

ANGOLA - GENERAL

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State eyes

(5)

Angolan

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Coke deal

MPLA wants share

ESANN DE KOCK
BUSINESS REPORTER

One might be forgiven for wondering whether things really *do* go better with Coke, especially after Coca-Cola has been asked by the Angolan government to give nearly a third of its venture in a new bottling plant in Luanda to a company linked to the ruling MPLA party.

South African Breweries (SAB) is leading the project with technical assistance from Coca-Cola's South African licensee, Amalgamated Beverage Industries (ABI).

Although no one from SAB was available for comment, British-based publication Africa Confidential noted recently that the Angolan government's efforts to force Coca-Cola into a partnership deal with MPLA-linked company Sansul has taken some of the fizz out of Coca-Cola's enthusiasm for the approximately R94-million venture in the thirsty Angolan market.

The publication indicated Coca-Cola would consider abandoning the project if pressure from its Atlanta headquarters and the United States government failed.

However, an undisclosed source said negotiations were still going ahead and nothing had been finalised.

Angola currently imports the majority of its Coca-Cola products and local production is minimal.

Coca-Cola's two-year bid to open a bottling plant near Luanda is set to create a substantial number of jobs - from the main plant through to secondary industries.

In its recent publication, Africa Confi-

dential said the new plant had been long delayed by the Angolan Foreign Investment Office and Council of Ministers - and that appeals to President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos had produced no result.

The request for an MPLA-linked partner in the venture had apparently come from Angolan Industry Minister Manuel Duque.

Coca-Cola Bottling Limited (CCBL) - a company created by ABI and two Angolan partners - had apparently been shown a letter from Mr Dos Santos' chief of staff and told that approval for a new plant depended on Sansul getting 25 percent equity in CCBL.

Sansul is owned by industrialists Francisco Simao Jnr and Joaquim Reis Jnr, with ties to senior MPLA officials.

According to Africa Confidential, the brothers had requested a 30 percent share of CCBL and instructed Coca-Cola to deal only with Maria Mambo Cafe - a former cabinet minister.

A former member of the MPLA political bureau and former governor of the Cabinda province, Ms Cafe currently chairs the Banco Commercial de Angola.

Coca-Cola clearly has its eye on the African market - proof of which is Nairobi Coca-Cola's recent announcement of a R141-million direct investment for Uganda.

The investment includes the construction of a new plant and the improvement of marketing and infrastructure.

The initial investment includes the construction of two new state-of-the-art bottling operations in Mbarara and Kampala that are expected to meet Uganda's soft-drink needs for the next five years.

SA govt accepts peacemaker role in search for Angolan solution

Stephen Laufer

THE SA government has agreed to assist efforts to accelerate the Angolan peace process, after three days of talks in Lumbata between a Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (Unita) delegation led by Jonas Savimbi, and President Nelson Mandela.

Mandela's spokesman Parks Mankahlama said yesterday that the talks had been "very important, very detailed, comprehensive, and fruitful." SA would not be taking sides, but

would remain involved in the search for a lasting peace that benefited the Angolan people as a whole.

Mandela would attend the inauguration of the government of unity and reconciliation on January 25.

A statement issued after the meeting yesterday afternoon said participants were convinced that a solution to Angola's problems was "within reach". Both delegations had underlined the vital role a stable and democratic Angola can play in overall development.

The Unita delegation had reaffirmed its commitment to the Lusaka protocols providing for a government of unity and reconciliation, including the timetable for implementing the protocols. Nine Unita generals had already been sworn into the Angolan armed forces, and military formations were being integrated. Seventy Unita members had agreed to take their seats in the national legislature, and the party would participate in the government.

But although the statement said Savimbi had committed himself to participating in the programme of recon-

struction, reconstruction, and development, Sape-ARF reported that his future status still appeared to be problematic. He was believed to have refused the position of vice-president offered him by Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos, the agency reported, preferring to have his status as leader of the opposition institutionalised.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said that SA's role had been the main focus of the talks. "The SA government would interact with its counterparts in Luanda concerning the process."

