbi believed both he and his alleged co-conspirator, Dos Santos, could be rehabilitated but others in the leadership, particularly Puna, who saw the young man as a threat to his own position, disagreed. Whether or not Savimbi is sincere in saying he loved Chingunji like a "son" and placed him and his family under guard for his own protection, it makes sense that he would not have wanted him killed. He had become popular in the US and had developed a genuine base of support for Unita among black Americans, whose leaders generally sided with the MPLA. His death would have been politically ruinous.

Last September, following the cessation of hostilities, Puna, then Unita minister of interior and public order, travelled to Luanda where he met his cousin, MPLA defence minister Pedro Tonha "Pardale". Savimbi suggests that they reached an arrangement. In return for \$1m and a slice of the action in his native Cabinda, Puna was to subvert Savimbi. This he achieved by having Chingunji, Dos Santos and their families murdered in mid-November, knowing that Savimbi had promised to present the two men to Congressman David McCurdy, chairman of the House intelligence committee the following January.

Puna and Fernandes have been making one claim, though not oddly, in public, that could and should be tested. They say vice-president Chitunda is being held under virtual house arrest at the Hotel Turismo in Luanda while his family is being kept hostage in Luanda. If that is true, perhaps they are more credible than they seem.

Angola starts registering eligible voters

8/18/92 21/5/92
LUANDA — Angola began registering voters yesterday for the country's first multiparty elections, scheduled for September.

The register opened in five of the 18 provinces, with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos the first citizen to sign on in the capital Luanda.

Registering is scheduled to continue until the end of July in order to compile a list of those eligible to vote in legislative and presidential elections.

About half of Angola's 10-million population is expected to be eligible.

The government has accused former Unita rebels of impeding the extension of civil administration — and now registering of voters — in areas it controls.

The electoral council launched a publicity campaign to encourage voters to register under the slogan "Smile again, Angola".

In 12 provinces, about 1 030 mobile brigades, with a total of 5 700 people, have been organised to oversee registration.

Observer teams of officials from the UN, Russia, Portugal and US will monitor the elections.

Unita is expected to be the main challenger in the elections. More than 20 new opposition parties have sprung up since the cease-fire, but few are expected to have any impact. Dos Santos's MPLA has recently shed its long-held Marxist philosophies. — Sapa-AP.



Dos Santos registers for poll

LUANDA — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos proudly showed off his electoral card on Wednesday after being the first Angolan citizen to be registered for Angola's first free election, to be held in September. (S)

STAR 2215792.

Exiles' bid to exhume colleagues

Sowetan 25/5/92

The Returned Exiles Committee has appealed to Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to allow it to visit former African National Congress camps.

The committee says it wants to exhume bodies of members who died there and return them to South Africa for a "proper Christian burial".

The REC has been established to assist alleged victims of ANC rehabilitation camps and their families.

REC chairman Mr Patrick Hlongwane said in a statement in Durban on Friday it was "a source of great bitterness and pain" to the relatives of the alleged victims that their loved ones had been buried in mass graves without the



DOS SANTOS

benefit of proper Christian burial.

He said he had appealed to Dos Santos to permit the exhumation to take place. The REC knew where the graves were located, he said.

Hlongwane also appealed to Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha to help facilitate the operation and to provide finan-

cial support for it.

He added that the REC would have no objection to the ANC, International Red Cross, Freedom Foundation, South African Council of Churches or other similar organisations sending representatives to attend the exhumation.

Hlongwane also expressed "deep concern" at the murder on Thursday of an active member of the REC, Mr Bongani Ntshingase, at Msinga in Natal, and said it made him realise "the matter was urgent".

He said that while Mr Dave Dalling, chairman of Codesa's Work Group 1 at the time, had assured him that the REC would be able to present its case, Codesa had ignored the plight of the alleged ANC plight. - Sapa.

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Pope's Angola visit still on (5)

LISBON — Pope John Paul II would visit Angola as planned next month, despite a wave of violence against foreigners, a Vatican official said yesterday. Portuguese President Mario Soares postponed a state visit to Angola on Sunday following a two-week murder spree that left eight Portuguese and two other foreigners dead.

Affirmative action by Nats in schools, says CP

THE Conservative Party was opposing the Education and Culture Vote in the Supplementary Estimates of the House's Budget because, for the first time, it was being shown irrefutably that the government was applying affirmative action, Mr Andrew Gerber (CP Brits) said.

In a declaration of vote in the House of Assembly he said funds were being taken away from the white education department and given to other departments.

The introduction of Model C schools had added an extra tax burden on parents' shoulders, and

thousands of teachers' jobs were on the line. **5 ARG 26/5/92**

Dr Johan Swanepoel (NP Bloemfontein East) said teachers' would be kept in their jobs to the maximum possible extent

The vote was approved by 97 votes to 27. — Sapa.

M&R school is opened despite death threat

Brink
2915792 Own Correspondent

DESPITE a death threat on his life from a mysterious caller, Murray & Roberts CE David Brink yesterday opened a school that his company financed in Cabinda province, Angola.

A military attaché from the SA representative office in Luanda, who declined to be named, said yesterday his office had received a call from the SA Foreign Affairs Department and been informed of the death threat.

"We were told that someone had called the head office of Murray & Roberts in SA and said that if Mr Brink did not return immediately, something would happen to him here in Angola," he said.

Journalist Callie Long is reported by Sapa as saying the death threat was received by Brink and his wife Merle "in their Luanda office". Long is reported to have said the caller was unhappy with the high profile of the visit.

The military attaché said the caller had said he was an ANC member.

The caller expressed unhappiness at M & R developing ties with Angola. He also said he knew Sanlam and M & R were closely associated.

Brink went to Angola with his wife, some associates and an SABC-TV crew in two corporate jets. Their task was to open a prefabricated community school, the first of nine in the M & R project there.

Brink decided to go ahead with the opening after the Angolan authorities gave him assurances regarding the safety of his party.

M & R announced earlier this year that it would assist Angola's oil-rich Cabinda province in a number of infrastructural projects.

The company is providing prefabricated houses, schools and hotels as a priority. It will also be involved in the training of engineering and construction personnel, production of concrete bricks and blocks, harbour and road works and mining exploration.

Unita joining Luanda government, says Pik

5 OCT 9/12/92

DURBAN. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi had agreed to send a proportionate number of representatives to Luanda to join the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, South African Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said here yesterday.

He said that in doing so Unita had followed the advice of the South African government.

Mr Botha said he had spoken to the Angolan rebel leader by telephone.

"Dr Savimbi said his only concern was that a guarantee should be given for the personal security and safety of Unita members who will join the government of Mr Dos Santos.

"Dr Savimbi also indicated that senior members of Unita are still held in detention in Luanda and the South

African government's advice in this regard is that he should negotiate this with the government of Mr Dos Santos," said Mr Botha.

In Luanda a top Angolan government military chief said yesterday he was not convinced Unita rebels had left Uige and Negage, two strategic northern cities occupied last week.

General Higinio Carneiro described as superficial a UN report that Unita forces might have started to pull out.

The occupation more than a week ago of Uige, 300km north-east of Luanda, and nearby Negage, the most important air base in the north, was a major advance for Unita, which has taken some 75% of Angola since disputing the results of the September elections. — Sapa-Reuter

Angolan opposition sure of place in govt

RAY HARTLEY

ANGOLAN opposition leader Luis dos Passos is confident his Party for Renewal of Democracy (PRD) will form part of Angola's first democratically elected government this year.

In an interview following an SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safit) business briefing in Sandton on Friday, Dos Passos said the PRD would win "at least 20% of the vote" in September's elections.

Dos Passos said there was unlikely to be an outright winner and the PRD could therefore become part of a coalition.

He said he was visiting SA in the interests of developing southern Africa.

Safit's area manager for Africa Paul Runge said the PRD would improve SA investment prospects in Angola if it formed part of government there.

A future Angolan government would manage a "massive reconstruction project" bankrolled by the UN, World Bank and Africa Development Bank, he said.

SA would be in a unique position to assist with such a project, Runge said.

The PRD was the country's third largest party and positioned itself "between social democracy and democracy". It favoured "the free market and private transferable property".

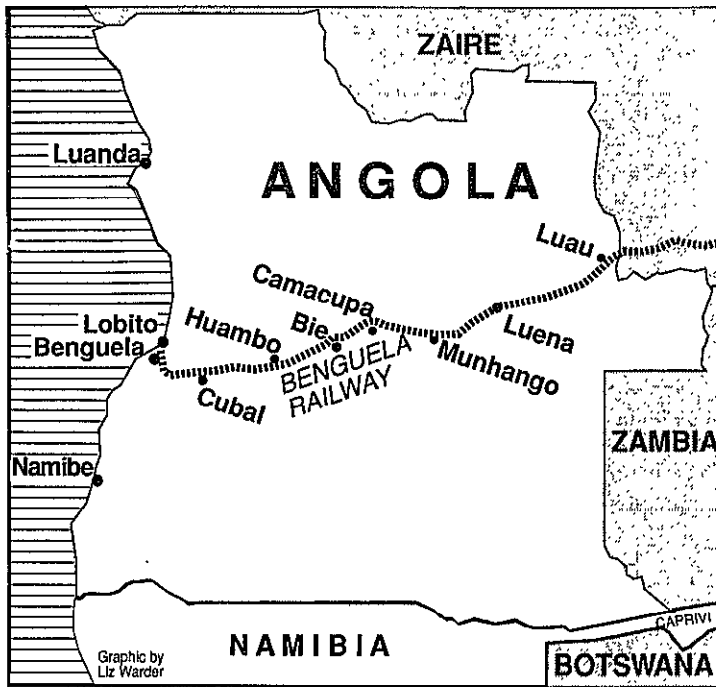
"If there is no clear majority, we will align ourselves with the party we most identify with. The MPLA is out. We are closer to Unita," he said.

He said a government media monopoly and a lack of funds were hampering the PRD's election efforts.



Members of Angola's opposition Party for Renewal of Democracy at a Sandton media briefing. From left, financial adviser Amadeo dos Santos Nenes, party leader Luiz dos Passos, and economic adviser Baptista Tchiponene.

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS



Angola has faith in its Iron Horse

STAR 9/7/92

(5)

The Benguela railway line across Angola has never been just a set of tracks. From the start of construction, the line has been built on political issues, from colonialism to the isolation of apartheid South Africa. DALE LAUTENBACH of The Star Africa Service reports on the line's reconstruction.

EVEN BEFORE peace with Unita was finally secured on May 31 last year, the Angolan government had earmarked the rehabilitation of the Benguela railway line as a priority. So far they have just less than a third of the 1346 km Angolan section of the line open and running.

While a World Bank feasibility study — now in the hands of British company Transmark — continues, and while negotiations with the Belgian consortium which still owns 90 percent of the capital stock also plough along, the Angolan government is putting R46 million of its own funds into repair work.

From Lobito, on the coast, the Caminho de Ferro de Benguela — CFB, as it is known — is now running as far as Huambo, on the Plano Alto, and this month work to Cuito, in Bie province, should be completed.

The government has also bought 12 new coaches for the line from Spoornet, which might account for the odd report out of South Africa recently that coaches worth R9 million had been bought by the Angolan government from Transnet for the express purpose of ferrying the Pope between Luanda and Lobito during his June visit. The report did not heed the fact that all rail links in Angola run west-east (with the exception of a short strip between Benguela and Lobito) and that there is no railway between Luanda and Lobito.

The reconstruction of the CFB has been questioned by critics who note that the original concept of this great sea link to the heart of landlocked Africa, with the main purpose of transporting copper, has been overtaken by the slump in the

primary commodities market. Work on the original railway began in 1903, following the path of an ancient slave route and primarily in the interests of the colonial masters of the then Belgian Congo.

During the civil war, Unita, and South Africa when it was still overtly involved, identified the line as a prime target for attack in the interests of weakening the Angolan economy. However, if the line had been fully operational it would probably still have seen a downturn in activity due to the commodities slump.

So when Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos announced in Lobito in May last year that reconstruction of the rail link was a priority, some critics saw more political motivation in the move than economic good sense. However, it seems the Angolan government is not entirely enamoured with the grand old vision still associated with the name Benguela.

"Agriculture is the real wealth of this country and that's where the future lies," says one Western diplomat in Luanda. He believes that to take the line to Cuito, perhaps even to Luena, further east, does make sense. It would give inland farmers the incentive to produce by facilitating their access to markets, not only domestically, but through Lobito for export.

The government may still score political points for what it has achieved in the rehabilitation of the line. Ordinary Angolans still have an emotionalised view of the line as a great backbone running across their country, and it was not long ago, in 1987, when government rhetoric about this backbone was entirely political. A Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference rehabilitation project launched at the time, which proved unsuccessful, was planned "to reduce dependence on South Africa, which uses its transport network to pressure African governments".

As the emphasis in African economic thinking shifts from world market exports to an appreciation of regional markets and exchanges — thinking reflected in the launching of a unified African economic body at last year's OAU summit — the glorious Benguela vision of the past might find new focus and a true application for the people of the region rather than for the colonists it served in the past. □

cates — Lewis Skweyiya, Gilbert Marcus and B Mabandla.

Sapa-Reuter reports the ANC yesterday formally handed over to the Tanzanian government its camps and farms there.

The handover in Mgorogoro marked the

"It was the people of Tanzania who made a great sacrifice for the liberation of southern Africa. It is only fair that the complexes be handed over to them and not to CCM," civil rights lawyer Mabere Marando said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Taxi 'war' over Zimbabwe route

THEO RAWANA and WILSON ZWANE

SA's taxi operators were using strong-arm tactics in an attempt to force Zimbabwean bus companies to abandon the Beit Bridge-Johannesburg route, a source said yesterday.

These tactics included abduction and intimidation. *BIDAY 10/7/92*

SA Long Distance Taxi Association (Saldta) president Peter Rabali said he could not say if Saldta members were involved, but confirmed his northern Transvaal region had been in dispute with Zimbabwean bus operators.

Rabali gave the names of three Zimbabwean bus companies involved on the route as Shoeshine, Countryboy and Matambanazo.

The source, who wanted to remain anonymous, said taxi operators had attacked Zimbabwean bus drivers in central Johannesburg three times this week. Three days ago, a Zimbabwean bus driver and his conductor were abducted by taxi operators, while another attempted abduction was foiled by police intervention on Wednesday.

Rabali was non-committal on the incidents, but said Zimbabwean bus operators had reneged on an agreement with his organisation.

This agreement stipulated that only one bus should run the route each day.

"Now the Zimbabweans have flooded the market and left our men with no fares on a route they initiated," said Rabali.

Forum cancelled after police raid

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE proposed establishment of a joint negotiations forum including the Pretoria City Council and the Central Transvaal Civics Association (CTCA) was cancelled this week after a police raid on the parish church of CTCA president Father Sman-galiso Mkhathshwa.

Mkhathshwa, who is also general secretary of the Institute of Contextual Theology, was awarded R25 000 by the Law and Order Minister in 1988 following allegations of torture. *BIDAY 10/7/92*

Civic representatives said at a Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber meeting this week that the raid on Monday, as well as alleged intimidation of other civic leaders in the PWV region, was threatening the local government negotiation process.

Civic leaders in the Metropolitan Chamber said they had asked government officials to put pressure on the police to stop the alleged victimisation of civic leaders.

CTCA general secretary Star Vilakazi said up to 50 police officers and soldiers had taken part in the three-hour raid on the St Charles Lwanga Catholic Church in Soshanguve.

He claimed a number of people had been assaulted.

A police spokesman said a pistol and ammunition had been found in the living quarters of a Catholic church in Soshanguve after a raid on Monday afternoon.

There had been no arrest during the incident, he said, although police were looking for the owner of the weapons.

SAAF takes off to help in Angolan election

THE first of several SA Air Force aircraft, which would assist the Angolan government with an air structure for that country's general election in September, left Waterkloof in Pretoria yesterday.

The three Hercules C-130s and two light planes would prepare the installation in Angola from where the SAAF would operate before a contingent of about 60 members with helicopters and light aircraft joined them, an SAAF spokesman said.

The operation was the largest assistance task conducted by the SAAF to an African country, he said.

STEPHANE BOTHMA

The SAAF would assist officials in registering voters living in remote areas. The move followed a request by the Angolan government supported by the UN representative in Luanda, Margaret Anstee.

The SAAF's task mainly would consist of communication flights. The contingent would be rotated monthly.

The election on September 30 would be conducted under UN supervision and great effort was being made to get voters registered in time.

He said police were victims of bomb attack.

Putco buses worth R2,8m destroyed during unrest

WILSON ZIWANE

PUTCO has lost R2,8m in destroyed buses this year, but the company is not planning to ask the police for help.

Putco MD Jack Visser said at the weekend that 14 buses had been destroyed in unrest-related incidents in the PWV region this year.

Of these, three were destroyed in the East Rand township of Vosloorus last week after Umkhonto we Sizwe member George Mashole allegedly blew himself up with a handgrenade during a police raid on his house.

Another three buses were destroyed in the township this year, one in Soweto.

Visser estimated the replacement cost of the buses at R2,8m. Although he could not readily give figures of last year's attacks on his company's buses, he was convinced there had been an escalation.

Putco has 2 000 buses nationwide.

bomb attack.

ANC 'in breach of arms deals'

PRETORIA — The stockpiling of arms in Angola by Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, contravened agreements reached by the SA government and the ANC, an SADF spokesman said.

"These agreements stipulate that the ANC was to have pointed out all their arms caches and they were to have ceased recruiting people for MK as well as training MK personnel."

The spokesman said in a statement to Sapa on Friday it was surprising the ANC dismissed the issue of what it intended to do about these weapons as "not being in the public interest".

Weapons similar to those stored in Angola were being used in SA against innocent people.

The Sunday Times reported yesterday that the cache included 2 188 AK-47s and 2,2-m rounds of ammunition, 22 machineguns and hundreds of pistols and revolvers.

Heavy weapons included five Soviet tanks and five light armoured troop carriers.

The dispute began when Russia's parliament...

Many crimes 'the work of suspects granted bail'

STEPHANE BOTMMA

SA's lenient attitude to the granting of bail resulted in a high number of suspected criminals committing more crimes while awaiting trial, legal sources said at the weekend.

Recent research by the SAP over a nine-month period showed that of a total of 61 306 accused released on bail, 10 353 breached their bail conditions and 3 850 committed crimes while on bail.

This situation not only placed a massive burden on police, but also caused growing dissatisfaction among the public, who suffered under a wave of crime, police said.

"In particular the black population finds it difficult to come to terms with this type of administration of justice and they take the law into their own hands or turn to people's courts," the police said.

Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and Wilkan, SC, said: "It is a well known fact that SA criminal law has a very literal view on the granting of bail to accused."

The granting of bail to accused should be seen against the background of the presumption in SA law of an accused's innocence until he or she had been proved guilty, he said.

Other factors played an important role in courts' consideration of whether to grant bail.

These included the limited prison facilities for awaiting trial prisoners.

"One must always keep in mind that at a very early stage of police investigations," Von Lieres said.

Therefore, it was not always easy to convince a judge or magistrate that there was a strong case against an accused.

Depending on the facts of the case — the seriousness or nature of the crime, or the possibility that the accused might commit another crime — State lawyers would do their best to oppose bail, said Von Lieres.

Until 1977, attorneys-general had the jurisdiction to issue a certificate prohibiting bail in serious cases.

Since then, it has been in the discretion of the courts to grant bail, or not, after an accused has satisfied the court that he should be released.

Recently the Law Commission recommended that, at hearings on whether to grant bail, the onus should be moved from the accused having to prove why he should get bail to the State having to prove why the suspect should not be released on bail.

If the recommendation was accepted, it would be even easier for courts to grant bail, informed legal sources said.



Savimbi's nephew linked to death plot

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BIO 147192
LISBON — Four men, including one identified as a nephew of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, were arrested on Sunday for allegedly planning to assassinate a senior member of Angola's ruling party, Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

Lusa, quoting Angolan national radio, said police caught the men with two rifles and a pistol 200m from where Daniel Chipenda was addressing a political rally in the northwestern Angolan city of Saurimo. No shots were fired.

Chipenda is heading the ruling MPLA campaign for the country's first free elections at the end of September.

A leading MPLA diplomat and military commander during its guerrilla war against Portuguese rule, Chipenda split with the party on the eve of independence in 1975 because of its alliance with Havana and Moscow. He rejoined it this year.

One of the four men arrested was identified as Savimbi's nephew, a Major Godinho.

Unita yesterday denied any involvement in the alleged plan.

"There was no attempt to assassinate Daniel Chipenda. Why would Unita want to do that? What would we gain?" Unita foreign affairs director Abel Chivukuvuku told Reuter.

He also denied the group arrested included a nephew of Savimbi.

Unita signed a peace accord with the left-wing MPLA government last year, ending 16 years of civil war.

The UN Security Council last week expressed its concern that "violent incidents, mutual accusations and hostile propaganda" could endanger the elections.

Unita and the MPLA have traded accusations over the killings of two Portuguese families and four British tourists earlier this year. — Sapa-Reuter.

STAR 1517197

Ship to help in Angola

The navy replenishment vessel SAS Tafelberg leaves Cape Town for Luanda today — on a three-month deployment to help register voters. The vessel will supplement the SAAF which will be busy with the registration of voters on behalf of the Department of Foreign Affairs. (S)

Mist thickens over Luanda as elections clock ticks by

STAR 157792 (5)

ASK WHAT the government is doing at this time and the answer is invariably: "Government? What government?"

This is not to say that officials here and there are not trying to get on with the job: reconstruction is happening in patches, projects are being negotiated and, limpingly, the various requirements of the peace accords are receiving attention, albeit way behind deadline.

But there is a lack of coherence. Like some slow-coming mist, a new atmosphere has gathered over Luanda. Some signs were there six months ago but it seems the mist is thickening rather than clearing as multiparty elections set for September 29 and 30 approach.

A profound absence of civic confidence seems to best explain the pall: no confidence that the government can effect the organisational requirements of a free and fair poll or secure law and order; no confidence in the thinly spread United Nations monitors and their avowedly inadequate budget of some \$100 million (about R275 million); no confidence that government has good intentions; and no confidence that Unita, the former rebels, don't harbour bloody intent.

The powerful Roman Catholic Church, which accounts for about 45 percent of the projected 4.5 million electorate, has criticised both the government and Unita for intimidation in the run-up to elections.

Despite the lack of confidence, there is also a rather simplistic popular perception that the September poll, if it does happen, will herald the start of something better.

As for the government, this same reasoning has deepened corruption in the spirit of make hay while the sun shines, according to foreign diplomats and international observers.

"Ministries run like private companies for the few at the top," notes one Western diplomat. He insists though that it is "not all dark and gloomy".

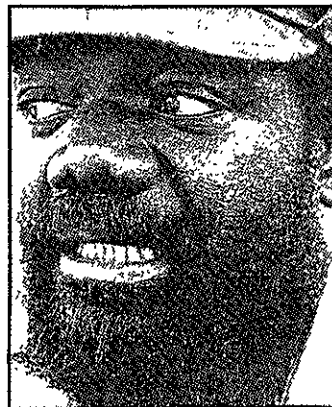
"From vice-minister down in some ministries, things are okay. They do work. There are people in government structures trying to do things... for the right reasons, yes, and for the party.

"Belatedly the MPLA is trying to win the hearts and minds of the povo (people). They've never bothered about them be-

Angola is teetering through a period of profound uncertainty. More than ever before one senses an absence of governance, but the country's citizens, whose capacity for hope has been refined by war, are dreaming of a coalition government. DALE LAUTENBACH of The Star Africa Service reports from Luanda.



President Jose Eduardo dos Santos... more politically astute than one might assume.



Jonas Savimbi... denies personal involvement in human rights violations.

fore despite the rhetoric."

The diplomat says the government is bringing in 30 000 television sets for national distribution and is extending its coverage around the country. "TV is their fief," he says and in bars — many newly opened — in provincial towns, the blitz of TV sets will attempt to secure the fiefdom.

The political power of basic necessities has also been realised. Works to permanently mend Luanda's infamously erratic water supply have taken second place to the provision of water on a one-day-on, one-day-off system. Local businessmen have been encouraged to open bakeries as the bread supply has always been a sore point.

The thinking that most changes in Angola would be cosmetic until after the elections seems to be proving accurate for a government strung out between the challenges of effecting the peace accords and restructuring a war-shattered economy, while not losing sight of the interests of the MPLA.

In a one-party state the distinction between government and party was negligible. Now it matters, but it's a balancing act with which far more experienced democracies than Angola still struggle.

Part of the economic recon-

struction package was and remains privatisation of inefficient State enterprises. Ask Luandan economist Jose Goncalves about privatisation and his voice drops several decibels. "That's very sensitive," he says. "I think that up until now the transfer has been from the State to agents of the State. It's just another nomenclature. We've seen no fruits. In the last budget there was nothing to show for what was privatised."

All this makes the MPLA a sitting duck for Unita accusations in a verbal war which has heated up the temperature lately. But Unita itself is just as grounded by its apparently brutal human rights record, and the MPLA gives as good as it gets in the verbal salvos.

No journalist visits Angola without picking up the popular graffiti "Unita kills. MPLA robs". It has been said before ad nauseam but it remains trenchant popular wisdom.

While the Americans are putting a cool and neutral face on their Angolan interests, many believe that they are deeply concerned about human rights violations within Unita, which its leader Jonas Savimbi has acknowledged although denying personal involvement.

Luanda reverberated recently when the two most senior

Unita dissidents, General Miguel N'Zau Puna and Tony da Costa Fernandes, returned to Luanda to "challenge and democratise Unita from within".

At a long and emotional press conference, Mr Fernandes enumerated those killed, according to him, by Mr Savimbi's personal authority. "So-and-so, dead, burnt alive before my very eyes," he said, going through a seemingly interminable list of women killed in this way in Jamba, Unita's south-east Angola bush stronghold.

With this disturbing question mark hanging over Mr Savimbi's own head and not just over the credibility of Unita, the movement's image has been darkened, although probably not at its grassroots.

Opposite this problematic choice for Angola is the rather uncharismatic President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. Most people agree with the hunch that he is far more politically astute than one might assume at first glance.

Interestingly, too, most foreign diplomats reckon Mr dos Santos's hands to be clean of corruption and make the distinction between his person and the increasingly disastrous party he leads.

This could place him well to preside over a coalition government. "A coalition," sighs Mr Goncalves. "That's our ideal."

The surge of new parties to the fore a year ago brought lively talk of a potential third force at the polls. This collapsed earlier this year even before the split in the strongest of the new parties, the Democratic Renewal Party.

There is, however, a National Opposition Council which seeks to unite parties outside the MPLA and Unita. And now the talk is that the old FNLA of Holden Roberto, one of the original contestants for power back in 1975, could just pull off some unity of opposition.

Still, no one with any real grasp of the complex Angolan situation would bet on who will take the poll. One diplomat, whose analysis has always been sound, does not see a picture emerging until the very last.

"And that's just the beginning," he says. "The really crucial period will be after the elections." No realist would bet either that this beginning will be without bloodshed. But, as always, there is hope. □

Colin Legum reports that the World Bank is applying new criteria for aid

Angola set for dramatic resurgence

STAR 24/1/92

ANGOLA'S abundant natural resources, favourable climate and low population density appear to have convinced the World Bank of its future economic growth potential.

Slivio Capohungo, a World Bank official engaged in monitoring the bank's five credits to help finance development programmes and reforms designed to build a market economy, quotes these factors to justify this optimism: "With peace, stable and accountable governance, development of human capital and sound economic policies, the potential can be realised. By the beginning of 1995-96, sustained gross domestic product per capita growth rates will be well above the sub-Saharan average."

Mr Capohungo believes that the World Bank has "a historic opportunity to apply in Angola the lessons learned from experience in economic reform in Africa and so help make Angola a major African success story".

To help Angola achieve this result, the World Bank is recommended to go ahead with a full-service assistance programme, including an enhanced aid co-ordination effort, a strong economic and sector work programme, a multifaceted lending programme, and thorough supervision. Angola currently produces 500 000 barrels of oil a day. It also has significant quantities of diamonds and gold, as well as some of the best fishing waters in the world.

It has already embarked on rebuilding its economic power sector which was wrecked by the long civil war but it cannot at the moment meet its essential electricity needs. The International Development Agency is providing \$33.5 million (about R90 million) to assist in this programme.

One of the ironies in the present situation is the extent to which the MPLA government is turning to its former bitterest foreign enemy, South Africa, for help.

The former terror in Angola, the South African Air Force, has responded to an appeal to send six planes to provide logistical assistance for the elections due to be held in September. South African ground engineers are already involved in helping to clean up ex-

tensive minefields.

A 17-member Angolan delegation recently visited South Africa to seek assistance for rebuilding the country's badly damaged infrastructure.

Cabinda — the centre of Angola's major oil development — continues to be a difficult problem. The Front for the Cabinda Etnic (Flec) is keeping up its struggle to gain independence and President dos Santos has been doing a round of visits to neighbouring countries seeking support for his government's efforts to overcome Cabindan resistance.

During a visit to Gabon he said: "Negotiations must be held between the government and Flec. Gabon has offered its good offices." □

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 247-307192
Angolan official quits **5**
DANIEL CHIPENDA has
 resigned as organiser of the
 ruling MPLA's election cam-
 paign in Angola, fuelling spec-
 ulation that he may stand for
 president against the incum-
 bent, Jose Eduardo dos Santos,
 and Unita leader Jonas Savim-
 bi. — Compiled by Mark
 Huband, Mike Hall in Lusaka

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The inconvenient nomads deep

inside the deep

By W. J. ...

Deprived of their traditional lands and forced into the modern cash economy,

Botswana's Bushmen are under threat

By CASEY KELSO

A YOUNG Bushman stands outside the curio store, rocking back and forth with his head drooping, talking to the marigolds. He has failed to sell his tiny bow and arrow set to the shop in Ghanzi, in remote north-western Botswana. In the ravaging drought, too many people are selling crafts while not enough tourists are buying.

"I couldn't sell something to buy food, so now I must go and prepare to die," the dejected man tells the flow-ers. "But you will continue to bloom without me."

He could be speaking for the 39 000 Bushmen remaining in Botswana. Their precarious transition from hunting and gathering to a modern cash economy is almost certain to destroy their traditional nomadic culture.

On a continent largely populated by peasant farmers and cattle-herders, hunter-gatherers occupy the lowest rung on the economic ladder. In Botswana, they face discrimination from the dominant Tswana society and their traditional land — vital to their way of life — is systematically being taken away.

Today, Botswana's Bushmen live in the most remote sections of the country. Their homes, however, can no longer be found in the open veld but in squalid shanty towns, government resettlement camps, private ranches or the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. Their fate lies in the debate between the government and outsiders on how best to develop their society.

Bushmen, who first appeared in Botswana 30 000 years ago, define themselves as those "who move to where lightning is seen" because sr.all bands of families migrated to rainfall areas in search of food, such as roots, and animals attracted to newly grown grass.

In government reports, they are termed "Remote Area Dwellers" Translated in the language of the Bushmen as "those who are deep inside deep", the word prompted one of the nomads to wonder if that meant his people were all considered dead

and buried. "Has their soil covered ours?" asked another.

While anthropologists call them "San", Bushmen do not acknowledge the term. And "Basarwa", their name among the Tswana, connotes a derogatory lack of cattle. Most now embrace the term "Bushman".

Bushman society is egalitarian and loosely structured, so decisions are reached by a consensus rather than by an individual. As a result, few leaders exist to fight for the community's rights in modern times when government decisions about its future are often made without representation.

The greatest threat to the Bushmen's cultural survival is the gradual erosion of their land rights, a process that began in 1847 when white settlers arrived in Ghanzi and pegged out large tracts of the nomads' land. The land grab intensified in the 1980s when the Botswana government gave farms of up to 10 000ha to affluent Tswana ranchers.

In Ghanzi, for example, the estimated 12 300 Bushmen make up 43 percent of the population, but only two percent of landowners. Only an estimated 3 000 Bushmen continue to live as their ancestors did in Botswana's Kalahari desert. Those few remaining in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve have been under intense government pressure to move into grim resettlement camps.

Officials claim such a move is to preserve the environment, but oil and diamond exploration trucks are now busting through the reserve. The Bushmen of Xade, a tiny village in the reserve, recently scored a victory when authorities declared their camp "permanent". But the nearby communities of Metsiamaong, Molapo,



Those who follow the lightning ... A smiling face but a difficult and uncertain future

Hungry hunter-gatherers tortured

BOTSWANA'S Bushmen are being tortured by Botswana government officials, according to a report by the Botswana Christian Council.

The allegations, coupled with charges of pervasive discrimination against the Bushmen and forced removal from their traditional lands, heighten controversy about Botswana government policy towards the hunter-gatherers.

Sir Keturile Masire's government has been on the defensive since an uproar last year when government officials appeared to have grabbed three ranches earmarked for Bushman development. Norwegian threats to cut off aid persuaded the government to prevent the land grab.

"In practice, there were

widespread allegations about torture by officials and sometimes by police," the human rights report concluded.

Botswana officials have charged that "foreign agitation" led to the allegations.

The Botswana Christian Council this week declined to say anything more about its report, for fear of further straining its relations with the Masire government. Any public pronouncements on the report "would be like carrying wood to the fire", said a church official.

The most shocking allegation concerns the torture of Bushmen suspected of hunting on their traditional lands, which have now been fenced off as private and state-owned property. Officers of the Department of

Mothamelwe, Kakau, Gugamma and Gope still face forced removal.

Influential cattle interests also play a role in the plight of the Bushmen in Ghanzi where the average landowner has about 7 000 sq ha. President Sir Ketumile Masire owns seven ranches in the district.

Bushmen working on the ranches earn only about 25 pula a month. The jobs are often forced into one of seven resettlement camps, which now hold up to 5 000 Bushmen.

Government "rehabilitation" projects aimed at integrating Bushmen into mainstream society created health

clinics and schools in relocation areas modelled after Tswana villages. Authorities blame Bushmen for failing to take advantage of these programmes and their right to small fields. Critics counter that in such villages Bushmen lack a viable livelihood and therefore remain destitute.

Persistent rumours of starvation among the Bushmen in the Ghanzi settlements following a 1990 end to drought relief food aid led to a secret investigation by local officials. While clear-cut cases of starvation were not found, mortality rates sharply rose because of widespread malnutrition.

Wildlife and National Parks apprehend the Bushmen hunters on the disputed land and carry out interrogations. The questioning often culminates in torture in which, according to the report, a rubber ring is wrapped around the victim's testicles while a plastic bag is fastened around his face. "You are castrated," one Bushman testified in the report. "You are threatened so that you excrete all which you have eaten."

The suspected poachers also suffer beatings and lengthy, illegal detentions. The report charges police officers sometimes join in the torture. Once in court the Bushmen face judges unlikely to accept that poverty, hunger and tradition are justification for breaking the new hunting ban.

How Bushmen should develop remains hotly debated. Politicians denounce international criticism as an effort to keep Bushmen as a tourist attraction. They say resettlement must proceed in spite of cultural disintegration. Well-meaning development workers sometimes inadvertently reinforce this view.

The Bushmen themselves are calling for the government to allocate them a large tract of land and give compensation for former territories. Others call for secession from Botswana or better representation of their interests.

How come huge ANC arms cache was left behind?

STAR 28/7/92

(5)

ABOUT the only thing that seems certain about the ANC arms cache uncovered in Angola is that the weapons will never be fired in anger. What the world will never know, probably, is how they evaded the prohibition on such caches and what the ANC intended to do with them.

When the Angola-Namibia peace accord was signed in New York in 1988 the presence of the weapons on Angolan soil became illegal and they were supposed to have been moved out of the country along with the ANC forces that had been based there.

MK's other armaments were moved to Tanzania and Uganda but somehow the arms cache in question was left behind. Technically, its continued presence in Angola is an indictment against the MPLA government's failure to fully implement the New York agreement, but nobody seems to be getting their underwear in a knot about that.

But why the arms were left behind in the first place remains a pertinent question. Surely not by accident; you don't accidentally overlook a cache of thousands of firearms, large quantities of ammunition and even some armoured vehicles (tanks, according to some accounts, and MK did not exactly have a surplus of tanks).

It is essentially an academic issue now, for there was little chance that the weapons could ever have been moved out of Angola and deployed by MK against the SADF or SAP after 1988. For that they would have had to be transported through Namibia or through Zambia and then Zimbabwe or Botswana and none of these countries is likely to have allowed such an exercise.

Could it be that MK simply wanted to have something available with which to stage a victory parade down Church Street in Pretoria after the ANC had won power through the ballot box?

If so, MK leader Joe Modise must have forgotten to tell ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, who at first denied the existence of the cache only to be contradicted by Mr Modise.

It seems that we are no more likely to be told all about the

Out of Africa

GERALD L'ANGE



cache by the ANC than we are likely to be told by the International Freedom Foundation who leaked to it the information that enabled it to reveal the existence of the weapons.

What will happen to the weapons now? Most likely they will quietly be absorbed into the arsenals of the new joint army that the MPLA and Unita are supposed to be forming after having agreed to end their long civil war and resolve their power struggle through elections.

MK and the SADF are supposed to be doing something similar: examining the formation of a combined army after the politicians have worked out a new dispensation for South Africa. If MK and the SADF are in tune with developments in the rest of Africa they will be thinking in terms of a smaller armed force than either of them has been trying to build up in the past.

There are signs that militarism is on the wane in Africa, where popular opinion is that scarce funds should be spent on essential economic development rather than on unnecessary armies.

There has hardly been a single instance when an African army has had to repel an invasion from a neighbouring state. Rather the armies have tended to be used by dictators to suppress democracy or they have seized power for themselves.

In general, Africa has been ill-served by its armed forces and their record as protectors of the people and defenders of democracy has been abysmally bad.

Given the propensity of South Africans to use violence to promote group interests, it may be naive to expect that it will be any different here. But that doesn't necessarily mean we should abandon hope. For a start, perhaps we might expect MK to publicly abandon that arms cache in Angola. □

Monitors in Angola for first free election

LUANDA — Top African affairs officials from the US, Russia and Portugal began talks in the Angolan capital yesterday to boost the country's fledgling democracy in preparation for September's first free elections.

They arrived on the final day for the registration of candidates for the September 29-30 presidential and legislative elections. *B/004 31/7/92*

The vote is expected to be a face-off between the two major groups that fought a 16-year civil war up to last year's truce brokered by the Soviet, US and Portuguese governments.

US Secretary for State for African Affairs Herman Cohen said he was optimistic that the election could go ahead as planned despite tension between the governing party and the former Unita rebels.

"Everything depends on the will of the Angolans," Cohen told reporters.

His Portuguese counterpart, Jose Manuel Durao Barroso, said he hoped "political aggression that is normal in a election campaign will not threaten the peace accords". Both Angolan sides have recently exchanged accusations of plots to assassinate each other's leaders or to seize power by force.

In the latest incident, 11 Unita officials were arrested this week after they allegedly broke into presidential palace grounds.

Cohen, Durao Barroso and Russia's Grigory Karassin were scheduled to evaluate the electoral process with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

Dos Santos and Savimbi, who signed the peace accords in May 1991, were the leading contenders in the presidential elections.

However, at least four other candidates were expected to register as presidential candidates before the end of Thursday's deadline.

Unita and Dos Santos's MPLA are likely to dominate the legislative election.

The MPLA ruled as a one-party state after independence from Portugal in 1975 until last year, when it dropped Marxism and legalised opposition. — Sapa-AP.

Angola expels diggers ⁵

LUANDA — Angolan authorities have expelled 380 Zaireans and arrested 20 other foreigners for involvement in illegal diamond digging.

State television said the Zaireans were thrown out on Tuesday. The other foreigners — two South Africans, eight Mali citizens, three Gambians and citizens of the US, Senegal, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Namibia and Cameroon were in jail awaiting news of their fate. *BLOM 3/17/92*

All were arrested for involvement in illicit diamond extraction in Lunda Norte province, near the northern border with Zaire.

Diamond smuggling was a serious problem, robbing the country of about \$300m a year, the state diamond company Endiama said.

Diamonds accounted for about 11% of Angola's total exports. Last year 960 000 carats were produced, earning \$181m. — Reuter.

AFRICA

Trying to fly a 747 with fuel for a DC3

Even with the best political will, Angola's peace process faces some insuperable logistical obstacles.

TONY FIGUEIRA reports

MERE metres away from the camera, a Unita soldier breaks away from the thumping rhythm of drums, song and dance, to enact a victorious march. "From Menongue to Luanda," sings his choral group, as he grinds his feet into the mid-morning Cazombo dust. Behind him, hundreds of assembled soldiers awaiting demobilisation stand motionless at attention.

We are over 1 000km away from the Angolan capital, in the camouflage of mosaic savanna and eucalyptus trees dissected by the Zambezi River as it briefly traverses the eastern end of Angola's largest province, Moxico. The little village of Cazombo lies on a bend before the river returns southwards into Zambia.

Spreading out into civilian and military quarters, the Unita assembly area displays all the characteristics of the movement's military ethos. Carefully demarcated and sign-posted roads, traffic circles, enterprising hut and latrine thatchwork, a central dug-out rendezvous and hundreds of disciplined soldiers awaiting instructions.

While awaiting demobilisation, the men maintain a certain degree of physical training. "No combat training but, as soldiers, they keep fit, play a little football or run cross-country," says Unita brigadier Vasco Aurelio, before an assembly-point guide exhibits neatly stacked rows of rusty AK47 automatic rifles at the canvas-tent armoury.

In one of the last major offensives of the 16-year civil war, Unita intensively bombarded the Moxico capital, Luena, with heavy 101mm mortars in a 45-day siege. None of this heavy weaponry is on display at Cazombo.

Some observers fear that neither armed factions are surrendering all their weapons, "just in case war breaks out again" — an allegation refuted by the ruling MPLA's Colonel Manuel Ximenes as we inspect similar rows of stacked weapons at the government armoury on the outskirts of the provincial capital, Malange. The rifles handed in by government troops are maintained and oiled on a regular basis, for use by "our new national defence force," says Ximenes.



Military ethos ... Unita soldiers awaiting demobilisation

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Provisions of the peace agreement signed by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in May 1991 include the confinement of some 150 000 troops to assembly points, their subsequent demobilisation, the collection and disposal of weapons and the formation of a new 50 000-strong unified defence force.

"This is not an easy task, when you have to many two totally different and previously warring factions — a guerrilla and a conventional army," says an aid worker, voicing concern that soldiers not taken into the national defence force might turn to banditry to survive the meagre demobilisation payout and the daunting adjustments faced in civilian life.

Despite this, most government soldiers awaiting the weekly count at the Malange assembly point look forward to the prospect of life outside the army. Dressed in a mixture of military camouflage, jeans and T-shirts, they file haphazardly, some more attentive to their portable radios than to the colonel's presence. "We will never go back to war," says one.

Ximenes wishes he could wave a magic wand

and convert the assembled tanks to tractors. "So much land to cultivate," he says, adding that during the colonial days the province of Malange was the breadbasket of Angola.

Now, in most Angolan provinces, hunger is the real emergency. Food, like everything else, is imported and, when available, expensive or out of reach to those in need. Access to fertile agricultural lands is limited by the battered infrastructure and the hundreds of thousands of landmines. Erratic rainfall has compounded the problems, with heavy downpours destroying entire crops in some areas while others face severe drought.

"It's a critical situation," says United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) senior field co-ordinator Leo Pavillard, identifying the severe food shortages and deteriorating social and economic situation as monumental obstacles in the reintegration of the demobilised, displaced and exiled into the fragile Angolan society.

While hundreds of thousands of refugees in neighbouring Zaire, Zambia and Namibia await official assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for their

return home, 5 000 spontaneous returnees have already passed through Cazombo from Zambia.

Lutheran World Federation (LWF) representative Alfredo Samihembo has resorted to assisting only those who have UNHCR refugees status. The LWF is the only organisation in Cazombo offering assistance and it cannot cope with the extreme demands made on its limited resources. "Everybody wants to get food and things from us. We are scaling down," says Samihembo.

At Luena, less than 300km to the west, Pavillard explains the exodus of disillusioned people from municipal areas back to the bush. According to him, people who moved to this municipal centre after the ceasefire cannot afford the outrageously high prices which are charged at the burgeoning market.

In many ways, these "parallel" markets, sanctioned by the government, have reduced the country to the same sort of barter economy the Portuguese found centuries ago. Mined and impassable roads and an unreliable air transport network makes communication with the interior hardly easier than it was in pre-colonial days.

"So far the biggest problem is logistics," says UN electoral observer Peter Scott-Bowden. He explains that the National Electoral Council, which shares the responsibility with the MPLA government for organising the registration campaign and election, has only been able to supply three of the 31 vehicles necessary to facilitate the work of registration brigades in the province of Malange. "We have not been able to progress into the northern region and the far north and south."

Though the peace accord calls for mutual political recognition on the part of both major factions, the government has not been able to establish its authority throughout all the provinces. In a war of traded accusations, Unita alleges government inefficiency and corruption, while the MPLA accuses Unita of intimidation, interference and bad faith.

One observer says it is often difficult to distinguish political from logistical obstacles. Sometimes government administrators have left certain areas because of a food shortage, rather than as a result of being thrown out. In other areas, political intimidation has been a factor and in some cases, local populations have not understood that they are supposed to accept government administrators.

"We need these elections," says Unita's Malange political and military co-ordinator Vasco Chimuco. But he adds that he does not trust the government's running of the electoral process.

In terms of the peace accord, the government police are exclusively responsible for the maintenance of law and order. According to Chimuco, however, police partiality has led to intimidatory acts against Unita supporters.

The UN's role in the peace process is of a significantly more moderate nature than was its watchdog involvement in Namibia's independence elections. Its role is limited to one of verification and monitoring the registration and electoral process, leading to free and fair elections at the end of September. The Angolan government is responsible for the organisation of the elections.

Most of the provincial electoral councils and their registration brigades are motivated and need little prodding, but they need logistical support. "It would be a shame if they have such severe shortfalls in logistical support that they lose this momentum," says Scott-Bowden. He believes the deadlines for voter registration, political campaigning and elections can still be met if the logistical difficulties are immediately addressed.

UN special representative Margaret Anstee says the resources made available for the international operation are fairly slim in relation to the task. "They have given us a 747 Boeing to fly, but only the fuel for a DC3," she jokes, referring to UN Security Council Resolution 747, adopted in late March 1991, which requires Anstee to report back on progress made in Angola.

Anstee adds that it is a question of making the optimum use of the resources available, including international moral persuasion. "The process takes on a new life every time a prominent person from the international community arrives." She says the international community should not only react to things going wrong, but also positively support efforts to make the process work.

"That means giving assistance to the electoral process and the many humanitarian aspects which are directly related to democracy and the possibility of holding free and fair elections. Democracy, when people don't have enough to eat, is a somewhat empty concept," she says.

AFRICA BRIEFS

Rene wins Seychelles poll

●SEYCHELLES voters gave socialist president Albert Rene's party an overwhelming victory this week in the island's first multi-party elections in 16 years.

Rene's ruling Seychelles Peoples Progressive Front took 58.4 percent of the 45 000 votes cast on a poll on a new democratic constitution. Rene's party trounced seven newly formed rival parties including the man he toppled in a 1977 army-backed coup, Sir James Mancham.

An extraordinary 90 percent of the electorate, spread across 115 Indian Ocean islands, voted in the polls to form a 20-person commission to draft a new constitution before presidential elections in December.

UN monitors delayed

●DEPLOYMENT of 50 United Nations ceasefire monitors in Mogadishu was delayed this week by an apparent dispute over where to draw a dividing line between two opposition clans. "We are having technical discussions in reference to the demarcation line," said Mohamed Sahnoun, the UN special envoy to Somalia. "Progress is pretty good." Sahnoun declined to predict when the UN mediators would take up stations in the northern and southern halves of the battle-scarred city. He had hoped to have them on patrol early this week. Sahnoun indicated some progress in talks on resuming use of Mogadishu's international airport by the UN and other aid organisations. The airport was closed June 1 after bandits stole 900kg of drugs and five tons of food from planes chartered by the Red Cross and the UN Children's Fund.

Algerian assassination - 10 arrests

●TEN members of Algeria's elite presidential guard and special forces have been arrested in connection with last month's assassination of President Mohamed Boudiaf, according to the head of a government commission investigating the killing. Reza Bara stated the commission doubted the assassin's assertion that he was acting alone and out of religious conviction.

Boudiaf was shot by a member of the presidential guard while making a speech on June 29 in eastern Algeria. Authorities later captured and arrested 2nd Lieutenant Lembarek Boumaaraf. Boumaaraf told investigators he alone plotted to kill the president because of his Islamic beliefs.

Abortive Madagascar coup

●A GROUP of armed civilians briefly occupied the radio station in Madagascar's capital Antananarivo early on Wednesday and announced that they had seized power, but fled a few hours later, diplomats said.

The diplomats, contacted by telephone from the Kenyan capital Nairobi, said reports of a military coup were incorrect. They said calm had been restored and the city had returned to normal by 10am and no unusual military activity was visible.

The armed civilians, numbering between six and 10, were believed to belong to an extremist faction of the opposition Forces Vives party which has several ministers in the government but wants an end to the rule of President Didier Ratsiraka, the diplomats said.

Moi goes campaigning

●KENYAN President Daniel arap Moi has

hit the campaign trail for the first multi-party elections in 26 years with deep splits showing in the main opposition party hoping to unseat him.

As Moi campaigned, the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (Ford) appeared openly divided on grass-root elections to select a presidential candidate to face Moi in the polls, which he has promised to hold before March next year.

A Ford representative told a news conference he had agreed with three other founder members to postpone party elections which were due to begin on Saturday. But Ford chairman Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and two other founder members say the party polls would go ahead as planned.

Strike cripples Chad

●A GENERAL strike against sweeping government austerity moves crippled Chad for three days this week. The government, trying to push thousands of public and private sector employees back to work, promised swift payment of salary arrears and threatened action against strikers.

The three-day strike, which began on Monday, was called by the UST trade union movement to demand cancellation of a tough economic plan involving state pay cuts and redundancies. The strikers also want pay arrears from as far as six months back.

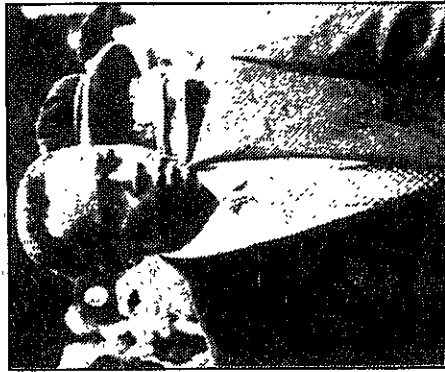
Information Minister Djiddi Bichara said in a statement the government was ready to start paying salary arrears immediately thanks to imminent budgetary aid from France, Chad's former colonial master. The strike could only delay these payments, he said. — The Guardian, Andrew Meldrum, Sapa-Renter, Sapa-AFP

New voter deadline (5)

6/DAV 5/8/72

VOTER registration for Angola's first multiparty elections has not yet reached the target of 5-million eligible voters and has been extended until August 10, electoral officials said yesterday. Only 4.3-million voters had registered by the initial July 31 deadline. Twelve parties have put forward presidential candidates.

AFRICA NEWS Vicious conflict in Angola after peace accord ends 16-year civil war



DOS SANTOS

3 killed in Angolan clash

Sowetan 10/8/92

Government supporters resist attempts by Unita to install arms and troops in some districts:

MALANJE (Angola) - An uneasy calm returned to this northern town at the weekend after violent clashes between government and rebel supporters left three dead and 15 injured, official reports said.

The clashes occurred on Friday when some Malanje inhabitants resisted attempts by Angolan opposition group Unita to install arms and troops in three

of the town's districts, Angola's news agency Angop said.

The population of this district, the majority of which support the government, opposed the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) setting up a delegation there, Portuguese news agency Lusa claimed.

Police officials said the violence led to the destruction of Unita's post in the

city's district of Carreira de Tiro, the same site where last month conflicts between the two forces erupted, claiming five lives.

The United States, Russia, Portugal and the United Nations have joined forces to monitor the peace process.

Angolans go to the polls for this southern African nation's first multiparty elections, scheduled for September 29 and 30 when Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is expected to be Dos Santos' main challenger. - Sapa-AP.



SAVIMBI

New bid to find mines in Angola

By Bob Tilley
Star Foreign Service

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STAR
12/8/92

MUNICH — Top German explosives experts have been sent to Angola to rescue a mine-detecting operation which threatened to end in disaster because of poor equipment and low morale among the original German soldiers who took part.

Communist military advisers from the old German Democratic Republic had helped the Angolans sow thousands of mines in the southern part of the country during the civil war.

One of the first operations by the reorganised armed forces was to send mine-detecting units to find and detonate the mines. But the East German equipment failed to work properly and morale fell so low among the soldiers that all but two were sent home.

It took three months to get the operation going and a further three months to detonate the first mine.

AFRICA BRIEFS

Angola extends voter registration (5)

718-1318192
●ELECTION preparations in Angola have been hampered by delays and logistical problems in remote areas, where 16 years of civil war have wrecked the infrastructure. Officials say only 4.3 million had registered by the July 31 deadline, falling to meet the 5-million target. Voter registration has now been extended until September. Twelve parties have put forward presidential candidates which is due to take place in September.

FOR THE SECRETARY

Barlows set to regain Angola factories

BARLOW Rand looks likely to regain possession of two Angolan packaging factories belonging to Nampak, itself part of the group, Barlows public sector liaison executive Smokey Geysler said this week.

The factories were nationalised after the MPLA took control of Angola in 1976.

"We are about to come to an arrangement with the Angolan government, and it looks very favourable," said Geysler in an interview at the weekend.

Discussions were initiated in April. Nampak deputy chairman Peter Campbell said however, that the machinery in the plants was "very old" and a lot of

CHARLIE PRETZLIK 5

technical input would be needed to make the operations profitable again.

Geysler said negotiations over the two factories were part of a Barlow Rand strategy to begin large-scale involvement in Angola once the national elections were complete in November.

Barlows was seeking to sell a whole range of products there — from mining, telecommunications and railway equipment to agricultural machinery and consumer goods, he said.

"There is potential in Angola worth hundreds of millions of rands," Geysler said.

17/8/92
B/DAY

drunk, shouted abusive language and fired shots at people standing nearby.

Mr Steven Brown, a married man with four young children was passing by on his bicycle and was knocked off by the policeman, kicked and sworn at, says an affida-

weekend a police spokesman said stones had been thrown at the detective and a dog set on him after he had arrived at the building to investigate illegal liquor selling. The spokesman claimed the policeman had fired two shots at a man who allegedly threatened him with a knife.

at Phillipi police station, Sergeant De Villiers, said he was investigating a case of attempted murder and would speak to the witnesses this weekend.

He said the policeman concerned was based at Mowbray.

Former Recce tells court he got AK-47 rifles from Unita

Sunday Times Reporter

A FORMER Commandant in the Reconnaissance Unit (Recces), an elite arm of South Africa's Special Forces, this week admitted he had obtained AK-47 assault rifles from Unita at the request of a friend in the Civil Co-Operation Bureau (CCB).

This was said by Hendrik Willem Snyders, 48, in the Cape Town Supreme Court in mitigation of sentence after he had been convicted of unlawfully possessing 14 AK-47 rifles between 1988 and last year, as well as two other rifles on July 14 last year.

His co-accused, Andre Klopper, formerly a sergeant attached to 101 Battalion in Namibia, and Ian Bosman, an amateur George gunsmith and gun enthusiast, were also convicted of illegally possessing various arms and ammunition.

When the men first appeared in court last Monday, charges were withdrawn against a fourth man, Mr Coenraad Frederick van der Westhuizen, a former Recce captain.

Snyders said he was in the SADF for 23 years and was with the Recces for the past eight years. He was seconded to Military Intelligence in 1988 at Oshakati and his duties included liaising with Unita in Angola and planning certain operations.

He often delivered "written-off" SADF equipment and weapons confiscated from

Swapo to Unita, he said. (S)

While he did this, the commander of the fifth military region there allowed him to keep 14 AK-47 rifles.

After the war ended he resigned from the army and brought the guns to Cape Town where he locked them in the wine cellar of his Durbanville farm.

Snyders said he did not tell Commandant Meerholdz that he had the weapons. When the commandant died in 1989, he hid them at his parents' barn.

He later told Mr Van der Westhuizen, who had contacts in the security police, that he would try to return the weapons to the army to collect the reward of R6 000 each which was being offered in terms of a government amnesty.

Mr Van der Westhuizen then sold eight of the rifles to Bosman for R700 each.

In April last year Snyders was told Mr Van der Westhuizen had thrown six AK-47's into the sea after being warned that certain SADF members' houses were about to be searched. The other two AK-47 rifles were his "personal" weapons.

Bosman, 58, said he was a "gun nut". He said he bought eight rifles from Mr Van der Westhuizen and sold them to friends who had no "radical" political sentiments.

The trial continues on Tuesday.

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Murray & Roberts man kidnapped in Cabinda

AN EMPLOYEE of SA construction firm Murray & Roberts was kidnapped in Angola's oil-rich enclave of Cabinda last week.

Sapa reports that Murray & Roberts spokesman Llew von Essen said Jose Martinho da Silva, a Portuguese national, was working for one of the group's subsidiaries in Angola that was constructing schools and houses.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa quoted an Angolan government newspaper as reporting that Da Silva was seized by fighters of the FLEC-FAC guerrilla group in the coastal town of Landana last Thursday.

The group, along with its smaller rival FLEC-Renovada, is fighting for Cabinda's independence from Angola and have ordered foreigners to leave the territory as part of their campaign.

Reuter reported that FLEC-FAC kidnapped two French men in Cabinda last month, but they were subsequently released in Zaire. FLEC-Renovada, which was estimated to have about 120 fighters, kidnapped three Portuguese in July. They were released after their employers gave medicines and clothing to the guerrilla faction. A ransom was also paid.

Von Essen said he did not know if any demand had been made by Da Silva's kidnapers. "We haven't been exposed to this sort of thing before... It's our first project in Angola for some time."

Von Essen said Murray & Roberts was doing everything in its power to secure Da Silva's release. The company had also offered to bring the other workers back to SA, but they had chosen to stay on.

AP-DJ reports that Angola's revenues from Cabinda's oil riches, which kept its

economy afloat through the country's 16-year civil war, are being threatened by the revived separatist movement.

Oil sales earned Angola \$3.15bn last year, more than 90% of all export earnings. Angola is the sixth-largest foreign supplier of oil to the US and second only to Nigeria as an African oil producer.

The symbol of Cabinda's wealth is the heavily guarded base of Cabinda Gulf Oil at Malongo, 19km north of Cabinda town. Cabinda Gulf, a subsidiary of US oil company Chevron Corp, produces 55% of Angola's 550 000 barrels a day of oil output.

Cabinda Gulf's 1 600 employees include 225 Americans.

The wider Angolan conflict, which ended last year, overshadowed the activities of Cabindan separatists, who are divided into several factions and can field only about 750 active guerrillas, but have wide support among the population.

"They are few, but determined," said Roman Catholic bishop Paulino Madeca, who advocates a referendum on Cabinda's future.

Angolan officials accuse neighbouring countries, including Congo, Zaire and Gabon, of backing the separatists because of their own designs on Cabinda's oil riches. France also has been accused of supporting the separatists, some of whom demand French as the official language.

Both the Angolan government and Unita say they are willing to negotiate a statute of autonomy for Cabinda within Angola, but the separatists say they will accept only full independence and have ordered a boycott of the September elections.

an election drive ● Swaziland tries to attract investors

Savimbi comes out fighting

Savimbi 31/8/92

■ Threat to cut links with Cuba and disband riot police:

LOBITO (Angola) - Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi made a hard-hitting start to the Angolan election campaign, promising to cut links with Cuba, disband controversial riot police and promote free enterprise if he became president.

Savimbi said Unita would win the election despite what he called inadequate voter registration and the ruling MPLA's desire to cling to power.

"There will be no relations with Cuba," Savimbi told an American-style convention of 500 cheering, stomping

Unita delegates on Saturday evening.

Cuban civilians in the country should leave, he added without elaborating.

Hundreds of Cubans work for the government in specialised fields such as teaching and medicine.

The weekend marked the start of the campaign for the September 29 to 30 poll, when 4.8 million voters will cast ballots at 6 000 polling stations to elect a 220-seat assembly and a president in the vast southern African country's first

multiparty elections.

Savimbi said the riot police, formed by the MPLA earlier this year to boost security during a visit by Pope John Paul, were harassing and intimidating his followers in violation of the accords.

He said the riot police, equipped and trained by Spain, were returning Angola to a war era atmosphere.

"This is still Cuba. Cuba has prolonged itself, this time through Spain," Savimbi said. *Sapa-Reuter.*

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31 die in Angolan clashes

STAR 11/9/92 (5)

LISBON. — Thirty people were killed in a clash between Angolan troops and guerillas at the weekend and another man died when gunmen opened fire on an election motorcade, the Portuguese news agency Lusa said yesterday.

It quoted official sources as saying 10 soldiers, 10 guerillas of the former rebel movement Unita and 10 civilians were killed when Unita fighters tried to seize the provincial governor's palace in the central city of Bie on Sunday.

Lusa also said one person was killed and five were wounded when gunmen fired on an election campaign motorcade of the ruling MPLA near Huambo,

150 km to the west.

The incidents took place on the second day of official campaigning for Angola's first free parliamentary and presidential elections due on September 29 and 30.

The elections follow last year's peace agreement between the formerly Marxist MPLA and the US- and South African-backed Unita that ended 16 years of civil war.

The governor of Huambo province, Baltazar Manuel, said Huambo was tense after the shooting incidents.

Lusa quoted him as saying that Unita fighters roaming the city and the police had taken up defensive positions.

The agency also mentioned unconfirmed reports of government tank movements in the city.

Huambo, the administrative centre of the central highlands, is in government hands, but Unita has strong influence in the surrounding countryside.

More than a dozen parties are contesting this month's elections, but the MPLA and Unita are the only two serious contenders for power.

Sunday's incidents were the latest in a series of clashes that have marred the ceasefire declared by the MPLA and Unita in May 1991 which had held well until last month. — Sapa-Reuter.

We won't give arms back to ANC ⁵ Savimbi

STAR 3/9/92
Star Africa Service

LOBITO (Angola) — The Angolan opposition movement Unita says it would not release ANC arms still in Angola if it came to power after the elections due at the end of this month.

Speaking to South African-based journalists this week after his party's convention in Lobito, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi said that returning the weapons to the ANC would be tantamount to telling the ANC to abandon negotiations and go to war.

"I don't think Africa will like that," he said.

The ANC has confirmed reports that the organisation still has quantities of arms in Angola despite the Namibian cease-fire agreement between Angola, Cuba and South Africa that

Cuban troops and ANC fighters and weapons should be removed from that country.

"We have spoken to the Zambians, and they don't want the arms on their soil. No African country wants anything to do with them," Mr Savimbi said.

He said he would be prepared either to send the arms to their country/countries of origin or hand them over to an interim government in South Africa.

He said the matter would be resolved soon after the elections on September 30, which he said he would win.

He hoped Codesa would soon restart because the entire region depended on a stable SA.

On Angola, Mr Savimbi accused the MPLA of creating a paramilitary unit called the Anti-Motim, which it intended using to stay in power if it lost the elections.

He said the transition to democratic rule was proceeding smoothly despite "incidents".

Gathering like Second Coming

STAN 4/9/72 (5)

WATCHING Unita's first legal gathering inside Angola after 16 years of war was like witnessing the Second Coming. It was all about one man: Jonas Savimbi. The guide, the saviour, the Messiah who has delivered the country from war... they ran out of superlatives to anoint him.

Foreign diplomats are worried that the Savimbi personality cult that dominates Unita could spell trouble for Angola if the party loses next month's elections. **BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI** of The Star Africa Service reports from Lobito.

to make war, and the MPLA knows that," Mr Savimbi says. But he denies allegations that Unita has an army somewhere on the border with Namibia to be used if necessary after the elections.

It did not seem like a Unita conference. It was almost like a gathering in praise of Mr Savimbi. Unita — or what it stands for — was rarely mentioned.

come his trademark have been discarded. Gone too is his beard. Clean-shaven in safari suits, he is certain he is on his way to achieving his life's ambition of governing the vast and potentially rich country.



Cuba as a country he would never establish ties with, and he wants Cuban citizens working in Angola to leave.

According to the American diplomat, however, what annoyed Unita was not the existence of the force itself, but the fact that its formation caught them by surprise.

The gathering was billed not as a conference, or a congress. It was a convention. Unita officials made sure you understood the difference. Unita has obviously received more than just arms and food parcels from the Americans.

October 1 it will be the government of Angola. "It's not a matter of if, but a matter of when we get into power."

Jonas Savimbi... no way the MPLA can win.

Diplomats have expressed concern at this personality cult, which seems to be a part of the Unita make-up. There was very little, if any, discussion of the issues at this convention. It was praise and more praise for the leader.

Units should be pleased with the way the formation of the national army has gone so far. The head of the new army is a Unita member, with MPLA members heading the air force and navy.

This is the first time in the history of this country that a convention has been held in Angola, a beaming Jorge Valentin, Unita's information secretary, told journalists.

This arrogant confidence, diplomatic sources say, is worrying because it implies that Unita will find it difficult to accept an outcome that does not give victory to them.

He was, however, pleased with the number of voters registered for the elections.

Unita has been making a big fuss about a paramilitary force known as the anti-motim or emergency police. The movement says the government has broken the spirit of the peace accord by unilaterally establishing this unit, and says it could be used if the MPLA loses the elections.

Mr Savimbi says Unita soldiers in the national army will regard themselves as Unita members first for some time. Hence, he believes Unita will be able to overpower the MPLA if fighting breaks out after the elections.

The American influence was all there. From the big, burly men with a picture of their leader beaming from their bellies and waving miniature flags, to the tiny, bare-foot girl reciting a pledge-cum-praise for Mr Savimbi in an innocent, high-pitched voice. There were those to warm the crowd before the leader's speech and to orchestrate the applause.

He must have realised the damage such a statement could do, because two days later he had somewhat softened it. He had been to 15 of the country's 18 provinces, he said, and judging by the warm and enthusiastic reception he had received, there was "no way" the MPLA could win.

Unita officials emphasise the message of change at every turn. "Angolans are tired of the war" is one refrain one hears over and over. They also believe the people are tired of the MPLA.

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Some of these demobilised soldiers are believed to have access to arms, and if they feel neglected it is conceivable that another battlefront could open in Angola just when everybody is convinced peace has finally arrived. □

The hall was a sea of T-shirts and caps. Suits seemed to have been forgotten for a while and military uniforms — Angolans hope — forever.

Mr Savimbi seems to have made a conscious attempt to change his image. The mili-

According to an American diplomat working closely with the team monitoring the peace process, there is no clear-cut favourite in these elections. Either of the two big parties — the MPLA or Unita — could

The movement believes it will profit as a result of being seen as the party that has brought democracy to Angola. Mr Savimbi has singled out

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Angola expels SAAR

STAR 579/192

(5)

DALE LAUTENBACH

poll team

LUANDA — South African Air Force personnel and aircraft sent to Angola to help with voter registration for this month's election were expelled from the country by the Angolan government. This emerged for the first time this week, in spite of a concerted effort by both sides to cover up an incident that may yet put pressure on newly repaired relations between South Africa and Angola.

The SAAR helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft left Angola on August 10, despite an agreement with the Luanda government that they would provide logistical support until the elections on September 29 and 30.

The South Africans, on their return, announced that their mission in Angola — principally to help with the registration of voters in outlying districts — had been carried out successfully.

Director General of Elections Onofre dos Santos said the SAAR had played a crucial role in getting nearly 500 000 of the 5 million voters registered.

Military operation

However, the consensus in Luanda is that the SAAR was expelled before the task was finished. The explanation that is emerging paints a picture of diplomatic blundering and a failure to understand feelings about the war.

The South Africans camped at Malange, in north central Angola. They raised the South African flag, wore uniform and carried arms. International observers in Luanda say this was a big mistake.

"If only they had approached us for some advice we could have told them how to treat this operation," said one Western diplomat. "They certainly shouldn't have treated it as a military operation, which it most certainly was not."

This was exacerbated on the Angolan side by a feeling that the decision to use SAAR support had not been taken at senior level in Luanda.

"The agreement was handled by junior officials on both sides," said an Angolan source. Dos Santos expressed the hope that ruffled diplomatic feathers would soon be smoothed. Most analysts believe that a second ballot for the presidency — if no candidate gets the necessary majority — is almost certain.

"If there is a second-round ballot," Dos Santos said, "we might well need them because our helicopter contracts end on October 1."

Angolan rivals agree on national unity govt

LISBON.—Angola's ruling MPLA and the former rebel movement Unita had agreed to form a government of national unity after this month's elections, whatever the result, Portuguese state television reported yesterday.

A newsreader, citing a report from Angola, said: "The proposal was presented by the observer group of the peace process and was formally accepted by both sides."

Portuguese correspondents in the capital Luanda said Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi met on Monday and agreed to complete dismantling of their armed forces by September 27.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa quoted government spokesman Fernando da Piedade dos Santos as saying: "It is an accepted principle that before the elections both armies involved in the 16-year civil war will be disbanded."

Last year's peace accord between the ruling MPLA and Savimbi's Unita called for both sides to disband their forces by August 1.

Selected soldiers from both sides are being integrated into a new smaller national defence force of 50 000 men.

But the formation of this new army, which consisted of only 5 000 men in mid-August, and the demobilisation of other MPLA and Unita combatants, are way behind schedule.

Dos Santos and Savimbi met for only the third time at the presidential palace in Luanda to try to defuse

tension between the two sides which has led to several deaths.

Savimbi, who has been accused by the MPLA of planning to seize power by force if Unita loses the parliamentary and presidential elections, said afterwards each side had agreed to accept the result.

Savimbi told reporters his meeting with Dos Santos produced "positive results".

He brushed aside suggestions that recent clashes between MPLA and Unita supporters in the interior might derail elections.

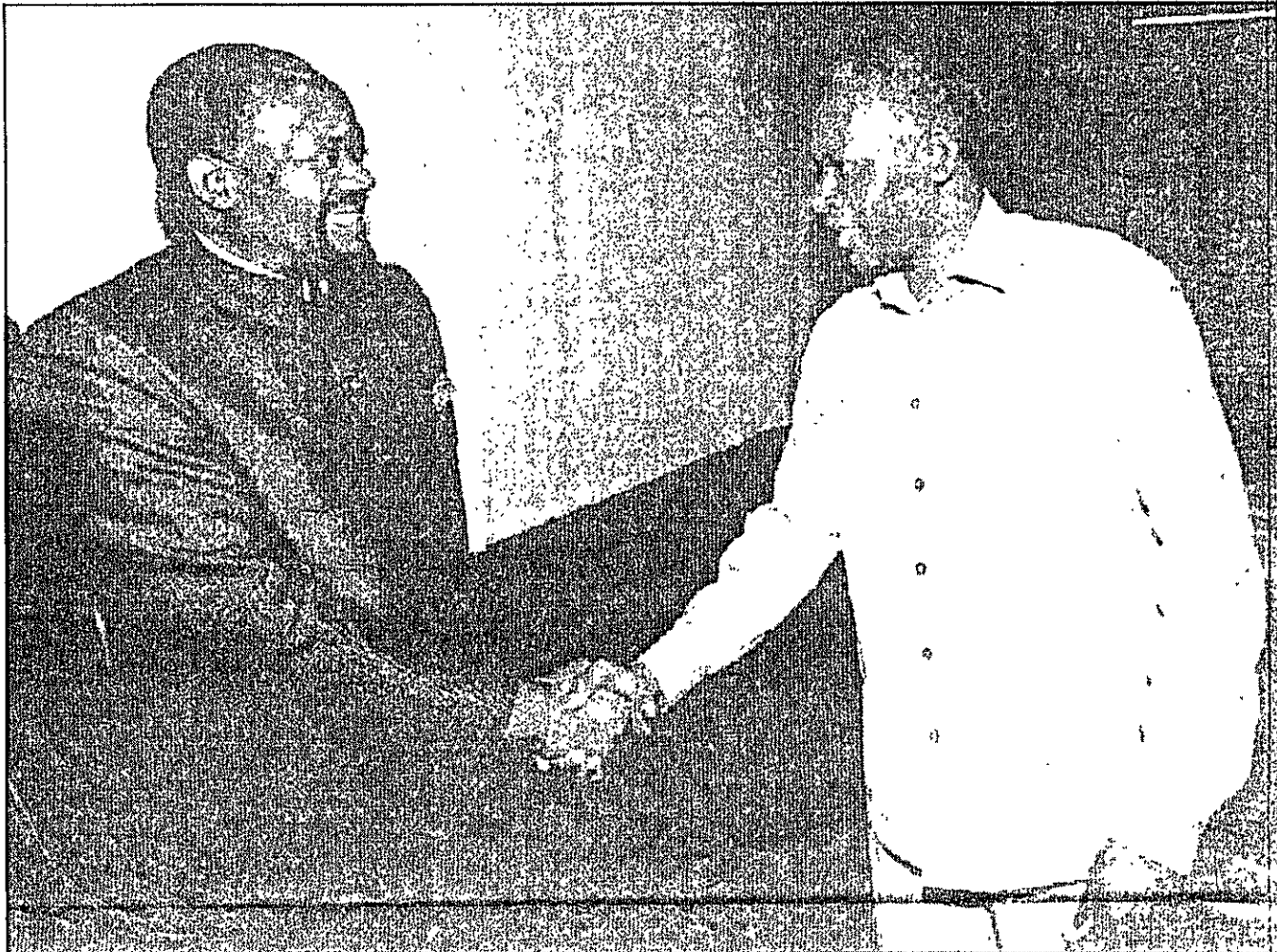
"There were incidents in Malange, Bie and Lobito, but this is just part of the process we are going through and is not serious," Savimbi said.

The Unita leader dodged questions about whether he was prepared to share power with the MPLA after the elections.

A Unita national convention in the southern port city of Lobito 10 days ago said in a final communique that it favoured a government of national unity, whoever won.

Last month Unita struck alliances with two minor parties and accused the government of failing to register half a million voters. Nearly 4.9-million have been registered.

High-level envoys from the US, Russia and Portugal, which are official observers of the peace process, arrived in Luanda on Monday and were due to hold separate meetings with Dos Santos and Savimbi yesterday. — Sapa-Reuters.



May the best man win . . . Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos (right) and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi shake hands in Luanda during preparations for the first free general elections ever held in Angola. Picture: AFP

Uncertainty rules in Angola

STAR 9/9/92

As Angolans prepare to go to the polls for their first election since independence — and after 30 years of conflict — the future seems to offer them very little besides uncertainty. DALE LAUTENBACH of The Star Africa Service reports from Luanda (S)

AN AMERICAN diplomat attempting a sober view of the Angolan post-war election said: "Things have still not reached the stage where it's got out of hand. The election will happen."

He was speaking at a time when there are daily reports of violence around the country, and when the United Nations Verification Mission which is supposed to monitor the fairness of the election is being accused of bias in favour of the former rebels, Unita.

Analyses of the situation range from the view that the fevered political temperature is inevitable as Angola staggers out of 30 years of conflict, to the view that the wheels are flying off and that Angola is on the brink of chaos.

Both opinions may have some validity in the atmosphere of disinformation and rumour that prevails in Angola. The instability is reflected in Angola's famous black market, where the dollar exchange rate is soaring up to its wartime heights and is now about 3 200 kwanzas to the US currency.

The only thing you cannot buy with a dollar is certainty about what is happening in Angola. There is speculation that the Americans are pushing for a postponement of the election (due on September 29 and 30)

because they fear that the defeat of Unita would damage the American presidential election.

Another story doing the rounds is that in a second-round ballot for the presidency, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos will back down for Daniel Chipenda, the former MPLA dissident who returned to the fold but is now contesting the presidency alone.

There is even a rumour that South Africa will be sending Inkatha members into Angola from Zaire to vote for Unita and its leader Jonas Savimbi!

In short, anything goes. In this situation the only really sensible thing to do is to collect as many party T-shirts as you can and keep out of the path of bullets from the thousands of weapons that are spontaneously discharged in the capital city.

About the only thing everyone seems to agree on is that the election will take place. National Election Council director Onofre dos Santos is confident. He is running his office from what appears to be a genuinely neutral position and is immensely

proud of the successful registration campaign which claims to have issued 4.8 million voting cards to an estimated 91 per cent of the voting population — with some useful help from the South African Air Force.

It is obvious that the MPLA is running the most expensive campaign. Its Brazilian public relations company has produced yellow and turquoise flags which people wave from passing motorcades. While the red, black and gold of the MPLA party is still in use, the injection of the other colours may be a ploy to shift the party's image away from the colours associated with its former Marxist-Leninist position.

There is a distinct absence of policy issues in the campaigning. It is largely a negative campaign, with the smaller of the 19 registered parties attacking the dominant MPLA and Unita, calling them the "armed parties", while the two big ones hurl accusations at each other.

Unita has made much of the MPLA-dominated police force but observers acknowledge that

while the force has been opened to all, Unita is not sending its best men to join.

"Out of about 180 men put forward by Unita only 39 qualified," said an American observer. "The government said they couldn't read or write or that they were in bad health. Now there are only about 100 Unita men in the police."

In terms of the Angolan peace accords both the Unita and MPLA armies, Fala and Fapla respectively, should have been demobilised by now, but this has not happened.

In a last-ditch effort to erase the two former warring armies so that the election can take place with just the new national army in place, an "extinction" order will be signed on September 27 declaring all Fapla and Fala troops illegal.

However, it is widely accepted that both Unita and the MPLA have secret armed forces. This causes much anxiety among Angolans. MPLA members are reported to be sending their families out of the country, as are other Angolans

A dominant fear is that Unita will react violently to a loss at the polls, and Mr Savimbi has done little to allay it. The personality cult installed in Unita's wartime headquarters at Jamba has been transferred to the national level, with Mr Savimbi and Unita being synonymous.

By the same token the MPLA campaign is far more about President dos Santos than it is about the MPLA. The vote is for the legislative assembly as well as the presidency, but it is thought that most voters will not make the distinction and will vote for their man on both counts.

"People will vote according to their gut, on loyalty," noted one diplomat. He said the international community may characterise the fight as MPLA corruption versus Unita human rights abuses, but that Angolans themselves were not examining these issues.

"Whoever wins, the new government will take over a bare kitty," said one diplomat. "None of the opportunities in Angola can be grasped until after the elections, when the World Bank and IMF will open up credit. Prices will soar but, fortunately, people are growing food."

Rather than promising a clean slate, the election appears to offer Angola only greater uncertainty. □

'Coalition' in Angola

^{Sowetan 10/9/92}
■ Bid for national reconstruction, reconciliation after elections: 5

Sowetan Africa News Service

WINDHOEK:- Reports have been put out that the ruling MPLA and former rebels Unita have agreed to form a "coalition" government after the elections at the end of the month.

This was to ensure national reconstruction and reconciliation.

Portuguese Secretary of State for Co-operation Jose Manuel Durao Barroso was quoted as saying the MPLA and Unita had agreed to "ensure the viability of a project of national reconciliation".

However, it would appear that Barroso did not use the word coalition itself and an Angolan government source yesterday strongly rejected the possibility of a coalition.

He said his government's platform had always been one of national reconciliation but this was not the same as a coalition.

He added that in his government's view civil law would have to take its course after the elections to investigate the suspicions of murder against Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, whose alleged involvement in human rights abuses came into the spotlight earlier this year.

A meeting between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi on Monday also produced "positive results", according to Savimbi.

However, it also is important that this message of reconciliation has emerged after a visit to Luanda by what is known as the troika, the group of observers to the Angolan peace accords comprising Portugal, the US and Russia.

Since the accords were signed in May last year, the troika has made regular trips to Luanda and on each occasion has urged peaceful elections and has threatened international condemnation if this does not happen. - Sapa- Reuter

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Helen and Eddie van Maen, c
editing of Right Now, at the MT

**Angola to
get national
unity rule**

*(5)
BIDAY 11/9/92*

LISBON — The former ad-
versaries in Angola's civil
war have pledged to form a
government of national
unity after the country's
first free elections this
month, whoever wins.

President José Eduardo
dos Santos told a campaign
rally in the northern town
of Ndalatando yesterday
that if the ruling MPLA
won, it would form "a gov-
ernment of national unity
that reflects the results of
the elections".

The Portuguese news
agency Lusa quoted Dos
Santos as saying that who-
ever won had to be tolerant
and magnanimous. Who-
ever lost had to work in a
spirit of reconstruction and
national reconciliation.

Unita, which fought a 16-
year civil war against the
MPLA after independence
from Portugal in 1975, also
pledged to form a govern-
ment of national unity if it
won the elections on Sep-
tember 29 and 30.

"Personalities from the
MPLA could participate in
a government of national
unity," Unita spokesman
Jorge Valentim told a news
conference in Luanda.

He said these would be
people "well known and ac-
cepted at a national level",
but he ruled out a formal
coalition between Unita
and its former enemy.

The statements by Dos
Santos and Valentim give
public confirmation of the
peace deal agreed by their
parties in Lisbon last year.

— Reuter.

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Angola's Voters Face Ruthless Alternatives

11/9 - 11/9/92

By Leon Dash

THE frightened citizens of one of the world's most violent countries are scheduled to vote later this month, on which of two heavily armed, ruthless political movements should rule their nation. This is the terrible fate of Angola, a discard of the superpower age, when the United States and the Soviet Union contended for influence over almost every emerging nation — and left little but suffering and conflict in their wake.

To the woeful list of Cambodia, Afghanistan, Ethiopia and Somalia, add Angola. After 31 years of nearly nonstop guerrilla warfare and civil strife, war-weary, increasingly impoverished Angolans are not expected to turn out in great numbers at their polling places. Of an estimated 4.5 million voters in the nation of about 9 million, only a few hundred thousand have registered to cast ballots.

Those who do vote will find little to distinguish the two parties. The governing leftist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), led by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and the opposition National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), headed by Jonas Savimbi, are both rooted in separate groupings of tribally oriented peoples and both have engaged in appalling brutality against each other and, at times, against their own supporters.

Burdened by three decades of bloodshed and betrayed hopes, the election, set for Sept. 29-30, seems certain to be more a grotesque parody of democracy than a genuine realization of the dreams that drove the bitter, 13-year war for independence against the Portuguese. The presence of international monitors under U.N. supervision cannot stave

off history's verdict: This election may achieve very little.

Neither democracy nor peace will spring to life in the former Portuguese colony anytime soon. Indeed, the country's future prospects are harrowing: more conflict, more suffering, a struggle to maintain even a minimum of civil cohesion. Amnesty International recently listed a long string of human rights violations and killings carried out by the Angolan government and its UNITA opponents before and since the two movements signed a peace agreement last year.

Savimbi's one-man control over UNITA, his anti-communist rhetoric and his leading position among his Ovimbundu people, Angola's largest ethnic group, shaped the U.S. decision to make him our man in Angola. In the 1970s, he got great press from most of us in the Western media — including me. He

seemed the epitome of a new kind of African visionary, one who was tough enough to prevail, yet idealistic enough to truly favor pluralistic politics and democratic government.

But revelations in recent years by human rights groups and UNITA defectors about brutal doings at his isolated headquarters in Jamba, in the semi-arid southeastern corner of Angola (Portuguese colonial rulers dubbed the region "the land at the end of the world"), show Savimbi to be ruthless and limitlessly cruel. The most gruesome incidents reportedly include the live burial of two persons in March and two mass burnings of political dissidents in the 1980s.

Amnesty's May report states that "in areas which it controls, UNITA has denied freedom of movement to both individuals and to (human rights) monitoring groups." It adds

that "UNITA's security service has tortured and deliberately killed internal critics and opponents of the UNITA leadership. Some critics were accused of being witches and burnt to death with members of their families before watching crowds (at Jamba) in March 1982 and September 1983."

The agonies of so violent a past will not be erased by the election. "The question (Angolans ask) is not who is going to win the election. The question is, 'What will the loser do?'" said Larry Henderson, a retired missionary who has known Savimbi for more than four decades. Henderson's Angolan friends and former students believe that if Savimbi wins, the government will fight. And they also believe that Savimbi is keeping Jamba intact as a military base from which to continue the fight if he loses. For Angola, the past is likely to be prologue.

ALG 12/9/72 (5)

Halt! Who goes where in Angolan poll run-up

DALE LAUTENBACH Weekend Argus Africa Service (5)

WINDHOEK. — The promise of a coalition government in Angola has become something of a political guessing game with a flurry of contradictory statements doing little to clarify the positions of the main election contenders — the MPLA and former rebels, Unita.

The confusion began when Portuguese Secretary of State for Co-operation Mr José Manuel Durao Barroso presented the latest statement on Monday from the troika of guarantors to the Angolan peace accords, Russia, Portugal and the United States.

The joint statement said Unita and the MPLA had shown willingness to "form a government which will ensure the viability of a project of national reconciliation and reconstruction".

Press reports of Mr Durao Barroso's statement said the two former belligerents in the Angolan civil war had agreed to form a coalition government.

On Wednesday, an Angolan government source vehemently denied the MPLA was willing to form a coalition with Unita.

However, the ruling party backed the idea of a government of national reconciliation, he said.

Today, the position seems either to have shifted or to have been corrected.

The same source said the MPLA accepted the principle of a coalition government, the nature and composition of which would be determined by the elections on September 29 and 30.

He said the idea of a government of national unity was less attractive as this would suppress effective opposition which was necessary for the vitality of democracy in Angola.

Meanwhile, a Sapa-AP report yesterday quoted Dr Jorge Valentim, information officer of Unita, as rejecting any form of coalition government with the MPLA.

Angola's bones of contention

STAR 12/19/92 (5)

LUANDA — A white sangoma from South Africa says he will throw the bones for President Jose Eduardo dos Santos next week. This could make Cyril le Roux the only man in Angola with an insight into which way the country's first multiparty elections will swing on September 29 and 30.

Le Roux says he already knows which party will win. But this reporter feels that to let on would be dabbling with the fates.

If a white South African sangoma reading Angola's future in the bones seems a bit of an irony, it is not the only one now that a fragile peace has ended the war between South Africa and Angola.

Now-retired General Neels van Tonder — formerly of Military Intelligence — is spotted in Luanda in neat collar and tie. "Hello, general. Fancy seeing you here."

"Business," he says. This is not hard to believe. By all accounts, he has good connections on both sides. He is one of a horde of South Africans shuttling to and from Luanda, attracted by the big bucks to be made in Angola in everything from diamonds to quick consumables.

Intentions

However, not all of them have honourable intentions, it seems. One picks up hints from the new South African diplomats in town that they are more than a little concerned about the reputation South Africa is getting thanks to a few fly-by-night operators.

One runs into characters on flights out of Luanda to Namibia and South Africa who easily fit this bill. On the plane they drink a lot and boast loudly about how many times they've been jailed and shot at while adventuring in Angola, all the while naming visits to the diamond area, the south, the north.

Adventurers in Angola are inevitable, though, and they will almost

AMID the tumult and tension of Angola's first free election campaign there are touches of Monty Python. DALE LAUTENBACH of the Africa News Service explains.



DOS SANTOS: A white sangoma offers help.

certainly find an Angolan to partner them. One hears about Angolan traders buying truckloads of consumer goods from South Africa. They travel down to Santa Clara on the Namibian border to pick the stuff up and then literally ride shotgun on their consignments.

Without official trade links it is difficult to determine how much is getting into Angola from South Africa, but a measure is the enormous growth of South African products on the market. From almost nothing in 1990, the figure for Angolan-South African trade was R150 million for 1991 and is growing fast this year. The flow is almost exclusively one way, however.

The visibility of goods is still the best measure: Castle beer has been available for a while but now it is the dominant brand. And you can get everything from Meerlust wine to Koo marmalade. South African fruit juices have made a big impression with the Swedes in Luanda.

The political marketplace now echoes the crazy commercial marketplace, with 19 parties and 11 presidential candidates pitching for power. The idea of a third force of moderate parties to counteract the ruling MPLA and former rebels Unita has been entirely discounted. In a strange echo of 1975, when the three major parties fought for power at independence, Holden Roberto's FNLA could be considered party number three in the line-up.

Rumours are widespread about who will join forces with whom, but in the meantime all parties are allowed equal time on television and radio to put their case. You switch on the TV with high expectations — and get gentle music accompanying the tap-tapping of a silver-smith creating some beautiful object. The photography is fine and you watch in fascination: lacemaking, embroidery, middle European landscapes — and finally the explanation: this slot was reserved for such and such a party that failed to show up.

Suddenly all this European culture gives way to a fierce rising sun and it is Unita's turn with a slot that hammers the Cuban "invasion" and presents Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in guerilla gear. Then, in the middle of the bush in Jamba, the camera focuses on — no, not an arsenal of weapons — but a factory producing executive briefcases.

Complaints

There have been a lot of complaints about the MPLA still ruling the airwaves and it seems just a little too coincidental that the slot that follows Unita is that of Daniel Chipenda, the independent from the same Ovimbundu tribal background who has been tipped to split the Unita vote.

Chipenda manages to include some footage showing him standing close to the Roman Catholic cardinal, Alexandre do Nascimento. With about 70 percent of Angola being Roman Catholic, an apparent endorsement from the church is a prize indeed.

Angolans

'trained SM 1919/92 to topple (5) Transkei'

UMTATA — Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa has, in a letter to President F.W. de Klerk, again accused the South African Government of attempting to destabilise the homeland.

In a letter written on Wednesday and released to Sapa yesterday, Holomisa told De Klerk Transkei's government he had information that Angolan nationals were among people trained at the Luwatla Military School in Kimberley to topple the Transkei regime in September or October.

He named Neil Gilliland, "military intelligence, Border region", and a Captain Roberts, "branch commander, security police, Elliot", as members of the South African security forces implicated in "clandestine designs to topple the Transkei military government".

He asked if De Klerk and his government would resign if he made "further authentic disclosures" about Military Intelligence Chief-of-Staff General Christoffel van der Westhuizen's "role in the destabilisation of black communities".

A statement from the President's office said De Klerk "had taken note of the preposterous allegations contained in General Holomisa's letter".

The statement said De Klerk would, in due course, reply to Holomisa's letter.

He would also convey the Government's reaction to the press as soon as possible.

Van der Westhuizen has been implicated in the deaths of Eastern Cape activists in an alleged National Intelligence Service document made public by Holomisa. — Sapa.

Journal 22/9/92
Angolans clash

LUANDA - Eight people were killed and 26 wounded in clashes between police and former rebels in eastern Angola eight days before the country's first free general elections, national radio said yesterday.

The fighting broke out on Saturday in Luena, the capital of Moxico province, after a mortar attack against a police barracks, the radio said in a report cited by the Portuguese *Lusa* news agency.

Zimbabwe brings in more power cuts

B10A7 23/9/92
HARARE — Zimbabwe introduced further power cuts yesterday after two of its 10 generators broke down. The country started rationing electricity on Monday to conserve supplies affected by severe drought, and Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (Zesa) GM Canaan Chikwanha told reporters yesterday power supply to residential areas had been cut to five hours a day until further notice because of the generator breakdowns.

"The limits we imposed on Monday still apply but these breakdowns have forced us to make further cutbacks," he said. Zesa was investigating why the generators had failed.

The breakdowns occurred in two thermal generating units at the massive Hwange coal-fired station, where output limits have been imposed to try to maintain generation under technical stress.

Experts privately blame a shortage of competent technicians and failure to import backup spares.

Chikwanha said Hwange's six generation units were reduced to half their capacity, of between 60MW and 110MW each a day. The three old thermal power stations at Harare, Bulawayo and Munyati are battling to supply 150MW between them.