Savimbi said: "We have made more progress than ever. He warned, however, that his status had to be resolved before the government's inauguration.

Savimbi also said the demobilisation of Unita forces still posed problems, a reference to difficulties reintegrating former guerrillas into peacetime society. Analysts said Unita was increasingly fractious, and groupings opposed Savimbi's co-operation with the Luanda government.

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Jonas Savimbi stalls peace process

(5) M+G 10-16/1/97

Marion Edmunds

ANGOLA'S peace process needs to be extended by two to three months to give Uniao Nacional para a (Unita) and Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola (MPLA) leaders more time to negotiate Jonas Savimbi's role in the Angolan government, said Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen, after a meeting with Savimbi mid-week.

Savimbi met his friend, Viljoen, in Pretoria on Wednesday after three days of talks about the Angolan peace process with President Nelson Mandela and senior Cabinet ministers in Umtata. Viljoen confirmed that he supported Savimbi's rejection of the

role of second vice-president in the ever, was upbeat. He recognised the fact that the process is at a critical stage and is serious about finding a solution," said Viljoen.

"He should not rush into a disaster," said Viljoen, speaking of the target dates over the next month which had been planned by the United Nations to phase in the new Angolan Government, elected in 1992.

Fears are being raised by analysts that the first meeting of the Angolan National Assembly, scheduled for later this month, will not take place because of the failure of the two sides to define Savimbi's role, status, powers and salary.

"A month or two of planning and further negotiations would be worthwhile at this stage. Dr Savimbi, how-

Mankahlana, there was a misleading media report that the South African government would be directly mediating in the conflict, assisting and facilitating where possible.

Mandela's willingness to spend two days with Savimbi is seen as a strategically significant move, given that the African National Congress was traditionally allied to his opponents, the MPLA. The government is insisting it will be even-handed in its assistance.

It is expected that Deputy President Thabo Mbeki will be at the forefront of South Africa's effort, and may well help to convene a much needed face-to-face meeting between Savimbi and his former foe, Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos for a bout of hard talking.

The critical issue will be to hammer out a role for Savimbi which will satisfy both sides of the political coin, and to institute a process of reconcil-

iation to unite the divided country. The allocation of resources is one of the key issues as all the major players have a vested interest in them, according to Stephen Ellis, a researcher at the African Studies Centre in Leiden, the Netherlands. Ellis was sceptical about South Africa's ability to broker a deal over Savimbi where other countries and the UN had failed.

"One of the things that has always caused the breakdown in negotiation before was that the key people on both sides, Unita and MPLA, have so much vested interest in the war. The government can go on forever living off the profits from the oil, and Unita can do the same on the profit from diamond sales. The people in Angola need peace, but their leaders are doing as well out of the war as they would out of peace, and peace is the big unknown," Ellis said.

and to institute a process of reconcil-

Angola moves towards peace

By Coletane Markham

ONE OF Africa's more repugnant civil wars may finally come to a rather ignominious end on January 25 when in Luanda a new government of national unity and reconciliation is to be sworn in.

Within the next few days, 70 top politicians from the Unita movement will take up key parliamentary posts, ending years of stubborn refusal by both the pro-Marxist MPLA government and the virulently capitalist Unita rebel movement to accept anything less than complete victory.

In an ironic twist, the death throes of a war fuelled by cynical machinations on both sides of the Cold War divide came only after the apparent "peacekeepers" — notably the United Nations — played its last trump card by threatening to leave.

Bitter wrangling

The UN was due to pull out all remaining observers and troops by December, after months of bitter wrangling over the precise terms of the power-sharing arrangement as specified in the 1994 Lusaka Protocol and continuous delays in the demobilisation and reintegration of Unita troops into a new unified Angolan army. The MPLA government's mandate was also due to expire by December.