On Monday, Zesa told companies to slash power consumption by up to 30% and

severely curtailed domestic use. It said anyone exceeding rations could face surcharges of up to 700% and disconnection.

MICHAEL HARTNACK reports that Zimbabweans are confronted with prospects of labour force layoffs, dead traffic lights and defrosting fridges as the electricity crisis hits harder.

The 40MW South African link being constructed by Eskom after two years of politically-motivated delays by President Robert Mugabe's government promises no hope of relief until November.

Industrialists have warned that 10% of the labour force faces redundancy as factories are forced to adopt short-time working. Suburban garages were yesterday unable to sell petrol from electrically powered pumps, and some workshops were brought to a standstill.

Housewives who stocked freezers after a farmers' warning of an impending meat shortage due to the drought now face the risk of tomato poisoning, and many supermarket cold rooms may not meet public health standards.

With the hot weather beginning, people have limited ability to iron clothes and babies' nappies, to crush the eggs of putsi — maggot flies which can cause painful boils, occasionally fatal in young children.

Unita fails to assassinate MPLA man

B10A7 23/9/92
LISBON — The campaign manager of Angola's ruling MPLA party Kundy Payama escaped unhurt when Unita security men tried to kill him at the weekend, state news agency Angop reported.

The assassination attempt was the second against Payama since the campaign opened at the end of August for the country's first free elections on September 29.

Angop said Payama was attacked by members of Unita's political police while attending a wedding in southwestern Angola.

A gunbattle between Payama's bodyguards and the attackers ensued.

One of the attackers was captured, Angop said.

Payama narrowly escaped assassination at the end of August when a vehicle convoy in which he was travelling was ambushed by Unita fighters in Huambo province.

The formerly Marxist MPLA and Unita, which made peace last year after a 15-year civil war, are the main contenders in the legislative and presidential polls. — Sapa-AFP.



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LEONIE

NEWS IN BRIEF

SA men held in Angola ⁵

THE Foreign Affairs Department in Pretoria has confirmed that three South Africans are being detained in a Luanda jail in connection with diamond exploration in Angola. 61004 2319192

According to family members, two of the men, Johnny Wilson and Dennis Wilsnag, both unemployed divers, went to Angola after being offered jobs by a Cape Town man. Angolan authorities are demanding a fine of \$50 000 before they are released.

Angolan election may spark regional revival

SDM 24/9/92

ANGOLA's multiparty elections next week, the first since independence from Portugal in 1975, have important economic and political implications for both SA and southern Africa.

The economic revival of one of the five richest countries in sub-Saharan Africa, despite the devastation and calamity of almost 20 years of civil war, could have substantial spinoffs for Angola's regional neighbours, and for SA in particular.

Department of Trade and Industry officials report unprecedented interest by SA businessmen in trade and investment opportunities in Angola with some companies, including Corcor and Murray & Roberts, already active in a number of multimillion-rand construction projects.

With both major protagonists in next week's election — Jonas Savimbi's Unita and the ruling MPLA under President José Eduardo dos Santos — displaying similar "regulated market economy" policies, the outcome of the poll appears less important than the acceptability by all 14

parties of the result.

The likelihood of any of the potentially disgruntled parties returning to the push to take up once again the cudgels of civil war has been diminished, observers say, by the presence of UN monitors as well as by firm pressure from international interest groups.

The "troika" of the US, Portugal and the Commonwealth of Independent States, which mediated the ceasefire and end of the war in May last year, and SA, have sought to discourage any possibility of renewed hostilities.

Foreign Affairs director for southern Africa Gert Grobler says: "We made the point weeks ago that both parties should accept the outcome of the election. There would be very little sympathy or support from the international community for any group which bows out of the process. They would be out in the cold and should know that."

Meanwhile SA is doing its best to ensure that, whatever the outcome — and analysts suggest it could be

tween the two governments on a wide range of subjects including fishing, agriculture and health, we are still exploring areas and ways to assist," says Grobler.

At stake is access to Angola's extraordinary economic potential. Abundant fertile land, huge fishing and mineral resources, extensive petroleum deposits and the opportunity for irrigation and energy from the many rivers provide just some of the lures for foreign investment.

Of particular interest to SA is the rebuilding and refurbishment of the devastated country's infrastructure. From housing, schools and sewage disposal to roads, bridges, the upgrading of Angola's agricultural resources (such as coffee plantations) and the rebuilding of the Benguela railway, the opportunities are virtually limitless.

But with Angola's foreign debt at \$10bn last year and a shaky re-scheduling and interest repayment history, a crucial factor which could hamper economic success is the dire shortage of foreign exchange.

The war has regularly absorbed up to 60% of oil-based foreign exchange earnings, estimated by the UN at more than \$30bn during the '80s.

One possible means of overcoming the problem, suggests Grobler, is for SA to purchase Angolan oil and in so doing trigger credit lines to ease the difficulties of forex shortages.

A Trade Department official said that with the end of the war and the completion of the election, international development agencies including the World Bank and the IMF would also become more heavily involved freeing up additional foreign currency.

Whatever the outcome of Angola's presidential and parliamentary elections next week, provided the result is accepted and a period of national reconciliation entered into, the country has the potential to become a major source of economic development and growth in the region.

The success of Angola's restructuring could also have significant implications for the revival and expansion of SA's ailing economy.

ADRIAN HADLAND

close — SA's economic and political ties with a future Angolan government are protected and encouraged.

While SA's historical relationship with Savimbi and Unita has always been strong, a host of projects has been embarked upon to ensure a conciliatory approach to trade with SA should an MPLA government retain power.

Communications between President F W de Klerk and Dos Santos in October last year paved the way for SA-funded development projects, retraining programmes for demobilised soldiers and SADF backing for the removal of more than 100 000 landmines scattered around rural Angola.

"Our relations with the present government have improved considerably since October last year, and while there has been contact be-

5

Fur flies in run-up to Angola poll

STAR 24/9/92 (S)
LUANDA — The government has accused Unita of wanting a new war in Angola, where at least 30 people have been killed in the run-up to the country's first multiparty elections.

"Unita wants war," President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said on Tuesday night while campaigning in the central city of Huambo in preparation for the September 29-30 ballot.

But Jonas Savimbi, head of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), denied he wanted bloodshed.

Mr Savimbi said only dialogue would guarantee the transition to democracy.

Mr Savimbi and President dos Santos had signed an accord in May 1991 ending 16 years of civil war.

"Resorting to arms is very bad," Mr Savimbi told a rally in the northern city of Malange.

President dos Santos also said his Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which has ruled Angola since independence from Portugal in 1975, did not want to resume hostilities.

He stressed the election must go ahead, adding that an MPLA victory would be "sweet revenge" against its chief rival.

At least 30 people have died since campaigning began ear-

lier this month. Many have died in clashes between Unita supporters and government security forces.

Eight people died in such a clash in the city of Luena at the weekend and there were unconfirmed reports of similar fighting outside Luanda on Tuesday.

On Sunday, hundreds of Unita men seized control of Kuito airport in Bie province, capturing 10 presidential guards whom they accused of trying to kill Mr Savimbi.

Unita has released the guards and ended its siege of the airport, government officials said yesterday.

Unita still controls 52 communities which fall outside State administration, according to Marcelo Beya, national director of territorial administration.

Diplomats say a September 7 pledge by the two rivals to disband their armies before the vote and to form a government of national unity seems to be in question, despite pressure from their former superpower backers who orchestrated last year's peace accord.

The diplomats have expressed concern about the recent violence and doubt whether international observers can adequately monitor the vote in the big country.

Strike called over elections

■ Separatists see action as 'a referendum'

Sowefam 25/9/92

LUANDA - Portuguese firms in the Angolan enclave of Cabinda will suspend activities in the period around the country's first free elections because of a strike by separatists, a Portuguese daily reported yesterday.

Publico's correspondent in the enclave reported that two boats were awaited in Cabinda port to stand by for a possible evacuation of hundreds of Portuguese nationals who work mainly in the construction industry.

Two wings of the Cabinda Enclave Liberation Front (FLEC) have called for a week-long strike beginning on Friday, calling on all residents of the oil-rich territory to stay at home.

They want a boycott of the polls, the FLEC-FAC armed wing arguing that abstention during the presidential and general elections to be held on Tuesday and Wednesday would constitute "a national referendum on self-determination". - *Sapa-AFP*.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Messages from Angola

ANGOLAN Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem arrived in SA yesterday to convey messages from Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to President F.W. de Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela.

Van Dunem would also officially open the Angolan interests office in Pretoria today, said interests office media attache George Morais.

BIDAM
2579/92

On the campaign trail in Angola

W/Week 25/9-11/0/92

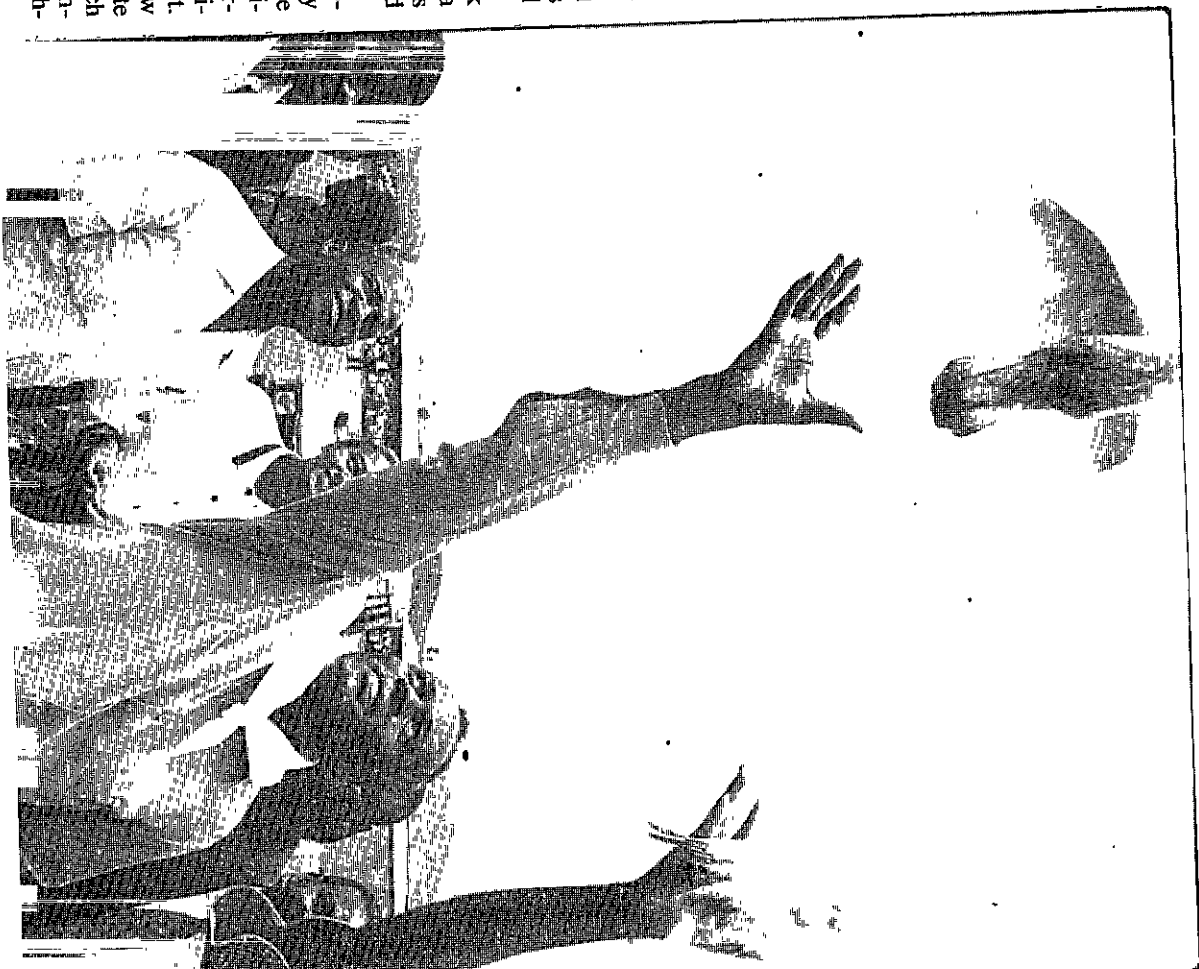
After endless years of war and suffering, Angolans are sceptical that next week's elections will bring peace to their troubled country. **ANDREW MELDRUM**
reports from Luanda (5)

NEPLECTIOUS samba music throbs through the Café Democracia punctuated by enthusiastic announcements encouraging Angolans to vote. While some sit at the café and sip beer and soft drinks, many more crowd round the large voter education kiosk to watch videos, read comics and gather pamphlets, all of which are designed to promote better understanding of Angola's upcoming elections.

About six people buy the election T-shirts which feature a white dove of peace carrying a ballot to a ballot box. Kinixix Square, in central Luanda, abounds with billboards, banners and posters for President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and his ruling MPLA party and former rebel leader Jonas Savimbi and Unita.

Enjoying a cool drink under the thatched kiosk of the Democracy Café in downtown Luanda is a great way to sample the scene of Angola's impending elections, set for September 29 and 30.

But the light-hearted, festive atmosphere bubbling around the Democracy Café occasionally gets a more sinister feel with appearance of the distinctive vehicles of Angola's two new political police forces. The light blue Nissan four-wheel drive vehicles drive by carrying the anti-riot police created by the MPLA government. Also cruising by at low speed are the brand new General Motors vans used by Unita's private police force. It is these two political units which are blamed for many of the outbursts of campaign violence which have broken out throughout the country.

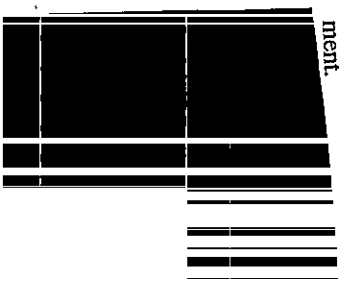


tion between the top two candidates.

Handsome, suave and soft-spoken, Dos Santos has smoothly steered the MPLA away from Marxist, one-party rule and is widely credited with achieving the popular peace accord. Dos Santos is the MPLA's strongest asset and his smiling face adorns T-shirts, billboards, posters and even a balloon floating high above Luanda.

Swaggering Jonas Savimbi is an electrifying speaker who nevertheless is generally distrusted as a man of war. Recent revelations that top officers were executed by Unita last year have not helped his image. "Savimbi is a dictator pretending to be a democrat," alleged Dos Santos at a rally this week. It very likely that many voters will heed that warning. Savimbi's guerrilla image may deter many swing voters.

The numerous smaller parties could become the election spoilers who would hold the balance of power between the two sides. The FNLA, a veteran nationalist group dating back to the anti-colonialist war, is led by Halden Roberto and has support in northern Angola. Daniel Chipenda is a break-away from the MPLA and is well known in Luanda and Lobito. A group of the smaller parties could win 10 percent of the 225 parliamentary seats and hold the strategic lever needed by the MPLA or Unita to form a government.



Those incidents have included clashes between the two rival forces in Luanda, the port city of Lobito, the central cities of Huambo and Kuito and the eastern outpost of Luena. When Unita leader Jonas Savimbi was speaking in Huambo last weekend the Unita force, dubbed *caravaneiros* for their spanking new GMC vans, took 11 of the government's anti-riot police prisoner on suspicion of plotting to assassinate Savimbi. The Unita police then took control of the Huambo airport, preventing all other planes from flying, until Savimbi's plane took off.

After 30 years of war — 14 of anti-colonialist struggle and 16 of bitter civil conflict fuelled by external backers — most Angolans are desperately weary of conflict and say they will vote for any party that will bring peace and stability.

Grimly anticipating more election violence, many middle-class Angolans and diplomats have flown their wives and children to Europe and to other African capitals. European embassies have drawn up evacuation plans.

A total of 18 parties are contesting the elections, but the central battle is between the two main contenders, the MPLA and Unita. The race between the two is so close that no well-informed analyst is willing to predict an easy victory for either.

There is fairly strong support for both sides. Unita has the backing of the country's largest single ethnic group, the Ovimbundu, who make up about 33 percent of Angola's 12 million people. Unita's well organised structure is out to maximise the vote from its supporters who are concentrated in Angola's arid south.

The MPLA is largely supported by the Mbundu ethnic group which makes up 25 percent of the population. In addition large numbers of the civilian population, particularly those in cities which MPLA held during the war and in the rural areas that were heavily mined by Unita, are considered MPLA supporters.

When doves fly... MPLA leader Jose dos Santos

filthy and unhygienic in Africa, as they have been for years. Luanda, a city of two million people, was without running water for two weeks as elections approached. Long queues of people with buckets, pails and wine jugs formed throughout the city at any point where there was a borehole tap. Wealthier residents bought water trucked into the city. The stench of urine and sewage covered the capital city like a stinking fog.

"This water breakdown might be the final straw which turns many people to vote for Unita," said one Luandan resident. "In the past the government has blamed the war for water breakdowns

Photo: PAUL WEINBERG

and power blackouts. But now, they don't have that excuse. It is just inefficiency. Everybody knows the MPLA is corrupt and inefficient. This could be a surprise factor where people vote for Unita because they would run things more efficiently."

Angola's elections are also a race between the two personalities of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita commander Jonas Savimbi. All voters are to cast ballots for the president as well as for parliament. The candidate who garners more than 50 percent of the votes will become the next president. If no candidate gets more than 50 percent there will be a second elec-

The question of the Angolan elections is not so much "Who will win?" as "Who will form a government that will ensure peace?" The answer is that neither of the two main contenders, the MPLA and Unita, can alone form such a government. What is needed is a compromise "government of national unity" in which the winner will bring in representatives of other political parties and ethnic groups to make sure that the new government has the allegiance of the vast majority of all the Angolan people. The critical job of peacefully demobilising, retraining and integrating Angola's rival armies and police forces can only be achieved by a government in which all sides have confidence.

"The MPLA and Unita in the same government?" asked one Luandan incredulously. "It's not possible. Savimbi would never agree to sit with Dos Santos." But other Angolans consider the concept of a unity government to be one worth supporting.

"I think a government of national unity is necessary for the Angolan people to have peace," said Angolan journalist Antonio Santana. "This kind of government will make sure that people from different parts of the country will be represented. This will give Angola the political stability that it needs so much."

But in recent months the MPLA government has all but ceased to function. Top United Nations officials carrying out critical food relief say they haven't even encountered a government official. Convinced that their privileges will end after the elections, government members are selling off state property like buildings, laboratories and vehicles, presumably pocketing a healthy portion of the proceeds.

On the ground it is hard to find any positive government activity. Angola's cities are the most

'Tormentors' become friends

in run-up to poll

South 26/9-30/9/92

As Angola gears up for elections next week, the United States, former MPLA enemy, is lending a large, helping hand, reports **George Gedda:**

(S)

AFTER fueling Angola's civil war for five years, the United States is now deeply involved in helping the devastated country in its ground-breaking effort to hold free and fair elections next week.

As part of a \$12-million (about R33,6-million) programme, three American C-130 aircraft have been crisis-crossing the country, getting the nation off a wartime footing by flying demobilised troops back to their home provinces.

Late last week, about 7 000 troops had been sent home aboard these flights. In addition, the US is helping finance the rental of 40 helicopters and some fixed-wing aircraft being used to ferry election observers and ballot boxes around the country.

Voters will elect a president and national assembly. A US cargo plane will deliver 80 000 ready-to-eat meals to election workers in remote areas.

Because of a shortage of hotels in Angola, many involved in the election process will sleep in tents.



Jonas Savimbi

The United Nations is helping out with 400 election observers and 400 military observers.

Because of Angola's pro-Soviet past, it is the only country in sub-Saharan Africa with which the US does not have formal diplomatic relations.

To encourage political liberalisation, the Bush administration has withheld diplomatic recognition until an elected government takes office.

Once that occurs, the administration is prepared to initiate a \$20-million (about R56-million) development assistance programme and to have a fully-fledged ambassador in Luanda for the first time.

During much of the eighties, Angola had the misfortune of being among a handful of countries that were targets of superpower military competition — at an extraordinary cost to human life.

Of all the wars during the eighties in which Moscow and Washington were involved, Angola was second only to Afghanistan in the amount of blood spilled. About 340 000 Angolans are reported to have died between 1980 and 1990 and more than one million driven from their homes. The country's population is estimated at nine million.

Meanwhile President Dos Santos has scrapped his left-leaning policies and now gets along well with his former tormentors, the US. As for Savimbi, once described by Secretary of State James Baker III as "my man man", these days there is a certain wariness about him in the US based on charges of human rights abuses in Unita. Savimbi has denied such allegations.

— Sapa-AP

Carole Boucher Work in Progress/New Era

INDPENDENT observers are sceptical about the prospects for genuinely free and fair elections when Angolans go to the polls on September 29 and 30.

More than a year after the historic peace accord signed by Angola's MPLA government and Unita rebels, violence and chaos prevails.

The situation is made worse by Angola's lack of resources to run the election process properly and the fact that long-promised international aid has hardly materialised.

Well-financed and with strong infrastructures, the ruling MPLA party and Unita are the only forces really capable of contesting the election.

But the MPLA is vulnerable because of its bad track record in power. The disastrous economy, corruption in the public service and a general atmosphere of gloom within the MPLA might not recommend it to wavering voters.

Jonas Savimbi's wait-and-see approach seems to have paid off. He has survived accusations of human rights violations by Unita dissidents and international human rights groups.

Inside the country, sympathies still seem to run along regional and ethnic lines. Savimbi is popular among the Ovimbundus, and Unita dissidents have given up trying to dent that support base.

Odds are against free and fair vote

in Angola

South 26/9-30/9/92

Concerned that Unita might not accept an election defeat, the MPLA government with Savimbi's rebels.

Despite the obvious differences, the two main contenders have similar plans for the economy: withdrawal of the state from the economy, privatisation of state enterprises, reduction of public service and luring foreign investments.

And both sides are directing efforts towards winning a vague, silent majority that is fed up with both forces, but which, in the end, will have to opt for the lesser of two evils.

The anything-but-Savimbi option will probably turn a layer of voters towards the MPLA, especially in the urban areas. The middle classes are afraid of Savimbi because of traditional inconsistencies in Unita's policies. Unita can count on the support in the rural south where it seems entrenched.

Angolan ballot replaces bullets

STAR 28/9/92.

5

AFTER more than 30 years of war, Angolans go to the polls tomorrow in their first free election but with no certainty that it will bring peace.

While the ceasefire signed more than a year ago has largely held together, no holds have been barred in the election campaigns conducted by the former combatants — the ruling MPLA party and the opposition Unita movement.

Views among the international community in Luanda range between optimism and pessimism. There is little doubt that the voting will go ahead tomorrow and on Wednesday but less certainty about whether the loser will accept the result.

The dawning of political freedom in Angola produced a rash of political parties, and 18 are contesting the two-tiered election for a parliament and a president. But the battle has come down to one between the two that fought and failed to win the civil war: the MPLA and Unita.

The war of words that has characterised the campaigns of the two main parties has done little to reduce the tension. The military war, which ended with the signing of the peace agreement at Bicesse in Portugal on May 31 last year, has simply become a political war in which the protagonists are using the unfamiliar weapons of the hustings.

Each side claims to be the party of peace while accusing the other of posing the threat of returning the country to war. Each side has given an assurance that it will accept the outcome of the poll if it is declared free and fair by the United Nations monitored charged with observing it.

Incidents of violence are nevertheless a daily occurrence around the country now, and the major question is whether these are enough to derail the peace or are simply inevitable in this period of transition.

The Americans, who have emerged as the senior partner in a troika (with Russia and Portugal) of guarantors of the peace, take a persistently non-alarmist view that the violence

Angola's switch from war to voting will have its first test tomorrow, when the polls open, and its second a few days later when the election results come out. DALE LAUTENBACH of The Star Africa Service reports from Luanda.



On the campaign trail . . . Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos wears a scarf in the MPLA's colours as he tries to woo voters in the country's first free election.

has in fact been of expected proportions and that no major violation of the ceasefire has occurred. Ugly incidents often peak at weekends, fuelled by the hundreds of thousands of beers which both Unita and the MPLA have been issuing to sweeten the electorate.

The sober view is that there will still be violence in which criminal activity and downright thuggery will ride on the back of genuine political confrontation. That criminal activity is seen as inevitable in a society newly made free but with no security for its frustrated and often hungry citizens.

One Western diplomat who was close to the peace negotiations acknowledges that the process has moved lurchingly, but adds: "At least it has moved consistently in one direction — towards elections."

A view widely held in the Western diplomatic community

in Luanda is that if one pauses to reflect and look beyond the angry salvos of election rhetoric and the odd bullet, the progress of the past 15 months has been remarkable. After 16 years of civil war and almost the same number of years of anti-colonial conflict before that, the short transition to a society genuinely aspiring now to peace should be praised and encouraged. Violence, it is argued, should not be over-emphasised at the expense of very real gains.

One diplomat notes that the very experience of the 15 months has indelibly changed the society to a point where, political affiliations aside, few would support renewed hostilities.

In the streets of Luanda, that profound change is now a daily reality. True, there have been reports of the odd individual shot being fired or of someone

being assaulted for wearing the wrong party T-shirt. But in

Luanda the daily Unita rally gathers at party headquarters with all the aggressive thrum and rumble of crude adversarial politics and proceeds through the streets in a manner unthinkable just 15 months ago.

Many of the visions conjured up in Bicesse have not been fulfilled. Most notable of these was the planned demobilisation of the former warring armies, Fapla on the government side and Fala on the Unita side. In addition, the national army has reached only a quarter of the strength envisaged in the accord. It was to have been the neutral military presence which overrode the historic hostilities of Fapla and Fala.

Now the greatest fear the Angolans express is the prospect of elections in the presence of three armies, although yesterday was the day on which Fapla and Fala were to have formally been declared extinct in terms of an agreement between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita's Jonas Savimbi.

Margaret Anstee, the United Nations under-secretary-general who is overseeing the UN monitoring role in Angola, has expressed concern about incidents of violence but has been equally firm that if the elections are declared free and fair by the UN, then so it will be.

The general wisdom is that only a major incident will be allowed to threaten the pronouncement of a fair poll.

Nevertheless, the crucial period, will remain the first few days of October, after the outcome has been announced, when the loser will have to decide whether to accept the verdict of the ballot.

Even if the leaders of both parties are genuine in their assurances, it is not known how the belligerent messages that have been sent to the voters have been digested. Do they understand that the belligerence is campaign posturing, or has it been taken at face value?

"If it's the latter we could be in for trouble," said one diplomat. □

Concern over fighting as Angolan elections start

8:10 AM 29/9/92 (5)
LUANDA — Voters go to the polls today and tomorrow in Angola's first multiparty elections amid fears that hatred still lingering after 16 years of civil war might erupt in fighting.

They will choose a president and elect representatives to Angola's new 223-seat legislature. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos — a former Marxist — and former rebel leader Jonas Savimbi are among 11 candidates running for president.

On Sunday the two sides agreed to place the remnants of their armies under joint command pending their demobilisation.

About 800 international observers will monitor the elections, joining observers from the UN, Russia, the US and Portugal who have monitored a ceasefire established in May last year.

The government has asked the UN to help bring political stability by keeping its observers there for another two months.

In a letter to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Angola's Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem said there might be delays in installing a new government and the elections might need to be repeated.

Campaign rallies held around the country by both Dos Santos and Savimbi have been marked by violence — at least 40 people have died in clashes during the past month of campaigning.

Many Angolans believe the losing side will reject the results, or the winners will settle old scores with their former foes.

Recent Savimbi campaign speeches have heightened such fears.

"If I am provoked, this will all be very ugly," he said at a rally. Days later he declared: "Whatever the election result, Unita will be in office on October 1."

But after weekend talks with Dos Santos, Savimbi pledged to honour the results. "Those of us who went to war already know that war does not pay," he said.

Savimbi has ridiculed the opinion polls commissioned by Dos Santos's ruling MPLA, which gave the MPLA a huge winning margin.

Savimbi's Unita is believed to be stronger in rural areas, where half of Angola's 10-million people live.

His campaign has appealed directly to the rural poor, with his attacks on the urban elite sparking accusations of racism against Angola's substantial white and mixed-race communities.

In Luanda and other large cities, Dos Santos appears to have more popular support. He is being presented as the defender of democracy against the threat of a Savimbi dictatorship.

Aside from Unita and the MPLA, 16 other parties are competing for seats in the legislature. — Sapa-AP.

Angola tense as polls begin ^S

LUANDA - The Angolan capital was tense yesterday on the eve of the country's first free elections after 16 years of civil war. *Sudan 29/9/92*

Angolan airspace was to be closed today to reopen until after the two days of voting today and tomorrow. Many of Angola's ruling elite have already sent their wives and children out of the country for safety. There is fear in Luanda of widespread violence in the case of a disputed result.

Tension over Angola poll

LUANDA — The Angolan capital was tense yesterday on the eve of the country's first free elections after 16 years of civil war. (5) 1/19/77

Angolan air space was closed at 5am today and will not re-open until after the voting.

Many of Angola's ruling elite have already sent their wives and children out of the country for safety.

There is fear in the city of widespread violence in the case of a disputed result in presidential and parliamentary elections which will effectively choose the winner of the war.

Rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has declared that if he does not win, the election will not have been free and fair and he will not accept the result.

On other occasions, however, both Unita and the MPLA have pledged their commitment to peace and a government of national unity whatever the outcome. — Sapa-AFP-Reuter



Angolans in traditional carnival dress turned out to support the ruling MPLA at an election rally outside Luanda on Sunday. The country's first free elections began yesterday and will be concluded today. Picture: AP

Angolan voters flock to cast their ballots

610 AM 30/9/92 (5)

ADRIAN HADLAND

LUANDA — The tragic civil war that has torn Angola apart for 16 years appeared to have been laid to rest finally yesterday as thousands of voters cast ballots in the country's first democratic elections.

UN spokesman Gilberto Rizzo, one of 800 international monitors in Angola to oversee the elections, said the organisation had been delighted by the peaceful and enthusiastic response of voters.

Long queues and hours of waiting in the hot sun tested the patience of some and minor scuffles broke out at a handful of more than 50 000 polling stations.

Concern still lingers over whether the election result, expected early next week, will be accepted by all 18 parties and more than 50 000 demobilised soldiers.

"It is essential that all political parties pledge themselves to respect the results of the elections and to build a new republic in peace and harmony," UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's special representative in Angola said yesterday.

Few observers cared to predict the outcome in what is expected to be a close but polarised fight between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's

ruling MPLA and Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

An SA diplomat said the remaining 16 parties contesting the presidency and 223-seat parliament had struggled to make much impact.

Meanwhile, a UN inquiry has found three of its Russian-supplied monitoring helicopters, which crashed in Angola during September, had not been shot down.

No news was forthcoming from Angola's southern Cabinda province where separatist movements were believed to have staged a ballot boycott and work stayaway.

□ Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha confirmed in Pretoria last night that three South Africans held captive in Luanda were released on Monday and would return to SA in the next few days, Sapa reports.

Denis Wilsnach, 31, of St Helena Bay, John Wilson, 60, of Vredendal, and Phillip Steyn, 25, of Pretoria, were arrested in Angola's diamond province of Lunde Norte for alleged illegal diamond exploration.

Foreign Affairs said the releases followed talks between Botha and his Angolan counterpart, Pedro de Castro van Dunem, on September 26.

NEWS Fears of renewed violence as former foes agree to bury the hatchet in Angola

Angolan army united to avert violence

UNITA CLAIMS Government is rigging votes and might not see its way clear to accept the final result:

LUANDA - Just hours before Angola's first elections yesterday, the commanders of a new united army were installed in an attempt to calm fears of renewed violence between former civil war enemies.

"The process is irreversible. The soldiers will not accept a return to fighting," said General Arlindo Chenda Pena, a former rebel leader who took command of the united army with his one-time foe, General Antonio Franca.

At the same time, however, a leading official of Unita accused the govern-

ment of planning to rig the two-day vote.

Unita Secretary-General Paulo Aliceres Mango told a news conference that his party would not accept the election result unless it judged the voting free and fair.

Mango claimed the government planned to delay voting in some areas and had failed to equip voting stations in provinces where Unita is judged to have wide support.

His claims were refuted by Margaret Anstee, the British head of a United Nations team monitoring the

election.

"I think that all the preparations are now more or less in place," Anstee said. "There is unlikely to be any room for significant fraud."

Unita battled for 16 years against the Marxist MPLA, which rose to power when the country won independence from Portugal in 1975 and ruled until peace accords were signed last year.

Unita, led by charismatic ex-guerrilla Jonas Savimbi, is the main challenger in the election against the MPLA. - Sapa-AP.

World in brief

Bush edges forward
WASHINGTON - President George Bush has narrowed rival Bill Clinton's lead from 21 percentage points to nine points, a new poll said yesterday.

In the most recent survey of voters, the ABC News/Washington Post poll found that Clinton was ahead of Bush by 51 to 42 percent. The poll has a margin of error of 4.5 percentage points. Last week, the same poll had Clinton leading Bush by 58 to 37 percent.

Teachers fight back
MBABANE - Swaziland's National Teachers Association has warned the government that chaos would result unless it withdrew a new act providing R14 million for a pension scheme for MPs.

A letter to Prime Minister Obed Dlamini questioned how the government could raise R14 million for

Zimbabwe opposition
HARARE - Supporters of the Forum for Democratic Reform Trust in Zimbabwe are to form a political party to challenge the ruling Zanu (PF) party.

The trust was launched four months ago and one of its aims is to act as a vehicle for the formation of a strong opposition party.

A trustee, former Chief Justice Enoch Dumbutshena, said it was important to have an effective opposition party. The party would be separate from the trust which would continue to act as a promoter of democracy.

The as yet unnamed party has nothing to do with the united front group in which the Rev Ndabangingi Sithole and Mr Ian Smith are prominent. - Sapa-Reuter-AFP

a "lucrative" pension scheme when it claimed to have no money to build houses for teachers.

A letter to Prime Minister Obed Dlamini questioned how the government could raise R14 million for



Peace marks the start of Angolan elections ⁵

■ It is hoped that the UN monitored multiparty elections will bring a meaningful end to Angola's heritage of bloodshed and violence:

By Judith Matloff

LUANDA - Voting in Angola's first multiparty elections got off to a calm start yesterday amid fears that the polls could be marred by violence lingering from 16 years of civil war.

The voting pits the ruling MPLA against the one-time rebel group Unita, former foes in the civil war which ended in May 1991 with a shaky truce.

State-run Radio Angola reported no incidents as polls opened across the vast oil-rich south-west African country which has been devastated by strife.

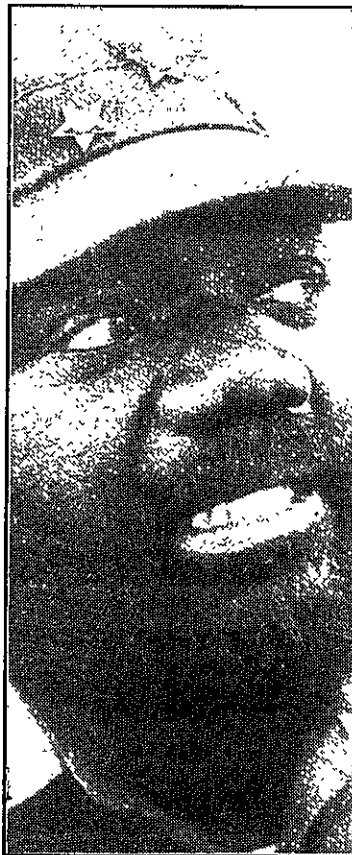
In the capital, Luanda, queues forming since before dawn stretched into the filthy streets as the war-weary population cast their ballots at the start of the two-day vote.

Religious and electoral leaders called for cool heads following campaign violence which killed at least 40 people.

"Let bloodshed be yesterday's phase," Roman Catholic Cardinal Alexandre do Nascimento said in a special mass.

There are 11 presidential candidates and voters will elect a 223-seat parliament, but the UN-monitored elections are seen mainly as a contest between the previous Marxist incumbent president Jose Eduardo dos Santos and former right-wing rebel leader Jonas Savimbi.

The two men became fierce enemies during the struggle against Portuguese rule. After independence in 1975, they launched a civil war that ended in a truce sponsored by the superpowers which had backed each side in a major Cold War confrontation.



Jonas Savimbi

tion.

Onofre dos Santos, head of the National Electoral Commission, said there were still problems in setting up polls in the Malanje and Uige provinces, both scenes of campaign clashes.

Much voting material was destroyed in three helicopter crashes over the past three weeks but dos Santos said he expected the problems

to be resolved.

"This is the big test," UN special representative Margaret Anstee told Reuters. "I do hope it is done in an atmosphere of tranquility."

Police and 800 international observers were scattered across the 5 800 polling stations where 4,8 million people will vote.

On election eve, the two erstwhile enemy armies formally merged under one joint command. It will be overseen by a joint commission comprising both parties and Russian, Portuguese and US observers until a new government is sworn in.

But as former foes embraced, Savimbi's Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) accused state security forces of pre-election irregularities and said it would not accept fraud.

"We have indications of fraud or at least the rights of citizens being trampled on," said Unita Secretary General Paulo Alicerces Mango.

Anstee and joint commission members rejected the Unita charges.

"I think all the preparations are pretty much in place," she said. "The registration process went off better than expected."

Diplomats expect some violence but say Angola's 10 million people are tired of a war which ruined the economy and killed hundreds of thousands.

Dos Santos's MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) is strong in the cities where many people fear the autocratic Unita leader. But Savimbi commands support with the Ovimbundu, Angola's largest ethnic group. - Sapa-
Reuter.

Rouefam 30/9/92

Peace rather than policies

STAR 20/9/72

ANGOLA'S first multiparty election is not about how the country will be governed after 16 years of civil war, but who will govern it.

The campaign has been remarkably devoid of issues, with both major parties merely emphasising the merits of peace and reconstruction.

No major ideological platforms and no glaring dissimilarities in economic policies emerged. Democracy is everyone's catchword. After the election, the emphasis will be on economic reconstruction, with the tone probably being set by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Most Western diplomats take the view that the parties battling for power have given little thought to what they will do with it. They note that the new government will inherit empty coffers and major problems.

Among these is demobilising two previously warring armies, totalling about 70,000 men, some of whom will join a new national army. The joint army was supposed to have been in place by the election, but due to financial constraints only a

Few issues except peace and reconstruction have been debated during the Angolan election campaign. Regardless of which party wins, it will be some time before the country gets a clear idea of the government's policies. DALE LAUTENBACH of The Star Africa Service reports from Luanda.

quarter has been formed.

Angolans are holding their breaths hoping the country will get safely through the elections and that the losing party will accept the result and not return to violence. Beyond that, few indications have emerged of MPLA or Unita policies.

The MPLA has ruled Angola since independence in 1975 with little regard for the people, despite calling the country a "people's republic". This slogan was recently scrapped in a move away from socialist jargon, but the MPLA seems to have found no other rallying philosophy and it has little cohesion.

Evidence of this is that the MPLA's election campaign has been totally overshadowed by the presidential campaign of its leader, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who has campaigned vi-

gorously as the people's politician in a way previously unthinkable of this charismatic but shy leader.

Since seizing power by force at independence, the MPLA has ruled as a small, vanguard party which never wooed the people. But tensions now visible within its ranks promise a total remake of the party if it wins the election.

The MPLA's hot-and-cold relationship with South Africa is a measure of the party's uncertain approach to the future.

Unita is going to the polls on the personality ticket of its leader Jonas Savimbi. In contrast to the late peaking of the MPLA campaign around the person of the president, Unita has for months been consolidating support at grassroots level in the rural areas.



Addressing supporters... President dos Santos.

One diplomat remarked that "Unita is the side most likely to maintain coherence", which will be fine if it wins but dangerous if it loses.

A glimpse into Unita thinking was given in an interview with shadow foreign minister Abel Chivukuvuku.

Unita is clearly concerned about the links the MPLA government has sought with the South African Government, with whom Unita had developed close ties and from whom it ob-

tained military support during the civil war.

Unita saw Angola, South Africa and Zimbabwe as the future regional pillars, said Mr Chivukuvuku, and Unita would fashion its policy accordingly.

On the issue of the new army, he said Unita thought even the reduced force of 40,000 agreed to was too big since Angola faced no visible external threat.

"We must start, by talking about regional co-operation, from which regional security flows naturally," he said.

While Unita has been praised in some quarters for its discipline, some of its opponents see this as coming uncomfortably close to totalitarianism. Mr Chivukuvuku, however, said Angolans should develop as individuals and not as part of some single-minded group.

An American diplomat said the war did not end with the ceasefire signed in May last year but hopefully it would end with this week's election. He might have added that while the peace began with the election, the form it takes may become visible only when the new government's policies emerge. □

Angola tastes

CT 30/9/92

Old foes clash^⑤ in 1st free poll

LUANDA. — Heavily-armed riot police guarded government buildings in the Angolan capital yesterday as voters turned out in large numbers for the country's first free elections after 16 years of civil war.

The country has been sealed off from the rest of the world for the two days of voting, with Angolan airspace closed since 6am yesterday.

UN monitors said a few hours after the polls opened that there had been no reports of violence and their impression was that voting was going smoothly.

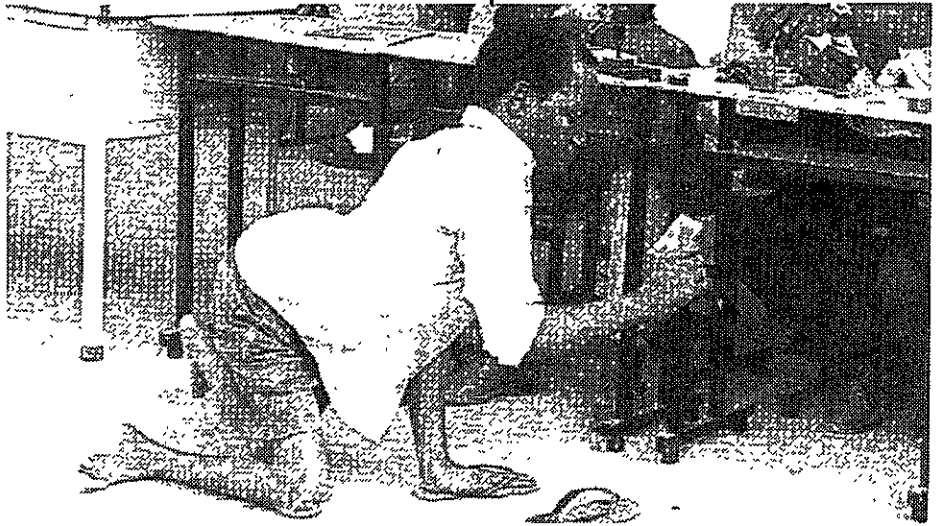
Four hundred UN observers are monitoring the elections, fanning out in 40 helicopters and 15 other aircraft.

Some 4.8 million voters are turning out at 5 900 polling stations to elect a president and representatives for a 220-seat parliament.

There are 11 presidential candidates, but the only real threat to the MPLA's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

In Luanda, huge queues formed outside polling stations at schools and cinemas before voting started at 7am.

It is the first opportunity Angolans have had to vote after centuries of Portuguese



MAKING THE EFFORT . . . A handicapped man was an early voter when the polls opened in Luanda yesterday for Angola's first free elections. Pictures: AP

colonialism and 17 years of one-party rule by the formerly Marxist MPLA.

Just hours before the elections began yesterday, the commanders of a new united army were installed in an attempt to calm fears of renewed violence between former civil war enemies.

At the same time, however, Unita secretary-general Mr Paulo Aliceres Mango said his party would not accept the election result unless it judged the voting free and fair. He claimed the government planned to delay voting in some areas and

had failed to equip voting stations in provinces where Unita has wide support.

His claims were refuted by Ms Margaret Anstee, the British head of the UN monitoring team. "I think that all of the preparations are now more or less in place," she said. "There is unlikely to be any room for significant fraud."

Both the MPLA and Unita have complained about irregularities in voter rolls, but if UN observers declare the vote free and fair, analysts say, losers will have little recourse. — Sapa-AP-AFP

democracy

Jan 28 1992
**Angola happy SA
will stay neutral**

By Dale Lautenbach

LUANDA — Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro Do Castro van Dunem Loy returned yesterday satisfied that South Africa would not intervene in Angola, following last week's meeting with President de Klerk.

Angola holds its first multi-party elections tomorrow and Wednesday.

There were fears South Africa could take up with old ally Unita, following a recent visit by leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

"After Dr Savimbi's visit he adopted aggressive, cold war attitudes in his speeches and we were concerned," said Mr van Dunem Loy.

● From bullets to ballots

Page 11

Angolan voters flock to polls as peace holds

STAR 30/9/92

5

LUANDA — Heavily armed riot police guarded government buildings in the capital yesterday as voters turned out in large numbers for the first day of Angola's first free elections following 16 years of civil war.

The nation was sealed off from the rest of the world for the two days of voting, with Angolan airspace closed.

Four hundred UN observers are monitoring the elections, fanning out across a country twice the size of France in 40 helicopters and 15 other aircraft.

"Everybody wants to vote today," said one UN observer. "I don't think there will be many left for the second day."

There are 11 presidential candidates, but the only real threat to MPLA President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi.

Angola's 4.8 million regis-

tered voters are also turning out at 5 900 polling stations to elect a 220-seat parliament.

Many observers here fear widespread violence in the event of a disputed result and do not rule out a return to war.

But hours before a ballot was cast, the commanders of a new united army were installed in an attempt to allay fears.

"The process is irreversible, the soldiers will not accept a return to fighting," said General Arlindo Chenda Pena, a former rebel leader who commands the army with one-time foe, General Antonio Franca.

However, Unita secretary-general Paulo Aliceres Mango claimed the government planned to delay voting in some areas and had failed to equip voting stations in provinces where Unita has wide support.

But his claims were refuted by Margaret Anstee, the British head of a UN monitoring team. — Sapa-AFP-AP.

TPA reacts to reports of dismissals

STAR 30/9/92

It was too early to give any detailed information on the future of newly appointed hospital workers who had taken the positions of people dismissed during the recent hospital strike, the TPA said yesterday.

TPA director-general Andre Cornelissen was reacting to an earlier radio news report saying people employed to replace dismissed hospital workers would not lose their jobs.

A TPA spokesman earlier said that although the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) and the administration had reached an agreement on the re-employment of dismissed workers, this did not mean the newly employed would lose their jobs.

Mr Cornelissen said: "In terms of the agreement reached by the TPA and Nehawu, employees dismissed for taking part in strike action may apply for re-employment. Applications completed on the prescribed Z83 forms, obtainable from any government office, may be sent to the head of the institution where the employee was previously employed." — Sapa.

Renamo cancels peace deal

⑤ CT30/9/92

ROME. — Hopes of ending Southern Africa's last major conflict this week were dashed when Mozambican rebel leader Mr Afonso Dhlakama suddenly pulled out of a peace deal due to have been signed in Italy tomorrow.

Italy's foreign ministry said it was suspending invitations to the signing ceremony, due to have been attended by leaders from the Vatican and Zimbabwe.

Italy, host to Mozambique's peace talks since June 1990, expressed deep regret at Mr Dhlakama's decision and said objections he had raised to points in the peace settlement did not justify a delay.

Mr Dhlakama signed an agreement with Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano in Rome on August 7 setting October 1 as the target date for a settlement.

They met again in Botswana on September 17 to overcome the military and security problems holding up an accord. The result was a compromise that cleared the way for tomorrow's formal deal.

In Lisbon, a Renamo spokesman said Mr Dhlakama would go to Rome to sign a peace accord only when all the paperwork was finished.

"We can't say when Mr Dhlakama will go to Rome. Some of the protocols negotiated in August have not been put on paper yet," Mr Joaquim Vaz, Renamo's spokesman in the Portuguese capital, said. — Sapa-Reuters

Mozambique releases SA bomber

MAPUTO. — Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano has ordered the release of a South African jailed for 20 years on a terrorist bombing conviction in 1990.

Jorge Allerson confessed to being part of a commando unit in the South African army that specialised in undercover operations in neighbouring states.

Mr Chissano cut his sentence to five years, five months and 25 days — the amount of time Allerson has already spent behind bars.

The move is seen here as part of the amnesty process currently underway in South Africa. — Sapa-AFP

ANC exiles battling to make ends meet

ADRIAN HADLAND

LUANDA — Fifty-three ANC members who have been waiting for repatriation for more than a year are stuck in Angola with no money and insufficient food.

ANC representative in Luanda Peter Tshikare said UN assurances the exiles would be sent home in July — and then by September 4 — had not been fulfilled, and the 53 were now virtually starving.

"I am not in a position to take care of these people because the ANC office here has no money," he said. One of the stranded exiles, Aaron Bosti Tshelha, said the UN provided a 50kg bag of rice, a bag of beans, 10l of oil and four bars of soap for his four-member family every two months.

"It is nothing and it always runs out. We have no clothes or shoes, my children have no school, no sugar, no milk. We have nothing," Tshelha said.

He has worked for the ANC since 1979, and has two children aged seven and four. Tshikare said he had approached the ANC's treasury department in Johannesburg last week but had not received a positive response.

"Unless we receive financial help, I am faced with a very explosive situation. These are my countrymen and I am powerless to help them."

"People cannot survive on just beans and rice and absolutely no income, so they have a right to be angry," Tshikare said.

The UN has told him the air tickets will arrive from Geneva by December.

Angolans await result of historic election

8 DAYS 11/10/92

ADRIAN HADLAND

LUANDA — Angola virtually closed down yesterday as anxious voters awaited the outcome of the country's first multiparty elections.

The results, which will decide both the presidency and the balance of power in the 223-seat parliament, could signal the country's return to brutal civil war or herald its first steps towards stable democracy.

Either outcome has immense political and economic repercussions for SA and southern Africa.

A spokesman for the national electoral commission, which is overseeing the elections with aid from the UN, said 2.5-million people had voted on Tuesday with another million expected to have cast their ballots yesterday.

It was estimated that 75% of Angola's 5-million voters would take part before polling booths closed at 7pm last night.

One UN monitoring official said the election had been one of the most calm and best organised he had witnessed in Africa.

At a news conference in Luanda yesterday, Unita officials were expected to criticise monitoring of the elections after the disappearance of the ballot box from the Luandan polling station where Unita leader Jonas Savimbi had voted.

Subsequent investigations disclosed that electricity to the station had been off, prompting relocation to a site nearby.

UN spokesman Gilberto Rizzo said the counting of ballots would begin immediately after polling stations closed last night.

Preliminary results for Angola's 17 provinces were to be announced in Luanda during the early hours of this morning with official confirmation either today or tomorrow.

Conflicting predictions were received from observers and diplomats yesterday regarding which of the two presidential candidates and the 18 parties would achieve success.

"President (Jose Eduardo) dos Santos will probably win the presidency with Unita taking a majority in parliament," one senior Western diplomat said.

ANC representative in Angola Peter Tshikare suggested voters who might have opted for Savimbi had been scared off by his belligerent pre-election attitude and the prospect of radical change.

While 16 other parties remained in contention it was believed the final result would be determined by the MPLA-Unita rivalry.

Sapa reports a woman gave birth to a son while waiting in line to vote on Tuesday.

An Angolan state news agency report said the parents named their son Volo, which was Portuguese for "vote".

The birth occurred in Saurimo, capital of Lunda Sul province, 750km east of Luanda.



Angolans keen to vote

Sowetan 1/10/92.

(5)

Sowetan Africa News Service

LUANDA - Relatively orderly polling on the first day yesterday of the Angolan election has boosted hopes that voting will be completed peacefully today and lead to the installation of a democratic government after nearly 30 years of war.

About half of the 4,8 million registered voters are estimated to have streamed to the polls yesterday and no major disruptions were reported.

The heavy first-day vote suggests that by the time the polls close tonight the majority of voters will have cast ballots.

The election is contested by 18 parties but most votes are expected to go to the two main parties, the MPLA and the former guerrilla movement, Unita.

■ Hopes rise that the historic first elections will lead to new government:

Voters will also choose a president from 11 candidates but again it is essentially a contest between MPLA leader Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

First results are expected tonight but the final outcome will not be announced until tomorrow.

While both major parties have undertaken to respect the outcome, Dr Savimbi said that he might not do so if his party loses.

Angolans display ⁵ desire for democracy

Report and picture by
Dale Lautenbach,
Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA.— A second day of calm voting in Angola and a percentage poll expected to rise above 80 percent has proved that the country's citizens understand enough about democracy to make their choice.

The next part of the democratic equation is whether they will accept the results of that choice gracefully when the provisional outcome of Angola's first multiparty elections become known possibly later today.

"It's incredible," said Mr. Geoffrey Milington, head of the US liaison office in Angola and with Portugal and Russia guarantor of the Angolan Peace Process.

He praised the organisation of polling over the past two days in a situation that had appeared from the outset to be a logistical nightmare.

The enthusiastic voting by Angolans over the last two days has completely outstripped his expectations he said.

"The Angolans can really be proud of what they've achieved over these two days," he said.

It was estimated that between 60 and 70 percent of voters in Luanda cast their ballots on the first day of voting on Tuesday. With more than 850 000 registered voters, the capital city represents the highest concentration of possible votes, followed by Be-



DEFIANT: Unita supporters, wearing the party livery, appeared to be on their way to defeat by the MPLA today.

guela and Huila provinces with over half a million each. Chando Kubango which is the South-Eastern Province where former rebels Unita had their headquarters at Jamba, has 133 161 registered voters.

Mr. Onofre dos Santos, director of the National Election Council, calculated that 2.5 million people out of a voter population of 4.8 million cast their

votes on the first day. Of the planned 5 506 polling stations, 5 300 were fully operational the first day.

Mr. Terror Lekota of the ANC who is in Luanda at the invitation of the National Democratic Institute and International Republican Institute, was impressed by what appeared to be a smooth organisation when viewed in the con-

text of logistical obstacles which faced the National Election Council in its task.

He said one of the major lessons for South Africa was to begin looking at the practicalities: "We must not be content only with pre-election theory, but must begin looking at the practical side."

Fellow South Africans on the

NDI-IRI team, Tshapiso Ramphela of the University of Botswana, was impressed by the reaction of the Angolan population and the long and mostly patient queues that stood outside polling stations for hours.

"The people here want to build their nation. And they obey here unlike in South Africa," he said.

MPLA's huge lead in poll

■ Low percentage vote in multi-party elections:

LUANDA - Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos and his ruling MPLA party have a substantial lead in the country's first multi-party elections, early provisional results from the National Electoral Commission showed yesterday.

In Luanda, an MPLA stronghold where the highest number of voters are registered, partial returns showing 5,3 percent of the votes cast by the 855 000 registered voters showed a 73,69 percent vote for Dos Santos and only 19,05 percent for Savimbi:

The MPLA had 73,55 percent in the parliamentary vote against 16,8 percent for Unita. In Benguela, the second largest voting zone, 1,7 percent of the 560 000 voters showed a 53,47 percent win for Dos Santos against Savimbi's 42,1 percent.

MPLA ahead in Angolan poll

⑤ CT 2/10/92

LUANDA. — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and his ruling MPLA party have a substantial lead in the country's first multi-party elections, early provisional results showed yesterday.

Figures presented by state television late yesterday afternoon gave Mr Dos Santos 144 413 votes against Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi's 50 015.

The only other significant vote for one of the 11 presidential candidates was a figure of 10 824 for Mr Holden Roberto of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA).

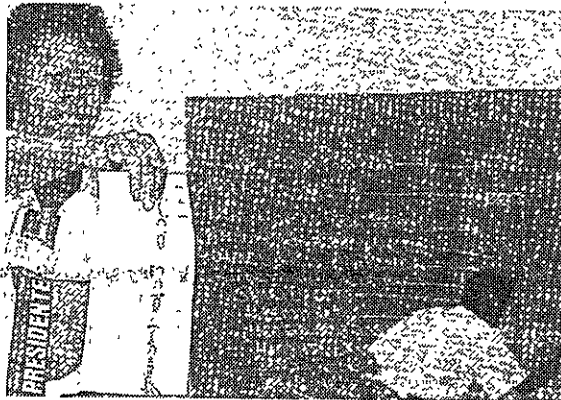
In the parliamentary elections, television showed the MPLA to be leading Unita by 135 968 votes to 40 750.

However, Unita spokesman Mr Jorge Valentin said state television was being selective in its presentation of figures, and produced results from some of Unita's strongholds showing Dr Savimbi to be trouncing Mr Dos Santos.

The president of the National Electoral Commission, Mr Caetano de Sousa, also distanced himself from the results given by television, stressing that they were unofficial.

He added that the counting of the votes was going slowly because of inexperience and a computer breakdown.

Mr Valentin said Unita remained confident of victory, and the party planned to broadcast a message on radio calling on its supporters to remain calm.



VOTE COUNT . . . An electoral official holds up a voting slip, showing candidates' faces and names, in a polling station in Luanda yesterday. Picture: AP

He did say, however, that Unita had no significant problems with the way the elections had been conducted, apparently removing a widespread fear that Unita might dispute the results if it lost.

The UN special representative in Angola, Ms Margaret Anstee, said in a statement yesterday that "the great majority of Angola's 4.86 million registered voters cast their votes over the past two days in conditions which can generally be described as peaceful and orderly".

She said official UN verification of the fairness of the poll might take several days but "it is not too soon to congratulate the Angolan people for having given a demonstration of civic responsibility and dignity".

State television's provisional figures for Luanda, the capital and MPLA stronghold where the highest number of voters are registered, showed results of 5.3% of the votes cast by the 855 000 registered voters.

MPLA leading in unofficial results

LUANDA — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and his ruling MPLA party had a substantial lead in the country's first multiparty elections, early provisional results from the national electoral commission showed yesterday.

However, Unita charged yesterday that state-run television and radio had given a distorted picture of early results.

Unita spokesman Jorge Valentin said they were being selective in their presentation of figures. He produced results from some of Unita's strongholds showing Savimbi to be trouncing Dos Santos.

National electoral council president Caetano de Sousa also distanced himself from results given by television, stressing they were unofficial.

He said the counting of the votes was slow because of inexperience, power cuts and a computer breakdown.

By late afternoon television's figures reflected just over 5% of the 4.8-million registered voters, most of whom are believed to have cast their ballots in Angola's first free elections since independence in 1975.

Valentin said Unita had no significant problems with the way the elections had been conducted, apparently removing a widespread fear that Unita might dispute the results if it lost.

Angola's civil conflict became a Cold War battlefield, with the US backing Savimbi and the Soviet Union supporting

Dos Santos.

Hundreds of international observers monitoring the election had not presented their official findings by late yesterday, but their individual comments on the voting process had generally been favourable. Figures presented by the state media yesterday gave Dos Santos 144 413 votes against Savimbi's 50 015.

The only other significant total among the 11 presidential candidates went to Holden Roberto of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) with 10 824 votes.

In the parliamentary elections, television showed the MPLA to be leading Unita by 135 988 votes to 40 750.

In Luanda, the capital and an MPLA stronghold where the highest number of voters are registered, partial returns gave Dos Santos 73.69%, with only 19.05% going to Savimbi. The MPLA had 73.55% in the parliamentary vote against Unita's 16.8%.

In Benguela, the second largest voting zone, where Unita was expected to put on a show of force, 1.7% of the 560 000 voters showed a 53.47% win for Dos Santos against Savimbi's 42.1%.

The MPLA was similarly ahead in the parliamentary vote with 54% against 38.5% for Unita.

Roberto was given a big lead over Dos Santos and Savimbi in northern Zaire province, a former FNLA stronghold. — Sapa-Reuters-AP.



Electoral officers count ballots in Luanda yesterday after voting on Tuesday and Wednesday to choose a new president and representatives to the legislature. Picture AP

DP wants trust land for black farmers

810 43 211014 2.
FARMLAND administered by the SA Development Trust should be handed over to black farmers as soon as possible, according to a DP discussion paper on rural development policy released yesterday.

Recent government suggestions that the trust land be transferred to the homelands were withdrawn after an outcry by development agencies.
The DP paper, which has not been formally adopted, suggested the trust land be divided into viable units and made available on a freehold or leasehold basis.

The paper said a Rural Development Department was needed to "co-ordinate planning and facilitate co-ordination between government departments".
DP spokesman Mike Tarr said the paper had been drawn up because there was no overall rural strategy at present.



RAY HARTLEY

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MPLA keeps lead over Unita in Angola poll ⁵

ARG 2/10/92

Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — The ruling MPLA party maintained a clear lead over Unita in the Angolan election as results trickled in today.

Official counts put the MPLA well ahead in the parliamentary poll with 61,8 per cent against Unita's 27,04 per cent.

In the presidential poll, incumbent MPLA President Joaquim dos Santos had 60,16 per cent of the vote against 30,35 per cent for Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

The results were from only 816 polling stations, representing less than 20 per cent of the more than 5 000 stations

around the country. But they maintained a trend evident since the first results came in.

Counting was proceeding much slower than anticipated and the final result was not expected until later today.

So far the two main parties have swamped the others except in northern Zaire province, where the FNLA, led by Mr Holden Roberto, was ahead, followed by the MPLA, and where Mr Roberto was ahead of Mr dos Santos for the presidency.

Mr Roberto's movement was one of the three that fought against Portuguese colonialism — but it faded in the subsequent civil war.

Unita disputes claims of MPLA lead in poll

STAR 2/10/92

LUANDA — Early unofficial returns yesterday from Angola's first free elections gave a lead to the ruling MPLA party and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, State news media reported.

The partial returns from 13 out of 18 provinces gave the MPLA 60 percent in the legislative part of the elections and Mr dos Santos 59,6 percent in the presidential poll, the State radio reported.

Unita gained 18,8 percent, the reports said, while former rebel leader Jonas Savimbi gained 22 percent in the presidential poll. The results represented returns from 5,6 percent of the approximately 5 900 polling stations, the radio said.

A leading Unita official claimed the returns were unrepresentative of voting patterns across the vast country.

"It's a numbers game. They've chosen just a few places where the MPLA is strong," said Jorge Valentim, the party's chief information officer.

He said Unita (the National

Union for the Total Independence of Angola) was way ahead in the election. "We're getting positive results for Unita in all parts of Angola."

Mr Valentim said he had had no complaints regarding the voting process.

First official returns from the National Election Council were scheduled to be released at noon but were delayed until later last night.

Peaceful

Angolans packed polling stations on Tuesday and Wednesday in elections that are a major test for a May 1991 ceasefire that ended a 16-year civil war.

The MPLA and Unita were founded in the 1960s to fight Portuguese colonial rule. On the eve of independence in 1975, fighting erupted between them. Backed by Soviet arms and Cuban troops, the MPLA, or Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, gained control of the major cities, but Unita fought on in the bush, supported by US arms and South

African soldiers. (5)

Most foreign observers said voting generally appeared free, fair and peaceful.

State radio appealed for calm and armed police mounted a guard on public buildings in Luanda.

Many of Luanda's 2 million citizens returned to work yesterday after staying at home during the two-day vote.

Fears of fighting breaking out during voting did not materialise. In the only fatal incident reported, a police officer was shot in Luanda resisting armed Unita supporters attempting to search houses near Mr Savimbi's residence.

According to unofficial returns, Unita was ahead only in Huambo province, its traditional centre in the central highlands.

Holden Roberto, leader of a third nationalist group that fought the Portuguese and later the MPLA, was given a big lead over Mr dos Santos and Mr Savimbi in Zaire province, a former stronghold of his National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). — Sapa-AP.



Supporters hail Unita leader Jonas Savimbi after voting in the Kikelo slum district of Luanda

Photo: AP

Angolans rush to the polls

QUEUES of voters snaked round the walls of schools and other government buildings all day on Wednesday in the second and final day of Angola's general elections.

The voters, most of them women and in a separate queue from the men, waited patiently without food or drink, many from before dawn on Tuesday.

A huge turnout was guaranteed in most of the country except the enclave of Cabinda, where a separatist war continues with the independence movement FLEC.

Inside the polling stations in Benguela, electoral officials who were recognisable only by a piece of yellow string tied around one arm, searched people for weapons before allowing them in one by one.

Along the walls opposite the pink and blue ballot boxes for presidential and legislative votes sat the representatives of half a dozen of the 18 parties contesting the elections.

Voting cards were carefully

W/Mant 2/10 - 8/10/92 (5)
On the eve of the outcome of
Angola's general elections,
one thing was certain: voters
were determined to make
their mark.

By VICTORIA BRITAIN

checked, names and numbers recorded and every voter's index finger marked with indelible ink.

In the fishing villages outside this pretty Portuguese-style town, voting was equally enthusiastic. People had walked for kilometres from remote hamlets across the grey rocks and sand of the lunar landscape.

Benguela, a stronghold of the ruling MPLA, and its sister city of Lobito, a major port 12km away, have 560 000 voters — the biggest after Luanda's 850 000.

"Savimbi has already won," proclaimed a huge banner across the road leading into Lobito on Wednesday. The port workers come from the cen-

tral highlands and the city was expected to vote heavily for the opposition Unita movement. Trucks were bringing in hundreds of people to the polling stations.

The provincial governor and former foreign minister, Paulo Jorge, hosted some of the most important international observers with long-standing connections in the country, who spent all day going round the polling stations.

They included former Portuguese president Ramalho Eanes; the chef de cabinet of the current president of Portugal, Mario Soares; Joao Cravinho, vice-president of the European parliament; a delegation from the Organisation of African Unity; and Michael Kennedy, youngest son of the late United States senator Robert Kennedy, who interrupted the dignitaries' lunch to make a speech about the hopes for Angola on the eve of democracy.

International observers were much thinner on the ground in the Unita-controlled areas. In the town of

Mavinga, for instance, two observers had 84 polling stations to cover. No other parties except Unita were present at the polls.

Electoral officials flown in for the two days of voting were not given food or drink by Unita officials, according to one journalist who spoke to them. A film crew which was in Mavinga the day before the elections reported seeing large numbers of armed men leaving for the bush.

The orderly two days of voting were in sharp contrast to the feverish last two days of the electoral campaign when the capital, Luanda, was taken over by convoys of hooting cars, motorbikes, buses and trucks, with a forest of plastic flags cracking like whips in the wind, demonstrating support for the MPLA.

Closing the campaign 24 hours before voting began, President José Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi appeared together on television, both pledging to respect the election outcome. — The Guardian

SA welcomes outcome of Angolan elections

THE South African government has quietly welcomed the outcome of the election in Angola, where the ruling MPLA appears to be heading for a comfortable victory. CT 3/10/92

President F W de Klerk said last night that even though the final results of Angola's presidential and parliamentary elections are not yet available, it was encouraging that the process has proceeded peacefully.

"The people of Angola are to be congratulated on the responsible manner which has characterized the election campaign and the elections themselves," Mr de Klerk said in a statement issued in Pretoria. — Staff Reporter, Sapa

Dos Santos' poll lead shrinking

LUANDA. — Angola's ruling party held a 2-1 lead as counting continued in the country's first multi-party elections yesterday but Unita was chipping away at it.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' lead had shrunk to more than 60% from over 70% as returns began to come in from Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi's rural strongholds in the populous central provinces of Bie, Huambo and Benguela.

Counting was going slowly, with only 20% of votes tallied by late afternoon.

Dr Savimbi had about 30% of the total.

"It's still too early to say how it will go but I doubt

it will be easy for the MPLA," said one election official, adding that early returns had come from the cities which formed the ruling party's support base. He did not rule out a second round between the two leading presidential candidates.

National electoral commission director-general Mr Onofre dos Santos called on state television for patience and said there could be "significant definitive" results by today.

Unita said it was confident of victory.

"It's a little bit premature but Unita is very confident that the results from the country as a whole will swing things in our favour," Unita's UN representative

Mr Marcos Samondo said.

Many of the 800 foreign observers praised the elections which passed smoothly across the vast war-shattered country. Turnout in the voting on Tuesday and Wednesday was more than 80%.

However, many foreign observers have expressed fears the loser would not respect the final vote.

Mr Samondo said Unita would challenge the final result, which must have UN approval — if it felt it was not free and fair.

The leader of the FNLA, Mr Holden Roberto, was in third place with about three percent of the vote. — Sapa-Reuter



LEADING ...
Eduardo dos Santos

Savimbi supporters starting to close gap

MPLA still leads poll

APG 3/10/92

(5)

LUANDA. — The ruling MPLA held a 2-1 lead as counting continued last night of votes in Angola's first multi-party elections.

However, President José Eduardo dos Santos's lead had shrunk to 60 percent from more than 70 percent as returns began to come in from Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi's rural strongholds in the populous central provinces of Bie, Huambo and Benguela.

Counting was slow, with only 20 percent of votes tallied by late afternoon.

Dr Savimbi had about 30 percent of the total in the presidential race and figures were similar in the contest for the 223-seat parliament.

One election official said: "It's still too early to say how it will go, but I doubt if it will be easy for the MPLA," adding that early returns had come from the cities which formed the ruling party's support base.

Electoral commission director-general Mr Onofre dos Santos called for patience and said there could be "significant or definitive" results sometime today.

Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), which fought the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) government in a 16-year war which devastated the country, said it was confident.

Its UN representative, Mr Marcos Samondo, said: "It's a little bit premature, but Unita is very confident that the results from the country as a whole will swing things in our favour."

Many of the 800 foreign observers praised the elections which went smoothly across the vast war-shattered country. Turnout in the voting on Tuesday and Wednesday was more than 80 percent.

Mr Jeffrey Millington, head of the United States mission, told reporters: "What was most significant was that there were no ma-

for incidents of fraud. There were some minor irregularities, but there are mechanisms to investigate these cases.

"Everything went very well. I think other countries trying to end wars, like Afghanistan, Yugoslavia and Cambodia, can use Angola as a model."

However, many observers expressed fears that the loser would not respect the final vote and strife would return to haunt the former Portuguese colony's 10 million people.

Mr Samondo said that, so far, Unita was content with the process, but was concerned about a very high number of blank votes.

Mr Holden Roberto, leader of the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) which with Unita and the MPLA fought the Portuguese in the long independence war, was running in third place with about three percent of the vote.

— Sapa-Reuter.

MPLA lead in historic Angolan general election

ANGOLA'S ruling MPLA maintained a 2-1 lead over Unita as voters counted from the country's first multi-party elections gathered pace.

With 25 percent of the votes counted on Friday under the watchful eye of international observers, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and his MPLA were well ahead with a provisional 60 percent in the September 29-30 presidential and parliamentary voting.

Units, which fought for 16 years against the MPLA, were trailing with about 30 percent.

The war-weary population anxiously followed the latest tallies broadcast on radio, hoping the loser would respect the outcome and ensure a peaceful transition to democracy after three decades of strife.

"At this point, I don't even care who wins - as long as they don't go back to war," a shopkeeper said as customers nodded in agreement.

Observers said the MPLA was favoured by early returns from its urban strongholds and the gap might narrow as more rural results came in.

"The MPLA may well get it, but it could be very close," said one Western diplomat.

Both sides kept their own unofficial tallies. State radio showing a landslide for the MPLA and Unita claiming a slim lead.

Both said they would respect the results of the national electoral commission.

FNLA leader Holden Roberto was in third place. SA State President FW de Klerk said it was encouraging that the process has proceeded peacefully.

"The people of Angola are to be congratulated on the responsible manner in which they have conducted the election campaign and the elections themselves," De Klerk said. Sapa-Reuter.

SAVIMBI CLAIMS BALLOT FRAUD

14/01/87
Sunday Times Reporter
Luanda

FORMER rebel leader Jonas Savimbi yesterday accused the Angolan government of fraud in the country's first multi-party elections and made a veiled threat to return to guerrilla warfare if the matter was not resolved.

Election officials rejected his charge and, with 40 percent of the ballots counted, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola seemed set for victory. The results are expected soon.

Savimbi, whose National Union for the Total Independence of Angola fought a 16-year rebellion until signing the peace accords, said the MPLA was "cheating" in all 18 provinces.

It looks like Dos Santos

Savimbi 5/10/92

(5)

LUANDA - With the outcome of Angola's presidential elections still unclear, US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen yesterday called on former rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to abide by the result even if he loses.

Savimbi, trailing well behind incumbent President Jose Eduardo dos Santos on the latest official results issued yesterday, had on Saturday warned of renewed civil war, charging that the figures had been rigged.

"The United States believes that Mr Savimbi, even if he is not elected president, will continue to play a major role in Angola's reconstruction," Cohen said in a message broadcast by Angolan radio.

In the message broadcast in Luanda in Portuguese, Cohen added that Dos Santos had already agreed that the leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) should play such a role.

The national electoral commission said

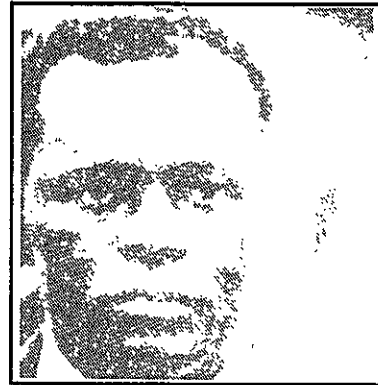
■ **NEW THREAT** 'I'll go back to the bush,'

threatens Jonas Savimbi:

yesterday that Dos Santos had 54,1 percent of the votes against 36,58 percent for Savimbi, with votes counted from 3 854 of the 5 526 polling stations.

The formerly Marxist People's Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA) had 57,8 percent of votes in parliamentary elections held with the presidential poll last Tuesday and Wednesday, while Unita had 31,1 percent and Holden Roberto's National Liberation Front (FNLA) had 2,59 percent.

Savimbi on Saturday accused electoral officials of manipulating the results in favour of the government and issued a strong threat of renewed civil war "which would not be won by the MPLA." - Sapa-AFP.



Jose dos Santos

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Dos Santos heading for victory in Angola poll

STAT 5/10/92

LUANDA — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos looks certain to win outright victory over former rebel leader Jonas Savimbi in Angola's first multi-party elections, according to sources in the National Electoral Council.

One source predicted last night that Mr dos Santos would be returned to office with just over 50 percent of the vote.

Mr Savimbi, the leader of Unita, earlier accused the government of electoral fraud and hinted that he might take up arms again.

The sources said that, with 80 percent of the 4 million votes counted, Mr dos Santos was leading Mr Savimbi by 52 to 38 percent.

In the elections for a 223-seat parliament, the ruling MPLA had over 54 percent of the vote to nearly 33 percent for Unita.

Unita, backed by the United States, fought a 16-year

war against the Soviet-aided MPLA Marxist government which took power after Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975.

The war, which ruined the economy and killed an estimated million people, officially ended with a peace accord in May 1991 providing for elections monitored by the United Nations.

International observers, discounting Mr Savimbi's charges of ballot-stealing, intimidation and tampering with results, said the vote went smoothly.

UN monitors and Mr Savimbi's former US backers said that he should present evidence of his accusations.

Unita officials tried to play down Mr Savimbi's hint that his supporters might resort to force to dispute the results. But they would not give guarantees that the movement would accept final verification of the re-

sults by the UN when they were announced.

The president of the National Electoral Council, Antonio Carlos Caetano de Sousa, said he hoped definitive final results would be ready by the October 9 deadline dictated by law. Eleven presidential candidates and 18 parties contested the elections. 5/10/92.

The director-general of the National Electoral Council, Onofre dos Santos, said officials were investigating Unita's claims and hoped to settle the matter quickly.

He said Unita officials were due to have talks with the electoral council today to discuss the charges of fraud.

"We want to make sure there is as much transparency as possible," he said on state television. "We want Angola's elections to be an example to the world." — Sapa-Reuter.

Savimbi's troops withdraw from national army

Annul election, demands Unita

STAR 6/10/92

By Hans-Peter Bakker
Star Africa Service (S)

LUANDA — A serious threat to Angola's peace process emerged early today as Unita pulled its army out of the joint national army in protest at alleged election frauds and demanded that the election be annulled.

With most results in, Unita was lagging behind the ruling MPLA party in the vote for both the president and parliament.

At a surprise press conference late last night, eight Unita generals, including chief of staff and joint commander of the recently formed FAA (Angolan Armed Forces), General Arlindo Chenda Pena (Ben Ben), delivered a declaration signed by 11 rebel army commanders, demanding the elections be annulled.

Knowledgeable observers doubt that Dr Savimbi would take Unita back to war against the MPLA if the demands made by the generals are not met.

Expected

Should the UN rule that the election was free and fair, as is expected, the MPLA would probably be recognised internationally as the government of Angola and Mr dos Santos as its president. Unita would then find virtually the entire internationally community ranged against it.

In the event of the civil war being resumed, Unita would be had to find support, observers believe, whereas the MPLA government would not lack backers. These might even include the United States, which gave arms to Unita during the war.

The UN is withholding its ruling on whether the election was free and fair until all results are in, but international observers appear to be unanimous in viewing the poll as fair.

With 86 percent of polling stations reporting, Mr dos Santos had 51,2 percent of the votes in the presidential election to Dr Savimbi's 39 percent. In the parliamentary vote the MPLA led with 55,4 percent against 32 percent for Unita.

The declaration by the generals says that "having seen the way the election process has been conducted, we feel we are betrayed by the government."

Sacrifice

The generals said they had decided to abandon the united army which was formed in a merger of MPLA and Unita forces in terms of the Lisbon peace accord that ended 16 years of civil war.

Their declaration came only a week after General Pena had assumed joint command of the joint army.

The generals said they did not want to go back to war "because we don't have the right to continue sacrificing the Angolan people. But we want to avoid something worse."

The move by the Unita generals has come as a shock to the international observers in Luanda, and members of the NEC with western diplomats held all-night emergency meetings to deal with the crisis.

The development threatens to again give Angola two separate armies which could open the prospect of return to war and wreck the fragile peace that has been painstakingly created through long internationally brokered negotiations.

Many residents here in Luanda have started hoarding food stocks to prepare for what they believe could be a return to war.

SDM 6/10/92

Electoral fraud claims threaten a shaky peace

IT IS the nightmare diplomats and political leaders throughout the continent have spent months trying to prevent. The resumption of civil war in Angola would send ripples of sadness and pessimism through Africa and the world at large.

Having coaxed UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos into signing the Lisbon peace accord in May 1991, at the seventh attempt, the international community quickly realised a claim of election fraud in last week's poll would be the only semi-credible way for either party to renege on their commitments to democracy.

Meetings with both leaders were arranged this year by government representatives from Portugal, the US, Russia and SA. The point was made that funding and support would be withdrawn if the election result was disputed.

But, within one day of the end of polling last week, Savimbi, who now looks certain to lose, had already called foul and threatened to return to the bush.

UN officials said the election had been one of the most peaceful and well ordered polls on the continent. About 50 people were killed in outbreaks of partisan hostility, the national radio station was occupied briefly, three UN helicopters crashed, an airport was comman-



□ SAVIMBI

deered and members of Dos Santos's presidential guard were detained for plotting to assassinate Savimbi.

On the whole, however, these were played down as "insignificant" or just errors of judgment.

And while millions of dollars were invested in ensuring the acceptability of the poll, there is a mathematical possibility that some irregularities could have occurred. Every one of the 800 international

ADRIAN HADLAND

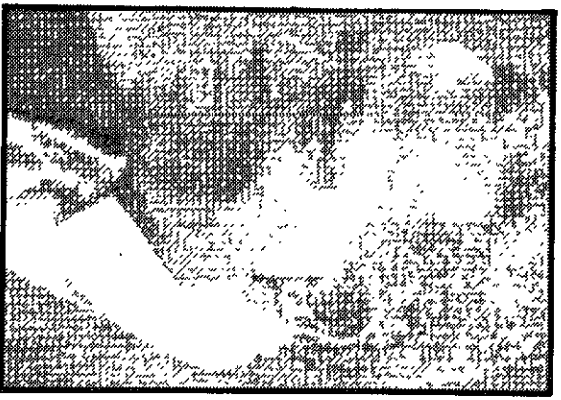
observers would have had to be present at seven polling stations each to have covered all bases. Given the vast distances between many of the 5 800 stations, the availability of only 40 UN-supplied Russian helicopters, and the fact that the observers travelled in twos or threes, there were many stations which were never graced by the UN's blue uniforms and white flags.

In some of the more remote areas, voting booths were not set up until well into the second day of the election, while the station on the outskirts of Luanda where Savimbi placed his ballot disappeared on the first day.

UNITA was expected strongly to criticise the monitoring and electoral process, but in the end explained the station had been found, boxes intact. An electricity cut had forced the relocation "so there is no problem", UNITA announced.

But the signs of impending dispute over a process vulnerable to criticism were there for all to see.

Savimbi's objections have at least showed his shocked supporters that he is still making his presence felt.



□ DOS SANTOS

His imminent defeat raises a number of questions. The US and SA must be asking themselves about the untold millions they have poured into the coffers of an organisation that has been rejected by a significant majority of Angolans.

The collapse of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War, pressure by international development agencies and the demands of a world economy in deep recession would each have

contributed to the liberalisation of Angolan politics and economic planning. There was, in fact, little difference between the election manifestos of the MPLA and UNITA.

In the 70s and 80s, the domino theory was meant to refer to capitalist countries falling to communism, not vice versa as it is turning out.

In the meantime there is too much work to be done in Angola to merit a return to the bush war that has killed hundreds of thousands of people and regular opportunities down the line to contest for power electorally.

Luanda itself is in an appalling state. Children on skateboards slalom down pot-holed roads often covered by effluent seeping out of an obsolete sewerage system. Crumbling tenement buildings, with blackened ceilings and shards of glass in empty windows, are surrounded by litter and detritus.

In the bay, which was once surrounded by pink colonial mansions, broken ships lie rusting just as burnt out aircraft skeletons line the runway at Luanda's ramshackle international airport.

LETTERS

The enormity of the task of rebuilding, international pressure and the National Electoral Council's investigation into alleged poll irregularities should be sufficient to ensure that Angola moves ahead on a peaceful footing, for the moment.

Red Cross warns on Angolan strife

13 (10m) 6/10/92. 5
THE International Committee of the Red Cross would close its Angolan office once a democratically elected government assumed office there, ICRC Africa head Jean-Daniel Tauxe said in Johannesburg yesterday.

But he warned Angola would not survive a second civil war, which would result if Unita rejected the outcome of the election.

The largest relief operation since the Second World War was under way in Somalia, which was being devastated by civil war, banditry and famine on an unprecedented scale.

Strong intervention, possibly by the UN, was needed to assert law and order in the country, which had no real government and was divided among nine political factions and numerous heavily armed clans, he said at a news conference.

Tauxe said relief supplies for about two-million people a day were being provided by the ICRC, which had lo-

RAY HARTLEY

cated a third of its resources in the war-torn country.

The situation had worsened dramatically since more than 10 000 people died and 30 000 were injured in a three-month war between rival "sub-clans" in the capital, Mogadishu, last year. Mogadishu itself was ruled by 30 sub-clans, each with heavily armed private armies.

Somalia needed 300 000 tons of food because it was not agriculturally self-sufficient. This was before the war had increased hunger, and more than 2.5-million people were at risk of immediate starvation, Tauxe said.

About 1 000 people were dying each day as a result of the famine and civil war, which had also claimed the lives of two relief workers.

The ICRC was planning to reduce food aid and increase supplies of seed and agricultural tools to promote

greater self-sufficiency next year.

Its relief workers had broken international precedent and hired armed guards to protect relief supplies from marauding clans.

On Mozambique, Tauxe said the peace agreement signed at the weekend would boost relief supplies to remote, Renamo-controlled regions where widespread hunger had resulted from drought and civil war.

ICRC Mozambique head Felice Dindo said relief was needed for about 200 000 Mozambicans in remote areas. Agreement had been reached between the ICRC and Mozambique's Frelimo government to allow lorries carrying relief supplies into the areas.

"The vital thing is that the benefits of the peace accord be felt in the field," he said.

About a million Mozambican refugees had fled to Malawi, while others had streamed into Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Zambia and SA.

Savimbi trails despite surge

LUANDA — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's falling vote tally appeared to stabilise yesterday, but supporters of Unita's Jonas Savimbi remained confident the ex-guerrilla chief could force a second-round run-off against his former civil war foe.

Dos Santos led with 51,5% against 38,8% for Savimbi, with votes from 85% of polling stations counted. Elections were held last Tuesday and Wednesday. (5)

Remaining votes were shared between nine other candidates.

Savimbi trailed by 2-to-1 on Saturday, but his vote has surged with late results coming in from his Unita movement's strongholds in the densely populated central highlands.

The elections result from peace accords signed in May 1991 to end the civil war.

In the parliamentary poll, Dos Santos' formerly Marxist MPLA party had 55,7% to 32,9% for Unita. The figures appeared to guarantee a majority in the 220-seat parliament for the MPLA that now proclaims support for democracy, foreign investment and the free market.

MPLA officials said yesterday Unita troops had encircled government buildings in the northern towns of M'banza Congo

and Soyo, and that there was an explosion at a police arms depot in southern Menongue. Many citizens fear Savimbi will lead his men back to the bush if he loses the elections. His supporters deny the charges.

"We have never said that we will go back to war, and we will not," said Abel Chivukuvuku, who is Unita's spokesman on foreign affairs.

But Savimbi's own words in a radio message to supporters on Saturday sent a ripple of fear through the capital.

Accusing the MPLA of rigging the election, he called on Unita activists to "remain at their posts and accomplish the instructions that he or she has received... at the right time, we will give an adequate response to the MPLA manoeuvres".

Savimbi's former backers from the US played down Savimbi's words. "We think he didn't mean it," Under-Secretary for African Affairs Herman Cohen said in an interview shown on Angolan television yesterday. "It was a moment of passion."

Asked about the possibility of renewed fighting, Cohen said: "It will not happen."

Final results are not expected until Friday. — Sapa-AP.

● See Page 12

MPLA keeps election lead

■ UNITA representatives claim widespread election fraud:

Sowex
6/10/92

LUANDA - The ruling MPLA headed for victory against former civil war foe Unita yesterday after partial results showed the previously Marxist movement well ahead.

National Electoral Council sources said with about 80 percent of the four million-odd ballots counted from the September 29-30 poll, the MPLA was virtually guaranteed victory.

Returns showed President Eduardo dos Santos with 51.54 percent votes, compared to about 39 percent for Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

"It looks like there will be an MPLA win," said one source, adding that many outstanding returns were from strongholds of the MPLA. A definitive result is expected by October 9.

Unita representatives were due to meet election officials yesterday to present details of what they said was widespread fraud. - Sapa-Reuter.

APR 5 10 1972

Unita's army pullout renews threat of war

HANS-PETER BAKKER
Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA — A serious threat to Angola's peace process emerged early today when Unita pulled its troops out of the joint national army in protest at alleged election frauds.

Eight Unita generals delivered a declaration signed by 11 of the rebel army commanders last night, calling for the annulment of the poll.

They included the chief of staff and joint commander of the recently formed Angolan Armed Forces, General Arlindo Chenda Pena (Ben Ben).

Their move threatens again to give Angola two separate armies, which could open the prospect of renewed fighting.

Many people in Luanda have started hoarding food in preparation for civil war. Early today explosions were heard in Luanda but it was not clear whether they were from mortars.

The United Nations is withholding its ruling on whether the elections were free and fair until all results are in but international observers and Angola's National Election Council (NEC) appear to be unanimous in viewing it as fair.

With 86 percent of results in from last week's election, Unita is lagging behind the ruling MPLA in the votes for president and parliament.

MPLA leader President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has 51.2 percent of the votes in the presidential election to 39 percent for Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi. In the parliamentary vote the MPLA leads, with 55.4 percent against Unita's 32.

The generals said they would return to the united army — formed in a merger of MPLA and Unita forces under the Lisbon peace accord that ended 16 years of civil war — only when four conditions were met:

- That the elections be immediately annulled;
- That the NEC should not publish results without a decision on their complaints;
- That the NEC take into account "the fact that much of the population was intimidated by riot police during the elections";
- That the leaders and supporters of opposition parties "are not molested by the government's oppressive instruments"

The generals' move has surprised international observers in Luanda and members of the NEC held emergency meetings with western diplomats.

The declaration dispelled speculation that Dr Savimbi was acting alone and in a moment of passion when he made a veiled threat at the weekend to return to war in response to what he claimed were rigged elections.

The MPLA joint commander of the united army, General Antonio dos Santos Franca Ndal, said the Unita generals had violated the rules for the transition by acting in a party political manner.

Temptations' lead singer dies

BIRMINGHAM (Alabama) — Eddie Kendricks, a founder member and lead singer of the Temptations, had died of lung cancer at 52. — Sapa-AP.

Unita casts the shadow of civil war over Angola

LUANDA — A week after Angolans voted in their first free elections, the threat of renewed civil war is looming after the former guerrilla movement, Unita, threatened to pull out of the newly integrated armed forces.

The snap decision came as the latest results from the official elections commission for the presidential race showed incumbent José Eduardo dos Santos with an absolute majority over Unita chief Jonas Savimbi with more than 80% of votes counted.

Unita issued a statement alleging electoral fraud, but reports from some of the 800 international monitors said that the voting in Angola's first general and presidential elections after 16 years of civil war had gone off in exemplary fashion.

The Unita statement said the movement "does not want to go back to war because we do not have the right to sacrifice the Angolan people further".

Political observers said the declared intention of quitting the integrated armed forces (FAA) posed a real threat to the newfound peace.

State radio and television made no

mention of the Unita move, but other reports said government defence systems were put on a state of alert.

A joint political-military commission set up under last year's peace and ceasefire agreements, which includes foreign personnel seconded under UN auspices, went into emergency session and was to issue a statement later yesterday.

The integration of government troops and Unita guerrillas in a national army was a key point in the May 1991 peace accord.

At the end of last month, on the eve of the elections, both sides said they were going ahead with the merger, which would involve the demobilisation of tens of thousands of men.

Unita's pullout could prove a deadly blow to the rest of the peace agreement, analysts said, just as Angola appears to be making a successful transition to democracy.

Unita has set conditions for reversing its withdrawal decision, which look difficult to meet.

It is calling for the "revision or cancellation of the entire electoral process," which has involved a massive logistics operation by the UN

verification mission.

Unita also wants the elections commission to stop publishing results, whether provisional or final, until it has first ruled on complaints by various parties of fraud.

It said notice would have to be taken "of the fact that the population has been intimidated by riot police units".

The movement said it was ready to rejoin the FAA "as soon as serious negotiations get under way" between the government of the formerly Marxist MPLA, the Unita leadership and all other parties, to produce a solution to the present national crisis.

Meanwhile, the government news agency Angop reported that three election commission vehicles had been set on fire in Bie province, a Unita stronghold, on the orders of a local Unita officer.

Identified as a Lt-Col Huambo, he reportedly told government and commission officials that he ordered the arson because partial results showed the MPLA ahead, Angop said.

Latest figures for the general poll gave the MPLA 55% and Unita 32% throughout the country. — Sapa-AFP.

B1007 7/10/92

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Angola truce under threat

#CT 7/10/92 (5)

LUANDA. — Mediators in the accords to end Angola's 16-year civil war struggled yesterday to save the peace after Unita rejected election results and threatened to return to arms.

"We call on all parties to recommit themselves to national reconciliation," US Under Secretary for African Affairs Dr Herman Cohen said.

A ceasefire monitoring commission, including the ruling MPLA government, Unita and observers from Russia, Portugal and the US, met in emergency session yesterday to calm the situation.

Meanwhile Angolan officials have suspended releasing details of the election count, chief electoral officer Mr Caetano de Sosa said yesterday.

National electoral commission officials plan to meet Unita members to compare figures and study the malpractice allegations, Mr De Sosa told reporters.

Ninety percent of the results were in, he added.

But Dr Cohen denounced Unita's withdrawal on Monday night from a new national Angolan army as "unacceptable" and said the US was pressing Unita to pursue claims of vote fraud through legal means.

In a virtual ultimatum to authorities on Monday night, Unita claimed the elections were "stained by frauds and violations".

Unita General Arlindo Chenda Pena demanded the election be reviewed or annulled and said publication of the



ON ALERT . . . Armed riot police on guard near the electoral council headquarters yesterday as tension rose after Unita rejected poll results. **Picture: AP**

results should be halted "to avoid the worst".

The findings of most of the 800 international observers who monitored the elections under the aegis of the United Nations counter Unita's claims of fraud.

Deputy Interior Minister Mr Fernando de Piedade told state television yesterday the MPLA remained committed to peace.

The latest vote count had President Jose Eduardo dos Santos ahead with 50.9% to Dr Jonas Savimbi's 39.3%. The remaining votes were shared among the other nine candidates. — Sapa-AP

Angola teeters on brink of war

HANS-PETER BAKKER
Argus Africa News Service

5 ARG 7/10/92

LUANDA — Angola is teetering on the brink of a return to civil war. Rumours abound in this derelict city of roughly 2.5 million people.

Tense and often short-tempered officials deliberate behind closed doors to defuse the explosive situation which was aggravated on Monday night when the Unita army announced its withdrawal from a recently-created united Angolan armed force.

According to a Western military expert, the move was tantamount to mutiny. He said the Unita soldiers had, in effect, again become rebels.

There are believed to be close to 10 000 Unita soldiers holed up in various barracks and compounds across the city. Sources say the formally united army has split into two groups in the barracks and that the Unita soldiers are packed and waiting to leave.

It appears that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has gone into hiding for fear of his life. He is believed to be somewhere in the capital though he is no longer at his Luanda residence.

The military expert, who asked not to be named, said he knew of a government plan to deal with an outbreak of fighting in Luanda. The contingency plan aims to quell any uprising within a few hours.

He said the fighting in the crowded city would be brief but very bloody and that many innocent people would die.

Diplomats here are still hoping for a political solution to the crisis. One senior diplomat said the answer to the Unita allegation of large-scale election fraud would be to open the process to scrutiny by international observers and to political parties.

South Africa's representative in Luanda, Mr. Andre van Rensburg, said his government was "very concerned" about the situation.

Meanwhile, there are claims that Unita is already deploying soldiers in other Angolan centres.

Angolan poll result delayed⁵

STAN 7/10/92.

LUANDA — Angola's national electoral council said yesterday it was suspending the announcement of results in the country's first multi-party polls.

This is apparently an attempt to head off new violence in the country.

Meeting another key demand of the former rebel Unita movement, an international commission of observers said it would investigate Unita complaints of fraud in the September 29-30 elections.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, facing defeat, has cried fraud and withdrawn his men from the newly unified armed forces formed under May 1991 peace accords.

With more than 80 percent of ballots counted, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos had just above the 50 percent he needed to avoid a run-off election.

Savimbi had 39 percent of the vote.

The MPLA had 55 percent of the parliamentary vote against Unita's 33 percent.

The United States, Savimbi's former backer, strongly criticized him for rejecting the outcome of elections judged to be free and fair by the international observers.

US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen urged Savimbi to respect the outcome of the elections.

Cohen accused Savimbi of violating the 1991 accords by withdrawing his army from the new unified force.

And the United Nations Security Council yesterday called on all parties in Angola to abide by the outcome of the elections.

It said it would soon send a council commission to the south-west African nation. — Sapa-Reuter.

● Pyrrhic victory — Page 11

Pyrrhic victory for MPLA

Star 7/10/92.

Unita's rejection of the election results threatens to push Angola back into civil war, but the realities militate against that happening, reports GERALD L'ANGE, Editor of The Star Africa Service.

AFTER spending a large part of his life fighting for power in Angola, Dr. Jonas Savimbi might find it difficult to accept that losing the Angolan election could be more advantageous for him and his Unita movement than winning it.

Yet the realities of the Angolan situation suggest that this might well be the case. Foreign diplomats are, in fact, understood to have offered the thought for his consideration in an effort to dissuade him from acting rashly in the event of him losing the election.

The prospect of playing second fiddle to Jose Eduardo dos Santos and his MPLA movement apparently proved too much for Savimbi to handle this week as the incomplete election results showed him and Unita trailing badly in the presiden-

tial and parliamentary vote respectively. Despite the consensus among foreign observers that the election had been free and fair, Savimbi accused the MPLA of rigging some returns. Unita announced through its military commanders that it was pulling out of the joint army, thereby raising the threat of a return to civil war and demanding the annulment of the election.

The United Nations monitors had not delivered their verdict on whether the vote was in fact free and fair when Unita made its shock move. Any positive verdict would be open to a challenge of some kind, however, for hardly anyone expected that after three decades of war the country would be able to conduct an apple-pie election.

In defeat, Savimbi could have been expected to raise some

sort of challenge but the one he did raise was an extreme one. Short of trying to stage a coup and seize power, he could hardly have gone farther.

Winning the election is going to be something of a Pyrrhic victory, however, for the victor will get nothing but problems. He will get power, to be sure, but almost certainly not the power to solve the problems quickly and easily.

Assuming an MPLA government is put in office in spite of Unita's protest, it will face a gargantuan task of reconstruction. Fifteen years of guerrilla war against Portuguese colonialism and then 16 years of civil war have left the infrastructure and economy in desperately bad shape.

If the international community runs true to form, aid and investment will not pour into

Angola when peace comes. As in the case of Namibia and Zimbabwe, the world's traditional donors will give some aid but not enough to put the economy quickly back on its feet.

Post-war reconstruction is to be a hard and thankless job and the government will constantly be exposed to criticism from frustrated citizens.

It is to be equally hard to reconcile the former combatants and to rehabilitate a society torn by civil war, which is the worst damage.

From clearing the landmines

to repairing the schools and bridges, from healing the emotional wounds to providing jobs for the tens of thousands of unemployed, it is to be a hard grind for the government. In the military society that peace will install the ruling party will get the blame for everything that goes wrong.

These are the problems that Savimbi aspires to inherit. It might make better sense for him, putting aside personal vanity and ambition, to allow Dos Santos and the MPLA to assume the burden of reconstruction and rehabilitation and take

the blame for all the mistakes. Unita, which has spent most of the civil war honing its expertise in guerrilla fighting rather than government, could in the meantime strengthen its political organisation and put itself in a strong position to win power from a weary MPLA at the next election.

These arguments appeared to have had no impact on Savimbi's thinking as he pushed the country back to the brink of civil war on Monday.

Experienced Angola watchers found it difficult to believe, however, that he would take his party back to the bush for a renewal of the guerrilla war. They reasoned that if, as seemed probable, the United Nations observers ruled the election free and fair, the MPLA government would be recognised by most of the inter-

national community and its credentials accepted in the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and other international bodies.

Unita would then find itself opposed to the rest of the world, including its former backers, the United States and South Africa. In an extreme scenario it might even find itself coming up against American weaponry supplied to the MPLA forces.

By parading 11 of its generals to issue the demand for the election to be annulled, Unita scorched previous speculation that its ranks would be serious ly split if it refused to accept the election outcome.

Nevertheless, reports from Lissabon yesterday said there was speculation that Savimbi could indeed lose much support within his own party if he tried to take it back to the bush.

Yet another scenario can be developed on the back of the pre-election agreement by the major parties that the winner must include members of the losing side in a government of national unity. The proportion would ostensibly be dictated by the percentage of votes won.

It is thus possible that in citying "out" in the election Savimbi has no intention of going back to war but is intent only on forcing Dos Santos to give Unita a bigger share in the government than his share of the vote would entitle him to have.

Alternatively, he could be trying to force a second election in the hope that next time round he would get more votes from an electorate fearful of a return to war.

Angola should get the answers to these riddles in a matter of days. □

AFRICA

Unita 'welcome to join govt of national unity'

BIDM 8/10/92
LISBON — Former rebel movement Unita was welcome to join a national unity government so long as it accepted defeat in last week's elections, Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem said yesterday.

Van Dunem said he hoped Unita leader Jonas Savimbi would "learn to live in democracy and accept the people's verdict".

He said the group's representation in such a government would be in proportion to its performance in the election.

Unita, which trails the ruling MPLA in results published so far, has alleged fraud in the vote and has withdrawn its forces from a new unified national army pending investigation of its allegations.

Van Dunem brought a message for Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva from Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos which urged Portugal to put pressure on Unita to accept the election results.

Diplomatic pressure on Unita intensified on Tuesday when the UN Security Council called on the group to respect the election results.

The statement, passed unanimously by the 15 members, criticised Unita for threatening to withdraw its troops from the national army.

The UN is expected to declare the elections free and fair after final results are published. Preliminary reports by 800 observers showed there were only isolated irregularities and the MPLA appeared to have won a genuine victory, a senior Portuguese official said.

Unita's former backers from the US and SA have also appealed to Savimbi to respect the vote.

But it remained unclear how the Unita leader would respond to the pressure. He has not left his heavily guarded Luanda residence since September 29, the first day of the two-day election. Diplomats said he had refused to answer calls.

Savimbi's only public statement has been a bellicose radio speech on Saturday in which he charged the government with vote rigging, appeared to threaten war and challenged the findings of international election observers.

When Unita generals announced the withdrawal of their troops from the national army, they sent a tremor

of fear through Luanda. Rumours of troop movements and skirmishes in the provinces swept the capital, and groups of women in this mainly Roman Catholic city gathered in churches to pray for peace.

However, Portuguese, US and SA diplomats said they did not believe Savimbi intended to take his forces back to the bush and resume the civil war.

They said he was probably adopting a position of outrage at defeat to win strong Unita participation in a future MPLA-led government of national unity.

In an apparent attempt to mollify Unita, the national electoral council delayed announcing results from the elections, giving the former rebels time to double-check the figures.

Latest figures released on Tuesday showed returns from 90% of polling stations, with Dos Santos leading with 50,8% to 39,4% for Savimbi.

Dos Santos will be forced to a runoff against Savimbi if his vote drops below 50%.

In elections for 220 parliamentary seats, the MPLA led with 55% of the vote to 33,4% for Unita. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Pressure on 'sulky' Savimbi

⑤
ET8/10/92

LUANDA. — Diplomatic pressure is mounting to persuade embittered Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to accept the results of last week's elections and steer away from the risk of renewed civil war.

The United Nations Security Council has called on Unita to respect the election results and criticised Unita for threatening to withdraw its troops from a newly-formed Angolan national army.

The UN is expected to declare the elections free and fair after the expected publication of final results today.

South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha was reported last night to be preparing to go to Angola, but would not confirm or deny this.

Unita continued to ignore appeals yesterday to respect the outcome of its 1991 peace accord with the govern-

ment, while Dr Savimbi shut himself away up in his stately residence here.

Diplomats said he was refusing to take calls from American officials.

Dr Savimbi has accused the government of vote-rigging.

Angola's Foreign Minister, Mr Pedro de Castro Van Dunem, has been sent to the United States with messages for President George Bush and the UN aimed at defusing the crisis.

In Lisbon yesterday, Mr Van Dunem said Unita was welcome to join a government of national unity as long as it accepted defeat.

Diplomats said Dr Savimbi was probably adopting a position of outrage to negotiate a strong Unita participation in a future MPLA-led government.

Asked about MPLA attempts to establish dialogue with Unita, Mr Van Dunem said: "Dr Savimbi has isolated himself and is practically impossible to reach." — Sapa-AP-Reuter

Pressure on Savimbi

LUANDA - Diplomatic pressure mounted yesterday to persuade embittered Angolan rebel chief Dr Jonas Savimbi to accept the results of last week's elections.

But Unita continued to ignore appeals to respect the outcome of his 1991 peace accord with the government.

Incomplete results indicate Savimbi has lost the election. - Sapa-
Reuter

NEWS Savimbi maintains an agony of silence, while final election results are awaited

Angolans hold their ⁵breath and pray

■ **SORE LOSERS** Fear is rampant that if Unita loses elections

it will plunge the devastated country back into civil war

A WEEK after their first multiparty elections, Angolans yesterday waited anxiously for the results and prayed the losers would not plunge the country back into civil war. The former rebel group Unita - trailing in partial returns from last week's vote - has denounced the election as fraudulent and threatened to fight if it feels cheated of victory.

The group's threats have heightened fears of a return to fighting in the 16-

year civil war that devastated the country before the two sides signed peace accords last year to set up the election. Diplomatic pressure on Unita intensified on Tuesday when the United Nations Security Council called on the group to respect the election results. The statement, passed by all 15 members, criticised Unita for threatening to withdraw its troops from a newly formed Angolan national army.

The UN is expected to declare the elections free and fair after final results

are published, probably today. Most of the 800 international observers monitoring the election have voiced for the fairness of the vote.

Unita's former civil war backers - the United States and South Africa - have also appealed to rebel leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi to respect the vote.

But it remains unclear how the ex-rebel chief will respond to the pressure. Savimbi has not left his heavily guarded Luanda residence since September 29, the first day of the election. - Sapa-AP

Savimbi retreats in face of pressure

STAR 8/10/92

LUANDA — Unita rebel chief Jonas Savimbi has retreated to his stronghold in Angola's central heartland as international pressure mounts on him to respect the results of last week's elections.

Savimbi has not been seen since his weekend charges that the ruling MPLA manipulated the September 29-30 vote which international observers judged free and fair.

His subsequent withdrawal of Unita's army from the country's unified armed forces set up under peace accords last year sparked appeals by his former US backers and the UN Security Council to accept the agreed rules and his defeat.

Diplomats said Savimbi shut himself in his Luanda residence for days, refusing to answer messages. Last night, Unita officials confirmed he had left Luanda for Huambo province.

Western diplomats were summoned to an urgent meeting by foreign ministry officials.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has sent his foreign minister to Lisbon and the US with a message for Portuguese leaders, President Bush and UN chief Boutros Boutros-Ghali urging them to put more pressure on Savimbi.

In Lisbon today, Foreign Minister Pedro Castro van Dunem repeated the MPLA's offer for a government of national unity in which Unita could play a big role.

In Luanda, an international commission overseeing the transition to democracy began working with Unita to investigate its charges that ballots had been tampered with.

Prospects were dimming that the investigation would be concluded by the October 9 deadline dictated by law to announce a final result.

Provisional election results show Dos Santos won nearly 51 percent and Savimbi over 39 percent. The MPLA posted 55 percent and Unita 33.45 percent in the contest for the 223-seat parliament. — Sapa-Reuters

Savimbi's withdrawal 'high treason'

S7A72 8/10/92

Observers are puzzling over Jonas Savimbi's posturing — is he just a soured loser or has he a strategy to chase power up his sleeve. DALE LAUTENBACH of The Star Africa Service reports from Luanda.

THE newly-formed national army, Forças Armadas Angolano (FAA), is the only structure of national reconciliation in Angola. But its value as a meeting-ground of the former enemies was put in jeopardy by Unita's withdrawal of its men from the joint force.

The FAA was envisaged in Angola's peace accord as a uniting military structure of 40 000 men comprising equal numbers of the former belligerents Fapla and Fala, the MPLA and Unita armies respectively. Delays, logistical, financial and political problems resulted in the FAA being only 25 per cent of its intended strength when Angola went to the polls last week.

Angolans were deeply concerned that their country was beginning its democratic life in the presence of three national armies, two of whom had fought each other for 16 years. On September 28 the day before polling, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi finally reached an agreement that on that day both Fapla and Fala would become extinct and all soldiers not yet demobilised, an estimated 70 000, would fall under unified FAA command.

General Antonio dos Santos Franco N'dalu and General Arlindo Pena Ben Ben, former senior officers in Fapla and Fala respectively, were sworn in as the joint chiefs of staff.

Through Unita's announcement that its forces would be withdrawn from the army, Savimbi has broken that good faith and Ben Ben is leading the military threat.

One observer noted that the rebel generals and their followers could legitimately, in the eyes of both Angolan and international law, face charges of high treason. Their action is also in flagrant contravention of the peace accord.

One could only speculate about the honesty of Savimbi's motivations and whether they were aimed at pursuing a free and fair dispensation for his country or whether he was just a bad loser.

One could only speculate, too, whether he had the full support of his generals: whether they had been bullied into his action by an unforgiving dictator or whether they were sincerely prepared to take the war-weary nation back to the battlefield.

What must add to suspicions about Savimbi's intentions is that the international community — represented by 400 UN polling observers and more than 500 people from around the world invited to view the process by the 18 political parties in the contest — found the voting in Angola to have been exemplary.

There was no dissent among them, but it is their opinion that Savimbi has rejected their presence, claiming that only the Angolan people could judge the election free and fair.

Units's allegations of fraud were not dismissed by the election council and the UN. On Sunday teams had already been dispatched to two provinces to investigate and by Monday a forum had been set up in Luanda for the airing and examination of all grievances.

Savimbi's call for a transparent process is entirely legitimate but his bullish manner is undermining the credibility of his intentions.

The international community has unanimously called on all parties to respect the process and to let it run its course, including time for a resolution of problems. By announcing a withdrawal from the FAA, Savimbi has essentially rejected this process too.

If he was calculating that his former allies, the US and South Africa, would support him he was probably wrong. Both these countries have gone too far down the line now in support of the democratic process in Angola to turn back and take sides. US diplomats in Luanda have been visibly irritated by Savimbi's threats and it is clear, too, that South African officials in the capital no longer have much leverage with Unita.

But who knows what manner of promises Savimbi has received from unofficial groups in the US and South Africa.

His present posturing is dangerous and he has some well-disciplined foot soldiers who support him blindly.

Before the election a big question in Luanda was whether Unita, projecting total confidence about a victory as it was, had even paused to contemplate the possibility of defeat.

If Savimbi had not counter-acted a loss, his protest against the election results might not be those of a politically dangerous person for both Angola and the whole of southern Africa. □

Leave towns, Unita tells govt officials

STAR 9/10/92.

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LISBON — Unita, heading for defeat in Angola's first free elections, yesterday ordered government officials to quit several towns in central Angola, the news agency Lusa reported.

The MPLA governor of the central Huambo province, Baltazar Manuel, said Unita had ordered his officials to leave some towns by midnight and he feared an attack on the provincial government headquarters.

Military sources said groups of up to 40 armed Unita supporters were taking up positions in several parts of the country.

Hugh Robertson reports from Washington that the United States was forced to broadcast an urgent message to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi over Radio Portugal after he refused to accept telephone calls from the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen.

The dramatic broadcast, in which Cohen urged Savimbi to stop making inflammatory statements and to stop threa-



Jonas Savimbi . . . "not available" to take phone call.

tening to renege on agreements he signed with the MPLA, was repeated in testimony by Cohen to the House of Representatives Africa sub-committee, and reflects growing US concern at Savimbi's surly reaction.

The US, which backed Unita's struggle against the MPLA and

the Cubans for 16 years at a cost of millions has declared that it will accept unconditionally the outcome of the election if it is certified by the United Nations as having been free and fair.

In addition it will immediately recognise the new government and set up diplomatic relations with it.

In his testimony Cohen said he had made attempts from Rome to speak to Savimbi by telephone but was told that the Unita leader "was not available" to accept the calls.

In frustration, he asked Radio Portugal to convey "a very important message" in its broadcasts to Angola to make sure Savimbi knew the US position.

Cohen added: "I said that win or lose the election, he had a major role to play in Angola in the reconstruction. And I therefore urged him to discontinue statements that he was making, calling the election fraudulent and threatening to violate the agreements he had signed." — Sapa-Reuter.

No plans for war, Savimbi aides tell US

WASHINGTON — Senior aides to Jonas Savimbi had assured the US the Angolan rebel leader would accept the results of his country's elections and not resume the civil war, US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen said yesterday.

Fears of a resumption of hostilities between the MPLA government and Unita were fuelled when Savimbi indicated he rejected the election loss, and retreated to a Unita military stronghold more than 500km from Luanda yesterday.

Sapa-Reuter said it had been reported from Luanda that Savimbi was holding out against international pressure to accept defeat. Some diplomats said they were worried he was ignoring calls from his former backers, SA and the US, and could be doing more than manoeuvring for a better deal in a new government.

However, Cohen said he was confident that Savimbi would not be returning to the bush. *BLOM 9/10/92*

"I have had some private assurances from some senior associates of Dr Savimbi in the last days that they will abide by the (election) results."

Cohen agreed that Savimbi's complaints about the polling should be investigated but virtually ruled out the possibility that the election would not be accepted by the US, even though UN monitors have yet to declare the voting free and fair.

Sapa-AP reports top UN diplomats were yesterday preparing to fly to Angola to persuade Savimbi to honour the poll.

US ambassador Edward Perkins will join British ambassador David Hannay, Russian ambassador Yuli Vorontsov and Cape Verde ambassador Jose Luis Jesus on the trip.

TIM COHEN reports Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday he was ready to travel to Angola at short notice to assist in the crisis.

Botha said yesterday he did not want to give the impression that SA was exerting pressure on Savimbi to accept the election results, which gave victory to the MPLA.

But he thought Savimbi might have legitimate complaints, and if SA could play a role he would be happy to assist.



UNITA FRAUD CLAIM ... Isaias Samakuva of the Unita movement shows an electoral document during a Press conference in Luanda. He claimed it was evidence of fraud in Angola's first multi-party elections.

Savimbi leaves Luanda

Sowetan 9/10/92

Sowetan Africa News Service

■ ON WARPATH Fears that Unita army will reassemble in the bush: (S)

LUANDA - Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has left Luanda for the Unita stronghold of Huambo, sparking fears he plans to reassemble his army.

Brigadier Isaias Samukuva, Unita's representative in London, said Savimbi left the Angolan capital on Wednesday but that his organisation in Luanda was in contact with its leader.

The clandestine escape from Luanda, where the ruling MPLA has the upper hand, may bring the threat of war closer again after hopes were yesterday raised following a compromise agreement by the joint military political commission, which was set up to oversee the election on September 29 and 30.

Savimbi's move away from Luanda

will make a resolution to the present crisis even more difficult to attain. Observers here are worried about signs that the authoritarian Unita leader's actions are becoming increasingly erratic.

Savimbi went into hiding a few days ago. On Monday night the Unita army declared its withdrawal from the United Angolan army, which was formed by a merger between the two warring armies just days before the election.

The election results are no longer being published in line with the Unita demands following accusations of massive election fraud. The last known result showed the MPLA and President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos leading the

legislative and presidential poll.

Brigadier Samukuva and other senior Unita officials last night showed journalists what they claimed were serious discrepancies between the results on the original election scoring sheets and the computer print-outs which were sent to the central National Election Council office in Luanda.

The Press conference fell apart when Unita sympathisers objected to aggressive questioning by foreign journalists. In the exchange which followed Unita supporters threatened "to kill" some of the more outspoken journalists. This morning security around the Luanda Press centre was stepped up.

Collapse of a dream

FM 9/10/92

(5)

Fred Bridgland is the Johannesburg-based southern African correspondent of the *Sunday Telegraph* and *Daily Telegraph*. He is also the author of a biography of Jonas Savimbi and an account of the last 12 months of the SADF's campaign in Angola, *The War for Africa*.

Angola's ruling MPLA party appeared, on Monday, to have won the long overdue general election it denied its people at independence 17 years ago with Soviet, Cuban and East German connivance.

In the final analysis, however, it was less a question of President Eduardo Dos Santos's Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) carrying all before it than Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) movement throwing away many hard-won advantages.

It was an election that Savimbi should have walked — had he not succumbed to messianic delusions and paranoia, while systematically torturing and killing his most able lieutenants. Savimbi's story is epically tragic but no tears should be shed for his electoral demise.

By the standards of the post-communist, increasingly democratic world, Unita's struggle and the civil war it waged against the MPLA's Marxist autocracy was entirely just. The MPLA, which at independence from Portugal in 1975 was little more than a surrogate of Moscow, Havana and East Berlin, abrogated agreed elections and imposed a one-party Marxist state with massive Cuban, Soviet and East German backing.

The MPLA and its allies gave Angola's people nonliberty and poverty in the name of liberty and prosperity, and at first most of the people did not have sufficient experience, education or guile to see through the historic swindle dressed up in the plausible lies and slogans of socialist realism.

The MPLA and its main protagonist, Cuba's Fidel Castro, made several crucial errors. At a time when Brezhnevian "scientific socialism" seemed to be on an unstoppable roll in the Third World, they assumed there would be no significant resistance in Angola to the MPLA takeover. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan had yet to come, along with the resistance it provoked — which made the Soviets look less invincible and triggered the ultimate break-up of the feared superpower. Savimbi launched an incredibly courageous and well-organised resistance in Angola,

which Western intelligence secretly stoked as a trial run for more intense Soviet-undermining activities elsewhere.

The MPLA and Castro also reckoned without the intervention of the world's pariah nation, SA, on Savimbi's behalf. They did not believe Pretoria would give the world another stick with which to beat it. But evil though apartheid was, the white SA government was not naive. It was not going to accede to MPLA, Cuban, Soviet, East German and Western liberal insistence on free, multiparty elections in Namibia and SA when those same standard-bearers failed to argue the necessity for similar elections in Angola.

Savimbi asked what it was about black Angolans that the world felt they should be denied what it demanded for black South Africans and black Namibians. And on the acceptance by Unita of military aid from SA — which was secretly encouraged in its Angola adventure by the West, and especially by the CIA — Savimbi said: "No-one can sincerely tell us that it would be better to be massacred by the Cubans rather than accept aid from SA. We want to live and we want our independence. To be offered the posthumous title of revolutionaries does not interest us."

Judiciously switching from Maoist rhetoric

to assertions of faith in Western-style democracy and free enterprise-led economic development, Savimbi, charismatic and intellectually brilliant, increasingly won the moral argument while his guerrilla army made Angola almost as hellish a place for tens of thousands of Cuban soldiers as Vietnam had been for Americans.

Young Unita diplomats, led by the movement's popular and far-sighted young foreign secretary Tito Chingunji, won more and more support from Western powers and interest groups. Chingunji was Unita's chief negotiator of the 1988 New York Accords. That agreement provided for Cuba's withdrawal from Angola and SA's from Namibia and the holding of free elections in both countries: it also paved the way to essential reforms in SA itself.

But by this time Savimbi was also making dire, fundamental errors and brutally abusing those very human rights of which he claimed he was Angola's prime protector. Somewhere along the line he came to take seriously and believe the propaganda with which he entertained Angola's rural peasantry and won their loyalty. Gradually all poetry other than Savimbi's was banned in Un-

ita-held territory. All thought other than "Savimbi thought" was taboo. Dissidents, including former foreign secretary Jorge Sangumba and the tough Cuanhama tribal leader Antonio Vakulukuta, were beaten to death by Savimbi's praetorian guard. Wives of dissidents and women and girls who refused the Unita leader's sexual advances were burnt to death as witches on public bonfires at Unita's Jamba headquarters in the remote south-east Angolan bush.

When the New York Accords were wrapped up, Savimbi detained and tortured Tito Chingunji. He was bent on wiping out the entire Chingunji clan, which he saw as his main rivals. In August last year, after the MPLA and Unita had signed a ceasefire document, Savimbi had Chingunji, his wife Raquel and their children, including one-year-old twins, and other surviving relatives executed. Not a single member of the Chingunji clan was left alive.

It was a gross error as well as a barbarous act. Chingunji had won many people internationally to Unita's cause. Against Savimbi's expectations, they spoke out loudly. Until then Savimbi could have expected to win the Angolan election, taking the rural vote plus an essential slice of the urban electorate fed up with 17 years of MPLA misrule. But the revelations of Savimbi's atrocities, as

well as the fact that the MPLA abandoned Marxist policies, tipped the balance in the towns back towards the MPLA, with voters preferring "the bandits we know to those we don't know." The killings of Chingunji and others also robbed Savimbi of the very men who could have carried Unita's case effectively into the towns. Instead, Savimbi had to rely on crude, second-rate sycophants who alienated many people.

Savimbi is now a lost man. His threats of resuming the civil war are hollow. No-one will back him. The world wants the Angolan elections to pave the way for successful elections in Mozambique and elections for an SA constituent assembly next year. They see the Angolan election and its successors as the platform for the economic reconstruction of the whole southern African region.

More revelations of Savimbi's atrocities are imminent and private prosecutions are planned against him in Angola's courts. His best bet now is perhaps to retire to Switzerland, where he studied politics.

Savimbi dreamed of being Angola's and Africa's Redeemer, but, because he became detached from reality, his dream turned into a nightmare.



Dos Santos



Savimbi

Two countries battling for peace

Savimbi has means to resume war

UNITED KINGDOM 9/10-15/10/82

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has the capacity to start the bush war again.
By JUDITH MATLOFF in Lusitania

South Africa has been steadily renegeing its forces with the Lusitania government. It still maintains contact with Savimbi, but diplomatic sources say he can expect little future support from Pretoria.

Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro Castro van Duuren yesterday left Lusitania on Tuesday night for Lisbon. New York and Washington with a message for the Portuguese and US presidents and UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Diplomats said the message, from Dos Santos, was aimed at trying to defuse the crisis. "Boutros's trying to keep dialogue open and avert tragedy," said one US diplomat.

Some diplomats believe Savimbi could be hoping to negotiate a power-sharing deal and say moderate within Unita would not accept a return to war. But analysts believe the charismatic and egotistical Savimbi is still capable of cutting loose despite international opprobrium if his self-esteem is bruised badly enough by an election defeat.

"Savimbi has his whole ego wrapped up in becoming president, which his people already call him," one Lusitanian analyst said.

He added the Unita leader might accept a parliamentary defeat, but balked at losing the presidency at the ballot box after 15-year guerrilla struggle to capture it.

His radio station has been calling international observers "communists" and diplomats say he has locked himself incommunicado in his Lusitania residence. Tony van Nieukerk of the South African Institute for International Affairs suggested conciliatory moves by the MPPA in the post-election process — such as a government of national unity — could help to defuse the situation. — Reuters.

Angolans ponder whether their vote has brought about a new war.

Mozambique are doubting that the killing will even stop before elections next year under the terms of the ceasefire signed on Sunday.

The Frelimo government and Renamo's hierarchy both told their forces to refrain from attack ahead of formal ratification of the ceasefire. But fears that peace will prove elusive were reinforced on Tuesday with the Renamo murder of two truck drivers on the road from Swaziland.

The timetable set out in the ceasefire accord is considerably swifter than in Angola. The agreement stipulates that within a week of the ratification, expected within days, soldiers from both sides should gather at assembly points and their integration in equal numbers into a 30,000-strong scaled-down military.

The formal ceasefire will take effect with the arrival of the first United Nations troops, due within a month for a peace-keeping and monitoring operation that secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said will be substantially larger than in Angola.

Free elections are to be held within a year. The government has plans for 8,000 brigades to patrol over Mozambique and register voters, and expected for foreign contributions to meet the \$80-million cost.

But before that a form of peace has to be imposed. The signs are that the political war will not so much wind down as disintegrate into a new terror not so very different from what has gone before.

Under the accord, troops from both sides are to be blended in equal numbers into a single 30,000-strong military. A number of the senior rebel commanders welcome integration into a standing army with all the privileges of high rank. The more disaffected elements under their command will head the ceasefire. Similarly, a number of those in the regular army stand to benefit.

Butland workers and the UN expect it to prove very difficult to enforce many of the guarantees to assembly points. They fear the guerrillas may opt to join the rising band of mercenaries, fuelled by the urgent and profitable demand of weapons. And while it is doubtful Renamo has enough men to meet its quota for the new military, many of those

Guns still likely to rule ceasefire in Mozambique

UNITED KINGDOM 9/10-15/10/82

After so many years of brutal war there are doubts that the killing will stop with the Mozambique ceasefire.
By CHRIS MCGHEAL in Maputo

It has not only boys too young to serve — or worse.

"More than half of Renamo is under the age of 16. Psychologically many are a mess, damaged by what they've done. They've been involved in most dreadful killings. They've murdered indiscriminately, and often occupational casualty. Do you want them in the army? Do they want to join the army?" asked one foreign military aide who regularly meets Renamo fighters as part of the negotiating process.

Tens of thousands of government soldiers face demobilisation. For months troops who said they had not been paid in more than a year last month blocked the Beira corridor. Disabled war veterans and hungry soldiers have seized government positions, cut off power and water supplies to towns, and looted food.

Food and fuel may prove an incentive to some, but aid workers, such as Tróvão Magalhães, Oxfam's country representative in Maputo, are not optimistic.

"To me the banditry is the shape of things to come. I don't know what you do with the soldiers on either side. The Swedes are looking at a scheme where they buy guns from them and send the soldiers to their villages to set up crops. But I think they've learned to live by the gun," she said.

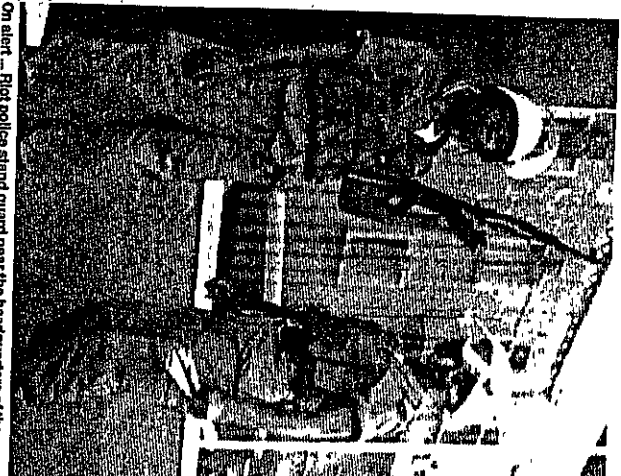
Even without the risk of continued conflict, elections will mean little while military forces of Mozambique sit on the brink of famine. There are 600,000 refugees from war and the drought crowded along the

strategic corridor linking Beira port with Zimbabwe, protected by Zimbabwean troops.

Some of the food aid trucks rolling along the Beira corridor carry a slogan: "It's enough to live." It may prove the most important maxim of the coming weeks for many Mozambicans. The UN says three million people are at risk and that unless aid reaches areas made inaccessible by the war, then the ceasefire may prove meaningless to many.

Rebel leader Afonso Dhlakama, who must eye the outcome of Angola's election with concern, was probably forced by the drought to sign the peace accord after two years of protracted negotiations. Significant numbers of his men are starving, a disturbing sign of the conditions for civilians inside rebel areas. People arriving along the Beira corridor tell of those who died because they were too weak to make the journey. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, have already succumbed to hunger and thirst.

The problems in alleviating the drought are manifold. The formerly Marxist government's incompetence and rampant corruption have severely hampered relief efforts. United Nations political and bureaucratic have not helped. But the biggest obstacle in reaching the hundreds of thousands in rebel areas has been Renamo itself. Almost all foreign officials — from aid workers to diplomats from countries once close to the rebels — say simply Renamo does not care if the general population lives or dies.



On alert — Riot police stand guard near the headquarters of the National Electoral Council in Lusitania as tension rises over Unita's rejection of the election results



Unita pull out... Unita general Afrânio Chirinda Pina. Gen. Ben Bango says that Unita's former rebel troops will withdraw from Angola's new national army

UN plea to Unita as bomb kills 4

5 OCT 10/10/92

LUANDA. — A senior UN official flew to the central stronghold of Unita rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday to try to convince him to accept the results of Angola's first multi-party elections and not to resume civil war.

The special UN mission came as an explosion at an Angolan airport killed four people, adding to the growing tension in the country over its elections.

Police have set up roadblocks in the capital, Luanda.

News agency Lusa said the four were killed at Luena regional airport which was crowded with demobbed former soldiers.

Ms Margaret Anstee, the special representative in Angola of UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, said the meet-



WINNER? ...

Eduardo dos Santos

ing had gone well and Dr Savimbi told her that he was prepared to accept defeat if it could be proved there was no ballot-box fraud.

Dr Savimbi last week rejected incomplete results of the September 29-30 elections, which showed the ruling MPLA as a virtually surewinner, and withdrew his generals from the new national army formed under May 1991 peace accords.

The National Electoral Council was due to release the final results yesterday. Officials said they delayed the announcement until an ad hoc UN Security Council commission arrived at the weekend and Savimbi's charges of fraud had been probed.

The Security Council team — composed of US, Russian, Cape Verdean and Moroccan representatives — is expected to arrive today.

International observers who were in the country to monitor the elections judged the vote free and fair.

US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen fed optimism on Thursday that a solution was in sight.

In an address to the nation broadcast on Thursday, likely election winner and current president, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos invited Dr Savimbi to meet him and work towards rebuilding the war-shattered nation. — Sapa-Reuter

Late bid to ^{APCR10/10/92} stifle Jonas wail

LUANDA. — Diplomats worked yesterday to solve Angola's post-election crisis and expressed cautious optimism that the former rebel leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, could be convinced to accept the poll results.

Dr Savimbi had refused to receive visitors since partial results from last week's election showed him trailing President José Eduardo dos Santos.

But Dr Savimbi met a government official on Thursday and was scheduled to receive the head of a United Nations monitoring team yesterday for talks on the elections.

Margaret Anstee, the British UN official, flew to Dr Savimbi's central highland stronghold of Huambo after talks in Luanda with President Dos Santos.

Before leaving she said she was optimistic that a peaceful solution could be found to avoid the standoff.

The latest election results were released on Tuesday with returns in from 90 percent of polling stations. They showed President Dos Santos winning with 50,8 percent against 39,4 for Dr Savimbi. — Sapa-AP.

Spine-chilling Angolan election outcome offers SA the chance to learn

⑤ ANC 10/10/92

WHAT is happening in Angola should be sending shivers down the collective South African spine. If we're clever we will learn from our continental compatriots' mistakes. If we're not then it's odds on that we'll repeat them in the near future.

In its own way, Angola has been going through a process of political transition not dissimilar from ours. The peculiarly South African "apartheid factor" was not the central issue, of course, but Angola had also to move from domination and endemic instability to openness and democracy. The inevitable, essential climax of that transition was there — as it will be here — an election.

Angola got through its equivalent of Codesa, its ceasefires, its accords and minutes and records of understanding relatively smoothly, and surprisingly quickly. The process faltered sporadically, of course, but the end result was an agreement on when to hold an election and how it should be held. The election came to pass.

The world should have known the outcome some time ago. Jonas Savimbi and Holden Roberto should by now be in a government of national unity with José Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda.

Instead, Savimbi's Unita generals have pulled out of the fledgling "unified security forces", MPLA officials have been forced to leave several Unita-dominated towns, and the bearded *Commandante* himself has left Luanda for Huambo, his old southerly stamping ground.

All the painstaking, exasperating, courageous negotiating work of the past months threatens to unravel like a ball of wool. If it does, the knots will be tighter than ever.

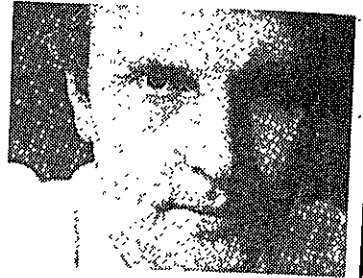
What went wrong?

A few simple issues stare out of what is an inordinately complicated situation. The most glaring is that we Africans, in general, talk a lot about democracy, but really don't know — or pretend when it suits us not to know — what obligations the term carries. We are full of praise for its benefits; contemptuous of its duties.

There was deep concern in Angola before the elections, emanating from the MPLA and Unita, that in a country

PERSPECTIVES

When philosopher Grantland Rice wrote: "When the One Great Scorer comes to write against your name, He marks not that you won or lost, but how you played the game". He might well have been preparing us for elections in Africa.



so ravaged and battle-scarred, free and fair elections would be a tall order.

Unita feared that the incumbent government would use its position to influence the outcome. The MPLA feared that Unita's powerful benefactors, the United States and South Africa, would work quietly to swing things the other way.

Part of the solution — that is, a solution in so far as it was possible to reach the point of holding the election — was to use the good offices of the international community in the form of the United Nations to verify the process and the result. This had worked admirably in Namibia.

Warning signs flashed in the early stages of the path to polling. It was noted worriedly that a country with a population 10 times the size of Namibia's was to be given a tenth of the number of UN monitors dispatched to Windhoek.

Nonetheless all the political actors agreed that the elections could go ahead.

At that point responsibility for the verdict on whether the election was free and fair was handed to the international monitors. The unspoken but sacrosanct principle was that if *they* said the result reflected the will of the people, then it did, and: "May the best party win."

The international observers duly said that the poll was a true and accurate indication of Angolan political affiliations. All signs pointed to a victory for Mr Dos Santos, but enough support for Savimbi to make him an extremely powerful leader of the opposition. But then the *Commandante* cried "foul".

This is a terribly dangerous example for South Africans. If we, having gone to the polls, do not accept the result the hackneyed phrase, that Angola's problems were a picnic by comparison, will apply.

ANC supporters believe they will win 60 percent or more of the vote. Pik Botha and Dawie de Villiers are convinced a Nationalist-led alliance will get a majority. Mangosuthu Buthelezi insists that opinion polls grotesquely underestimate Inkatha's support.

Somebody's got to be wrong. But will they accept that when they discover it?

Dr Savimbi agreed to abide by the rules of the game, and he is threatening to go back on his promise. His position is as immoral as that of the Algerian government, which simply annulled an election that was running against it.

In our even more difficult case, we have to ensure that this does not happen. Saturation monitoring is part of the pre-emptive solution, but so is the extraction of written, solemn promises from each of the leaders before our elections that they will with good grace accept the result. We need to decide early on who will be the judge of the freeness and fairness.

The tiny island nation of Seychelles gave us an admirable democratic example recently. Former leader Sir James Mancham, defeated at the polls in July by incumbent President Albert René, was sorely pressed by his aides to claim electoral fraud.

He refused, accepted the result and vowed to fight again next time around. Dr Savimbi's friends, including those in Pretoria, would do well to offer the Unita leader a free holiday on the islands to learn about being a democrat.

Angolan poll has lesson for SA

5

South 10/10 - 14/10/72

By Diane Coetzer

VOTES from a significant number of South Africa's 20 million disenfranchised voters may be lost in the country's first democratic elections if civic education programmes and voter registration drives are not given immediate priority.

This is one of the lessons learnt by a group of South Africans who were present in Angola during the country's recent elections.

The visitors found that over half a million people spoilt their ballot papers in the poll.

The group comprised Advocate Siraj Desai of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel), Mr Tsepiso Ramphela of the University of Bophuthatswana, Mr Brian Hoga of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, deputy chairperson of the ANC National Elections Commission and Mr Randi Erentzen of UWC's Centre for Development Studies (CDS).

The group's brief was to study the electoral process and the elections as official non-partisan international observers. It spent over a week in Luanda taking in every-

thing from the final days of campaigning to the logistics of getting ballot papers to polling stations.

In a preliminary report, group leader Erentzen said members of the group had been struck by the competency, discipline and efficiency of the Angolan students who acted as electoral officials.

The students had been trained in electoral procedures by the Civic Education division of the National Electoral College of Angola (CNE).

Angola's success in this had "extremely positive implications for the civic education being undertaken presently in South Africa".

Significantly, the group found that the presence of non-partisan monitors was vital, but was insufficient to instill confidence in and give credibility to the electoral process.

The presence of party-political monitors was the key in this regard.

"These monitors had to verify and observe every step of the process from the opening of the ballot boxes before voting began and the closing and reopening of boxes for counting votes," the report said.

"When counting, for example, ballots were shown to all the political party monitors for verification.

"Each party official had to formally attest to what they had seen by expressing their satisfaction with

"We watched elderly voters standing at the voting booths with blank stares. Some had never seen a picture of Eduardo dos Santos (Angola's president) or Jonas Savimbi (the Unita leader) or many of the other candidates. Others had no spectacles and could obviously not even see clearly what was on the ballot paper," the report said.

"Civic education programmes have to be accelerated and intensified if we are to reach a potentially 20 million voters in our currently disenfranchised communities, to ensure that all our people know how to vote when this country's first ever non-racial democratic elections are held."

Although the group of South Africans never reached any rural areas, other international observers testified to the problems there.

In Malange province, for example, voting only began on the afternoon of the second day of elections.

"Here some village chiefs supporting Unita refused to accept the need for electoral 'police' (marshals), arguing that they could do it themselves. Other chiefs, who supported either Unita or the MPLA, argued that the democratic process had to be allowed to proceed. After a one-and-a-half day stand-off only the presence of international observers and two senior army offi-



Jonas Savimbi

the correctness of the counting and the procedures in writing," the report said.

The group found that the extremely high number of spoilt ballots was the most striking and disconcerting element of the elections.

When the observer group left Angola on October 4, over half a million votes were declared invalid or spoilt. Three thousand of these were blank.

This could be attributed in part to the inability of elderly voters with poor vision to see the ballot form or confusion over the placement of photographs of the 11 presidential candidates next to their names.

cers from Unita and the MPLA could get the voting going," the report said.

Disinformation also has implications for South Africa.

According to the group, Unita's American "image-building" consultancy "began spreading unfounded rumours and blatant untruths among international observers" once it realised that Unita was losing ground.

"This was most disconcerting and again has implications for South Africa in terms of the role that some of these people hope to play in propping up and supporting bantustan and other leaders," the report said.

Angola is still not out of the woods

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DESPERATE attempts are being made to convince Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi not to resume a civil war following the results of Angola's first multi-party elections this week.

Senior UN official Margaret Anstee met Savimbi on Friday after meeting his war foe, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Savimbi last week rejected incomplete results of the elections, which showed the ruling MPLA as a sure winner. He also withdrew his generals from the new national army formed under the May 1991 peace accord.

The National Electoral Council was due to release the final results on Friday, but officials said they would delay the announcement until an ad hoc UN Security Council commission arrived at the weekend and Savimbi's fraud charges had been probed.

International observers judged the vote free and fair and Savimbi's actions prompted strong appeals to abide by the rules.

US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen fed optimism on Thursday, saying that senior Unita officials had reassured him they would respect the vote's outcome and not resume war.

Western diplomats were cheered by Savimbi's meeting last Thursday with the new national army commander, Antonio Franca "N'dalu".

But tensions are high and police roadblocks are being deployed in the capital Luanda.

Four people died when an explosive device went off at a provincial airport in Luena as demobilised soldiers were planning to fly to Luanda, according to the State news agency Angop. No one claimed responsibility.

In an address to the nation Dos Santos invited Savimbi to meet him and work towards rebuilding the war-shattered nation.

"Democracy won ... no one should feel defeat or fear. There is no longer a place in Angola for hatred, revenge or discrimination," he said. - Sapa-

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Angolan role for Pik

RAY HARTLEY 5

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha was hoping to leave for Angola today to help reduce tensions resulting from Unita's refusal to accept the outcome of the recent UN-supervised elections.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday Botha's departure date had still to be finalised. BIDAM 12/10/92

Botha would not take sides in the conflict between the MPLA and Unita, he said, over the validity of the poll results.

Delays in the arrival in Angola of new UN personnel, who would look into the validity of the election, could affect Botha's departure time.

Two killed as gun battles erupt after Luanda bomb blast

LUANDA — Unita and government forces fought fierce gun battles on the streets of the Angolan capital yesterday after a bomb exploded outside a hotel used by Unita officials, witnesses said.

Portuguese state television said at least two people were killed and several wounded in the shooting.

Unita, which has disputed its apparent loss to the MPLA government, said it took 12 policemen hostage and regarded the bomb blast at the Hotel Turismo as an attack against it.

The fighting was the worst to hit the capital since Angola's first multiparty elec-

tions on September 29-30 aimed at healing the wounds of a 16-year civil war. A bomb at Luena Provincial Airport last Friday killed at least four demobilised government soldiers.

The violence erupted hours after a UN Security Council mission arrived to try to resolve the political crisis.

Witnesses said the shooting outside the hotel began when gunmen in a black car opened fire on Unita guards. The guards returned fire and occupied a nearby post office. More than 100 government riot police surrounded the area and responded with rocket-propelled grenades.

Journalists said they saw two wounded

policemen being carried away. Luanda police chief Gaspar da Silva said he did not know the fate of the hostages. He said there were similar gunbattles in another district of the city.

Electoral officials have postponed announcing the result of the election to allow time to investigate Unita's fraud claims. Officials said yesterday the results were unlikely to be released before Wednesday.

Partial returns released last week showed Savimbi trailing President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in the presidential race while the ruling MPLA party led Unita in the legislative poll.

Savimbi was meeting his closest aides in Huambo, 500km south of Luanda, yesterday. They were discussing the crisis after the elections, which international observers have said were free and fair.

The government said yesterday the gun battles were set up by Unita. But senior Unita official Elias Salupeto Pena said his movement held government responsible.

"If anything like that happens near the old man (Savimbi), war will start immediately," He said, however, he had met armed forces head Antonio Franca NDalu and UN observers and dialogue was being kept open with government. — Sapa-Reuter.

Luanda erupts

(S) cr 12/10/92

Unita, police in gun battles

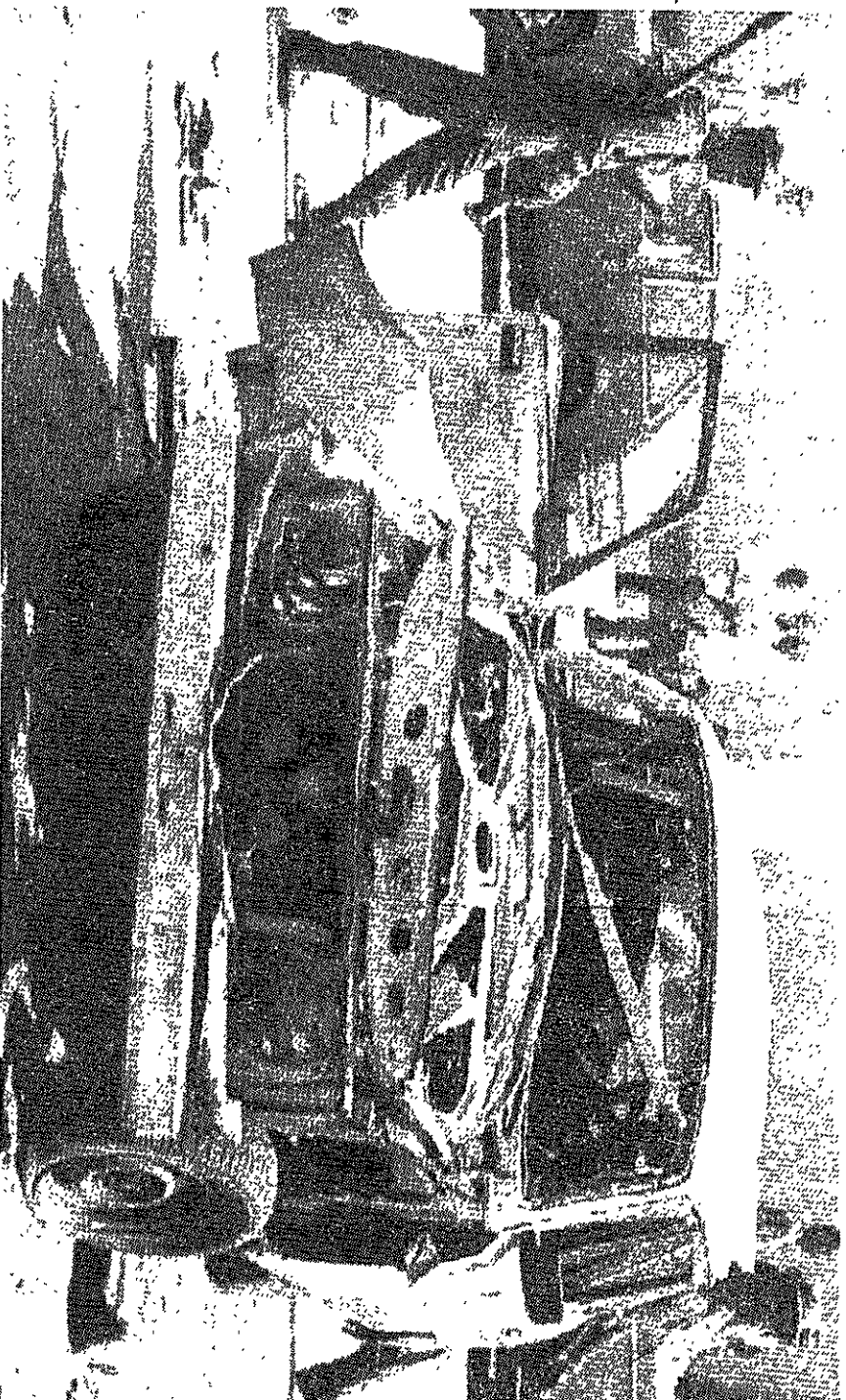
LUANDA. — Unita and government forces fought fierce gun battles and the international airport here was closed as Angola plunged deeper towards renewed civil war yesterday.

An early morning bomb blast outside a hotel used by Unita officials triggered fierce gun battles in downtown Luanda between the supporters of former rebel leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi and Angolan riot police.

Accounts of the casualties conflicted. Some said three people had been injured and others that a policeman and three civilians had been killed.

Witnesses said a civilian was killed when a building housing United Nations officials was hit. Heavy mortar fire went on for at least three hours near UN installations.

The fighting was the worst to hit the capital since the elections. A bomb at Luena provin-



POWDERKEG PATROL . . . Unita soldiers armed with grenade-launchers patrol Luanda, passing the wreckage of a car-bomb that exploded early yesterday, triggering fierce battles between the former rebels and government forces. Picture: AP

cial airport killed at least four demobilised government soldiers on Friday.

The deepening crisis has prompted SAA to cancel flight 054, due to fly to Luanda this morning.

The violence erupted hours after a United Nations Security Council mission arrived to try to resolve the post-election crisis.

However, witnesses said Luanda's airport was closed after fighting broke out in the city and the mission could not fly to Huambo, where Unita's leadership had gathered to discuss the political crisis over the election results.

Machine-gun fire and grenade explosions

shook the centre of the Angolan capital.

The battles concentrated around the Turismo Hotel, used as a base by Unita and which had been rocked by a car bomb.

Several witnesses said Unita had opened fire with grenade-launchers, machine-guns and mortars after two men in an unmarked car shot and wounded two Unita guards at the hotel.

The guards returned fire at random and occupied a nearby post office. More than 100 government riot police surrounded the area and responded with rocket-propelled grenades.

Luanda's police chief said there were simi-

lar gun battles in another district of the city.

A rocket-propelled grenade was fired at the navy headquarters building.

Unita members captured 12 police officers in the shootout.

Witnesses saw several officers bound hand and foot in the Turismo Hotel lobby, without their shirts or shoes. They also said three Unita men, one of whom was injured severely, were receiving medical treatment in the hotel.

Firing resumed when police tried to free

To page 3

Angola

their colleagues.

A light armoured car briefly appeared and opened fire outside the hotel with a machine-gun to try to clear access to it.

Later, in negotiations called by United Nations and foreign diplomats with the former rebels and government officials, it was agreed that the policemen be freed in exchange for 35 Unita members who had been arrested during the campaign for Angola's first free elections.

After the prisoner swap, witnesses said the Unita men showed signs of having been beaten up.

Unita officials had demanded that police free 53 supporters they said had been arrested.

Later, Unita radio claimed the car-bomb attack had been organised by the ruling MPLA. Unita officials denied responsibility for yesterday's clashes.

Luanda airport was said later to have reopened. However, most of the city's streets remained cut off by police blockades. By nightfall calm was returning to the city.

The only movement was by Unita men and government police who took up positions behind cars and walls and sporadically exchanged fire.

"The conflict was set up by Unita," Luanda's police chief said.

However, senior Unita official Mr Elias Salupeto Pena, surveying the damage from the bomb apparently placed under a car outside the hotel, told journalists minutes before the shooting began that the movement held the government responsible.

"If anything like that happens near the old man (Savimbi), war will begin immediately," he said. "When people are in danger we will take no half-measures."

There was no immediate comment from the MPLA government.

Luanda streets a battlefield

■ Government blamed for bomb blast

LUANDA - Unita and government forces fought fierce gun battles on the streets of Luanda yesterday after a bomb exploded outside a hotel used by officials of the former rebel movement. *S. Wilson 12/10/92*

Portuguese state television said at least two people were killed and several wounded in the shooting. It showed pictures of one of the bodies.

The fighting was the worst to hit the capital since Angola's first multi-party elections on September 29-30 aimed at healing the wounds of a 16-year civil war.

A bomb at Luena provincial airport last Friday killed at least four demobilised government soldiers.

Unita, which has disputed its apparent loss to the MPLA government, said it took 12 policemen hostage and regarded the bomb blast at the Hotel Turismo as an attack against it.

The violence erupted hours after a UN Security Council mission arrived to try to resolve the political crisis threatening to plunge Angola back into civil war. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

ARC 12/10/92 (S)

Soldiers set up new roadblocks in 'calm but uneasy' Luanda

LUANDA.— Soldiers and police set up new roadblocks in the Angolan capital Luanda today, but many people stayed indoors for fear that yesterday's gunbattles might lead to a resumption of full-scale civil war.

Luanda airport, closed most of yesterday for security reasons, was open today and the city was calm but uneasy.

The fighting yesterday was between government riot police and armed members of the opposition movement Unita, which accuses the government of cheating in elections last month.

Urgent diplomatic efforts were being made today to prevent Angola from sliding back into civil war.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was expected to fly into Luanda today to help defuse the crisis. If he was able to get to

Luanda he was expected to fly from there to Huambo, to where Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has retreated.

The United Nations special commission that was sent to Angola to investigate Unita's claims flew to Huambo yesterday within hours of arriving in Luanda.

The commission arrived in Angola amid the first diplomatic suggestions that there might be some evidence to back Unita's claims of electoral fraud.

Unita (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) is trailing the ruling MPLA of President Eduardo dos Santos as results continue to come in from the poll, held after a peace accord in May 1991 ended 16 years of civil war.

The fighting broke out after a bomb exploded near a Unita office.

● See page 9.

Graham Linscott comments on some disturbing parallels

Let's get off this slippery slope, fast

STAR 12/10/72

A PEACE agreement in Mozambique, elections in Angola. It is 18 years since the coup in Lisbon began a precipitate decolonisation, yet neither country has got out of the starting blocks.

Both have been crippled by a flight of the skills and capital of the settler communities; by attempts to bend to African conditions the theories of Marx, as adapted by Lenin; and by civil war. One hardly needs X-ray vision to spot the potential parallels in South Africa.

We have a community which one political grouping insists are "settlers" (for each of whom a bullet is reserved), many of whose skills and qualifications place them in key economic and other roles — and make it possible for them to find similar niches elsewhere. Much of their capital has already departed. Many are poised on their perches right now.

We have people who seem de-

termined that the theories of Marx and Lenin should be given just one last whirl — two-stage revolution, centralised political control and a command economy.

And we have the ingredients of civil war — heavily armed groups, territories, no-go zones, extreme intolerance, tit-for-tat atrocities, and a win-at-all-costs mentality.

It was a conventional wisdom during the Cold War that a harsh, neo-fascist regime so killed off conditions necessary to democracy that it had to be followed by a communist one, as secondary infection follows a virus.

Spain and Portugal disproved the theory in Europe (though in Portugal's case it was a near thing). In Africa, Zimbabwe is a hybrid of multiparty democratic institutions and doctrinaire socialism, governed by a harsh legal apparatus put in place by the previous regime. Namibia appears to

have so far disproved the virus theory, receiving independence in the post-Cold War era.

South Africa surely should then stand some chance of doing the same. The skids were put under Angola and Mozambique when the Portuguese made it clear they were bailing out fast, regardless of the consequences.

Alarmed as we might be by the tipping of dangerous criminals out of our jails, the army and the police force are not about to leave the country. Though the extreme Right might dispute it, we are not in Angola's 1975 position of having at the head of the caretaker administration a man who is also a card-carrying member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (in the Brezhnev days).

There is a chance for law and order, for compromise, for a recovery of the economy so that we do not have to endure the sheer hell Angola and Mozambique have

gone through in the past 16 years or so. (Though this conciliation rules out such pleasurable gung-ho activities as marches on the strong points of political rivals).

There is a chance, if we seize it. Angola earns oil revenues measured in millions of dollars a day. It was once one of the world's great coffee producers. Today it is in ruins. The men responsible are trying to shake hands and start over — but who would put money on the outcome?

Mozambique was never as blessed with resources as Angola. But, even under the Portuguese fascists, nobody compared it with Somalia in terms of misery.

Neither country set out to fight a civil war. It just happened, the way armed groups now clash in the streets of South Africa and communities live in terror.

It starts as a gentle enough slope, but is extremely slippery — and it soon steepens. □

After the elections, the hard work will have to begin in Angola, says Colin Legum

Once-rich country is in ruins

STAR 12/10/92. (5)

THE first elections since Angola's independence in 1975 open up a new chapter in the country's history. After 16 years of a civil war which ended with the signing of the Bicesse Peace Accord in 1991, it was perhaps too much to expect that the elections would be fought in a manner that would promote national harmony.

Although the two leading antagonists in the civil war — President José Eduardo dos Santos, who headed the former Marxist MPLA regime, and Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita — agreed in advance of the election results that they would form a coalition government, the prospect is of a reversal of Clausewitz's dictum: war conducted by different means.

Both sides, having failed to gain a decisive upper hand on the battlefield, seem intent to continue the struggle for supremacy in the political arena.

They failed dismally to move towards national reconciliation during the election campaign, which

was characterised by a high degree of suspicion, intimidation and episodic violence.

Both sides also accused each other of bad faith — hardly an auspicious augury for a harmonious working relationship in a coalition government.

Although neither Dos Santos nor Savimbi is free from blame, the latter is much more bellicose. His speeches lost none of the fervour of the language he used as a military commander. He emerged as a lion unwilling to lie down with the lamb.

Although the United States was the fervent protagonist of Unita during the war, all the parties recognised its impartiality in defending the spirit of the Bicesse Accords. The Russians — then still part of the USSR which backed the MPLA — have shown little taste for continuing Moscow's former role. Their major interest now appears to be concerned with retrieving as much as possible of the \$3.2 billion debt (about R7.2 billion) owing to it for its support of the former regime.

The International Monetary Fund is insisting on the deficit being cut substantially. How on earth this is to be achieved, while at the same time the country must tackle the enormous social problems left by the war, and rebuild new institutions, defies rational explanation. Consider the following urgent priorities:

- An estimated 800 000 peasants displaced by the war need to be resettled, along with 300 000 refugees returning home. As a result of rural migration during the war, almost 40 percent of the country's 10.6 million inhabitants now exist precariously in urban areas.

- Unemployment is extensive and chronic, with a decline of 2 percent a year since 1980 in the formal sector of the economy.
- Commercial agriculture has collapsed almost completely. Angola was once the fourth largest coffee producer in the world; it now produces less than one-twentieth of its average production in the last years of colonial rule.

- The inflated bureaucracy of 140 000 absorbs 57 percent of the current Budget's expenditure.
- An estimated 120 000 troops are to be demobilised as part of the creation of an integrated army of 50 000 men.

- Inflation of 200 percent.
- The national currency has been devalued from 30 to the dollar to 550 to the dollar.

And, yet, the economic picture

is not all gloom, provided the transition from a war-ravaged economy can be accomplished without serious political instability. The trigger for economic recovery is oil. Angola is the second largest exporter in sub-Saharan Africa, after Nigeria.

Oil produced reached 494 000 barrels a day (b/d) in 1991 and is set to rise further to 540 000 b/d this year, and to 700 000 b/d by 1997. Production in 1980 was only 134 000 b/d.

Investment in the oil sector is expected to rise to \$750 million (about R2 billion) a year from 1992-95, almost twice the annual investment in the previous four years.

Diamonds are now the second most important foreign exchange earner. This sector is expected to bring in \$250 million (R600 million) this year from regulated mining. Unofficial digging is estimated to be running at \$50 million (R140 million).

Although the Cassinga iron ore mines closed down during the war, Japan and South Africa have both expressed their interest in reviving

them.

While the manufacturing sector has been crippled by lack of investment, shortage of spare parts, inadequate trained people and the disrupted market, it is bound now to pick up (if, at first, only slowly).

The country's transport infrastructure has been virtually wrecked, and will need substantial capital investment to restore it. The important Benguela railway line is expected to be reopened with an initial loan of about \$23 million (R54 million) from the World Bank.

A major cause for concern remains the dissident Cabinda province — the centre of most of the oil industry.

Although the secession movement has lost most of its earlier strength, Cabindans remain suspicious of both the major parties.

Only 10 percent of Cabindans took the trouble to register on the voters roll.

It is going to take great powers of statecraft to bring Cabinda fully into the family of Angolan communities. □

UN mission attempts to defuse tense city stand-off

Gunbattles in Luanda

SM 12/10/92

By Hans-Peter Bakker
Star Africa Service

LUANDA — Gunbattles broke out in the streets of Luanda yesterday while international mediators tried to resolve the crisis sparked by Unita's expected loss in the country's first multiparty elections.

The eruption of violence, which was sparked off by a bomb exploding under a car parked in the city centre, came after a week of growing post-election tension between the ruling MPLA government and the former rebel movement Unita.

Captured

A bomb under a car parked outside the Hotel Turismo at about 4 am set off a fire fight between Unita troops who were staying at the hotel and government riot police who came to investigate the explosion.

In the exchange, Unita captured about 12 policemen. Unita spokesman Salupeta Pena yesterday warned that any attempt to free the captured men by force would be answered by force.

Then at about 11 am a black Honda motor car filled with men in civilian clothes sped past the Hotel Turismo, spraying the building with small-arms fire which wounded a Unita guard.

That set off 1½ hours of fierce shooting. Automatic gunfire and RPG rockets were exploded. The government naval headquarters was hit and several windows were shot out.

As far as could be ascertained, two Unita soldiers and three government soldiers were wounded.

After the gunbattles a deathly quiet gripped Luanda, punctuated by sporadic gunfire and the detonation of rifle grenades. The Hotel Turismo, which had become a Unita stronghold, was faced by MPLA armoured cars with their guns aimed at the building.

Anxious residents could be seen peering out from windows and doors while Unita and government troops faced each other in what appeared to have become a tense stand-off.

It was not known whether the captured policemen were still alive.

UN-backed elections held on September 29-30 have been in the balance since the Unita army withdrew from a combined Angolan defence force last Monday in protest against what it claimed was massive election fraud.

The election results, which should have already been announced, have been postponed to allow for Unita's allegations to be investigated.

Sapa-Reuter reports the fighting was the worst to hit the capital since the elections aimed at healing the wounds of a 16-year civil war. A bomb at Luena provincial airport on Friday killed at least four demobilised government soldiers.

Yesterday's violence erupted hours after a UN Security Council mission arrived to try to resolve the post-election crisis.

The mission comprised ambassadors from the United States, Russia, Morocco and Cape Verde.

Electoral officials have postponed announcing the result of the election to allow time to investigate Unita's fraud claims. Officials said the results were unlikely to be released before Wednesday.

Partial returns released last week showed Unita leader Jonas Savimbi trailing President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in the presidential race, and the MPLA leading Unita in the legislative poll.

In Luanda, Elias Salupeta Pena, a leading Unita official, claimed more than 40 Unita activists were being held by the police and said he was negotiating with the government for an exchange.

Visibly shaken by yesterday's explosion, he said the bomb was a bid to scare his party out of the capital.

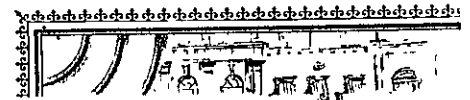
● Once-rich country in ruins
— Page 8



Last respects . . . a Surinamese man passes the flat complex which was split in two in Amsterdam a week ago when an El Al plane crashed. Tens of thousands of mourners marched to the crash site yesterday.

● Report — Page 4

Picture: AP



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Pik tries to persuade Savimbi

By Hans-Peter Bakker
Star Africa Service

LUANDA — As tension mounted in Angola's election crisis today, SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha was flying to Huambo in central Angola in a bid to dissuade Unita leader Jonas Savimbi from going back to war.

After flying into Luanda from Pretoria yesterday, Botha had meetings with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, head of the MPLA government, and Margaret Ainstee, the United Nations representative.

Ainstee is in a crucial position, having to deliver the verdict of the UN observer mission on whether the election was free and fair.

Unita, alleging there were irregularities in the election, has demanded that it be annulled and has threatened to return to war if results are published.

Peacemaker Pik steps up Angola bid

ARG 13/10/92 (S)
LUANDA — South Africa, anxious to avoid a new conflict in the region, is stepping up mediation efforts to try to persuade former protégé Jonas Savimbi not to restart Angola's civil war.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha was due to fly to the central highland stronghold of the Unita chief today in the latest of a series of diplomatic initiatives to defuse the crisis created by last month's elections.

Western governments have appealed to South Africa to wield its influence over its former Angolan proxy which Pretoria aided for much of its 16-year war against the leftist MPLA government.

"Not one of us can afford more conflict. There must be a way to avoid

further destruction," Mr. Botha told reporters.

"I am not coming here to preach. I hope I will be received here like a brother who can talk with experience. Our interest is Southern Africa. Just as Angola will one day help us, we must help Angola. We are bound together," he said.

Mr Botha met UN special representative Margaret Anstee and President José Eduardo dos Santos yesterday.

But Unita warned of war if the MPLA government published the result of September 29-30 elections which it says were rigged.

The threat of a civil conflict has escalated since gun battles between Unita and government police in Luanda on Sunday which killed up to five people.

A senior Unita official said yesterday publishing the results of the vote — preliminary results showed a clear MPLA victory — would bring disaster to the war-damaged country.

"Now the situation is so serious we cannot imagine a possible publication of such fraudulent results because that will mean immediate war. No one wants war but whoever continues on this path will be taking the country to catastrophe," Mr Elias Salupeto Pena said in a radio interview.

He called for the elections to be cancelled.

Election officials have delayed publishing the poll results.

But, some diplomats say, there is a strong chance that they will be released today.

UK staff may quit Luanda

ARG 13/10/92 (S)
LUANDA — Britain had decided to pull "non-essential" diplomatic staff out of the Angolan capital, an informed source said here, amid rising fears that the country's 16-year-old civil war could be renewed.

There was no immediate official confirmation of the report, but diplomats from other European Community countries were said to be in permanent contact with one another in case they had to implement emergency evacuation plans. — Sapa-AFP.

ANC backs rescue bid in Angola

⑤
or 3/10/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC supported Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha's 11th-hour mission to rescue the Angolan election process, ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

"To the extent that the South African government can persuade (Unita leader Dr Jonas) Savimbi to accept the result, we have no problem," he said. Conflict broke out in Luanda over the weekend after Unita refused to accept the outcome of recent elections there, claiming they had not been free and fair.

Mr Mbeki said the government had informed the ANC that the MPLA and Unita wanted to meet Mr Botha and his organisation had raised no objection to the visit.

Mr Mbeki also disclosed that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had personally written to Dr Savimbi and MPLA leader Mr Jose Eduardo dos

Santos before the election, urging them to accept its outcome and to form a government of national unity.

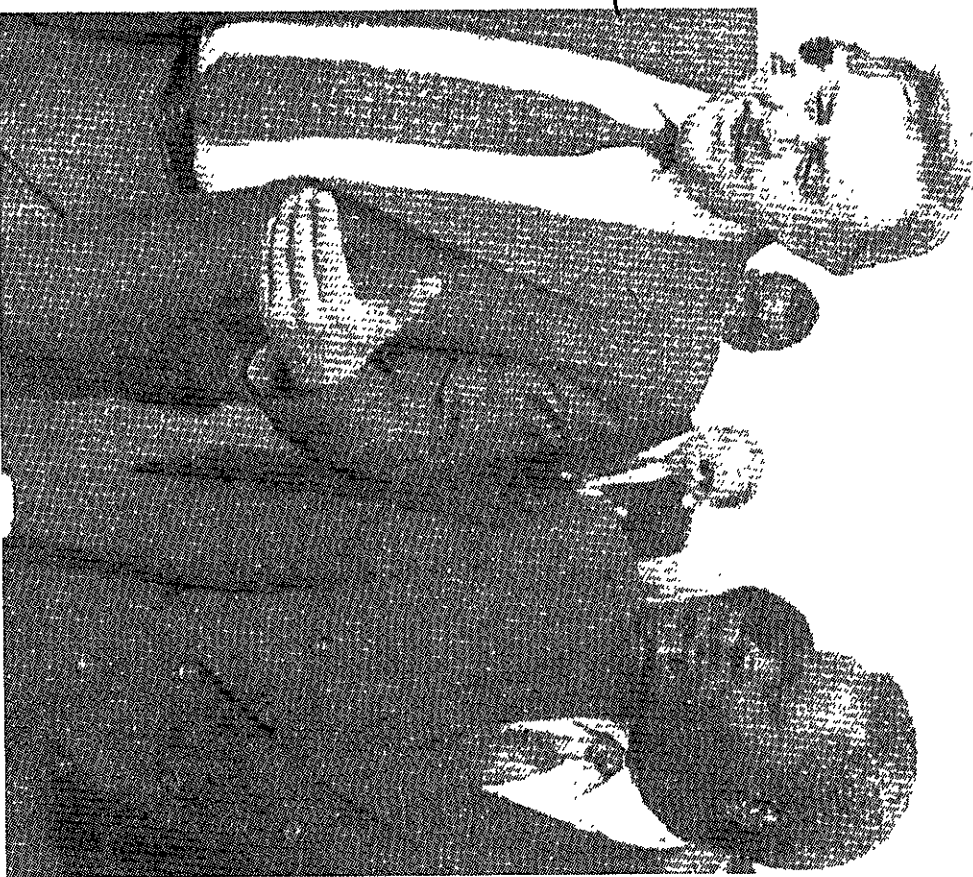
Mr Mandela had also expressed the hope the election would take place peacefully, Mr Mbeki added.

Mr Botha left for Luanda yesterday in a private aircraft after the Department of Foreign Affairs had been assured the situation in Luanda had calmed down and the international airport had been re-opened.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said Mr Botha was likely to be "even-handed" and meet Unita and the MPLA, although no firm arrangements had been made.

Mr Mbeki said he did not believe there was any point in mediating between the two parties as international observers were in agreement the election had been fair.

The ANC would look at the outcome of a special UN mission which had been sent to Angola to observe the election before deciding what action it would take.



PEACE MISSION . . . Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha is welcomed at Luanda airport by Angolan Interior Minister Mr Francisco Paiva. Mr Botha is on a mission to save the Angolan peace accord. Picture: AP

ANC backs Pik's mission

THE ANC backed Foreign Minister Pik Botha's peace mission to Angola, ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

"To the extent that the SA government can persuade (Unita leader Jonas) Savimbi to accept the result, we have no problem," he said in an interview.

Heavy fighting broke out in the streets of Luanda at the weekend after a rise in tensions following Unita's refusal to accept the outcome of recent elections.

Unita claimed they had not been free and fair.

On his arrival in Luanda yesterday, Botha said: "Not one of us can afford more

RAY HARTLEY

conflict. There must be a way to avoid further destruction.

"I am not coming here to preach. I hope I will be received here like a brother who can talk with experience. Our interest is southern Africa. Just as Angola will one day help us, we must help Angola. We are bound together."

Sapa-Reuters reports the UN and Western governments hope Botha can use his relationship with Savimbi during his three-day stay to persuade him to avoid war. A meeting in Savimbi's highland stronghold of Huambo is planned for today.

□ To Page 2

Pik's mission

Unita is trailing well behind the governing MPLA of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos as results from last month's election continue to come in.

A senior Unita official said yesterday that publishing the results of the poll would bring disaster.

"Now the situation is so grave we cannot imagine a possible publication of such fraudulent results because that will mean immediate war. No one wants war, but whoever continues on this path will be taking the country to catastrophe," said Elias Salupeto Pena.

"To save this country at this grave hour, goodwill is needed from all interested parties," he said.

Troops and police manned roadblocks throughout Luanda yesterday and many

people stayed indoors, in the wake of Sunday's gun battles in which at least two people died.

Yesterday Mbeki disclosed that ANC president Nelson Mandela had written to Savimbi and Dos Santos before the election, urging them to accept its outcome and form a government of national unity.

Mbeki said he had been informed the US government believed the result was fair and wanted Savimbi to accept it. The ANC would look at the outcome of a special UN mission sent to Angola to investigate the election before deciding what action it would take.

The UN mission had a meeting with Savimbi yesterday.

● See Page 6

AFRICA

De Beers suffers Angola's crisis

BIDAM 13/10/92

POLITICAL tensions over election results in Angola could set back hopes by De Beers Consolidated Mines of a government clampdown on diamond smugglers in the short term, analysts said.

But they said De Beers, which is battling an oversupplied market and sluggish demand, was likely to gain if Unita refused to accept its election defeat and resumed hostilities.

De Beers said in August there had been a dramatic increase in the supply of illicit rough diamonds from Angola after saying earlier it hoped the government would tighten up on mining after the election.

Government and Unita officials said shortly before the election that they would tackle the problem, but now say there are more urgent matters to attend to.

"Despite pressure by De Beers, action to curb the flood of diamonds on to the market is not going to be a priority until a new government is firmly in place," said a stockbroking analyst who declined to be identified.

"But it can expect a respite if the civil war is

resumed. This, together with the onset of the rainy season after prolonged drought, would restrict access to the diamond areas."

Analysts said whatever changes occurred in Angola the main problem for De Beers was still weak world diamond demand, a situation which had been worsened by uncontrolled supplies of diamonds from both Angola and Russia.

Its share price, which closed at R48.25 yesterday afternoon, has more than halved in value this year. Analysts said they expected it to drift sideways until the annual results are released in February, barring new statements by De Beers indicating changed conditions.

De Beers' London-based selling arm, the Central Selling Organisation (CSO), has been buying up stones at great cost to stabilise the market, and from September cut by 25% contracted deliveries from major producers.

The CSO markets some 80% of the world's gem diamonds on behalf of major producers.

A diamond analyst consultant said he believed it would take three to five years for demand to catch up to supply.

"It's a huge problem and there is nothing ahead to bail them out," he said.

"The US economic recovery is faltering. Japan has cut CSO diamond imports in dollar terms, and Russia has admitted to a stockpile of high-quality gems worth \$8bn, much of which is finding its way on to the market outside the CSO.

"Assuming all the major producers play ball and abide by their reduced quotas, combined with the fact that they are unlikely to cut production, the production build-up in rough diamonds would be worth \$1bn a year," he said.

In terms of the CSO agreement, De Beers has to take up that supply.

Kevin Kartun of Frankel, Max Pollak, Vinderine said he expected the dividend to drop sharply to bring it into line with dividend cover of two times. A consensus view was that the combined final dividend for the linked units of De Beers and its Swiss-based arm, Centenary AG, would fall at least 38% to R1.53 a share, making R2.23 for the full year compared with a previous R3.17. — Reuter.

Little confidence

Tensions rise in Angola

■ Concern for Angola as MPLA heads for election win: 5

Foreign 13/10/92

LUANDA - Soldiers and police set up new roadblocks in the Angolan capital of Luanda yesterday on a day marked by international concern for the fledgling peace and counter-accusations by the warring parties.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha was due to travel to Luanda yesterday to meet Unita leader Jonas Savimbi "to try to play a role in easing the tensions there", according to his Press spokesman.

There have been indications that Botha could also meet Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos.

A United Nations Security Council mission flew to Savimbi's stronghold in the central highlands, to try to defuse the crisis.

The Security Council has urged Savimbi to accept the result of the elections which observers have judged free and fair.

The MPLA said Unita was mobilising troops and endangering the truce.

Pik in Angolan rescue mission

LUANDA. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha hurried to Angola yesterday hoping to haul the country back from the brink of renewed civil war

The former Unita rebel movement warned of war if results were published from a general election it says the government rigged.

Mr Botha said renewed fighting in Angola would be detrimental to Southern Africa.

"Not one of us can afford more conflict.

There must be a way to avoid further destruction," he said

The United Nations and Western governments hope Mr Botha can use his relationship with Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi to persuade him to avoid war.

On Sunday five people died in a clash between Unita forces and police officers in central Luanda.

The fighting broke out after a bomb exploded near a Unita office.

Twelve policemen who were taken hos-

tage during the clashes were released in exchange for 35 Unita fighters.

Unita is trailing well behind the MPLA of President Eduardo dos Santos as results continue to come in from the poll designed to heal the wounds of war.

The Security Council has urged Unita to accept the result of the elections, which international observers have judged free and fair. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP

● ANC backs rescue bid in Angola, page 5

5 OCT 31 10/92

Pik steps in to help

LUANDA - South African Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha has opened talks with Angolan leaders in an attempt to prevent a new outbreak of fighting in the country's 16-year civil war. *Overan 14/10/92*

Botha met with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos on Monday night. He was yesterday scheduled to fly to the central city of Huambo to meet former rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Botha arrived in Luanda on Monday.

Pik's peace bid hopes rise

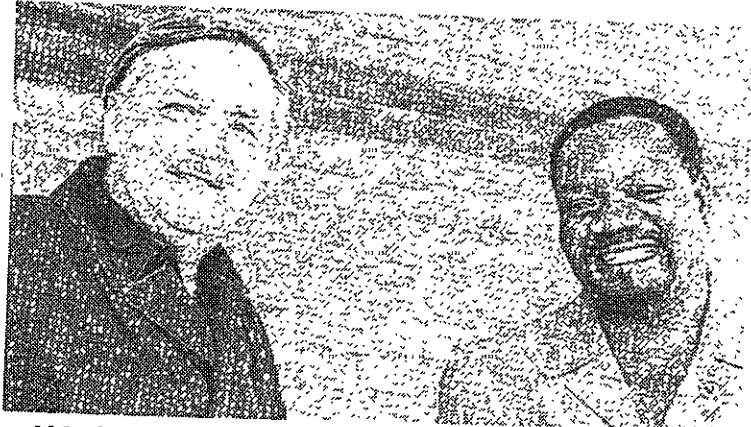
ARG 14/10/92 (5)

HANS-PETER BAKKER
Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — Hopes of a solution to Angola's political crisis have emerged from Foreign Minister Pik Botha's shuttle diplomacy and from indications of flaws in the general election.

Mr Botha, flying between Luanda and Huambo for a series of meetings with the head of the MPLA government, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, is believed to have proposed that a government of national unity be formed to resolve the election stand-off between the two parties.

His proposal is believed to have been given impetus by indications that Mr Dos Santos did not win the 51 percent of the vote that is necessary for him to assume the presidency. It was further encouraged by signs that the outcome of the poll for parliament — in which provisional results gave the MPLA a commanding lead — may be called into question by the emergence of



ALL SMILES: Mr Botha and Dr Savimbi in Huambo.

voting irregularities.

Mr Botha is seen by Western diplomats in Luanda as playing the key role in preventing Angola from sliding back into civil war after Dr Savimbi, slamming the election as fraudulent, withdrew his forces from the joint army, mobilised others in parts of Angola and retreated to his new stronghold in the central city of Huambo.

The final results of the election on September 29 and 30 have not yet been announced by the National Electoral Council and the United Nations monitoring group, Unavem, has not yet given its verdict on whether the polling was free and fair.

Dr Savimbi has demanded that the election be annulled and has threatened to go back to war if the results are released.

Pik's key role in plan for Angolan govt of national unity

Back from the brink

By Hans-Peter Bakker
Star's Africa Service

LUANDA — Hopes of a solution to Angola's political crisis are rising, thanks to the key role played by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Botha, flying between Luanda and Huambo for a series of meetings with the head of the MPLA govern-

ment, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi, is believed to have proposed that a government of national unity be formed to resolve the election stand-off between the two parties.

His proposal is believed to have been bolstered by indications that Dos Santos did not win the 51 percent of the vote needed to assume the presidency, and a question mark over the parliamentary poll — in which provision-

al results gave the MPLA a commanding lead — after the emergence of voting irregularities.

Botha is seen by Western diplomats in Luanda as playing the key role in preventing Angola from sliding back into civil war after Savimbi, slamming the election as fraudulent, withdrew his forces from the joint army, mobilised others in parts of Angola and retreated to his new stronghold in the cen-

tral city of Huambo. Savimbi has demanded that the election be annulled and has threatened to go back to war if the results are released.

Botha is believed to have urged both the Electoral Council and the UNITA representative, Margaret Anjee, not to release results until the crisis has been resolved.

If the Electoral Council confirms Dos Santos did not get at least 51 percent support in the election, a second

vote is required. The possibility of a solution being found through the formation of a government of national unity is understood to have been strengthened by Dos Santos agreeing to such an arrangement.

Both major parties had agreed in principle before the election to some form of national unity government regardless of the outcome.

The composition of the government now becomes

crucial, as does its leadership, and observers believe a compromise may be sought in a joint government and a second ballot for the presidency. Dos Santos is thought likely to raise no objection as he is considered almost certain to win at least a simple majority.

The Security Council has warned that any return to war would meet with the "strongest condemnation" of the world community.

57

STAR 14/10/72



TENSE ... An Angolan policeman carrying a machine-gun and wrapped with bullet belts patrols Luanda this week after the weekend exchange of fire between police and Unita troops. Picture: AP

Pik holding vital keys to peace?

Own Correspondents

⑤ CT 14/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha was scheduled personally to deliver a message from Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos last night in a further bid to defuse growing tension there.

Foreign Affairs official Mr Gary Scallan said yesterday Mr Botha was also scheduled later last night to meet Luanda's Catholic Bishop Cardinal de Nacimento, who could also play a mediating role.

Mr Botha earlier met Dr Savimbi in Huambo in central Angola, where the rebel leader is now based, and could extend his stay beyond today to hold a further meeting with Dr Savimbi, he said.

Sources in Luanda said Mr Botha had been mandated by Mr Dos Santos to take a peace offer to Dr Savimbi. In terms of this offer Dr Savimbi would accept the election results he has disputed but in return would be given an "acceptable deal on a government of national unity".

This, they said, was the "first prize" that could ensure peace in the strife-torn country.

The alternative — described by diplomatic sources in Luanda as the "go-for-broke option" — would be for Dr Savimbi to accept the MPLA's clear-cut majority in the parliamentary election but call for a fresh presidential election.

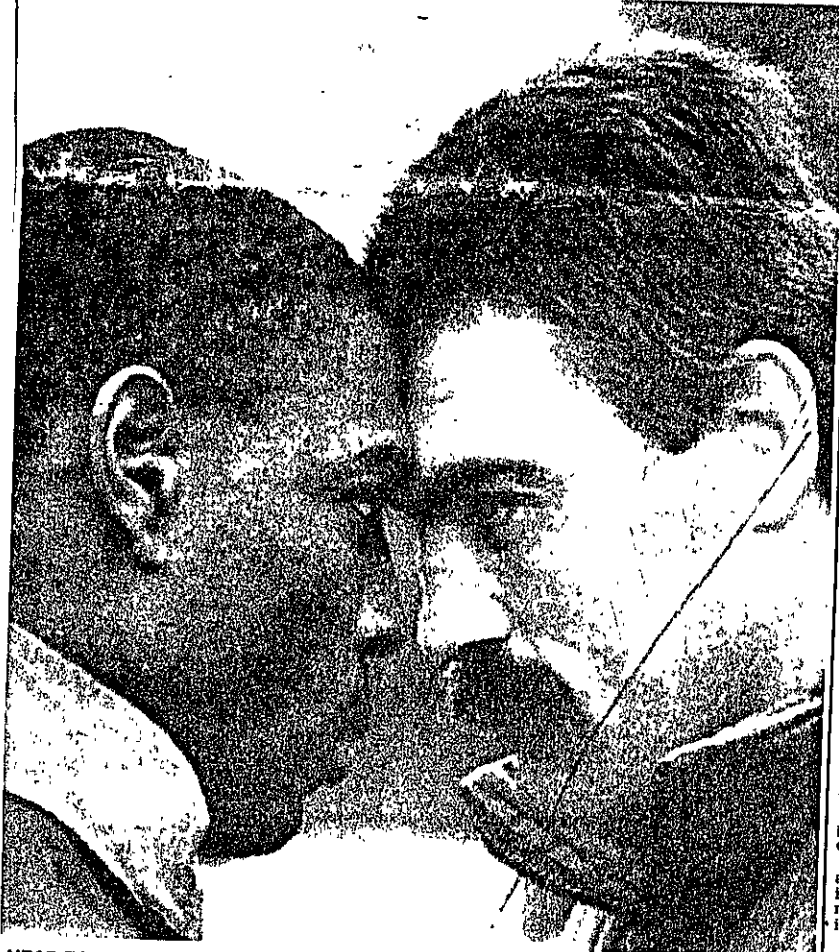
"At this stage Mr Botha is trying so hard to collect all the data he can that he had his first meeting at 2.30 this morning," Mr Scallan said.

Angola deal

⑤ CT 15/10/92.

Frank eyes big trouble

Pik at centre of peace bid



HEAD TO HEAD . . . "Big Frank" Bruno gets close to Pierre Coetzer to check the small wound the South African received under his right eye in a sparring mishap with Joe Bugner jun. ● Coetzer definitely not the favourite — Back Page.

Picture: AP

LUANDA. — A second-round presidential poll and a national unity government are key elements in a possible compromise to prevent Angola slipping back into a civil war.

The deal would undercut President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' apparent first-round victory in the presidential poll but could be enough to appease rival Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was last night trying to arrange a summit between Mr Dos Santos and Dr Savimbi.

The proposed meeting follows a day of hectic shuttle diplomacy during which Mr Botha spoke with both leaders about ways of defusing the crisis following Unita's refusal to accept the result of the presidential elections.

Diplomatic sources said that the summit could take place in a neutral venue in Angola.

Power-sharing deal

However, Mr Savimbi is understood to be pushing for a foreign venue, possibly Pretoria.

Among the positive spin-offs to have to have flowed from Mr Botha's mission are

- Dr Savimbi has undertaken not to "go back to the bush" and restart the civil war

- Unita generals have agreed to go back to their assigned bases

- The independent electoral commission has decided to delay announcing the results of the presidential election pending an investigation into Unita's allegations of polling irregularities

Dr Savimbi rejected the presidential poll held two weeks ago charging widespread fraud

Unita is not disputing the parliamentary elections, which the ruling MPLA won comfortably

Under the compromise plan a second round of the presidential vote would be held from 45 days to two or three months from now, sources said

Unita earlier indicated it might be ready to accept a power-sharing deal at all levels of government involving 40 members of its movement, 40 MPLA members and 20 others from other parties — providing the presidential vote is cancelled.

Angola's electoral law calls for a second ballot if no candidate scores more than 50% of the vote.

Diplomats said that new evidence of irregularities could not be overlooked, particularly as some counts put President Dos Santos below the 50% threshold. — Political Correspondent, Sapa-AFP

BIG WALK THE BIG WALK RESULTS! 1992

THE results of the 1992 Cape Times/Rotary Big Walk have been supplied to us by Digitron and will be carried in full in the Cape Times tomorrow — don't miss it!



Pik's shuttle averts civil war in Angola

610111 15/10/92
5
A RESUMPTION of the Angolan civil war was averted yesterday by the intervention of Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who persuaded Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to back down from threats to resume armed conflict and agree to a meeting with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Savimbi's agreement to the publication of the results of the country's recent national elections was engineered by Botha, who has been acting as a mediator between Unita and the ruling MPLA since Monday.

Savimbi has also agreed to send his generals back to joint operations centres established with the MPLA.

A meeting between Savimbi and Dos Santos could take place in Namibia or Pretoria soon, according to reports.

The diplomatic breakthrough came after Botha had spent three days shuttling between Savimbi's headquarters in Huambo and the capital Luanda. His mission had the backing of the US and the UN.

Following a meeting with Dos Santos last night, Botha said the situation in Angola was "very fluid". A final agreement hinged on the outcome of the election and the appointment of a commission to investigate alleged irregularities in the poll.

Botha said he was on his way to another round of talks with Savimbi before return-

RAY HARTLEY

ing to SA today. He said Savimbi had indicated a willingness to serve in a government of national unity.

Savimbi accepted the publication of election results on condition they were described as "provisional" and his objections were also published. Foreign Affairs' Luanda spokesman Gary Scallan said last night. Scallan said the provisional results would probably be published by this morning.

It is widely expected the MPLA will win the election with around 51% of the vote. Savimbi has alleged widespread irregularities in the poll, which a UN monitoring team has yet to declare free and fair.