As the eleventh hour approached, former UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali successfully negotiated an extension of the peacekeeping mission to February 28 and a progressive UN troop withdrawal to be completed by July.

On its side, the MPLA government, led by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, hastily prepared a time frame for completing the necessary steps to create a new government. Among the steps are:

End of protracted civil war good for region



Jonas Savimbi ... he is supposed to accept a position as vice-president in Angola's new government of national unity.

● Nine high-ranking Unita generals and captains were given leadership positions in the unified army by Dos Santos on December 11;

● On January 10, Unita leaders and congressmen were due to gather in Luanda to hear Dos Santos announce names to fill government and diplomatic positions. Savimbi was supposed to accept a position as vice-president, but he is still contesting the issue of his future status.

● On January 17, Unita congressmen are supposed to be sworn into the National Assembly.

● By January 18, 570 former Unita troops were selected to enrol in the new army, according to a UN Angola Verification Mission (Unavem) Press communique.

● On January 23, a new government of

national unity is supposed to be formed.

Despite positive signals, Savimbi still refuses to speak to his arch-enemy Dos Santos, bringing in the need for mediators like South Africa's President Nelson Mandela to oversee every step of the peace deal.

A delegation led by Mandela met with Savimbi in Umatata last week to "get an update" on the peace process, and Mandela has offered to help solve the issue of Savimbi's future status. Savimbi has apparently confirmed to Mandela

his commitment to implementing the time frame, but has ominously warned that the issue of his status has to be resolved by January 25, and that the demobilisation of Unita troops remains unresolved. Savimbi wants his status as oppositional leader institutionalised.

On January 2 the Angolan news agency *Angop* quoted a Unita source in Luanda as saying that 17 000 Unita troops had deserted the quartering areas. Twice before, Unita and the MPLA have come to agreement, and on both occasions the deals went sour.

In 1992, Savimbi disputed the results of national elections, plunging the country into another depressing cycle of violence and anarchy in which 500 000 Angolans have been killed and millions remained or left starving.

The second peace deal has been dragging on since 1994. This time, political analysts say prospects for peace are greater simply because time has finally run out for the MPLA and Unita.

In the post-Gorbachev era, former

Units allies, including the United States, apartheid South Africa, Zaire and Portugal, have rapidly lost interest in a war from which no-one is deriving any more benefits.

The final straw for the US, which funded Unita from 1975, came after the 1992 elections, when Washington finally pulled the financial plug.

On the MPLA side, support from the former Soviet Union dissipated following its break-up, and Cuban troops have long since withdrawn. Years of mindless fighting should by now also have finally killed the delusion of a complete victory by any side.

(Based on info from *Angop* and *Sapa-AFP*.)

Ango an market with a touch of the bizarre

(5) CP 5/1/97

A HAND reaches quickly through frayed, green canvas, trying to grab an unseen knickknack from the market stall. Instead it finds a rush of fists and knees that pin down the culprit as onlookers gather.

"Get away," warns Benedito, an interpreter and guide. "If there is a fight, you must stay away. They like to throw grenades."

No explosions this time, but any suggestions of calm or normalcy quickly disappear among the teaming pathways of "Roque Santeiro," one of Africa's biggest markets.

Spawmed by war and corruption that have twisted Angola's economy, Roque Santeiro combines the squalor of Luanda street life with the mystery of a cashbah.

Everything seems bizarre about the sprawling jumble of tents and stalls spread over several acres (hectares) on a muddy field overlooking Bengo Bay, across from the capital's high-priced hotels.

The name comes from a popular Brazilian television series about the shady past of a wealthy man known as Roque Santeiro. For some reason, a sign advertising the show from another former Portuguese colony marked the spot in the early days of selling and bartering.

That was in the late 1980s, when Angola's civil war stopped industrial goods from reaching the countryside. So people came from outside the capital to trade produce and buy appliances and other things they needed.

"There are many Angola guys. They get money, go to South Africa and stay there," explains Benedito. The travellers send associates back with items to sell at what Benedito calls "the mother market of all Angola."

Some 100 000 people are thought to gather each weekday on the barren slope strewn with garbage. Traders lugging worn tents and boxes of goods trudge down in the early light, followed by a seemingly endless row of trucks that fill



SURVIVING BY THE GRACE OF GOD ... Angolan women selling cassava at a market in Luanda. At the "Roque Santeiro" market hawkers and customers place their life at risk for if a fight breaks out the fighters have been known to hurl grenades at each other ...

the air with exhaust fumes and a whining din.

Soon, the rising sun glares down on a cacophony of shouts, screams, music and droning generators.

For Luanda residents, Roque Santeiro offers relief from the government-controlled shops in town that sell meagre supplies of rice and other staples. While the regulated

goods are cheaper under government price controls, supplies run out quickly and most other items cost less in the market than in shops.

Soap sells for 250 000 kwanza (R5.90), compared to 300 000 kwanza (R7.05) in town. A kilogram of meat goes for 1.5 million kwanza (R32.25), at least 1 million

kwanza (R23.50) lower than shop prices.

But even the market prices seem out of reach in a country where average jobs earn the equivalent of about R141 a month. Angola's mineral wealth, tapped by the government and foreigners despite the war, and large numbers of UN and foreign aid workers have tried a

two-tier economy with restaurant meals costing R188 or more and top-rate hotel rooms going for R893 a night.

"It's really difficult to understand the way we are surviving," says Rafael Marques, an independent journalist. "It's a miracle."

So, in its own way, is Roque Santeiro. Laid out with the preci-

sion of a suburban mall, the makeshift stands - some bearing blue plastic sheeting given UN refugees - offer just about anything needed.

Neat stacks of wood planks, plywood sheets and beams sit next to tables of footwear, from imported leather loafers to athletic shoes. Electrical wiring and fixtures lead to plumbing equipment, followed by cold remedies, aspirin and other over-the-counter medicines.

Generators provide power for boom boxes in the appliance section, while stacks of bras, socks and underpants rest in front of colorful, flowing African shirts.

Benedito says guns and prostitutes also are available, but those require time for customers to build trust with the dealers.

Sights and sounds overwhelm. There are no toilets, so urine and faeces are commonplace.

In the food section, piles of butchered meat and organs crust in the midday heat, emitting a musky odour. An old woman selling cured, hardened fish whacks at her wares, shooting off a swarm of flies too thick to see through.

For foreign journalists, a visit requires an interpreter like Benedito and a police escort. Sgt Emilio Keinin, scowling constantly and displaying his handgun at all times, laments that working the market district is hard duty.

"People are always complaining," he says. "There is a lot of drunkenness."

The screams of two thieves being beaten echo from the police station across the street. The pair come out rubbing their kidneys and run off, followed by the commanding officer who puts his baton in his belt and shrugs: "It is the start of the weekend."

As the sun lowers, trucks reappear to collect hawkers and goods while the tents and stands unfurl and disappear. By the time a half moon shines across the bay, only the breeze rustles through the litter of Roque Santeiro. - Sapa-AP

Nzo joins bid to resolve unity process in Angola

5/20/1997

Peace negotiators feverishly seek a place in new Luanda government for Unita's Jonas Savimbi

Reuters-AFP
Luanda

Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo will hold talks in Angola today with the president of the south-west African nation, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, a foreign affairs official said here yesterday.

The visit, which follows talks between President Nelson Mandela and former rebel leader Jonas Savimbi earlier this month, will focus on Angola's impending transition to a national unity government, officials said.

The transitional coalition government, involving Savimbi's Unita and Dos Santos' administration, is scheduled to be formed on Saturday, but may be postponed, according to United Nations officials.

Angola's peace negotiators are feverishly seeking a role for Savimbi in a unity government.

Savimbi (62) had shunned participation in a post-war unity government with the ruling MPLA, which would force him to return permanently to the government-held capital Luanda. But he has apparently had second thoughts.