SAA was planning to resume its flights to the capital today after they were cancelled in the wake of street battles in Luanda on Sunday between Unita supporters and police, said Scallan. He added Luanda was very calm.

Four UN envoys to Angola said earlier yesterday that any resumption of hostilities would be met with the "strongest condemnation".

Diplomats said there were increasing indications that allegations of serious irregularities could be correct.

Savimbi won't go back to the bush

Angolan civil war averted

Sowetan 15/10/92

(5)

VALID CLAIMS Electoral Commission agrees to probe claims of irregularities:

LUANDA - Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has agreed not to take his troops back to the bush to restart the civil war.

Sources in the Angolan capital yesterday said Savimbi had agreed to accept the outcome of the election, provided he was satisfied that alleged irregularities had been investigated.

He had also agreed to send his generals back to the integrated military structure.

South Africa's Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik-Botha, who had been playing a mediating role in the crisis, had talks with Savimbi on Tuesday and was to see President José dos Santos later

yesterday to try and broker a meeting between the two leaders in Angola.

Other possible venues for such a meeting were Namibia and Pretoria.

Sources said it seemed clear that Dos Santos would not achieve the 50 percent votes needed to win the presidential election.

It had also become clear that some of Unita's objections about irregularities were valid.

The Electoral Commission agreed on Tuesday to fully investigate these irregularities. These included the disappearance of ballot boxes, voting locations not known to Unita, Namibians voting in Rundu and irregularities committed by riot police.

13 die in ammo dump explosion as Pik battles to arrange talks

Luanda rocked by huge blast

⑤
APR 15 1975

DALE LAUTENBACH
Political Staff

THIRTEEN people were killed in Luanda early today when an airforce ammunition dump exploded near the international airport.

Sources in the capital said most of the dead were members of the new national Angolan army, Forças Armadas Angolanas.

People fled their houses after the explosion, at about 2.30, thinking hostilities had broken out. Rockets and mortars exploded for more than an hour over the south-eastern edge of the city.

The atmosphere was tense, but it seemed that the blast was not seen by Unita soldiers and government anti-riot police as a signal to start fighting.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was aboard a hotel ship in Luanda last night on the fourth day of his peace-saving mission.

He is expected to fly to Huambo today to fetch Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi for the meeting he has brokered between the former rebel leader and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Unita is disputing the results of the country's first multi-party elections, held on September 29-30.

Provisional results showed virtual victory for President Dos Santos and his Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) party.

But final tallies — after a recount under an investigation — indicated a run-off between the two main presidential candidates.

Unita threatened to resume its 16-year war with the government if results were published before a probe into its fraud charges was complete.

Diplomats and the government have reported Unita troop movements in several provinces.

South Africa, anxious to avoid a new regional armed conflict, is mediating, and Mr Botha said he was hopeful that Dr Savimbi and President Dos Santos would meet soon to discuss power-sharing.

"There is a wish to form a government of national unity," he said, adding that most of Angola's 10 million people were tired of suffering.



LUANDA BLAST: Heavy explosions light up the sky in Luanda early today as an ammunition dump blows up at an airforce depot near the airport. Angolan authorities are investigating what caused it.

He said both sides recognised the need to abandon violence and were ready for dialogue.

Mr Botha, who has met President Dos Santos and Dr Savimbi separately, said it would be disastrous if the election results came out before the investigation was complete.

He said the president had persuaded the National Electoral Council to delay the results, which Angolans have been awaiting for more than two weeks.

Mr Botha also said he expected Unita to return its rebel generals, who left the new national army in protest against the vote, after the results were published.

South Africa, which backed Dr Savimbi during much of his uprising against the formerly Marxist MPLA government, has been trying to avert a resumption of the war.

Unita's other backer, the United States, has been pressing Dr Savimbi to abide by the May 1991 peace accords and respect the election results. But many diplomats fear Dr Savimbi will only go for ultimate power.

Africa in

Luanda rocked

South Africa 16/10/92

LUANDA - Foreign Minister Pik Botha, having delayed his return to South Africa, was making a renewed effort yesterday to make peace between rival Angolan political leaders.

Panic spread through Luanda early yesterday when an ammunition dump exploded, rocking buildings and lighting the sky for more than an hour. There were reports of fighting in the area between MPLA and Unita forces but these have not been confirmed.

ground after the explosion early yesterday of a military air force
airport.

5 OCT 16/10/92

Picture: AP

Savimbi in last-ditch talks

JOHANNESBURG. — Reports from Luanda yesterday afternoon said Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was on his way to the Angolan capital for talks with South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in last-ditch efforts to avoid a resumption of the civil war.

He was expected to meet Mr Botha last night.

Mr Botha has been in Angola since Monday to try to mediate in the political crisis caused by the Unita leader's adamant refusal to accept his party's loss at the Sep-

tember 29 and 30 polls, and his threats to resume war.

Mr Botha yesterday held talks with Angola's Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem.

It was uncertain whether Dr Savimbi would also meet Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos face-to-face last night.

Meanwhile police in Luanda said residents living near an air force ammunition depot that blew up early yesterday said they heard

shooting before a string of explosions rocked Luanda.

But police would not confirm reports that the shooting took place between government forces and members of Unita.

There were no immediate reports of casualties, and the police said they were not discarding the possibility of sabotage.

The explosions occurred close to Luanda's February 4 international airport about two kilometres from a Unita base office on a strategic airport road. — Sapa

Unita seizes hostages in battle against election defeat ⁽⁵⁾

Guardian (W) (in w/mail) 16/10-22/10/92
By our own Reporters

TENSION exploded on the streets of the Angolan capital Luanda on Sunday with an hour-long gun battle between Unita troops and police. A dozen policemen were taken hostage by Unita, two police cars were burnt out, and the international airport was closed for some hours.

Reports from the provinces of Malange, Huambo, and Huila over the weekend said that Unita units in many municipalities had evicted government officials, taken cars, and broken into government buildings. Unita Radio meanwhile broadcast repeated claims that Cuban troops were waiting in the southern province of Cunene to attack Unita. The last Cuban troops in Angola left more than a year ago.

A crisis mission from the United Nations Security Council arrived in Luanda at the weekend to try to avert the threat of war made by Unita last week in the aftermath of President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos's election victory.

Angola's foreign minister said earlier that Unita was welcome to join a national unity government as long as it accepted electoral defeat.

But the minister, Pedro Van Dunem, told reporters in Lisbon the Unita leader, Jonas Savimbi, had isolated himself after claiming fraud in the United Nations-supervised elections and was shunning attempts by the ruling MPLA to open a dialogue.

The MPLA, which signed a peace agreement with Unita last year, appears to be the clear winner of the presidential and parliamentary elections, which UN observers have declared free and fair.

But Dr Savimbi has denounced the polls as fraudulent and has withdrawn his forces from a new unified national army being formed from MPLA and Unita forces after 16 years of civil war.

The South African foreign minister, Pik Botha, meanwhile arrived in Angola to back the Unita leader's claims of fraud, but he will argue that Mr Savimbi should delay any decision to resume the civil war. According to foreign ministry sources, Mr Botha believes on the basis of accounts by four French election monitors that there were extensive irregularities. Most of the other 800 United Nations monitors said the vote was largely free and fair.

Fear and loathing in Angola

W/Mail 16/10/92 - 22/10/92

(5)

DR ADELINO MANACAS was one of the few Angolans who did not join the enthusiastic crowds queuing for 10 to 15 hours to vote in the recent elections.

For Manacas, who spent 13 years as a prisoner in Jonas Savimbi's bush headquarters at Jamba after being kidnapped from his medical practice in Bailundo hundreds of kilometres away, the brave new era is not much of a success.

He has a wife and three children still held in Jamba and neither the election nor the brief presence of 800 or so international observers has

Even if the Angolan election debacle is resolved, plenty of fear and bitterness will remain. By VICTORIA BRITAIN in Luanda

brought their release by Unita any closer. Jamba remains a closed world, even to the international community.

"It is because we are Africans — if we were Europeans or American, Jamba would have been opened long ago," Manacas told the Portuguese paper *Sabado* from Lisbon, where he

has been since his release through the Red Cross earlier this year. He plans to return to Angola only when the government has control of the whole country.

He may wait quite a while.

The election campaign days, with their Brazilian-designed flags, posters, T-shirts and all the razzmatazz of rallies across the country, gave Angola a flavour of normality after 16 years of war. However, this was not an election like any other, but one which turned entirely around the dominating personality of one man who most people expected to win it: Jonas Savimbi.

Savimbi's polished charm, and his importance to United States regional strategy, won him respectability in the West despite a reputation closer to home as "Idi Amin, plus Bokassa and Mobutu" — as the Egyptian academic, Samir Amin, put it in a recent seminar here. His forces control swathes of the country in defiance of the official government, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) led by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Manacas described, from his long personal experience as the only doctor in the area, what this control meant.

He saw the "the dehumanising of people" in Jamba, the "morbid curiosity" with which they came to mass rallies to watch women and children accused of witchcraft being burnt alive, the public humiliation of leaders Savimbi believed challenged him. Others, including Foreign Minister Tito Chingungi and his brother-in-law, Fernando Wilson dos Santos, were held in special torture camps before they were executed.

All these events have been recounted by numerous defectors or escaped prisoners over the past six years, including two senior officials, Nzau Puna and Tony da Costa Fernandes, who defected earlier this year warning that Savimbi would never accept the election results if he lost.

But so strong was the Cold War's distorting lens that this mass of evidence of the totalitarian character of Unita was largely dismissed in the West as propaganda by the former marxists of the MPLA.

Even Angolans — disillusioned by corruption and indifference to the country's misery by MPLA leaders — were, a year ago, when Savimbi returned to the country, inclined to give him a chance.

But the violence of his speeches in the election campaign and the vows of mass dismissals and of revenge against all who worked with the MPLA changed the mood to one of fear.

Savimbi turned out to be a military leader unable to make the transition to pluralist politics.

Angolans of every shade of political opinion are exhausted by the war and want only to forget it. But from the closed world of Jamba to the rich and varied society of the rest of Angola was a step too far for Unita. — The Guardian

Some plane diplomacy from Pik

W/M tail 16/10-22/10/92
SOUTH AFRICA sent a plane yesterday to fly Unita leader Jonas Savimbi from his highland stronghold to Luanda for talks with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos on forming a government of national unity.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, trying to mediate between the two sides to avert renewed civil war, said he was unsure whether Savimbi would come immediately, but expressed hope the two former enemies would meet soon to discuss power-sharing.

"There is a wish to form a government of national unity," he told foreign journalists on Wednesday, adding that most of Angola's 10 million people were tired of suffering.

He said both sides recognised the need to abandon violence and were ready for dialogue.

Fears of war have grown in the past few days since Savimbi threatened to resume fighting if results of Angola's first multi-party elections were published before his allegations of electoral fraud were fully investigated.

Two people died in fighting in several parts of Luanda on Tuesday after a gun battle between Unita and government forces resulted in the deaths of five people on Monday and



Shake on it ... Pik Botha and Jonas Savimbi

Photo: AP

gun battles continued in the capital throughout Monday night.

People living near Unita offices and other buildings in Luanda were advised by the police to move, although many residents refused to leave their homes. Foreign embassies began evacuating non-essential personnel.

Botha spent four and a half hours with Savimbi at his stronghold at Huambo in the central highlands on Tuesday and returned encouraged by Savimbi's "open attitude".

"I'm impressed by his deep concern for certain things which Unita tells me went wrong in the election," Botha said, adding that he would submit details to Dos Santos. "Allegations of irregularities must be investigated."

Botha also said that "it is a wrong impression that has been created

that Dr Savimbi is preparing for war".

Botha made the visit at the urging of the United States and European powers, whose own efforts had failed.

Botha said Dos Santos had persuaded the National Electoral Council to delay the results. He expected Unita to return its rebel generals, who left the new national army in protest against the vote, after the results were published. "I've tried to show Savimbi he's not isolated at all," Botha said.

Many diplomats fear the flamboyant guerrilla chief will only go for ultimate power. But Botha believes Savimbi "will accept something less than the presidency, on condition his complaints are fully investigated".

— Reuter and The Guardian.

Ballots to bullets

Guardian (with mail)

THE ANGOLAN crisis has deepened since last week, when the Unita rebels refused to accept electoral defeat. The weekend clashes show that, although the movement is divided, the hard-liners in its central leadership core can disrupt the peace when they choose. Unita's US patrons have humiliatingly failed to lure the sulking Jonas Savimbi out of his tent. Publication of the election results will not just be disavowed by Unita: it will mean "immediate war". 16/10-22/10/92.

Dr Savimbi makes things worse by being irrational as well as immovable. A year ago, after the Estoril peace accords were signed, most observers believed he could win the election. But his belligerent attitude and threats to disregard the verdict if it went against him cancelled out the MPLA-led government's loss of popularity. Even in defeat he could expect at least a face-saving appointment from a government under strong international pressure. There was some talk of offering him a Vice-Presidency. A rather more appropriate assignment would be as Minister of Railways — which Unita has so systematically destroyed in its 16 years' war. Now the crisis is intensified by Dr Savimbi's apparent refusal to name any price short of annulling the elections. In the apologetic words of his blushing foreign backers, he has difficulty "in making the shift from the battlefield to the political struggle". Yet even during combat a good general should know when to retreat.

Announcing the results has now been delayed several days beyond the time stipulated in the electoral law. This concession by the Angolan government to Western pressure to save Dr Savimbi's face is being taken very much for granted. Yet if it were being done to save the MPLA from defeat, there would have been immediate international outcry. No one seriously questions these results: nearly all were verified by Unita representatives in the local polling stations. The national Unita challenge is on the same level of credibility as its warning that Cuban troops have magically reappeared in the country. Unita also has its own bizarre explanation for the verdict by 800 international observers that the elections have been generally free and fair. The observers, Unita's radio explains, have been bribed by "money, diamonds, and mercury".

What happens in Angola will set a wider precedent for international supervision of other "regional" problems created by and then left over from the cold war. The Security Council is facing a very similar threat in Phnom Penh, where it must decide whether to ignore Khmer Rouge armed defiance and go ahead with the Cambodian election. In Mozambique an even more vicious rebel force than Unita is also paying lip-service to a democratic solution. It is farcical to go on appeasing the sinister Dr Savimbi. He has lost, and he should be told so now.

Poll bickering a threat to peace

CT 17/10/92 Political Staff ⑤

BICKERING that erupted over the timing of the announcement of the Angolan election result last night left Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and other mediators battling to prevent a new outbreak of civil war.

Mr Botha is scheduled to return from Luanda this weekend after days of tense shuttle diplomacy between President Jose dos Santos and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi had brought the two close to an agreement.

However, diplomatic sources in Luanda said last night that a comment at a press conference on Thursday in which a senior MPLA official said the election result might not be finalised had thrown agreements into disarray.

Dr Savimbi was scheduled to fly to Luanda on Thursday afternoon to meet MPLA leader Mr Dos Santos, but he did not make the trip.

In the deal struck by Mr Botha the Unita leader would have agreed to a government of national unity or a fresh election for the presidential post.

But Dr Savimbi said yesterday he would not travel to Luanda for the meeting with Mr Dos Santos until the election result had been announced.

The latest count has Mr Dos Santos well ahead — but with only 49,57% of the vote, below the 50% required to get the presidential job.

The MPLA won the separate parliamentary election with a comfortable majority.

Asked for an explanation for the seemingly incomprehensible reluctance of Mr Dos Santos to announce the results, one diplomat said: "We think there might be an ego problem. It's a Mexican stand-off."

OAU moves to help Angola

GABORONE. — Organisation of African Unity leaders agreed yesterday to send a delegation to Angola to help settle the dispute over election results.

Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe, Cape Verde President Antonio Mascarenhas and OAU secretary general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim are to travel to Angola in hopes of meeting President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Dr Jonas Savimbi.

AFRICA WATCH

Control

over

armies

is crucial



7/10-21/10/92

THE eruption of violence in Luanda after the Angolan elections has cast a shadow over the prospects for peace in Mozambique — another country which has been torn apart by civil war.

The signing in Rome of the October 4 peace accord between Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo rebel leader Afonso Dhlakama came after two years of negotiations.

And last-minute differences threatened to disrupt the historic occasion which was witnessed by several southern African leaders and broadcast live over Radio Mozambique.

Though the peace accord has been signed, there are still too many unknowns.

Nobody knows how much control the two warring sides have over their respective armies.

Many rebels are thought to be youngsters who have had little formal education and who know only violence as a way of life.

On the government side, many soldiers have been forced to serve longer than their official terms, in some cases without pay for months. This has led to a wave of mutinies over the country in recent months.

The other big question concerns the independent peasant militia, known as the Naparamas, who fought Renamo in the northern provinces of Zambezia and Nampula.

It is not clear yet whether they have agreed to lay down their traditional weapons in favour of reconciliation. — AIA

Safto halts visit to troubled Angola

SI Times (8455) 18/10/92

By ZILLA EFRAT

SAFTO postponed a group visit to Angola, planned for early next month, as fears of renewed political uncertainty in the country escalated this week. Safto's Africa area manager Paul Runge confirmed that some Safto clients have also postponed a visit to Angola.

One company that could benefit if political conditions deteriorate is De Beers, which has come under pressure from large-scale individual digging and illicit smuggling of rough diamonds out of Angola.

One that might have its plans thwarted is Engen. Angolan authorities reportedly hinted that the SA energy group is negotiating a deal with US company Conoco for exploration rights in one of Angola's high oil prospective offshore blocs.

SAA expects its flight to Luanda tomorrow to go ahead, but says it is monitoring the situation.

Angola: Pik optimistic ^(S)

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha returned from Angola yesterday after a week of crisis talks optimistic that peace would prevail.

He set up a meeting tomorrow between President Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in Luanda, where a man was killed in a shootout yesterday as MPLA supporters celebrated their 53,4 percent poll win. Fighting was also reported around Unita's HQ, Huambo.

Mr Dos Santos failed to win 50 percent in the presidential poll and faces a run-off with Dr Savimbi. His MPLA has invited Unita to join a government of national unity.

7/10/92
S/Times

Angola crisis is cleared

ANGOLA's ruling MPLA party won the country's first multi-party election last month but there will be a run-off between former civil war foes President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, following yesterday's official results.

The National Electoral Council announced that Dos Santos won 49.57 percent in the September 29-30 poll versus Savimbi's 40.07 percent, forcing a second round under law.

The MPLA won 53.74 percent in the race for the 223-seat parliament against 34.10 percent for Unita.

More than 90 percent of the 4.8-million registered electorate voted.

After indications that he would have a second chance, Savimbi agreed to accept the results and meet Dos Santos.

Although the vote was judged free and fair by international observers, Savimbi rejected it, plunging Angola into crisis.

Fears of a resumption of the devastating 16-year war arose after eight people died in a shootout between police and Unita.

The summit between Dos Santos and Savimbi, arranged by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, is expected to touch on demilitarisation and power-sharing.

Sapa-Reuter

'Fraud': Angola may vote again

5

CT 19/10/92

LUANDA. — Angola was in a state of uncertainty yesterday, with the prospect of a second round of voting for a president, and reports of massive electoral fraud in the first round.

Meanwhile, there have been reports of fighting in Huambo, from where UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has issued threats to resume the war.

Dr Savimbi claims victory was stolen from him and continues to take a menacing stance. He and President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos are due to meet in Luanda today in a meeting brokered by South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Mr Botha returned to South Africa from Angola on Saturday satisfied that Mr Dos Santos and Dr Savimbi will meet today.

A spokesman for Mr Botha said the two leaders were due to meet this afternoon, and they had both asked Mr Botha to be there.

"In the light of this, he is seriously considering returning to Luanda," the spokesman said.

Dr Savimbi, who alleged widespread electoral fraud, objected to publication of provisional election results predicting victory for Mr Dos Santos and threatened resumption of a full-scale conflict if any further figures were released without an official inquiry.

According to a Swiss observer, fraud in the presidential election was on a massive scale, particularly in the interior of Angola.

Mr Henri Rieben, one of the international observers supervising the Angolan elections on September 29-30, said in an interview he believed there had been a massive level of fraud.

In the centre of Angola, voting took



CELEBRATING . . . MPLA supporters celebrate their party's majority in the first free elections in Angola at the weekend. However, amid allegations of election fraud, Angolans may go back to the polls for a second round of voting for a president.

Picture: AP

place in 106 centres without any international observers or political representatives present, he said.

However, Ms Margaret Anstee, special representative in Angola for UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, said there had been no systematic fraud in the elections. She said there had been "irregularities", but they were due to human error and lack of experience and had not affected results.

The elections have solved neither the problem of the violence in Angola nor the issue of who will lead the country.

The ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) won the legislative elections, but neither President Dos Santos nor Dr Savimbi won enough votes for victory in the presidential poll.

Mr Dos Santos won 49.57% of the votes, missing the 50% requirement, and Dr Savimbi gained 40.07%. They therefore have to go into a second round.

Violence in Angola continued to claim lives on Saturday when Unita fighters fired on MPLA members in Luanda who were celebrating their party's victory in the legislative poll. At least one person, and possibly two, died in the attack, according to press reports.

The MPLA, apparently losing patience with Unita's ambiguous attitude to the elections, said on Saturday there would be no presidential second round unless the opposition movement disarmed, allowed the central government to take control of Unita-held areas and returned its generals to the national army. — Sapa-Reuter

MPLA gets tough over election result

LUANDA — Angola's ruling MPLA party says it will not face a second electoral round for the presidency unless its former civil war foe Unita pledges to honour peace accords signed last year.

And shooting was reported in two Angolan cities on Saturday after final election results gave President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's ruling party a victory but showed he and ex-rebel leader Jonas Savimbi must meet in a presidential runoff.

Hours after the results were announced, unita soldiers fired on Dos Santos's supporters in downtown Luanda, killing at least two people, police said.

Unita officials said their men were fired on first by celebrating MPLA supporters. Other casualties were reported, but details were not immediately available.

Luanda police commander Gaspar da Silva, speaking on national television, said the situation was "relatively calm".

But police reported some movement of Unita soldiers near the capital.

State news agency Angop also reported fighting between police and Unita members in Huambo, the central highland city 510km southeast of Luanda that Savimbi has turned into a stronghold since he left the capital days after the elections.

Huambo vice-governor Agostinho Jaka described the situation as "very serious" and not fully under government control.

Angolan national television reported that Unita had taken several police officers hostage in a shootout in Huambo and blockaded government buildings and main thoroughfares.

UN officials in Luanda said they had reports of violence in Huambo, but declined to give details. Later, Angolan media reported that UN envoys had met Unita leaders in an attempt to calm the situation.

The MPLA, getting tough after official results of the September 29-30 vote issued

showed it the clear winner of the legislative poll and ahead in the presidency, said the figures indicated the legitimacy of its 17-year rule.

"This was a total victory for the MPLA," said party Secretary General Marcolino Moco, as supporters poured precious champagne and danced in pick-up trucks racing through Luanda.

Unita had repeatedly delayed issuing the votes with unsubstantiated charges of fraud.

But the patience of MPLA leaders seemed to have snapped.

"The second round can only take place if certain conditions under the Bicesse (May 1991 peace) accords are observed," MPLA Information Director Joao Lourenco told a news conference on Saturday night.

These included demilitarising Unita, accepting that central government take control of Unita-held areas and returning to the new national army Unita generals who left in protest at the vote.

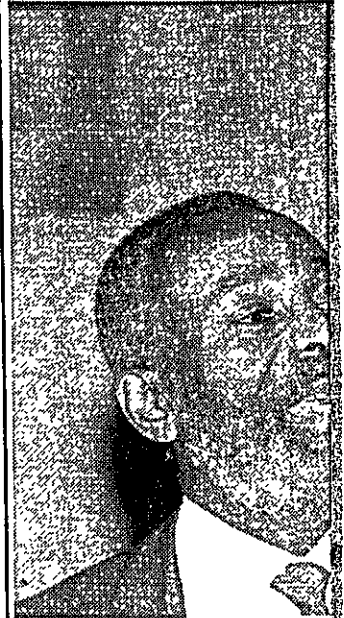
Dos Santos and Savimbi are due to meet today for a summit arranged by mediators from SA.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha's press secretary Awie Marais said Botha was seriously considering returning to Luanda for the meeting after both leaders had requested his presence.

However, an OAU team has put off a visit to Angola where it was supposed to help persuade Savimbi to work with the government.

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said on Saturday night that the decision to postpone the mission's visit had been taken after consultations with the Angolan government.

The UN, which has been overseeing the peace accords and transition to democracy, gave its blessing to the results and said there was no foundation to Savimbi's claims of fraud and irregularities. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.



Head of the Commonwealth m Gildenhuys at Jan Smuts Airpo

Top observer group arrives

GAVIN DU VENAGE

A GROUP of 18 Commonwealth observers, led by former Ghanaian Supreme Court judge A Amisshah, arrived in SA yesterday to monitor the violence situation.

The group was met at Jan Smuts airport by national peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys and Deputy Justice and National Intelligence Service Minister Danie Schutte.

The group consists of members from legal, diplomatic, political and security backgrounds, among them the director of the Australian Institute of Criminology and a former commissioner of the Canadian Mounted Police.

Amisshah said the group would assist the secretariat in monitoring violence, and would make its expertise available to the secretariat.

The group expected to stay for three months, and would meet various political leaders, and visit violence-hit areas.

However any findings the group made would not be made public but conveyed directly to the secretariat, said Amisshah.

He said if at the end of the day they had made a contribution to ending the violence, they would be very happy.

TML looking at move from CBD

TIMES Media Limited had not yet decided whether to leave the Johannesburg CBD and was looking at sites west of its existing premises in Diagonal Street, MD David Kovarsky confirmed at the weekend.

"We are looking at sites both in Rosebank and to the west of our existing operation. We were considering the 158 Jan Smuts Avenue building in Rosebank but decided against this," he said.

The group was examining the possibility of the Galleria site in Cradock Avenue, which "looks quite attractive", particularly regarding parking and access to shops, he said. If it remained in the CBD the building would have to offer complete security and on-site parking for all staff.

"While a number of possibilities are

PETER GALLI

being examined, management is aware that staff will still be subject to the crime problem outside the building," he said.

While the group's lease expired only in four years time, a decision on the move would probably be made in the next three months, Kovarsky said.

There is continued market speculation that the Argus Group is considering moving. CE Doug Band said yesterday no specific plans were under discussion but if it were offered a good price for its building, a move would be considered.

An informed source said yesterday the newspaper group was seriously looking at sites in Crown Mines, but Band said this was "a remote possibility".

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WORLD III

Angola poll fair - UN

LUANDA - The United Nations declared Angola's first multi-party elections "generally free and fair".

Margaret Anstee, special representative in Angola of UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali, said there was no evidence of major fraud in the September 29-30 vote, as claimed by Unita.

Shooting as MPLA celebrates victory

Southern 19/10/92

■ But run-off will decide who's Angola's president:

LUANDA - Shooting was reported in two Angolan cities after final election results gave President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' ruling party a victory but he and ex-rebel leader Jonas Savimbi must meet in a presidential run-off.

Hours after the results were announced on Saturday, soldiers from Savimbi's Unita fired on Dos Santos' supporters in downtown Luanda, killing at least two people, police said.

Unita officials said their men were fired on first by backers of the ruling MPLA who were celebrating the party's parliamentary victory in the September 29-30 elections.

Luanda police commander Gaspar da Silva, speaking on national television, said the situation was "relatively calm".

Despite his assurances to the contrary, many Angolans fear Savimbi will carry out earlier threats to provoke a new outbreak of the 16-year civil war in which 350 000 people died.

The final results of Angola's first multiparty elections showed Dos

Santos, a Marxist-turned-reformer, won 49,57 percent of the vote. He needed more than 50 percent to avoid a run-off with Savimbi who tallied 40,07 percent in the presidential poll.

In the parliamentary election, the MPLA won 53,74 percent, enough to gain a majority in the 220-seat legislature. Unita had 34,1 percent.

Savimbi agreed on Thursday to the run-off but repeated accusations that the government had rigged the elections.

The United Nations contradicted those claims on Saturday declaring the elections "generally free and fair".

"There was no evidence of major, systematic or widespread fraud, or that the irregularities were of a magnitude to have a significant effect on the results," said Margaret Anstee, the British head of the UN team monitoring the vote.

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has been in Angola since last Monday trying to persuade Savimbi to accept the election results.

World

HoR 'aided drummies'

By BARRY STREEK,
Political Staff

THE House of Representatives, while under the control of the Labour Party, donated R100 000 to help a group of drum majorettes take part in a competition abroad, but it did not have the authority to do so, a House committee said yesterday.

It also said the financial situa-

tion in the House of Representatives administration was still deteriorating.

The House of Representatives Committee on Public Accounts said it had considered evidence on "the deficient internal control, errors, poor financial record-keeping, non-compliance with instructions and incomplete Treasury replies to its

resolutions"

The committee said it was "unable to deal with the problems" and effective corrective steps in the administration's financial controls should be given the highest priority, an independent monitoring commission should be instituted and there should be regular reporting to the Ministers' Council

HoD 'shortco

THE House of Delegates Committee on Public Accounts has expressed concern at "deficiencies and shortcomings" in the HoD administration's internal checking and controls.

In particular its report tabled in Parliament yesterday refers to problems with control "over leave, official quarters and subsidised and government motor transport".

It recommends that the administration's accounting officer give "special

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Webster: 3 'told to say nothing'

JOHANNESBURG. — A top Special Branch officer visited CCB members in jail and warned them "to keep their mouths shut", the inquest into the murder of Dr David Webster heard yesterday.

The second-in-command of the CID, at the time, General Jaap Joubert, said Civil Co-operation Bureau operatives Mr Ferdie Barnard, Mr Abraham "Slang" van Zyl and Mr Calla Botha had been visited by the then second-in-command of the Special Branch, General Krappies Engelbrecht, and warned not to talk.

General Joubert said he had asked the head of the SADF Special Services, General Eddie Webb, if there was a CCB "project" on Dr Webster. He denied it. The denial seemed to be a blanket one covering the May 1, 1989 shooting of Dr Webster, he said.

The inquest heard conflicting reports about Mr Barnard's alleged involvement in the assassination. General Joubert said he believed Mr Barnard did not take part in the murder.

During his investigation into Dr Webster's murder, Mr Barnard had told him he believed he was going to be framed. He did not say who Mr Barnard thought was trying to frame him.

Mr Barnard was later freed to enable him to testify at the Harms Commission into politically motivated murders.

However, a lawyer who had represented the Webster family at the Harms Commission, Mr Martin Luitingh, testified that his cousin, former CCB operative Mr Lafras Luitingh, had told him Mr Barnard had admitted murdering Dr Webster.

Mr Barnard had told Mr Lafras Luitingh he had acted without the knowledge of his CCB bosses.

Mr Lafras Luitingh had met Mr Barnard to terminate his services with the CCB.

Mr Martin Luitingh said he believed Mr Barnard worked for the CCB on a freelance basis and that his cousin was his contact.

"Mr Barnard was not liked by (CCB chief) Joe Verster or the CCB, apparently because he talked a lot about what he did," Mr Luitingh said — Own Correspondent, Sapa



AMNESTY PROTEST . . . Western Province Council of Churches theological officer Mr Shun Govender hands ANC MP Mr Jannie Mornberg a statement condemning the amnesty bill after a march to Parliament yesterday.

Picture: STEWART COLEMAN

Savimbi fails to turn up for crucial meeting

LUANDA — Peace in Angola was balanced on a knife edge yesterday as Unita soldiers captured "several" government riot police with sniper rifles in the vicinity of the airport where Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was due to land.

South African foreign affairs spokesman in Luanda Mr Gary Scallan said Unita was claiming this was a direct indication that an attempt on Dr Savimbi's life was being planned.

By late afternoon, he said, the indications were that Dr Savimbi would not fly from his headquarters in Huambo to attend the crucial meeting with Angolan Presi-

11 000 flee Cabinda fighting

BRAZZAVILLE. — Eleven thousand people have fled conflict and military repression in Angola's Cabinda enclave and recently arrived in Congo, sources close to Congolese relief agencies said yesterday.

Four thousand of the refugees were yesterday in Congo's oil capital, Point Noire, where their needs were being assessed, the sources said.

The refugees fled Cabinda because soldiers beat them when they boycotted the recent elections, they said. — Sapa-AFP

Affairs Mr Hank Cohen waiting for hours in the airport.

Mr Scallan said that should Dr Savimbi renege on his agreement to meet Mr Dos Santos, Mr Botha and Mr Cohen would re-evaluate their positions as mediators.

Dr Savimbi is insisting that he and Mr Dos Santos should meet at Luanda airport, but Mr Dos Santos has refused, Angolan sources close to the negotiations said yesterday.

Dr Savimbi and Mr Dos Santos were expected to discuss sharing power in a future government of national unity and arrangements for holding a run-off in the presidential poll. Sapa-AFP



Angolan peace precarious

PEACE in Angola was balanced on a knife edge last night as Unita soldiers captured several armed government riot policemen in the vicinity of Luanda airport, where Unita leader Jonas Savimbi was due to land for a crucial meeting with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. (5)

Late last night indications were that Savimbi had postponed his trip to the capital from his headquarters in Huambo.

SA Foreign Affairs spokesman in Luanda Gary Scallan said Unita was claiming that the presence of police at the airport with "assassination weapons" was a direct indication that an attempt on Savimbi's life was being planned.

Unita paraded the captured men at a media conference in Luanda.

SA Foreign Minister Pk Botha and US Assistant Secretary of State for African

BILLY PADDOCK

Affairs Hank Cohen were left waiting in vain at the airport for the planned peace talks. Scallan said Botha had tried to contact Savimbi without success. However, he and Cohen were continuing their mediation efforts. BIDAM 20/11/92.

He said that should Savimbi renege on his agreement to meet Dos Santos, Botha and Cohen would re-evaluate their position. SA and the US have been involved in a joint strategy with the UN to keep the peace process on track and avert a return to civil war in the wake of the disputed national election results.

Late last night Botha and Cohen were holding discussions with ambassadors as well as with Dos Santos. It is possible Botha will visit Savimbi in Huambo on his way back to SA today.

Savimbi changes tune

■ Now Unita leader wants to meet Dos Santos at airport

5
Soviet 20/10/92

LUANDA - Dr Jonas Savimbi, who was due in Luanda yesterday for crucial talks with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, is insisting they should meet at Luanda Airport.

Savimbi made his last-minute demand to Angolan armed forces chief of staff Mr Franca Ndalu, who had flown to Huambo in southern Angola to fetch the former rebel leader for the talks.

The meeting was scheduled to take place at the Futongo presidential palace, some 3km from the airport, but Savimbi suddenly announced he was not willing to go there.

Diplomatic efforts were under way to resolve the deadlock but there was no sign late yesterday of the Unita leader. - Sapa-AFP.

Pik battles to stop slide into civil war

BIDAM 21/10/92 (S)

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha remains the key figure in trying to avert Angola's slide back into civil war, as he continues his hectic mediation between Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Yesterday Botha travelled to Savimbi's stronghold in Huambo to discuss the Unita leader's failure to attend Monday's planned meeting with Dos Santos. The leaders were to have discussed the disputed national election results.

The Angolan government had asked Botha to stay on in Angola as principal mediator and to broker another meeting of the president and Savimbi, Foreign Affairs spokesman in Luanda Gary Scallan said yesterday.

He said Botha had meetings with representatives from Portugal, Russia and the UN, as well as US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Herman Cohen, about Savimbi's non-appearance on Monday and would convey to the former rebel leader their collective disquiet.

Last night Botha returned to Luanda for further discussions with Dos Santos in the

BILLY PADDOCK

hope that the peace initiative would be salvaged.

Scallan said Botha would also convey to Savimbi and Dos Santos that the world would "on no condition whatsoever support any side that resorted to violence".

Meanwhile, a Western diplomat in Luanda said unease expressed at yesterday's multinational meeting was because of allegations and information that Unita was in the process of building up its forces in tactical and strategic areas that had been closed to them before the election.

There was great concern that because Unita was believed to be militarily superior, Savimbi would not yield to Botha's efforts and might resume fighting.

He said the Angolan government had called on Botha to assist because of his longstanding relationship with Savimbi and the threat of a Unita military build-up.

Botha was prepared to stay in Angola for a longer period, but had other commitments in Botswana at the weekend and had to return to SA soon.

Pik optimistic on Angolan summit

5 CT 21/10/92

HUAMBO, Angola. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha held urgent talks with Angola's former rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi here yesterday and said afterwards he was optimistic that renewed civil war could be averted.

"He assured us of his complete commitment to the democratic process," Mr Botha told reporters after meeting Dr Savimbi with three other international mediators.

Mr Botha flew with US Assistant Secretary of State Mr Herman Cohen, Russian Africa expert Mr Grigory Karasin, and Portuguese Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Jose Manuel Durao Barroso to Dr Savimbi's headquarters here to mediate between him and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Mr Botha said he was encouraged by the meeting and found it promising that Dr Savimbi and President Dos Santos had agreed to set up a commission to pave the way for a summit between them.

He said he expected the summit to take place within a week at the most.

Dr Savimbi, crying fraud in parliamentary and presidential elections last month, failed to attend a scheduled meeting with President Dos Santos on Monday to try to find ways of avoiding a resumption of the country's 16-year civil war.

Renamo seizes third town

MAPUTO. — Mozambique's Renamo rebels have seized a third town in the north of the country after killing 40 government soldiers in a previous clash, it was reported yesterday.

Governor Alfredo Gamito of Nampula province was quoted as saying Renamo had occupied the coastal town of Memba on Monday.

He said the rebels killed 40 soldiers in the battle for Angoche, another coastal town in Nampula, on Sunday. Renamo captured the

town of Maganja da Costa in neighbouring Zambezia province on Saturday.

The attacks have jeopardised the peace agreement which Renamo leader Mr Afonso Dhlakama signed with President Joaquim Chissano in Rome on October 4.

A ceasefire was supposed to have formally taken effect last Thursday and UN military observers are in Mozambique.

Land-grabbing by either side is barred by the agreement, which

is supposed to lead to multi-party elections in one year.

● It has been reported from Harare that an estimated 5 000 Zimbabwean troops will begin withdrawing from Mozambique today under the ceasefire accord, Zimbabwe officials said yesterday.

The Zimbabwean troops were deployed in the neighbouring country more than a decade ago to fight against Renamo rebels and guard trade routes. — Sapa-Reuter

Mr Botha said Dr Savimbi was ready to consider a government of national unity and had not ruled out a second round of presidential elections.

President Dos Santos beat Dr Savimbi in the first round presidential vote, but failed to gain the majority needed to avoid a second round.

There was a heavy Unita presence here during the meeting.

Mr Botha and the other mediators were due to return to Luanda late yesterday.

In Luanda earlier, President Dos Santos accused Unita forces of occupying several areas of the country and escalating tension, but urged them to avoid a return to outright war.

"The climate is one of tension and all efforts must be channelled into avoiding

war in Angola," he told the US, Russian and Portuguese representatives.

"Unita is continuing to occupy several regions of the country and this situation is worrying, although, as you can see, there has been no retaliation by ourselves," he added.

The MPLA has said it will not accept a second presidential vote unless Unita pledges to honour the peace accords and disarm.

It was reported yesterday that Unita forces had killed two provincial electoral officers on Sunday in the northern province of Malanje, where it said there were large Unita troop movements.

It was also reported that four policemen were killed in an explosion at Cuito airport in central Bie province on Saturday.

ampaign by South African

Pik on final peace drive for Angola

■ **NEW DEMAND** Unita leader comes
up with venue change leaving the peace
process in jeopardy: (5)

**Sowetan Africa
News Service**

2/11/92

LUANDA - South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday made what he hoped would be the last journey in his marathon Angolan peace shuttle - a flight from Luanda to Huambo to persuade Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to meet President Eduardo dos Santos to settle their differences.

The two Angolan leaders were to have met in Luanda on Monday but Savimbi failed to turn up, leaving the peace process again in jeopardy and Dos Santos, Botha and several other foreign mediators waiting for several hours. Savimbi had cancelled another scheduled meeting last Friday.

Yesterday Botha flew to Huambo, the city in central Angola to which Savimbi retreated after claiming that

the election won by the ruling MPLA was fraudulent.

After meeting Savimbi in Huambo yesterday Botha planned to fly back to Luanda and report to Dos Santos, then fly back to South Africa.

It is understood, though not yet confirmed, that Botha was accompanied on the flight to Huambo by fellow-mediators Mr Herman Cohen, United States Secretary of State for Africa, Russian Africa expert Mr Grigory Karassin and Portuguese Deputy Foreign Minister Jose Manuel Durao Barroso.

Botha said there was "no basic unwillingness" on the part of the two Angolan leaders to meet.

He said better planning was probably needed to avoid suspicions about security issues - an apparent reference to Unita's claim to have uncovered evidence of a plot to assassinate Savimbi should he return to Luanda.

Sowetan 2/11/92

Seedy business characters flock to Angola in crisis

8/10/92 22/10/92

LUANDA — What brings foreign businessmen to a steamy African capital with gunmen on the loose and civil war looming?

"As soon as I heard there were elections, I thought, hey, there's business there. When there are shortages and instability the returns are 100% more," one said.

The West African trader who had just landed several dozen containers of food and clothing at Luanda may not be everyone's idea of a business partner.

Neither is Luanda a reputable business destination.

Angola's political crisis sparked by last month's disputed elections may have scared foreign investors. But smugglers, speculators and fortune-hunters are thriving on the uncertainty and fear.

As UN observers and generals rush through the lobbies of Luanda hotels for talks to avert war, men with flashy gold jewellery cluster in corners cutting deals.

Diamonds, drugs and ivory are the stuff of their trade.

"This is even better than the Zaire riots," said a man of Middle Eastern origin. "Wherever there's trouble there's a buck to be made." His associates in "import-export" nodded their heads.

Angola at the best of times is a violent place where rules are bent at the whiff of a

bribe. Luanda port at night echoes with gunshots as robbers try to break through security to get to cargoes.

The port is seeing increasing activity in drug traffic between the Americas and Europe, diplomats said.

Freedom of movement since a 16-year civil war between Unita and the MPLA ended, in May 1991, spurred illicit digging and selling of diamonds, robbing the treasury of millions of dollars in revenue.

But for a businessman who wants to do honest trade, Angola can be a nightmare due to the bulky state bureaucracy, corruption and political uncertainty.

"Thieves looted our shipments of pens and uniforms," said one hotel manager. "You cannot imagine how difficult it is to do business here."

One man who had shipped in soft drinks, tennis shoes and batteries just before the elections was selling his goods at the ship and couldn't wait to get out.

Hopes had been high that the war-shattered economy would recover following the September 29-30 multiparty elections.

Businessmen have been flocking to Angola since a May 1991 peace pact, but many potential investors have been holding back. Now there is little chance they will get involved. — Sapa-Reuter.

Pik moots SA summit for Angola

⑤ CT 22/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has proposed that Angolan president Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi meet in South Africa to find a solution to their country's political crisis.

Mr Botha returned to South Africa yesterday after reporting to Mr Dos Santos on his talks with Dr Savimbi in Huambo.

Dr Savimbi gave the assurance that he was committed to finding a peaceful solution to Angola's problems and that he was prepared to meet Mr Dos Santos, said Mr Botha.

The UN Security Council this week appealed to Angolans to honour last month's elections and demobilise troops into a unified national army.

In a statement read by council president Mr Jean-Bernard Merimee, the 15-member body aimed its comments mainly at Dr Savimbi, although it refrained from mentioning him by name.

Dr Savimbi, head of Unita, has disputed results of the UN-supervised September 29-30 elections and withdrew to the central city of Huambo, where his troops have gained virtual control as well as in two other provinces.

● Leading Angolan poet and scientist Mr Fernando Marcelino was shot dead by unknown assailants in Huambo, police said yesterday.

Mr Marcelino's death has increased tension in the city which has been the scene of recent violence between police and armed supporters of the former rebel group Unita.

He campaigned for the ruling MPLA party. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

Friday, October 22 1992

Angola teeters on edge of civil war

8/0 PM 22/10/92

LUANDA — Preparations by two joint Unita/MPLA commissions yesterday in Luanda, to resolve disputes over political and military affairs and so enable a summit between their respective leaders, came amid warnings by diplomats that Unita could attempt to stage a coup.

Unita forces were being deployed throughout the country, with the ruling MPLA reported to be in control only of Luanda.

Unita troops were also barricading streets in the capital city. Angolan state media reported at least 20 people dead in sporadic violence over the past 10 days.

Radio Luanda reported from the southern Benguela province that Unita troops had attacked MPLA installations in Ganda and that senior MPLA officers had fled the town.

Police said yesterday that leading Angolan poet and scientist Fernando Marcelino was shot dead by unknown assailants in Huambo.

Marcelino's wife and sister were also killed in the attack on Tuesday night. Family friend Zaida Daskalos, one of the country's best known writers of children's books, was seriously wounded.

Marcelino's death has increased

tension in the city which has been the scene of recent violence between police and Unita's armed supporters. He campaigned for the MPLA, which won Angola's first multiparty elections last month.

Unita has accused the government of rigging the vote, and has threatened to renew fighting in Angola's 16-year civil war.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has stayed in his Huambo stronghold since leaving the capital, Luanda, after the election.

Portuguese-born Marcelino wrote in both Portuguese and Umbundo, the main language of Angola's central highlands.

He was also director of Huambo Agricultural Institute and was known for his work on improving cereal yields in the region, which was hit by famine during the civil war.

Unita officials and the MPLA were expected to meet in Luanda yesterday to fix an agenda for a peace summit between Savimbi and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

But although Luanda was quiet yesterday, diplomats warned there remained a real risk of a new outbreak of the civil war.

"This is all on a hair-trigger, anything could spark it," a US official remarked. — Sapa-AP.



Unita leader Jonas Savimbi talks to newsmen on Tuesday in his highland stronghold of Huambo, after meeting international observers seeking to avert a new outbreak of war after Angola's recent multiparty elections. Picture: AP

Hostel resident describes grisly attack

VEREENIGING — A Kwamadaala Hostel resident told the Goldstone commission yesterday how he and a heavily armed group of about 250 other hostel residents cut a path of havoc and destruction in Boipatong on the night of June 17 when more than 40 people were killed.

The resident, identified only as "Mr C", is in protective custody under the Criminal Procedure Act. He was released from the attorney-general's office to attend yesterday's hearing.

Mr C admitted to seeing a man from another group emerging from a house holding a "blooded knife" which he realised must have been used to kill someone. — Sapa. 8/0 PM 22/10/92

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Tough line by Angolan govt

LUANDA. — Angola's ruling party has gone on the political offensive against Unita, calling on the just-elected parliament to meet and disarm the former rebel group.

The MPLA politburo made the call on Wednesday night in a statement that tempered its new tough stance with acceptance of the need for a second-round presidential ballot.

Coming out swinging after three weeks of attempts at dialogue with Unita, the MPLA leadership said the new parliament should be convened and a government formed in line with the election results.

However, Unita said yesterday that the Angolan government had confused demonstrations with troop movements and denied allegations it was deploying soldiers to take control over several provinces.

"When there is a popular demonstration they say it is troops . . . it is not true,"

⑤ CT 23/10/92
said General Arlindo Chenda "Ben Ben", before senior officials of Unita and the MPLA met to try to prevent the country's sliding back into civil war.

The government daily, Jornal de Angola, said Unita forces had seized almost all the towns in the central Bie province, killing two MPLA officials. Police in Luanda said Unita had moved about 7 000 troops to the northern province of Bengo.

Meanwhile, Unita's Vorgen radio station claimed yesterday morning that UN observer Ms Magareth Anstee had been "bought with mercury and diamonds" by the MPLA to announce its victory.

Earlier this week, Unita publicly accused Ms Anstee of lying when she announced that the UN observers judged the elections to have been free and fair.

Dr Jonas Savimbi, Unita's presidential candidate, has retreated to his stronghold in the central highlands. — Sapa-Reuter

MPLA goes on the political offensive

Blom 23/10/92

LUANDA — Angola's ruling party has gone on the political offensive against Unita, calling on the recently elected parliament to meet and disarm the former rebel group.

The MPLA politburo made the call on Wednesday night, but watered down its new stance with acceptance of the need for a second-round presidential ballot.

Coming out swinging after three weeks of attempts at dialogue with Unita, the MPLA leadership said the new parliament should be convened and a government formed in line with the election results.

Rejection of the results by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi threw the country into crisis, with fears of renewed civil war.

The MPLA politburo said: "Given the present political crisis created by Unita's refusal to accept the people's will as expressed through the ballot box ... (we) recommend the setting up and the inauguration of a new government executive, the national assembly and other democratic institutions."

The MPLA said President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' government should "take energetic measures to close down Unita's war machine and provide the population with the necessary security for its participation in the process of national reconstruction".

However, Unita said yesterday the gov-

ernment had confused demonstrations with troop movements and denied allegations it was deploying soldiers to take control of several provinces.

"When there is a popular demonstration they say it is troops. It is not true," said Gen Arlindo Chenda, "Ben Ben", before a meeting of senior Unita and MPLA officials to try to prevent the country sliding back into civil war.

The government daily Jornal de Angola said Unita forces had seized almost all the towns in the central Bie province, killing two MPLA officials. Police in Luanda said Unita had moved around 7 000 troops to the northern province of Bengo.

Meanwhile Unita's Vorgen radio station claimed yesterday morning that UN observer Magareth Anstee had been "bought with mercury and diamonds" by the MPLA to announce the MPLA victory.

Earlier this week, Unita publicly accused Anstee of lying when she announced that the UN observers judged the elections to be free and fair.

More than 20 people have been killed in clashes between government and Unita forces since Savimbi cried fraud and retreated to his stronghold in the central highlands when preliminary results showed him to be trailing.

Savimbi has twice failed to appear in Luanda for peace talks. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Angolan writer slain

■ Clashes over the last two weeks have claimed 20 lives:

LUANDA - The ruling MPLA blamed the opposition Unita movement for the murder of an Angolan writer and two of his family members and warned that "terrorist" acts were putting the country's stability at risk.

No one claimed responsibility for the deaths of Fernando Marcelino, a writer, agronomist and MPLA supporter, and his wife and sister, who were ambushed by gunmen in their car on Tuesday night in Huambo.

State television and party officials on Wednesday night pointed the finger at Unita and called for calm.

"The MPLA notes with preoccupation acts of terrorism threatening the country," an MPLA statement said. (5)

Fears of renewed civil war have been rife since Unita leader Jonas Savimbi charged that last month's multiparty elections were rigged. *Sowetan 23/10/92*

At least 20 people have died in blasts and clashes over the past two weeks across the country and uniformed Unita troops control areas in the central Bie, Moxico and Huambo provinces and have blocked off some streets in the capital Luanda. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Enter Pik, the father of all peacemakers

W/Mar 23/10 - 27/10/92

(5) ~~_____~~

PERHAPS he was tired. Maybe it was a case of being too self-assured. But when a huffy Pik Botha shuttled back into Jan Smuts airport from his peace mission to Angola last week, he let slip one of the secrets of his government's scheme for the region. "They see us as their father," was the way he described the reception he had received at Unita's headquarters in Huambo.

The truth is that Pik's government is a father. It has given birth to a set of surrogates called Jonas Savimbi, Afonso Dhlakama and Mangosuthu Buthelezi. And the foreign minister's lapse provides a useful glimpse into the way Pretoria will rely on its triplets to carry out its will in Angola, Mozambique ... and South Africa.

The outcome of Pik's latest diplomatic foray into Angola has profound implications for the entire subcontinent. It exemplifies how effectively Pretoria's new style of paternalism will be able to mould the political processes under way in all three countries of southern Africa.

This is how the new paternalism worked in Angola. First Pik's government boosts Savimbi, through overt and covert military aid, into a position of artificial power. Then multi-party elections take place and the loser sulks back into the bush where he threatens to do what he has been best prepared for — war.

Re-enter Pik, this time as the father of all peacemakers, who raps the recalcitrant child over the knuckles. Savimbi sullenly agrees not to fight but only in return for a deal that gives him more power than is his democratic due.

"It is no doubt true that the Americans have lost all leverage over Savimbi and that Pik Botha is in the best position to push Unita into keeping the ceasefire," says Rob Davies from the Centre for Southern African Studies in Cape Town.

"But it is also clear that Botha is using his influence to push for concessions that will give Unita more power in a government of national

Pik Botha's shuttle diplomacy in Angola is a telling indication of the government's influence on political processes in southern Africa, argues

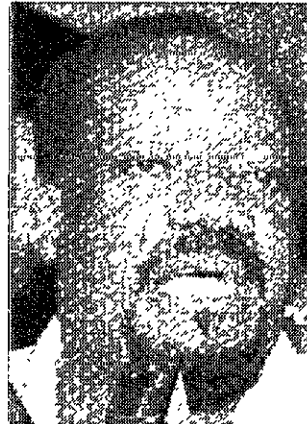
EDDIE KOCH

unity than it deserves in terms of the electoral results."

When Savimbi assumes his high office in Angola's government of national unity he will, no doubt, use the same tactics when things do not go the way of Unita or its backers. Let's say, for example, that the new government tries to provide extra assistance to Umkhonto we Sizwe. The Unita leader's response will be well-rehearsed: "Do that and the war will resume".

There are four aspects to this pattern of events that have already had, and will continue to have, parallels in Mozambique and South Africa:

- Conventional wisdom that Pik's new diplomacy is a break from his government's old support for low intensity warfare in the region is wrong. The two strategies work in tandem. The only reason Botha can now act the father of peace is because his government once played the role of warlord. The new diplomacy is reliant on the old militarism.
- Multiparty elections will not be the only mechanism for shaping the nature of future governments in these countries. Those who rule by the gun will make sure that they will retain power, no matter the outcome of such elections.
- The all-important lever that will be used to refashion the outcome of democratic elections in all three countries is the ability of Pretoria's



Jonas Savimbi

surrogates to exercise violence, or to threaten this, if they do not get their way.

● And Savimbi, Dhlakama as well as Buthelezi have been put in this position because they each received, and the evidence indicates that they continue to receive, substantial amounts of clandestine support from the Department of Military Intelligence in Pretoria.

There have already been many variants of the Angola scenario in South Africa.

First there was Pik Botha's intervention in the ANC's march on Ciskei that preceded the Bisho massacre. On that occasion homeland troops, led by seconded officers from the SADF, threatened to shoot the

marchers. Pik Botha flew in and brokered a solution to the impasse, a dress-rehearsal for his performance in Luanda.

Then there is Buthelezi's recent withdrawal from negotiations as well as his show of force during Inkatha's march through Johannesburg last week, an act almost directly inspired by the Jonas Savimbi drama in Angola.

The pattern in Mozambique has been much the same. Renamo leader

Afonso Dhlakama dragged out his agreement for a ceasefire. Botha offers to play a major peacemaking role. Renamo agrees to a ceasefire when they have squeezed as many concessions as possible from the government. If Dhlakama loses next year's elections, there will be no prizes for guessing correctly what he will do.

Old fashioned apartheid was designed to keep South Africa's white minority in power by keeping black leaders apart and weak. It used the language of divide-and-rule, confrontation, and ethnicity.

The new paternalism works in the opposite direction. It aims to bring black leaders together. It speaks of reconciliation, national unity and democratic elections. But it ensures that, no matter the outcome of the democratic process, that it's offspring remain strong enough to protect white interests.

There will be hiccups along the way. Each of the triplets will be slapped on the wrist when they step out of line. They will throw tantrums, sulk and threaten to rebel.

Savimbi has Botha hopping mad because he fails to turn up for a crucial meeting. Buthelezi brazenly tells the government he will not abide by a ban on carrying dangerous weapons in public. Dhlakama sporadically bemoans the fact that he does not get the same support that he got from Pretoria in the old days.

But that is the way with all adolescents. In the end the family usually remains intact.

Parents continue to provide their offspring with material support. The SADF still provides "humanitarian" aid to Renamo captives and this helps Dhlakama to keep up his war effort. SADF still flies regular sorties to Unita's strongholds at Huambo and Jamba, the contents of their consignments unknown.

And in return the children remain loyal. "There are leaders here and in Mozambique who belong to the same generic family as Savimbi," says Davies. "They will no doubt be influenced by the way things turn out there."

The most frightening thing about the metaphor, as any psychologist will tell, is that when a father uses violence to bolster his authority, his children tend to repeat this pattern of brutality.

Angola: Last-ditch peace talks

⑤ CT 24/10/92

LUANDA. — Representatives of the Angolan government and opposition leader Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday began further talks in a last-ditch bid to save the country from plunging back into civil war.

The joint commission meetings reopened after a powerful bomb blast completely wrecked a bank in central Luanda overnight, the second terrorist attack in the capital since Angola's first free elections were held late last month.

Nobody has claimed responsibility for the explosion, which left no casualties but also damaged the neighbouring offices of Brazil's Varig airline.

After Thursday's round of talks, Mr Abel Chivukuvuku, a Unita representative, announced that members of the political commission had agreed to "analyse the Angolan situation and study means of reducing tension".

He warned, however, that the peace pact signed at Bicesse in Por-



WRECKAGE . . . Angolan police sift through wreckage left by a bomb blast at a Luanda bank this week. A hotel in the city was also damaged in the blast. No injuries were reported.

Picture: AP

tugal in May last year, would have to be closely examined before Dr Savimbi could hold a crucial meeting with President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos.

A joint military commission has also been formed.

Dr Savimbi has been holed up with his top

brass in Huambo, his southern stronghold, since shortly after the elections, which Unita said were rigged, threatening to take up arms anew.

Mr Dos Santos won with just short of the absolute majority needed to avoid a second round of presidential polling, according to official re-

sults. Efforts by South Africa, Russia, the United States and Portugal to have Dr Savimbi meet him to discuss power-sharing have so far proved fruitless.

The United Nations is ready to organise a new round of elections, with many more than the 400 observers from the world body who moni-

tored the polls of September 29 and 30.

Sporadic clashes have claimed a score of lives in the past 10 days, and Unita has taken control of all towns in Bie province apart from its capital Kuito, and attacked installations of the formerly single ruling MPLA in Benguela province, according to press reports.

"The situation is very dangerous," a Western diplomat said yesterday. Public opinion was outraged by the murder early this week of writer Mr Fernando Marcelino, killed with his wife and sister in Huambo.

"It was a manhunt and that's very worrying," one political observer commented. Mr Marcelino, an MPLA supporter, directed the Huambo Agricultural Institute.

The Roman Catholic primate of Angola, Cardinal Alexandre de Nascimento, late on Thursday called on all political parties in a live television and radio homily "to save the peace, whatever it costs." — Sapa-AFP

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Previously Rhodesia

Warlike Savimbi risks losing followers, foreign backers

Soul 24/10/92 - 28/10/92

AFTER a convincing defeat in Angola's first-ever elections, Jonas Savimbi was last week fighting for his political life — and perhaps his personal freedom.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos was elected president with just over 50 percent of the vote, Savimbi captured 40 percent, Holden Robert two percent and the remaining eight percent was spread around eight other candidates.

Voting showed a regional distribution, Savimbi winning the

expected majorities in Benguela, Huambo and Bie provinces in the centre and Kuando Kubango (which contains Jamba) in the south east.

Voters believed in the secrecy of the ballot, as all areas showed significant numbers of votes for both main candidates.

Even before the two days of voting closed, international observers were calling the election free, fair, secret and remarkably well run.

Nevertheless, on Monday October 5, Unita denounced the elec-

conditions: If a recount was done based on the 5 500 polling station record sheets, if the computer was checked, if all unused ballot papers were accounted for, and if allegations of fraud were investigated.

None of these demands is unreasonable. Having lost the election and with little likelihood of doing better in a second round, Savimbi was trying to negotiate the best possible deal for himself.

But the election process may have split Unita. People were clearly voting for peace, and will be

unhappy with a return to fighting. The party's 100 new members of parliament would rather fight there than in the bush.

And Unita's thousands of poll watchers have experienced peaceful co-operation with the MPLA in an electoral process.

Unita's militants will also take comfort that the vote shows that in any local elections, Unita will dominate four provinces.

Savimbi may want to return to war, but party members and foreign backers may not agree.

This page was made possible by the support of the Matla Trust

The signing of the Angolan/Namibian peace accord in December 1988 was a watershed event for the warring countries of southern Africa.

According to former SA foreign affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, the agreement, which saw South Africa accepting independence for Namibia in return for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, would not have been possible without the intervention

of Dr Chester Crocker. Now, for the first time, Dr Crocker, the former US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa has told the inside story of the deals, trade-offs and clashes that went into the making of that epochal event. His book, *High Noon in Southern Africa: Making Peace in a Rough Neighbourhood*, will be published in the United States early next year. SIMON BARBER reports

FIDEL CASTRO, sensing that he was being sucked into his own Vietnam by the ineptitude of his Angolan and Soviet allies, faked victory over the SADF with the help of South African Defence chief General Jannie Geldenhuys to secure an honourable exit from Angola — even though it meant handing his mortal enemy, President Ronald Reagan, a major foreign policy coup.

The epic battle of Cuito Cuanavale — at which the apartheid war machine was supposed to have met its Waterloo — turns out to have been a legend: a romantic saga scripted by the Cuban leader as part of a forcefully executed strategy to end his African entanglement.

Geldenhuys polished the story by skilfully manoeuvring his forces to make the scared, settlement-averse Angolans believe — and let Castro claim — that several times the actual number of South African troops were engaged. This enhanced Pretoria's bargaining position, helped limit Luanda's options, and added to the all-important myth of Cuban heroics.

Pretoria's obsessive secrecy about the war also helped, though more fortuitously, for it enabled Castro's boasts of triumph to go largely unchallenged, thus preserving his honour.

This extraordinary set of ironies is unfolded for the first time by Dr Chester Crocker in his soon-to-be-published memoir of the marathon negotiations that led to the 1988 accords on Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal.

More than any other player, the former US Assistant Secretary of State reveals, it was Castro who vindicated "constructive engagement" and Crocker's much vilified decision to link a Namibian settlement to the departure of Cuban forces to create a bargaining framework from which all parties could emerge winners.

"We might still be at the table today were it not for the Cuban factor," Dr Crocker concludes bluntly.

AT the negotiations themselves it was Castro's chief representative, Carlos Aldana, who engineered the breakthrough at the Governor's Island talks in New York in July 1988 which poured the concrete for the final settlement.

Aldana stunned the South African delegation, headed by foreign affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, by calling for a statement of principles formally embodying linkage "to reflect the legitimate interests of all" and point the way to "peace without losers".

"No one could think of imposing Resolution 435 on South Africa," Aldana said, referring to the UN plan for Namibia.

While, for Cuba, nothing could be more honourable than leaving Angola "of our own free will and in the context of Resolution 435 so that a new nation is born."

"The room fell silent," Crocker writes, "and the air was electric as Van Heerden took the floor to thank 'the distinguished and honourable'

THE BIG LIE OF THE ANGOLAN WAR

S/Times
25/10/92

5

HOW GELDENHUYS

HELPED

leader of the Cuban team." The South African then put aside his own team's proposals and agreed to work on the basis of a Cuban-Angolan draft.

Castro — "the Beard" as his delegation called him — signalled his interest in the linkage concept as early as 1984 using a secret intermediary. But the opportunity was lost, in part because of fears that Reagan's linear-thinking cold warriors would never have stood for the Cuban's involvement.

Even though the negotiations subsequently faltered and Crocker became demonised at home as PW Botha's brutal folly stoked the sanctions drama, Castro did not give up.

In July 1987, shortly before Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos was to arrive in Havana to discuss the next steps, he again passed word to Washington that he was interested in joining the process. This time Crocker took the bait, quietly coaching Dos Santos that Cuban involvement might be a good idea.

Crocker is convinced that there was no back-channel pressure on Castro from the Soviet Union and its "new thinking" leader, Mikhail Gorbachev.

Indeed, contrary to the received wisdom, he asserts that the Soviets contributed little until the end-game in late 1988, when the final deal was all but done.

Castro had his own motives. The Angolan adventure, now in its eleventh year, was becoming unpopular at home. Soldiers were returning with AIDS. In relative terms, Cuba's intervention was on a scale of America's involvement in Vietnam at its height, and the prospects

of a decent outcome no less remote.

Angola's army, Fapla, was ineffectual, its government indecisive and increasingly not paying its bills for Cuba's support. The military advice Luanda was getting from Moscow was hopeless, and in any event Castro had reason for doubting Soviet sticking power. He had never forgotten how the Kremlin had unilaterally betrayed him in the 1962 missile crisis.

EVENTS in late 1987 bore out his worst fears. Against his advice, the Soviets generalised the largest offensive of the war against Unita's base at Jamba, a lumbering, tactically complex, conventional thrust that might have made sense for the Red Army in Europe but which was decisively smashed by Unita and the SADF at the Lomba River.

Crocker wryly notes that with this single campaign "the Soviet Union had become the largest external supplier of arms to Unita and South Africa".

Castro, who had allowed his own forces to play only a support role, was beside himself. Meeting Dos Santos and the Soviet leadership in Moscow in early November, he found the Angolans in a panic,

perhaps even ready to cut a deal with Unita.

The Russians themselves were "flaky", talking vaguely of "political solutions", but with "no effective strategy for dealing with the Angolan mess".

"This was Castro's magic moment," Crocker writes. On November 7 he worked out a plan with Dos Santos and then "informed" the Soviets.

His resolve was strengthened both by the aggressiveness with which the SADF and Unita were following up their success at the Lomba, and by the visit to Jamba in mid-November by State President PW Botha, Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Geldenhuys.

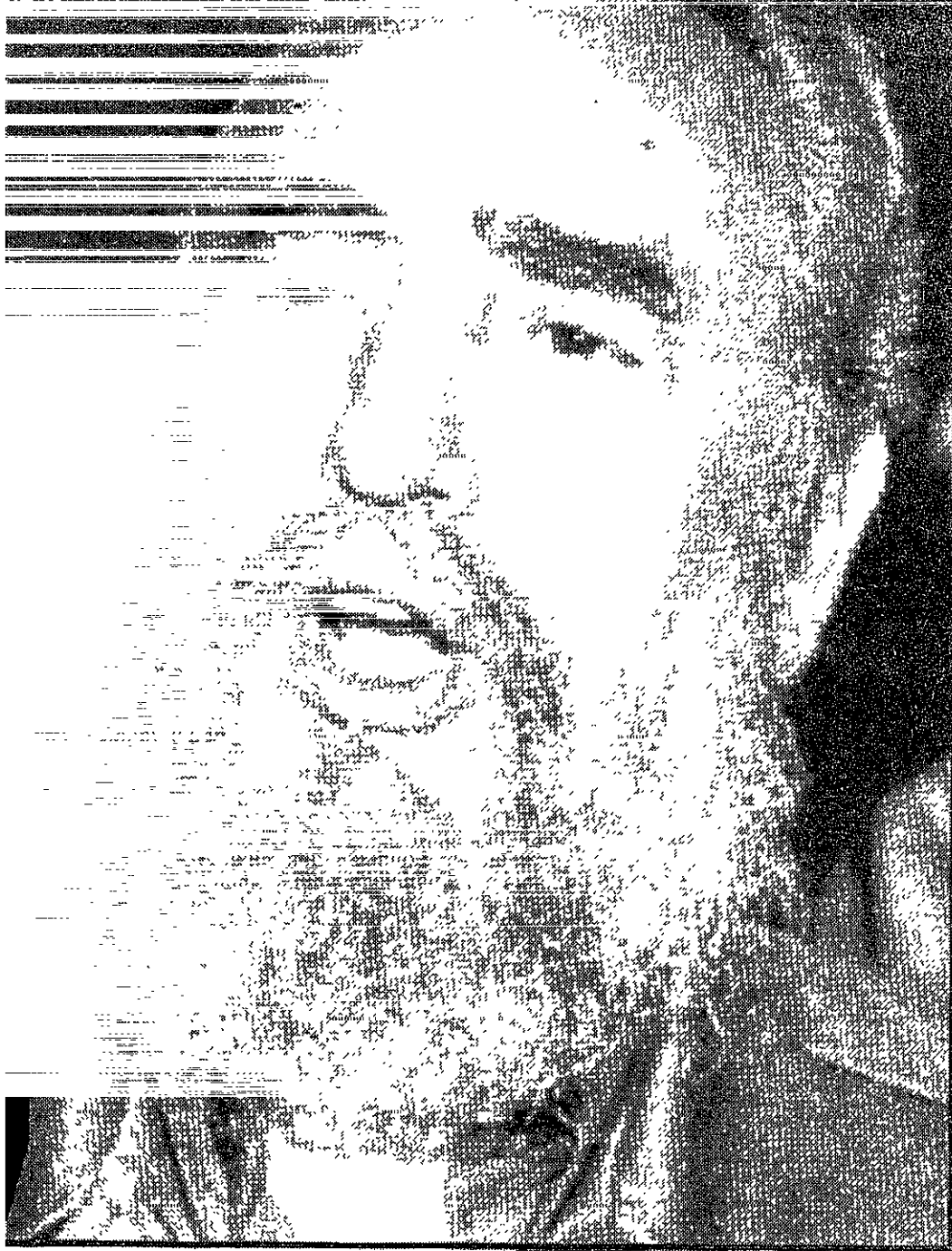
Castro could see the entire balance of forces changing and himself getting the blame for sitting on his hands. "They forced me to act," he would explain to Crocker 16 months later.

Over the next few months 15 000 fresh Cuban regulars were deployed to Angola, including elements of the vaunted 50th Division and other crack units and pilots. Though the Soviets eventually agreed to contribute, Cuba shipped over its own hardware. Castro's four best generals were sent to take command.

On the ground, Castro's first priority was to shore up



JANNIE GELDENHUYS ... enhanced Pretoria's bargaining position



THE BEARD . . . Fidel Castro, who was 'desperate to avoid being sucked into another Vietnam'

CASTRO FAKE VICTORY AT CUITO CUANAVALÉ

eastern front at Cuito Cuanavale, whose airport the SADF and Unita had already destroyed, and to which the survivors of Lomba were retreating.

Then, apparently at the suggestion of General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez, the popular war hero who would later be executed on drug and corruption charges, a dramatic flanking manoeuvre was launched to the west, into a vast and uncontested region of Cunene Province.

By late May 1988, 11 000 of South Africa's best troops, backed by the Air Force and several large SADF units, had established a 90km southern front running parallel to — and at least 100km from — the Namibian border.

The front was protected by the latest MiG-23s and helicopter gunships located at Namibia's upgraded airbases at Erongo and Xangongo, plus tanks, artillery, air-

defence radar and five different surface-to-air missile systems.

In short, Castro had put the cream of his military on the line in a piece of territory for which he was pretty certain he would not have to fight, to make his diplomacy — and the storyline that he was liberating Namibia — credible.

MEANWHILE, he went about creating the legend of Cuito Cuanavale. As Crocker puts it, "the boundless arrogance of PW Botha met its match when the Cuban megalomaniac grabbed the mike for show-and-tell".

After Lomba, the SADF and Unita concentrated on clearing out the region south and east of the Cuito River. Their intention was never to capture Cuito Cuanavale itself. The SADF did not want a permanent position hundreds of kilometres inside Angola,

especially one that Unita would not have been able to hold by itself.

When, in February and March, Cuban/Fapla defences stiffened, Pretoria decided a political "win" was no longer worth the potential loss of material and white soldiers. Instead, it decided to mine its existing line and hold it — with the help of the G-5 guns which the Cubans rashly admitted to Geldenhuys they found terrifying — against any renewed thrust towards Jamba.

This allowed Castro to show his "grasp of the political psychology of military action".

Knowing that he stood little chance of being contradicted, he would use his opponents' defensive posture to declare a stunning victory — even ordering medals to be struck for the engagement's heroes — while undermining public morale in secrecy-obsessed South Africa. And all without having to risk his

own forces on a renewed offensive.

Simultaneously with these battlefield theatrics, Castro was pressing ahead on the peace front, personally micromanaging his negotiators, first Jorge Risquet and then, when he failed to maintain the requisite pace, Aldana.

Geldenhuys, himself looking for a decent way out that could be sold to PW Botha, soon came to understand the game Castro was playing at Cuito, and decided to turn the SADF position into a bargaining chip.

By July he, too, was choreographing military moves to match the diplomacy, ordering his soldiers to simulate a larger presence, demonstrate staying power, but avoid confrontation.

It worked. Although the stand-off was prolonged and unpleasant for the troops on the ground, losses were modest, and the Angolans came to believe that the SADF had a deployment of up to 8 000 — more than five times the actual figure of around 1 500.

THIS made Castro look good and at the same time enhanced Pretoria's bargaining position.

Similar games were played on the southern front. While the rhythm of negotiations was being established from May onwards, both sides skilfully avoided major clashes.

However, after months of manoeuvring like "scorpions in a bottle", they did finally sting each other. On June 27, after a messy but ultimately fruitful negotiations round in Cairo, the SADF badly shot up a Cuban column near Tchippa. The Cubans responded by bombing South African troops at the Calueque-Ruacana hydropower complex, killing 11.

This proved to be the "psychological watershed". Geldenhuys concentrated his forces on building a "killing zone" along the northern Namibian border. The Cubans avoided further provocations.

Castro had now satisfied the requirements of honour and could concentrate on prodding his often recalcitrant and divided Angolan allies into agreeing to the specifics of a Cuban withdrawal timetable.

His determination to get a lasting settlement was revealed once more when, after the signing of the final accords the following December, Swapo nearly wrecked things by pushing forces over the Namibian border the night before the UN plan was due to go into effect.

Aldana was rushed to the scene with orders to get the toothpaste back into the tube and unrattle the South Africans.

After the emergency joint commission meeting at Mt Etjo, Crocker recalls, Foreign Minister Pik Botha looked "doe-eyed" at the Cuban emissary and said: "You know, Senor Aldana, I think I'm actually going to miss the Cubans when they leave southern Africa."

Unita (S) troops prepare for war

APR 25 1992

ANGOLAN government officials demanded on Friday that Unita halt troop movements as the two sides continued talks aimed at preventing a new outbreak of fighting in the 16-year civil war.

The factions met for the second consecutive day to finalise arrangements for a peace summit between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

But despite the negotiations there were more reports of preparations for war.

The State-run *Jornal de Angola* newspaper reported a build-up of 7 000 Unita troops in the Dembo region north and east of Luanda.

Savimbi declared last month's elections fraudulent.

The *Jornal de Angola* story said the Unita forces, some only 70 km from Luanda, appeared to be planning to cut roads to the northern cities.

At the Luanda talks, government officials demanded Unita troops return to UN-monitored assembly points. — Sapa-AP

INTERNATIONAL NEWS Government, Savimbi agree to

Deal in Angola

LUANDA - The Angolan government and Unita agreed at the weekend to halt troop movements which have set off recent fears of renewed fighting between the two sides.

Both sides agreed to disarm their troops and send them back to containment areas monitored by the United Nations, they said in a statement released after a second day of talks in Luanda on Saturday.

The statement, read by deputy foreign minister Venancio de Moura, said the two sides would work to return stability to the country which has been shaken by reports of war preparations in recent weeks.

Since Unita rejected the results of last month's multiparty elections and threatened to re-ignite the 16-year civil war against the ruling MPLA party and government, rumours and reports of Unita military activity have been constant.

Sowetan 26/10/92 (5)
WAR PREPARATIONS Both sides agree to work towards stability after years of war:
Sowetan 26/10/92

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi called the elections fraudulent, despite a UN declaration that they were "generally free and fair".

Moura said the two sides are to resume talks to consolidate the agreement and arrange a peace summit between Savimbi and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

New reports of Unita troop movements intensified war fears in Luanda earlier on Saturday.

The state-run newspaper *Jornal de Angola* said Unita forces had gained effective control of several towns in the central province of Bie and had surrounded Kuito, the capital.

The report said Unita had moved

heavy weapons up to within 70km of Kuito.

On Friday, state news media reported Unita had consolidated long-held positions in diamond-rich areas of north-eastern Lunda Norte province and had concentrated about 7 000 troops some 100km east of Luanda.

Geronimo Ngongo Marcolino, a Unita spokesman in Bie, told Portugal's *Lusa* news agency that government officials had been expelled from some towns in the province. But he blamed some of the group's "exhilarated supporters" rather than soldiers.

"We are hoping peace will continue to reign," *Lusa* quoted Marcolino as saying. - *Sapa-AP*.

MPLA, Unita to cut armies

⑤ ET 26/10/92

LISBON. — Generals from Angola's rival MPLA and Unita movements have agreed to demobilise thousands of troops who have not yet been integrated into a new unified army, Portuguese radio said yesterday.

Generals Alberto Neto of the MPLA and Arlindo Chenda "Ben Ben" of Unita agreed during bilateral talks to disarm their soldiers and ensure they went to demobilisation points, TSF radio said.

Angola's new army was formally created on September 27 but Unita, the former rebel movement, withdrew all its troops when it disputed the outcome of the country's general election.

The radio report said the two generals agreed that UN observers would monitor the demobilisation.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi cried fraud after losing the September 29-30 elections, plunging the country into uncertainty and awaking fears of a renewal of civil war.

Bipartisan commissions have been meeting in Luanda since Thursday to try to pave the way for a peace summit between Dr Savimbi and MPLA leader President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Power planned for Savimbi — ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday criticised Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's recent peace-brokering attempts in Angola as being without perspective.

"Hailed as a hero of the peace process, the question of South Africa's role in arming, training and assisting Unita in the war that has ravaged Angola is not even alluded to," the ANC said in a statement.

The ANC accused Mr Botha of trying to broker a deal that would give Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita real power in a multi-party government.

This would ignore the detail of the recent Angolan election results and give the "major players" an equal stake in government, the ANC said. — Sapa

Dr Savimbi has twice failed to show up for a planned meeting with Mr Dos Santos.

Government media said on Saturday that Unita troops were preparing to attack the provincial capital Cuito, in central Bie province.

The state-run newspaper Jornal de Angola said Unita forces had gained effective control of several towns in Bie and had surrounded Cuito.

The report said Unita had moved heavy weapons up to within 70 kilometres of Cuito.

South African diplomats and the MPLA say Unita already controls all the province except the capital. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

FEATURE Savimbi's inability to accept electoral defeat delays peace for war-weary Angolans

LUANDA - After coming agonisingly close, peace seems to be slipping away again from the long-suffering Angolans.

They may now be justified in asking whether it was just an illusion after all, whether the differences between the major parties are still too great to be reconciled and whether there will have to be more war before they are ready to compromise.

After nearly 30 years of warfare in which thousands of people died and much of the country laid to waste, a glimmer of hope shone last month when for the first time in their history Angolans could go to the polls to vote for their leaders.

Now that hope has dimmed. It is true that South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, on his return from Angola earlier last week, said he believed war had been averted and that he was encouraged by the goodwill of the two leaders and by their commitment to resolving the crisis peacefully.

But as mediator in the conflict he has no choice but to be optimistic. Other diplomats say they do not hold much hope for a resolution.

The two sides are manoeuvring for war even as desperate political initiatives are made to save the total collapse of the 1991 Bicesse peace accord.


When the first results of the elections became known, Savimbi, was unable to stomach losing to the formerly Marxist Jose Eduardo dos Santos after having

Angola backs at the crossroads again

Sources 27/10/92

■ Angola's torment may not be about to

end yet, says Hans-Peter Bakker of

Sowetan Africa News Servicé: 



Jonas Savimbi

where they secured election victories.

Alternatively they could agree to an interim government of unity, while preparing for a second round. Thirdly, if all negotiations failed, they could return to fighting.

Few believe that Savimbi will be happy with anything less than power parity with Dos Santos, while the MPLA president and his government want the

full fruits of victory. Furthermore MPLA supporters generally do not accept the failure of their leader to secure an overall majority.

Many in the MPLA and even outside observers are convinced that the presidential outcome was a political one. That the results were fiddled to appease Savimbi.

But no "arrangement" can be implemented unless the two armies are effectively combined and Unita has accepted the need to change to a political party.

The military option must look very attractive to Unita. For all the years of bitter civil war in which the rebel movement controlled several southern provinces it never managed to hold a provincial capital. Today Unita is well entrenched in two provincial capitals, Bie and Huambo, and in a good position to take over three more.

Unita is reported to be in control of all the access routes to the rich Luanda Norte diamond areas. Even in Luanda, Unita holds key positions which will ensure a particularly bloody outcome to further hostilities.

Should war break out again, Unita should have the upper hand and may take much of the country within weeks.

But even victory will not be sweet. After Dos Santos and the MPLA proved their legitimacy at the ballot box, Unita will enjoy no international recognition and neither South Africa nor the United States are likely to stand by their former ally.

Angola step closer to peace summit

5 OCT 28/10/92

LUANDA. — Talks on arranging a reconciliation summit between Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and opposition leader Dr Jonas Savimbi were making good progress, officials said yesterday.

Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Moura said that in the four days of talks with senior officials of Dr Savimbi's Unita movement the two sides had overcome preliminary issues and were discussing substantive items on the summit agenda.

Mr Victorino Ossi, a Unita official at the talks, agreed, and said: "From now on we can advance in the best way possible, looking for quick and sound solutions."

Diplomats in Lisbon said Dr Savimbi's negotiators were seeking a special statute for the former rebel leader to guarantee him a large slice of power, even if he also lost the second round of the presidential election.

Dr Savimbi has suggested that although dissatisfied with the way the elections were conducted, he might accept the results for the sake of

Plans for evacuation

LISBON. — Portugal has contingency plans to use military forces to evacuate 40 000 of its nationals from Angola if necessary, but it sees no need to perform such an operation at present, officials said yesterday.

"There are no circumstances that justify this plan being put into action at present," one foreign ministry official said, noting that Portuguese residents in Angola had not even requested evacuation.

The officials said plans were drawn up more than a year ago for Portuguese troops to secure an airport or port in the event of renewed fighting. — Sapa-Reuter

national reconciliation — providing he receives certain assurances.

The ruling MPLA scored a clear win in the parliamentary poll with 53,7% of the vote to Unita's 34,1%.

But Mr Dos Santos, the MPLA candidate in the presidential race, fell just short of the 50% required for a first-round victory, forcing him into a second-round run-off with Dr Savimbi.

More than 20 people have been killed in clashes between Unita and the MPLA since the election. — Sapa-Reuter

TPA looks to incorporate private land into reserves

THE TPA was examining the viability of incorporating tracts of private land into provincial reserves, Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough said at the opening of the Wild Expo 92 in Pretoria yesterday.

Provincial conservation authorities already administered 11% of the Transvaal, of which 17% was under private management. There were 450 nature reserves, 1 600 game farms and seven conservancies already in private hands, he said.

Hough said that while it was important to harness the private sector's capital and expertise, tremendous economic and manpower restrictions demanded a new approach with the state as facilitator.

He saw ecotourism playing an increasingly important role in drawing overseas visitors to SA.

Overseas and local hunters paid more than R250m each year to shoot game, while other tourists brought in an additional R30m to see animals in their natural habitat.

Protection of natural resources against exploitation had to be guard-

ed against, said Hough.

GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that more than R15bn was invested in SA's wildlife ranching industry, Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk said yesterday.

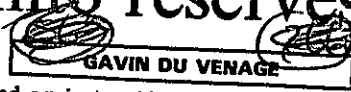
Opening an international wildlife symposium at the CSIR, he said the industry earned more than R335m a year from hunting, live sales and tourism.

It served about 50 000 local hunters and included 400 professional hunting guides who looked after more than 4 000 foreign hunters a year.

The hunters were a vital tourism component, spending up to four times as much as the average tourist, who spent about R4 900 a visit excluding airfares.

Forex earnings exceeded R2,5bn and were on a par with agriculture's foreign earnings.

It also vied for fourth place after manufactured goods, gold and mining and contributed 2% towards GDP.



GAVIN DU VENAGE

New KLM flight to Cape Town

STEPHANE BOTHMA

KLM Royal Dutch Airlines' plans to expand its market share of air travel and cargo to and from SA will be launched today with its inaugural flight to Cape Town.

Gulf Air will also start flying twice a week from Abu Dhabi to Johannesburg, beginning in December.

For the first month of operations the airline would offer fares reduced by 50%, Gulf Air vice-president marketing Mohamed Al Shafie said at a news conference yesterday.

KLM was planning an additional weekly flight for 1994 and in the medium to long term expected to operate a daily service, KLM president Pieter Bouw said yesterday.

Gulf Air expected to announce a third weekly flight by March next year, said Al Shafie.

At this stage, no reciprocal service would be operated by SAA, he said, adding that no joint venture existed between the two airlines.

Angolan talks 'making good progress'

LUANDA - Talks on arranging a reconciliation summit between Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and opposition leader Jonas Savimbi were making good progress, officials said yesterday.

Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura said that in four days of talks with senior officials of Savimbi's Unita movement, the two sides had overcome preliminary issues and were discussing substantive items.

Victorino Ossi, a Unita official at the talks, agreed.

Diplomats in Lisbon said Savimbi's negotiators were seeking a special statute to guarantee him a large slice

of power even if he lost the second round of the presidential election.

Unita lost UN-supervised presidential and parliamentary elections on September 29 and 30 that were supposed to set the seal on a peace agreement ending 16 years of civil war.

Diplomats say Savimbi is demanding guarantees of power in a government of national unity. The MPLA scored a clear win with 53,7% of the vote to Unita's 34,1%, but Dos Santos fell just short of the 50% required for a first-round victory.

Luanda police chief Gaspar da

Silva said since the elections the capital had been swept by a wave of politically motivated crime which his forces had been unable to control. Da Silva told journalists police had arrested 135 people during the last three weeks for carrying arms ranging from pistols to 81mm mortars. Even in normal times, the crackle of gunfire associated with banditry echoes through Luanda at night.

But Da Silva said that since the elections there had been a surge in violent crimes ranging from bombings and the killing of policemen and soldiers to kidnapping of civilians. — Sapa-Reuter.

Angola's evacuation plan ⁽⁵⁾

LUANDA - Portugal has contingency plans to use military forces to evacuate 40 000 of its nationals from Angola if necessary, but it sees no need to perform such an operation at present, officials said yesterday.

The officials confirmed local media reports that Portugal might use troops to assist an evacuation from its former colony, where a dispute over election results is threatening a plunge it back into civil war.

But they said this plan would not be put into action unless there was a return to full-scale hostilities. - Sapa-

Reuter-AP-AFP Sowetan 28/10/92

Unita demands interim govt

LUANDA. — The former rebel movement Unita has demanded the formation of a transitional government in Angola and a partial re-run of last month's elections under stronger United Nations supervision to prevent a return to civil war.

Sources close to crisis talks between Unita and the ruling MPLA said Unita had demanded the formation of a transitional government to run Angola until the second round of the presidential elections.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the MPLA candidate, polled just under 50% of the vote, while Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi scored just over 40%, forcing the presidential election into a second round.

The sources said Unita had also demanded a re-run of the parliamentary elections in seven of Angola's 18 provinces, where it alleges there was massive fraud.

The formerly marxist MPLA won 53% of the vote in the parliamentary poll to Unita's 34%.

The sources said Unita had demanded the UN be given full control of the new polls and that the government have no say in organising the voting.

Unita had also demanded the MPLA government disband its riot police as a condition for allowing government administrators back into areas under Unita control, they added.

Senior Unita official Mr Elias Salupeto Pena said peace in Angola depended on the MPLA showing sufficient flexibility over Unita's demands. If the ruling party insisted on sticking to the election results declared so far "war cannot be excluded", Dr Savimbi's influential nephew said.

Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Moura, the government spokesman at the crisis talks with Unita, declined to comment on Unita's proposals.

"They are being studied by the government," he said. — Sapa-Reuter

Maputo peace talks 'positive'

MAPUTO. — Representatives of the government and Renamo rebels met here for a third day yesterday to discuss ways of implementing a ceasefire and called the talks "very positive", news reports said.

The meeting began on Monday and is the first time high-level delegations from the opposing sides have met in Mozambique's capital, AIM news agency said.

Meanwhile government troops have retaken the northern coastal town of Memba after fierce fighting with Renamo, the provincial governor said yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

⑤ CT 29/10/92

Fierce fighting in Mozambique

MAPUTO — Mozambican government troops reclaimed the northern coastal town of Memba on Tuesday after fierce fighting with Renamo forces, the provincial governor said yesterday.

"Memba was reoccupied after intense clashes with Renamo forces," Nampula province governor Alfredo Gamito told state radio.

Gamito said both sides had suffered casualties, but he gave no figures.

The radio said Renamo had protested to the UN special representative in Mozambique that government troops were occupying areas formerly under its control in the towns of Samacuzza and Muanza in Sofala province, and had deployed troops into the provinces of Zambezia, Tete, and Cabo Delgado.

Government and Renamo have accused each other of violating a ceasefire signed on October 4 by President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo leader Afonso Chakama to end the civil war that began on independence from Portugal in 1975.

Land grabbing by either side is barred by the accord, which is supposed to lead to multiparty elections in one year — Sapa-Reuter.

Unita has a plan to break impasse

LUANDA — Unita, which had been blocking a conclusion to Angola's elections after making fraud allegations, on Tuesday offered a plan to end the stand-off, Angolan and diplomatic sources said.

They said the proposal, which included a call for a greatly increased UN presence in a second round of voting, was put forward by Unita at talks with the government.

The talks have been going on for a week behind closed doors.

The sources said Unita's plan called for the setting up of mechanisms to create a transitional government until a second round of voting.

President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos won 49.57% of the votes in the first round of the presidential election, against 40.07% for Savimbi. This made a second round necessary.

Unita had initially delayed the announcement of the results, alleging fraud and threatening to restart the 16-year-long civil war.

Unita's plan also called for strong UN presence during a second round of voting, and more international observers than in the September poll.

Foreign observers who monitored

that poll said it was fairly conducted.

Unita is also demanding that state information media be completely "impartial" in any new poll, and that "arbitrary" arrests should stop.

The movement, backed by the US and SA during the war with the Soviet- and Cuban-backed MPLA, also called for a code of electoral conduct.

The sources said the ball was now in the government's court. It would probably take some days to respond.

Following its accusations of fraud, Unita pulled its forces out of the combined army they had formed with government troops.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has been holed up since then in the town of Huambo, refusing to come to Luanda for talks with Dos Santos.

In the legislative part of the elections last month, Dos Santos's MPLA soundly beat Unita, gaining 53.74% of votes to its rival's 34.1%.

Some diplomats saw Unita's offer as a positive development, saying the talks, which had been going on without any of the countries which guaranteed the Angolan peace agreement — Russia, the US and Portugal — were probably the last chance to avert a new war. — Sapa-AFP.

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Chiluba celebrates with privatisation promise

LUSAKA — President Frederick Chiluba marked his first year in power yesterday with a promise to spread wealth among Zambians by privatising unprofitable state corporations.

Chiluba, a former trade union leader who defeated longtime president Kenneth Kaunda in last year's election, accused his predecessor of tearing apart the country with ill-conceived socialist policies, corruption and mismanagement.

"Democracy has arrived in Zambia," Chiluba told a news conference. "But it is just the beginning of a long process. We are a pacesetter and other countries want to emulate us."

Chiluba and his Movement for Multiparty Democracy campaigned on promises to end corruption and policies borrowed from the old East bloc. He won international support for pressuring Kaunda, Zambia's founding father, to end one-party rule.

Kaunda, Zambia's leader since its independence from Britain in 1964, was widely blamed for transforming Zambia into one of the poorest nations in southern Africa.

Chiluba said that despite Western-prescribed economic reforms, a small elite group still controlled the country's riches.

He hoped the chasm between rich and poor would be narrowed through imminent privatisation of money-losing state corporations that control 80% of the economy.

Many citizens, he said, would be able to buy shares in these companies, including copper mines, newspapers and sugar plantations.

Chiluba said his government would, in its second year, also promote informal businesses so more people could become entrepreneurs. — Sapa-AFP.

New Unita plan

Sowefan 29/10/92

■ PEACE PROPOSAL Unita has

LUANDA - The Unita rebel movement, which has been blocking a conclusion of the country's elections after making fraud allegations, has offered a plan to end the stand-off.

Angolan and diplomatic sources said yesterday that the proposal, which includes a call for a greatly increased UN presence in a planned second round of voting, was put forward by Unita officials at talks with the government.

The talks have been going on for a week behind closed doors.

The sources said the Unita plan called for the setting up of the required mechanisms to create a transitional government until a second round of voting took place.

President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos

called for more international observers in second poll: (S)

won 49,57 percent of the votes in the first round of the presidential election, against 40,07 percent for Dr Jonas Savimbi. This made a second round of voting necessary to determine the winner.

Unita had initially delayed the announcement of the results, alleging fraud and threatening to restart the 16-year-long civil war that the polls were intended to bring to a final end.

The foreign observers who moni-

tored the elections in September generally said it was fairly conducted.

Unita is also demanding that state information media be completely "impartial" in any new poll, and that what it calls arbitrary arrests should stop. The movement, also called for a clear code of electoral conduct to be laid down.

The sources said the ball was now in the government's court.

Angola fears SA backing for Unita ^{ARC} in civil war

Political Staff

AN emissary from President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola is meeting President De Klerk in Pretoria today amid fears in Angola that South Africa, with the backing of American and British intelligence, is ready to support Jonas Savimbi's Unita and a new civil war.

But Department of Foreign Affairs and Defence Force spokesmen today dismissed such a plan.

Angolan government sources said the alleged plot had so alarmed the Angolan government that President Dos Santos had sent Mr Lopo Nascimento, a member of the MPLA's politburo, to deliver a personal message from him to Mr De Klerk.

A government spokesman in Pretoria confirmed that the meeting was taking place this morning.

"There is a plan by the CIA, MI5 and South Africa to renew the war in Angola," an Angolan source said.

According to the source, members of the notorious 32 Battalion have already been moved from South Africa to Angola via Botswana, and about 15 000 Zairean troops have been assembled along that country's border with the Angolan enclave of Cabinda.

A Defence Force spokesman dismissed the allegation about 32 Battalion and said that clearance for such an operation would have had to be obtained from Bophuthatswana.

The plan, according to the Angolans, is for the Zairean troops to seize the diamond-rich Lunda Norte province in northern Angola and also, with the help of the secessionist movement FLEC, to take Cabinda, which produces most of the country's oil.

The main objective of 32 Battalion, he said, was to seize the Benguela railway line. Unita would in the meantime systematically take most of the towns in the country by force. This would effectively leave the MPLA government isolated in the capital, Luanda.

"It's a silent coup," the source said.

This week the South African government was granted visas to Angola for two military officers, and this further alarmed the Angolans.

"They (the officers) are part of the plan," the source said.

Mr Nascimento would present evidence to Mr De Klerk in Pretoria. He would also meet ANC leaders, because the Angolans believed the strategy if successful in Angola — and with Renamo in Mozambique — would eventually be implemented in South Africa.

But, according to the Angolans, a lot would hinge on the outcome of the American presidential elections. The strategy would stand a greater chance if President Bush was re-elected. But they believed the CIA would press ahead clandestinely with the plan even if Bill Clinton was to win.

The Angolan government believed the chances of them winning a civil war were very slim, and: "We either capitulate or expose what is happening."

Emissaries had been sent to other countries, and Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro — Vandunem met officials in Portugal

Savimbi 'still controls' decaying stronghold

HUAMBO, Angola. — The moment a visitor lands at the airport here, Angola's second major city, it is clear that opposition leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi's Unita troops are in control.

Unita soldiers in crisp green uniforms man the tarmac, their green and red flags with the black rooster emblem flutter in the highland breeze and there are no government troops in sight.

"Welcome to our town," said a senior Unita official, ushering visitors to a well-guarded car.

The pitted dirt roads to town are lined

with Unita men carrying assault rifles and grenade launchers. Posters of Dr. Savimbi adorn the decayed buildings in the city centre battered by 16 years of civil war.

Unlike Angola's other bustling cities, where vendors and gossipers fill the streets, an eerie quiet has settled over Huambo. Some buildings have marks of recent shooting between the government and Unita.

Denied victory in last month's multi-party elections, Dr Savimbi has retreat-

ed to his neo-colonial Huambo residence in the central heartland where Unita commands support among the Ovimbundu, Angola's largest ethnic group.

He has refused to budge, forcing government generals and international mediators trying to avert a new war to fly from Luanda to his huge white house, which has become headquarters for the movement which has effectively replaced the local MPLA administration. Dr Savimbi says he wants peace. His

supporters say their troop movements are a response to government intimidation.

But the MPLA government accuses Unita of sowing the seeds of war and violating May 1991 peace accords.

Aside from Huambo, Unita controls large sections of nearby Bie and Saurimo in the diamond-rich north-eastern areas.

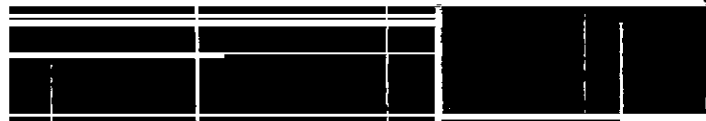
"They are going for the cities, some thing they never did during the civil war," said one military analyst, who be-

lieved Unita was also trying to secure access routes to the capital Luanda.

A blast last week in a Luanda air force ammunition dump is thought by many diplomats to have been a warning to the government by Unita, which does not have an air force but is strong on the ground.

Unita has at least 35 000 men easily mobilised in the south and centre and several thousand well-armed and trained troops in the capital, military analysts say. — Sapa/Reuter

CT35 10/192



Angolan police die in clashes

⑤ 30/10/92

LISBON. — Six Angolan riot policemen died on Wednesday night in an assault on Unita positions in a suburb of Luanda, according to a report on the Unita-run radio station monitored here.

However, government sources said three policemen were killed and another three injured in what appears to have been the same incident. There were no Unita casualties.

Angolan state radio said Unita forces yesterday shelled the town of Caala, 20km from the city of

Huambo in the central highlands. The report said the attack, hours after senior UN observer General Edward Unimna confirmed reports of Unita troop movements, was part of a Unita attempt to lay siege to the city.

General Unimna said on Wednesday evening Unita had occupied seven towns in the central provinces of Huambo, Bie and Benguela.

General Unimna, a Nigerian, is commander of the about 600 military and police observers working under the auspices of the UN to monitor a May 1991 ceasefire.

The attacks are the latest in a series of clashes between MPLA and Unita forces after Unita lost last month's UN-supervised general elections that were due to set the seal on a peace agreement last year ending 16 years of civil war.

The UN has declared the elections as "generally free and fair."

But Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has cried fraud, withdrawn his forces from a new unified army and retreated to the Unita stronghold of Huambo.

Meanwhile, Unita said it had continued talks with government officials in Luanda in an attempt to overcome the political stalemate.

However, a government source said the talks to pave the way for a peace summit between President Dos Santos and Dr Savimbi had reached an impasse over the future of the riot police.

Unita officials at the talks have demanded a repetition of the legislative part of the elections in certain provinces.

The movement gained 34.1% of the parliamentary vote, trailing the ruling MPLA, which gained 53.74%. Dr Savimbi faces the possibility of a runoff against President Dos Santos, who fell less than a point short of the 50% of votes needed for a first round presidential election victory. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

'Stop playing' with lives

HARARE. — African churches yesterday told rival political leaders in Angola and Mozambique to "stop playing" with people's lives to further their own interests.

The All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) sent "warning letters" to Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos and his opponent Dr Jonas Savimbi.

"The assembly warns them to stop playing with the lives of the people of Angola," it said.

In its letter to Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and his rival Mr Afonso Dhlakama, the AACC said "there is reason to believe the provisions of the recently signed (Rome) peace accord are not being fully implemented."

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Unita soldiers seal off Huambo

B/DAY 30/10/92. (5)

LISBON — Unita troops blocked all entrances to Luanda's second city Huambo yesterday and shelled the nearby town of Caala, Portugal's TSF radio said.

And six riot police had died assaulting Unita positions in a Luanda suburb, the Unita-controlled radio station Vorgan said yesterday. There were no Unita casualties. In its report from Luanda, Portuguese news agency Lusa quoted government sources as saying three policemen were killed and another three injured in what appears to have been the same incident.

Huambo civilians were seeking safe places, and some had gone to the airport. However, like local businesses, it was closed, the report said. TSF said Unita and government troops had clashed throughout the country.

The ruling MPLA has accused Unita of massing troops in the interior and occupying several towns since last month's controversial UN-supervised elections.

The elections were to have set the seal on a peace agreement last year that ended 16 years of civil war, but Savimbi cried fraud, withdrew his forces from the new unified army and retreated to Huambo.

Talks between Unita and MPLA to pave the way for a peace summit between Savimbi and outgoing President Jose Eduardo dos Santos have reached an impasse.

Meanwhile, in Strasbourg, the

European parliament yesterday called for "immediate sanctions" against any party that renewed violence, and called for renewed diplomatic efforts to ensure democracy. During the parliament's debate, EC commissioner Filippo Pandolfi said the EC had given its full support to the elections, which he called "an important move towards democratisation in Angola".

Parliament vice-president Joao Cravinho, who went to Angola as an EC observer, said the voting had been "free and fair".

He said few irregularities had been noted at the 6 000 polling booths around the country.

Deputies also said Savimbi should merge his 20 000 troops with government troops in a single army, urged the EC to aid reconstruction and asked EC states to respond favourably to Angolan government aid requests.

Savimbi could face a runoff election against Dos Santos, but the 58-year-old former guerrilla leader has not agreed yet to contest the second round.

Greek deputy Sotiris Kostopoulos said a team of EC observers should be sent to watch the second round of elections.

And on Wednesday, a senior UN observer said Unita had occupied seven towns in the central provinces of Bie, Benguela and Huambo. Some 600 UN military and police observers are monitoring a May 1991 ceasefire. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

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NEWS Savimbi wants transitional government until second round of voting takes place



Jonas Savimbi

Unita's plan for a solution

20/10/92
Soviet
SECOND ROUND VOTING Greater UN presence and

LUANDA - The Unita rebel movement, which has been blocking a conclusion to the country's elections after making fraud allegations, this week offered a plan to end the stand-off. Angolan and diplomatic sources said here.

They said the proposal, which includes a call for a greatly increased UN presence in a planned second round of voting, was put forward by officials of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) at talks with the government.

The talks have been going on for a week behind closed doors.

The sources said the Unita plan called for the setting up of the required mechanisms to create a transitional govern-

ment until a second round of voting took place.
more international observers at second poll:

President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos won 49,57 percent of the votes in the first round of the presidential election, against 40,07 percent for Savimbi. This made a second round of voting necessary to determine the winner.

Unita had initially delayed the announcement of the results, alleging fraud and threatening to restart the 16-year-long civil war that the polls were intended to bring to an end.

The Unita plan also called for strong UN presence during a second round of voting, and more international observers than during the previous poll, which took place at the end of September.

The foreign observers who monitored that poll generally said it was fairly conducted.

Unita is also demanding that state information media be completely "impartial" in any new poll, and that what it calls arbitrary arrests should stop.

The movement, which was backed by the United States and South Africa during the long war with the Soviet and Cuban-backed Dos Santos government, also called for a clear code of electoral conduct to be laid down.

The sources said the ball was now in the government's court. It would probably take several days to give a response to the Unita proposals.

Angola has been holding its breath during the past month of political stalemate, hoping against hope that the elections will prove to have laid the civil war to rest.

Following its accusations of fraud, Unita pulled its forces out of the joint units they had formed with government troops under a plan to create a combined national army.

Unita's leader, Jonas Savimbi, has since been holed up in the central town of Huambo, refusing to come to Luanda for talks with Dos Santos.

In the legislative part of the elections last month, Dos Santos's People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) soundly beat Unita, gaining 53,74 percent of votes to its rival's 34,1 percent.

Some diplomats saw Tuesday's Unita offer as a positive development.

They noted that the talks, which have been going on here without the presence of any of the countries which guaranteed the Angolan peace agreement - Russia, the United States and the former colonial power Portugal - were probably the last chance to avert a new war. - *Sapa-AFP.*

Portuguese plan evacuation

LISBON: Portugal has contingency plans to use military forces to evacuate 40,000 of its nationals from Angola if necessary, but it sees no need to perform such an operation at present, officials said on Tuesday. *W/Mad 30/10-5/11/92*

The officials said plans were drawn up more than a year ago for Portuguese troops to secure an airport or port in the event of renewed fighting so that Portuguese nationals could be ferried out safely. *(S)*

Portugal has not yet advised its citizens to leave Angola, but Sweden evacuated about 100 of its nationals from Angola on a charter flight two weeks ago following Unita's refusal to recognise its defeat in last month's UN-supervised elections.

Pik: No SA troops in Angola

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday emphatically denied a newspaper report that South African troops were in Angola to support Unita.

"I categorically deny that as void of all truth," he told a news conference in Pretoria.

The New Nation newspaper said SA troops had entered Angola as part of a secret plan by Pretoria to pressure President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to share power with the Unita movement headed by Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Angola's Minister without Portfolio, Mr Lopo do Nascimento, also attended the news conference, and said his government had "no reports from any reliable sources" to support the allegations.

Unita in fight with police at airport

(5)

LT 31/10/92

LUANDA. — Fighting erupted yesterday between government forces and former Unita rebels near the international airport here, claiming the lives of more than a dozen people, including three Portuguese nationals, news reports said.

The state news agency, Angop, said rocket-propelled grenades and heavy machine guns were used in the hour-long clash between Unita soldiers and the police garrison at the airport. Angop reported at least 13 dead.

Meanwhile, more shooting was reported in the central city of Huambo, where heavy fighting broke out between the two sides on Thursday.

The latest clashes have intensified fears of a resumption of Angola's 16-year civil war that ended with peace accords last year between Unita and the government.

Tension has mounted in Angola since Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi rejected the results of the country's first multi-party elections on September 29-30.

As results showed Unita losing to the governing MPLA party, Dr Savimbi threatened to lead his men back into battle.

"The war in Angola has practically already started," government spokesman Mr Aldemiro Conceicao said. "It's all on a razor's edge."

According to the Angop report, police thwarted an attempt by 40 Unita fighters to capture a fuel depot on the edge of Luanda airport about 2am.

After a brief United Nations-mediated ceasefire in Huambo, Radio Nacional de Angola reported a new outbreak of fighting before dawn when Unita tried to storm the police headquarters in the city, 500 kilometres south-east of Luanda.

There was no comment on the fighting from the UN team monitoring the ceasefire. UN observer General Edward Unimna on Wednesday confirmed government claims of Unita troop movements in the central highlands around Huambo. — Sapa-AP

ANGOLA - GENERAL

1992

NOV. - DEC.

UN warns Unita: ⁽⁵⁾ Stop the fighting

AP News 1/11/92.
ALARMED by fighting in Angola, the UN Security Council in New York has unanimously adopted a resolution demanding the violence end immediately and threatening action against any party endangering peace.

During the council's Friday debate ambassadors condemned fighting initiated by Unita in its apparent attempt to gain territory after poor election results.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has said the September UN-supervised elections were a "shameful massive fraud".

"The miscalculation, the historic blunder, is to think that such a ... resort to force, will be accepted by the international community. It will not," said Britain's ambassador David Hannay.

Late on Friday, radio reports said Savimbi had ordered a ceasefire in Angola's second city, Huambo, but the situation was unclear elsewhere.

The resolution warned that any party which failed to live up to its commitments "will be rejected by the international community" and said it was ready "to examine all appropriate measures" under the UN Charter to secure implementation of last year's peace accords.

European diplomats said this meant that any government Unita may organise in the provinces by force would be isolated economically and diplomatically. - Sapa-Reuter

South Africans scamper for safety

ALL HELL LOOSE IN LUANDA

S/Times 11/11/92 (5)

By HEATHER ROBERTSON

Refugees flee Angola

S/Times 11/11/92

(S) the capital, Angolan state radio reported there were "many deaths".

"There is substantial fire in several areas," said Mr Edmund De Jarnette, head of the US liaison office in the city.

The heaviest fighting appeared to be around the downtown Hotel Turismo, used as a base by Unita, but there were also reports of shooting near the airport.

Threatened

A cloud of smoke hung over the hotel, which was flying Unita's scarlet-and-green flag. Portugal's TSF radio reported that the hotel and a nearby police station were in flames.

Mortar shells fired from the plush Miramar district, where Unita has a strong garrison, were falling on to the downtown area and into Luanda Bay.

Hours before the fighting started, state radio broadcast regular appeals for people to stay at home and keep their children off the streets.

Tension has been mounting since Dr Savimbi accused the government of

rigging the country's first multi-party elections last month. He threatened to fight rather than accept the defeat of his party at the ballot box.

Last night, a spokesman for Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said Unita had been warned not to expect any support from the South African government if it took up arms against President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Fighting also erupted in Ndalatando, the capital of Cuanza Norte province, 200km east of Luanda, where Unita attacked public buildings.

And on Friday night a Safair-owned Hercules transporter, peppered with shrapnel and bullet holes, arrived in Johannesburg after a low-level flight from Luanda.

The aircraft, worth more than R50-million, was damaged in crossfire between Unita and MPLA forces while parked on the apron at Luanda airport.

The Hercules, which was leased to Sao Tome-based carrier Transafrik, which specialises in large-scale

cargo movements under difficult conditions, had to be flown unpressurised via Windhoek back to Johannesburg for repairs.

Late last night a Safair spokesman said they were on standby to evacuate about 2 000 miners — mainly Angolans and Brazilians — from three diamond mines in the north-east of Angola.

Assurances

But the airline's general manager, operations, Captain Felix van der Merwe, said Safair would not fly to Angola without assurances from both Unita and the MPLA that the aircraft and crew would be safe.

Safair was approached by the management of Trans Austral at Lezamba, Kufunfu and Capinga to fly their employees out, possibly to Windhoek.

Mr David Potgieter, a spokesman for Barlow's Equipment Company, a mining-related firm with a base at Luzambo, 40km north of Kafuufu, said South African employees were in no danger.

MORE than 200 refugees, including an undisclosed number of South Africans, boarded a Greek-registered ferry in Luanda harbour last night to escape a city in flames.

As full-scale fighting broke out between MPLA forces and Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita forces, South African embassy staff and businessmen, women and children — and a group of other foreign residents — fled the city for the refuge of the vessel, the Mediterranean Sea.

In a dramatic satellite telephone call late yesterday, Mr Gary Scallan, assistant representative at the SA Trade Mission in Luanda, described events to the Sunday Times.

Bombing

"Around lunchtime, all hell broke loose. There were mortars, machine-guns and incredible bombing and gunfire. The streets were lined with police and troops.

"We started moving out of the embassy soon afterwards. It wasn't safe to stay in our offices, homes or in the city, so we moved to Ilha de Luanda, an island linked to the mainland by road.

"We don't know how long we'll be safe here. The most important thing now is to get as many people as possible on to the boat. Everyone is packing furiously and heading for the harbour."

Speaking from a construction camp on the island, Mr Scallan said 18 South Africans and about 300 foreign nationals had been evacuated from Endiama diamond mine at Kafuufu, in Lunda Norte province, yesterday morning after being trapped there for more than 24 hours. The mine is owned by the Angolan Diamond Corporation.

Unita occupied the area, blew up the diamond face and removed the entire October production. They told the workers they would not be harmed, then left them to their fate.

Problem

"Yesterday morning, they were picked up and flown to Sao Tome in transport aircraft sent by Pretoria," said Mr Scallan.

"As far as I know, they are all safe, but there's still the problem of the people trying to get out of Luanda."

He and the two other assistant representatives to the SA Representative Office, who were still in Luanda — Mr Johan Smith, Mr Rodney Henwood, and an embassy employee, Mr

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From page 1

Angola ⑤

It added that the coastal city of Benguela was being shelled by Unita forces.

The three days of fighting have pushed Angola back towards full-scale conflict after Dr Savimbi rejected results of elections won by his civil-war rival, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Battles erupted in Luanda on Thursday when Unita forces attacked the city's airport in a battle that killed 15 people.

The two sides appeared to be gearing up for a major confrontation outside the city.

State radio said 600 Unita fighters were trying to take the government headquarters in Ndalatandó, the capital of Bengo province, 200km east of Luanda, while others were advancing westwards towards Luanda.

Unita radio said government riot police were attacking Unita forces in Bengo Province, just outside the capital.

Fighting in Angola's second city, Huambo, appears to have stopped. Unita radio said 22 civilians had been killed there over the past two days in indiscriminate shelling by riot police.

Fighting has continued despite appeals by UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, governments in Africa and Europe and President F W de Klerk.

Government police were joined in their fight against Unita by soldiers wearing the uniform of Angola's new unified army.

Armed pro-government civilians were much in evidence on the streets.

Unita has withdrawn its fighters from this force, which was only partially formed at the time of the elections and which is due to replace MPLA and Unita combat forces. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP

War erupts in Angola

SA sends rescue mission

LUANDA. Government forces backed by armoured personnel carriers and armed civilians moved against Unita strongholds in the Angolan capital, pounding the rebels with mortar shells and gunfire yesterday.

Navy to evacuate trapped S. Africans

Some of the heaviest fighting raged in the push diplomatic district of Miramar, where a large Unita garrison resisted with mortars and rocket-propelled grenades.

As the civil war foes shelled each other in a battle for control of the capital, the SAS Tafelberg left for Angola to assist in the possible evacuation of South African nationals.

Fighting in Luanda since Saturday has reportedly claimed the lives of at least 300 people, but residents said Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces were retreating.

However, South African trade representative Mr Gary Scallon said in a satellite telephone call from a ship in Luanda Bay that Dr Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) appeared to have the upper hand.

He said he was in radio contact with both sides to arrange a 60-minute ceasefire to evacuate

JOHANNESBURG. — The Navy replenishment ship, SAS Tafelberg, with two helicopters on board, has left for war-torn Angola to assist in the possible evacuation of South African nationals.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Mr Awie Marais confirmed yesterday that the Tafelberg had left for Angola to help if the need for evacuation arose.

Foreign nationals were being evacuated from the capital Luanda as heavy artillery and rifle fire was exchanged in several areas.

Freight carrier Safair ordered the last aircraft it operated in Angola to return home yesterday when the mining company, Trans Austral, withdrew a request that the plane be on standby for the evacuation of about 2 000 mine employees.

Luanda's airport was closed to all commercial flights and it was reported the city's main telephone exchange

South African, Hungarian and Czechoslovak diplomats and staff.

"We are not even trying to get the players talking, we are just trying to get our people out."

Dr Savimbi has been out of Luanda since early October when he flew to his central highland stronghold in the city of Huambo, 500km southeast of Luanda.

Several of Unita's top leaders were in Luanda when the fighting started. The Portuguese news agency, Lusa, reported yesterday that some had been captured and

others had escaped by boat.

Some South Africans were among the 200 refugees who boarded a Greek ship before it left Luanda harbour on Saturday.

By late yesterday several South African diplomats, including assistant representative Mr Johan Smith, were still on board the Greek-registered liner Mediterranean Sea, Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Awie Marais said.

A group of 18 South Africans and about 300 foreigners had been evacuated from the Endliama diamond mine at Kafunfu in the Luanda Norte province on Saturday morning, he said.

A foreign ministry spokesman said Portugal had agreed to evacuate nationals of other EC countries and Brazil.

● SADF and Foreign Affairs spokesmen said there was no possibility of South African troops getting involved in the conflict. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP

others had escaped by boat.

Victims include two United Nations peacekeepers who were shot dead by Unita forces on Saturday, Lusa quoted a military source as saying.

Government radio, monitored by the BBC, reported continuing artillery fire and said a large number of injured were seeking treatment at hospitals.

"The situation is under control and indications are that it will return to normal," the radio said.

To page 3

CP warns CT 2/11/92 govt on 5 Angola

JOHANNESBURG. — CP deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg yesterday warned that the establishment of an interim government in South Africa would result in the same conflict raging in Angola.

"No real unity will exist where disparate people are forced together, and Luanda's fate awaits South Africa if the NP's plans to hand over power to the ANC are allowed to come to fruition."

Dr Hartzenberg strongly criticised Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha for his "so-called peacekeeping efforts" in Angola, saying they had yielded nothing in terms of the probabilities of future co-existence between the 1991 signatories to the Angolan Peace Accord. — Sapa

Angola: Planes ready for airlift

JOHANNESBURG. —
The freight airline Sa-
fair said yesterday that
some of its aircraft were
on standby to evacuate
foreign nationals from
Angola should the need
arise. CT 211192

Safair spokesman Mr
Coenievander Walt said
the airline had been
asked by a company in-
volved in diamond min-
ing operations in north-
eastern Angola — Trans
Austral — to be avail-
able to help with the
evacuation of foreign na-
tionals. — Sapa (5)

More than 300 killed in Angola clashes ⁵

Sowetan 2/11/92.

■ UN peace-keeping pair also shot dead on Saturday:

LUANDA - More than 300 people have died in fighting which continued yesterday between Angola government forces and former rebel movement Unita in the capital Luanda.

The news agency Lusa reported that the victims included two members of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in Angola. They were shot dead by Unita forces as they drove through Luanda on Saturday.

Fighting died down on Saturday evening but began again before dawn yesterday with a government assault on Unita's main offices in Luanda's diplomatic quarter Miramar.

Government forces were also attacking

several dozen Unita fighters holed up in the Hotel Tropico and Luanda echoed to the sound of machinegun and artillery fire for the second day running.

Several Unita leaders were believed to have left Luanda by boat but General Elias Salupeto Pena, a nephew of Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, was still there and in contact with government forces by radio.

There were no official estimates of casualties in the fighting, which follows Unita's rejection of its defeat in last month's UN-supervised elections.

But Lusa quoted unofficial estimates as saying more than 300 corpses were visible in Luanda's streets along with abandoned weapons. Unita fighters. - Sapa-Reuter.

Tafelberg ordered in to evacuate South Africans as UN-brokered ceasefire collapses

Many more killed in new Angolan battles

⑤
F124 2/11/92

Political Staff and Sapa-AP

RENEWED fighting erupted in Luanda early today, hours after a United Nations-brokered ceasefire came into effect, and many civilians and soldiers were reported killed.

South Africa's military attache in Luanda, Mr Johan Smith, said Angolan government forces attacked positions held by rebel Unita troops in the capital at about 5am.

The home of Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was attacked by tanks, and there was gunfire in the city centre and on the outskirts, said Mr Smith.

He and other South African diplomats are on a Greek ferry in Luanda harbour, which is ready to evacuate civilians threatened by the battles for the capital.

The government is going ahead with plans to evacuate South African citizens, and the navy supply ship SAS Tafelberg, with Puma helicopters aboard, is due in Luanda by the end of the week. It will bring South Africans home if fighting between Unita rebels and Angolan government forces makes it necessary.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Jacques Malan said it was hard to establish how many South Africans were in Angola and where they were. It was up to them or their families in South Africa to give the department details.

Several Safair aircraft have been put on standby to evacuate foreigners from Angola should the need arise, according to Safair spokesman Mr Coenie Van der Walt.

The airline had been asked by Trans Austral, a company involved in diamond mining in north-east Angola, to help to evacuate foreign citizens, but it would not fly to Luanda again after a Hercules was damaged in crossfire at the airport last week.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said the situation had become serious. He had had reports of fighting and skirmishes throughout the country, with serious clashes in Luanda.

"In view of the tense situation and the fighting on the ground, as well as the closure of Luanda airport and the general state of confusion, it has been decided to despatch the Tafelberg, with two helicopters on board, to the region to help with evacuation if that becomes necessary," said Mr Botha.

A spokesman for UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros Ghali said last night that a ceasefire would go into effect at midnight.

Under the agreement, foreign fighters being held would be released and movement of foreign fighters would not be impeded. Government forces backed by armored personnel carriers hit Unita strongholds in Luanda with mortar and machine-gun fire yesterday. Armed civilians, including teenagers, fought beside government positions against the rebels. At least 300 people were said to have been killed.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa said Unita's top military leader in Luanda, Elias Sampaio Pena, and other high-ranking officials, gave themselves up to the Defence Ministry just before the ceasefire was announced.

Dr Savimbi was reported to have left his central highland stronghold of Huambo

FW makes personal plea to Savimbi

Hundreds die in Luanda street battles

BIDAM 2/11/92

(5)

LUANDA — Hundreds of people were reported killed in the Angolan capital as heavy fighting between the government and Unita continued yesterday.

Foreign nationals were being evacuated from the city as heavy artillery and rifle fire was exchanged in several areas.

President F W de Klerk made an appeal to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to co-operate in arranging an immediate ceasefire.

De Klerk also requested Savimbi to ensure the safety of all foreigners, including SA citizens, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday. Botha described the situation in Angola as "serious and tense".

STEPHANIE BOTHMA reports the SA Navy replenishment ship SAS Tafelberg, with two helicopters on board, has been dispatched to the region to assist with any mass evacuation.

Freight carrier Safair ordered the last aircraft it operated in Angola home yesterday afternoon when a request by mining company Trans Austral to be on standby for the evacuation of about 2 000 mine employees was withdrawn.

On Friday night, a Safair Hercules at Luanda airport was damaged in crossfire. The Hercules, peppered with shrapnel and bullet holes, flew unpressurised from Luanda to Johannesburg for repairs.

Some South Africans were among the 200 refugees who boarded a Greek ship before it left Luanda harbour on Saturday. Several Unita leaders, including vice-president Jeremias Chitunda, were believed to be on board.

Luanda airport was closed to all commercial flights and the city's main telephone exchange was reported to be in

flames late yesterday.

SADF and Foreign Affairs spokesmen said there was no possibility of SA troops getting involved in the conflict.

By late yesterday afternoon several SA diplomatic officials, including assistant representative Johan Smith and colleagues Gary Scallan, Rodney Henwood and Tony Ferreira, were still on board the Greek-registered liner Mediterranean Sea, Foreign Affairs spokesman Awje Marais said in Pretoria.

A group of 18 South Africans and about 300 foreigners had been evacuated from the Endiama diamond mine at Kafuufu in the Lunda Norte province on Saturday morning, he said.

The evacuation aircraft was sent to the area by Pretoria and had taken the group to the island of Sao Tome.

Although a second group remained in the area, they were not in any immediate danger, Marais said.

De Klerk sent messages to president Eduardo dos Santos and to Savimbi, encouraging restraint. He called on them to meet urgently in order to reduce tension and the potential for large scale conflict.

Botha said the SA government was monitoring the situation in Angola very closely and was in touch with various other governments and with the UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa reported that more than 300 people had died in fighting in Luanda.

The victims included two members of the UN peacekeeping forces who were shot by Unita soldiers on Saturday.

To Page 2

Luanda BIDAM 2/11/92

(5)

From Page 1

Fighting died down at dusk on Saturday, but began again before dawn yesterday with a government assault on Unita's main offices in the Miramar diplomatic quarter.

Government forces were also attacking several dozen Unita fighters holed up in the Hotel Tropico.

Savimbi was reported to still be in his stronghold at Huambo.

The fighting follows Unita's rejection of its defeat in last month's UN-supervised elections.

There was little information on the situation in regional parts of the country, but diplomatic sources said fighting had broken out in Lubango, capital of the southern Huila province. Portuguese diplomats reported shooting in the port city of Lobito and other parts of the south and centre of the country.

The Portuguese government said yesterday Sao Tome, situated about 1 300km northwest of Luanda, was being prepared as a transit point for the evacuation of those among the 40 000-strong Portuguese community in Angola wishing to leave.

Portuguese state television said the Portuguese air force had put its entire fleet of Hercules transport planes on standby to mount a shuttle from Luanda to Sao Tome, a former Portuguese colony. The first group of Portuguese was evacuated at dawn yesterday.

A foreign ministry spokesman said Portugal had also agreed to evacuate nationals of other EC countries and Brazil.

The US State Department said it had ordered Americans, including its non-essential employees in the country, to leave.

— Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

Luanda gripped by terror

Sowetan 3/11/92

■ Yesterday's ceasefire has been ignored by rival Angolan fighting factions:

(S)

LUANDA - A UN-brokered ceasefire in the Angolan capital Luanda has broken down, two senior Unita leaders have been killed and gunfire echoes round the city.

Hundreds of bodies litter one of Luanda's main hospitals.

Police sources said Unita vice-president Jeremias Chitunda and the former rebel movement's top military representative in Luanda, Elias Salupeto Pena, had been killed during an

attempt to escape from the city.

The UN announced yesterday that it had brokered a ceasefire between the MPLA and Unita in Luanda to end three days of heavy fighting between the two sides.

But there were reports of continuing heavy gunfire after the deadline.

Sources said two other Unita leaders, General Arlindo Chenda Pena, the movement's military chief of staff, and Abel Chivukuvuku, the head of its foreign affairs department, had apparently escaped from Luanda.

1 000 dead in Angolan war

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AT 3/11/92

Attache: 'South Africans all alive'

By GLYNNIS UNDERHILL

THERE had been no news of any South Africans killed in the fighting in Angola, Commandant Johan Smith said yesterday.

The South African military attache in Luanda was speaking by satellite phone on board the Greek passenger liner, The Mediterranean Sea, anchored off the capital.

Commandant Smith said he and seven other South Africans had a "panoramic view of all the fighting" in the capital, which he described as "less intense".

Meanwhile, the navy supply ship, SAS Tafelberg, is due to reach Luanda tomorrow.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Awie Marais said several countries had asked that the SAS Tafelberg evacuate their citizens.

Mr Smith said attempts were being made to "keep tabs" on the 50 to 70 South Africans believed to be trapped in Luanda.

The ANC deputy head of international affairs, Mr Aziz Pahad, said there was concern about members in the capital.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said the South African government was trying to get 18 South Africans out of the Kafunfu area, which had been overrun by Unita insurgents. — Sapa

LUANDA. — A United Nations-brokered ceasefire in Angola collapsed yesterday just hours after it had been announced as government and rebel soldiers battled each other in the capital for a fourth day.

Heavy fighting broke out at dawn when government tanks reportedly assaulted the Luanda residence of Unita chief Dr Jonas Savimbi and pounded other strongholds of his supporters in the city centre with mortar and artillery fire.

Angolan radio said 1000 nationals and foreigners had died in fighting across the country, mainly in Luanda, Huambo, Benguela port, Lobito and Lobango.

It was reported yesterday that senior Unita supporters had been killed, including vice-president Mr Jeremias Chitunda and former chief of staff, General Arlindo Chena Pena, a nephew of Dr Savimbi and his most trusted aide.

Witnesses said the battles had diminished by late yesterday and the government seemed to have most of the city under control.

Police vehicles with loudspeakers cruised the streets calling for people to respect the ceasefire.

Groups of armed civilians were



ARMED TO THE TEETH . . . Angolan state television shows a policeman with rocket-propelled grenades and an assault rifle in Luanda Sunday.

Picture: AP

reportedly hunting down Unita supporters and looting buildings they had used.

The ceasefire was to have taken effect at midnight Sunday, after United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali held telephone conversations with both Dr Savimbi and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Ambassadors of the UN's security council members — the United States, Russia, China, Britain and France — were scheduled to meet yesterday to discuss the growing crisis.

The British foreign office said Ms Margaret Anstee, UN special representative in Angola, was try-

ing to convene a meeting of officials from both sides to discuss violations of the ceasefire.

Dr Savimbi is still in the central Angolan city of Huambo, where he established his headquarters after elections last September.

The Luanda airport reopened yesterday and a Brazilian aircraft landed to fly out its nationals. A Portuguese plane was expected later.

The situation outside Luanda was unclear. There were reports of heavy fighting in the port city of Benguela, but the truce appeared to be holding in other cities. — Sapa-AP-Reuters

Angolans venture out as ceasefire holds

LISBON. — A fragile ceasefire appeared to have taken hold in Angola after four days of ferocious combat between the government and the former rebel movement Unita, in which more than 1 000 people were killed.

Portuguese media reports said residents of the capital Luanda ventured out of their houses yesterday for the first time since the fighting began.

They said police tried to stop armed civilians loyal to the government from carrying out revenge attacks on officials of the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) and a curfew was imposed in Luanda province last night.

Portuguese television showed armed bands in Luanda searching houses and hotels for Unita members and described the Unita high command as "decapitated" after reports that senior officials had been killed or injured.

"There does not appear to be generalised combat ... but there are cases of vandalism and pillaging," said Portuguese Deputy Foreign Minister Jose Manuel Durao Barroso, appealing to both sides to observe the UN-brokered ceasefire.

"If this does not happen there will be real tragedy in Angola," said the minister, who negotiated last year's ceasefire which ended 16 years of civil war.

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) government had regained control of Luanda and most provincial capitals but much of the country's second city Huambo was in the hands of Jonas Savimbi's Unita, he said.

The United Nations said hostilities were confined to small pockets and some of the shooting going on was "celebratory rather than actual combat — of people shooting in the air".

UN officials in Angola were trying to bring the MPLA and Unita to the negotiating table to discuss consolidating the ceasefire. UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali briefed the Security Council's permanent members on the ceasefire.

Dr Boutros-Ghali was due to meet Angolan Prime Minister Fernando Jose Franca Van Dunem late yesterday. The MPLA wants UN peacekeepers to stay in Angola longer than the one-month extension to the end of November granted last Friday.

Dr Savimbi has retreated to Huambo in the central highlands after rejecting UN-supervised elections in September — which the MPLA won — as a "shameful massive fraud".

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon warned of serious consequences if there was confirmation of reports that two of the former rebel movement's top leaders had been killed. Unita would be demanding an explanation from the government, he said.

Meanwhile authorities have imposed a dusk-to-dawn curfew throughout Luanda province for three days, Angop news agency monitored in Lisbon reported.

The provincial commander Gaspar da Silva, quoted by Angop, said the "extraordinary measure" was to discourage actions likely to disrupt the "relative stability" which had been restored in the area. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

Foreign governments ask SA to evacuate nationals in Angola

8:10 AM
3/11/92

RAY HARTLEY

(5)

SEVERAL foreign countries have asked SA to help evacuate their residents from Angola, as the country teeters on the brink of full-scale civil war.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Awie Marais said yesterday a number of countries, which could not be named because of diplomatic sensitivities, had asked that the SAS Tafelberg evacuate their citizens.

The Tafelberg is expected to arrive in Luanda some time before Friday.

Marais said all SA diplomats had already been evacuated to a Greek ship 2km off Luanda harbour. It was impossible to say how many other SA citizens were still in Angola.

He said the breaking of a UN ceasefire signed at the weekend could have been the result of a misunderstanding which resulted in some groups believing it only took effect last night.

He described the situation as calmer yesterday, although sporadic firing was reported from time to time.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha was monitoring the situation closely, Marais said.

A top military analyst said Angola's oil-rich Cabinda province could fall to the rebel Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave (Flec) if the MPLA got heavily involved in fighting Unita to the south.

Military writer Helmoed-Römer Heitman said Cabinda had a friendly border with Congo, and although Flec did not enjoy national support it had a sizeable ethnic following in the province.

He said as many as 30 000 troops armed with light weapons could be mobilised by Unita in an effort to capture MPLA positions in Luanda quickly and pave the way for a Flec takeover in Cabinda.

The outcome of today's US presidential election would have little effect on Unita's military capability as Republicans and Democrats had ruled out support for the movement.

Unita would have to win the war quickly or suffer serious setbacks in a drawn-out, conventional confrontation with the MPLA whose heavy equipment made them better suited to a full-scale war.

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More than 1 000 die in battles

Govt takes back control in Luanda

B/DAM 3/11/92 (5)

LUANDA — The Angolan government was establishing control in the capital yesterday hours after a UN-brokered ceasefire took effect to end intense clashes with rebels that threatened to reignite civil war.

Angolan state radio said up to 1 000 people died in the weekend fighting, the worst since a 1991 peace accord that ended the 16-year war between the US-backed rebels and the pro-Soviet government.

Witnesses said yesterday the battles between government forces and Unita rebels had diminished, and police vehicles with loudspeakers cruised the streets calling for people to respect the ceasefire.

Groups of armed civilians were reportedly hunting down Unita supporters and looting buildings they had used. A government statement read on Angolan state radio appealed for "humanitarian treatment" toward Unita supporters.

The UN said yesterday it believed the ceasefire was holding and fighting was reduced to small areas.

Spokesman Joe Sills said the ceasefire, brokered by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali over the weekend, "does seem to have had a favourable effect. There were some problems initially (but) hostilities are reduced to small pockets".

Sills said some of the shooting appeared to be "celebratory rather than actual combat" of people shooting into the air.

He said the UN was making every effort to bring the parties to the negotiating table to discuss consolidating the ceasefire.

The remaining South Africans in Angola

were yesterday again advised to flee the country.

SA's military attaché in Angola, Cmdt Johan Smit, said difficulties were being experienced in reaching all SA nationals, especially those in outlying areas, but as soon as contact was made they would be brought to a central point.

Between 50 and 70 South Africans were believed to be in Luanda yesterday.

Unita spokesman in Lisbon Carlos Fortuna said he could not confirm reports that Unita vice-president Jeremias Chitunda and other top officials were slain in the weekend battles. He said contact had been lost with several Unita leaders in Luanda.

A machine-gun battle raged for about an hour yesterday after a police armoured car shelled Unita positions in Luanda's diplomatic quarter before dawn.

The fighting was the worst since tensions escalated after Unita lost elections in late September to the government.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi claims the elections were rigged, although the UN says balloting was generally free and fair.

Unconfirmed reports on Portuguese radio yesterday said several leading Unita officials in Luanda had been killed, wounded or captured. One said Unita's foreign affairs spokesman Abel Chivukuvuku was seriously wounded and being treated at a military hospital. Diplomats said Gen Ben Ben, one of Savimbi's most trusted men, had apparently been killed.

Savimbi left the capital three weeks ago and was last reported in the central highland city of Huambo. He has been ru-

□ To Page 2

Luanda

moured to be in Morocco, but the rumours could not be confirmed.

The speed with which the ceasefire was worked out with UN, US and Portuguese mediation suggested both sides wanted to step back from the brink of another nationwide conflict. But head of the US mission, Edmund de Jarnette, described the situation as "still confused".

The weekend fighting left the capital in chaos. A nurse at Luanda's Prenda Hospital told Lisbon's TSF radio yesterday: "There's no medicine, no doctors, nothing,

just bodies and wounded lying on the floor."

The situation outside Luanda was unclear. A Benguela resident told AP of heavy fighting there.

Bulgaria's foreign ministry said yesterday two Bulgarians, including its charge d'affaires, were missing presumed kidnapped. "We have reason to believe the kidnapped Bulgarians will be used as hostages," a foreign ministry official told Reuter. — Sapa-Reuter

● Comment: Page 14

News

in brief

Sowetan 4/11/92
Calm returns to Luanda (S)

LUANDA - Sporadic shots yesterday broke the calm that has returned to Luanda after four days of bloody conflict between Angolan government troops and the former rebel group Unita.

More than 1 000 people are reported to have died in the fighting and yesterday Luanda residents who ventured out found some of the streets littered with corpses. Police used an overnight curfew to disperse armed bands who carried out a brutal house-to-house manhunt for members of Jonas Savimbi's Unita.

Unita's high command has been dismantled.

Warning on fireworks

POLICE will crack down on unlicensed fireworks dealers on the Witwatersrand over the next few months.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday: "The police will be very strict concerning any contravention of the regulations promulgated under the Explosives Act. People setting off firecrackers in public must expect to be arrested. We just cannot allow what happened last year when many people - especially children - were injured."

R6,5m case postponed

THE case involving two men masquerading as ANC members and being arrested in connection with R6,5 million fraud was postponed in the Roodepoort Regional Court yesterday.

Mr Henry Smith and Mr Ronald Shabalala have not been asked to plead. The prosecutor, Mrs Charmain Maree, asked that the case be postponed to November 17 when more evidence would be presented and a specific number of charges formulated. The men are in custody.

PAC scholarship fund

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday launched its first scholarship trust fund, named after colourful African nationalist and intellectual Anton Lembede. *Sowetan 4/11/92* (S)

The trust is to be run independently of the organisation by a board of educationists and academics. However, the PAC will make the initial deposit to get the fund off the ground.

The trustees of the fund, which is also in honour of late PAC leader Mr Zephania Mothopeng, are Professor Eskia Mphahlele, Professor Maje Seroto, Mrs Dallis Hall, Mr Makhudu Ramopo, Mr David Mmutle, Wits lecturer Mr Klaas Mashishi, St Barnabas College principal Mr Michael Corke and Pretoria attorney and PAC member Mr Moss Mavundla.

Angola calm . . . for now

⑤ CT 4/11/92

LUANDA. — Angola, including the capital, was relatively quiet yesterday and life started returning to normal under a UN-sponsored ceasefire after weekend fighting that state radio said claimed about 1 000 lives nationwide.

Despite the relative calm, there were fears of more violence.

Some fighting was reported in the towns of Viana and Caxito just outside Luanda and sporadic shooting was heard in the capital's sprawling shanty towns.

The army said yesterday it held 14 top Unita officers after clashes in Luanda.

For the first time since Saturday, Luandans began leaving their homes yesterday

to check on relatives and civilian cars were seen in the streets.

Meanwhile, in Washington the US on Monday strongly urged warring parties to immediately respect the UN-brokered ceasefire and to allow a second round of presidential elections.

At UN headquarters in New York, Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali's spokesman Mr Joe Sills said the world body was optimistic about getting the parties back to the negotiating table.

In Harare, a spokeswoman for the UN's World Food Programme said here yesterday some 130 non-essential UN personnel have been flown out of Luanda. They include mainly women and the children of

UN workers, and would be flown to Windhoek.

In another development, Portuguese Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Durao Barroso, an important architect of the Angolan peace accords of May 1991, called for "a national government of reconciliation" in Angola.

● The Namibian government is preparing for an influx of Angolan refugees, the Namibian newspaper reported yesterday.

People fleeing the fighting would be allowed into the country, a government official said on Monday.

They are expected to enter at Ovambo, the Kawango and eastern Caprivi regions.
— Sapa-AP-AFP

Precarious ceasefire holding in Luanda

LUANDA — The Angolan government ordered its troops to barracks and extended a curfew in Luanda to reinforce a precarious ceasefire, but there were reports of fighting with Unita in the city of Lobito yesterday. *SIDAM 4/11/72*

Unofficial sources said there had been contact between the MPLA and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi. Portuguese government officials said the two parties were negotiating to exchange prisoners.

Officials in Luanda confirmed Unita vice-president Jeremias Chitunda, Savimbi's nephew Elias Salupeto Pena and Gen Demostenes Chilingutilla, Unita's man in charge of forming a single Angolan army,

had been killed.

RAY HARTLEY reports ⁽⁵⁾ requests for assistance with the evacuation of foreign nationals from Luanda continued to pour in to SA, but details could not be given because of diplomatic sensitivities, Foreign Affairs spokesman Awie Marais said.

The diamond-rich Kafuufu area, where about 12 South Africans were stranded, remained quiet and they appeared to be in no immediate danger, he said.

Suggestions that SA Air Force planes were on standby for a possible airlift from the capital were not true, he added. — Sapa-Reuter.

World in

Fragile peace in Angola

LUANDA - The Angolan capital Luanda was quiet yesterday after bitter fighting between government troops and the opposition movement Unita. (5)

Residents said only government troops were to be seen on the streets and people were starting to return to their jobs. *Sowetan 5/11/92*

A ceasefire seemed to be holding after several days of heavy fighting in which government forces appeared to have overwhelmed Unita bases in the city. Residents said Unita fighters had fled to the outskirts and many had thrown away their battle fatigues in favour of civilian clothing.

Angola: Peace hopes as fighting ends ⑤ CR 5/11/99

LISBON — The last pockets of fighting between Angolan government troops and Unita opposition forces appeared to die down yesterday amid signs that dialogue might resume.

Residents in Luanda resumed their daily routines after at least 1,200 died in four days of fighting.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos had earlier accused opposition leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi of trying to mount a coup d'etat. He said Dr. Savimbi's supporters had attacked government targets over the weekend in a bid to seize power.

The government and Unita had held talks to end the fighting in Lobo and Benguela, according to diplomats in Lisbon yesterday.

TV footage showing captured Unita General Huambo saying Dr. Savimbi was willing to travel to Luanda for peace talks with Mr. Dos Santos were being treated with caution.

Lisbon-based representatives of both Unita and the Angolan government said they had no confirmation that talks were pending.

Some reports allege Dr. Savimbi's high command is smashed and his power greatly reduced. His right-hand man Mr. Salupeto Pena and Unita vice-president Mr. Jeremias Chitunda were killed while fleeing Luanda.

Portugal continued yesterday to evacuate its 40,000 nationals.

Meanwhile, SAA has suspended its two weekly flights to Luanda till "the situation stabilises" — Sapa-Reuter, AFP.

Hospital crisis after battles ⑤

CF 511092
LUANDA. — Hospital staff said they were short of personnel, drugs and blood supplies after the four days of fighting in which hundreds were wounded.

Corpses and many burnt-out vehicles were still strewn across Luanda's streets yesterday, particularly in districts occupied by Unita.

Buildings occupied by Unita supporters were damaged and their homes looted.

Many shops and offices remained closed and prices for basic food products have risen by a quarter. — Sapa-AFP

100 years older — but I'm alive

FOREIGN pilots fleeing the Angolan capital of Luanda have described a chaotic battleground, hundreds of bodies littering the streets and civilian shooting at random.

They reported this carnage as Portuguese reporters in the Angolan capital said the death toll in the past six days of fighting might be twice the 1200 so far reported.

"I'm filthy and 100 years older — but I'm alive," said a 30-year-old South African who arrived at Grand Central Airport, Johannesburg, with two compatriots and an Israeli in a bullet-ridden nine-seater aircraft.

Pilot tells of bodies littering the streets of Angola's war-torn capital

The four were trapped in the city after fighting between the government and Unita cut them off from Luanda airport.

Jonathan Rosenzweig, a 27-year-old South African and one of the four, said that on Friday scores of police surrounded the Turismo Hotel, Unita's city centre headquarters, and bombarded it with rocket-propelled grenades for two days.

The building was reduced to a smoking shell, and hundreds of bodies lay in the deserted streets, he said.

The pilots covered in the central Hotel Fivoli, setting up makeshift protection at windows as armed civilians hunted down Unita officials based at the Tropicco Hotel next door.

Mr Rosenzweig said the police were fairly disciplined, but looters ransacked shops and smashed windows across the city.

The pilots heard only sporadic gunfire on Tuesday, as they broke through to the airport in a 50-vehicle military convoy organised by the Portuguese embassy to evacuate

women and children.

The Portuguese state news agency, Lusa, reported today that more than 1 000 people had died in clashes in the capital and that at least that number had died in five days of fighting in Lobito, to the south, where United Nations officials helped to halt hostilities yesterday.

Half the estimated 22 000 men mobilised by Unita in the past week's violence might have been routed, dispersed or captured. But Unita had occupied the town

of Caxito, north of Luanda, since Tuesday, and its forces were poised to attack other towns. It was also reported to have kidnapped 20 Brazilians and 50 Russians working on a dam.

Luanda itself has returned to near normality since Monday's UN-brokered ceasefire. Portuguese television showed busy traffic and frantic shopping, but charred and mutilated corpses and burnt-out vehicles dotted the shattered streets.

Portuguese officials confirmed direct contacts between Unita leader

Dr Jonas Savimbi and the ruling MPLA. A captured Unita general said Dr Savimbi was willing to travel to Luanda to meet President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

But the chief UN representative in Angola, Margaret Anstee, has not yet managed to set up peace talks. The MPLA is demanding unconditional total ceasefire, demobilisation of all Unita fighters and acceptance of the election results.

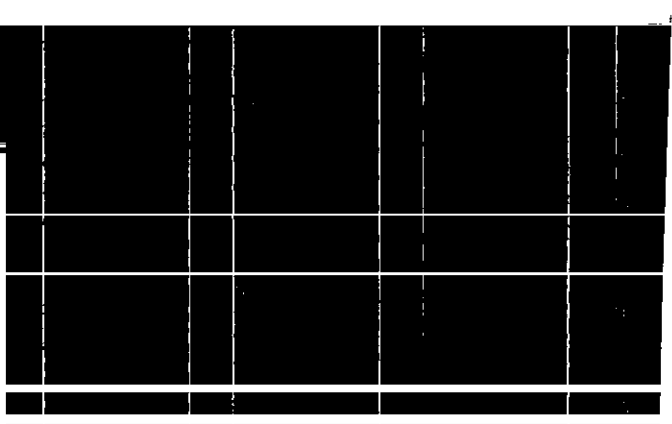
The September election gave the MPLA a landslide victory and UN observers adjudged it fair. But Dr Sa-

Vimbi rejected the outcome, withdrew to his stronghold in the central highland city of Huambo and pulled out of the newly formed joint armed forces.

Portugal continued to evacuate hundreds of nationals from Luanda, and other countries joined in. Nearly 200 evacuees reached the island state of Sao Tome and Principe yesterday.

A Sao Tome woman told how looters broke into her house, tied up her husband and tried to rape her in front of him.

A German mining engineer described seeing a man cut down by crossfire in Luanda — Sapa-Reut



AFRICA

Savimbi willing to hold peace talks

BIDAY 5/11/92

LISBON — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi was willing to travel to Luanda for talks with President José Eduardo dos Santos, a Unita military commander told Angolan television late on Tuesday.

More than 1 200 people have been reported killed during four days of fierce fighting between the MPLA government forces and Unita.

The fighting died down in most of the country on Monday after the UN secured a ceasefire. On Tuesday Portuguese government sources confirmed reports from Luanda that there had been contacts between the MPLA and Savimbi.

Unita Gen Huambo, speaking in Luanda where he was the prisoner of government forces, said he had been in contact with Savimbi who is believed to be at his stronghold in the central Angolan highlands. Huambo's

brief statement was reported by the Portuguese news agency Lusa.

Savimbi's high command has been decimated, his supporters in Luanda hunted down and their bodies left to rot in the streets and his headquarters there ransacked.

Angolan television showed the corpses of Savimbi's nephew and right-hand man Salupeto Pena and Unita vice-president Jeremias Chitunda, apparently shot while trying to flee Luanda.

It also showed his foreign affairs spokesman Abel Chivukuvuku in a hospital bed in MPLA custody. His top military commander, Gen Arlindo Pena Ben-Ben, was reported to be seriously wounded and may have been captured.

The MPLA said it would only release Savimbi's top officers once he agreed to respect the terms of last year's peace accord brokered by Por-

tugal after 16 years of civil war.

Fatima Roque, the Unita economics spokesman who was trying to negotiate safe passage for herself and her colleagues from a Luanda hotel surrounded by armed MPLA supporters, said she was "full of faith and optimism" about the chances for peace.

However, there were reports that fierce fighting continued in the coastal town of Lobito, south of Luanda.

The UN said last night that 20 Brazilians and 50 Russians had been kidnapped by Unita in the eastern part of the country where they had been working on a dam project.

UN spokesman Joe Sillis said UN staff in Angola had been informed that the group "had been seized by Unita forces and we are looking into that".

He gave no further details. — Sapa-Reuter.

NEWS First direct talks with rebel leader Savimbi

Angola govt and Unita in contact

LUANDA - The Angolan government has established its first direct contact with opposition Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi since fighting flared up anew last week.

Angolan news agency *Angop* yesterday quoted Angola television as saying that armed forces chief of staff General Antonio dos Santos had telephoned Savimbi to discuss "practical modalities for implementing throughout the country the (UN-brokered) ceasefire" announced last Sunday.

Savimbi is in his stronghold in the central town of Huambo,

At UN headquarters in New York, spokesman Joe Sills said on Wednesday that Unita forces had seized some 70 foreigners working on a dam in Angola.

He had no further information on the incident, in which some 50 Russian and 20 Brazilian experts were said to have been taken at the Capanda Dam.

Angolan radio said the government and Unita decided on Wednesday to end the fighting in the coastal town of

PEACE BID Unita forces

accused of holding aliens

and trying to mount a coup:

Lobito and in central Benguela province.

It had earlier reported that Unita forces had occupied Caxito, 60km south of Luanda, on Wednesday.

According to an official military communique, three top Unita leaders were killed and eight of its generals put "under the protection" of the Angolan government.

The death toll in the Luanda fighting has been put at around 1 500.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has accused Unita of trying to mount a coup with attacks on strategic sites such as the airport. - *Sapa-AFP*.

Sowetan 6/11/92

(5)

Savimbi - the man who would be president

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback

By *Lulama Luli*



with Tim Modise

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi was last night highly criticised for refusing to accept defeat in the elections and plunging Angola into another war.

University of the Western Cape researcher Mr Collin Darchard, on the *Sowetan* Radio Metro Talkback Show, said Savimbi had always entertained the ambition of becoming Angolan president.

"The central problem (in Angola) is his ambition to be president. He won't accept anything less than that."

"What Savimbi wanted from the onset was to be president. When he was still a student in the 60s, he joined the MPLA and wanted to be a leader. He

wouldn't accept the suggestion to be a rank and file member and later elected to form Unita," said Darch.

He said the real danger was that, while Angola would not necessarily slip into a large scale war, it could however slip into a low intensity guerrilla warfare as had been the case with Mozambique.

Many callers blamed South Africa and the United States for backing Savimbi.

"South Africa should not have intervened in Angola. I think Angolans should have had the UN supervise the elections as they did

in Namibia.

Naidoo, Durban

"I think the situation in Angola is very worrying, especially given that South Africa had been intricately involved in the destabilisation process there. One doubts (Foreign Minister) Pik Botha's honesty in trying to mediate now. We are seeing a situation which does not augur well for us South Africans when people refuse to accept defeat."

"Guita has received considerable aid from the USA. They can't do it without that aid?"

Essop, Durban.

"South Africa is far from reaching democracy. Unlike in Mozambique and Angola we have more than one parties opposing each other. They must learn to sit around the table and talk and put their arms down."

Lucky, Dreyton

Hope, Johannesburg

UN to host Angolan peace talks today

6/11/92

JOHANNESBURG. — War-weary residents of the dilapidated Angolan capital Luanda are pinning fragile peace hopes on United Nations peace talks and other contacts between the former leaders of a 16-year civil war.

In New York, UN officials said a meeting between six or seven representatives from the feuding parties would take place today.

They said generals from Unita and the government did not meet yesterday as scheduled but had telephone contacts to arrange today's session under the chairmanship of Margaret Anstee, the chief UN representative in Angola.

UN spokesman Mr Joe Sills said Undersecretary-General Mr Marrack Goulding was heading for Luanda to support the peace efforts. He is expected to land in Namibia today before heading for Luanda.

Diplomats said he would meet Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and government officials to help to negotiate a truce as the country counts the costs of the latest carnage wrought by Angola's former civil war foes.

Witnesses reached by telephone in Luanda said the capital's main thoroughfares had been cleared of bodies left from a week of fighting between civil war factions but corpses lay sprawled in backstreets.

Confused official casualty reports spoke of 1 500 people killed in Luanda alone and thousands more in the rest of the country, but there was no way of confirming the death count.

Angolan National Radio said fighting between police and Unita continued in Caxito, held by Unita, and in the central Bie province and Luena in the east.

The Angolan government confirmed for the first time today that Unita's army chief was killed in weekend fighting in Luanda.

State-run Angolan National Radio, monitored in Lisbon by the Portuguese news agency Lusa, said the charred body of Unita chief of staff General Arlindo Chenda Pena "Ben-Ben" was found in a burnt-out car.

— Sapa-Reuter.

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Freed SA man gets quick flight out of Luanda

RAY HARTLEY

5

FORMER SA diplomat Sean Cleary, who may have been acting as an adviser to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, was scheduled to be evacuated from Luanda late last night on a Safair flight chartered by the SA government. *BIDAM 6/11/92*

A Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed Cleary had been arrested by the MPLA on Wednesday and handed over to SA government staff in Luanda on condition that he would be flown back to SA immediately.

It has not been established why the MPLA arrested Cleary, but one report has suggested he asked to be placed in protective custody when he feared for his safety after renewed hostilities in Angola.

Cleary was named by the Guardian newspaper as the mastermind behind an international campaign to discredit Swapo in 1985. Cleary accompanied national peace committee chairman John Hall to Ulundi last year to persuade Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to attend the signing of the national peace accord.

The Safair flight was chartered while on its way to Entebbe, indicating government attached urgency to the flight, Safair spokesman Matthew Temple said.

The chartering of the flight followed the sudden cancellation of the SAS Tafelberg's rescue mission.

The flight would probably also carry ANC members stranded in Angola, ANC spokesman Aziz Pahad said, adding the ANC was trying to get everybody to accept the outcome of the Angolan election.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday Savimbi was prepared to meet Angolan president Jose Eduardo Dos Santos.

Botha said an emotional Savimbi told him on Wednesday he was also prepared to participate in a government of national unity, but feared for his safety.

President F.W. de Klerk had conveyed Savimbi's sentiments to Dos Santos and had urged him to take steps to secure the Unita leader's safety.

● Picture: Page 3

Separating the bullets from the ballot

As Angola teeters between a return to civil war and a fragile ceasefire, the crisis in the country holds out important lessons for the regional peace process.

No longer can it be assumed that a ceasefire and internationally monitored elections are sufficient to establish a lasting peace in a country torn by years of bitter civil strife. The major lesson is that there must be strict demobilisation and disarmament of both forces before elections take place.

The United Nations-brokered ceasefire has held since Tuesday, with only sporadic gunfire heard throughout Luanda. It has been reported that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi intends to meet President José Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda.

The tension remains so high, however, that foreign embassies and aid missions continue to evacuate all non-essential personnel from Angola. The British government made an emergency airlift of its citizens on Wednesday and the UN flew some of its personnel to Windhoek. The Portuguese government is using planes and ships to

If the United Nations had run the Angolan elections, instead of merely acting as a

monitoring group, perhaps they would have had more

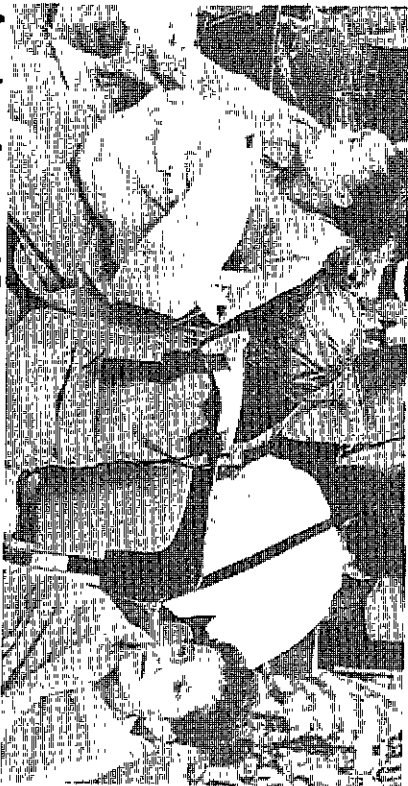
chance of success, writes

ANDY MELDRUM

remove its citizens, who number 40 000.

In one sense, the week's events could pave the way for a more durable settlement. After being beaten back from Luanda after a violent bid for the power denied him at the ballot box, with many of his top officers killed or taken prisoner, Savimbi may be more inclined to compromise.

But there is a very real possibility that he will divide Angola in two and keep control of the southern half. Unita retains control of Angola's second city, Huambo, along with the arid central and southern areas where the rebels have ethnic support from the Ovimbundu people who make up



Angolan refugees ... A Brazilian mother and her child were among the refugees arriving in Windhoek

Photo: AP

about 30 percent of Angola's population.

It appears Unita also holds strategic Lobito, whose deep-water Atlantic port will be essential if the movement sets out to create a secessionist state in southern Angola.

The UN monitoring team in Angola, Unavem, openly admits that only 50 percent of the armed forces had been demobilised just one week before the elections. This figure hides the fact that most of the demobilisa-

tion had been of the government troops, leaving Unita's smaller but disciplined force, fanatically loyal to Savimbi, largely in place.

A larger UN team and peace-keeping force could have insisted on complete demobilisation and disarmament of both forces. The election campaign should not begin until the international team can confirm that both sides have been disarmed and dispersed and a new joint force is in place.

It also appears unwise in retrospect

that a notoriously corrupt government was entrusted with the administration of the election process.

Some of Unita's specific charges of vote rigging are valid, though they would not have changed the overall outcome of the election. But charges of balloting irregularity were almost inevitable if Unita lost.

Rather than exercising a monitoring role, it appears the UN should have run the election itself, as it did in Namibia.

In Namibia in 1989, the UN had close to 9 000 officials running elections for a population of just under two million. In Angola, the UN had 500 officials to monitor polling by up to 12-million people.

While Angolan leaders paid lip service to the election process, both sides used loopholes in the peace accord to create guards in the run-up to the elections which reflected their lack of faith in the polling.

Using loopholes in the peace accord, the two sides sent out a sinister message that they did not trust the elections to settle matters.

Cleary's company 'must leave Angola'

w/m... 6/11-12/11/92

5

By CAROL GALES and EDDIE KOCH

THE Angolan government wants Pretoria to remove Sean Cleary, a former South African diplomat who provides Unita leader Jonas Savimbi with strategic advice, from the country.

Angolan press attache Jorge Morais this week charged Cleary is providing Unita with "logistical and political" support at a time when the rebel movement threatens to resume civil war.

The Angolan official's accusations come in the wake of claims that Cleary's company — a political consultancy called Strategic Concepts — has attempted to push the Angolan government into giving Unita more power in a government of national unity than Savimbi's movement earned in recent elections.

Cleary is said to have drafted a post-election document for Savimbi which argues for the formation of a government of national unity that allows Unita to have joint control over the country's key ministries.

"Joint responsibility for all key ministries (defence, interior and territorial administration in this case) provides the key to reintegration of forces and territory," the confidential document says.

It concedes that cabinet ministers in a new

Angolan government be allocated between Unita and the ruling MPLA party according to votes cast in the September election but urges that all key ministries be shared equally.

"Each of the ministries of Defence, Interior, Information, Territorial Planning and Justice should have either an MPLA minister and Unita deputy or an Unita minister and an MPLA deputy." It suggests that unless the Angolan government accepts such a plan the country will "collapse into civil war yet again".

Morais says the Cleary plan conflicts sharply with his government's concept of national unity: "that political parties could participate in this unity government according to their positions in the electoral results". In the September elections the MPLA won 53,8 percent of the vote while Unita polled 33,8 percent.

Cleary, a former employee of the Department of Foreign Affairs, allegedly played an active role to undermine Namibia's liberation movement, Swapo, in the run-up to independence elections in that country.

He received a R7,5-million loan to promote the territory's South African-backed transitional government and *The Guardian* reported that he

helped set up a foreign lobbying group, Strategic Network International, to discredit Swapo in European circles.

Cleary also addressed local meetings of Adult Education Consultants, a military intelligence front company that supported anti-African National Congress projects in South Africa in the 1980s.

"If one enterprise put into danger relations between two governments, then they (the South African government) should work on that," said Morais. He was referring to extensive support provided by Cleary to Savimbi in the period leading up to Unita's resumption of hostilities that has left more than 1 000 people dead in a week.

Earlier this year Cleary approached officials in the Mozambican government and sources close to the office of President Joaquim Chissano fear his company may try to link up with Renamo in the same way it acted for Unita when multi-party elections take place in Mozambique.

Attempts to get comment from Strategic Concepts were unsuccessful this week. A staff member said Cleary was out of the country and other employees of Strategic Concepts were not allowed to speak to the press.



Naming names in Angola

CARTOON BY POSY SIMMONDS

ANGOLA is as explosive for Southern Africa as Bosnia has become for Southern Europe. Both crises demonstrate the knock-on potential of regional conflict which has become much more dangerous since the end of the cold war. The superpowers no longer have a vested interest in containing local struggles to preserve the balance of their rivalry. Instead old and new conflicts are allowed to rip on, with devastating effects which can spill over into the wider region. The uttering of deep regrets in western capitals and at the United Nations is of no help at all to those dying in the streets of Huambo or Jajce. Nor will it do anything to reduce the negative example being set for future peace in Mozambique or Macedonia.

On Friday, the UN Security Council finally pronounced on Angola in a binding but empty resolution. It could not bring itself to name Unita and its leader, Jonas Savimbi, as the destroyers of peace after the elections. Instead, it weakly affirmed that "any party" which fails to abide by the peace accord will be "rejected by the international community". The UN Secretary-General, Britain and the US have also called on "both sides" to step back from the brink without specifying who has brought the country there. This reluctance to name names is more than a diplomatic device. For the past month, since the elections on September 29, there has

been a persistent refusal to lay the blame where it is due on Unita for rejecting the result. Worse, Western mediators have sought to appease Mr Savimbi by offering him part of what he failed to win at the ballot box.

Mr Savimbi's pre-ballot warnings that he would not accept any electoral verdict which went against him were glossed over by his former international backers. After the vote, he did precisely what he had threatened to. Western envoys and UN mediators then scrambled to try to find a formula which would satisfy him. Unita has made three conflicting political demands. There is already agreement on a second round of the presidential ballot in which President dos Santos narrowly fell short of an absolute majority. But nobody accepts Unita's claim that the whole election was fraudulent. Unita has also called variously for a re-run of the parliamentary contest in seven provinces where the ruling MPLA has won, and a re-run of the entire contest. The mediators are trying to head this off by urging on the Angolan government the advisability of "power-sharing" with Unita. Last week the US envoy, Herman Cohen, even cast doubt on the winner-takes-all principle on which the elections were based. What is good enough tomorrow throughout the US, it appears, is too good for Angola.

Before the simple reality is blurred by loose

phrases it is important to establish the facts. There has been no "resumption of the civil war" in Angola. What has happened is that Unita has broken the peace. If sanctions are in order against Serbia, a rigorous international regime should be enforced against Unita, banning the supply of arms and financial or any other services. (This should be done even though it has no immediate practical effect while Unita expends its ample stocks of US and South African-supplied weapons.) If a war crimes tribunal is proposed for Yugoslavia, Dr Savimbi's own crimes cry out for investigation. A new mediation effort is required which does not involve those international actors compromised by their previous support for the rebel organisation—this could be mounted by the EC troika or by the OAU. As the fighting gets worse international involvement should not be limited to lifting foreign nationals to safety. If in this new world human rights are universal, then in Angola should not UN peace-keepers defend them on the ground?

As we went to press, US voters were going to the polls to elect a new President. Next week the Guardian Weekly will have full coverage of the result plus the important vote in the UK House of Commons on the Maastricht Treaty.

Unita generals surrender to Angolan police units

Guardian [w] [in w/maile] 6/11-12/11/92 (5)

SEVERAL Unita generals gave themselves up on Monday to Angolan police after three days of heavy fighting against government forces. They were under the protection of the ministry of defence, though not under arrest, sources in Luanda said.

The rebel movement's deputy leader, Jeremias Chitunda, and Elias Salupeto Pena, Unita representative on the joint political and military monitoring commission and nephew of Unita's leader, Jonas Savimbi, were reported dead.

Unita's armed pilot committees, which mushroomed through the city in recent weeks in preparation for the offensive which reached its climax and failed over the weekend, were reported virtually dismantled.

All that was left of the offensive in the capital was one force of several hundred Unita soldiers still fighting between the Viana suburb and Luanda itself, and two generals, Ben Ben and Gatto, on the run with Unita's secretary-general, Mango. Unita's foreign affairs spokesman, Abel Chivukuvuku, was seriously wounded and being treated in the military hospital.

Reports said at least 1,000 people may have died in three days of fighting in Luanda and the central and southern towns of Huambo, Benguela, Lobito, and Lubango.

A nurse at Luanda's Prenda Hospital described the situation there as desperate. "There's no medicine, no doctors, nothing, just bodies and wounded lying on the floor," she told Lisbon's TSF radio.

Reports from across the country were sketchy as telephone commu-



Savimbi: bitter blow

By Victoria Brittain

nications became more difficult. The central telephone exchange was one of the casualties of the devastation in the capital, where eyewitnesses described cars burned out and blocks of flats hit by grenade and mortar fire.

A ceasefire which began on Saturday in the second city of Huambo after Unita had seized control of all but a few buildings, was said to be holding. Witnesses reported dozens of bodies in the streets after hours of heavy fighting in which Unita used tanks to take over government buildings.

A local ceasefire held in Lubango, too. But in Benguela heavy fighting broke out when Unita troops entered the barracks of the new national army, the Angolan Armed Force (FAA) and took away heavy

weapons. They then tried unsuccessfully to take the bridge leading from Benguela to the port city of Lobito, and attacked the airport at Catumbela, the sources said.

The ceasefire announced by the United Nations to begin at midnight on Sunday throughout Angola was ignored and had not been signed by either side, according to the sources. One police commander told the TSF radio station 10 hours after it was supposed to have started that he had received no orders to stop firing.

By late afternoon the capital was reported fairly quiet after heavily armed police retook the last significant Unita strongholds. These included the Hotel Tropico in central Luanda, the Miramar diplomatic quarter, seized by Unita soldiers last month, and another small hotel used as a logistics base.

Troops of the FAA remained in their barracks, leaving the police to keep control, and police vehicles with loudspeakers cruised the streets appealing for an end to the shooting. Angolan radio broadcast appeals for all sides to stop firing and for people to stay at home.

Meanwhile, as the political situation appeared far from contained, ambassadors from the five permanent members of the UN Security Council met to discuss the crisis and the British Government issued an urgent appeal to both sides to show restraint.

The second round of presidential elections, following Dr Savimbi's defeat in the first round, is now impossible without a substantial international intervention

From page 1

Savimbi

sembled, a United Nations spokesman said. ⁵ Oct 7/11/92
However, Angolan National Radio said that fighting was taking place between government police and Unita in Caxito, 30km north-east of Luanda.

Diplomats said Luanda was quiet yesterday, although Angolan state radio reported widespread fighting in Malanje and Cuanza Norte provinces in the north, central Bie province, Moxico province in the west and Cuanda Cubango province in the south.

The UN spokesman said the UN secretary-general's special representative in Angola, Ms Margaret Anstee, was still trying to get President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Dr Savimbi together.

Operations

Under Secretary-General Mr Marrack Goulding, who heads UN peace-keeping operations, arrived in Luanda yesterday, the spokesman added.

Mr Botha said the South African government had contacted foreign governments asking them to "exert pressure" on the ruling MPLA party "to give Savimbi a chance... to abide by a ceasefire".

● Unita called on the United States yesterday to intervene to end fighting in Angola, saying the fighting had left 15,000 dead.

● South Africa has been suggested as a venue for a meeting between President dos Santos and Dr Savimbi, according to UN sources.
— Sapa-AP-AFP

**Savimbi:
We will
never
give in** ⁵ Oct 7/11/92

PRETORIA. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has sworn he will not surrender under any circumstances, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said here yesterday.

Mr Botha, who was at the Waterkloof Airbase to meet 309 refugees evacuated from Angola, said Dr Savimbi had told him the Angolan government was threatening Unita generals in Luanda in a bid to force him to surrender the town of Kuito, 60km north-east of Luanda, which Unita forces occupied on Wednesday.

Meanwhile, Unita has freed an Angolan army general and two senior officers, the Angolan press said yesterday. The Angolan government confirmed yesterday that Dr Savimbi's army chief was killed in fighting in Luanda.

Peace talks scheduled for yesterday at the town of Caxito have been delayed because the negotiating teams have not yet been as-

To page 2

Angola expels Unita aide

PRETORIA. — A South African acting as consultant to Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement said yesterday that no reason had been given for his arrest and expulsion by the Angolan government. CT 7/11/92

Mr Sean Cleary, a former diplomat, arrived back in South Africa yesterday.

Reports yesterday named Mr Cleary as the man responsible for drawing up Unita's plans for a transitional government. — Sapa

Refugees tell of terror

ARG 7/11/92 (5)

Weekend Argus Correspondents

PRETORIA. — Almost 300 refugees, evacuated from war-torn Luanda by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, stumbled into Waterkloof Air Force Base late yesterday clutching a few valued belongings and telling of the terror that gripped the Angolan capital as government forces and Unita fought pitched battles.

Most had spent a sleepless night at Luanda airport on Thursday, anxiously awaiting news of whether the two Safair aircraft would be allowed to land.

When the aircraft did arrive, everyone cheered and they cheered again

when it left the almost deserted airport. They cheered even louder when it touched down in Pretoria.

Warmbaths businessman Mr Roy du Preez, a little dazed by the week's events, said he was lucky to be alive. He said he had been arrested by police and held for about 12 hours before being released.

"The police came into my hotel room to search it and they found a Unita T-shirt which I had bought before the election. They arrested me and took me to the police station. They also took all my luggage.

"They let me go only because I happened to see an MPLA colonel whom

I knew through work. He told me afterwards the policemen were planning to kill me."

"The city is still very tense, but it is quiet now," said South Africa businessman Mr Robin Reid.

Bulgarian Mr Ivan Koulchiv said he drank four bottles of whiskey in three days during the worst part of the fighting while he holed up in his house with no food or water. "I also watched soccer on television. What else was there to do?"

German national Mr Peter Beier arrived at Waterkloof clutching a sheep-dog belonging to the Chancellor of the Polish Embassy in Luanda.

By DESMOND BLOW
C/Press 8/11/72

(5)

ANGOLA BANS PIK

Pretoria accused of arming Unita as war rages

Angolan Radio, which was mentioned by the BBC, said Van Dunem had accused Pretoria of providing logistical and armed support to the Unita movement, reports Sage-Reuter.

Van Dunem was reported as saying during a visit to Brazil that about 15 South African aircraft were providing logistical support to Unita and had southern Angola's air space under constant surveillance.

He accused SA of moving a battalion of troops into northern Angola to support Unita forces. Yesterday ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa accused SA of sending Battalion 32 - composed of Angolans - to Angola to assist Unita. But a South African foreign Ministry spokesman said the allegations were so absurd they didn't warrant a reply. He said similar allegations had been made before.

An experienced non-military airman who deals with logistics also told City Press the report that troops were flown to Angola by helicopter was "an impossibility" unless they had the co-operation of the Namibian government, "which makes the allegations absurd".

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said Pretoria had told Savimbi he must negotiate a settlement to the dispute between Unita and the ruling MPLA.

He said Rogier had spoken in S. Africa on Friday and Savimbi had indicated his readiness to negotiate.

SA would not obstruct in any way efforts to install democracy in southern Angola, nor help its former ally Unita to take power by force, the spokesman said. "We categorically, very categorically, have said SA will not in any way want to hamper this. We will not support Unita in any way in armed conflict," he told Reuters. However, Unita was yesterday reported to be

gaining territory in its drive on Luanda and international aid officials fear that as Unita advances there will be chaos and looting in the capital and provinces, reports Sage-Reuter.

Unita was reported to have captured the town of Caxito, 60 km north-east of Luanda and five towns around the provincial capital of Uige and was consolidating positions in the country's second largest city Huambo.

But the MPLA was in control of Luanda after the MPLA ousted Unita troops from their bases, leaving 1 000 dead. "Angola is in a state of war," one UN official told reporters.

There is hope that the offer by President FV de Klerk to host peace negotiations between Savimbi and Des Santos will come to fruition.

Des Santos has not yet replied but it is felt he would prefer the talks to be held in Botswana or Namibia rather than Pretoria. But according to a Western diplomat in Luanda prospects for a summit were very poor. "There is no one left to negotiate with. The entire leadership structure of Unita have either been killed or jailed during the fighting in Luanda, and until Savimbi can build up a new leadership structure it would appear he will continue to fight," the diplomat said.



PIKIN' FOR THE GUY ... Despite political turmoil in the country Guy Fawkes Day passed peacefully - if not very quietly - this week. Children in Soweto took to the streets in fancy dress, many not realising that the origin of the day of fireworks dates to November 6 1605, when Guy Fawkes, a Catholic opponent of the Protestant English monarchy, tried to dynamite the Houses of Parliament. Needless to say, the so-called Gunpowder Plot failed, but the tradition of setting alight an effigy of Guy Fawkes has endured throughout the English-speaking world. City Press spoke to Zandile tshabalala, 24, of Soweto about Guy Fawkes Day. "I think it's great. It doesn't matter why it's celebrated. What is important is that the children love the fireworks, and excitement." We also spoke to George Dlamini of Hillbrow, who complained: "It's just a lot of noise and the crackers are dangerous too." **By: TRULANI STRIHOLE**

New York abuzz over Mtololo's 'juju'

CP Correspondent

'Big Bucks' stops here!

By ELIAS MALULEKE
BIG-SPENDING former Mandloli Sandown boss Zola "Big Bucks" Mahobe is reputed to be broke.

Rumours that Mahobe has no money spread after his recent vain attempt to take over the ailing Pretoria Callies Football Team.

The reason insiders gave was he "could not afford to buy the team".
Now Mahobe, who lives in Rockville with his mistress "Snowy" Moshoshe, has put on sale the modest Plumtree home where his estranged wife Shizake and their two young children live.
But Shizake this week said she would resist the sale of the home.
"For the sake of my children I will resist Zola taking us out. This house will not be sold," Shizake vowed.

Blueprint was not meant to aid Unita, says expelled Cleary

STimes 8/11/92
 FORMER Foreign Affairs official Sean Cleary, who was this week expelled from Angola, denied that he worked on behalf of the South African government or Unita while he was in Luanda.

By HEATHER ROBERTSON

Mr Cleary was thrown out after Angolan press attache Jorge Marais charged him with providing Unita with "logistical and political support when the rebel movement threatened to resume civil war".

The accusation revolves around a policy document Mr Cleary drew up on solutions to the present crisis.

But in an extensive interview this weekend, Mr Cleary said the offending blueprint was not meant to undermine the government but offer suggestions to both parties on resolving tensions.

He said he had presented his suggested strategy plan to all parties involved in the conflict as well as to foreign observers in Luanda.

In the document, he blamed the Angolan crisis on the lack of joint political control of the electoral process.

vimbi 11 days ago, when he suggested proposals for resolving the electoral dispute.

"I cannot say that I have influence over Dr Savimbi; I merely suggested to him possible peaceful solutions to the conflict."

Mr Cleary was expelled from Luanda after the Angolan Minister of Interior called him to a meeting to discuss certain unspecified "illegal actions" he was involved in.

"I waited for five hours for a meeting that did not take place. I was not told what the illegal actions were but was instructed to leave Angola on the first flight out," he said.

He flew back to South Africa on a Safair flight with several other refugees, landing at Waterkloof on Friday.

There have been widespread allegations that his Midrand-based political consultancy Strategic Concepts — which assists associates in Europe and the US in identifying investment opportunities in southern Africa — is a front company for military intelligence.

Mr Cleary denied this yesterday.

"Strategic Concepts is a private company and is not funded by any government department or foreign agencies," he said.

Cavalier

The company is paid for consultancy services in scenario work and socio-political evaluations for a range of companies.

Mr Cleary said he left Foreign Affairs after 15 years service in 1985 because he felt South Africa was too "cavalier" in its dealings with other countries.

Deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs Mr Derek Auret said Mr Cleary had not worked for Minister Pitso Motsepe since he left eight years ago.

Mr Cleary said he was not sure that South Africa could play a decisive mediating role in the Angolan conflict.

"The amount of time that some government officials can devote to mediation in Angola will probably not be enough to mesh with the Angolan parties' own pressures and time tables," he said.

Mr Cleary has also been accused of undermining Swapo during the run-up to elections in Namibia.

At the time he was employed to run the South African transitional government backed Transcontinental company, which promoted the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance parties internationally.

Denial

This week Mr Cleary admitted to disseminating anti-Swapo propaganda on atrocities in their detention camps.

But he denied that he set up a foreign lobbying body, Strategic Network International, to discredit Swapo in Europe.

More recent reports have speculated that Mr Cleary may try to link up with Renamo to undermine the Frelimo government when elections take place in Mozambique.

Mr Cleary said he had been invited by the Mozambican government in May to discuss conflict resolution in the region.

NEWS ROUND-UP

Police in hunt for killer kids

POLICE have warned that Soweto children — some as young as 12 — are carrying guns and killing people "for thrills". The warning comes after increased cases of hijackings involving children.

Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the police were concerned about the trend. "It's a very serious situation. These children are highly dangerous and don't hesitate to kill," he said.

Col Halgryn urged the public to report anyone seen carrying an illegal firearm. "We will act immediately because these guns are used to hijack and kill innocent people."

"The sharp increase in hijackings by children is largely due to easy availability of firearms. They feel they are in control when they are armed. This, they feel, gives them access to other people's property."

48 prisoners to be freed

THE government and the ANC have agreed to the release of 48 more political prisoners by November 15.

After weeks of tedious negotiations in terms of the Record of Understanding, the two sides have whittled down an original list of 500 who are claimed to be political prisoners.

Among those rejected for release are prisoners guilty of rape.

Taxi men die

TWO taxi owners were shot dead in the East Rand township of Kwathema yesterday, raising fears that the feud between taxi associations in the area would flare up again.

Mr Johannes Tshabalala, a member of the Springs Taxi Association, was fatally wounded in the neck and head.

Mr Frans Motsetla was shot at by unknown gunmen armed with AK-47 rifles.

CCB deal

From Page 1

down the gauntlet to the government in a document entitled The Handling of the Financial Disbandment of the CCB by the SADF.

Copies of the document — sent to top government officials, including President de Klerk — also demanded the appointment of an independent committee to deal with the agents' claims "before the CCB skeletons come out of the closet, and in particular, before a new government assumes power".

The agents said they had lost confidence in the SADF's "steamroller approach" and warned that if the government continued to ignore their demands, information about a series of "extremely sensitive issues" would be leaked to the media as part of a carefully designed plan to embarrass President de Klerk and the government.

To emphasise the gravity of their threat, the agents pointed out that "this is already happening... with revelations about Inkatha funding".

A spokesman for the agents said information about government funding of Inkatha rallies "was never leaked from within the inner circles of the SAP, but came from people inside the SADF".

The first salvo in the battle between the CCB and the government was fired in March last year. A group of agents sought an urgent hearing in the Pretoria Supreme court on their breach of contract claim amounting to more than R1,5-million from the government.

The court ruled that the matter was not urgent, although legislation was pending in parliament to indemnify former Defence Minister Magnus Malan and the SADF against claims by dissatisfied CCB members.

The agents — including two women — claimed that the SADF owed them nearly R14-million in outstanding medical aid benefits, leave pay and pensions.

In February this year, the auditor-general's report revealed that the CCB's R3-million pension fund had been paid over to a member of the organisation by an insurance company, and that "the member insists on certain indemnities before paying the money over to the SADF".

On June 4, Defence Minister Gene Louw said the cabinet had decided at its meeting the day before that "unfinished matters" regarding the CCB should be referred to the ombudsman. This followed a request by Mr Verster that CCB agents be allowed to give evidence to parliament's Joint Committee on Public Accounts, which was turned down by the chairman, Dr Francois Jacobs.

On October 3, President de Klerk announced in Gazankulu that the government would bring legislation before parliament granting amnesty to those who had committed politically motivated crimes but had not yet been charged or sentenced.

On October 12, the inquest into the murder of Dr David Webster opened in the Rand Supreme Court, and parliament convened for a short session.

Three days later, a letter signed by Dr Jannie Roux, director-general in President de Klerk's office, assured Joe Verster that the SADF had arranged for the state to pay his legal costs at the Webster inquest.

The following week, the Indemnity Bill was defeated in all three houses of parliament, and President de Klerk took the unusual step of referring it to the President's Council for approval.

This was given on October 30 — the same day on which Mr Verster agreed to testify at the Webster inquest, in camera.

However, when the Rand Supreme court convened last Monday, Mr Verster's legal representative informed Mr Justice Michael Stegmann that his client had gone abroad, and

Collapse

The document suggested that unless the Angolan government accepted joint control of the country's key ministries, the country would collapse into civil war once more. It argued that the police and media should be controlled jointly by Unita and MPLA.

"Aspects of my document were discussed by the parties before the fighting broke out on Saturday," said Mr Cleary.

"I did not mean to impose my views on the situation. It was just a discussion document."

"The reality is that Angola is a major tragedy. I have nothing to gain from the present conflict. In fact, I have everything to lose because I have business interests in the country."

"Unita is fighting against its own interests by resorting to arms."

Mr Cleary admitted that he had had close ties with Jonas Savimbi since the early 80s when he was director-general of Namibia. He last spoke to Dr Sa-

Anderson hits at IFP

Official Bruce Anderson wrote an article denying gun-running before he signed an affidavit saying to the IFP.

Anderson wrote from his mother's house in South Africa, where he was a British intelligence agent, I was

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO

Ulundi for various meetings, and we met at rallies."

Mr Buthelez also claimed Mr Anderson had "a long criminal record".

The Sunday Times knows of at least 20 criminal convictions dating back to 1962, with the most recent being 1982, which include fraud, theft, forgery, and cocaine possession.

Dirty

Mr Anderson said: "It is no secret that I had a drug problem when I was younger. The IFP investigated me thoroughly before I was elected to be on the IFP."

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 Mr Anderson
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 The IFP
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Stowaways in group of Angolan refugees

By SHARON CHETTY

TWO stowaways, five cats and a dog were among the 301 international refugees airlifted from Angola on Friday.

The two Angolan stowaways were not part of the group the Department of Foreign Affairs had arranged passage for and will be sent back.

After two months of uncertainty since that country's elections and a week of intensive clashes between the Angolan government's MPLA forces and the rebel Unita movement, the refugees were visibly relieved when they got off the Safair Boeing and Hercules aircraft.

Visas

A beaming Mr Pik Botha was on hand to welcome the mainly business people and embassy staff on the two mercy flights.

They arrived with only essentials.

In addition to SA citizens, the refugee group comprised Angolan, Zambian, Namibian, Czechoslovakian, German, Bulgarian, Sri Lankan, Russian, Lebanese, Zairean, Portuguese, Israeli and Australian nationals.

ANGOLA LATEST

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK has offered to host a peace summit between Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, according to a UN bulletin.

A spokesman for the president said she could not confirm this.

Meanwhile, UN peace-keeping chief Marrack Goulding arrived in Luanda to try to get negotiations under way to prevent a resumption of civil war.

International aid officials said this weekend that Unita was gaining territory in fighting across Angola and warned of chaos and looting in the capital and provinces. Estimates put the death toll in clashes this week at 2 000.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Jacques Malan said they were in South Africa on seven-day visas.

Eight Czechoslovakian embassy staff were under siege in their office for five days during intensive shell-

ing of Unita regional headquarters 100m away.

"We could not move. We were lucky that our telephone worked and we were able to contact the South African embassy for help," said Mr Paool Kosnac.

Lenasia businessman Don Ramsee went to Angola a month ago to set up a cafe with a friend in a town called Malanje.

Two weeks ago they were abducted by Unita soldiers, robbed of their belongings and made to live in the bush for five days.

Passports

Johannesburg food exporter Ali Haniff has visited Luanda every month for several years.

"The past week was my worst. For the first time I felt threatened in Luanda — the bush war finally reached the city," he said.

However, four Angolan-born SA embassy staff members who hold Portuguese passports said they would return home once things settled.

For Israeli businessman Moshe Samara, who also has permanent residency in South Africa, "not even a million dollars" would urge him to return to Angola.



WELCOME BACK ... Minister Pik Botha shakes hands with Sean Cleary as he arrived back with other refugees from Angola this week. Picture: ANDY KATZ

State refuses to refund tax millions to workers

THE government is refusing to pay back millions of rands in tax which had been overpaid by hundreds of thousands of low-paid workers over the past three years amid charges that it had benefited from "legalised theft".

On Friday the government signalled its determination to resist a Cosatu call to refund fully workers who had overpaid the Receiver of Revenue on SITE tax, when the Commissioner of Inland Revenue, Johan Hattingh, said: "As the law stands no refund can be made."

Mr Hattingh had announced on Wednesday that only workers who had overpaid Standard Income Tax on Employees (SITE) this year would be refunded.