"Until very recently Unita thought Dr Savimbi should not be in the government but that he should play a role by continuing in the party and perhaps by having the possibility of talking to the president (Dos Santos)," Unita negotiator Isaias Samakuva.

"But since he came from South Africa he realised that for Unita to play its role in national reconciliation he has to be in the government ... perhaps as an adviser," Samakuva said.

Savimbi met Mandela in South Africa earlier this month, angering the Angolan government, which saw it as interference by Mandela in three years of peace efforts headed by the United Nations.

An official close to the talks said negotiators had been on the



In joint talks ... Alfred Nzo.



Role sought ... Jonas Savimbi.



Dos Santos ... leads top party.

verge of agreement on Savimbi's role but the Unita leader's about-turn could now delay a unity government.

Samakuva said Unita wanted clear answers on the government's programme for national reconciliation and the role of party members who will head the ministries of tourism, mines, commerce and health under a unity government.

Also outstanding is an agreement on the extension of government administration into Unita-held areas. The government wants this to happen immediately, but Unita has proposed a gradual process starting after the formation of a unity government.

"I don't see any more danger that can derail the peace process at this stage," Samakuva said.

"The MPLA is the majority party but in practical terms Unita should know what programme the government has for national reconciliation so that it can also contribute to it.

"We have to solve these outstanding issues. It is not Unita delaying things but the existence of aspects that must be solved," he said.

Government negotiator Higinio Carneiro said his side was ready to go ahead with the swearing in of a unity government on Saturday. "The government is ready. We are waiting for Unita."

The international community, which has sent more than 7 000 peacekeepers to Angola to oversee implementation of the peace plan, is keen to see the installation of a unity government ahead of a pullout of the blue helmets next month.

"The government and the international community believe there should be no linkage between Dr Savimbi's special status and the government's installation on January 25," said US ambassador Donald Steinberg.

"But it is important to send a message to the international community and especially to Angolans that Dr Savimbi is part of the solution and not part of the problem," he said.

The period of peace that Angola is now experiencing is the longest since the 1960s, when the MPLA, Unita and other groups began fighting for independence from Portugal. When this was obtained in 1975, the liberation groups turned on each other in civil war.

Angola looks to SA backing

By Winnie Graham

If Princess Diana's visit to Angola achieved no purpose other than to highlight the heartache of that traumatised country, it will have served an important cause.

The landmine victims she met last week epitomise just part of the problem Angola faces as it tries to rebuild.

Her trip almost coincided with the imminent inauguration of the country's new government of national unity. At the time of writing the proposed GNU was scheduled to take office on January 23, although there has been talk that the date could be changed to allow more time for preparation.

Angola is a country in urgent need of world attention. Long dismissed as just another Marxist state caught up in yet another African war, it has few rich friends to support its determined bid to avoid further conflict.

President Jose dos Santos - whose home is surrounded by a man-made, grass-covered earth mound built "for security purposes" - has had little reason to trust his long time enemy Jonas Savimbi. In just the same way, Savimbi has long been reluctant to take up residence in Luanda where, it is said, he has always feared assassination.

Now, the two leaders are close to finding a compromise and are about to serve in the same government. Although the promise of a new beginning has raised hopes of permanent peace, Angola faces an enormous task in rebuilding the infrastructure.

Two decades of civil war not only damaged the economy; it turned the country upside down. Health care there is totally inadequate (emergency cases are airlifted to South Africa), its education system cannot

(b) 21/1/97
cope (the rich send their children to private schools in South Africa), its unemployment problem is vast (there are unemployed soldiers everywhere), and crime, if anything, is worse in Luanda than in Johannesburg.

War - and Marxism - has done enormous damage to Angola's commercial and industrial enterprises. The country's monetary system (the kwanza) is worthless. Angola insists its currency be used, but virtually all transactions are in US dollars. Anyone with money to spend flies either to Europe - or South Africa - to shop. Hotels and restaurants are expensive.