Cosatu, however, has demanded that workers be refunded for every year they had been overtaxed since the system was introduced in 1989.

By KURT SWART

Uproar over the SITE overpayments followed a Cosatu investigation into the taxation system which revealed that 850 000 members had been overtaxed for three years.

The amount lost from workers' pay packets was estimated at R720-million, Cosatu claimed. Thousands of workers outside the Cosatu fold could also have been affected.

Ignorance

SITE was introduced to tax workers earning less than R50 000 a year, doing away with the need for employees in this category to submit tax return forms.

Employees were taxed on the basis of information they supplied to their employers. According to Cosatu, a combina-

tion of worker ignorance of tax laws and employer negligence resulted in the majority of workers who were married or had dependants being taxed as single people.

Cosatu maintained that the situation had been deliberately exploited by the Receiver of Revenue to pocket millions at the expense of the workers and warned it was on a "collision course" with the government if workers were not refunded.

The over-taxation was described as a national scandal by Cosatu, which announced that it was investigating the legal liability of employers and the Receiver of Revenue over the financial loss suffered by workers.

The Democratic Party joined in the condemnation of the overpayment, demanding an investigation and for workers to be compensated.

However, Mr Hattingh insisted that if a complete refund was to be made "the whole system would collapse".

"The employee must furnish full particulars with the employer. That is the law; otherwise the employer is obliged to deduct tax on single rates."

Mistake

Mr Hattingh said that if in the current year the information supplied by the employee was correctly adjusted by the employer, "in this instance a refund can be made".

"If the employer made a mistake a refund can be made. That is the law at the moment. But a refund cannot be made for previous years if the information supplied was not correct."

Mr Hattingh said he would have further meetings with representatives of employees to discuss the issue.

Andover

Angolan ³ ban on Pik 'laughable'

Political Staff **ARC 9/11/92**
MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha has dismissed his ban from Angola as "laughable" and the claim that South Africa is giving Unita military assistance as "preposterous".

Mr Botha was reacting to reports on the BBC originating from Radio Angola, which said that Luanda had declared Mr Botha persona non grata.

Government spokesmen yesterday confirmed that no formal notice had been received by South Africa.

According to the Angolans, Pretoria is supporting Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Mr Botha and his counterpart Mr Pedro do Castro van Dunem Loy are expected to speak by telephone today in an effort to clarify the situation.

Foreign Affairs sources obtained an undertaking from Angolan diplomats at the weekend that such a link-up could be established.

Foreign Affairs sources were unwilling to comment on the snub to Mr Botha until they had official confirmation from the Angolans.

Press spokesman Mr Awie Marais said South Africa was still willing to play a role in support of peace and the democratic process in Angola.

"We are still very clear that we are not willing to support any party that uses force," he said, denying allegations of military support to Unita.

Foreign Affairs sources seemed deeply upset by Mr Van Dunem Loy's attack on Mr Botha, saying that he had "gone out of his way to be objective".

They acknowledged, however, that there was a frail and sensitive relationship between the two countries in the light of the hostile history and the residual suspicions that persist.

Meanwhile, UN efforts to get Dr Savimbi and Mr Dos Santos together seem to have stalled. The BBC reported today that UN peacekeeping envoy Mar-rack Goulding was not travelling, as planned, to Huambo where Dr Savimbi was holed up.

A ceasefire is largely holding across Angola but tension is acute and at the weekend shooting broke out in Viana, southeast of Luanda, and in central Malanje province, international aid officials said.

De Klerk in 'deal' to gag the CCB?

ARC 9/11/92
JOHANNESBURG. — Suspicions are growing in some quarters that the government is going to extraordinary lengths to prevent the Civil Co-operation Bureau from making embarrassing disclosures.

It was reported in a Sunday newspaper that the government struck a secret deal with the CCB six weeks ago involving pension pay-outs to former CCB members in exchange for the return of state's assets.

'Charge Webb with perjury'

JOHANNESBURG. — Former Civil Co-operation Bureau chairman, Major-General Eddie Webb, should be charged with perjury following his confession last week at the inquest into the murder of Dr David Webster that he had lied to the Harms Commission.

Democratic Party spokesman on Justice, Mr Douglas Gibson, yesterday challenged the Attorney-General "to do his job properly and prosecute self-confessed liar General Eddie Webb for perjury".

Mr Gibson said: "General Webb has confessed to perjury and he must now be brought before a court and given a fair trial. (This would) show the public that the rule of law would be upheld." — Sapa.

Hostel security puts agreement in jeopardy

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government/ANC Record of Understanding is in danger of collapsing over the issue of hostel security.

Resistance by Transvaal Inkatha hostel-dwellers to the erection of fences around hostels has become a major stumbling block in the success of the agreement.

The ANC has accused the government of reneging on its agreement in the Record of Understanding and ban the public display of weapons. The agreement was that violent hostels would be fenced by next Sunday.

The government has asked the Goldstone Commission to

The report also suggested that State President F W de Klerk's controversial Indemnity Bill was linked to attempts to prevent exposure of the CCB's covert activities.

Defence Minister Gene Louw has admitted to the deal with the CCB, but has flatly denied that the Indemnity Bill was a factor in the discussions.

In terms of the deal, some 20 CCB agents will receive improved retrenchment packages in exchange for the return of assets, including the CCB's R3 million pension fund and a R2.5 million ship, the Margit Rye, bought with SADF funds.

Jan van Eck, the ANC-aligned MP who staunchly opposed the Indemnity Bill, said he believed the Bill had been particularly aimed at protecting the CCB, in light of the spotlight again falling on the organisation.

"They have also been threatening the Government and I think this put De Klerk in a difficult situation," he said.

Democratic Party defence spokesman James Selfe was, however, doubtful about the CCB deal being linked to the Indemnity Bill.

"Joe Verster (CCB managing director) has already said he is not interested in applying for indemnity. I don't think the Bill is necessarily tied up with the concessions the government has made."

investigate the effectiveness of the hostels clauses in the Record of Understanding.

Spokesman for the Department of Local Government and Housing Mr Francois Jacobs said yesterday that Mr Justice Goldstone had instructed one of his committees to look into the matter, and a response was being awaited.

He said the government was committed to striving to attain the goals set out in the Record of Understanding, but that it had met with huge resistance when it came to carrying out the fencing-off of hostels.

Even ANC-leaning hostel-dwellers in a Transvaal hostel had threatened violent retribution if a fence was erected, Mr Jacobs said.

Angola declares Pik persona non grata

JOHANNESBURG. — The Angolan government on Saturday declared Foreign Minister Pik Botha persona non grata and accused him of having supported Unita in recent clashes, according to news reports.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman said the Angolan government had been asked to supply exact details of the allegations broadcast by Angolan radio, and quoting Foreign Minister Mr. Pedro de Castro van Dunem, who is on a visit to Brazil.

Sources in Pretoria said Mr. Botha and Mr. Van Dunem had an exceptionally good personal relationship, and questioned the reports.

The Angolan foreign ministry issued a statement over state-run radio on Saturday saying Mr. Botha was unwelcome in Angola. The statement also accused South Africa of having planned Unita's upsurge of post-election violence.

South Africa persisted on Saturday in its

denial that it was supplying Unita. "No party should use violence or warfare to attain political objectives," the spokesman said.

"South Africa is not going to support Unita militarily," a Foreign Affairs spokesman said.

The government has requested clarification from Angolan authorities of the weekend reports.

Mr. Jorge Morais, press attaché of the

South African representative's office in Pretoria, said his office had received no official communique regarding Mr. Botha's status.

Meanwhile UN troubleshotter Mr. Mack Gouiding's meeting with Dr. Savimbi to prevent a return to all-out civil war was postponed yesterday and diplomats gave no reason for the delay.

The chances of reconciliation between the MPLA and Unita were slim, former

South African diplomat Mr. Sean Cleary said at the weekend.

Mr. Cleary, who was detained by the MPLA on Wednesday and asked to leave Angola within 24 hours, arrived back in South Africa on Friday.

Meanwhile the head of South Africa's mission in Angola, Mr. André van Rensburg, is scheduled to fly to Luanda today following an adventurous but abortive bid last week to reach his base by sea. — UPI

LLOYD COUTTS

GOVERNMENT has asked Angolan authorities to clarify weekend reports that Foreign Minister Pik Botha had been declared persona non grata by Luanda.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman said the Angolan government had been asked to supply exact details of allegations broadcast by Angolan radio, which quoted Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem, as saying Botha would no longer be allowed on Angolan territory because of alleged SA logistical and armed support to Unita. *6:04M 9/11/92*

The spokesman denied any SA involvement in the conflict. SA supported fully a negotiated settlement and would not assist any party to achieve political objectives through force, he said.

Luanda asked to clarify 'ban' on Pik

5 "We still believe that it is essential for the two leaders (President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi) to meet. We will still try to facilitate a meeting and will do our best to assist both parties to reach full agreement."

Jorge Morais, media attache of the Angolan representative's office in Pretoria, said his office had received no official communique regarding Botha's status.

"I think that could be media speculation. I don't believe something official could have been reported by the Angolan government about this," he said.

□ To Page 2

Luanda *6:04M 9/11/92*

Van Dunem was reported to have said during a visit to Brazil that 15 SA aircraft were providing Unita with logistical support, and that Angola's southern airspace was under surveillance.

RAY HARTLEY reports that the chances of reconciliation between the MPLA and Unita were slim, former SA diplomat Sean Cleary said after his return from Luanda on Friday.

Cleary, who was detained by the MPLA on Wednesday and asked to leave Angola within 24 hours, arrived back in SA on a chartered Safair Boeing on Friday with evacuees from foreign countries including Namibia, Zambia and Poland.

He said the recent assassinations of top Unita officers had seriously damaged peace hopes in the country as the rebel movement's negotiating team had been severely affected.

Sapa-AP reports from Luanda that UN

5 □ From Page 1
officials said undersecretary-general for peacekeeping Marrack Goulding was to fly to Huambo for talks with Savimbi yesterday to salvage peace accords and prevent Angola sliding back into civil war.

Goulding, who met Dos Santos on Saturday, will be accompanied to Huambo by chief UN representative in Angola Margaret Anstee.

Luanda has been quiet since clashes subsided last Monday, and police lifted a dusk-to-dawn curfew at the weekend.

On Saturday, Unita released 28 of 70 Brazilian and Russian workers it captured at a hydroelectric dam project east of Luanda last week, and was expected to free the rest soon, diplomatic sources said.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa reported that the government side had released 46 Unita supporters overnight under international Red Cross supervision.

Pik: Still no clarity on Angolan status

CT 10/11/92 (5)

Political Staff

EFFORTS to confirm whether Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has been declared persona non grata by his Angolan opposite number Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem were unsuccessful yesterday.

The Department of Foreign Affairs is still urgently trying to clear up Mr Botha's standing in Angola. He was reportedly declared persona non grata by Mr Van Dunem in a speech in Brazil.

Mr Van Dunem is also alleged to have claimed South Africa had supplied logistic and military aid to Angola's Unita rebels after the recent elections.

The claim has been emphatically denied by Foreign Affairs which has said the UN observers in Angola would have seen if there was any substance to the claims.

UN, Unita link-up fails

LUANDA. — UN officials seeking to shore up Angola's shaky peace accords failed for the second day yesterday to arrange a meeting with Unita rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi holed up in his highland stronghold.

UN officials said they had not been able to establish telephone contact with Dr Savimbi in the central city of Huambo to fix a talk with chief UN representative in Angola Ms Margaret Anstee and Mr Marrack Goulding, UN undersecretary for peacekeeping. — Sapa-AP

Meanwhile the area around Luanda remained calm yesterday and SA had re-opened the offices of its Luanda mission, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said.

The allegations were reportedly made by Angola's state radio, because they alleged Mr Botha had returned to his old allegiances and endorsed support for Unita, the losers in the country's recent democratic elections.

Govt awaits notice on Pik's status in Angola

BLOOM 10/11/92

RAY HARTLEY

GOVERNMENT had not yet received official notification from Angola's MPLA government that Foreign Minister Pik Botha had been declared persona non grata.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Jacques Malan said government would only react once an official notice had been received.

Weekend reports quoted a senior Angolan official as saying Botha was not welcome in his country because of SA military support for Unita.

The area around Luanda remained calm yesterday and SA had reopened the offices of its Luanda mission, Malan said.

Angola expelled former SA diplomat and Unita advisor Sean Cleary last week, but Foreign Affairs had repeatedly denied Cleary was working for government.

His company, Strategic Concepts, has been linked to SA military intelligence in several reports, but Cleary has maintained it received no government funding.

Cleary drafted a document outlining Unita's strategic objectives following the elections, leading to accusations that he was giving logistical assistance to the rebel movement's return to guerrilla war.

A second document drafted by Cleary, A Plea for Sanity in Angola, lists three pre-

conditions for negotiations:

- The release of all civilians through the International Committee of the Red Cross;
- The release of senior Unita officers "so that the government's military command has someone to negotiate with";
- That Unita leader Jonas Savimbi be given time to assemble a new negotiating team following the killing of several officials.

It is believed that Cleary's demands reflect the preconditions set by Savimbi for negotiations with the MPLA.

In the document, Cleary claims Angola may descend into anarchy like that in Somalia unless negotiations between the MPLA and Unita resume soon.

"Genocide, devastation of the already ravaged infrastructure ... is morally inconceivable, even if distressingly possible," says the document.

Cleary said UN special representative Margaret Anstee had led an "undermanned, ill-equipped and under-supplied" verification staff "with an ambiguous mandate to judge and certify, but not control, the elections".

Savimbi still shuns settlement discussion

ARG 11/11/92

MIKE LITTLEJOHN
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Unita chief Dr Jonas Savimbi is still refusing to meet senior UN officials at his headquarters in Huambo to discuss an Angolan settlement, a spokesman in New York said.

The official, Mr Joe Sills, told reporters that Under-Secretary-General Mr Marrack Goulding — who had a long meeting last Friday with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda — had made another attempt by telephone to persuade Dr Savimbi to have a face-to-face meeting.

"A meeting has not yet been arranged," said Mr Sills.

He added that Mr Goulding, a former British ambassador to Angola, would press his efforts.

Asked why Dr Savimbi was refusing to talk to the UN, Mr Sills said it would not be proper for him to comment on the Unita leader's reasons.

Meanwhile Angola's ruling MPLA party yesterday accused South Africa of waging "a new undeclared war" against the country.

The party accused Pretoria of wanting to "make the Angolan conflict drag on for ever, so as to put off finding a solution to its own internal problems".

The MPLA statement also lashed out at Unita for refusing to accept the results of parliamentary and presidential elections held last September, which Unita claimed were rigged.

The MPLA accused Unita of "resuming its alliance with the enemies of the black South African people". In so doing, Unita was "digging its own grave", said the MPLA.

But the statement said Unita could provide a solution to the crisis by returning to the peace accords under which the September elections were held.

The UN has been more successful in another African trouble spot.

In a breakthrough, the Somali authorities have agreed to the deployment of a security force of 500 Pakistani troops at Mogadishu international airport to protect relief supplies.

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erge from a beleaguered Angola

UN looking for elusive Savimbi

(5)
Sowetan
11/11/92

■ **ESSENTIAL MEETING** Unita leader must help defuse tensions to avoid civil war:

LUANDA - The Angolan government yesterday accused Unita of concentrating forces in the south, another ominous sign that civil war could resume over September's election.

UN peace negotiators have been trying to contact Unita leader Jonas Savimbi at his stronghold in Huambo.

Savimbi called UN headquarters in Luanda on Monday and said a meeting might be possible yesterday, according to an assistant to Margaret Anstee, the UN representative for Angola.

Anstee and UN Under-Secretary General Marrack Goulding have been trying to contact Savimbi. Goulding, who has met with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, says meeting Savimbi will be "decisive" for peace.

UN-brokered peace accords signed in 1991 by the US-backed Savimbi forces and the leftist Angolan government held until Unita lost the September elections. Savimbi charged that Angola's first post-civil war elections had been marred

by fraud and retreated to Huambo.

Fighting broke out last week, claiming the lives of 1 000 people and threatening to reignite the country's 16-year civil war.

Recent news from the front has been scarce and often contradictory.

State radio said yesterday that "the military situation is critical in some provinces of the country". It accused Unita of concentrating forces near Lubango in the southern Huila province.

State radio said Monday that government and Unita commanders had negotiated peace agreements in central and southern provinces where Unita is thought to be strong. But unconfirmed reports said government aircraft had attacked rebel positions for the first time in over a year of relative peace.

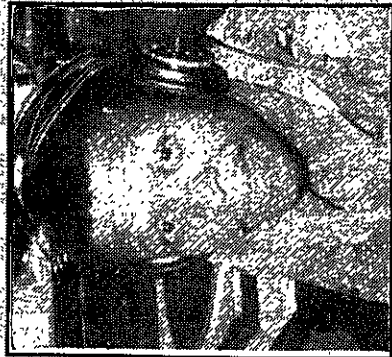
State news agency *Angop* said government jets bombarded positions of Savimbi's Unita in the port of Benguela, south of Luanda, Saturday.

- Sapa-AP.

Pik should focus here instead

Sowetan
11/19/92 (5)

Sowetan & Radio Metro
Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Isaac Moledi
FOREIGN Minister Mr Pik Botha was last night told to quit his mediating role in Angola and instead concentrate his effort in ending the carnage prevailing in the country.

Callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show said on Monday night the mediating role of Botha in Angola was more destructive than constructive. They instead urged him to leave the Angolan problem to the United Nations as he was not the right person to solve it.

KK of Cape Town said black South Africans were aware of the Government's role and intention in Angola. The South African Government's intention in the future of this country is

to win the elections and be the government as long as it could.

"We know that this Government has been supporting the rebel Unita movement of Jonas Savimbi for a long time. And we don't hope to see South Africa negotiating for the Angolans in good faith," KK said.

Lotus Ngwenya of Johannesburg demanded that Botha withdraw immediately and rather concentrate in the problems in his country.

"It was Botha who was involved in instigating the fighting in that country. For what reason does he want to mediate today?" Ngwenya asked.

"Pik Botha should not be allowed to be a mediator in any country while he has lot of problems in his own country. Why should he run to Angola and leave people dying here."

"Does it mean that he does not care about the death of our own people?"

Anonymous, Orlando, Soweto

"Why is Pik saying the matter about his banning order out of Angola is laughable? Does that mean he does not take Angolans seriously?"

Jimmy, Meadowlands, Soweto
"I think Pik Botha could have done the mediating role before the conflict became what it has become. Why now?"

Lotus Ngwenya, Johannesburg

"We welcome all attempts to solve the Southern Africa problems but I don't think the South African Government is the right mediator to bring the solution in Angola. They don't have the love of the Angolans at heart."

KK, Cape Town

Botha's status still uncertain ^{CT 12/11/92} ⑤

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE status of Foreign Affairs minister Mr Pik Botha in Angola was still not clear, a spokesman for his office said last night as the MPLA renewed its allegation that South Africa was aiding Unita.

"We have had no official clarification from Angola," Mr Awie Marais said.

Reports from Angola at the weekend said Mr Botha had been declared persona non-grata.

However, Mr Marais said regular SA Airways flights to Luanda would resume next week, which indicated that re-

lations between the two countries were thawing and the situation in Luanda was stabilising.

The MPLA government yesterday accused South Africa of waging "a new undeclared war" against the country.

In a statement released in Luanda, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of

Angola accused Pretoria of wanting to "make the Angolan conflict drag on for ever so as to put off finding a solution to its own internal problems".

South Africa emphatically denied it was supplying arms to Unita, saying if this claim were true the UN observers in Angola would have noticed.

Savimbi holds talks with UN

⑤ 12/11/92

LUANDA. — Senior UN envoy Mr Marrack Goulding on Tuesday held lengthy talks with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, a UN spokeswoman said. The talks were held in a bid to prevent renewed civil war in Angola.

Unita soldiers and government troops were yesterday less than 50km apart north of Luanda.

Mr Goulding, who flew to Huambo, Dr Savimbi's highland stronghold, was accompanied by UN special representative in Angola Ms Margaret Anstee.

The spokeswoman said there was a "full exchange of views".

She could not say whether Mr Goulding considered the talks positive or if a meeting between Dr Savimbi and Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos was on the cards. Mr Goulding and Ms Anstee hoped to meet Mr Dos Santos today.

Meanwhile, Unita has stepped up the military pressure, Angolan army General Higinio Carneiro said yesterday. "We'll not let ourselves be shut into our homes," he added, speaking of "the war that is going to come".

In the far north, Unita has taken up positions at the oil town of Soyo. Western sources said technicians had been evacuated or were safely on oil platforms, while an Angolan naval vessel and paramilitary police reinforcements were despatched to Soyo early this week.

Accusing Unita of staging a coup attempt, the government yesterday released secret documents in a bid to prove that the movement planned military action before fierce fighting broke out late last month.

Among them, Deputy Interior Minister Mr Fernando da Piedade produced a document signed by the late Unita No 2, Mr Jeremias Chitunda, which included a "plan of assault" against Luanda.

The minister read out the text, which mentioned "the occupation of government buildings, the television station, Angolan national radio and the residence of the president of the republic." — Sapa-AFP

MPLA says it has proof of coup plot

LUANDA — Angola yesterday accused SA and Zaire of resuming support for Unita in a new war effort, and said it had proof that a Unita coup attempt was to blame for the renewed violence.

On the country's 17th anniversary of independence from Portugal, the MPLA accused Pretoria of waging "a new undeclared war".

Deputy Interior Minister Fernando da Piedade released documents which he said proved Unita had plotted a coup. He said papers seized from Unita showed the group had planned to seize power "at any price" after its election defeat.

Unita officials outside Angola have denied claims of a coup plan, saying they were invented by the MPLA to justify the killing of rebel supporters.

RAY HARTLEY reports that contact between SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Angolan counterpart still had not been established yesterday.

An SA Foreign Affairs spokesman said: "We are not assisting either party."

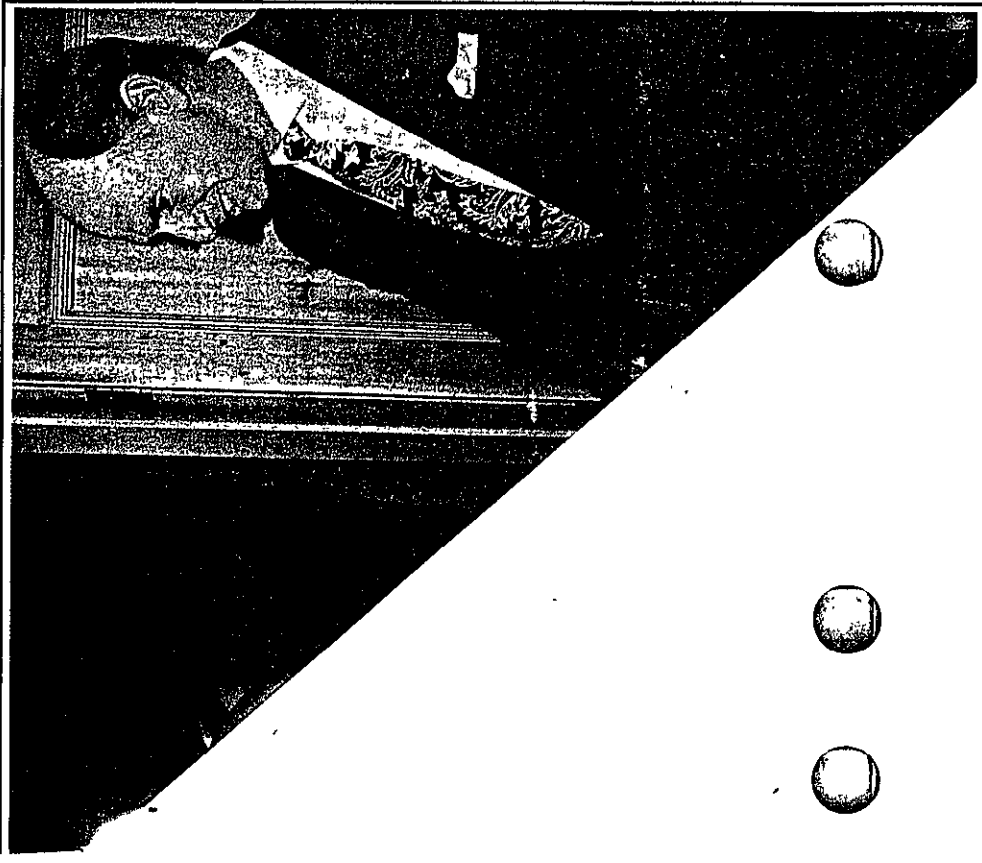
He said government had been trying unsuccessfully for days to communicate with the Angolan government.

Meanwhile, Unita soldiers and government troops faced off less than 50km north of Luanda yesterday as senior UN envoy Marrack Goulding pursued his peace mission. He had talks with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in Huambo on Tuesday and planned to meet President Jose Eduardo dos Santos today. — Sapa-AFP-Reuter.

Unita closes in

5
CT 13 11 1972

I can fight for 10 years — Savimbi



LUANDA. — Unita troops virtually circled the Angolan capital yesterday as rebel leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi threatened another 10 years of civil war.

"If I am provoked, I have the capacity to fight for 10 more years," Dr Savimbi said in a radio interview yesterday as the ravaged country lunched another step towards civil war.

United Nations trouble-shooter Mr Marrack Goulding who held 11th-hour talks with Dr Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, warned of a return to war as he ended his six-day mission to the country.

Unita and the MPLA government have been involved in bloody skirmishes in the past two weeks since the stalemate over last month's elections.

Although Unita was routed in Luanda, the movement made military gains elsewhere, seizing two provincial capitals and closing in on several others.

Government military officials fear Unita plans to divide Angola along the Benguela railroad and take the southern half of the oil and

diamond-producing nation. "I hope that as a result of our discussions the two sides see that if they allow the situation to continue for much longer then it's back to war," Mr Goulding told a news conference last night.

Mr Goulding said that for the UN an essential part of any solution to the crisis was

role in Angola expires on November 30. Western military sources confirmed last night that Unita had virtually surrounded Luanda.

"Only the south is still open and they're just 50km away in the north," a military adviser said. "I think we will see some action this week end."

Yesterday a military source said he doubted if Unita would launch an attack on Luanda while several of its top generals were held by the ruling MPLA.

The generals were put "under government protection" after a weekend of violence in the capital in which several top Unita leaders were among at least 1,500 people killed.

The military adviser thought it "likely that the MPLA will now go on the offensive to take back some of the territory it has lost to Unita."

"Savimbi will never come back to Luanda after the massacre of his people here 10 days ago, unless he comes back as president," he said.

One Western diplomat said: "The trouble with movements such as Unita — which has fought a 10-year civil war after a long struggle against colonialism — is that they believe it is their right to govern the country."

"Savimbi hasn't fought for 30 years to be vice-president of anything." — Sapa-AFP

PIK IN TALKS TO MEND ANGOLAN TIES — PAGE 5

the acceptance by all concerned of the results of the elections held on September 29 and 30, which the UN declared to be basically free and fair.

Asked if he had received a commitment from Dr Savimbi to accept the results, he said: "We're working on it."

He underlined the "critical importance" of an early meeting between the two sides, pointing out that the present mandate for the UN

Goulding in Angola

LUANDA - UN peacekeeping chief
Marrack Goulding intended meet-
ing Angolan President Jose
Eduardo dos Santos yesterday to
discuss a plan for a lasting ceasefire
to avert renewal of full-scale civil
war. *Sowetan 13/11/92*
Angolan state radio said Dos
Santos's rival, Unita rebel chief
Jonas Savimbi, was presented with

brief

a plan for a continued truce after talks
with Goulding in the central province
of Huambo on Tuesday.

Peace offered to besieged Luanda

LUANDA — As his troops encircled Angola's besieged capital yesterday, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi offered the country peace or another decade of war.

"I guarantee peace to Luanda. I guarantee to the UN my will that there should be no more war. But if I am provoked, I have the capacity to fight for 10 more years," Savimbi warned in an interview with Portuguese radio. *BIDAM 13/11/92*

Before leaving Angola last night, UN troubleshooter Murrack Goulding said Angola's warring parties had agreed that the UN should step in to help shore up crumbling peace accords and stop the country sliding back into civil war.

He said Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos "expressed to us their wish that the UN should play a larger role in the future". But he warned that time was running out for both sides as the UN mandate expired on November 30. "It's a choice between war and peace," he said.

Western military sources said Luanda was almost surrounded by Unita forces.

"Only the south is still open, they're just 50km away in the north, and I think we will see some action this weekend," a foreign mission's military adviser said.

He said he doubted whether Unita would launch an attack on Luanda while several of its top generals were held by the MPLA.

Government officials said Unita was also closing in on the southern city of Benguela and the northern town of Soyo.

To Page 2

Luanda *BIDAM 13/11/92*

Savimbi said he was ready to meet Dos Santos.

Meanwhile, RAY HARTLEY reports that Foreign Minister Pik Botha will meet the chief of the Angolan mission in SA, Manuel Augusto, today to discuss frayed relations between the two countries, as well as Angolan accusations of SA military assistance to Unita, an Angolan mission spokesman said.

The two are expected to deal with Angolan officials' accusations that members of SA's disbanded Portuguese-speaking 32 Battalion would be smuggled into the country by ship.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Awie Marais

From Page 1
(5)
said yesterday Augusto had "personally" assured Botha that he (Botha) had not been declared persona non grata in Angola.

Marais said that at a diplomatic function in Pretoria on Wednesday Augusto had given Botha and President F W de Klerk the assurances that no SA official had been declared persona non grata.

However, an Angolan mission spokesman said the MPLA no longer wished to use Botha as a mediator, because SA was believed to be taking sides in the conflict.

Foreign Affairs has repeatedly denied the allegation, saying government fully backed a peaceful settlement.

Botha goes from saviour to sinner

W/Med 13/11-19/11/92

After being hailed for his role as mediator between the warring factions, Pik Botha has now been declared *persona non grata* in Angola.

By **CHRIS MCGREAL**

THE state-run *Jornal da Angola* picked the obvious line-up for Traitors FC. Its stinging cartoon gathered the MPLA government's leading opponents holding the "power cup", topped by a skull.

In their midst stood the team captain — the Unita leader and failed presidential aspirant, Jonas Savimbi. Scowling from the back was the trainer, Pik Botha.

In recent days, the South African foreign minister has come in for considerable scorn from those who last month hailed him as a saviour.

Three weeks ago, Botha was shuttling between Savimbi and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, promising to drag Angola back from new conflict. He failed.

At the weekend, the Angolan government took the unusual step of one country declaring another's foreign minister *persona non grata*. The South Africans say they do not understand why.

Accompanying the ban on Botha were charges in the South African and Angolan press that Pretoria is preparing to send in troops or massing mercenaries on the Zairean border.



Handcuffed ... Unita suspects are held captive before a recent MPLA rally in Ble province in Angola
Photo: JOHN LIEBENBERG

The accusations are apparently baseless, but reflect Luanda's intention to keep Pretoria out. Of more substance are Angolan military assertions that South Africa permitted or ran 50 flights to Unita territory over a five-day period.

The clear implication is that Pretoria continues to offer substantive support to the rebels. Flights from Pretoria's airport continue to land at Mucusso in

the far south, where Unita has its field hospital, and Hercules aircraft still fly to Unita's bush headquarters at Jamba.

The South Africans say they carry only food and medical supplies, but they have also been used to move Unita personnel.

At the heart of the disillusionment with South Africa lies an awareness within the MPLA and by some Unita leaders that Botha is intent on finding

a solution not in Angola's best interest, but one that reinforces the National Party government's strategy in South Africa.

Botha pressed Savimbi to demand that Angola be governed on federal lines, precisely the system the South African foreign minister favours in his own country to diffuse the power of the black majority.

The blueprint for Angola was drawn

up by Sean Cleary, a former South African foreign ministry official who ran the campaign to discredit government opponents in Namibia before independence. Pretoria says: "He has absolutely nothing to do with us."

Cleary operates a company, Strategic Concepts, from Johannesburg and describes himself as a consultant to Unita. During the 16-year civil war he made extensive visits to Jamba, but he works hand in glove with Botha's office.

During Botha's five-day visit to Luanda last month, Cleary travelled several times to the Unita headquarters at Huambo.

The proposals later presented by Botha for a power-sharing deal in Angola were drawn up by Cleary. He also put together as yet undisclosed plans for Angola to shift from a unitary state to a federation, according to a South African official.

"Cleary is a close consultant to Savimbi. He told Savimbi he must start acting like a politician and not a wounded animal," he said.

Cleary was arrested at the Tivoli hotel last week after police stormed rebel positions in Luanda. The South African embassy had provided protection for him which one official says may have saved his life.

After six hours, Cleary was released into the custody of the South African embassy and shipped out of the country with other evacuees. — The Guardian News Service

AFRICA

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WJMcG 13/11-19/11/92

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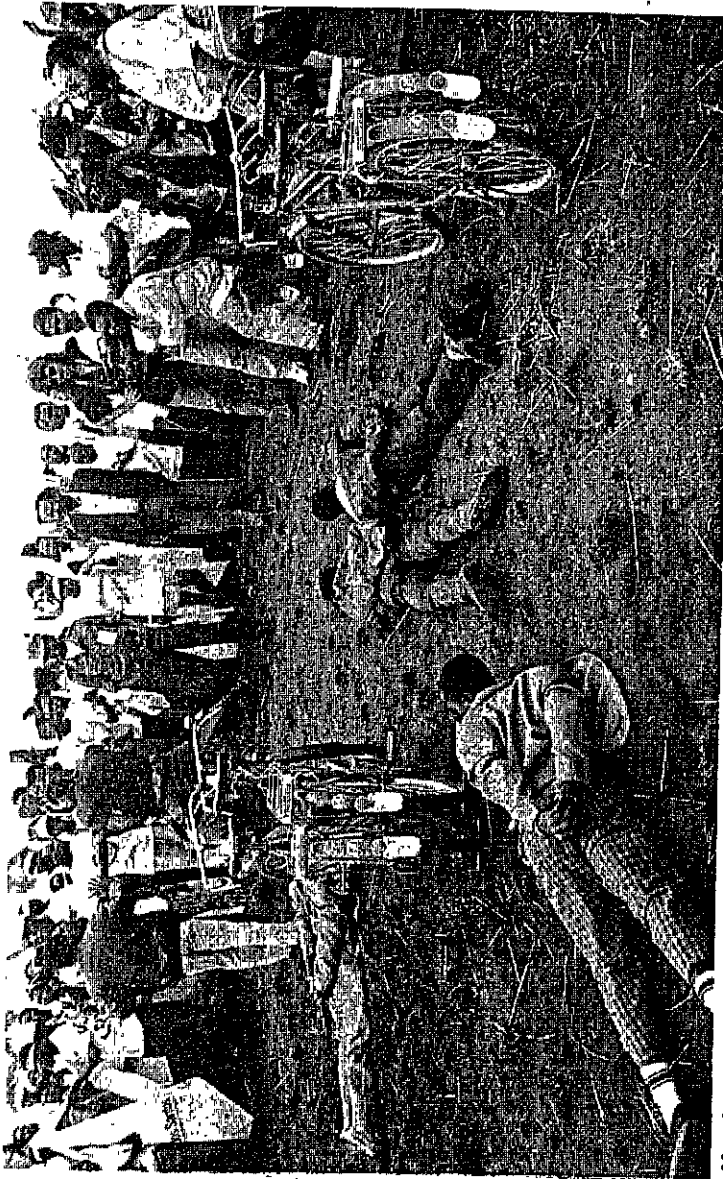
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Savimbi's safety the priority as 'non grata' Pik is again offered as mediator

Angola melting pot

5
AUG 14/11/92

DALE LAUTENBACH
Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The high-handed tone of a personal letter from President De Klerk to Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos, leaked this week, goes some way to explain the chilling of relations between Pretoria and Luanda.

But there also now appears to be some clarity on the status of SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha, declared persona non grata by his Angolan counterpart Pedro do Castro Van-Dunem Loy in Brazil last Friday.

An independent and consistent Angolan source with good access to government thinking in Luanda said the declaration had been a "Loy radicalisation" and was not a position officially endorsed by Mr dos Santos's government.

A subsequent statement by deputy Foreign Minister Venancio da Moura that Mr Botha would be welcome in Luanda only by Ango-

lan government invitation was a better reflection of the official position, said the source, who must, in the fragile situation, remain anonymous for security reasons.

The upgrading of Mr Botha's status to "by invite only" is by no means a resolution of the Pretoria-Luanda crisis though.

Following Mr Botha's efforts last month to get the two sides talking after former South African ally Unita leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi lost the end-September election and refused to accept the United Nations-endorsed results, Angolan government sources began expressing concern that South Africa was not neutral and was playing "the Savimbi card".

Mr De Klerk's letter, referred to by Mr Botha at a Press conference last Thursday (the day before Mr Van-Dunem's outburst), seems to have been one of the last straws for the Angolans, who felt free to leak it precisely because Mr De Klerk did just that, sending copies to several Western governments which offended the Angolans deeply.

The letter, which has been reli-

ably confirmed as authentic, says Mr De Klerk is convinced that Dr Savimbi can still be brought around to negotiate.

"Dr Savimbi is extremely concerned about his personal security (in his central highland bolt-hole city of Huambo).

"I would appeal to you, Mr President to command your forces to use maximum restraint and to do nothing which will cause his personal harm. Similarly violent prosecution of Unita officials and supporters who may still be in Luanda will not advance a return to peace.

"If Dr Savimbi's safety can be ensured as a first step, I am convinced that a meeting between yourself and Dr Savimbi can be arranged provided that it is properly planned and managed and that considerations of security are adequately addressed."

Mr De Klerk offers Mr Botha's services again and again emphasises the role of Dr Savimbi: "I strongly believe that Dr Savimbi has a role to play in ensuring a peaceful transformation in your country."

Coming from Unita's former military backer, the Angolans found this hard to swallow. "We're not one of South Africa's bantustans," said one.

While the letter and its circulation reveal either arrogance or total miscalculation on the part of South Africa, Angolan diplomacy is also not always that easy to make sense of.

A month before the September elections Mr dos Santos lashed out at the UN Angola Verification Mission (Unavem II) for alleged pro-Unita bias. The small 800-strong and according to quite broad opinion ill-motivated force came in for some rough treatment from pro-government citizens following that outburst.

Now the UN is back in favour. Head of UN peacekeeping forces Marrack Goulding announced on Thursday that both the government and Dr Savimbi had endorsed a greater role for the UN in the sensitive period that lies ahead as attempts to avert a return to civil war continue.

The Angolan government is lob-

bing hard for an outright UN condemnation of Unita — by name — and it is being equally insistent in UN circles and elsewhere about its accusations that South Africa is again supporting Unita militarily.

Senior Angolan government Minister without Portfolio Lopo do Nascimento said at a joint Press conference with Mr Botha that his government did not have evidence to support these claims.

It was alleged that Mr Botha himself, with the help of the ill-defined figure of "strategist" and "political consultant" Mr Sean Cleary, was behind the Unita plot to strengthen its hand militarily by moving into key positions.

The Angolans believe Mr Botha and Mr Cleary were at one in trying to broker a power-sharing deal, an allegation denied by South Africa.

A statement from the Angolan representative in Pretoria on Thursday seemed to soften on the allegations of official SA support to Unita.

It's touch and go in Angola

⑤ CT 14/11/92

LUANDA. — Unita fighters ringed another key city yesterday as the United Nations undersecretary-general for peacekeeping warned that time was running out to avert civil war.

It was war or peace — and leaders on both sides had to choose, Mr Marrack Goulding bluntly told Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

The warning came as Unita was beaten back from Luanda but made fresh advances elsewhere.

Mr Goulding said the number of UN military observers could be increased as Dr Savimbi and President Dos Santos had both said they wanted greater UN involvement.

However, Dr Savimbi would have to accept the election results and an immediate ceasefire to secure a wider UN role, Mr Goulding said.

Meanwhile, Unita troops, continuing a military push that has given them control of about 60% of the country, surrounded Malanje, a provincial capital.

In addition, about 7 000 Unita soldiers were massing in nearby Ka-Muteba. — Sapa-AFP

● Ambassador abducted — Page 2

Unita fighting — but MPLA wants to talk

AP/Wire 15/11/92
UNITA fighters ringed another key city on Friday, but the Angolan government has responded by telling rebel leader Jonas Savimbi he must give up all recent military gains and negotiate to stop the country sliding back into civil war.

According to western diplomats and a daily newspaper, Unita is continuing a military push that has given them control of some 60 percent of the war-ravaged country. Now their troops have encircled Malanje, capital of the northern province of the same name.

The paper said about 7 000 Unita soldiers, backed by 600 vehicles, cannons and other heavy

arms, were massing in nearby Xa-Muteba. Unita had already killed two policemen and eight civilians in the area.

The fighting that flared two weeks ago has left more than 1 000 dead and has threatened to shatter peace accords signed in May, 1991.

The accords ended 16 years of civil war between Savimbi's Unita and the MPLA.

MPLA chief of staff Gen Antonio dos Santos Franca, known as N'Dalu, has spoken to Savimbi by telephone at his central highland stronghold near Huambo and set three conditions for peace talks.

The rebels must re-

(5)
nounce violence, publicly accept the results of the September elections and cancel all military gains made since then.

Unita was routed in the capital, Luanda, but advanced elsewhere.

Peace was left hanging on a thread when Savimbi refused to accept defeat at the polls, cried foul, and fell back on his troops. The UN said the vote was generally free and fair.

On Thursday, Savimbi offered Angolans peace or, if provoked, another decade of war.

Unita has captured Caxito and N'dalatando, capitals of Bengo and Cuanza Norte provinces. — Sapa-AP.

Angolans say Pik is persona grata

5 OCT 16 11 1992

THE Angolan government has told Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha that he is persona grata, his office said yesterday.

Ministry spokesman Mr Awie Marais said the Angolan representative in South Africa, Mr Manuel Augusto, had indicated in discussion with Mr Botha that the issue was a misinterpretation of comments made by Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem.

"They said his words had been distorted by the media," said Mr Marais.

Mr Marais also dismissed claims that the South African government had a hidden agenda in Angola which included flying arms and soldiers into the country.

In Luanda yesterday Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Johnny Pinock Eduardo said a new Angolan government would be

formed with or without rebel movement Unita.

In a statement published in the state-controlled *Jornal de Angola* he said: "The country cannot continue stagnating. The people do not accept Unita's violence and we want to begin functioning again."

The government would not be "held prisoner" by Dr Jonas Savimbi, he said.

The parliament is to be based on results from September elections that Dr Savimbi has rejected as fraudulent.

The government was not budging from its demand that Dr Savimbi's rebels give up recent military advancements and return to the bargaining table to prevent a return to civil war.

There were no reports of fighting yesterday on three key fronts where Dr Savimbi was reported to have called off his forces three days earlier. But the *Jornal de*

Angola said Unita forces were still massed near the northern city of Malanje.

Fighting flared two weeks ago, killing more than 1 000 and threatening accords that brought Angola its first peace since civil war erupted on the eve of independence from Portugal in 1975.

Unita was routed by police and armed civilian gangs in the capital, Luanda, but advanced elsewhere to control about 60% of the country.

A ceasefire was agreed nearly two weeks ago, but Unita continued to advance.

Mr Marrack Goulding, UN under-secretary general for peacekeeping, said the Angolan government was right to complain of ceasefire violations by Unita.

The government on Saturday announced a meeting of all political parties to be held early next week. — Political Staff and Sapa-AP

UN presence best hope for Angola

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APR 16/11/92

Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — The thin United Nations presence in Angola stands as the country's best hope of avoiding a return to civil war, but it was uncertain today whether the UN representation would be increased sufficiently to ensure peace.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs says UN trouble-shooter Marrack Goulding is to recommend the establishment of a special peacekeeping force to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali this week.

However, before leaving Angola late last week after a brief peacemaking visit, Mr Goulding said the UN would remain involved in Angola only if the ruling MPLA and Unita began talks to end the crisis.

UN sources here have made it clear that the UN, which is ill-placed to deploy an effective peace force in Angola, is anxious to wind down its presence here.

There is, however, no other mediating element in sight, South Africa having been pushed out of its key role by MPLA allegations that Pretoria again supplied Unita during the flare-up of fighting after Unita refused to accept its defeat in the September election.

The Luanda government's strained relations with SA have not ostensibly improved despite the return to the capital of the senior South African diplomatic representative, Andre Jansen van Rensburg.

Mr Van Rensburg, who had been unable to return from a visit to Pretoria because

scheduled air flights had been stopped, flew back in a chartered plane.

There was apparently no attempt to block his return despite the MPLA having declared Foreign Minister Pik Botha *persona non grata* because of Pretoria's alleged support for Unita.

Despite repeated and widespread reports of secret South African flights into Angola during the recent fighting no concrete evidence to support the allegations had been produced. Pretoria has denied sending other than medical materials to a Unita hospital in southern Angola.

Western diplomats in Luanda are pessimistic about the chances of a return to civil war being avoided.

Since Mr Goulding's return to New York, the UN representative in Angola, Margaret Anstee, has become the key figure in efforts to bring the sides together to prevent renewed fighting.

She faces great difficulty, however, in that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi appears to be difficult to contact at his new stronghold in the central city of Huambo, and his negotiating ability has been crippled by the killing, wounding or capturing of virtually all his negotiators in the recent fighting in Luanda.

The MPLA government called over the weekend for a multi-party conference to be held this week to discuss the formation of a new government. The implication is that the government should be formed along the lines dictated by the election result, which gave the MPLA victory in the parliamentary poll.

Luanda observers are betting on war

LUANDA — UN officials and Western diplomats were betting on war in Angola on Saturday, just two days after a UN troubleshooter left the country, as the president's office announced plans to convene political leaders next week to discuss the political and military troubles in Angola.

It said talks would focus on attempts to resume dialogue between the government and Unita, and the formation of a single national army.

Although an uneasy truce appeared to be holding, sources close to the government reported that air force helicopters were flying reconnaissance missions over Unita troop positions near the capital.

Some Western observers in Luanda are predicting an early government strike against those positions, while the local newspaper has reported that a Unita attack on the capital of Malanje province, east of Luanda, is imminent.

Meanwhile, residents of Luanda took advantage of a sunny and peaceful day in the capital to flock to the beaches for a fishermen's festival.

"Everybody's guessing," said one senior UN representative, "but most people are guessing it will be war."

His view was backed by a military attache at one of the foreign missions, who said he could see no alternative.

UN troubleshooter Marrack Gouling himself had warned that the only alternative to war was a dialogue between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi of Unita.

But there are formidable obstacles in the way of negotiations, with both the UN and Dos Santos's ruling MPLA insisting that Savimbi first accept that he and his party lost the September 29-30 elections.

5
B/DAM 76/11/92
Election rules offer Savimbi a second chance in a run-off against Dos Santos, but observers believe his aggressive reaction after the first round would mean even fewer votes for him in the second.

At the same time, he is seen by many as a man who will accept nothing less than the presidency of a country where he has waged war continuously for nearly 30 years — first against the Portuguese and then against the formerly Marxist MPLA.

"This country is being held to ransom by one man and his ambition," said an envoy.

Formerly supported by the US and SA, Savimbi's behaviour since the elections is believed to have embarrassed his allies.

But even without financial support from its former allies Unita is believed to be quite capable of going back to war — a war Savimbi has been quoted as saying he could continue for another 10 years.

At the moment his forces occupy about 40% of the country and hold several positions around the capital, with the closest just 50km north of Luanda at Caxito.

He also has control of rich diamond fields in Lunda Norte province in the northeast of the country, and his troops are reportedly surrounding the capital of neighbouring Malanje province.

In what has become known as the "week-end war", more than 1 500 people were killed, including several top Unita advisers, and Unita was effectively driven from the capital.

Unita's position on a new multiparty meeting is not known. It would be the second meeting gathering the different parties after one in January, which approved the current electoral law.

Savimbi is believed to be holed up in or near the central city of Huambo. — Sapa-AFP.

Govt offers new talks with Savimbi

LISBON. — The Angolan government said yesterday it would renew talks with Dr Jonas Savimbi if Unita pulled its troops out of two provincial capitals and recognised the results of September elections.

Deputy Information Minister Mr Aldomiro da Conceicao told Portugal's TSF radio that Unita must withdraw from Caxito in Bengo province and Ndalatando in Kwanza Sul province.

Unita should also "clearly declare that the outcome of the elections is valid", he added. "These are the sine qua non conditions for the resumption of dialogue."

The minister also said that President Jose Dos Santos was likely to meet leaders of the new political parties to analyse the situation in Luanda on Thursday. "The government will abide by decisions taken at that meeting," he added, but gave no details.

Unita claimed widespread fraud, and at least 1 500 people have been killed in fighting since the polls, amid diplomatic efforts to prevent Angola sliding back into the civil war that racked it for 16 years. — Sapa-AFP

Pik 'deserves praise'

DURBAN. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha deserved credit and not criticism for his role in Angola, his deputy Mr Renier Schoeman said yesterday.

The deputy minister also revealed that Mr Botha was still in contact with an Angolan envoy in Pretoria and was available to help bring peace to the country.

Mr Schoeman, addressing an Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa forum here, said Mr Botha's mediation role had been "irreproachable at all times". His comments follow the storm over Angolan

allegations that the South African government had been secretly planning to help Unita while Mr Botha was in the country. OCT 19 11 1992

In Luanda, the Angolan government appealed yesterday for international aid for thousands of refugees and sought negotiations to prevent further bloodshed.

● The World Food Programme said yesterday it has resumed supplies to Angola in spite of "extremely difficult conditions" and hopes to distribute 23 000 tons of food by the end of the year. — Political Staff, Sapa-Reuter

WHO KILLED the Angolan peace process and what were their motives. Was it Unita pursuing power through military means, having failed at the ballot box? Was it the MPLA, trying to exploit the high ground it occupied after its slender margin of victory at the polls?

These issues, and the vexing question of what role the SA government played in the failure of the peace process, will have to be answered if Angola is to extricate itself from renewed civil war and begin reconstruction.

It has been claimed that SA continued to supply Unita with the military and logistical support it publicly claimed to have stopped with the granting of independence to Namibia. Some reports have gone so far as to suggest that Foreign Minister Pik Botha's peace mission in fact encouraged the bellicose rebel movement to return to its armed struggle while presenting a conciliatory face.

Other reports have suggested secret SA military flights into Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's southern Angolan stronghold to provide military supplies, and plans to deploy the disbanded Portuguese-speaking 32 Battalion in southern Angola.

Suspicion that SA was up to something sinister hit fever pitch when former SA diplomat Sean Cleary, believed to be a Unita adviser, was suddenly expelled from Angola for allegedly providing the guerrilla army with "logistical support" in its return to civil war.

That Cleary was a former SA diplomat who had been linked in several reports to shadowy Military Intelligence activities to undermine Swapo during the Namibian elections, did not help government's case.

It was suggested Foreign Affairs had turned back the SAS Tafeberg in favour of a Safair flight to pick up those fleeing the country in order to accommodate Angola's insistence that Cleary leave the country within 24 hours.

Do these allegations have foundation or is Foreign Affairs suffering

Did dirty tricks prompt MPLA to go sour on Pik?

RDH 19/11/72

RAY HARTLEY

(5)

from the lingering "blame it on apartheid" syndrome which gives writers a licence to lay the social ills of the subcontinent on the doorstep of the most obvious target — the SA government? And would an experienced and wily diplomat like Botha sabotage an opportunity to become southern Africa's Henry Kissinger because of an anachronistic secret military mission to undermine the MPLA?

Government claims that it approached the conflict impartially are boosted by the contents of a 13-page letter written by Botha to foreign governments last week. A copy of it and several other documents have been supplied to Business Day.

The letter contains interesting insights into the way government saw its role in the conflict. Botha describes a visit to Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos during which "I emphasised the fact that the sole reason for my visit was to further the cause of peace and stability in Angola".

Botha's comments on Dos Santos's political opinions at the time show a fresh SA approach to the former communist leader.

"I was sure that President Dos Santos would wish to bring Angola in line with the main trends in world thinking on democracy and the demand for ensuring the maintenance

of fundamental human rights," Botha said in the letter.

Botha's apparently candid confrontation with Savimbi about the implications of reflecting the election results also disclose a new non-sense approach to the former ally. "I informed Dr Savimbi that Unita's image in the media was a negative one. Unita was being perceived as a bad loser and as a movement preparing for a military clash.

"I warned that unless this perception was countered, Unita would soon find itself totally isolated. The only way to counter this perception was to state publicly that Unita would abide by (UN election supervisor Margaret) Anstee's judgment after the alleged irregularities had been investigated," he wrote.

Botha's explanation of what he communicated to Savimbi accords entirely with the perceptions in the media at the time that the SA government was trying to convince the rebel movement to compromise on its militant position.

"I urged Dr Savimbi to discard military force as an option to solve Angola's problems and to participate in the establishment of democracy in

Angola in a constructive and positive way," Botha said in the letter.

An official note in support of SA intervention, sent by the Angolan government to Botha shortly after the election, backs up this perception and describes SA involvement as "very constructive".

"The Angolan government is convinced that with SA intervention the belief in the existence of negative connections between the SA government and Unita, like military and logistic support for the return to war," the Angolan government note said.

This view of the SA mission in Angola was confirmed by ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, who said his organisation had been consulted by Foreign Affairs on the peace mission and had given Botha its support.

Botha maintained close contact with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, whom he described as making "a concerted and determined effort to prevent the threatening outbreak of civil war".

But Angolan government officials seemed to undergo a change of heart around the time of Cleary's expulsion and began accusing the SA government of assisting Unita militarily and logistically.

Angola, and although this was later proved inaccurate and no formal notification of this was given to Foreign Affairs or the SA Angola mission, there was clear evidence relations with the MPLA had soured.

What caused this change of heart and why did Botha suddenly find himself having to fend off claims his peace mission had in fact led to more war?

Either the Angolan government decided it did not want peace any longer and Botha was standing in the way of total power or it genuinely believed some kind of assistance for Savimbi was coming out of SA.

In a revealing statement local Angolan official Jorge Morais said Angola was disappointed with SA's failure to act against "conservative forces" aiding Unita militarily.

The startling possibility that Botha's mission was deliberately being undermined by these "conservative forces" possibly within the SA military could not be ruled out, Morais said.

Morais said recent discussions between Botha and Angolan government officials in SA had touched on what government would do to end the supplying of Unita from SA soil.

Current disclosures of a secret agenda within the military aimed at undermining the ANC through dirty tricks can only lead to speculation about the foreign affairs ambitions of these same forces.

This kind of suggestion enters the dangerous realm of pure speculation and could potentially add to the mist surrounding the Angolan conflict.

But the suggestion that Foreign Affairs deliberately set out to shoot itself in the diplomatic foot seems to fly in the face of Botha's personal ambition to be seen as a southern African peacemaker.

At worst, Botha was guilty of insensitivity by trying to steal the limelight while settling a conflict his government had previously fuelled.

At best he is a victim of a simplistic analysis which lumps government negotiators and peace brokers with right-wing hawks who continue to hang on to notions of rolling back "communism" through force.

Angolan govt appeals for international refugee aid

Blom 19/11/92

LUANDA — The Angolan government appealed yesterday for international aid for thousands of refugees fleeing a military advance by Unita rebels, and sought negotiations to prevent further bloodshed. Secretary of State for Social Affairs Norberto dos Santos asked foreign donors for 3 000 tons of food to feed what he said were tens of thousands of people dislocated by recent conflicts.

"In social terms, Angola faces one of the most critical moments in its history," he was quoted in the state-run media.

He said eight of Angola's 18 provinces — Moxico, Uige, Lunda Sul, Lunda Norte, Bie, Huambo, Bengo and Kwanza-Norte — were badly affected by Unita's expulsion of government administrations.

Unita troops have taken over more than 50% of national territory in violation of the May 1991 peace accords since its leader Jonas Savimbi rejected the results of September 29-30 elections as fraudulent.

Thousands of people died, especially in Luanda, just over two weeks ago in the worst clashes since the civil war ended.

The fighting was accompanied by looting, which the World Food Programme estimates cost it at least 4 000 tons of food taken from its warehouses in Angola.

A shaky ceasefire exists in various areas, but Unita continues to advance on

provincial capitals and holds some

The governor of Kwanza-Norte province east of Luanda urged Unita to meet local officials and allow humanitarian agencies to bring food into the capital N'dalatando, which the rebels took recently.

Local officials also planned to hold similar meetings yesterday in Caxito. Caxito is the capital of Bengo province, 60km north-east of Luanda, which Unita occupies, and central Benguela.

The MPLA government has called a multiparty meeting to form a new national unity government and parliament and to call a second round of presidential elections, whether or not Unita takes part.

Unita has not confirmed whether it will take part in the meeting, expected to take place this weekend.

Meanwhile, Namibian authorities have called on Angolans fleeing south across the border since the September elections to report themselves, so they can be helped.

The Home Affairs Ministry noted that most of the new arrivals were seeking refugee status.

They were asked to report at border control posts, police stations, local and traditional authorities, regional commissioners' offices and immigration offices so they could be registered and assisted. — Sapa-Reuter.

5

Time to drop Savimbi



FM 20/11/92

Fred Bridgland is the Johannesburg-based southern Africa correspondent of *The Sunday Telegraph* and *The Daily Telegraph*. He is the author of a biography of Jonas Savimbi and an account of the last 12 months of the SADF's campaign in Angola, *The War for Africa*

There was a time when Unita leader Jonas Savimbi looked like the answer to Angola's great predicaments and perhaps also the key to some of the quandaries of black Africa. Now he is the problem, one of the continent's most dangerous loose weapons whose control mechanisms have gone haywire. Conventional diplomacy and customary negotiating techniques are not sufficient equipment with which to counter him; the man whom many understood and backed — with good reason — is no longer rational.

Future historians, detached from the immediate political and ideological passions of our time, will interpret Savimbi as having been one of the major players in the epic changes of the late 20th Century. It is easy now to forget that when Savimbi's Unita movement began its resistance in the mid-Seventies to the imposition on Angola of one-party Marxist dictatorship by Havana and Moscow, Brezhnevian "scientific" socialism was on an apparently unstoppable roll. Not in Prague, nor Budapest, nor Saigon, nor Kabul, nor Lourenco Marques, nor Addis Ababa, nor on the liberal campuses of the West were there breakwaters which seemed strong enough to beat back the wave of the future.

It was a time when, through moral slackness and intellectual laziness, many Western liberal and leftist democrats endorsed despotic systems for Third-World human beings they would have bawled out against if imposed upon themselves.

Savimbi was encouraged by the West to take on the Russians and the Cubans and their surrogate, the imposed government of the MPLA (the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola). But the West's commitment was low-key and secretive, a small side stake that was plausibly deniable, which could be readily sacrificed if necessary.

As Savimbi led his defeated forces into

apparent oblivion in early 1976, the distinguished British journalist Max Hastings lamented: "In any internal power struggle in Africa the message of Angola is that it pays to be on the side the Russians are on. They win. Whatever amiable mutterings the American ambassador whispers into receptive ears, when it comes to the crunch, he cannot deliver the cash, votes or guns from Washington to back them . . . and so now (in Angola) the Russians can prepare to rake in their huge winnings, staked successfully upon the resounding apathy of the West."

That Unita (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) did fight back with SA help — thus giving Western leftists a *frisson* of moral righteousness, as they used the reality of Pretoria's internal oppression as basis to justify MPLA tyranny — is now history. The Soviet Union retreated and is no more. Fidel Castro withdrew his troops and began to prepare for the eventual demise of the autocracy he imposed on Cuba.

At this point Savimbi should have come into his own — had he been able to put into practice the ideas and vision he had articulated down the years. But somewhere along the line he had already sown the seeds of his own destruction, and of his followers, and begun the betrayal of many people who had backed him at considerable personal cost.

Savimbi has become a totally paranoid personality possessed by delusions of Messianic omnipotence. It would take a clinician to say when the devastating condition began to set in, but it may have been as long ago as the early Seventies, when Unita was fighting Angola's Portuguese colonial rulers. Key members of the Chingunji family, who shared Unita's leadership with Savimbi, began dying in mysterious circumstances.

By 1979 Savimbi was killing people in his movement who dared to challenge his word on anything from politics and economics through to whether his own sexual habits were acceptable or whether he had the right to dictate whom his closest lieutenants should divorce or marry. The leaders of the Chingunji clan, Eduardo and Violeta Chingunji, and Unita's foreign secretary, the urbane Jorge Sangumba, paid with their lives, savagely beaten to death — and in the case

of the Chingunjis, finished off by running an SA-supplied Unimog truck back and forward over their limp bodies.

As others dared to question whether the emperor was losing his robes, the executions, tortures and imprisonments in underground pits accelerated. Wives and children of dissidents were burned alive on public pyres *pour encourager les autres*.

Savimbi is now an African Macbeth. He believes in the spirit world and the ghosts of his brightest and best whose lives he ordered terminated sit looking over his shoulder. Following the deaths of his remaining second-rate political leaders, and the outstanding Unita army commander Arlindo "Ben-Ben" Pena in a massacre this month in Luanda by the MPLA, Savimbi has lost nearly everyone of any intellectual competence in his movement.

His guerrilla army is a fine one by any standards. It has sufficient "fat" to continue achieving victories for a while, but, undermined by moral decay, the loss of its top generals and international isolation, it will probably gradually wither and disintegrate. There was a just SA rationale for backing Unita — but Pretoria would be most unwise to continue links with Savimbi through foreign ministers, front international political consultants and clandestine military units, or to dream that he can play a part in an Angolan transitional government that will be a model for interim rule in SA.

The MPLA, which for 17 years denied Angola's people the elections Unita fought for, has won at the ballot box. It is one of those paradoxes which democrats from all points of the political spectrum must accept. In the wake of Savimbi's refusal to stomach the election result, probably only a strong UN force can help to save Angola. The healing and the recovery will be impossible with Savimbi around, unable to tell one lie from another, capable only of expedience at the expense of any morality, able to justify any murder.

He will have to be persuaded to go into exile — or be left to wander increasingly alone in the Angolan wilderness, where fine young men whose deaths he ordered once dreamed of great things.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS SA envoy not invited to meeting of diplomats in Luanda

Anglicans want to approach the Pope

Rallying call against Anglican church decision could mean an exodus of thousands of worshippers and priests:

LONDON - An influential Anglican bishop yesterday called for a breakaway church to be established under the authority of the Pope to protest against a Church of England decision to admit women priests.

The rallying call by the retired Bishop of London, Graham Leonard, was the first sign of a possible exodus by thousands of priests and worshippers over last week's historic Church of England vote.

Leonard, who was the third most senior prelate in the Church of England hierarchy, said in an article in the *Catholic Herald* newspaper that those opposed to women's ordination might consider forming a "personal prelature" or semi-autonomous group outside the established church.

Up to 1 000 Anglican priests who have threatened to resign could be interested in joining such a group, which would retain the Anglican liturgy but would seek to be part of the Roman Catholic Church.

"We can only hope and pray that the Vatican and the English hierarchy will give sympathetic consideration to any possibility of a way forward," Leonard (71) wrote.

The Catholic Church is opposed to the ordination of women, saying there is no theological justification since Christ chose only men as his apostles. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Angola snubs SA

Sowetan 20/11/92. (5)

ALLEGATIONS REPEATED Foreign Minister Van

Dunem promises proof that South Africa still arms Unita:

LUANDA - South Africa was not invited to a meeting of heads of diplomatic missions on Wednesday.

Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van-Dunem repeated claims that South Africa was continuing to supply Unita with arms. He said he would provide proof of his claims "within days".

South Africa's representative in Angola, Mr. Andre Janse van Rensburg, was due to meet Van-Dunem yesterday.

Relations between the two countries have been strained since the outbreak of fierce fighting a fortnight ago when the security forces of the governing MPLA routed Unita troops in Luanda.

The MPLA government accused South Africa of complicity in the violence by flying in military supplies to help Unita take over the country by force.

Angola has been on the brink of civil war since Unita disputed election results which gave the MPLA victory in the legislative polls and narrowly missed giving President Jose Eduardo dos Santos a clear majority in the presidential ballot.

Angolan government sources have expressed their anger at South Africa's failure to denounce Unita and its leader Jonas Savimbi for refusing to accept the United Nations-sanctioned elections.



Savimbi accepts poll results 'for peace'

BIDAM 20/11/92
RAY HARTLEY

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi yesterday agreed to accept the results of Angola's September elections.

Angola's SA mission chief Manuel Augusto said UN special representative Margaret Anstee had delivered to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda a copy of Savimbi's letter to UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros Ghali.

Anstee said although Savimbi still insisted the elections he lost were "fraudulent and irregular", he said he was ready to accept them in order to allow the peace process to go ahead.

He also called for a strengthened UN presence, as much to ensure that a cease-fire was respected as to watch over the peace process, particularly the run-off round of presidential elections.

Unita's conciliatory gesture came as Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro van Dunem told a diplomatic briefing in Luanda that he would furnish new evidence within days of SA military support for Unita.

Augusto said President FW de Klerk had personally assured him SA was not

involved in supplying Unita and had requested concrete evidence. He said it was possible SADF elements could be assisting Unita without De Klerk's knowledge.

The Angolan government was hoping Unita would take part in a multiparty meeting tomorrow and in the official opening of Angola's first elected parliament on Wednesday, Augusto said.

Sapa-Reuter reports that tomorrow's meeting is expected to set a date for run-off presidential elections. In September Dos Santos won 49,57% of the vote against Savimbi's 40,07%.

5

Pik to urge Savimbi to a summit

PRETORIA. — South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha says he will urge Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to attend a multi-party conference to discuss the implementation of the Angolan parliamentary election results.

Mr Botha, in a statement released here yesterday, welcomed Dr Savimbi's announcement that Unita would accept the parliamentary election results.

Mr Botha said during his meetings with Dr Savimbi in Angola he had impressed

on Dr Savimbi the need to have a strong and irrevocable commitment to dialogue.

He had also stressed that Unita's generals should return to the integrated Angolan armed forces.

● The South African government yesterday assured Angola that Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn is investigating allegations of South African military aid to Unita.

● In Luanda the state-run *Jornal de*

Angola, reporting on fighting over the last week, yesterday said Dr Savimbi's forces were advancing on towns in the central province of Kwanza-Sul and Huila province to the south.

● It was reported from Lusaka that scores of Angolan refugees are pouring into Zambia daily, fleeing the fighting precipitated by Unita's rejection of the MPLA poll victory in that country in September. — Sapa

⑤ OCT 21/11/92

INTERNATIONAL

Unita faces life in the cold

23/11/92 (5) 11/09

LUANDA. — Angolan political parties, including the ruling MPLA, have decided to form a new parliament with or without Unita, which they urged to end military moves that threaten to plunge the country into renewed civil war.

A congress of a dozen parties attended by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the MPLA agreed on Saturday to convene parliament no later than Friday, after which a new government would be formed, said Information Minister Mr Rui de Carvalho.

A final communique called on Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) to refrain from force and respect the May 1991 peace accord.

It also said Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi should accept the results of a September 29-30 election which his organisation says was rigged.

The meeting rejected the use of force and called for the demilitarisation of Unita, said Mr Carvalho.

He said Unita failed to attend the meeting and had only itself to blame for ignoring the government's invitation.

Unita had "isolated itself" although the real test would be whether the group would take its seats at parliament. A high-level government delegation, probably to be headed by Armed Forces

weeks ago. He also sought safety guarantees for officials travelling to the capital from the group's central headquarters in Huambo.

Diplomats said the government had made little effort to include Unita at the congress, although the real test would be whether the group would take its seats at parliament.

A high-level government delegation, probably to be headed by Armed Forces

commander General Antonio Franca, planned to visit Dr Savimbi in Huambo next week to try to open dialogue.

Since the vote, Unita has occupied 60 percent of Angola, including two provincial capitals. Thousands died in fighting earlier this month.

In the first promising move in weeks of political impasse, Dr Savimbi said last week that he would accept the legislative results, although he still considered them fraudulent.

lent, and face a second round. The formerly Marxist MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), which has ruled Angola since independence from Portugal in 1975, won 129 of the 220 seats in parliament and Unita 70.

The rest were split between smaller parties.

President Dos Santos narrowly failed to win more than the 50 percent necessary to avoid a second round with Dr Savimbi. — Sapa-Reuter.

Missino

WORLD NEWS New parliament to be formed

Angola will form new parliament

LUANDA - Angolan political parties including the ruling MPLA have decided to form a new parliament with or without the Unita opposition, whom they urged to end military moves threatening to plunge the country into renewed civil war.

A congress of a dozen parties attended by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the MPLA agreed on Saturday to call parliament this Friday at the latest, after which a new government would be formed, Information Minister Rui de Carvalho said.

A final communique called on Unita to refrain from force and respect May 1991 peace accords which ended 16 years of war.

Unita failed to show up

It also said Unita chief Jonas Savimbi should accept the results of a September 29-30 election.

"The meeting rejected the use of force and called for the demilitarisation of Unita," Carvalho said.

He said Unita failed to show up at the meeting in Luanda and had only itself to blame for ignoring the government's invitation.

Sowetan 23/11/92 (5)
■ **OPEN DOOR** Govern-

ment delegation to try for

dialogue with Unita:

"Unita isolated its own self," he said.

Savimbi had expressed concern over safety following the capture and deaths of leading officials in battles in Luanda three weeks ago. He had also sought safety guarantees for officials travelling to Luanda from the group's central headquarters of Huambo.

Diplomats said the government had made little effort to include Unita at the congress, although the real test would be whether the group would take its seats at parliament.

A high-level government delegation, probably to be headed by armed forces commander General Antonio Franca "N'dalu", planned to visit Savimbi in Huambo next week to try to open a dialogue. - Sapa-Reuter.

Unita under pressure to halt fighting

⑤ OCT 23 11/92

LUANDA — Angola's Unita opposition, isolated after failing to attend a weekend multi-party national unity congress, is under growing pressure to suspend a post-election military push and take its place in the new parliament.

But the former rebel movement said yesterday that while it welcomed dialogue it was not prepared to negotiate "with a noose around its neck".

State media reported yesterday that Unita troops were still mobilising in Namibe, Malanje and Kwanza-Norte provinces.

President José Eduardo dos Santos yesterday expressed regret that Unita had failed to show at the congress, adding that legislation would be passed to crack down on military insubordination.

Unita's radio said on Saturday that the organisation "will always favour dialogue", but continued:

"How can one expect Unita to return to Luanda to continue talks after the terrible slaughter on November 1, 1992, in which Unita negotiators, vice-president Jeremias Kalandula Chitunda and Elias Salupeto Pena ... were killed."

The weekend congress — which included some of Unita's allies — agreed a new parliament would be convened next week and a national unity government formed — with or without Unita.

Hopes for a negotiated solution are pinned on a visit later this week by a high-level government delegation to Huambo, where Dr Savimbi is based.

— Sapa-Reuter-AFP

It to refugees by Serbians

starve it into surrender. In the Bosnian capital Sarajevo, there was sniper and machine gun fire in the old town throughout the night and shelling of Muslim suburbs.

Bosnian radio reported a severe infantry attack on Saturday near the village of Turbe, 5km from Travnik, where the defenders are making their major stand. Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic told the UN Security Council the Serbians might be deploying ground-to-ground missiles in the area.

Travnik, an ancient town surrounded by mountains, has been overrun by refugees, many of them starving and freezing outside for lack of accommodation. The head of the International Committee of the Red Cross office in Split, Croatia, said: "Should there be a change in the front line (in the Travnik region) we'll have another refugee shock to absorb."

The capture of Travnik would open the road to Sarajevo, which has been under Serbian sieges for seven months. — Sapa-Reuter.

US deficit may grow

LITTLE ROCK — US President-elect Bill Clinton had not ruled out a short-term increase in the federal deficit if needed to revive the economy in January, a senior aide said at the weekend. The details have not been worked out, Clinton's communications director George Stephanopoulos said. Questioned on whether Clinton would be willing to drive up the deficit in the economy moving, Stephanopoulos said: "I haven't ruled it out."

On the stimulus package, Stephanopoulos said that Clinton had not settled on any specifics and had asked advisers for a list of policy options by mid-December, about the time he holds his economic "retreat" for academics and business and labour representatives.

Clinton has indicated that if the economy is showing little growth by January, he will probably try to push through an immediate jobs package which will speed up the availability of federal dollars for road and bridge projects and give tax breaks for business investment. — AP-DJ.

Agreement between coffee groups likely

ABIDJAN — African coffee producers are ready to compromise with consumer countries on export controls in a new world coffee pact, producer sources say.

The 25-member Inter-African Coffee Organisation voted last week to recommend that producers take the main responsibility for stopping illegal exports when talks between producers and consumers resumed in London this week. "It's a compromise with the consumers," said Ivory Coast Commodities Minister Guy Alain Gauze after a four-day meeting in Abidjan.

The African producers met before the International Coffee Organisation gathers in London this week for the latest round of

talks aimed at clinching a new agreement to boost low world coffee prices after price-supporting mechanisms in the previous pact broke down in 1990.

Until now, producers have pushed for the burden of policing export controls to be shared, saying consumer countries should be ready to turn away illegal shipments. Consumers said producers had to block illegal exports at their own ports.

Delegates agreed that consumers should have the right to use any coffee, legally or illegally shipped, once it arrived. The consumers' role would be to document all imports and report shipments exceeding any country's quota. — Sapa-Reuter.

Farm subsidy deal not acceptable France

PARIS — The agricultural accord struck between the US and the EC on Friday was "unacceptable", French premier Pierre Bergeyovoy said at the weekend. Bergeyovoy stopped short of saying France would exercise its veto to torpedo negotiations, he said in a statement released by the prime minister's office. Bergeyovoy's comments echoed those of agriculture minister Jean-Pierre Soisson, who also called the accord unacceptable. But Soisson said a "definitive position" would not be taken until Parliament and the EC had been consulted.

Farm groups also rejected the agreement, calling for immediate demonstrations. Some urged France to use its veto power to scuttle the accord. Farmers in Dijon set fire to bales of straw and tyres and tried to attack a McDonald's hamburger outlet — as a symbol of US commercial interests — in protest against the trade deal.

France is asking the EC to verify the compatibility of the accord with the Common Agricultural Policy. The EC is to meet on Wednesday, the same day the French National Assembly is to open debate on the state of GATT negotiations. Soisson said government would then seek a meeting of the EC's council of ministers "at which the foreign and agricultural ministers (of the EC) would set the definitive position of France and the EC".

Hours before EC and US negotiators resume talks in Geneva next week. — Sapa-AFP.

concluded their agreement, French Trade Minister Dominique Strauss-Kahn took swipes at Britain and the US, saying they were largely responsible for the deterioration in trade relations between the EC and Washington. "They (the US) want to become the world's biggest exporter of food products and to wield a kind of food weapon over the rest of the planet," Strauss-Kahn said. "We want to resist that, and it goes well beyond defending the interests of French or European farmers."

A French farm group said on Friday that the US demands would halve the EC's share of the world grain market by 2000. The General Association of Wheat Producers said in its November newsletter that it based its estimate on studies by the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development, the World Bank and International Wheat Council.

Meanwhile, in Tokyo, Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, having welcomed settlement of the farm subsidy dispute, said Japan would stick to its ban on rice imports.

"Japan for its part will present its own assertion," said Miyazawa when asked about Japan's rice policy in the Uruguay round of GATT talks. There would be no change in Japan's opposition to a proposal that it instead levy high tariffs that should be reduced gradually.

The GATT committee is expected to resume talks in Geneva next week. — Sapa-AFP.

Angola may shun Unita with new parliament

LUANDA — Angolan political parties, including the ruling MPLA, have decided to form a new parliament with or without Unita, which they have urged to end military moves threatening to plunge the country into renewed civil war.

A congress of a dozen parties attended by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the MPLA agreed on Saturday to call parliament on Friday this week at the latest, after which a new government would be formed, Information Minister Rui de Carvalho said.

A final communique called on Unita to refrain from force and respect May 1991 peace accords which ended 16 years of war.

It also said Unita chief Jonas Savimbi should accept the results of a September 29-30 election which his organisation said was rigged.

Carvalho told reporters that Unita failed to show up at the meeting in a Luanda congress hall and had only itself to blame for ignoring the government's invitation. "Unita isolated its own self," he said.

Savimbi had expressed concern over safety following the capture or deaths of leading officials in battles in Luanda three weeks ago. He had also sought safety guarantees for officials travelling to the capital from the group's central headquarters of Huambo.

Diplomats said the government had made little effort to include Unita at the congress, although the real test would be whether the group would take its seats at parliament.

A high-level government delegation, probably to be headed by Armed Forces commander General Antonio Franca "Ndalu", planned to visit Savimbi in Huambo next week to try to open a dialogue.

In the first promising move in weeks of political impasse, Savimbi said earlier this week he would accept the legislative results, although he still considered them fraudulent, and face a second round. But he declined to say whether he would respect the peace accords. — Sapa-Reuter.

DEEDS OF SURETYSHIP ARE THEY VALID?

Seven judgments recently handed down in the Supreme Court have commented on the validity of deeds of suretyship. Specific reference is made to specific clauses of deeds of suretyship.

All seven appear in the December issue of Commercial Law Digest. Price R60 + VAT, Tel 011-3375380/3154134, Fax 3154550.

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EXCITIVE

Angola appeals to local business community for aid, investment

BIDAM 24/11/92

GAVIN DU VENAGE

ANGOLA had appealed to the SA business community to provide humanitarian aid and ordinary financial investment, SA Angolan mission head Manuel Augusto said at a briefing in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said the recent souring of political relations between the two countries would not lead to discrimination against SA companies doing business in Angola.

"We need all the help we can get," said Augusto, adding that money could be channelled into the country through government and non-governmental organisations.

Angola was short of food and medical supplies and would be "grateful" for any assistance the SA business community could provide.

There was still room for trilateral operations between SA companies, overseas investors and the Angolan business community, in spite of current difficulties.

Angola wanted to expand its diamond mining activities and was interested in starting up gold mining as well, said Augusto.

He said a governmental task force set up earlier this year to investigate debt payment problems was still functioning and would provide assistance to companies that had difficulty in getting paid for services provided.

On political developments, Augusto said the Angolan government remained suspicious of SA's role in assisting Unita.

Allegations of flights to Unita-held territory by SA aircraft during fighting after the election recalled memories of the past decade of civil war and SA's part in it.

Augusto confirmed earlier reports that the MPLA would establish "the second Angolan Republic" this week, "with or without Unita".

Angolan diamond flow slows down

LONDON — Angola's diamond production has slumped, taking pressure off De Beers which has been spending an estimated \$500m a year to mop up stones smuggled into the Antwerp market.

In the latest Southern African review from brokers James Capel, analyst John Taylor reports that the outlook for De Beers and the oversupply of diamonds "is looking considerably better than the situation that prevailed three months ago".

"Russia and the Central Selling Organisation appear to be edging towards an agreement while the supply has dropped dramatically in both Zaire and Angola.

"In the case of Angola we hear that official Endiamo production has almost halved. Furthermore, Anglos (Anglo-American sources) inform us that the num-

BLOOM 24/11/92
JOHN CAVILL

ber of illicit diggers is now minimal with Unita controlling the diamond areas and the rains having fallen in southern Africa."

It was estimated that up to 50 000 "illicit" diggers were at work along the Cuango River in the Lunda Norte province.

A De Beers spokesman said yesterday: "Our reports from Antwerp tell us that the supply of rough stones from Angola has been reduced to a very small flow.

"Our understanding is that most of the official mining companies have withdrawn from the diamond areas because of the security situation. And the rains which started at the end of September have flooded the diggings and made access more difficult," he said.

Luanda paralysed by chaos ⁵

LUANDA - Looting and political chaos have virtually paralysed Angola's economy but the vendors and thieves operating on the streets are thriving.

The looting of shops and warehouses in violence which killed thousands of people three weeks ago and the mobilisation of Unita rebel troops across the country have forced the economy underground. The best place to change money and buy goods, from furniture to tennis shoes, is on the streets of Luanda where even policemen ply stolen wares. - *Sapa-Reuter-AP-AFP*

Soudam 25/11/92

UN head urges Angolan govt not to exclude Unita

NEW YORK — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has urged the Angolan government not to turn its back on Unita.

"Keep open the door for negotiations with Unita," the UN chief told Lopo do Nascimento, a special envoy of Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos he met on Monday, said spokesman Joe Sills.

Marrack Goulding, deputy secretary-general in charge of peace operations, attended the half-hour meeting requested by Do Nascimento, the spokesman added.

Reports from Luanda indicate that Dos Santos intends sending Gen Franca Ndalu to negotiate with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in Huambo.

The pro-government Jornal do Angola newspaper said the UN mandate for Angola, which expires on November 30, would be discussed at the meeting.

Savimbi had asked to meet with a government representative, but at the same time he fuelled negative speculation by refusing to meet UN special envoy Margaret Anstee on Saturday.

Anstee was scheduled to see him in Huambo yesterday, UN sources in Luanda said.

In Luanda meanwhile, looting and political chaos have virtually paralysed the economy but vendors and thieves operating on the streets are thriving.

The looting of shops and warehouses in violence which killed thousands of people three weeks ago and the mobilisation of Unita troops across the country have forced the economy underground.

The best place to change money and buy goods from furniture to tennis shoes is on the streets of Luanda, where even policemen ply stolen wares.

The rise in underground trading has prompted authorities in Luanda province to announce an offensive against illicit street vending throughout the capital.

Miguel Alvarenga, who is spearheading the drive, said merchandise would be seized and unlicensed vendors punished.

"We are taking drastic measures against those who do not heed our warnings," he told the Jornal de Angola.

Motorists stopping at intersections are often besieged by vendors waving an array of goods no longer available in many stores.

"Nail-polish? Pillow cases? Toys for kids?" offers a 14-year-old youth, pushing his wares through a car window.

The World Bank and some international economists say it is impossible to calculate the size of the underground sector. But in an economy fuelled by corruption and shattered by 16 years of civil war, the black market is significant even by African standards.

Commercial banks are operating officially but many Luanda residents have stopped putting money in their savings accounts, scared they won't be able to get it out if fighting flares again. — Sapa-AFP-Reuter.

Unita closer to averting civil war

LUANDA - The Unita rebel movement said yesterday it was edging closer to renewed dialogue with the government on averting full-scale civil war in Angola.

Unita information director Jorge Valentim said the two sides would meet soon, possibly later this week, but a time and place had yet to be set.

"The government and Unita will meet shortly," he told state-run radio, adding that it could be as early as this week, "I hope we are closer to more direct negotiation between the two sides."

His remarks followed a meeting on Tuesday between Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and UN special representative Margaret Anstee in the movement's central highland headquarters Huambo.

UN sources said one proposal was for a meeting in a neutral area outside Huambo and Luanda, possibly the southern city of Lubango. It would involve officials from both sides but not their leaders.

Unita would send people from Huambo, because its

26/11/92 (5)
NEUTRAL AREA Rebels,

government could meet soon

to talk about lasting peace:

main negotiators were killed or captured in battles in Luanda more than three weeks ago, the sources said.

Unita has occupied more than 70 percent of national territory - in violation of May 1991 peace accords which ended 16 years of war - since claiming September 29-30 elections were rigged.

Anstee was due to brief President Jose Eduardo dos Santos yesterday.

Valentim said Unita wanted to consolidate a ceasefire across Angola but would not confirm if the group's 70 deputies would attend the opening on Thursday of the new 220-seat parliament. - Sapa-Reuter.

MPLA, ⁵Unita meet for talks

CT 26/11/97

LUANDA. — The Angolan government and the rebel movement Unita will hold their first direct talks today to seek ways to avert a full-scale civil war, a senior UN official said yesterday.

Ms. Margaret Anstee, special UN representative, said after meeting President José Eduardo dos Santos the meeting was due to take place in the southern Namibe province.

Unita Information Director Mr Jorge Valentim said Unita wanted to consolidate a ceasefire.

But he would not confirm whether the group's 70 deputies would attend today's opening of the new 220-seat parliament in which the ruling MPLA has a clear majority of 129 seats.

Unita failed to attend a weekend multi-party meeting to prepare for a new government, citing fears about security.

"We are ready to participate in all state institutions," he said on state-run radio. "(But) what is necessary is the proper atmosphere," he said.

One of Angola's top military men, General Higinio Carneiro, said the government placed hope in dialogue.

"We note the situation with great concern," he said on state radio. "We will continue to strive for peace but will resort to force if we don't have another recourse." — Sapa-Reuter

Enemies to meet on neutral ground

STAR 26/11/92
LUANDA — The Angolan government and its Unita foes will today hold their first direct talks since fierce battles in Luanda three weeks ago, to seek ways to avert full-scale civil war, a UN official said yesterday.

Margaret Anstee, special representative of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, said the meeting was due to take place in the southern Namibe province. The meeting would be the first between the two sides

since the battles in the capital in which thousands died and several top Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) generals and negotiators were killed or captured.

Anstee met Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in his headquarters in Huambo yesterday to try to reopen dialogue. Some diplomats speculated that Savimbi might be trying to gain time to continue his military advance. But others believed he realised he could not win a war and should pursue dialogue instead.

UN sources said Namibe was chosen as a neutral area. The government delegation would probably be headed by Deputy Interior Minister Fernando da Piedade.

The Unita team, to come from Huambo, has not been named. Unita has occupied more than 70 percent of Angola — in violation of May 1991 peace accords which ended 16 years of war — since claiming that the elections, held in late September, were rigged. Unita information director Jorge Valentim said his or-

ganisation wanted to consolidate a ceasefire. But he would not confirm whether its 70 deputies would attend today's opening of the new 220-seat parliament, in which the ruling MPLA has a clear majority of 129 seats.

At the weekend, Unita failed to attend a multiparty meeting to prepare for a new government, citing fears about security. Savimbi said last week he had finally accepted the results of the legislative election — although he still considered them fraudulent — and would

face a second-round vote for the presidency.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos narrowly failed to win above the 50 percent necessary in the first round to avoid a run-off. He said in a letter to UN peacekeeping chief Marrack Goulding that Savimbi's stance was ambiguous and he did not know whether Unita would respect democratically elected institutions. — Sapa-Reuters.

● From saviour to villain — Page 29

From saviour to old villain

STAR 26/11/92.

(5)

~~20/11/92~~

THE SPIRIT of co-operation which South Africans until recently enjoyed in Angola has changed overnight as old enmities are dragged out of the closet.

Only a few weeks ago, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and other South Africans were warmly welcomed in the once-Marxist capital city.

Many South Africans told of their surprise at the lack of re-primination and the apparent desire of Angolans to forge links with their former enemy. South Africa had pulled its army out of southern Angola, given Namibia its independence and played a significant part in getting the Angolan peace process off the ground.

South African businessmen were a dime a dozen in Luanda — all trying to break into the lucrative Angolan markets.

The South African representative office, although not a fully-fledged embassy, was given a special status and its head afforded many of the privileges normally reserved for ambassadors.

Then two things happened. First, South Africa's former ally,

All the political gains made by South Africa in Angola have been jeopardised, writes HANS-PETER BAKKER for The Star's Africa Service from Luanda.

Unita, outraged international opinion by rejecting the United Nations-sanctioned election as fraudulent and mobilising its South African-trained army. Then allegations suddenly surfaced that South Africa was fanning the flames of war by sending arms to Unita and by deploying the much-feared 32-Battalion in Angola.

Overnight being a South African in Luanda became a lot less comfortable. Businessmen waiting to close deals in Luanda hotels suddenly found their once-friendly contacts less friendly. The South African representative office found formerly easy arrangements with government departments suddenly going sour.

Botha was made to feel distinctly unwelcome despite the fact that only weeks before he had been given a rousing welcome.

And when the fierce fighting erupted in Luanda three weeks

ago a group of the notorious riot police went in search of two Namibian journalists who they thought were South Africans. Fortunately both the Namibians and this (South African) journalist had left the country.

Last week police randomly stopped disembarking passengers at Luanda's international airport, demanding proof that there were no South Africans on board.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs has strenuously denied the charges that South Africa has resumed military support for Unita.

The questions remain: if the accusations are true, why is South Africa doing it? And if they are not true, why is the Angolan government making such dangerous claims?

Proponents of the theory of South African guilt vary from those who believe South African Military Intelligence was still playing its old games to those

who say Pretoria seeks to focus world attention on Angola to divert the spotlight from South Africa. Proponents of its innocence say Portugal masterminded the whole thing to get control of the markets which it was steadily losing to South Africa, and because its leaders were upset by Botha upstaging them all in mediating in the conflict.

Some in the MPLA government are angered by what they believed to have been an attempt by Botha to force a power-sharing option on Angola.

Others in Luanda felt that the South African Foreign Minister had suddenly abandoned Angolans after steering the opposing sides close to a resolution.

Conversations with a variety of people in Luanda leave the firm impression that unless South Africa publicly denounces Unita for what is seen as its role in jeopardising the Angola peace process, Pretoria will continue to be seen as the only country supporting the actions of the rebel movement. And South Africans in Angola will continue to be treated with suspicion, if not worse. □

Angolan foes agree to meet for crucial talks

3/04 26/11/92
 LUANDA — Angolan government and its Unita foes would hold face-to-face talks today to seek ways to avert full-scale civil war, a senior UN official said yesterday.

Margaret Anstee, special representative of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, said the meeting would take place in southern Namibe province.

The meeting will be the first between the two sides since the fierce battles in Luanda three weeks ago when thousands died and several top Unita generals and negotiators were killed or captured.

Anstee met Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in his Huambo headquarters yesterday to try to reopen dialogue.

Some diplomats speculated that Savimbi might be trying to gain time to continue his military advance. But others believed he realised he could not win a war and should pursue dialogue instead.

"It is a step forward," said a Western diplomat.

UN sources said Namibe was chosen as a neutral area. The government delegation would probably be headed by deputy interior minister Fernando da Piedade. The Unita team has not been named.

Unita has occupied more than 70% of Angola — in violation of May 1991 peace accords which ended 16 years of war — since claiming the late September elections were rigged.

Unita information director Jorge Valentim said Unita wanted to consolidate a ceasefire. But he would not confirm whether the group's 70 deputies would attend today's opening of the new 220-seat parliament in which the ruling MPLA has a clear majority of 129 seats.

Unita failed to attend a weekend multi-party meeting to prepare for a new government, citing fears about security.

Savimbi said last week he finally accepted the results of the legislative election — although he still considered them fraudulent — and would face a second-round vote for the presidency. — Sapa-Reuter.

Unita meets MPLA to avert war

⑤ CT 27/11/92

LUANDA. — Unita negotiators sat down with government officials yesterday for the first time since a disputed election threatened to rekindle one of Africa's longest and bloodiest civil wars.

Representatives of the ruling MPLA and Dr Jonas Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence (Unita) of Angola met in Namibe, south of Luanda, to consolidate a ceasefire and arrange terms for the rebels to join a coalition government.

Unita information officer Mr Jorge Valentim, said on his arrival for the talks that the rebels were committed to whatever it would take to bring peace to the country, Angolan state news Angop reported.

Neither President Jose Eduardo dos Santos nor Dr Savimbi attended the meeting.

United Nations representative Ms Margaret Anstee, who arranged the meeting, called it an important portent of peace in the Angola, but a top aide to President Dos Santos was less optimistic.

"For now, we're just starting meetings at another level," Mr Lopo do Nascimento said during a visit to the Portuguese capital Lisbon. He said the two sides had to agree because there was no other option.

In Luanda, Angola's 220-seat, multi-party parliament that resulted from the September balloting convened without Unita's 70 deputies.

Parliamentary president Mr Fernando Franca van Dunem urged Unita to lay down its arms and help govern the war-torn country.

He lamented Unita's absence as "the main opposition party in parliament, with increased responsibilities in the nation's affairs." — Sapa-AP

MPLA and Unita meet to avert war

Blomby 27/11/92
LUANDA — As ruling party and rebel officials met yesterday for crucial talks to avert a return to full-scale civil war, President Eduardo dos Santos convened a new parliament without Unita deputies.

The government-rebel talks were the highest level contact between the two sides since about 2 500 people were killed in fighting following the country's first free elections since independence in 1975.

The meeting under UN auspices aimed to lay the groundwork for direct talks between Dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

Angola has teetered on the brink of renewed civil war since Savimbi refused to accept defeat in the first-round presidential and parliamentary elections he claimed were rigged.

The talks, held in the southern port of Namibe about 700km south of Luanda, also aimed to consolidate a ceasefire, discuss an extension to the UN mandate in Angola which ends on November 30 and work out terms for the rebels to join a government of national unity.

"This is the most important sign we've had that the country is advancing from the civil war," UN representative Margaret

Anstee said. "There is no substitute for the two sides getting together."

Anstee held talks with Savimbi on Tuesday which she described as positive.

Meanwhile, Dos Santos convened the country's new multiparty parliament in spite of the absence of the 70 Unita representatives who won seats in the elections. Franca Van Dunem was elected parliamentary president.

Dos Santos narrowly missed gaining the 50% of the vote necessary for outright victory in the first round of presidential elections. His ruling MPLA party won 129 seats of the 220 seats in parliament.

Dos Santos said it was impossible in the short term to hold a presidential runoff because of security problems.

Meanwhile, the Russian news agency ITAR-TASS said a Russian helicopter carrying election papers was shot down in the north of the country, with the death of its pilot. It did not say who was responsible.

ITAR-TASS said the helicopter was shot down near Casito, the administrative centre of Bengo province, which is under Unita control.

The helicopter had been detained earlier by Unita forces, who threatened to kill the crew if they returned there, the agency said. — Sapa-AP-AFP.

Peace pact accepted

STAR 27/11/92
NAMIBE (Angola) — The Angolan government and the former rebel movement Unita have agreed to honour 1991 peace accords and adopt a ceasefire.

High-level officials from the two sides yesterday had their first meeting since fierce fighting killed thousands nearly a month ago.

They met on the relatively neutral terrain of this southern coastal city not far from the Namibian border in the presence of UN, Portuguese, Russian and US observers, representing the major powers overseeing the accords which ended

16 years of civil war.

A joint communique said the two sides agreed "to fully accept the Angolan peace accord as the only solution to the Angolan problem and to reiterate and effectively apply the ceasefire in the entire country".

The statement also called for UN peace monitors to remain past their November 30 deadline.

Diplomats said the meeting could be the last chance to avert a resumption of full-scale civil war.

Conflict has been brewing since Unita disputed September 29-30 elections and began occupying more than

70 percent of Angolan territory.

Deputy Interior Minister Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos, "Nando", who headed the four-member government delegation, said Unita would have to face the consequences if it violated the May 1991 peace accords and truce again.

Unita information secretary Jorge Valentim said there would be another meeting at an unspecified venue next week and perhaps a summit between Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos soon.

The meeting followed the opening in Luanda of

a new 220-seat parliament, in which the ruling MPLA has 129 seats. The opening was boycotted by Unita's 70 deputies, claiming they feared for their safety.

Nando said one issue which had to be dealt with was how to bring Unita into the parliament and a national unity government.

Savimbi last week said he would accept the results of the legislative poll, which he still believed fraudulent, and would face a second presidential round.

Dos Santos narrowly failed to win the 50 percent of votes necessary to avoid a run-off with Savimbi. — Sapa-Reuter.

Savimbi talks peace but prepares for power

JONAS SAVIMBI may have agreed to accept the results of Angola's recent elections but the country is still perilously poised between a tenuous ceasefire and a descent into civil war.

The United Nations has worked frantically to avert a return to full-scale conflict by trying to wheedle Savimbi and his Unita party back into negotiations with the election winners, the MPLA party of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Although Savimbi lost the national elections, it is clear that he is the decisive factor in Angola's peace equation.

As the Unita chief refused to budge from his stronghold in Huambo, UN special representative Margaret Anstee flew to that central city this week to hold talks with him. The next day Unita issued a statement that it had decided to enter discussions with the MPLA some time soon.

It is understood that neither Huambo nor Luanda would be the site for the meeting. Instead a more

neutral venue, such as Libungo, will be chosen. At the same time, senior officials of the rival parties, rather than Savimbi and Dos Santos themselves, will sit across the table. This means that it will not be a decisive summit — but it is the only glimmer of hope for continued peace in Angola.

A worrying sign is that Unita seems to have decided not to attend the opening of Angola's new parliament, in which it won about one-third of the seats, arguing that it would not be safe to do so. If Unita remains outside the democratic parliament, the body loses much of its claim to legitimacy as representing the Angolan people.

Actions speak louder than words: Savimbi may claim to respect the election results, but a Unita boycott of parliament means the party cannot countenance being a junior partner in the new body.

Savimbi's claims that his followers would not be safe in the capital, Luanda, are understandable following the revelations that police and MPLA offi-

Although the ceasefire in Angola is holding, there is a suspicion Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is just buying time.

By ANDY MELDRUM

cialists in Luanda summarily executed scores of Unita followers during the violence in the first weeks of this month.

But Unita also has blood on its hands. Reports from Huambo state that numerous MPLA supporters and even independent, international aid workers were hunted down and killed by the organisation at the beginning of this month. Two Angolan journalists who established an independent newsletter and a logistics officer for the French medical group, Medecins sans Frontieres, were shot dead in Huambo, according to international aid workers.

UN officials, scrambling to cobble together a

peace settlement, say they are pleased that the ceasefire following the days of violence in early November is holding. But diplomats and aid officials in Luanda say they are unconvinced by Savimbi's commitment to abide by the election results.

Unita has gained a great deal of strategic territory this month during the fighting and even more, it appears, during the ceasefire. Savimbi's men lost Luanda, and several of its top officers in the process. But they have gained control of wide swathes of central and southern Angola. These gains make it possible for Unita to cut Angola in half and rule the southern and central regions, if it so chooses.

It may even attempt to squeeze Luanda, which remains under MPLA control, by seizing control of the rest of the country.

In addition to Huambo, Angola's second city, Unita has outright control of the provincial centres of Caxito and N'Dalatando. It also has firmly secured the strategic Lobito port and has encircled the neighbouring city of Benguela. In addition,

Unita has encircled key provincial cities like Malange, Kuito, Luena and Sauro.

The UN's World Food Programme, which has remained resolutely neutral throughout the conflict, says it cannot deliver food by road because Unita has attacked convoys, stealing both food and trucks. The WFP has resorted to airlifting food into provincial capitals, whether they are held by Unita or the MPLA.

The MPLA governor of the northern Uije province charged this week that Unita was massing troops there, backed by illegal fighters from neighbouring Zaire. Such reports make it clear that ceasefire or no, Unita has positioned itself to isolate Luanda from the rest of the country.

"Savimbi may say he will accept the election results, but seeing is believing," said a Western diplomat in Luanda. "During this ceasefire Unita has moved its troops into highly strategic positions. There is the strong suspicion that he is buying time before moving in for the kill."



Savimbi says he accepts results

Guardian / W (in w/mail) 27/11-3/12/92. 5

IN A letter sent to the United Nations representative in Luanda, Jonas Savimbi, leader of the rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), says he is ready to "accept the results of the [presidential and parliamentary] elections of September 29 and 30, which were convincingly won by the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

But he still insisted that the elections were "rigged", a term that Margaret Anstee, head of the UN mission in Angola, rejected as "unacceptable". Meanwhile, the Luanda authorities have decided to convene the parliament issuing from these elections. It could meet on November 25, even if UNITA decides to boycott it.

LUANDA — War or peace? The fate of the country is more than ever in Jonas Savimbi's hands. He could either choose to turn on the military pressure, or he could at long last accept the verdict of the ballots. The negotiations could then be resumed, provided the UNITA leader recognises the validity of the Lisbon peace agreement and publicly disavows violence, which the government has set as a precondition.

War or peace? This is also the choice before the government and the MPLA, the erstwhile Marxist-Leninist party, which has been running the country alone for the last 16 years amidst criticism that it is inefficient, incompetent, and corrupt, but which has finally become united against UNITA.

Championing peace and respect for the Lisbon agreement signed on May 31, 1991 by Savimbi and MPLA leader José Eduardo dos Santos, the MPLA is pushing its advantage on the ground. All the parties, with the exception of UNITA, met on November 21 and decided to form a government of national entente and hold the first parliamentary session of the Second Republic of Angola on November 25, with or without UNITA's men who were returned in the September elections.

President dos Santos and MPLA strategists have already chosen Marcolino Moco, 39, the present general secretary of the MPLA, as the future prime minister. Moco was born in Ekunha in Huambo province in central Angola which is Savimbi's

stronghold. Like Savimbi, Moco is an Ovibundu. The government is thus clearly signalling its intention at last to give the country's largest ethnic group a key role in managing the business of the state.

The decision is patently designed to show the country that

Savimbi is not the only representative of the Ovibundu com-

munity. When he forms his government shortly, Moco will also have to offer several ministerial portfolios to former UNITA members who have defected from the party, like José Ndele, who comes from the Cabinda enclave, and was one of Savimbi's closest aides.

Having decisively driven UNITA out of the capital after a weekend of bloody fighting at the end of last month, the government began by reorganising the army and preparing for a confrontation on the ground. The army is calling back all the men who have been demobilised and is engaged in a large-scale recruitment campaign.

The government is trying to protect the ports of Lobito and Namibe. Planes, ships and artillery have gone into action to stop the advances of Savimbi's troops. Weapons newly arrived from North Korea and Bulgaria have been moved into these regions.

The government is now considering an attack on Caxito and Ndalatando, the UNITA-held capitals of Bengo and Kwanza Norte provinces, before trying to break the siege of Malanje city and regaining control of Lunda

Norte's diamond-mining areas. The Angolan army's ultimate aim is to throw Savimbi's men out of all the larger towns and drive them back into the bush. It also wants to cut them off from the border with Zaire and the Atlantic coast.

Though the UNITA leader has frequently expressed his willingness to maintain the dialogue with the government, he has twice refused to attend meetings arranged with President dos Santos, preferring instead to stage demonstrations of his strength in the provinces and maintaining that the September elections were fraudulent. Angola's millions have learned to recognise Savimbi's fickleness and wonder whether he is not once again stalling for time.

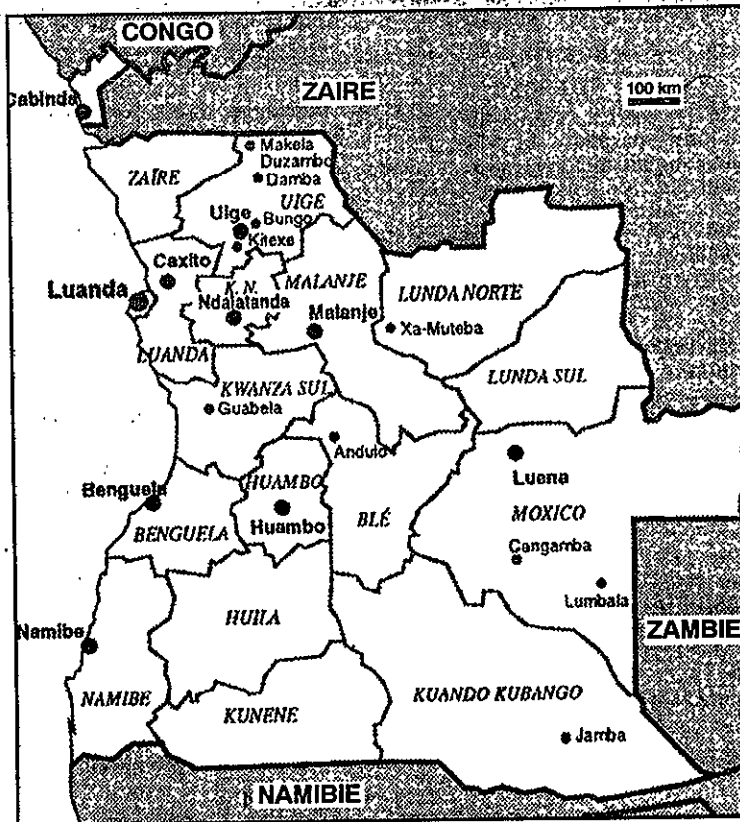
(November 21)

Rebels gaining on the ground

LUANDA — Jonas Savimbi's rebel movement is slowly but surely gaining ground. Its troops are now in overall control of two-thirds of the country, according to various Angolan government sources. Nine of the country's 12 municipalities in Benguela province are in Savimbi's hands, as are ten of Huila province's 13 municipalities and ten of the 11 municipalities in Huambo province. Baltazar Manuel, the director of the province, told me "UNITA controls two-thirds of the city of Huambo itself".

Manuel believes at least 6,000 UNITA soldiers are deployed in Huambo province. UNITA troops are very active in Bié. They are drawn up near Andulo where they occupy several villages. In the neighbouring province of Moxico, UNITA troops have taken over Cangamba, the scene of an outstanding battle in which the rebel troops were defeated in 1986.

Other troop movements have been reported near the Pungu Bungue River where the rebels are getting ready to launch an assault on the capital Luena and take over Lunda Sul province. They have seized Lumbala



Nguimbu and the Cafunfu diamond mines in Lunda Norte province in north eastern Angola. All these are sources of revenue for UNITA, which has in theory been cut off from its former American and South African backers.

Large-scale troop movements have been spotted in Zaire and Uije provinces in the north, where the government press reports "foreigners are repairing and improving Kicia airport, near Uije, for UNITA". In this province, UNITA occupies Makel, Duzombo, Damba, Kitexe, Dembe, and Bungo.

Sources close to the United Nations said that some 7,000 UNITA troops were closing in on Malanje, the capital of neighbouring Malanje province. They were reported to be set to overrun the city from Xa Muteba. UNITA troops have taken the Capunda hydroelectric project site and seized scores of Brazilian and Russian nationals working on it. Caxito, capital of Bengo province, some 60 kilometres north of Luanda, fell on November 3 and is now the UNITA base closest to the Angolan capital.

The Angolan army has made no attempt to regain control of the place for fear that UNITA might carry out its threat and blow up two bridges and a dam close to the capital. Savimbi's troops are also occupying Ambriz.

Namibe and Kuena provinces in the south are also in government hands, as is the province of Kuando Kubango with the exception of its southern tip where the UNITA headquarters is at Jamba.

Finally the province of Cabinda, which is an enclave separated from Angola by a strip of Zairean territory, is still under pressure from various factions of the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave (FLCE), a movement which takes a multitude of forms. Luanda claims that its right wing was trained by UNITA soldiers.

(November 19)

Le Monde

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Angola: A war for 'sweet fanny buggers all'

Weekly Mail Reporter (S)

SOUTH AFRICAN soldiers who were killed in the Angolan bush war died for nothing, one of their top commanders, Colonel Jan Breytenbech, said in an interview published this week.

He told *Die Suid-Afrikaan* that the South African Defence Force was beaten in Angola and he heavily criticised Military Intelligence (MI) for its excessive secrecy during the war.

Breytenbech alleged MI was involved in ivory smuggling in Namibia, but ordinary fighting soldiers never took part in this activity.

The founder of 32 Battalion, the vicious and feared Portuguese-speaking mercenary unit in the bush war, said the war was "unnecessary because we achieved nothing. We achieved

absolutely sweet fanny buggers all."

Soldiers who were killed in the war died honourably, but they "were shot dead for nothing".

Breytenbech, who was wounded four times, has now retired to the small Eastern Cape village of Salem. He said in the interview: "We lost South-West (Namibia), and we lost Cuito Cuanavale, although Cuito Cuanavale was a stalemate."

"But we lost Cuito Carnavale. They won there. They won in South-West and they won in South Africa."

The government was now not only giving "the communists" the cherry on the top but also the cream.

"Our men who fought are sitting around dumbfounded and look at what is happening now. They cannot do any-

thing about it.

"We cannot stand up and fight our own government. We feel powerless. We feel disillusioned and bloody powerless about the whole story. Cuito Cuanavale was the site of one of the major battles of the war in Southern Angola. The SADF and Cuba both claimed victory there. It was after the battle that negotiations took place that led to Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola."

Breytenbech said the SADF could have taken action to cut off all fuel supplies to the Angolan and Cuban troops and destroyed eight brigades of soldiers, but they were prevented from doing so, apparently for political reasons.

After Cuito Cuanavale, Angolan and Cuban troops were able to go to the Namibian border. There was then nothing between them and the Orange River, South Africa's border with Namibia.

"Then old (minister of foreign affairs) Pik Botha and (then minister of defence) Magnus Malan trotted off to Brazzaville and said we were now negotiating from a position of strength, and that there were to be no winners but also no losers. There were definitely losers, and it was not them (the Cubans and Fapla, the Angolan army)."

Breytenbech said the difficulty in stopping MI's ivory poaching was a lack of concrete information which the police could follow up.

W. van der Merwe 27/11-31/12/92

Unita and looters terrorise Malanje

Sowetan 30/11/92. (5)
■ Shortage of food and shooting at night as rebels take charge:

MALANJE - Encircled by Unita rebels and stalked by gangs of looters, the Angolan city of Malanje is in a frightened paralysis.

Food is running short and people are scrambling for places on the few planes out.

Unlike other areas across the country where a shaky truce holds, residents of the strategic city 400 km east of Luanda speak of food shortages, shooting at night and "the enemy" - Unita rebels who have occupied nearly all of the fertile province but the capital.

"It is a critical situation," said local police official Joao Martins.

The MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) government last week sent in more than 100 anti-riot police as much to keep order as defend against Unita.

Each day, dozens of people turn up at the airport clutching sacks of meagre belong-

ings. They hope to leave on the few military and UN airplanes bringing in emergency supplies.

"Please, please let me on," pleaded 28-year-old Maria Antonia, who had been waiting for 15 days with her nine-month-old daughter.

Unita has occupied more than 70 percent of the country since disputing the results of September 29-30 elections, in violation of May 1991 peace accords which ended 16 years of civil war.

It agreed with the government last Thursday to respect the pacts and honour a truce nationwide but still holds two of the 18 provincial capitals - Caxito and N'dalatando.

Residents of this city of 80 000 say there is still shooting 20 km away where Unita men have been robbing houses for food and waging a door-to-door hunt for government supporters. - Sapa-Reuter.

Unita sets STAR 11/2/92 conditions

to join (5) govt team

LUANDA — The chances of peace in Angola appeared to improve yesterday when Unita said it would join the government due to be formed by new Prime Minister Marcolino Moco, if the ruling party met several conditions.

As both government and rebel radio reported fighting in northern Angola, Unita's Radio Vorgan called for full implementation of the May 1991 peace accord.

Unita also wants MPLA authorities to free a score of top-ranking political and military members taken prisoner in Luanda, and the return of the bodies of two top leaders.

Moco, the former MPLA secretary-general, was meanwhile preparing to announce a government team expected to include members of Jonas Savimbi's opposition.

Government sources said Moco was ready to give Unita four ministerial portfolios and four provincial governors' posts.

A main task of Moco's government will be to prepare for a second round of presidential elections, in which Savimbi has asked for much greater UN involvement.

Diplomats here said the chances of forming a national unity government still remained low in view of the mutual hostility. Unita MPs have yet to take up seats in parliament, which first convened on Friday. — Sapa-AFP.

Territorial struggle at root of Natal strife, says witness

DURBAN — The Goldstone commission began a five-day sitting in Durban yesterday on the political violence sweeping Natal.

Port Shepstone local dispute resolution committee head the Rev R E Brauteseth told the commission that the root causes of violence in the province appeared to be a territorial struggle for control, intimidation, evictions and hit squad activities.

He called for a commission of investigation in the Port Shepstone area, which he said could assist in bringing peace to certain strife-torn areas. He was responding to a question by Judge R Goldstone on whether anything could be done to curb the violence.

Brauteseth noted that at least 36 tribal authorities operated in the area. "It is very difficult to draw a distinction between these tribal authorities and the Inkatha Freedom Party."

He felt there were problems with the SAP internal stability unit in Port Shepstone, and cited its partiality as one of the problems. But he admitted

these were "just accusations" made by various people.

Idasa regional director Steven Collins's submission echoed what Brauteseth said earlier about tribal authorities.

In his experience he had come across at least 12 tribal chiefs being issued with G-3 automatic rifles by the KwaZulu government, he said.

Another bone of contention, Collins said, was having two police forces operating in Natal (KwaZulu Police and SAP). He believed it was imperative that the security forces look at one command structure.

National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles chairman Priscilla McKay told the commission a programme needed to be started from a pre-school level to teach people how to deal with conflict situations and to nurture political tolerance.

People needed to be taught political tolerance to curb violence.

□ At least 15 people were killed in Natal over the weekend, according to police reports. — Sapa.

Air violations anger the ANC

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STEPHANE BÖTHMA

SA's alleged violation of neighbouring countries' airspace should be explained by President F W de Klerk, the ANC said yesterday.

Reacting to reports that Angola, Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe had complained to Pretoria about unauthorised overflights by SA military aircraft, the ANC said these provocative actions could precipitate armed clashes and a regional conflict.

The ANC said the UN Security Council should consider urgently what actions could be taken to prevent further SA intervention in Angola and called for a "Hands Off Angola" campaign. (5)

"If the regime has seen fit to intervene in another country because it did not like the results of free and fair democratic elections, how are we to expect them to accept the results of elections inside SA itself?" it said.

Our Political Staff report from Cape Town that Foreign Affairs spokesman Awie Marais said yesterday government had requested more information from the countries complaining about violations.

Unita violating fresh truce claim

Sowetan 1/12/92

LUANDA - The Angolan government yesterday accused the former rebel movement Unita of launching attacks across the country in violation of a fresh truce.

State-run radio said police had resisted a big Unita assault on the northern city of Uige early on Sunday.

Unita was mobilising around the capital of Benguela province, had blown up a bridge in Kwanza Norte and had killed three police in southern Namibe province, it added.

In a further incident, Unita forces killed one person and wounded several in an ambush on government forces on Friday just 45km outside Luanda, it said.

■ REBELS MOBILISING Savimbi troops occupy more than 70 percent of Angola:

The government said the Unita actions violated a joint declaration signed on Thursday in the coastal city of Namibe reaffirming support for May 1991 peace accords which ended 16 years of war and proclaimed a nationwide ceasefire.

Angola has been on the brink of renewed civil war since Unita leader Jonas Savimbi disputed the results of September 29-30 elections as rigged and began mobilising his troops.

Since then his forces have occupied

over 70 percent of the country.

The government has accused South Africa, which supported Unita during the civil war, of backing the group again.

The radio said two presumed South Africans and an Angolan with a Namibian passport had been detained at the weekend when their plane landed at Luena airport in eastern Moxico province. The three said they were heading to Zaire to sell whisky, batteries and tape recorders which were found on the plane. - Sapa-Reuter.

Unita says it will join the new Angolan govt

LUANDA — The chances of peace in Angola appeared to improve yesterday when Unita said it would join the government to be formed by new Prime Minister Marcolino Moco if the ruling party met several conditions.

As government and rebel radio reported fighting in northern Angola, Unita's radio Vorgan called for full implementation of the peace accord reached in

May 1991 and for the release of political prisoners.

MPLA former secretary-general Moco was meanwhile preparing to announce a government team expected to include members of Jonas Savimbi's opposition. (5)

Government sources said Moco was ready to give Unita four ministerial portfolios and four provincial governors' posts.

Both radio stations yesterday reported heavy fighting in the northern Uige province, where Unita claimed to have taken control of town of Uige and a neighbouring settlement, Negage.

Angolan army Gen Higinio Carneiro said a Brazilian member of the UN observer mission was killed in the fighting which broke out on Sunday.

Carneiro is a member of the government delegation that held talks on Thursday with a team from Unita at Namibe.

A main task of Moco's government will be to prepare for a second round of presidential elections.

Diplomats said the chances of forming a national unity government remained low in view of the mutual hostility. Unita MPs, partly through fears for their safety, have yet to take up seats in parliament, which first convened on Friday.

Government has called on Unita to evacuate its troops from the provincial capitals of Caxito and Ndatalando as proof of renewed commitment to the peace agreement. — Sapa-AFP.

Unita 'yes' to joining new govt

⑤ CT 1/12/92

LUANDA. — The chances of peace in Angola appeared to improve yesterday when Unita said it would join the government due to be formed by new Prime Minister Mr Marcolino Moco if the ruling party met several conditions.

As both government and rebel radio stations reported fighting in northern Angola, Unita's radio Vorgan called for full implementation of the peace accord reached in May 1991 and for the release of political prisoners.

Mr Moco, the former secretary-general of the ruling MPLA, was meanwhile preparing to announce a government team expected to include members of Dr Jonas Savimbi's opposition. Government sources said Mr Moco was ready to give Unita four ministerial portfolios and four provincial governors' posts.

Both radio stations yesterday reported heavy fighting in Uige province in the north, where Unita claimed to have taken control of the main town Uige and a neighbouring settlement, Negage.

Angolan General Higino Carneiro told Portugal's TSF radio that a Brazilian member of a UN observer mission in Angola was killed in the fighting that broke out on Sunday morning. Gen Carneiro is a member of the government delegation that held talks on Thursday with a team from Unita at Namibe in the south-west, after intensive UN-led diplomacy aimed at staving off renewed full-scale conflict.

One of the main tasks of Mr Moco's government will be to prepare for a second round of presidential elections, in which Dr Savimbi has asked for greater involvement by the UN. — Sapa-AFP

Rumours of mystery flights abound

Star 2/12/92.

Allegations of unauthorised flights into Angola cast a shadow over SA's return to international stability. By GERALD L'ANGE, Editor, Star Africa Service.

JUST when it was starting to lose the stigma of South Africa has been accused of making secret flights into neighbouring countries for purposes generally assumed to be nefarious.

The accusations have not so far been proved and neither have they yet been denied — they are said by the Department of Foreign Affairs to be still under investigation.

In the meantime they have cast a shadow over this country's return to international respectability from a pariah status that resulted partly from Pretoria's covert activities against the South African liberation movements in neighbouring states in the years before the De Klerk reforms.

The alleged flights appear to fall into two categories: high-altitude but relatively slow flights over Botswana and Namibia by what are assumed because of their speed to be transport planes, presumably heading for Angola; and high-speed flights over Zimbabwe by fighter craft.

The flights over Botswana and Namibia are said to have been made soon before Angola alleged SA had resumed logistical support for Unita. This was at about the time the An-

golan peace accord erupted into fighting in Luanda on October 31. Pretoria has denied these allegations and said the only military flights made from SA into Angola have been authorised flights carrying medical supplies to a Unita hospital in southern Angola.

Rumours of other, unauthorised flights across the border have circulated in aviation circles for some time but have never been confirmed.

During the war in Angola, when SA forces were fighting alongside Unita against MPLA and Cuban forces, SA planes are believed to have made illegal flights regularly across Botswana to Angola. Ostensibly, these flights stopped when the SADF withdrew from Angola in 1988 under the Namibian peace agreement and since then clearance is supposed to have been obtained for all flights across Botswana and Namibia.

During the war, air traffic over Botswana was controlled by SA, but recently Botswana look over air traffic control in Namibia's Caprivi Strip as well

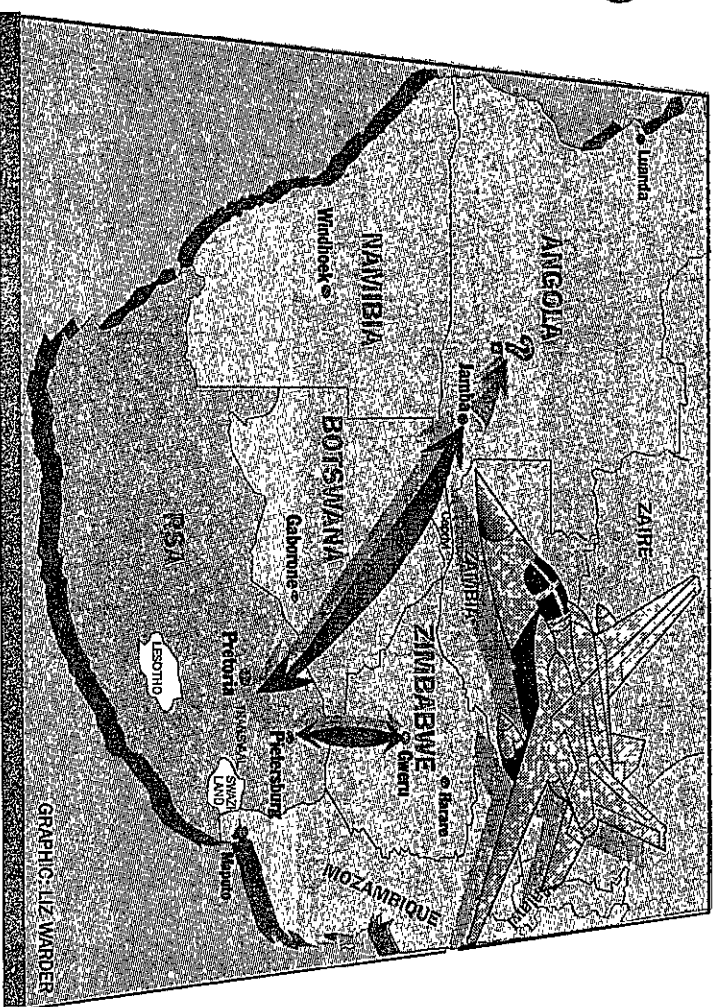
as in its own airspace, and therefore can track illegal flights more closely.

Reuter news agency this week quoted an informant as saying that the Namibian and Botswanan complaints were about a number of flights at high altitude by large aircraft in the first half of October. Angola reportedly complained of secret flights from SA to Unita-controlled airstrips after Unita lost to the MPLA in the election at the end of September.

Reuter informants said more than 20 flights were made over Zimbabwe in the first nine days of October by fighter planes which appeared suddenly from the south, flying at 14 000 to 35 000 feet, and then vanished off radar screens or were tracked back to the south-east or south-west. Most of these flights are said to have been made to the vicinity of Gweru, where Zimbabwe's main air force base is.

Theoretically, SA Mirage fighters could have made these flights, for Gweru is within their range from the air base at

(S)



Pietersburg. But why the SAAF would have made such flights is open to speculation.

The result of the investigation by SA authorities has not yet been disclosed, but the matter is somewhat academic since the SADF is unlikely to admit

having made the flights, even if it did.

This leaves the field open to rumour and speculation, and two main areas of speculation have been explored by observers. One is that the flights were made to ensure that the alleged

The other theory is that the SAAF was conducting exercises over Zimbabwe. It is not unknown for air forces to test the status of air defences in neighbouring countries, but for the SAAF to do so with Zimbabwe would be courting trouble, given the relatively stiff relations between the two countries.

Sources in Harare said the government there was not taking the matter so seriously as to jeopardise the recent improvement in these relations, but it has nevertheless lodged a formal protest.

It would, however, be excruciatingly bad timing if the flights were in fact made just when the Angolan peace exercise was overshadowed by the dispute over the election result and hard-liners in both Unita and the MPLA seemed to be looking for an excuse to upset the whole process.

It may be impossible in the end for the allegations to be proved. The Angolan government said last week it would produce proof of the overflights but at the time of going to press it had not done so. What proof can there be? As an Angolan representative said when asked about the issue: "What do they want us to do? Shoot down one

of the aircraft?" That would not be impossible in theory, for the MPLA has MIG fighters and ground-to-air missiles capable of doing the job, provided they are in the right position. Failing this, all the offended countries can do is produce records of radar trackings, but since these can be invented they are not proof.

The radar networks operating in southern Africa mean covert flights can seldom be made without detection. It comes down in the end to a matter of the trespassing country weighing the advantages that are expected from the operation against the likely disadvantages.

In this case we know more or less what the disadvantages are: SA's bona fides are again in question at a time when it is still short of being fully accepted in the rest of the world. The spectre of destabilisation hovers again in the background, whether the allegations are true or not. And it is happening at a time when SA's international image has been battered by exposures of official dirty tricks.

And the advantages? Only those who ordered the flights — assuming they were made — will know what they are. To outsiders, they are not visible. □

Government says it is fighting in defence and blames Unita

Battles raging in Angolan cities

Dowlfen 2/12/92

LUANDA - Fighting between government forces and Unita rebels spread across three strategic cities in northern Angola as the military warned that the country was sliding back into full-scale civil war.

Top generals said yesterday the government was still in command of the oil town of Soyo, Uige city and the nearby air base in Negage after two days of fierce fighting.

But UN peace monitors and international aid workers evacuated from Uige on Monday said Unita had effectively gained control of the city, 300km northeast of Luanda and had entered Negage.

"Unita has control of Uige," said one of the UN observers who described relentless gun and mortar fire for two days.

The government said it was fighting

MILITARY WARNING Unita said to be in control of 70 percent of country:

ing in defence and blamed Unita for the resumption of conflict.

"We are essentially at war," General Cirilo de Salta said. "Unita is occupying territory and the government cannot let this happen."

There was no word on casualties but a Brazilian military police sergeant in Uige was killed in a grenade blast on Sunday, the first UN observer to die in Angola since the organisation began overseeing the May 1991 peace accords.

UN special representative in Angola Margaret Anstee said the violence was regrettable as it came just

days after both sides agreed to honour a nationwide truce. It did not auger well for a negotiated settlement.

Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura said he had appealed to Unita information secretary Jorge Valentim "to let good sense prevail". There were unconfirmed reports the two sides would meet yesterday in the southern coastal city Namibe.

Unita has occupied over 70 percent of national territory since its leader Jonas Savimbi disputed the September 29-30 elections. - Sapa-Reuter.

Angola on CT 2/12/92 (5) 'brink of civil war'

LUANDA. — The Angolan government admitted yesterday that it had lost control of two strategic northern cities to Unita rebels and warned the nation that it was on the brink of renewed civil war.

General Higino Carneiro said the MPLA government wanted a peaceful solution but was preparing for war.

"We believe dialogue is possible to resolve the problems. But if there is no other solution we will enter into war. Perhaps we will have to alert our people to prepare for the worst," he said on radio.

There was no immediate response from Unita officials.

The state-run radio said Uige, 300km north-east of Luanda, and the nearby city of Negage, with its important airbase, were both in Unita hands after two days of fighting.

The radio added that although police had driven back Unita forces about 20km from the north-western oil town of Soyo, fighting had erupted in M'Banza Congo, capital of Zaire province.

Diplomats and government sources said renewed civil war seemed likely

Picket protest against 'SA support for Unita'

JOHANNESBURG. — The London-based Angolan Emergency Campaign plans to picket the South African embassy today in protest against South Africa's alleged support for Unita during the recent post-election conflict.

In a statement released in Johannesburg yesterday the AEC accused South Africa of having flown in military and logistical supplies to Unita during what it called "the unsuccessful coup attempt".

"South Africa's Pik Botha also tried to convince MPLA to accept equal power-sharing as a way of ensuring a veto for Unita," said the AEC. — Sapa

after the fighting, which appeared to be part of a northern push by Unita.

The state news agency Angop said two policemen and a Unita fighter had died in Soyo, where fighting continued yesterday. Police had taken 19 Unita prisoners, including two senior officers.

Diplomats said they expected a government air strike on Unita positions within days. Some UN staff in Luanda had been advised to stock up on water in case of a Unita attack on the capital's water supply.

Unita has overrun two other northern provincial capitals — Caxito and N'dalatando — and has encircled a third, Malanje. — Sapa-Reuter

Unita troops seize another major town

STAR 3/12/72

LUANDA — Angola's Unita opposition has set out to win on the battlefield what it lost at the ballot box in September, seizing control of the third provincial capital in a month.

Yesterday Jonas Savimbi's Unita was in control of Uige, 300 km north-west of Luanda, as well as Ndalatando, 200 km to the west, and Caxito, just 60 km north-west of the capital, Western diplomats said.

But the former guerrilla chief appeared nevertheless to be aware of the negative international impact of the military campaign, as late on Tuesday he blamed his local field commanders for it.

Diplomats said Savimbi had proposed to the UN special envoy in Angola, Margaret Anstee, that he return Uige and the nearby air-base town of Negage to his rivals in Luanda.

The latest fighting breaches the May 1991 peace accords, to which both sides reaffirmed their commitment in UN-mediated talks at Namibe in the

south-west of Angola last week, providing for the demobilisation of the rival armies.

Western military experts estimate that Savimbi, who controlled some 60 percent of Angolan territory before the capture of Uige, has between 25 000 and 30 000 well-equipped and highly trained troops, while the government has about 40 000 largely demoralised and badly paid soldiers.

Both the ruling People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the United Nations should take Savimbi's latest offer seriously if all-out war is to be avoided, several Western sources said.

Though he has grudgingly given the UN his written acceptance of the results of parliamentary elections which Unita lost to the MPLA in September, Unita deputies have not taken up their seats in the parliament first convened last Thursday and Savimbi has never actually admitted defeat.

Long backed during the civil war that followed independence in 1975 by the United States,

South Africa, Zaire and Morocco, the Unita leader has paid some lip-service to co-operation with the government but also refused to transform his movement into a political party.

UN officials and the three guarantors of the May 1991 Es-toril peace accords — Portugal, the US and Russia — are seeking to bring the two sides back to the negotiating table, but Savimbi has left President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and new Prime Minister Marcelino Moco little room for manoeuvre.

Fighting has stalled Moco's plan to announce a new Cabinet in which, according to government sources, Unita was to be offered at least four portfolios, and Western diplomats said the military and political situation would oblige the UN to increase its presence in Angola.

Savimbi has himself called on the United Nations to organise and closely monitor a second round of presidential elections, after losing September's first round with 40.7 percent of the votes to Dos Santos's 49.57 percent. — Sapa-AFP.

SA backs coup plan claims paper

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service 3/12/72

HARARE — Zimbabwe's main newspaper, The Herald, carried as its main story yesterday an article claiming to expose South African backing for a plan by Unita to stage a coup in Angola.

The story by southern African analyst David Martin said top Western military intelligence officials believed that Jonas Savimbi's Unita had been given a deadline of January 20 by South Africa to seize power in Angola. This is the date when United States President-elect Bill Clinton will take office.

The article claimed the operation by Unita was drawn up with South African advice.

The article said it was totally impossible for the government to pretend an operation as massive as this one was being carried out by uncontrolled elements in the security forces.

● South Africa's only tank, the Olifant, is too large to be carried in the SAAF's transport aircraft and the same may be true of the G5 gun.

The allegations were denied by an SADF spokesman.

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Rebel advance continues in northern Angola in defiance of pact

Unita rebels gain oil route town ⁽⁵⁾

Sowetan 3/12/92

LUANDA - Unita rebels captured the north-eastern town of Negage and its strategic air base on Tuesday after a three-day battle with government troops.

The rebels continued their advance in northern Angola, government radio said.

Fighting continued around the town, located 20 kilometres south of Uige, the provincial capital, whose military base and town were captured on Monday by Jonas Savimbi's rebels, the radio said.

A government military source said losses were heavy on both sides and termed the fighting the fiercest since a three-day battle a month ago left 2 500 dead in the capital Luanda.

Negage, located 250km north of

■ TALKS STALL Rebels capture strategic northeastern town and air base:

Luanda, is the headquarters of the government's northern air command.

Control of Negage air base and the military base in neighbouring Uige gives Unita a powerful hold on the north-eastern region of Angola, gateway to the country's diamonds and oil.

Unita, which has protested the outcome of Angola's first multiparty elections held in September, attacked Uige and Negage three days after government and Unita officials agreed to adhere to a ceasefire, halt troop advances and respect terms of the May 1991 peace ac-

ords that brought an end to the country's 16-year civil war.

UN monitors judged the polling generally free and fair.

Fighting broke out around the country on October 31 and at least 2 500 people were killed in the capital alone.

Unita and government representatives were scheduled to meet again this week to arrange direct talks between Unita chief Savimbi and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and arrange terms for the rebels to join a government of national unity. - Sapa-AP.

Unita out of control, says Savimbi

LUANDA — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi says he has lost control of his forces, which are continuing to advance northwards. (S)

Angola's Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura said Savimbi had informed the government by letter on Tuesday that attacks on the northern towns of Uige and Negage were undertaken by regional commanders in defiance of his orders.

Sapa-AP reports that UN special representative Mangge Anjee spoke to Savimbi by telephone and confirmed his claim to have lost control.

The rebels captured Negage and its strategic air base 250km north of Luanda on Tuesday. On Monday they took the nearby provincial capital of Uige and its military base. Since Savimbi rejected the results of the September elections, Unita troops have occupied more than 60% of Angola.

De Moura indicated government troops were prepared to subdue Unita.

Angolan envoy Gen Alexandre Rodrigues yesterday asked President Robert Mugabe to call an urgent summit of the Frontline states, Sapa-AFP reports. He had already visited Zambian President Frederick Chiluba and was going to see Botswana's President Ketumile Masire.

The summit on the Angolan crisis could be held as early as next week.

The UN Security Council has extended the UN mandate in Angola by two months.

ADRIAN HADLAND reports the SA Foreign Affairs Department has denied

To Page 2

Unita ^{SIAM 3/12/92}

that SA has been backing Unita or that it had urged Unita to seize power.

The allegations, attributed to Western intelligence officials, were made in a Zimbabwean newspaper this week.

It was suggested that SA was continuing to supply Unita with arms and supplies.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday the allegations were "totally unfounded" and added that Foreign Minister Pik Botha had "repeatedly denied providing any military support for Unita. SA continues to urge both parties to meet."

STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that the

(S) From Page 1

investigation by SA authorities into the alleged violation of neighbouring countries' airspace was reopened this week.

The SA Air Force and the Directorate of Civil Aviation had reopened the investigation after Botswana supplied more detailed information about alleged unauthorised overflights by SA military aircraft, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday.

Botswana and Namibia complained to Pretoria about high overflights by large aircraft in the first half of October. Zimbabwe and Angola had similar complaints.

● Comment: Page 8

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Unita set to snub minor jobs

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ARL 3/12/92

LUANDA. — The Angolan government has announced a new national unity administration offering minor portfolios to the main opposition group, Unita, which diplomats said it would probably reject.

The announcement came as fighting abated yesterday in northern Angola, where Unita rebel forces launched an offensive. But the country remains close to full-scale resumption of civil war.

The threat of renewed civil war meant that the posts on offer were likely to be too minor for Unita to accept, diplomats said.

Unita, which was backed by the United States and South Africa in its 1975-91 war against the MPLA government, has captured three provincial capitals since its defeat in an internationally supervised election at the end of September.

It now occupies 75 percent of the country and is besieging at least one other provincial capital.

The new government announced on state radio will be headed by Prime Minister Mr Marcolino Moco, the former Secretary General of the

MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), which has ruled since the 1975 independence from Portugal.

Under the new administration, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos will retain his post until a second presidential round of elections is staged, the radio said.

The places left open for Unita are culture minister and the deputy ministers of agriculture, defence, public works and social affairs. Unita was also offered the number two post in the armed forces and the command of the army land forces.

Another major feature was the replacement, by hardliner General Joao Baptista de Matos, of armed forces chief General Antonio Franca "N'dalu", a moderate who had been negotiating with Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to try to avoid renewed civil war.

Diplomats said the MPLA, which opened the new parliament last Thursday, was eager to get the new government in place after months of political deadlock to be able to face the military threat more forcefully. — Sapa-Reuter.

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SA 'backing for Unita at high levels'

⑤ ACT 3/12/92

HARARE. — South African security forces are backing Angola's former Unita rebels and have urged them to seize power before United States president-elect Mr Bill Clinton takes office, a Zimbabwean newspaper has claimed.

The semi-official Herald said Angola's government had discovered and foiled a plot to seize the capital, Luanda, after Unita was defeated in the country's general elections in September.

The newspaper, quoting Western intelligence officials, said South African military overflights across Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Namibia last month had carried military supplies, including tanks, for Unita.

A Western military source was quoted as saying: "The government of (President F W) de Klerk is involved and so is (Foreign Minister) Mr Pik Botha who took a secret plan with him to Savimbi.

"The MPLA found out and that is why Mr Botha was told he was no longer welcome in Angola. This operation had been sanctioned at the highest level."

Rebels are 'out of control'

LUANDA. — Dr Jonas Savimbi says he no longer controls the Unita rebel forces that continue to advance into northern Angola, gaining a foothold in the African nation's mineral-rich provinces, a newspaper reports.

Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Moura told the official Jornal de Angola that Dr Savimbi had told the government by letter on Tuesday that attacks on the northern towns of Uige and Negage had been undertaken by regional commanders in defiance of his orders.

United Nations special representative Ms Margaret Anstee, who spoke to Dr Savimbi by telephone, confirmed that Dr Savimbi had said he no longer had control over Unita rebels in the north. — Sapa-AP

The newspaper said South Africa's military wanted Unita, once backed by Washington, to topple the Luanda government ahead of Mr Clinton's installation as president in January because his Democratic administration was likely to recognise it.

"Unita has been told (by the South African military) it must win militarily by January 20 or be prepared to share power after the Democrats come in," the report said.

The South African Trade Mission in Zimbabwe, which serves as an embassy, declined to comment. "We have nothing to say about this report," said an official. — Sapa-Reuter

SA pulls envoys out of 'volatile' Angola ^(S)

STAR 4/12/92.

The South African Government has withdrawn its diplomatic representation from Angola because of the volatile situation there.

And from Luanda it is reported that Angola's new government has set up a war Cabinet, strengthening its military muscle against a Unita push for power.

An SA Department of Foreign Affairs statement last night warned SA citizens not to visit Angola until the country had stabilised.

Referring to Zimbabwean President Mugabe's claims that SA had been flying military jets and transport aircraft clandestinely over neighbouring territories to deliver supplies to Unita, the statement said elements in the Angolan government were "deliberately black-mailing" the SA Government.

"The allegations are lies and even the United Nations observ-

er, on inquiry, said there was no evidence of this."

The statement said SA had been asked by the Angolan government in writing to act as a negotiator in the political crisis between the MPLA government and Unita.

At the time both parties used commercial aircraft and "absolutely no military aid" was extended to Unita by SA.

The statement added the Angolan government had been repeatedly asked to show proof of their allegations and none had been forthcoming.

Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans said earlier there was no basis for allegations of support for Unita.

Reacting to Mugabe's accusations, Evans said all SA's efforts had been directed to promoting peace in Angola.

The MPLA said in Luanda the new Angolan government would be sworn in today.

Unita had still not confirmed

whether it would accept the four minor posts offered in the new administration. Most diplomats believed it would choose instead to continue its military offensive.

Hardliners, who have been in the ascendancy on both sides since the current crisis erupted, figured strongly in the new government announced on Wednesday.

Armed forces chief General Antonio Franca "N'dalu", a moderate who had been negotiating with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to try to avert war, was replaced by hardliner General Joao de Matos.

A war Cabinet was announced yesterday comprising Matos and the foreign, finance, interior and prime ministers.

Diplomats expected that once the MPLA had the legitimacy of a government in place, it would probably act quickly to meet Unita's military challenge. — Sapa-Reuter.

Diplomats vow to back crackdown on Apla

HUGH ROBERTSON
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The international community, led by African countries, is ready to take strong concerted action to halt violence by the Azanian People's Liberation Army, according to diplomats in Washington and at the United Nations.

African diplomats are especially critical of statements attributed to Apla and its political counterpart, the Pan Africanist Congress, following last Saturday's King William's Town golf-club killings.

The Africa Group — effectively the UN caucus of the Organisation for African Unity — has already warned the PAC against any attempt to resolve South Africa's problems outside the framework of peaceful multi-party negotiations.

They insist that it was their pressure on PAC leader Mr. Clarence Makwethu and his delegation when they attended the UN Security Council debate on the Boipatong massacre that led to the PAC's belated and grudging decision to join negotiations.

Members of the Africa Group said yesterday that they were ready to exert whatever pressure they could on the PAC and Apla to abandon violence as a means of achieving political ends.

A senior African diplomat in Washington said: "Africa has been exhausted and devastated by violence, and as a continent we are solidly behind peaceful negotiations to resolve South Africa's problems. There is no other way."

"I do not believe there is any African country which would be sympathetic to acts of terrorism in the present circumstances in South Africa."

The diplomats were commenting in response to Mr. Justice Richard Goldstone's call for international help in his urgent investigation of Apla.

One said: "If the judge tells us what he wants us to do to contribute to ending the violence, he can be sure of our support."

Staff Reporters

EIGHTEEN people were injured, some seriously, when a powerful explosion ripped through a steakhouse in Queenstown — less than a week after the King William's Town golf club attack, which claimed four lives.

No one yet has claimed responsibility for last night's blast, but it follows a warning by the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the Pan Africanist Congress's armed wing, of more attacks on white soft targets.

The Frontier Hospital in Queenstown treated 18 people for burns, shrapnel wounds and lacerations. Six were admitted were in a satisfactory condition today and three were transferred to hospital in East London.

Most of the injured are in their early 20s.

The restaurant, the Buffalo Springs Spur in Cathcart Street, is popular with young people and many who dined there last night were celebrating the start of school and university holidays.

Mr Andrew van Wyk, owner of the restaurant, said today: "It's disgusting that somebody decides to put a bomb in such a soft target. One of my waitresses, student Heidi Cunningham, was walking right past when it went off."

"She was horribly injured. A man sitting at a table nearby was blown right through the roof."

"Then the air conditioners came crashing down on patrons and finally the whole roof collapsed on to us."

"There were between 15 and 20 staff on duty and 25 patrons. It's a miracle there were no deaths."

Mr Van Wyk said the bomb was planted by four people who entered the restaurant about 10.40pm.

"They sat down and ordered three burgers and drinks and walked out, leaving a plastic packet behind," he said.

The bomb went off about six minutes later.

"At first everyone thought a

Queenstown:
Thursday, December 3 -- Bomb explodes in steakhouse in Cathcart Road. Nineteen injured.

King William's Town:
Tuesday, November 10 -- Grenade and petrol bomb attack on two cafés. No injuries.
Saturday, November 28 -- Grenade attack on club. Four killed and twenty injured.

THE INJURED

THOSE injured in the Spur blast are Heidi Cunningham, 21, Les Barnes, 38, and Graeme Guse, 36, who are still on the critical list. Cheryl Edwards, 20, Morgan Brody, 17, Michelle Brody, 25, Shane Brody, 21, Garth Ford, 29, Garth van Vuuren, 20, Sherruck Edwards, 24, Willem du Plessis, 26, Sagruida du Plessis 25, Hein Steenkamp, 25, George Govvaris, 26, Peter Constantinou, 24, Stuart Pentol, 23, Leonard Gardiner, 21 and a girl named Angeline.

gas bottle had exploded," said Mr Van Wyk.

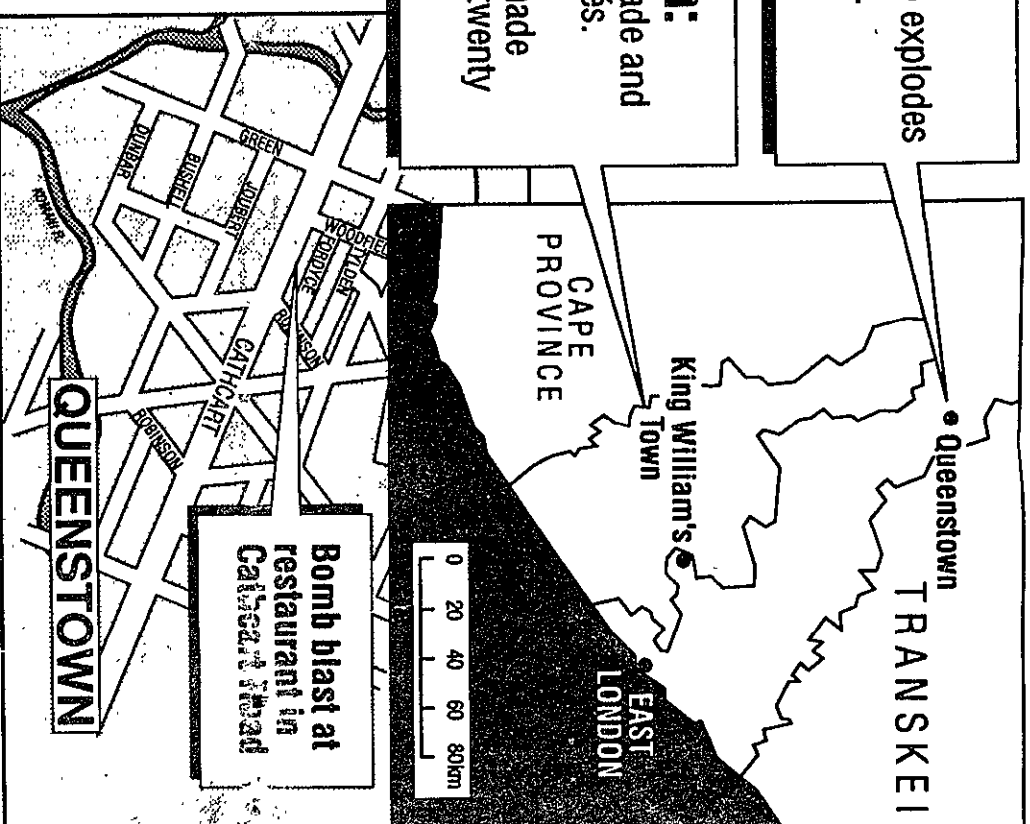
"There were four people right beside the table where the bomb was left and I think they will be badly injured."

Mr Van Wyk said staff who had seen the attackers were helping police to put identikit together and would spend the day looking at police photographs.

"We are just so lucky that a crowd of schoolkids who were in earlier had gone home. It is a very busy time of the year for us," he said.

The owner of a nearby restaurant, who asked not to be identified, said: "The police arrived in seconds and they said: 'Don't go in — there may be a second blast.'"

"They got everybody out within minutes and took them as far away as possible." Said Mr Vernon Conrathie of



the Central Hotel, two doors away from the Spur: "We went out immediately and there were already people helping others, dragging them out."

"The police were there and they were cordoning off the area in case there was another blast."

A hotel receptionist said the Spur had been demolished, although walls were still standing.

"There's nothing there. The roof is in the street — just lying there."

Police spokesman General Leon Mallet said it was not yet clear who was responsible for the attack.

If it had been carried out by Apla it would have to contend with the full might of the police, he said.

PAC information head Mr. Waters Tshobu declined to comment on the blast.

Streetknoorse boombijns

84A
R121 412/92

18 hurt
in Spur
blast



General Johan van der Merwe

Unita unlikely to accept offer by the MPLA

Sowetan 4/12/92

5

■ **UNITY ADMINISTRATION** Rebels offered

four minor portfolios in new government:

LUANDA - Angola, facing the threat of renewed war, has offered the rival Unita minor posts in a new national unity administration which seemed unlikely to appease the rebels' thirst for power.

Diplomats said Unita was unlikely to stop its military push and accept the portfolios of Culture Minister and the Deputy Ministers of Agriculture, Defence, Public Works and Social Affairs.

"Unita is not being offered very much," said one Western diplomat. "I can't see them accepting. War is a more likely scenario."

Angola has been on the edge of another civil war since Unita leader Jonas Savimbi disputed the results of the country's first multiparty elections on September 29-30, in which he failed to get the victory he expected.

The ruling MPLA faced with Unita's occupation of more than 75 percent of national territory, opened a new parliament last week and

announced the new government on Wednesday in order better to face the military threat.

The new administration will be headed by Prime Minister Marcolino Moco, the former secretary-general of the MPLA.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who failed to get enough votes to avoid a run-off against Savimbi, will retain his post until a second round is held. Most diplomats believe war is inevitable and the second presidential race will never take place.

Unita, which was to merge its army with the government's under May 1991 peace accords which ended 16 years of war, was offered the number two post in the armed forces and the command of the army land forces.

Hardliners have been in ascendancy on both sides since the electoral dispute. Armed Forces chief General Antonio Franca "N'dalu", who had been negotiating with Savimbi to try to avert a new war, was replaced by hardliner General Joao Matos. - Sapa-Reuter.

Angola on
brink of

all-out war

LUANDA. — Angola's new government has set up a war cabinet, strengthening its military muscle against Unita's push for power.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos demanded yesterday that Unita surrender cities captured in the north and join a coalition government in one week or face all-out war.

Most diplomats believed Unita would continue its military offensive.

"We are prepared to participate in the government but should be assigned posts which reflect that Unita was the second most voted party in the elections," said a Unita spokesman.

Angola has been on the edge of war since Unita leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi rejected the results of September 29-30 elections which failed to give him the victory he expected.

— Sapa-Reuter-AP.

SA diplomats⁵ leaving Angola

APG 11/2/92

where the South African diplomats are housed," said Mr. Evans.

He said a third country — possibly Britain — had been asked to conduct consular affairs on South Africa's behalf.

He said the withdrawal of the diplomats was not because of the deterioration of relations with the MPLA government.

"It is not a diplomatic signal of displeasure. If that were the case the Angolan mission in Pretoria would also have to leave."

In an earlier statement the Department of Foreign Affairs referred to Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe's claims that South Africa had been flying over neighbouring

territories to deliver supplies to Unita rebels.

"The allegations are lies and even the United Nations observer said there was no evidence of this."

The statement said South Africa was asked by the Angolan government in writing to act as a negotiator in the crisis between the MPLA government and Unita.

"At Angola's request South Africa submitted proposals both to the MPLA and Unita."

"Absolutely no military aid" was extended to Unita.

The statement said the Angolan government had been repeatedly asked for proof of the allegations but none had been forthcoming.

D. M. ...

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APG 4/12/92

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Stop hostilities, Mugabe tells SA

HARARE — President Robert Mugabe has accused SA of resuming hostile actions against its neighbours and playing a part in Angola's slide back towards civil war.

In his state of the nation address to parliament yesterday, Mugabe urged Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to accept the outcome of the Angolan elections.

"At the same time we demand that SA immediately cease its role of destabilising Angola and put an end to its hostile manoeuvres in the region," said Mugabe.

This appeared to be a reference to the allegations in the media of numerous SA violations of Zimbabwean air space, said to involve fighter aircraft "covering" transports taking supplies to Unita.

A spokesman for the SA trade mission in Harare confirmed yesterday that complaints had been received about 20 alleged incursions in October, based solely on ra-

MICHAEL HARTNÁCK

dar plots and not visual sightings.

No further communications had been received about five new radar sightings reported by the Herald at the weekend.

Sapa reports that the Foreign Affairs Department said yesterday it could not

comment on media reports of a second series of violations; the Zimbabwean government would have to lodge a formal complaint with Zambia.

A department spokesman also said yesterday that SA officials had not yet had consular access to two of its citizens being held in Luanda. Manfred Rossouw and Dr D Gouws were forced to land at Luena, Moxiko, because of fuel problems. News reports said the Angolan government had alleged they were headed for a Unita base.

● See Page 4

SIDNEY 4/12/72

Mall traders plan action

CT 4/12/92

ST GEORGE'S Mall hawkers have unanimously voted to seek an interdict overturning Cape Administrator Mr Kobus Meiring's decision yesterday to ban them from trading in the city centre.

A Provincial Gazette published today will ban all but 13 traders from the mall from Monday. The Small Business Development Corporation has expressed concern that the eviction order contravenes the Businesses Act.

Within hours of their learning of the decision — which many said would threaten their livelihood — traders had raised R5 000 for legal costs to fight the edict.

About 80 traders met at Greenmarket Square where they formulated a strategy including court action to ensure the Provincial Administration plan was overturned.

St Georges Mall Interim Action



FREE MARKET REVOLT. — St Georges Mall traders met in Greenmarket Square last night vowing to fight the ban on their trade. *Picture: CLIVE SMITH*

Committee member Mr Chris Lubbe told fellow traders: "We are trying to avoid confrontation. If we can use legal loopholes we will avoid casualties."

A two-day-old traders' petition for the continuation of the flea market has brought strong public support with over 3 000 signatures.

SA denies Zim charge over Unita

CT 4/12/92

PRETORIA. — The government last night denied allegations by Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe that South Africa is supporting Unita and overflying the frontline states.

"There is no basis for unsubstantiated allegations of support for Unita in the present conflict in Angola," Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Rusty Evans said in a statement released here.

President Mugabe alleged yesterday that South Africa is backing Unita moves to topple the Angolan government and is engaging in "hostile manoeuvres" in the rest of the sub-continent.

South African military flights are alleged by the frontline states to have repeatedly violated the airspace of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana and Zambia since October.

But Mr Evans claimed yesterday that Pretoria supports the Angolan peace process.

"In view of the volatile situation in Angola, South Africa is revising its position and a further statement will be issued within 24 hours," he added.

Mr Mugabe, who is also chairman of the frontline states, hit out at Pretoria during his annual state-of-the-nation address to parliament yesterday.

A Zimbabwe newspaper said yesterday that Zimbabwe has lodged an official complaint with Pretoria.

A South African spokesman said the complaint is being investigated and a report is expected soon.

Namibia has also formally protested at alleged South African airspace violations. — Sapa

● Angolan govt puts army on war alert — Page 2

Press must 'beware of rumour'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The chairman of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, last night called for greater vigilance in the field of reporting on violence.

Speaking at a function at the Maharani Hotel in Durban, during which he received the Headliner of the Year Award from the Durban Press Club,

he said that there were too many newspaper claims and allegations concerning violence which turned out, on investigation, to have been based on misinformation, malicious rumour and incorrect interpretations.

"I ask for no more than a greater vigilance in this field," and a greater awareness of the fact that, in some cases, reports concerning violence can in

fact lead to more violence."

Mr Justice Goldstone said it was little appreciated in South Africa that it was the only country in the really troubled areas of the world where local people talked to one another.

It was the only one where the people of the country could create, staff and operate a National Peace Accord.

He said that a commission such as the one which he head-

ed could not operate in Northern Ireland, the Middle East or in what was Yugoslavia.

That was a substantial reason for optimism. South Africans were not conscious of the fact that probably 80% of the country was not racked by violence.

Mr and Mrs Justice Goldstone were awarded a free flight to Miami by SAA as part of their prize.

Angolan govt puts army on war alert

LUANDA. — Angola's new Prime Minister Mr Marcolino Moco has given Dr Jonas Savimbi a week to decide whether Unita will join the government.

This was in spite of the ruling party yesterday apparently preparing for war.

Mr Moco, outgoing secretary-general of the MPLA which won the September elections which Unita called fraudulent, on Wednesday offered Dr Savimbi five portfolios in a new government.

Only one of them was a full cabinet job, that of culture, with four deputy posts in defence, agriculture, town planning and social affairs.

But Mr Moco also suggested Unita, whose soldiers control some 60% of the country, could take the deputy chief-of-staff's post in the new joint armed forces, as well as commanding ground troops.

But Defence Minister Mr Pedro Mario Tonha and his new chief-of-staff, General Joao Baptiste de Matos, have already sent major troop reinforcements to different parts of the country, the sources said.

The government is also due to present the newly elected parliament, which includes a sprinkling of MPs from small parties, with a bill ordering a general mobilisation, which

'Regional conflict creates insecurity'

Political Correspondent

FURTHER armed conflict and social disintegration in Mozambique and Angola would have negative consequences for South Africa, Professor Rob Davies of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape said last night.

He told a meeting of the South African Institute for International Affairs in the city the conflict in these countries would reinforce insecurity in Southern Africa and discourage foreign investment.

Between 300 000 and 500 000 Mozambicans have flooded into SA, he said.

would boost army strength currently put at 40 000.

Dr Savimbi has said he is ready to negotiate joining the government, but the MPLA first wants Unita to withdraw from the three provincial capitals it has seized control of since the elections, including Caxito just 60km from Luanda.

The Angolan government has called a summit of frontline states — Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana, Zambia, Mozambique and Tanzania — to support the war it expects.

● SA officials have not yet had consular access to Mr Manfred Rossouw and Dr D Gouws, who were forced to land at Luena, Moxiko, because of fuel problems. — Sapa

Petulant and powerful

(5)

JONASSAVIMBI tells a story of a childhood football match played with a ball given him by his father. His team of Africans was playing the offspring of white, Portuguese colonists. According to Savimbi, the Portuguese referee was cheating by disallowing the black children's goals. So young Jonas picked up his ball and walked away — the game had to be abandoned.

More than 40 years later, the Unita rebel leader has again accused the referee of cheating, snatched the ball and stormed off. The United Nations officials and foreign diplomats who decided Angola's first free elections were fair are pushing him to face up to his defeat and come back on to the democratic playing field. But they say his problem is the same as when he was a child. He would rather walk away than face the humiliation of defeat.

Humiliation is a word that comes up repeatedly in Savimbi's conversations with negotiators. "My people must not be humiliated," the Unita leader says of any solution to the crisis that has brought Angola back to civil war. It was a demand he put to the UN's chief peacekeeper, Mairrack Goulding, after keeping him waiting for six hours

William 4/12 - 10/12/92
before meeting in a grubby room with plastic dolls hanging from the walls.

Afterwards, Goulding made a point of dismissing reports that the behaviour of the Unita leader, isolated in his Huambo headquarters, was increasingly erratic. But other officials involved in the negotiations are less certain.

They do not doubt Savimbi's control. Unita's strategy to seize territory under the cover of the ceasefire and talks is well-co-ordinated and undoubtedly has Savimbi's blessing, despite his assertions to the contrary. But they warn that his inability to comprehend that he was fairly beaten, compounded by deep bitterness over the death of close associates during the battle in Luanda a month ago, is making it difficult for him to face reality without perceiving it as deliberate humiliation. This, they fear, has made continued conflict inevitable.

Jonas Savimbi has taken Angola back to civil war because he cannot face up to the humiliation of defeat.

By **CHRIS MCGREAL**

"It had never occurred to him he would lose the election. It threw him off balance. Then the MPLA whacked his people in Luanda and he didn't expect that either. So he returned to what he knows how to do, to fight. His judgment is skewed; he's got a lot of things wrong recently and he doesn't want to admit the reason why. But when it comes to running a military machine, he knows exactly what he's doing," said a foreign official close to the process.

The bitterness over Unita's rout in Luanda and the atrocities is perhaps greater than at any time

after many years of war. Savimbi was distraught over the death of one of his nephews, Unita's chief negotiator, Elias Salupeto Pena, and Unita vice-president Jeremias Chitunda, as they tried to escape from Luanda during the battle. Another nephew, Unita's top military commander, General Arlindo Chelida Pena ("Ben Ben"), was thought to have been killed but may be alive.

"He was out of his mind over the deaths of Salupeto Pena and Ben Ben. He couldn't think straight. He talks of betrayal. It makes it very difficult to persuade him he can have a role without power," said one official in communication with the Unita leader.

Savimbi projects himself as a compromiser willing to find a solution, but boxed in by his military commanders. One diplomat comments that although he may be surrounded by hardliners, he remains "the maximum leader."

"I'm not one who swallows the 'I'm a moderate but my commanders are out of control' line. They may give him bad advice, they may lie, but he's still the real authority. If there is war it's because he chooses war," the diplomat said.

Some of the advice certainly is bad. Documents seized after the battle in Luanda show the extent to which Unita commanders deluded themselves and lied to their leader. After Chitunda met European Community diplomats who made it clear they rejected Unita's ballot-rigging charges, he wrote to Savimbi saying the EC supported the fraud accusations. The note was seized on Chitunda's death.

Some of those who have dealt with Savimbi since the ceasefire 18 months ago say Chitunda did not so much mislead as feed the Unita leader's self-delusion. It can extend to great lengths. Asked for solid proof of ballot-rigging during the elections, Savimbi suggested reporters check the morgue.

William 4/12 - 10/12/92
"There have been a number of people who committed suicide, had heart attacks and died when they learned of the outcome of the fraudulent elections. That is a significant proof that the process was not clean and clear-cut," he argued.

SA told: Hands off Angola

5

Will Mail 4/10 - 10/12/92

THE Angola crisis has re-opened old hos-
tilities between Pretoria and its neigh-
bours, with a spate of complaints from
frontline states of airspace violations by
SADF aircraft.

ground after it flew in illegally over the weekend.
The frontline states have called an emergency
meeting in Harare to discuss the Angola crisis and
to consider reports that the South African military
are backing their old-Unita allies.

See PAGE 3

At least four African countries have protested to Government forces captured the plane on the

ANGOLA'S
MARCH
TO WAR
PAGE 24

A hungry, besieged city just waiting for the barbarians

By CHRIS MCGREAL: Malanje ANGOLA'S brief hope of a lasting peace has slipped beneath the waves. Unita's offensive in northern Angola has finally persuaded senior United Nations officials that there is little chance of a negotiated settlement before the civil war escalates with military retaliation by the government. The remaining question is how and when the MPLA will strike back.

Unita is preparing a new wave of assaults on the north after the fall of Uige on Monday and a strategic airbase at Negage, 40km away. The rebels attacked Soyo, a crucial oil installation on the Zaire estuary, and were massing troops near the capital of Zaire province, M'Banza-Congo.

With the seizure of Uige, the state-run media asked if there is any alternative response to violence than violence. The Angolan military stopped talking about defence and said publicly the time has come to prepare for the worst.

General Higino Carneiro, de facto acting head of the army, accused Unita of breaching the commitments to the ceasefire and the 1991 peace accords, reaffirmed with great fanfare just a week ago. He said the government still held out the hope of negotiation but Uige had forced it to consider switching from defence to attack.

"We never took the initiative to

attack them. Up to now we have been defending ourselves against Unita. We believe dialogue is possible ... but if there is no other solution we will enter into war. We will go into combat," Carneiro said.

The attack killed what little faith there was in Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's assurances that he is committed to peace. The illusion was perpetuated by UN officials attempting to keep talks alive. The UN spoke of conflict, skirmishes and manoeuvres but refused to talk of war. It was not entirely doublespeak. Unita used the cover of the ceasefire and the government's desire for a negotiated settlement to occupy large parts of Angola without much fighting. The government's army and bureaucrats usually turned tail before the rebels arrived.

But the latest attacks have reduced negotiations to a sideshow. Unita has manoeuvred itself into a stronger position than before the May 1991 ceasefire. It occupies more than two-thirds of Angola. Over some of it the rebels have only nominal control but the seized territory includes large swathes of the north in which it had only a small presence before the ceasefire.

Uige was the third provincial capital in the north occupied by Unita. A fourth, Malanje, important for air access to the north east, is surrounded and on its knees. Unita has cut

electricity and running water, and blocked overland food deliveries. Inside the hungry city, gangs of armed young men huddled in the back of pick-up trucks cruise the streets ostensibly on the lookout for rebels, but mixing vigilante justice with crime.

At Malanje Airport, Maria Antonia sat on the runway every day for a fortnight, sheltering her infant son from the rains, before she escaped. She grasped a moment of inattention by the guards to dart up a ladder into the belly of a UN cargo plane delivering beans and cooking oil to the besieged city. The Russian pilots did not have the heart to throw her off.

Many others would have followed if it were not for the riot police surrounding the airport. The crowds sit the other side of a deserted car park serving as a kind of no-man's land. Paramilitary police units were flown in from Luanda a week ago to brace for a feared onslaught. If it comes, Unita will have a tough fight.

There is no doubting Malanje's politics. Across Angola the revolutionary slogans and pictures of their orators are peeling from the walls. In Malanje the large portrait of Che Guevara has been touched up with paint. Unita is referred to by many as the enemy, with reason.

"My baby's godfather was shot dead in his living room by Unita. My husband is missing out there, where Unita is. My parents are here but I have to leave for my baby," said Maria Antonia.

Inside Malanje gangs run wild, sometimes settling old scores but usually in search of the most valuable commodity for the city's 70,000 residents — food. The price of a kilo of rice has risen sevenfold in a month. After dusk, the rebels probe the city outskirts, raiding the shanty towns for provisions: they too are hungry. The bodies are picked up at dawn.

Maria Antonia remarks that her baby was born too early. She thought she had brought her child into an Angola at peace for the first time in 30 years. But the promises of democracy have turned sour. She points to her withered breasts which no longer provide sustenance for her child.

"I can't get milk. There's no meat, there's no fish, there's no chicken. There's bread and there's rice but it's very expensive and we don't have the money."

THE crisis in Angola, where government forces are poised to mount an all-out military offensive against Unita next week, looks set to re-open old hostilities between Pretoria and its neighbours.

A regional row is brewing as at least four African countries have sent protests to Pretoria in the past week complaining that their airspace has been violated by South African Defence Force planes flying clandestine supplies to Jonas Savimbi's rebel army.

The frontline states have called an emergency meeting in Harare early next week to discuss the situation in Angola and reports that the South African military are backing their old Unita allies.

Diplomatic relations between Angola and South Africa, established less than a year ago, appear to be in tatters. Yesterday, Luanda's ambassador, Manuel Augusto, was summoned to Pretoria as tension between the two governments mounted.

Officials from the Angolan embassy and the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) were locked in urgent talks all week to discuss the deteriorating relations between Luanda and Pretoria.

Late yesterday Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe accused South Africa of direct involvement in an attempt to topple the Angolan government. "We demand that South Africa cease its role in destabilising Angola and put an end to its hostile manoeuvres in the region," he said.

The statement, couched in language that characterised hostile regional relations in the 1980s, was the first public statement by a head of state to condemn South Africa for its alleged backing of Unita.

At the centre of the row are growing reports that SADF aircraft have violated the airspace of Namibia, Botswana, Angola and Zimbabwe in a concerted effort to supply Unita.

Yesterday the Namibian government lodged a formal complaint that South African C130 cargo planes were routinely flying unauthorised missions into Angola.

This followed a complaint from Zimbabwe on Wednesday detailing violations by South African fighter aircraft that had been recorded by radar tracking as well as earlier protests lodged by Botswana and Angola.

Foreign Affairs officials yesterday declined to comment on the complaints. "We have sent the complaints to the SADF and the Department of Civil Aviation for investigation. A report will be completed soon and sent to each of the countries concerned. It would not be right to release these to the media until they have been received," a spokesman said.

David Martin, director of the Southern Africa Research and Documentation Centre, reports that the latest spate of violations over Zimbabwe began on Saturday and that by Tuesday night a further five violations had been recorded.

Martin claims that fighter planes are providing cover for higher flying cargo aircraft airlifting supplies to Unita for its offensive against towns in northern Angola.

The reports follow claims that the SADF flew at least 50 C130 transporters into Unita-controlled areas to unload men and supplies, including tanks and G-5 cannon, from South Africa over Botswana and Namibia.

The Angolan embassy has promised to provide evidence about clandestine support from South Africa to Unita but has so far failed to produce this.

However, the DFA confirmed yesterday that a South African aircraft with false Red Cross insignia on it has been impounded at Luena in Angola. Government forces captured the plane on the ground after it flew illegally into Angola, apparently over the weekend.

Three occupants of the plane, including two South Africans allegedly dressed in military uniforms, have been captured and are being held in Luanda.

The DFA named the captured men as Brussow Manfred and Dr Dries Gouws but declined to confirm or deny that they were members of the SADF. The

SA flies into regional storm over Unita aid

W/Mail 4/12-10/12/92
 Claims of clandestine SADF support for Unita are straining relations between South Africa and her neighbours. By **EDDIE KOCH**

third man is said to be an Angolan citizen travelling on a Namibian passport.

The aircraft was carrying crates of whisky, car batteries, a number of tape recorders and a high-frequency radio. The occupants claimed they were on a flight to Zaire and were forced to land near Luena after running out of fuel.

Martin says a top intelligence source in Europe told him that Unita had a strategy to seize power in Luanda before January 20, the date when US President-elect Bill Clinton will

be sworn in, and the illegal flights were designed to back the strategy.

The Clinton administration is expected to recognise a government led by the MPLA, which won a clear majority in the September parliamentary elections, thereby ending a 17-year refusal by the Americans to recognise the government of Angola.

"Unita has been told that it must win militarily by January 20 or be prepared to share power (with the MPLA) after the Democrats come in," Martin quoted a diplomatic source as saying.

The MPLA announced a new government in Luanda this week and has offered Unita relatively minor posts in the ministries of culture, defence, public works and social affairs.

Most observers agree that the concessions

are too small to entice Unita back from the bush. Sean Cleary, a consultant for Jonas Savimbi, claims that a hardline MPLA group has, in fact, seized control of the Angolan state and is now planning a military offensive against the rebels.

Cleary backs this by pointing out that MPLA's armed forces chief General Antonio Franca "N'dalu", a moderate who favoured negotiations with Unita, has been replaced by hawkish General Joao Baptista de Matos.

Professor Rob Davies, co-director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, says the move to renewed civil war in Angola had serious implications for the entire region.

"It is clear that some in the South African government see the regional situation turning against them with the MPLA victory in Angola, threats to the regime of their ally, Hastings Banda, in Malawi and the prospect of an electoral defeat for Renamo in Angola," says Davis.

"It seems there is a real effort to bolster these groups. The old ideas that multi-party democracies were emerging as a force for change in the frontline states are fast dissipating. There is a bleak future for this part of Africa."



UN 'did Angola on the cheap'

W/mca 4/12-18/12/92
By CHRIS MCGREAL: Luanda

THE seeds of failure were sown in Angola even before the peace accords were signed in May 1991. The United Nations, burdened by increasing demand for its services and reluctant financiers, decided to do Angola on the cheap.

The underlying flaw lies in the UN's mandate. The UN pressed the MPLA government and Unita into agreeing that its role should be limited to the sidelines. Unlike Namibia, where the UN ran the election and flooded the country with personnel, in Angola it only monitored the ceasefire and elections.

It had no authority to enforce the provisions of the peace accords. Both sides agreed to disarm, but both manoeuvred to maintain at least some of their forces. When the process went sour, the troops simply picked up their guns and walked away. The UN did not even have enough monitors to notice.

The mandate's shortcomings were compounded by elementary errors. When fighting broke out at the end of October, the UN mission discovered it could not use its planes to negotiate a ceasefire around the country. They had no war insurance because the mission is a peace-keeping operation and the monitors had to borrow aircraft from other UN agencies which are covered to fly in battle zones.

The UN's mandate expired on Monday. It was extended by two months. Both Unita and the MPLA say they want an expanded role for the UN. The Security Council is reluctant. It will not come without a firm and enforceable agreement to disarm. There is talk of blue helmets to enforce demobilisation, a second round of presidential elections conducted by the UN and a monitor for every polling booth. It will require a new mandate — the mandate the UN should have had all along.

Pik denies charges of air space violation

STAR 5/12/72

FLANKED by air force and civil aviation authorities, Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday sought to dampen intensified accusations of South African military support to Unita and air space violations of neighbouring countries.

"We're charged with flights at 88 000 ft. That's the kind of accusation we're dealing with," Botha said dismissively at a press briefing in Pretoria.

His angry denial of the charges by the Angolan government of South African military interference on the side of Unita in the renewed Angolan hostilities came hours after all South African diplomatic representation was withdrawn from Luanda.

"It serves no purpose,

that their move, in no way implied he had to leave.

And after the press briefing, Botha said his ministry wanted channels of communication to be kept alive.

Justifying the withdrawal of mission personnel from Luanda, he said it was no longer safe for them as they had become the butt of extreme anti-South African propaganda and were at risk from ordinary civilians in the capital who were now carrying arms.

At the media briefing, Botha presented lists of flight co-ordinates and dates submitted to South

Africa by Botswana and Zimbabwe in support of their accusations that South African planes were violating their air space. These charges had been analysed by the SA Air Force and by Civil Aviation, Namibia, and Angola made similar accusations but did not support these with details.

Both the SAAF and Civil Aviation said they could establish no irregularities from the lists. They dismissed the co-ordinates of the Zimbabwean list as without credibility. The list from

Botswana was more credible, but outside scheduled flights for which flight plans had been filed there showed no irregularities.

Previously South Africa has dismissed out of hand all allegations of continuing military support for Unita since the 1988 accords with Cuba and Angola. This time, the investigation of flight co-ordinates showed a little more application to the problem by Foreign Affairs.

Asked, however, in the light of South Africa's history of destabilisa-

tion, why Pretoria's response should be accepted as credible now, Botha referred to the airman at his side and said: "No evidence."

He said the United Nations observers in Angola also had "not a single bit of evidence that they could furnish of South African involvement".

Meanwhile, radar experts believe that the South African fighter planes that the Zimbabweans claim to have been seeing on their radar screens could have been phantom images caused by a freak phenomenon that results in signals transmitted by

one radar being picked up by another and interpreted as aircraft.

An SAAF radar expert approached by Saturday Star confirmed that it was technically possible for this to happen. The expert said radar equipment had to be adjusted regularly — at least once daily and some times several times a day. If the equipment were not properly tuned, this could result in what was known as side-lobe distortion. When that happened it was possible for the radar to pick up signals from another radar, provided it was within range.

These signals would

be visible on the receiving screen in a form corresponding exactly to the image of an aircraft and could give the impression of a plane travelling at a great height and speed, the SAAF expert said.

In such an instance, he said, the operator of the receiving radar would attempt to obtain identification of the approaching "aircraft" through their transponders, which are devices carried by all planes that enable them to be "interrogated" and identified by radar. But since the images were not of real aircraft, they would transmit no responder identification and the radar operator would assume they were planes trying to conceal their identity.

Angolan pull-out after fighting

CT 5/12/92 (5)

LUANDA. Government troops and Unita rebels ceased fire yesterday after a night of pitched battles in central Bie province, but Unita radio said hundreds died in fighting over the weekend in nearby Cuanza Sul.

Angolan state radio said Unita forces withdrew from Cuito, capital of Bie province 550km east of

Luanda, after a night of heavy artillery battles.

Rebel radio said hundreds died in Cuanza Sul province. Many deaths were due to retaliation by government troops on civilians.

United Nations representatives in Bie yesterday met regional leaders to determine the cause of the fighting, said a UN official.

The rebel radio, known here as "The Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel", said government forces in Cuanza Sul attacked the coastal towns of Sumbe, Porto Amboim and Gabela some 260km south of Luanda with heavy artillery and naval frigates.

Units rebels withdrew from northern towns Uige and Negage on Friday in compliance with a government ultimatum to leave within a week or face all-out war.

● The war threat stemmed the stream of refugees returning home to Angola after years abroad who had gathered on the Zairean and Zambian borders. — Sapa-Reuter

Luanda on alert against Unita

LUANDA. — Angolan government soldiers and police here have been placed on alert to prevent any attempt by Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita army to move against the capital, the pro-government daily reported yesterday.

Units has closed in around coastal towns south of Luanda, a state radio source said.

Government military sources said the towns were still under the control of the ruling MPLA.

Meanwhile South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday it was clear that further communication with the Angolan government by South Africa currently served no purpose.

All South African representa-

⑤ CT 5/12/72
tives had left Angola because the situation was too dangerous there, Mr Botha said after talks with former French Finance Minister Mr Edouard Balladur in Pretoria.

Meanwhile Unita said yesterday that government forces had attacked its lightly defended positions in two coastal towns with tanks, killing several people.

Luanda on alert against Unita

ANG 5/12/92
LUANDA. — Angolan government soldiers and police have been placed on alert in Luanda to prevent any move by Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita army against the capital, the pro-government daily newspaper has reported.

And state radio reported that Unita had closed in around coastal towns south of Luanda, including the railhead port of Benguela and Lobito, Porto Amboim and Sumbe.

Government military sources said the towns were still under the control of the ruling MPLA.

UN military observers trying to persuade Unita to withdraw from the northern provincial capital of Uige and the nearby major airbase town of Negage failed to reach the region, said informed sources.

The three countries monitoring Angola's peace accord — Portugal, the United States and Russia — issued a joint statement of "concern" at the occupation of provincial capitals.

Officials refused to confirm the top security alert reported, but residents of the capital's suburbs said police checks had been stepped up. No government troop movements were seen.

Since the beginning of November, when Luanda was rocked by heavy fighting as Unita forces were driven out after losing the elections, former rebels have occupied the Bengo province capital of Caxito, less than 60 kilometres from Luanda. — Sapa-AFP.

Hunger for power sidelines peace

The burning personal ambition of Unita's Jonas Savimbi is the key obstacle to a lasting settlement of the Angolan conflict, argues political scientist LEBONA MOSIA of the International Studies Unit at Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

THE UN declared the first Angolan elections to be "generally free and fair".

Yet Jonas Savimbi - the man who in the early 60s presumptuously announced himself as "the future president of Angola" - took up his guns and plunged the war-battered country back into the cauldron.

Why did he do it even after MPLA presidential election candidate, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, had agreed to a second round of presidential elections?

And did Unita really attempt a coup d'etat in Luanda - as the MPLA alleged? Many of these questions can be answered by Jonas Savimbi, a poli-

tician described variously as a "navevick" and "a charismatic". His peasant idolisers call him "Africa's saviour", "the greatest revolutionary of our times", "the black de Gaulle" and "the African Mao".

However, documentary evidence links him to the Portuguese secret police (Pide) and the CIA.

In the early 60s one Jonas Savimbi introduced himself at the US embassy in Bern, Switzerland as the "future president of Angola" and denounced the MPLA, accusing its leaders of being "mutatooes" disliked by most Angolans.

Where had he emerged from?

He was born in 1934 in Muanhang, Bie Province, the son of a stationmaster and chief. He attended school in Kitito (Bie), Huambo and Lubango before pro-

CPower 6/12/92

S

ceeding to Switzerland where, thanks to a grant from the American Evangelical Missions, he studied medicine. Eventually he opted for a degree in political science which he completed in Lausanne in July 1965.

Ironically, he started out in politics with the MPLA.

He was delegated to represent the MPLA at a conference at Makerere University in Uganda, where he defended their armed struggle.

It was apparently during this visit to Uganda that he turned away from the MPLA. He met Tom Mboya, the then secretary general of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and claims Mboya persuaded him to leave the "communist MPLA" and join Holden Roberto's UPA group. Sa-

vimbi told his biographer Fred Bridgland that another Kenyan leader, Odinga Oginga, had on that same occasion told him not to listen to Mboya. Oginga said Mboya was a CIA agent, and Savimbi should maintain his membership of the MPLA. There's that US link again.

Later Savimbi did join the UPA and became its secretary general. In March 1962, UPA merged with the Angolan Democratic Party (PDA) and became the FNLA, which set up a shadow government.

Savimbi was appointed Foreign Secretary. The FNLA made little headway and became enmeshed in ethnic differences between the Bakongo and Ovimbundu.

Relations between Roberto and Savimbi were very uneasy. Clearly, Savimbi did not want to play sec-

ond fiddle.

On March 15 1966 Savimbi formed Unita at Muanza village in Moxico, Angola. According to testimonials and documents compiled since April 25 1974 (the day on which the Portuguese army overthrew the government), there is evidence of Savimbi collaborating with the brutal Portuguese secret police (Pide). The documents came from the Pide archives.

In its July 8 1974 issue, the Paris-based *Afriqweasié* published translations of four documents, dated September to November 1972. Of these three were from Savimbi to the Portuguese military authorities in eastern Angola, and one a reply from Lt-Col Ramires de Oliveira, chief of staff of the eastern military zone.

Accordingly, *Afriqweasié* said: "Savimbi has been, at least since 1972, an agent of the Portuguese." Savimbi claims the papers are forgeries by his detractors, but the former Portuguese prime minister, Marcello Caetano, disputed this in his memoirs.

In his book, *Inside Boss*, Gordon Winter said Savimbi had long been controlled by a senior CIA operative, James Cunningham, based at the US embassy in Lusaka.

Unita's close links with the Pretoria government can be traced to the SA State Security Council's key 1977 "total strategy against a total onslaught" white paper. In it Unita was viewed as a proxy force in the same vein as Renamo.

While the MPLA has been embroiled in accusations of corruption, nepotism, inappropriate policies and failed ideologies, the majority of Angola's voters supported the MPLA in the September general election.

But the man who would be president does not agree. - Ecna

Unita holds on to provincial towns

UN and Unita officials travelled on Friday to two rebel-held cities in northern Angola to secure a withdrawal of Unita forces. (S)

The government has threatened all-out war if rebels don't pull out of Uige and Negage and their military bases. C/P/News 6/12/92

UN military observers hope to make good a promise by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi that his troops would leave. (S)

The rebels captured the cities over the weekend in violation of a ceasefire agreement reached only days before.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has demanded surrender of the cities and Unita participation in a coalition government within one week.

Hundreds killed, says Unita radio

STAT 7/12/72



Eduardo dos Santos... wants Unita to join new government.

LUANDA — Government troops and Unita rebels stopped fighting yesterday after a night of pitched battles in the central Bie province, but Unita radio said hundreds died in fighting at the weekend in nearby Cuanza Sul province.

Angolan state radio said Unita forces withdrew from Cuito, capital of Bie, some 550 km east of Luanda, after a night of fighting with heavy artillery.

Unita radio said hundreds died in the western province of Cuanza Sul and that many of the deaths were due to retaliation inflicted by government troops on civilians.

United Nations representatives

met yesterday in Bie to determine the cause of the fighting there, said a UN official, who requested anonymity.

Angola has been edging towards the brink of a new civil war for the past month.

Fighting broke out on October 31 after Unita leader Jonas Savimbi accused the ruling MPLA of rigging elections which were held on September 29-30, the first since the May 1991 peace accords.

UN observers judged the voting fair.

The rebel radio, known here as "The Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel," said government forces in Cuanza Sul attacked the coastal towns of Sumbe, Porto Amboim and Ga-

belá, about 260 km south of Luanda, with heavy artillery and naval frigates.

It was not immediately possible to get government confirmation.

Unita radio also said several people had been killed by necklacing in Sumbe but did not give further details.

Unita rebels withdrew from the northern towns of Uige and Negage on Friday in apparent compliance with a government ultimatum to leave within a week or face all-out war. But the official Angolan radio continued to report movement of Unita troops.

President José Eduardo dos Santos, front-runner in the presidential election against Savimbi, has demanded that Unita

join the new government of national unity.

The rebel organisation, which turned into a political party before the elections, won 70 of the 220 seats in parliament.

Independence

The government won 129 with smaller parties taking the rest.

Civil war broke out in Angola in 1975, on the eve of independence from Portugal.

About 350 000 people died in 16 years of fighting.

Unita, backed by South Africa and the United States, fought to wrest power from the formerly Marxist government, supported by Cuba and the Soviet Union. — Sapa-AP

Unita ready to play part in Angola govt

LISBON — Angola's opposition force Unita will participate in the new Angolan government and in parliament, but is demanding in return safety guarantees for its members, said Unita spokesman Jorge Valentim yesterday.

"Unita is going to participate in the Luanda government, and in parliament, but, in return, is insisting that the safety of its members be assured," Valentim told the Portuguese news agency Lusa from Huambo, where Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is staying.

Valentim said Unita wanted an "urgent meeting" to discuss the issue, with security guaranteed under the auspices of the UN mission in Angola.

While not wishing to specify which Unita members would enter the government and parliament, Valentim said certain of them were "in Luanda, in prison or under government protection".

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has said Unita has until Thursday to name the members it wants to enter the government.

The government positions

The Frontline states will meet in Harare on Friday to discuss the situation in Angola. The gathering has been initiated by the current chairman, Zimbabwean President Mugabe.

Zambian Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Wendy Sinakala said in Lusaka yesterday. "The Angolan situation is very critical and grave. It needs an immediate solution."