International flights from Johannesburg's International Airport to Luanda are an education. Passengers carry an assortment of luggage - from plastic buckets to cartons of eggs - all carefully secured with string or tape. The items are destined for the street markets of Angola where wares from South Africa are much in demand.

Luanda, once the "pearl" of Africa, is overcrowded and rundown. It is almost entirely surrounded by squatter camps. Although the outskirts of the city are unkempt, the centre of the city is reasonably clean. Garbage is cleared away fairly regularly.

The landmines which have maimed so many Angolans remain a major problem in a country where most people survive through subsistence farming. After the war ended, it was estimated there were some 10 million landmines buried throughout the country. Though vast areas are being combed for mines, experts believe it will be years before all have been removed.

Despite the problems, Angola has

much going for it. It has highly profitable offshore oil (fuel is cheap in Luanda), rich diamond mines (few, unfortunately, in the right hands), good fishing grounds and fertile soil. Some 45% of the land is arable, unlike South Africa's 11%.

South African businessmen were among the first to recognise Angola's potential and, when Government started encouraging investment, they headed north to investigate. Hotels, small industries, even the construction of townhouses and a game lodge, are now on the drawing board.

Angola's Deputy Minister of Trade, Commerce and Tourism, Paulino Baptista, is keen to develop a tourist industry and plans to make Angola the playground of Africa. The government has decided to capitalise on its long coastline.

It does not plan to compete with countries such as Tanzania and South Africa famous for wildlife. Instead, Angola will concentrate on water sport.

Baptista looks to South Africa for support. "We need marinas built, and hotels. South Africa has the technical and financial knowhow and will be welcomed to help make our country prosper," he said.

It is Angola's rich diamond mining industry, however, which should become the backbone of its economy - provided the government has the will to transform the industry.

With many South Africans already in Angola - some are working the mines, others ferrying food and equipment back and forth - a bond between the two countries exists.

It is in South Africa's interests to strengthen it - but it will take millions of rands and considerable expertise to rebuild the shattered economy.

Firms line up to invest in Angola

5/12/97

LUANDA—Foreign business interests in Angola are flourishing in spite of delays in the implementation of a two-year-old peace plan to end two decades of civil war.

The biggest investments are in the oil sector as the Angolan government prepares to lease its unexplored deepwater blocks.

Even senior foreign government officials are making personal trips to the capital of Luanda to lobby for a place in the Angolan oil market when the government finally starts handing out deepwater concessions.

Such trips were made at the end of last year by Brazil's President Fernando Henrique Cardoso and by France's Foreign Minister Herve de Charette.

Petroleum Minister Albina Assis has appealed to governments and oil companies to be patient and allow the government time to reorganise itself after years of fighting the former rebel Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) movement.

World Bank officials say Angolan oil production is worth nearly \$4bn a year. After Nigeria, Angola is the second largest oil producer in sub-Saharan Africa with a projected 760 000 barrels a day, up

from 560 000 in 1995. French-based Elf Aquitaine has made a potentially lucrative find on its offshore block 17.

French trade commissioner in Luanda, Eric Noitakis, said the discovery would "probably be the biggest in Angola so far. I believe this is a big find, but we must have more information before an accurate assessment can be made of how big it really is," he said.

French involvement in Angola has never been more intense. Last year France was the leading exporter to Angola and the second largest investor after the US.

US-based Chevron said it also planned to increase its share on the Angolan oil market.

Chevron deputy director of public affairs Antonio Palmeirim said the company was aggressively expanding its Angolan operations, including exploring a new concession on block four off the Cabinda enclave with its partners Total, Agip and Petrogal.

In the diamond sector, companies are still playing cautious because of instability in the diamond-rich regions of Luanda Norte and Luanda Sul, which are controlled by Unita and are flush with illegal diamond traders.