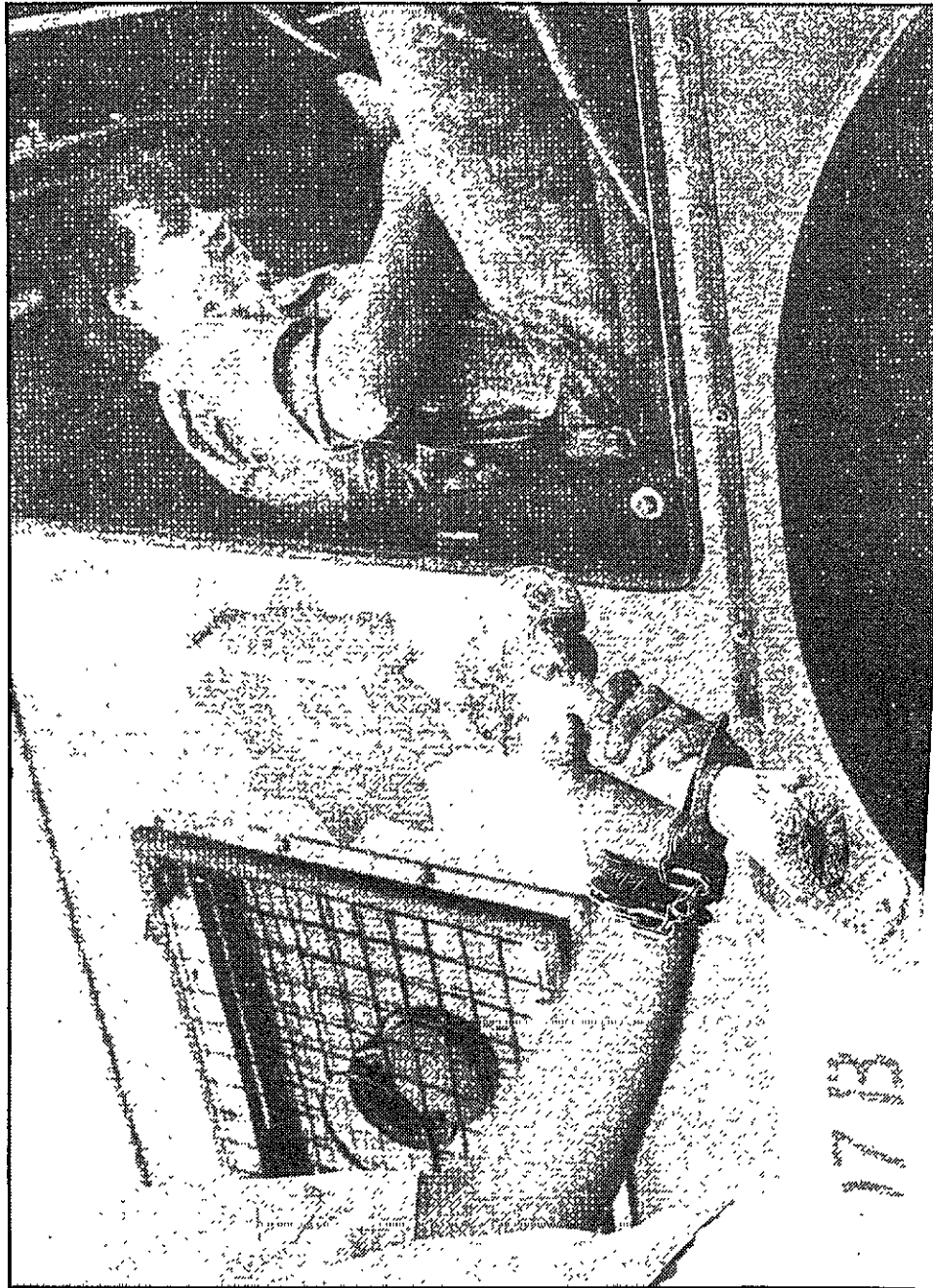
The Frontline states comprise Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Zambia has tightened security along its border with Angola after attacks on frontier villages in Zambia's western and north-western provinces, the State-controlled Times of Zambia said yesterday.

Armed groups, believed to be from Unita, had terrorised villagers and blocked the movement of Angolan refugees into Zambia.

Heavily armed bandits, also believed to be Unita members, raided a Zambian state ranch last week and herded 31 cattle across the border.

● A bomb explosion wounded eight people in Luanda yes-



Detained pilots 'abandoned by SA'

THE Foreign Affairs Department had abandoned the two SA pilots currently being detained by Angolan police in Luanda, a spokesman for the pilots' company said yesterday. (S) (SA)

Theunis Steyn of Africa Air Cargo said the ANC, which still has a representative in Angola, Peter Tshikare, had been approached for assistance. (S) (SA)

The pilots, AAC MD Manfred Brüssel and Hendrik Lategan, were arrested by Angolan police following an unauthorised landing in Luena last week.

Angolan representative in Pretoria Manuel Augusto said the two pilots had not been in possession of current visas or travel documents as these were still at the Angolan embassy and had also affixed false Red Cross insignia to their six-seater Aztec aircraft.

A spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross confirmed

ADRIAN HADLAND

that no application had been received for the ICRC's insignia to be used.

Steyn said the aircraft was on a mercy flight to Kinshasa with a doctor on board but that a fuel selector problem may have caused the emergency landing.

Augusto said, however, that the two men would be returned to SA in the interests of good relations.

Meanwhile, the ANC has confirmed it will send a representative to the emergency Frontline states meeting scheduled for Friday in Harare.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said it was possible ANC president Nelson Mandela would attend.

It is understood that the meeting, called by Frontline chairman Robert Mugabe, will discuss SA's alleged infringement of neighbouring countries' airspace. Government has denied the claims.

Maize belt faces disaster as follow-up rains hold off

PRETORIA — High winds and temperatures in the mid-30s along most of the maize belt in the past 10 days have played havoc with early plantings and big rains were needed to prevent a disaster, Nampo said yesterday.

Nampo GM Giel van Zyl said: "Unless we get good rains before December 15, the situation will become extremely serious."

The optimum planting time had passed in the Transvaal, Free State and Natal and 1.2-million ha had not yet been planted.

In the western Transvaal and northern Free State, where about 60% of the total crop is normally grown, nearly half of the crop still has to be planted.

In the eastern Transvaal, highveld planting is about 90% complete but in Natal only 18 000 of the projected 70 000ha had been planted by the end of last week.

Van Zyl said much of the 2.2-million ha already planted was exposed to a big damage risk unless the rains came.

Maize planted late also faced the prospect of frost towards the end of the growing season. What appeared to be good rains at the start of summer made little if any difference to the critical moisture content of the soil.

"We don't want to cry wolf," Van Zyl

GERALD REILLY

said, "but the situation could become critical if we don't get immediate rains and if January and February are dry months."

Sapa reports that the Transvaal Agricultural Union said conditions were critical, particularly in the western Transvaal. The lack of follow-up rain in the past few days meant that many Transvaal farmers were facing bankruptcy.

About 70% of farmers planted crops soon after the first rains, but young maize plants have been scorched and virtually no grazing remains.

In the Tzaneen area, fruit trees are dying and a TAU spokesman said banana trees on some farms had been ruined.

Agricultural conditions in the eastern Transvaal are more promising, but follow-up rains are needed in the next 10 days to save crops.

Conditions have improved in the eastern Cape, but the interior remains dry.

Eastern Cape Agricultural Union president Tinus Hartman said good rains fell between Tsitsikamma and East London, and the outlook in coastal areas was promising.

Water for all by Christmas, says govt

ALL South Africans would have an adequate supply of water this Christmas with relief efforts in drought stricken areas continuing throughout the festive season, Water Affairs spokesman Lucinda Scholtz said yesterday.

Although borehole drilling would be halted a week before Christmas, emergency supply operations would continue, she said.

Water Affairs, Forestry and Agricultural Development along with the Consultative Forum on Drought (CFD) were coordinating relief efforts to ensure an

adequate water supply, she added.

A CFD spokesman said the situation was deteriorating in certain areas of Venda and Lebowa.

Water Affairs said restrictions were not expected for the PWV area next year following an improvement in the level of the Bloemhof dam and the halting of releases from the Sterkfontein dam.

Scholtz said it was too early to say the drought had been broken generally.

RAY HARTLEY

hour access

Unita agrees to join govt, respect ceasefire

BIDAY 8/12/92
(5)

LUANDA — Unita agreed yesterday to join a government of national unity and to respect a nationwide ceasefire, Unita spokesman Jorge Valentim said, raising hopes that civil war would be kept at bay.

The announcement on Angolan radio came after eight people were injured, two seriously, by a bomb which exploded in Luanda.

Police did not know who set the bomb or its intended target, Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

It quoted an Angolan police spokesman as saying the bomb was planted at tennis courts in a sports complex.

It exploded when a child began tampering with it.

Police were investigating who planted the device and what kind of explosive had been used.

"Pacifism and dialogue is the only path the Angolan people want, and this is the path the international community supports," Valentim said, adding that Unita would accept assigned posts in the new government.

Unita's offer came three days before the expiry of a government ultimatum for the rebels to halt hostilities and join a coalition government or face war.

Meanwhile in Lusaka, the state-controlled Times of Zambia reported that government had tightened security along

the border with Angola after attacks on frontier villages in Zambia's western and northwestern provinces.

It said armed groups, believed to be from Unita, terrorised villagers and blocked the movement of Angolan refugees into Zambia.

Western province Minister Leonard Subulwa said reports reaching his office spoke of an increase in the number of attacks on Zambians by armed gangs in recent weeks.

"If measures are not taken now, there is bound to be an increase in terrorism," the newspaper quoted him as saying.

A state ranch was raided at the weekend by a gang believed to be Unita soldiers and more than 30 cattle were herded into Angola.

In Zambia's northwestern town of Mwinilunga, a district council spokesman said Unita appeared to have taken control of the Angolan frontier area.

This made it difficult for refugees fleeing renewed fighting in the country to cross into Zambia.

The Times said scores of Angolan refugees repatriated under a UN High Commissioner for Refugees programme earlier this year were trickling back into Zambia.

The repatriation programme has been suspended. — AP-DJ, Sapa-Reuter.

Unita ready to play part in Angola govt

LISBON — Angola's opposition force Unita will participate in the new Angolan government and in parliament, but is demanding in return safety guarantees for its members, said Unita spokesman Jorge Valentim yesterday.

"Unita is going to participate in the Luanda government, and in parliament, but, in return, is insisting that the safety of its members be assured," Valentim told the Portuguese news agency Lusa from Huambo, where Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is staying.

Valentim said Unita wanted an "urgent meeting" to discuss the issue, with security guaranteed under the auspices of the UN mission in Angola.

While not wishing to specify which Unita members would enter the government and parliament, Valentim said certain of them were "in Luanda, in prison or under government protection".

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has said Unita has until Thursday to name the members it wants to enter the government.

The government positions allocated to Unita are in the Ministry of Culture and four posts of deputy Minister in the defence, agriculture, urbanism and social affairs portfolios.

The Frontline states will meet in Harare on Friday to discuss the situation in Angola. The gathering has been initiated by the current chairman, Zimbabwean President Mugabe.

Zambian Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Wendy Shikala said in Lusaka yesterday: "The Angolan situation is very critical and grave. It needs an immediate solution."

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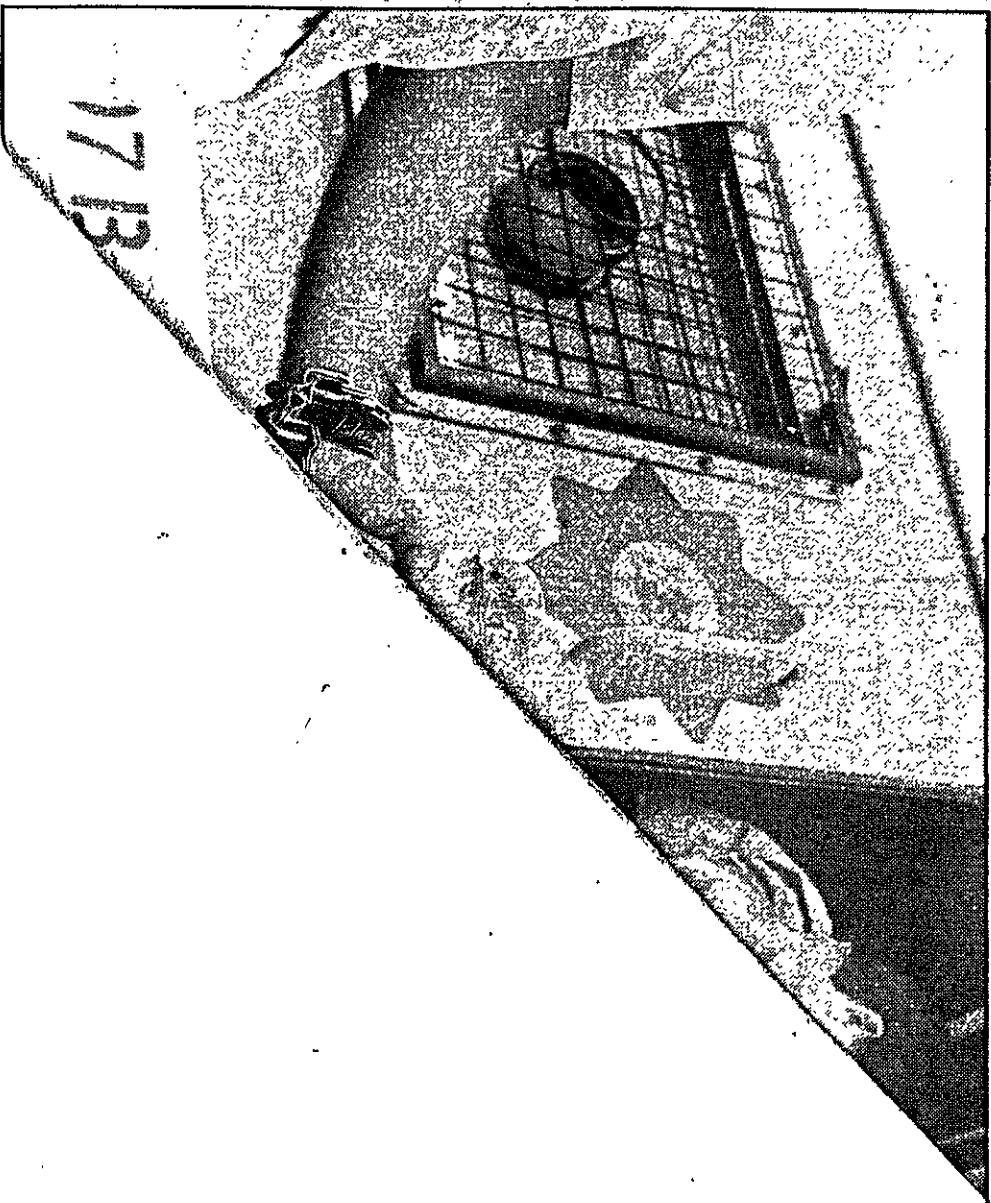
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● A bomb explosion wounded eight people in Luanda yesterday.

A police spokesman told Lusa the bomb was planted in a sports complex. It exploded when a child touched it. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.



The key to the door that they

Unita agrees to join govt, respect ceasefire

BIOM 8/12/92
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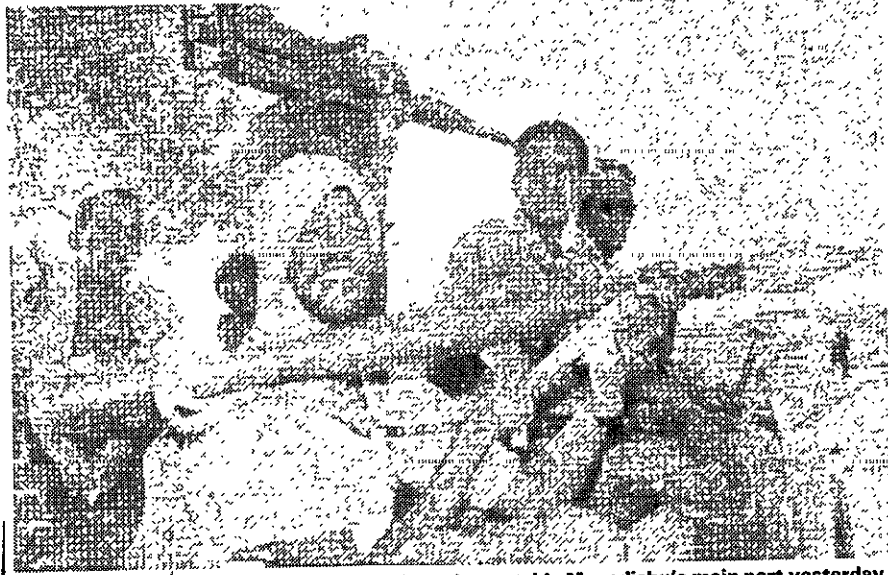
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The repatriation programme has been suspended. — AP-DJ, Sapa-Reuter.

WORLD



A Somali clansman shows off his rocket launcher outside Mogadishu's main port yesterday. Groups of armed men are often seen driving through the city with machine guns mounted on the roofs of their vehicles. Picture: AP

UN report on Unita forces disputed

LUANDA — A top Angolan government military chief said yesterday he was not convinced Unita rebels had left two strategic northern cities occupied last week.

Gen Higinio Carneiro described as superficial a UN report that opposition forces might have started to pull out.

"There are still Unita forces in Uige and Negage," the general told state-run radio. "We have still not received a response confirming the withdrawal."

The occupation more than a week ago of Uige, 300km northeast of Luanda, and nearby Negage, the most important air

base in the north, was a major advance for Unita, which has taken about 75% of Angola since disputing the results of elections held in September. (S) (E)

The UN special representative, Margaret Anstee, said at the weekend that according to preliminary reports Unita had apparently begun to leave the two cities.

But diplomats expressed scepticism and UN sources later said privately it appeared Unita still maintained a presence there and government forces had not regained control. — Sapa-Reuter.

7/12/92
LW018

Unita joining Luanda government, says Pik

Oct 9/12/92

DURBAN. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi had agreed to send a proportionate number of representatives to Luanda to join the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, South African Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said here yesterday.

He said that in doing so Unita had followed the advice of the South African government.

Mr Botha said he had spoken to the Angolan rebel leader by telephone.

"Dr Savimbi said his only concern was that a guarantee should be given for the personal security and safety of Unita members who will join the government of Mr Dos Santos.

"Dr Savimbi also indicated that senior members of Unita are still held in detention in Luanda and the South

African government's advice in this regard is that he should negotiate this with the government of Mr Dos Santos," said Mr Botha.

In Luanda a top Angolan government military chief said yesterday he was not convinced Unita rebels had left Uige and Negage, two strategic northern cities occupied last week.

General Higinio Carneiro described as superficial a UN report that Unita forces might have started to pull out.

The occupation more than a week ago of Uige, 300km north-east of Luanda, and nearby Negage, the most important air base in the north, was a major advance for Unita, which has taken some 75% of Angola since disputing the results of the September elections. — Sapa-Reuter

Savimbi and Buthelezi have a great deal in common, writes **Hugh Robertson**

Africa's defiant losers

IT is fashionable in some quarters in Washington to liken Inkatha's leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to the leader of Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi. Both, it is argued, have an essentially tribal power base, both are the darlings of the same far-right protagonists in the US and elsewhere, both have been the beneficiaries of past support from the South African security establishment, and both face political opponents with Marxist lineage.

Now another comparison between them is being drawn — that both are losers who are having inordinate trouble facing up to the fact.

Savimbi, who entered Angola's internationally monitored elections with an unquestioning belief in victory, was roundly defeated; Buthelezi, so the reasoning goes, has conceded defeat even before free elections have taken place in South Africa.

This conclusion is arrived at by asking the question: If he were convinced that Inkatha could win a significant share of national support in free and fair elections, why would he choose to virtually abandon all of South Africa out-

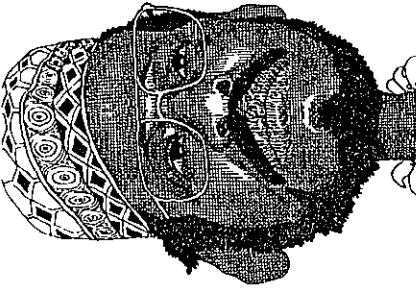
side the borders of KwaZulu and Natal and opt, instead, for a separatist regional solution?

What does the Buthelezi plan say to the supposed multitudes permanently settled in the country's industrial heartland who until now have been counted as Inkatha supporters?

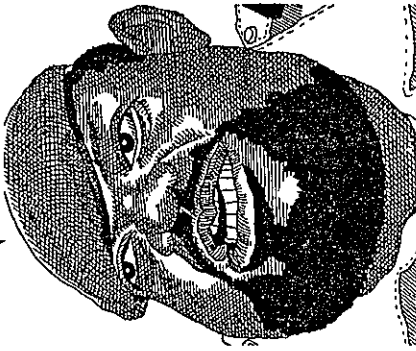
For all practical purposes, Buthelezi has said that constitutional negotiations which will determine their fate are of no consequence to him or to Inkatha — or, at least, that is the widely accepted interpretation in America.

The responses of Savimbi and Buthelezi to national defeat are seen to stem from their apparently shared inability to grasp the political realities around them, the most important — and, for many Americans, the most disturbing — being their seeming inability to recognise the extent to which they are no longer masters of their own political destiny.

The power struggle in both countries has become internationalised to the point where none of the major players — not even the ANC and the National Party, or the MPLA government in Angola — could unilaterally impose a so-



Mangosuthu Buthelezi . . . opted for separation.



Jonas Savimbi . . . defeated in elections.

lution unacceptable to the international community.

A Unita government brought to power by force of arms almost certainly would not be recognised even by the outgoing US administration, which in the past gave Unita such bountiful support and whose political constituency has lionised Savimbi.

A regional solution in KwaZulu and Natal in defiance of what South Africans elsewhere might

as a reckless plunge into isolationism and believe it is especially dangerous because he will find it hard to return to the national constitutional debate without losing face.

Whatever he does now, they reason, he will have been seen to write off South Africa outside his own geographic freedom, he will have given credence to the view that he is a regional potentate rather than a national leader.

If Inkatha's leadership doubts the extent to which the negotiating process in South Africa has been internationalised, they should look more closely at the sudden, and universal, ostracism of the PAC and Apla this week following Apla's "declaration of war" against whites.

Not only was the disparate membership of the OAU united and mobilised against Apla's declaration, and the PAC's disavowal of co-responsibility, but there was condemnation from all corners of the world. The PAC, and Apla, if they are wise, will quickly learn that the classical revolutionary strategies of the Cold War are not acceptable, and that for the first time in decades the international

community is beginning to flex its muscle in a united and constructive way.

It has observers in Angola, and South Africa, it is intervening in Somalia, there is multinational intervention in Liberia. Some might flippantly call this neocolonialism on the grounds that the "right" of contrary forces in Third World countries to be as contrary as they please is being usurped by outside pressure, or by military action.

But the process of uniting the world behind efforts to bring peace and democracy to countries in Africa is being voluntarily — and enthusiastically — embraced at the UN, and by no group of countries more zealously than the Africans and by no leader more firmly than Africa's own Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Inevitably, the role of the only remaining superpower is crucial to this process. But if the contrary forces in Africa find the Bush administration's strategy of using the UN to further democracy on the continent a trifle peevish then it is a safe bet to suggest that with the pending advent of the Clinton administration, they aint seen nothin' yet. □

STAR 10/12/92

Sowetan
Angola 11/12/92
faces chaos

UNITA rebels waging an undeclared war on the Angolan government are creating economic havoc throughout the country, economists and diplomats say. (5)

They say Unita's occupation of 75 percent of the country is strangling the economic livelihood of many towns and cities, creating alarming shortages of food, fuel and other necessities.

Angola is potentially one of Africa's richest countries but the rebel campaign with roadblocks, looting and attacks on airports, factories and utilities has sent prices soaring and further ruined infrastructure shattered by 16 years of civil war. - Sapa-Reuters and Sapa.

Unita's men in

unity govt

Sowetan 11/12/92

■ Angola's opposition force releases names: (S)

LUANDA - Angola's opposition force, Unita, has released the names of its members it has chosen to join the country's new government.

Vitorino Hossi has been picked to be Minister of Culture, the only ministerial post offered to Unita by Prime Minister Marcolino Moco in the new government. - *Sapa-AFP*.

Unita warned to honour peace accords

BIOM 11/12/92
LUANDA — Angola's new armed forces command warned Unita yesterday to keep their latest pledge to honour May 1991 peace accords or face a new civil war.

New armed forces commander Gen Joao Matos warned at the swearing-in of the new military command that the army was ready to take matters into its own hands.

He said the military could not continue to wait for a political solution if Unita did not stop its mobilisation and end the undeclared war during which it has occupied about 75% of the country in recent weeks.

"Unita has regrettably chosen the violent path to seek power," Matos

said at the ceremony. "The situation in the country requires that measures be taken rapidly."

Economists and diplomats say Unita's offensive is creating economic havoc in the country.

Hopes for a negotiated settlement rose on Wednesday night after Unita announced readiness to join a new national unity government.

However, Unita generals failed to take up senior posts offered to them in the new military command.

Prime Minister Marcolino Moco, cautiously encouraged by Unita's statement on Wednesday, said it had to honour the peace accords before it could join the government.

Diplomats also appeared mildly encouraged by the statement but noted that Unita had many times gone against its word.

"Let's see words translated into action," a Western diplomat said.

The state media said the two sides might hold a peace meeting next week in the southern city of Namibe and dialogue had begun in Zaire, Malanje and Benguela provinces.

The ruling MPLA has left several government posts open for Unita.

Unita for the most part suggested moderates for the posts, including the culture minister, two deputy ministers and the head of the army. — Sapa-Reuter.

Irish extremists in rival bomb blitzes

LONDON — Rival Northern Ireland extremists stepped up a Christmas bombing blitz yesterday with separate incidents in Ireland and London.

The IRA claimed responsibility for two blasts that injured eight people in London, while the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF), an

outlawed group fighting to keep Northern Ireland British, admitted responsibility for planting eight fire-bombs in Dublin and Dundalk near the Northern Ireland border, none of which caused serious damage.

The London explosions damaged electrical and magazine shops in Wood Green shopping centre in the north of the city that had been partially evacuated after a warning by a man saying he was from the IRA.

The mainland is in the grip of the worst IRA bomb campaign since the 1970s, and armed police have mounted roadblocks around Britain.

Republican sources in Ireland said the roadblocks

would not deter the bombing campaign, and pointed out that IRA guerrillas had consistently broken through security checkpoints in Belfast.

The UFF sounded a similar note of warning after its attacks in the Irish Republic, saying: "We will bring in 1993 with a bang."

In a statement issued in Belfast, the UFF said: "Sheer luck prevented our operation from bringing you a fiery Christmas. You will not be so lucky in 1993."

Irish police put traders on full alert for a pre-Christmas blitz. They feared the UFF might step up its campaign with van bomb attacks on Irish towns. — Sapa-Reuter.

Concern over peace pace

BIOM 11/12/92
HARARE — Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama arrived in Zimbabwe on Wednesday and was expected to meet Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano to discuss the slow pace towards peace.

He told reporters the UN should "breath fire" into the peace process.

A peace plan signed by Renamo and Chissano's government in October is running behind schedule on several issues, including the confinement of troops to designated points.

"It is important that the UN sends in troops and sets up the machinery to speed up the process," the Renamo leader said. — Sapa-Reuter.

NING

No. 4

2 cents per share has been payable to shareholders of business on 24 December

THE United States State Department expects president-elect Bill Clinton to recognise, and establish relations with, Angola's MPLA government soon after taking office next month.

This would mark the failure of a major American foreign policy bid to back Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's thrust for power launched when Angola became independent in 1975 — a venture that has cost hundreds of millions of dollars and thousands of lives.

In a related development, US, British and United Nations authorities have quietly been investigating the origins and organisers of a widely-reported South African airlift of supplies into territory controlled by Savimbi's rebels. Specifically they have been trying to establish if the operation has Pretoria's backing or whether "rogue" elements within the South African Defence Force have teamed up with entrepreneurs and mercenaries.

"We're inclined to accept official South African disavowals of involvement," one British Foreign Office source said. Then he added: "There are lots of interests in Angola with diamonds to pay people off for services being rendered."

The emerging shift in Washington's attitude toward one of Africa's most strategic Atlantic seaboard states was reported by a US State Department specialist in African affairs who keeps in regular contact with the Clinton transi-

Savimbi in the cold as Clinton plans a US policy somersault

WJ/MW 11/12 - 17/12/92

The "Savimbi problem" to which the US State Department official referred has been creating military as well as diplomatic mayhem.

Unita forces have been advancing in several provinces taking previously MPLA-held towns; their escalating offensive has been denounced publicly by the US State Department as a breach of the 1991 Bicesse peace pact and of their promises to abide by a ceasefire.

On the diplomatic front South Africa has again been sucked into the situation. The coincidence in timing between Unita's offensive and the privatised or state-blessed South African airlift has attracted international attention and suspicion. Besides Angola itself, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia have all accused South Africa not only of penetrating their air space but also of resupplying Savimbi's forces — charges Pretoria has denied. There have been unfounded reports from Harare claiming that the

the election of Bill Clinton as United States president will bring a swing in America's attitude to Angola — away from Unita and towards the MPLA.

By ARTHUR GAVSHON

team now based in Little Rock, Arkansas. In a telephonic interview the informant said: "Recognition of the government of President Jose dos Santos has been on the cards since the MPLA won the September multiparty elections with nearly 58 percent of the vote — a vote pronounced by international observers to have been fairly conducted. Even a Bush administration would have to acknowledge this and also the fact that Savimbi has been 99 percent of the problem plaguing Angola still."

SADF's Buffalo (32) Battalion, made up largely of Angolans, has been sent into Unita territory by elements in charge of the SADF's special forces.

Against this overall background the failed role assumed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Angola's renewed strife has come under international scrutiny and has yielded some ironic comments.

Botha told the *Sunday Star* in a question-and-answer interview — reprinted verbatim in the *London Financial Times* as an advertisement paid for by the South African government — that: "Governments both in Europe and Africa asked South Africa to act as a facilitator in the Angola peace process. I believe this indicative of an acceptance of the positive role that we have played and can play in Africa generally and in the southern region of the continent specifically. We regard it as a privilege to be able to do so."

A senior political authority in London, noting that the British government is incumbent president of the European Community, said in answer to a question: "We did not ask for South Africa's help in Angola."

In Harare, Zimbabwean government officials claimed Pretoria had advised Savimbi that he has until January 20 — the day Clinton is due to be inaugurated as president — to win power, or at least a big chunk of it, in Angola; otherwise he could be effectively sidelined by the new administration's formal recognition of the Dos Santos government.

In Luanda, according to the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria, elements of the Angolan government have been "deliberately blackmailing" South Africa. That was cited as one reason why Pretoria has pulled its diplomatic mission out of the country.

And in Washington one veteran Africanist in Clinton's transition team observed drily: "Perhaps when the South Africans were being asked to facilitate the Angolan peace process they were being asked politely to keep out of the way and not interfere." That informant declined to be identified.

SA medics to leave Angola

⑤ CT 12/12/92

PRETORIA. — Twelve South Africans are to be pulled out of the extreme south-eastern Angolan town of Mucusso bordering the Caprivi Strip in Namibia, it was disclosed yesterday.

However, at this stage it is not clear exactly when the personnel from a small South African-run hospital will leave because South Africa is still awaiting landing rights in Angola for its military evacuation aircraft, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said.

Overflying rights for the aircraft have already been obtained from Botswana, the spokesman added.

The hospital at Mucusso is staffed by eight SA military medical personnel as well as a liaison official and three civilian pilots working for the air charter company Professional Air.

The existence of the South African-run hospital on Angolan soil first became known on

Frontliners wary of attacks

HARARE. — The frontline states yesterday asked the international community to stand against South Africa's campaign of covert military operations in the region.

At the end of a six-hour meeting here, heads of the governments of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, as well as the leaders of the ANC and the PAC, said there was a likelihood of South Africa restarting its campaign.

A communique expressed grave concern at the alleged violations of the airspace of four of the countries by aircraft of the SA Defence Force.

In recent weeks, Angola, Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe lodged official

protests with Pretoria that military aircraft had flown unauthorised missions across their territory.

Pretoria rejected the claims.

The leaders also condemned South Africa's recent threats of cross-border raids in pursuit of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, held responsible for attacks on whites in King William's Town and Queenstown.

● Safair denied a suggestion by British Anti-Apartheid Movement honorary secretary Mr Abdul Minty that SA could have used chartered Russian planes intended for drought-relief flights to ferry weapons to Unita rebels in Angola. — Sapa

August 31 when an aircraft crashed near Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi's southern Angolan headquarters at Jamba.

On that night SA military medical personnel were rushed to the crash site from the Mucusso hospital to assist the injured.

The Unita-chartered aircraft was carrying South African and international journalists back to Johannesburg after attending a Unita election rally in Lobito.

The aircraft crashed soon after take-off from the Jamba airstrip where it had been refuelled. Three crew members were killed and passengers were injured.

The SA Department of Foreign Affairs announced last week that the staff of South Africa's diplomatic mission in Luanda had been recalled because of political uncertainty in Angola. — Sapa

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The existence of the South African-run hospital became known on August 31 when an aircraft crashed near Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's southern Angolan headquarters at Jamba.

Medical personnel were rushed to the crash site to assist the injured. — Sapa.

(S) ARE 12/2/92

OAU peace bid for Angola

THE head of the OAU said in remarks published in Luanda yesterday that Unita rebels should abandon their return to arms and accept the democratic path in Angola. *C/rien*

OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim described as unacceptable statements by Unita leaders that local commanders acting without orders occupied several areas following a dispute over September elections. *13/12/92*

He said a high-level OAU delegation - comprising himself, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and Cape Verdean President Antonio Mascarenhas - was due to visit Angola soon to try to help resolve the crisis.

Pilot and three German journalists held after landing in Angola

AN SADF member and three German journalists had been detained in the stronghold of Huambo after they landed without permission, reports from Luanda said yesterday.

Radio Angola said the four were detained on Saturday after they landed in the country without clearance in an SADF aircraft piloted by the SADF member. The SADF leader Jonas Savimbi, Sapa reports, reportedly wanted to interview the Foreign Affairs Department, said it was attempting to confirm the reports.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Patrick Evans said inquiries in Namibia had indicated no reports of any aircraft leaving that country in the previous 24 hours. The department was still trying to secure the release of SA pilots Manfred Brus and Hendrik Lategan, arrested by Angolan police after an unauthorised landing in Luanda two weeks ago.

Manuel Augusto, Angola's SA representative, said the two pilots had been informed that the return of the two pilots, Augusto has been reported as saying the two would be returned to SA in the interests of good relations.

Foreign Affairs yesterday dismissed a report that the two pilots had been held in the interests of good relations. The report was dismissed as "mainly a sound and constructive policy of promoting the stabilisation of the region."

The department to discredit SA, said it is necessary to comment on the sound and constructive policy of promoting the stabilisation of the region. "The destabilisation of the region can in no way be in SA's interest."

communicate from the Frontline states summit in Harare repeating allegations of SADF involvement in Angola and of air-space violations.

It described the allegations of air-space violations as "mainly a transparent manoeuvre, by the Zimbabwean government, therefore does not deem it necessary to comment on the unique other than to cite again stress with the countries in the region."

Foreign Affairs spokesman Patrick Evans said the allegations of SADF involvement in Angola and of air-space violations are "mainly a transparent manoeuvre, by the Zimbabwean government, therefore does not deem it necessary to comment on the unique other than to cite again stress with the countries in the region."

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Sapa-AP reports from Luanda that SA's external radio service Channel Africa reported on Saturday that government and Unita officials had accused each other of massing troops in neighbouring countries for attacks into Angola.

Savimbi, speaking on Portuguese television, said SA would resume elections if the government would concede the territories occupied by the rebels. However, Prime Minister Marcelino Moco said the government would not negotiate with Unita until the rebels withdrew forces and disarmed its military.

Savimbi said he was waiting for a government response to his proposals and that he wanted to contest a second round of UN-aimed "solely concessions made by Unita would accept defeat at the polls." Asked if he would accept defeat at the polls, Savimbi said one day he "would win the elections."

Meanwhile, Sapa-Reuters reports that OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim called on Unita to abandon their return to arms and accept the democratic path. He said a high-level OAU delegation consisting of himself, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and Cape Verde President Antonio Mascarenhas was due to visit Angola soon.

Held aircraft 'from Namibia'

Staff Reporter
and Sapa

57032 14/12/92

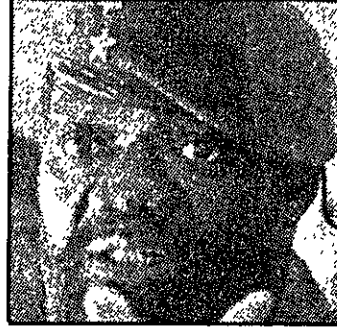


The Department of Foreign Affairs has denied any South African involvement concerning a light aircraft with four people on board which was detained in southern Angola after it allegedly entered Angola without clearance.

It was reported that the aircraft — with three German journalists on board who wanted to interview Unita leader Jonas Savimbi — had landed in the town of Huambo.

Angolan government officials said the pilot was a member of the SA Defence Force.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday that according to available information the journalists chartered the aircraft in



Jonas Savimbi . . . reporters allegedly on way to see him.

Windhoek to interview Savimbi.

After the interview, the pilot of the aircraft was refused permission to take off from the Huambo airstrip. The spokesman said the matter was being discussed by the Angolan government and Unita.

Plane held in Angola 'not SA'

5 OCT 14/12/92

PRETORIA. — A claim that a South African light aircraft with four people on board has been held after entering Angolan airspace without clearance was yesterday denied by a spokesman for the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.

The spokesman said according to available information a number of German journalists chartered the aircraft in Windhoek to interview Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi at Huambo in southern Angola.

After the interview, the pilot of the light aircraft was refused permission to take off from the Huambo airstrip.

The spokesman said the matter was being discussed by the Angolan government and Unita.

Meanwhile the department is still attempting to secure the release of South African pilots Mr Manfred Brusow and Mr Hendrik Lategan, who

OAU criticises Unita

LUANDA. — The Unita rebels should abandon their return to arms and accept the democratic path in Angola, the head of the OAU said on Saturday.

OAU secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim described as unacceptable statements by Unita leaders that local commanders acting without orders had occupied several towns.

Angola's new military chief has threatened Unita with armed retaliation for any single "act or provocation" following reports of rebel troops gathering just across the northern border in Zaire.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has denied Unita has any military plans and has said he is waiting for government negotiation offers.

Prime Minister Mr Marcelino Moco has said negotiations depend on withdrawal of Unita troops from strategic towns in northern Angola. — Sapa-AP

were arrested by Angolan police after an unauthorised landing in Luena two weeks ago, the spokesman said.

The department also dismissed a communique from the frontline states summit in Harare repeating allegations of SADF involvement in Angola and airspace violations. — Sapa

Angolans question⁵

STAR

TV crew

15/12/92

LUANDA — A top Angolan officer said today that a three-man German television crew detained in Huambo had been sent to Luanda for questioning and accused their South African pilot of being a mercenary aiding Unita rebels.

General Higinio Carneiro, a senior military figure, said if Pretoria's claims were true that the pilot was not a member of the South African military, he must be helping Unita.

A South African Foreign Affairs spokesman said the pilot, Stefan de Wet, is employed by the Namibian Commercial Aviation company.

The four men were detained on Sunday for landing in Huambo without permission.

A German embassy spokesman in Pretoria said the German foreign department in Bonn had summoned representatives of the MPLA government and of Unita and requested that the men be freed. — Political Correspondent-Sapa-Reuter.

Unita rift appears (5)

LISBON - A senior official of Angola's former rebel movement Unita criticised Unita leader Jonas Savimbi yesterday for listening too much to the advice of hardliners. *Sowetan 15/12/92*
Norberto de Castro, Unita's deputy director of information told the Portuguese radio station TSF that Savimbi should pay more heed to moderates opposed to a resumption of civil war.

forces into an...
ter families who wielded
knives after being evict-
ed from land owned by a
government official.

eastern Zaire. The plane
went down near the
town of Goma, on the
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counts of handing out
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UN chief's peace plan for Angola

MIKE LITTLEJOHN
The Argus Foreign Service

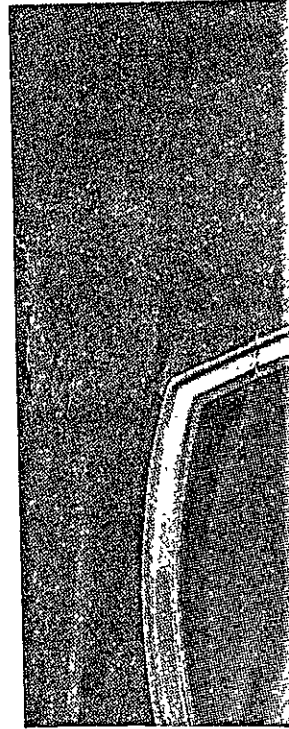
NEW YORK. — United Nations Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali has asked the Security Council to back what he termed "a new peace process" in Angola, but has not spelled out the details.

He disclosed the initiative at a news conference here, saying that over the weekend he had sought President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's support and that of Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader.

This followed a personal report to him by Miss Joan Anstee, his special representative for Angola, whom he praised for her "marvellous work" in trying to reconcile the two sides.

"We discussed what should be done to carry on the operation," he said. "I hope that we will be able to start a new process."

Meanwhile, apparently at US insistence, the council deferred for the time being any action on Mr Boutros-Ghali's proposal to deploy more than 7 000 UN troops and a large civilian staff in Mozambique to promote peace and supervise elections — at a cost of more than R1-billion until October 31 next year.



New Angola plan mooted

STAN 16/12/92

5

NEW YORK — United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is asking the Security Council to back what he termed "a new peace process" in Angola, but he has not yet spelt out the details.

He disclosed the initiative at a news conference in New York, saying he had sought President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's support and that of Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader, in contacts with them last week.

This followed a personal report to him by Joan Anstee, his special representative for Angola.

"We discussed what should

be done to carry on the operation," he said, adding, "I hope we will be able to start a new process."

This would need backing from the Security Council, which has already agreed to maintain a UN presence in Angola until the end of January.

Meanwhile, apparently at United States insistence, the council deferred for the time being any action on Boutros-Ghali's proposal to deploy more than 7,000 UN troops and a large civilian staff in Mozambique to promote peace and supervise elections.

— Star Bureau.

Lebone Mosia examines why Angolans still cannot find an end to conflict

Savimbi: egomaniac or saviour?

STAR 17/12/92

(5)

THE resurgence of violence in Angola is regrettable because it occurred at a time when the United Nations and other independent monitors and observers expressed relative satisfaction at the conduct of the first general election held in that country's history.

Why did Unita refuse to accept the election results even though the MPLA presidential election candidate, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, had agreed to a second round of presidential elections? Did Unita really attempt a coup in Luanda as the MPLA alleged?

The answers are to be found in the character of Dr Jonas Savimbi. Some have called him the "African Saviour", while others accused him of collaborating with the Portuguese secret police (Pide) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

As early as 1961, according to an American diplomat cited by Gerald Bender, Professor of International Relations at the University of Southern California, "Savimbi showed much more hostility towards other rebel groups in Angola than he did against the Portuguese". Savimbi had introduced himself at the US Embassy in Bern, Switzerland as the "future president of Angola".

Savimbi was born on 3 August 1934 in Munhango, Bie Province — the son of a stationmaster and chief. He attended school in Kuito (Bie), Huambo and Lubango before proceeding to Switzerland where, with a grant from the American Evangelical Missions he started to study medicine. Eventually he took a degree in political science.

His political background has its roots in the MPLA. His first contact with it was in the '60s through correspondence with Luis de Almeida, former Angolan ambassador to France and now ambassador to Ethiopia.

De Almeida, who was then a student in West Germany, eventually recruited Savimbi into the MPLA in 1961. Savimbi was then delegated to represent the organi-



Savimbi ... ambitious man who hangs on to a dream.

sation at a conference at Makerere University in Uganda.

It was apparently during this visit to Uganda that Savimbi began to have doubts about the objectives of the MPLA. He met Tom Mboya, who was then the secretary-general of the Kenya African National Union (Kanu). Savimbi claims that Mboya persuaded him to leave the "communist MPLA" and join the Union of the People of Angola (UPA) of Holden Roberto. Savimbi told his biographer, Fred Bridgland, that another Kenyan leader, Odinga Oginga, had on that same occasion told him not to listen to Tom Mboya.

Later, Savimbi did join the UPA and subsequently became its secretary-general.

In March 1962, UPA merged with the Angolan Democratic Party (PDA) and became the FNLA, which set up an Angolan Revolutionary Government-in-exile (GRAE) and Savimbi was appointed foreign secretary. The FNLA was not making any progress since launching its armed struggle on March 15 1961 and instead became riddled by ethnic differences between the Bakongo and Ovimbundu.

Savimbi took advantage of this dissension within the FNLA to foment Ovimbundu sentiments

among those coming from the central provinces. Relations between Holden Roberto, leader of the FNLA, and Savimbi were uneasy. It was clear that Savimbi did not want to play second fiddle.

On March 15 1966, Unita was formed at Muanga. According to testimonies and documents compiled since April 25 1974 (the day on which the Portuguese army overthrew the government), there is evidence of Unita and Savimbi collaborating with the Portuguese secret service (Pide). These documents were found in the archives of the Pide and the General Staff Headquarters in Lisbon.

In its July 8, 1974 issue, the Paris-based *Afriqueasie* published translations of four documents, three from Savimbi to the Portuguese military authorities in eastern Angola, one a reply from Lieutenant-Colonel Ramires de Oliveira, chief of staff of the eastern military zone. Dating from September to November 1972, these documents showed, according to *Afriqueasie*, that Savimbi "has been, at least since 1972, an agent of the Portuguese".

Savimbi claims that these documents are forgeries, but the former Portuguese Prime Minister Marcello Caetano, in his book "Depoimento" published in Brazil in 1976, confirmed the agreements reached with Unita.

The recent history of Unita's collaboration with Pretoria can be traced to the SA State Security Council's 1977 white paper which elaborated its policy of "total strategy" against "total onslaught". In it Unita was conceptualised as proxy force, like Renamo in Mozambique. Pretoria was concerned about the MPLA's overt support for Swapo and the ANC as well as its perception of the spread of "Soviet imperialism" and "communist influence" in the region.

There was also UN Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978, which set out the path to Namibian independence. Given these political factors, Unita became an appropriate proxy for Pretoria by

the end of the '70s.

Unita's close relations with Pretoria coincided with the Reagan administration's policy of linkage and its corollary "constructive engagement", which linked the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola with Namibia's independence. Unita became an appropriate tool for Washington to implement this policy. Gordon Winter, in his book, "Inside Boss", said Savimbi had long been controlled by a senior CIA operative, James Cunningham, at the US embassy in Lusaka.

The 1975 Clark Amendment prevented any US aid to Unita. However, after lobbying by the Reagan Administration, this Amendment was repealed in 1985 and consequently, Unita began to receive aid from Washington annually, including Stinger missiles. This brought an intensification of the Angolan civil war.

However, the majority of Angola's voters supported the MPLA in the September general election, mainly because Unita is seen as responsible for the wanton destruction of the country.

Angolans are tired of war and that is why there was jubilation and celebrations when Unita and the MPLA finally signed a ceasefire. A tenuous peace held until the general election results, but then all hell broke loose.

Since then, international attempts to put the settlement back together have continued.

The key to these efforts remains the person of Jonas Savimbi. The struggle in Angola is not only political but highly personal and historic. It is about Savimbi's lifetime quest to seize power. Savimbi does not want to accept the democratic decision of the Angolan people. He cannot accept that his dream of becoming the president of Angola is just a dream. What is unfortunate is that his mentors in Pretoria, and probably Washington also, seem unaware of this. Ecna □

● Lebone Mosia teaches in the International Studies Unit at Rhodes University

STAN 17/12/92 (5)

Angola loses diamond sparkle

LUANDA — Smuggling and the fact that Unita rebels control the main mining areas have taken some of the sparkle out of Angola's diamond industry, but sales are still up on 1991, government figures show.

Mining and Geology Minister Jose Domingos Dias told the state-run *Jornal de Angola* in an interview that only 1,2 million carats worth \$250 million had been sold so far this year.

That compared with potential sales of 1,5 million carats worth \$300 million, he added.

Domingos Dias said millions of dollars had been lost because of Unita's occupation of the main mines in the north and illicit trade across the Zaire border.

Sales were, however, up on the 1991 total of less than one million carats, worth \$180 million.

Unita has occupied 75 percent of the country

since a dispute over September elections.

Domingos Dias said Unita had completely paralysed the area of Cafunfo — where two big projects were being developed by the state diamond firm Endiama.

"The political-military crisis, coupled with Unita's occupation of the principle production areas, has led to great losses for the country," he added. — Sapa-Reuter.

Angola to release SA TV crew

JOHANNESBURG. — South African-based pilots and journalists held in Angola would be released this week, Angolan officials said yesterday.

Angolan press attaché to Pretoria Mr Jorge Morais said journalists and pilots being held captive would be freed "in no uncertain

terms", the release of the detainees.

A German television crew — including two South Africans — were arrested at the weekend after flying from northern Namibia to Huambo to interview Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

It is understood two pilots

flying a Lanseria-based airplane who were arrested earlier this month after an unauthorised landing may already be on their way back.

Meanwhile, Unita rebel radio yesterday accused the government of creating a dangerous military situation in southern Angola by increas-

ing troop movements and positioning tanks near Unita residences.

The radio said government military activity had been stepped up in Ondjiva and Xangongo, where government troops were reported gathering three days ago. — Own Correspondent, Sapa-AP

CT 11/21/92

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Angola to release pilots and journalists

SIX SA-based pilots and journalists held in Angola would be released this week, Angolan officials said yesterday.

Angolan Press attaché Jorge Morais said the six would be freed "some time this week", after negotiations involving Angola, SA and Germany.

This could not be confirmed by the Foreign Affairs Department yesterday, but a spokesman said that on Tuesday Pretoria had presented a demand to Angolan representative Manuel Augusto for the release of South Africans.

It is understood that two pilots of a

LLOYD COUTTS

(S)

Lanseria-based Africa Air Cargo plane, who were arrested earlier this month after an unauthorised landing in Luena, may already be on their way back to SA.

Angola claimed Manfred Brüssow and Hendrik Lategan were flying a plane displaying the insignia of the Red Cross.

A German television crew — including two South Africans — was arrested at the weekend after flying from northern Namibia to Huambo to interview Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

17/12/92
SPRAY

Detention a 'total misunderstanding'

STAR 18/12/97

(5)

South African pilot Manfred Brussow yesterday described his detention by Angolan authorities — after claims that he had made an unauthorised landing in Luena with a aircraft displaying Red Cross insignia — as a “total misunderstanding”.

Brussow, a pilot for Lanseria-based Africa Cargo Air, and a Namibian medical doctor, Dr Dries Gouws, returned to South Africa yesterday.

Brussow said the Angolan authorities were satisfied the party was not supporting Unita.

He said he, Dr Gouws

and an interpreter, Dino Dias, were on their way to Kinshasa in an “ambulance aeroplane” to pick up a Zairean patient.

Brussow said they received permission from a Luena air traffic controller to refuel at Luena airport close to the Zambian border.

As they refuelled, an Angolan aircraft, with an MPLA general and officers on board, landed and suspected them of supporting Unita. They were detained.

According to Brussow the incident was a “total misunderstanding”. — Sapa.

(5)
German TV

5797L 18/12/92
crew on way

to Windhoek

The German television crew arrested at the weekend after flying to Huambo in Angola to interview Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, was released on Wednesday, SA Foreign Affairs spokesman Patrick Evans said.

The crew's Namibian pilot Stefan De Wet, who was accused by the Angolan government of being an SA mercenary, was also released.

The crew — identified as Stefan Pauli of Germany and South Africans Sam Groenewald and Twoboy Nkosi — were apparently on their way to Windhoek.

Unita ceasefire plan rejected ⁵

07/18/72

LUANDA. — Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Moura on Wednesday rejected a proposal from Unita for a new ceasefire and called instead on the rebel movement to withdraw from all towns it is now occupying.

Mr De Moura said there was no question of a new ceasefire agreement because Unita alone was responsible for the new outbreak of fighting.

He reminded Unita that under last year's peace agreement it had an obligation to disarm and become part of the new Angolan armed forces.

Last week, Unita put forward 11 proposals to the government to settle conflict arising from the elections nearly three months ago, which Unita lost. Details were not released but Mr De Moura said the proposals were unacceptable.

Mr De Moura said a US envoy, Mr Jeffrey Davidow, was expected to arrive in Angola yesterday for a four-day visit.

He will meet new Prime Minister Mr Marcolino Moco and may travel to Huambo for talks with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi. — Sapa-Reuter

Two SA men freed

18/12/92
Soutan
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■ Detained in Angola after making a stopover in their aircraft:

TWO men who had been detained in Angola after they made a stopover in their aircraft returned to South Africa yesterday, Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Patrick Evans said.

Mr Manfred Brussow, a director of Africa Air Cargo, and Mr Hendrik Lategan arrived at Lanseria Airport near Pretoria yesterday after they had been released by the Angolan authorities.

Brussow said they had been treated well. They had been detained because of unease on the part of the authorities.

A third man who had been detained with them, a Dr Gouws, returned to his home in Namibia.

Evans said their release was "reason for optimism" that the German television crew and their pilot, arrested in Angola recently, would be released soon as well.

The television crew were Stefan Pauli, Sam Groenewald and Twoboy Nkosi.

A spokesman for the Angolan mission in Pretoria, Mr George Morais, confirmed yesterday they should be released this week. - Sapa.

SA men home after Angolan detention

6/0 AM 18/12/92
PRETORIA — Two men detained in Angola after a stopover in their aircraft returned to SA yesterday, said Foreign Affairs spokesman Patrick Evans. (5)

Africa Air Cargo director Manfred Brussow and Hendrik Lategan arrived at Lanseria Airport after their release by Angolan authorities, Sapa reports. A third man, a Dr Gouws, returned to his home in Namibia.

ADRIAN HADLAND reports that Evans also said a German television crew — captured after interviewing Unita leader Jonas Savimbi — had been released.

A spokesman for the German ZDF television bureau in Johannesburg said the release of the crew had not yet been independently confirmed.

Brussow said his detention by Angolan authorities, after claims that he had made an unauthorised landing in Luena with an aircraft displaying Red Cross insignia, was "a total misunderstanding".

The Angolan authorities were satisfied his party had not been supporting Unita, Brussow said. "We were detained on a suspicion, but no charges were laid."

Brussow said he, Gouws and a French/Portuguese interpreter, Dino Dias, were on their way to Kinshasha in an "ambulance aeroplane" to pick up a Zairean patient, a Mr Didler.

Meanwhile, MICHAEL HARTNACK reports from Harare that Russian ambassador to Zimbabwe Yuri Ukalov yesterday denied that there had been any aviation collaboration between his country and SA in the alleged airlifting of war materiel to Unita.

Ukalov said the Moscow company Ecotrends, in which the Russian government was a joint partner, was considering libel action over reports that Ecotrends had leased to SA helicopters and giant Antonov transport jets allegedly used to violate Zimbabwean airspace when flying SA supplies to Unita.

He said Zimbabwe's semi-official daily Herald, which printed the Russia-SA collaboration allegations last Monday, had refused to attend his news conference to hear a denial. The newspaper had also declined to show Russian diplomats a copy of a memorandum on Russian-SA collaboration which the Herald alleged was circulated at last week's Frontline states summit.

● See Page 6

US plan for talks in Angola rejected

ARC 19/12/92

LUANDA. — The Angolan government rejected an American proposal yesterday that it resume talks with the Unita opposition before the former rebels withdrew troops from towns they had occupied, an official source said.

The proposal came from US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Mr Jeffrey Davidow, who is seeking to break a deadlock over a new government for Angola, where military tension has run high since Unita lost the elections in September.

Angolan army General Higinio Carneiro said the government remained "open to dialogue" with Unita, on condition that it withdrew from towns it had occupied.

Since the elections and renewed heavy fighting early in November, Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement has occupied major towns in the northern provinces of Uige and Kwanza-Norte, as well as in Bengo province just 60 km from Luanda.

On Friday Mr Davidow met the Prime Minister, Mr Marcelino Moco, and was due yesterday to hold talks with Dr Savimbi at his central highlands stronghold of Huambo. — Sapa-AFP.

Angolan govt wants Unita out of towns

LUANDA. — The Angolan government yesterday rejected an American proposal that it resume talks with the Unita opposition before the former rebels withdraw troops from towns they have occupied, an official source said.

The proposal came from US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Mr Jeffrey Davidow, who is seeking to break a deadlock over a new government for Angola, where military tension has run high since Unita lost elections in September.

Angolan army General Higinio Carneiro said the government remained "open to dialogue" with Unita, on condition that it "withdraws from towns it has occupied".

Since the elections and renewed heavy fighting early in November, Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement has occupied major towns in the northern



MEETING TODAY ... Dr Jonas Savimbi

provinces of Uige and Kwanza-Norte, as well as in Bengo province just 60km from Luanda.

Mr Davidow yesterday met Prime Minister Mr Marcelino Moco, who has offered Unita one full cabinet post and four deputy ministerial jobs, and was due to hold talks today with Dr Savimbi at his central highlands stronghold of Huambo. — Sapa-AFP

World in brief

Famine after floods

Sowetan 21/12/92
NAIROBI - Up to 180 000 people in north-east Kenya are in urgent need of food supplies because floods have cut roads there.

Kenya radio yesterday quoted the District Commissioner at Garissa as appealing for an airlift to move food to areas cut off after several weeks of heavy rain.

The local famine relief committee estimated that 180 000 people were at risk as it was not possible to transport food supplies to feeding centres.

The radio said the Kenya army was being asked to organise an airlift.

Food for Baidoa

Sowetan 21/12/92
MOGADISHU - United Nations trucks carrying 300 tonnes of food left under armed US escort for the Somali town of Baidoa.

Two helicopter gunships hovered above the convoy of 20 white trucks, which carried enough wheat to feed 100 000 hungry mouths for a week. It will be the first big convoy of food to reach Baidoa, the "City of Death" at the epicentre of Somalia's famine, since July. The last convoy, on November 11, was hijacked on the outskirts of the southern town.

RPP rules Djibouti

DJIBOUTI - The ruling party of President Hassan Gouled Aptidon swept to victory in Djibouti's first multiparty election. Results of Friday's parliamentary election in the small Red Sea state showed the People's Rally for Progress (RPP) won nearly 75 percent of the vote.

Mobutu riots toll

KINSHASA - Authorities in Kinshasa said three people died in a day and night of street protests against President Mobutu Sese Seko in the Zairean capital. The Zairean Human Rights League said five people were killed while an opposition newspaper reported eight deaths.

Gaddafi's forecast

NICOSIA - Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi said North Africa was doomed and its people must eventually move to other Arab countries or at least acquire water from their neighbours.

Traore case break

BAMAKO - A Malian court trying ex-president Moussa Traore for "blood crimes" has adjourned the case until January 4. Lawyers said defendants needed a rest over the holidays.

MPLA

troops on alert

Sowetan 21/12/92
■ Shuttle diplomacy to prevent war: (5)

LUANDA - Angolan government troops were put on general alert last Saturday and ordered to respond with full military force as Unita rebel troops were reported advancing on the central region.

Rebel forces were building up around Malange, a provincial capital 350km east of Luanda, and Cuito, 300km further south, Angolan state radio reported.

Military spokesman General Higinio Carneiro said: "Regional commanders have been ordered to respond aggressively to any offensive military manoeuvre by Unita."

The military alert came as US Assistant Secretary of State Mr Jeffrey Davidow began a second day of shuttle negotiations between the government and rebel leaders, trying to resolve the crisis that has pushed Angola to the brink of civil war.

Government and rebel troops have been at an armed impasse since Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi accused the government of rigging multiparty elections in September. - Sapa-AP.

Savimbi stand on elections 'lesson for SA'

APR 21/12/92

SHARON SOROUR, Labour Reporter (S)

RECENT events in Angola are a major cause for concern for South Africa's future, says labour expert Dr Duncan Innes.

In the latest Innes Political Briefing, he said Dr Jonas Savimbi's rejection of the United National-monitored elections in Angola raised the possibility of a similar rejection in South Africa if any party did not like the outcome of the country's first "truly" general election.

"In this context, the greatest threat is likely to come either from Inkatha or from the Pan Africanist Congress, neither of whom seem to have anywhere near the popular support they claim.

"The possibility that they might be tempted to dismiss a poor showing in the polls on the grounds of electoral fraud is heightened by (Dr) Savimbi's action."

Dr Innes said another problem related to claims by the governments of Angola, Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe that South African aircraft had been violating their airspace while flying in supplies to Unita to help it in intensifying the civil war against the Angolan government.

"It is almost inconceivable that these four governments together would manufacture such claims unless there was some truth to them," said Dr Innes.

Furthermore, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha's response, that these were "phantom radar blips", "stretches credibility enormously".

"Why should phantom radar blips only occur at the times when the fighting in Angola is intensified?"

"Mr Botha's credibility as far as Angola is concerned is already weak, since it was he who told the world back in the late 1970s that South Africa was not militarily involved in Angola while an armoured South African column was heading towards Luanda," said Dr Innes.

The question now was, if South Africa was flying supplies in to Dr Savimbi's army, was this taking place with the support of the South African government or was it yet another covert military operation being conducted by the SA Defence Force without government knowledge?

Dr Innes said if the former were true, it posed further problems for the National Party's credibility.

If the latter were true, "then once again South Africa has evidence of a defence force which is clearly accountable to nobody and which operates according to its own secret agenda".

Both these interpretations were "bad news" for the future of negotiations.

New Aids breakthrough

Star Bureau

STAR 2/12/92

WASHINGTON — Harvard University scientists have developed a vaccine that gives full protection against simian Aids and the breakthrough has been hailed as a turning point in the fight against the disease in humans.

The vaccine, administered to laboratory monkeys two years ago, has

prevented a control group contracting the simian version of Aids — even when concentrations of the live virus up to 1 000 times greater than is considered necessary to contract the disease, were injected directly into them.

The simian Aids virus is the closest relative to the human Aids virus, and scientists said the procedures used in the Harvard research could be readily adapted to the human virus. But they

cautioned that it would be some time before it would be possible to test a vaccine on humans.

In the Harvard study, an entire gene of the simian virus was removed before the weakened, but still living, virus was developed into a vaccine and injected into monkey hosts.

By following this procedure, the researchers were able to ensure that no matter how rapidly the simian virus mutated, it could not reassem-

ble itself into the same lethal virus that causes simian Aids.

The findings of their study appear in the latest edition of the Journal of Science, and have been hailed as one of the biggest breakthroughs in Aids research since the discovery of the HIV virus itself.

But scientists warn that procedures that work in developing vaccines for monkeys do not always work when applied to humans.

Two men shot dead at party

Crime Reporter

A Christmas party for Spoornet employees at Vandyksdrift, near Witbank in the eastern Transvaal, ended in tragedy on Saturday night when two men died in a shooting.

A police spokesman said the men, Andries du Plessis (28) and Martinus Potgieter (26), were involved in an argument outside the house where the party was being held.

People in the house heard shots at about

9.45 pm. They found the bodies of the two men outside.

A .38 revolver was found lying next to Potgieter's body. Police said it appeared he had shot Du Plessis before turning the weapon on himself.

Both men were married.

Police said a full statement would be released today after the men's wives had been questioned.

An inquest will be held.

Neto's body buried

LUANDA — After 13 years in a government house, the embalmed body of Angola's first Marxist president, Antonio Agostinho Neto, was buried yesterday amid tight security in this war-ravaged country now on the brink of a renewed civil war.

The coffin carrying the body of the founder member of the once-Marxist MPLA (Movement for the Liberation of Angola) was buried in a glass and wooden casing at the basement of the Mausoleum, a gigantic rocket-shaped concrete monument over-

looking the beach. Armed anti-riot police and government soldiers lined the 3 km road from the "People's Palace" where the body has lain since his death in 1979.

The turnout of around 2 000 people was described as disappointingly low by some Angolans.

"For a burial of the country's first president, I think this is a disappointing turn-out," one Angolan told newsmen.

However, the potentially explosive situation in the country may have kept people away from the widely publicised ceremony. — Sapa-AFP.

STAR 2/12/92

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Unita-MPLA talks set to begin

STAR 21/12/92

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LISBON — The opposition movement Unita has agreed to withdraw its troops from two northern Angolan towns and resume dialogue with the ruling MPLA, a US official said yesterday.

Acting Assistant Secretary of State Jeffrey Davidow, who met MPLA representatives and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi during a four-day visit to Angola, told the Portuguese radio station TSF that talks could begin in the next few days.

"The parties have both agreed with us on a plan that will re-establish dialogue," Davidow said.

"The first step will be for Unita to ensure that its troops have left Uige and Negage, and Unita has said it will send a general to work with Unavem (the UN mis-

sion in Angola) to accomplish that," he added.

The government would immediately set up a civil administration in Uige and Negage and talks should begin in the next few days, he said.

Angola has been on the brink of renewed civil war since elections in September. The vote was intended to set the seal on a 1991 peace accord to end 16 years of Unita-MPLA fighting.

The MPLA won the parliamentary elections, but Savimbi rejected the results.

Unita forces have since occupied more than two-thirds of the country. Thousands of people were killed in clashes early last month when government troops ousted Unita from the capital, Luanda.

The MPLA and Unita agreed in peace talks in the

southern coastal town of Namibe on November 26 to respect last year's peace accord. But fighting flared in the northern town of Uige, the nearby airbase of Negage and the oil town of Soyo on November 29. Unita gained control of Uige and Negage after fierce gunbattles.

The agreement by Unita to withdraw its troops from Uige and Negage indicated a success for Davidow, who had earlier proposed to the MPLA that it should resume dialogue with Unita even while it occupied the two towns. But the government rejected this.

The Angolan armed forces were put on general alert on Saturday amid reports that Unita was massing troops to attack other cities in the interior. — Sapa-Reuter.

Unita 'yes' to pull-out and talks

CT 21/12/92
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LISBON. — Angola's Unita opposition movement has agreed to withdraw its troops from two northern Angolan towns and resume dialogue with the ruling MPLA, a United States official said yesterday.

Acting assistant secretary of state Mr Jeffrey Davidow, who met MPLA representatives and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi during a four-day visit to Angola, told the Portuguese radio station TSF that talks between the two sides could begin in the next few days.

"The first step will be for Unita to ensure that its troops have left Uige and Negage, and Unita has said it will send a general to work with Unavem (the United Nations mission in Angola) to accomplish that," Mr Davidow said.

"Then immediately the government will reinstall a civil administration in Uige and Negage, and both sides should begin talks in the next few days," he said.

The announcement came after government troops were put on general alert and ordered to respond with full military force as Unita rebel troops were reported advancing in central Angola.

Rebel forces were building up around Malange, a provincial capital 350 kilometres east of Luanda, and Cuito, 300km further south, Angolan state radio reported.

Government and rebel troops have been at an impasse since Dr Savimbi accused the government of rigging multi-party elections in September.

Peace accord

UN observers have tried to get both sides to respect the terms of the May 1991 peace accord that ended 16 years of civil war and paved the way for September's elections.

● Angolan authorities released a Namibian pilot and a three-man German television team detained in Angola last Saturday. — Sapa-Reuter

High pressure is causing fine weather.

Expected max.....
Yesterday 2pm..21.3 deg C

Unita agrees to pull out troops

ARG 21/12/92 (5)

LUANDA. — Unita rebels have accepted a US-brokered peace plan and agreed to withdraw from captured cities in northern Angola, US officials said, but government troops remained on alert pending government approval of the plan.

US Assistant Secretary of State Jeffrey Davidow met Unita leader Jonas Savimbi at the weekend and reported that rebel troops would withdraw from Uige and Negage, two strategic northern towns, and resume negotiations with the government, said Joseph Schreiber, spokesman for the US liaison office in Luanda.

Mr Davidow was to meet President Jose Eduardo dos Santos today to win government approval for the plan, which calls for a series of talks and the gradual return of government administration to rebel-occupied territories.

"Dr Savimbi said he was surprised and disappointed that his troops hadn't already withdrawn from Uige and Negage," said Mr Schreiber.

A team of United Nations, US and Unita officials will go to the

captured towns early this week to supervise the withdrawal of rebel troops.

Government troops were kept on general alert, however, after reports of rebel forces building up in central Angola.

Until now UN negotiators have had little success breaking the armed impasse since Dr Savimbi, leader of Unita, accused the government of rigging elections in September.

UN observers judged the elections generally free and fair, but Unita withdrew from the unified army after losing a parliamentary majority to the ruling MPLA).

MPLA leader Mr Dos Santos also won more votes than Dr Savimbi in the presidential poll, but fell half a percent point shy of the 50 percent required for outright victory. The legal victor has to be declared in a runoff.

Fighting between government and rebel troops broke out on October 31, killing thousands nationwide. The government accused Unita of attempting a military takeover, but Unita claimed it was the victim of a government campaign to destroy the opposition.

Although rebel forces were routed in the capital, they rallied in the provinces to occupy about 60 percent of the country. The government has refused to negotiate until Unita withdraws its troops from captured territories.

Meanwhile, three German journalists and their pilot, seized by government police when they landed in the central town of Huambo for an interview with Dr Savimbi, were released on Saturday, national radio reported.

The news team had been held since December 12, when police surrounded their plane after it landed without authorization near Unita's headquarters.

An estimated 350 000 people died in the 16-year civil war in Angola that broke out on the eve of independence from Portugal in 1975. Fighting appeared to have ended when the changing world situation made peace accords possible in 1991.

Unita, backed by the United States and South Africa, fought for 16 years to wrest control from the then-Marxist government, shored up by Soviet weapons and advisers and Cuban troops. — Sapa-AP.

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Angolan monitor

A US DIPLOMAT said Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos yesterday agreed to send a high-ranking government official to northern Angola to monitor the promised withdrawal of Unita forces from the region.

US Assistant Secretary of State Jeffrey Davidow, following a meeting with Dos Santos, said he was confident the withdrawal from the towns of Uige and Negage would be the successful first step in implementing a US-brokered peace plan.

3100M 22/12/92

New hope for peace as Unita withdraws

LISBON. — Unita has begun withdrawing troops from the northern Angolan towns Uige and Negage, says the Portuguese news agency Lusa.

"Troops are returning to their barracks," said Lusa, quoting a report from Unavem, the United Nations mission in Angola.

Unavem officials met Unita generals on Monday, Lusa said.

Angola has been on the brink of renewed civil war since elections in September. The vote was intended to set the seal on a 1991 peace accord to end 16 years of fighting between Unita and the MPLA.

The MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) won the elections, but Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi rejected the results.

Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), forces have since occupied more than two-thirds of the country. Thousands of people were killed in clashes in early November when Unita was ousted from Luanda.

The MPLA and Unita agreed in peace talks in the southern coastal town of Namibe on November 26 to respect last year's peace accord.

But fighting flared in the northern town of Uige, the air base at Negage and the oil town of Soyo on November 29. Unita gained control of Uige and Negage after fierce gunbattles.

Acting United States Assistant Secretary of State Jeffrey Davidow, who met MPLA representatives and Dr Savimbi during a visit to Angola, said on Sunday Unita had agreed to withdraw from the two towns.

The move would be the first step towards resuming dialogue between the MPLA and Unita leaders.

But a government minister said in Lisbon yesterday that Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was prepared to meet Dr Savimbi only in Luanda.

But Dr Savimbi apparently refuses to go to Luanda for security reasons.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is attempting to meet Mr Dos Santos and Dr Savimbi in an effort to rescue the stalled peace process and diplomats said the venues under consideration included Geneva and Addis Ababa. — Sapa-Reuter.

Fear in a handful of dust

W/Mail 23/12-29/12/92

War in Angola and Mozambique, political changes in Malawi and Zambia — and drought allround.

ANDY MELDRUM
reviews 1992 in southern Africa

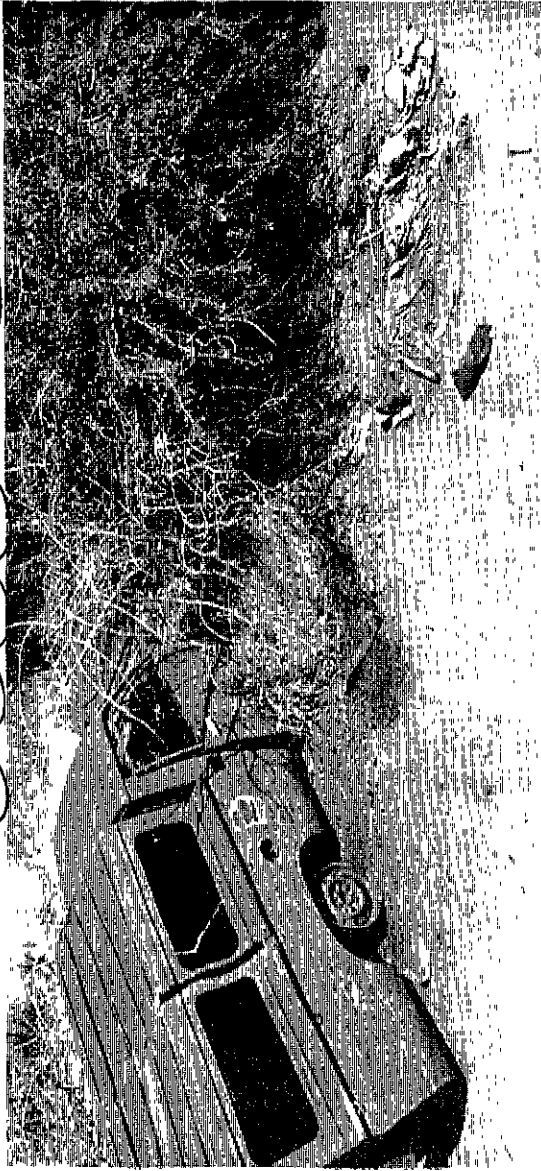
ANGOLA'S elusive quest for peace and Mozambique's determination not to repeat the same mistakes marked 1992 as a transitional year for southern Africa. While the entire region coped with the drought, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe continued their journeys towards more democratic systems.

Throughout most of the year it appeared that Angola was far ahead of Mozambique in the race for peace. Angola achieved a ceasefire and peace process leading to elections before Mozambique's interminable negotiations in Rome had even produced a cessation of violence.

But by the time the results of Angola's elections were announced in early October, the whole settlement quickly unravelled as Jonas Savimbi's Unita rejected the outcome and fighting erupted throughout the country.

As 1992 came to a close Unita had taken control of the provincial capitals of southern and central Angola, where its ethnic support is based, and had also taken key positions in northern Angola. Despite Unita's return to the government of two northern cities and Savimbi's conciliatory statements, it appears highly probable that Unita will attempt to seize control of the entire country before January 20, when Bill Clinton becomes US president.

The Bush administration has withheld its recognition of the newly elect-



The famished road ... A victim of the hell-ride from Komatiipoort to Maputo

ed Angolan government, making it easier for Savimbi to wrest control. At the same time, there are gathering rumours that the MPLA, under pressure from military hardliners, is preparing for a massive new year offensive to drive Unita back to its traditional strongholds.

The sinister hand of South Africa's Department of Military Intelligence (MI) cannot be ruled out as a factor in Angola. Known MI agents were with Savimbi throughout his election campaign and afterwards. The frontline states have accused South African planes of repeatedly violating their airspace, charging that South Africa's C-130 jets are flying heavy artillery and tanks to Unita-held areas. That equipment could well be used in an assault on Luanda.

The violence, chaos and despair in Angola at the end of 1992 contrasts sharply with the guarded optimism prevailing in Mozambique. Although its ceasefire only took effect in November, Mozambique rapidly learned the mistakes made in Angola and appears to be sprinting towards a lasting settlement.

Both the Frelimo government and the Renamo rebels have stated their commitment to the peace process and open elections. Even more decisively in favour of peace has been the United Nation's decision to send 7 500 personnel to Mozambique — it sent 800 people to Angola.

The UN special envoy to Mozambique, Aldo Ajello, has taken a high profile and is determined to see the UN force push Mozambique towards a genuine settlement. Admitting the UN made mistakes in Angola, Ajello insists the international force in Mozambique will not permit the election campaign to begin until all military forces are disarmed and dispersed from their camps.

Clearly, Mozambique's peace timetable, which calls for elections in October 1993, is unrealistic as it is already behind schedule in several key regards. In Angola, such lapses from the timetable were glossed over by the UN monitors, but in Mozambique Ajello has stipulated that a lengthier time frame must be set, giving the country at least 18 months to prepare for elections.

Political developments were not as decisive in the rest of the region, although drought continued to bring misery to millions and sap economic development. Millions of tons of food were imported to avert famine.

Malawi experienced tumult as activists pressed for an end to the one-party stranglehold in which President for Life Hastings Banda has held the country. Although Banda's regime is still firmly in control, former leaders like Chakufwa Chihana, now jailed, challenge the system, and it will be hard to turn back the clock.

In Zambia, the new government of President Frederick Chiluba struggled to run the bankrupt country more justly and efficiently than his predecessor, Kenneth Kaunda. As cholera broke out again in Zambia, the jury is still out on whether Chiluba's government can achieve real improvements in the living standards of Zambians.

Zimbabwe's political situation remained largely static, with President Robert Mugabe's government widely unpopular in the cities, but with no effective opposition to pose a challenge to it.

UN urges Angolan rivals to start talks

NEW YORK — The UN Security Council urged the Angolan government and Unita yesterday to enter into reconciliation talks, warning that the world would not support peacekeepers in Angola forever.

A council statement approved by all 15 members appealed to President Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to accept UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's invitation for a meeting in Geneva or Addis Ababa next month. Boutros-Ghali will visit Europe and Africa in early January.

Savimbi said he would attend but Dos Santos wanted Boutros-Ghali to come to Luanda, apparently feeling he should not leave Angola during this tense period.

The council said both sides needed to produce "early evidence" of their willingness to work together so that UN members would "feel encouraged

to continue to commit its scarce resources" to Angola.

The UN organised parliamentary elections in Angola in October. They were won by Dos Santos's MPLA and immediately challenged by Savimbi, who renewed the country's civil war. Both men are supposed to participate in a second run-off presidential election.

Units forces have since occupied more than two-thirds of the country. Thousands of people were killed in early November when government troops ousted Unita from the capital Luanda. 810AM 24/12/92

The council's statement was in response to a letter from Boutros-Ghali, who said there was "disturbing evidence that both sides are continuing their preparations for a resumption of war on a large scale".

He said that if the two leaders

showed willingness, he would ask the council to enlarge the peacekeeping force, including some armed troops in Luanda so that Savimbi and other Unita members could participate in a new government.

The council also urged Unita to withdraw from the northern cities of Uige and Negage, captured on November 29. Unita has withdrawn only some of its forces from these towns.

Meanwhile, seven members of the SADF's medical services corps who were posted to an Angolan hospital were due to return to SA last night after the souring of relations between the two countries.

The medical crew, including a doctor and dentist, had to travel overland to Namibia from the hospital at Mucusso because Pretoria was unable to obtain landing rights from Luanda. — Sapa-Reuter

Angola poll may not have been so free and fair



Jonas Savimbi election marred by irregularities.

A secret United Nations document throws new light on Unita claims that the MPLA victory in the Angolan election is invalid. GERALD L'ANGE of The Star's Africa News Service reports.

A UNITED Nations document that has not been made public casts doubt on the UN finding that the Angolan election last September was free and fair. The document appears in fact to directly contradict the finding by the UN special representative in Angola, Margaret Anstee, and tends to support the claim by Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement that the election was marred by irregularities as to be invalid.

A senior official at UN headquarters in New York has denied that the document can be construed as contradicting Anstee's ruling and has said that the irregularities did not consti-

tute a "pattern of fraud" and therefore did not invalidate the result.

Yet the document, which summarises the findings of provincial committees that investigated Unita's complaints of irregularities, concludes that "in some cases the volume of votes lost or gained by each candidate could, taken nationally, be significant as to distort the final results".

The issue has become acute since Savimbi, though still alleging fraud, has accepted the parliamentary election. The UN document nevertheless throws an important new light on Unita's allegations of fraud and may help to explain the vehemence of its protests and the stubbornness of its initial refusal to accept the election outcome.

It raises another question which, while now also academic, has historical significance. It is this: was Anstee ordered by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to ignore the negative findings of the provincial investigative committees and

make a positive ruling on the fairness of the election in the belief that to do otherwise would create even worse problems?

This hypothesis is thrust into prominence by the stark contrast between the findings of the provincial committees and that of Anstee.

Faced with the report of the provincial committees, Boutros-Ghali would have had powerful reasons for ordering his representative to override them.

To invalidate the election could have opened up an even bigger can of worms than to falsely validate it. The election would almost certainly have had to be annulled and held again. Not only would this have raised the possibility of the whole peace process breaking down into renewed warfare but it would have required a much greater UN involvement than the first time round some-thing the UN could ill afford.

With hindsight, there is now general agreement that the UN monitoring presence was hope-

lessly inadequate. There were not enough monitors to cover all polling stations and Anstee's eventual finding appears to have been based in effect on a sampling rather than a scrutiny of the polling.

Had a second election been agreed to, the UN would have had to write off its expenditure on the first one and find funds for even bigger expenditure on the second, and this at a time when it was struggling to meet demands for monitoring and peacekeeping operations in several other parts of the world.

The temptation would have been strong for Boutros-Ghali to say to Anstee something like this: "Never mind the finding of the provincial committees. We simply cannot afford to have another election in Angola, especially as the indications are that it would have the same outcome. So you just go ahead and rule that it was free and fair."

As it happened, the peace process did break down into violence that very nearly generated into a return to all-

out war. But at the time of Anstee's ruling it may well have seemed to Boutros-Ghali that such a finding would be more likely to stop war than provoke it.

It is doubtful that this hypothetical scenario will ever be confirmed even if it is true. It must be presumed to be untrue unless the contrary is proved. But the validity of the Anstee finding will have to find a place in history beside the remarkably contradictory conclusions of the provincial committees.

Their report was dated October 16, the day before Anstee released her "free-and-fair" finding.

After detailing a number of irregularities, it says: "It may generally be concluded that there were irregularities discovered in the electoral process which could have affected the overall outcome of the voting. In some cases the volume of votes lost or gained by each candidate could, taken nationally, be significant as to distort the final results."

We may never know, because when decisions of this kind are taken at that level they seldom get into the history books; they don't even get put into writing.

The authenticity of the document has been confirmed by Kofi Annan, Assistant Secretary-General in the office of Mark Goulding, the Under-Secretary-General in charge of UN peacekeeping operations.

But Anan said there was no evidence of a pattern of fraud that would have "had a negative impact" on the result of the election. Therefore the UN had concluded that it was a free and fair election, and the Organisation of African Unity and the European Community had come to a similar conclusion.

It is possible, of course, that both these bodies agreed that it would be better all round to certify the MPLA's victory, irregular though it might be, than to go to the trouble and expense of another poll just to legalise the same outcome.

We may never know, because when decisions of this kind are taken at that level they seldom get into the history books; they don't even get put into writing.

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Boutros Boutros-Ghali reasons to override report



Boutros Boutros-Ghali reasons to override report

OAU team in bid to avoid new Angola war

SPM 28/12/92.

LUANDA — A high-level delegation from the Organisation of African Unity arrived in Luanda yesterday in a bid to haul the country back from the brink of a new round in its 16-year civil war.

The delegation, headed by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, met Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos at the presidential palace, Futungo, yesterday afternoon.

Dos Santos laid out his conditions for meeting his arch rival, Jonas Savimbi, leader of the opposition Unita movement.

Implementation

Dos Santos said his MPLA party was ready to complete the implementation of the Bicesse Peace Accord, which signalled the end of the war.

But he stressed that the talks would go ahead only if Unita accepted the first round of legislative elections, withdrew its troops from northern towns and the military air base it had seized since the elections, and helped re-establish government authority in those areas.

Dos Santos blamed Unita for disrupting the formation of a united army.

He said Unita had also violated the peace accord, which he believed still served as the basis for the solution to the country's political crisis.

Informed military sources said Unita had withdrawn 40 of its nearly 500 troops which were still occupying the northern town of Uige and the Negage military base.

The OAU delegation includes Cape Verde President Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro and OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim.

The delegation is not scheduled to meet Savimbi during its two-day programme.

The committee is, however, due to meet leaders of the other political parties with seats in the new parliament.

Savimbi has been holed up in his provincial stronghold in Huambo in the south ever since the disputed elections in September.

The peace mission was launched at the request of Dos Santos after a summit of the Frontline states — consisting of Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Namibia, Malawi, Angola and Tanzania — in Harare early this month.

After talks with Dos Santos, Mugabe called on Savimbi to open himself to dialogue.

While he had committed himself to a peace process, Savimbi had to realise it was now "very wrong" of him to resume fighting, Mugabe said.

He said he hoped that after talking to Dos Santos and other parties, the OAU delegation could focus Savimbi's mind on the "peace process and emphasise that there was no need to resume fighting".

"Savimbi should therefore be persuaded to accept democracy in full," said Mugabe, who called on Unita to accept the election results and withdraw troops from areas they had occupied.

Unita forces now control around 60 percent of Angola after government troops forced them out of the capital in the wake of the contested presidential and legislative polls. Sapa-AFP.

● Angola poll may not have been so free and fair — Page 9

SA doctors quit hospital in Angola

Dos Santos lays down conditions

PRETORIA. — The Angolan hospital vacated by a South African medical team has no doctor or senior medical personnel and an international agency or foreign country should urgently step in to continue essential services, the team's dentist, Dr Antoinette Keyser, said here.

She was among the small team that included the hospital's sole doctor, Dr Charles van Reenen, that was withdrawn from the Mucuso hospital after the souring of relations between Pretoria and Luanda. She arrived home last week.

Dr Keyser, 33, said she wished it had been possible to have made a more orderly withdrawal from the hospital so that its valuable services could be continued.

The 200-bed hospital had an average occupation of 85%, which increased to 100% during the summer malaria season. She said the nearest hospital was in Luanda, which sometimes transferred patients to the better-equipped Mucuso hospital which had two modern operating theatres but, as of this week, no doctor.

Dr Keyser and her husband Patrick, who returned with her, spent Christmas in an hotel while they pondered their future.

The team had been posted at the hospital at Mucuso — an isolated town without as much as a shop — since January.

Dr Keyser said the South African team had been providing a training programme for 60 nurses a year, as well as other training programmes. — Sapa

LUANDA. — Angolan President Mr Jose Eduardo Dos Santos said yesterday he was prepared to meet his arch rival, Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, as early as January, on condition the former rebel movement committed itself to the May 1991 peace accord.

Mr Dos Santos laid out his conditions for talks with Unita while welcoming an OAU peace mission to Angola led by President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe.

Mr Dos Santos said conditions for any negotiations with Unita were that the movement recognised the results of the country's September elections and committed itself to the peace process.

Unita would have to withdraw from all territories it had captured after the elections and allow government authority to be re-established in these areas. — Sapa

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NEWS IN BRIEF

Mugabe in Angola (5)

ZIMBABWEAN President Robert Mugabe left for Angola yesterday. He is to lead an OAU peace mission to get Angola's stalled peace process back on track. He was accompanied by Cape Verde president Antonio Mascarenas and OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim.

The delegation is expected to meet the ruling MPLA leadership and also Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, who indicated at the weekend he was ready to meet President José Eduardo dos Santos.

B/DMY 28/12/92

Unita withdraws its troops from 2 towns

JOHANNESBURG. — Angola's opposition Unita movement said yesterday it had withdrawn its troops from two towns it had occupied in the north of the country.

Unita radio, monitored by the BBC, said the MPLA government and UN peace monitors had toured the two towns on Sunday and confirmed the withdrawal.

Dr Jonas Savimbi's

Unita occupied Uige and Negage, 200km north-east of Luanda, after heavy fighting in November.

"The economic blockade can be lifted and the government administration in Uige and Negage can be reinstated," Unita said. Unita has threatened to plunge Angola into civil war again with its non-acceptance of the September election results

Kenya vote result delay to be ^{explained} explained

Argus Africa News Service

NAIROBI. — Kenyan electoral officials are poised to explain why the results of yesterday's elections have not yet been announced — more than 12 hours after the polls closed.

Electoral officials are to address the media this morning.

This morning a local radio announced election results from a few areas which showed President Daniel arap Moi of the Kenya Africa National Union party and Mwai Kibaki of the Democratic Party in the lead for the presidency.

Missing ballot boxes, wholesale omission of names in voters' registers and other irregularities marred what was otherwise a peaceful election.

Voting was delayed in certain areas by as much as 10 hours. In one constituency in the Busia district the start of voting was delayed until a mere two hours before the polls were due to close because the presiding officer and his deputy could not agree on the voting procedures.



POLL WATCH: An armed policeman checks election cards yesterday in Kajado, Kenya.

MPLA accused of launching offensive

STAR 3/11/92
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LUANDA — Unita rebels have accused the Angolan government of launching a major offensive in north-western Cuanza Norte province, killing dozens of civilians.

Western diplomats said there was no immediate confirmation of yesterday's claims by Unita's Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel radio station of attacks around the provincial capital of N'dalatando, which the rebels have occupied since November.

"Several dozen defenceless civilians were killed and hundreds wounded," the radio said. "Many villages were destroyed."

N'dalatando is one of three northern provincial capitals taken by Unita since the group

seized a huge swathe of territory after disputing the results of September 29-30 elections.

Diplomats said there were unconfirmed reports of shelling on Monday outside Unita-held Caxito, capital of Bengo province about 60 km north-east of Luanda. It was unclear who was responsible for the attacks, they said.

Unita and the ruling MPLA have been on the brink of renewed civil war since the rebels began occupying territory in violation of May 1991 peace accords.

Unita says it has withdrawn from the strategic northern cities of Uige and Negage, a precondition for peace talks with the government. — Sapa-Reuter.

MPLA strike at 2 Unita strongholds

LISBON. — Unita yesterday accused government forces of attacking two strategic rebel-held towns in the north-west of the country with planes and heavy artillery.

Unita spokesman Mr Jorge Valentim said that government forces were attacking Caxito and Ndlatando.

The towns give Unita a virtual stranglehold on Luanda.

An observer said it could mark the start of an MPLA push to drive Unita from towns which it seized after rejecting the results of the UN-supervised election.

"Everyone has been waiting for the government to take some sort of action. There had been a lot of movement observed," one Lisbon-based diplomat said.

He predicted that Unita would fight hard to retain Caxito, which is only 60km from Luanda, and Ndlatando, which is 200km south-east of the capital.

— Sapa-Reuter

Govt forces 'attack Unita-held towns'

LISBON — Unita accused government forces yesterday of attacking two Unita-held towns in the north-west of the country with planes and heavy artillery.

Unita spokesman Jorge Valentim said government forces were attacking the provincial capitals Caxito and Ndlatando, which Unita forces occupied in November.

One observer said it could mark the start of a government push to drive Unita from towns it seized after rejecting defeat in UN-supervised elections three months ago.

The first hint of a new offensive was a report on Unita radio that government forces had destroyed several villages in Cuanza Norte province, killing dozens of civilians.

A Lisbon-based diplomat said lot of movement had been observed. He predicted Unita would fight fiercely

to retain Caxito, only 60km from Luanda, and Ndlatando, 200km south-east of the capital.

"The towns are considered extremely important by Unita and there is likely to be tough resistance to any attempt to throw them out."

Caxito, capital of Bengo province, and Ndlatando, capital of Cuanza Norte, give Unita a virtual stranglehold on Luanda.

Unita signed a peace pact with the ruling MPLA last year to end 16 years of civil war in the former Portuguese colony. But the country has been on the verge of renewed conflict since Unita rejected its defeat in September elections and began seizing towns in the interior.

The MPLA responded by crushing Unita's military and political presence in Luanda in a four-day offensive in November when thousands

were killed.

There has since been little change in the military position, but international mediators have failed to arrange a meeting between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to revive the peace process.

The latest attempt collapsed on Monday when OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim and the presidents of Zimbabwe and the Cape Verde Islands were unable to entice Savimbi to Luanda for a meeting.

Savimbi has agreed in principle to accept the MPLA victory in the parliamentary poll and stand in a run-off election with Dos Santos, who fell short of the 50% needed for a presidential election victory. But distrust has prevented high-level meetings being held between the two sides for the past month. — Sapa-Reuter.

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