De Beers Consolidated Mines, the world's largest diamond producer, is about to begin prospecting in one of its three concessions in Mavinga in southeast Angola, one of the country's most heavily mined areas. Special representative of the De Beers board for Angola, James McLuskie, said the company would begin prospecting in February.

"We obviously will not go forward with any work in the Unita areas if there was not a peace agreement," McLuskie said. "But we are sending our lead logistics teams into a staging area near Mavinga to start the process."

The government recently gave the former rebel movement the go-ahead to begin talks with foreign diamond companies already on the ground on possible joint ventures in areas they control.

French beer maker Brasserie Glaciere is now the largest producer of beer in Angola, bottling the popular Cuca brand. SA Breweries is also close to securing a deal to purchase one of Angola's three breweries.

Portuguese business is flooding into Angola from small enterprises to banks. The Banco Comercial Portugues gained authorisation

last year to open in Luanda.

Portuguese banks also hold a 33% share in the country's first private bank Banco Africano de Investimentos.

Portugal has been involved in talks with the Angolan government over the past year to reduce its estimated \$1bn debt to Portugal, possibly through a debt-for-equity swap.

Former US Ambassador to Angola, Edmund de Jarrette, now chairman of the Angola-US Chamber of Commerce, says there is money to be made in Angola.

"I will admit this is a difficult place to do business, but if you work hard and establish a niche you can do very well," he said.

De Jarrette's organisation has more than 70 member companies from banks to telecommunications. He is planning another trade mission in September this year that will bring US companies to Angola.

"The principle difficulty lying ahead is dealing with the boom mentality like we saw in Nigeria," he said.

"I don't want to see this place turn into another Lagos," De Jarrette said, referring to the Nigerian capital. —Reuter.

ANGOLA French and American oil companies jockey for position in the country's \$4bn oil market

Luanda is bursting with would-be traders

JOHN FLEMING

Luanda — Foreign business interests in Angola are flourishing despite delays in the implementation of a two-year-old peace plan to end two decades of civil war.

The biggest investments are in the oil sector as the Angolan government prepares to lease its unexplored deep-water blocks.

Even senior foreign government officials are making personal trips to the capital Luanda to lobby for a place in the Angolan oil market, when the government finally starts handing out deepwater concessions. Such trips were made at the end of last year by President Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil and by Hervé de Charette, the foreign minister of France.

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"I don't want to see this place turn into another Lagos," he said, referring to the Nigerian capital. — Reuter

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Angola's Catoca mine ready to produce diamonds

⑤ CT(BR) 24/2/97

FROM REUTERS

Luanda — Angola's only operating kimberlite mine is likely to begin producing diamonds within two months, an official for Brazil's Odebrecht said last week.

"We see no reason why Catoca should not begin producing by May," said Otacilio Carvalho, Odebrecht's director of operations for southern Africa.

"We have great hopes that this project is going to turn out well for us. We have been involved in this since 1995 and are very much looking forward to seeing production start," he said.

The Catoca mine is located in Angola's northeastern Lunda Sul province and is believed to be one of the world's largest kimberlite deposits.

Odebrecht has a 20 percent share in the mine together with Endiama, Angola's state diamond company and Almazy Rossii-Sakha, Russia's diamond monopoly. Endiama and Almazy hold 40 percent.

Carvalho said prelimi-

nary studies showed Catoca is likely to produce about 6 million carats in the first nine years.

Angola produces between \$700 million and \$1 billion in diamonds yearly, but because of the country's 20-year-long civil war its vast kimberlite reserves have remained untouched.

Studies show the mine is likely to turn out 6 million carats over the first nine years

Figures from South Africa's mineral and energy affairs bureau show Angola produced 2.9 million carats in 1995.

Unita, the former rebel movement, controls most of Angola's diamond areas around the Cuango river valley, an area which generates about 1 million carats a year.

The government and the former rebels, who signed a peace accord in 1994 to end the civil war, are in talks to carve up the diamond area.

There are about 630 kimberlite pipes in Angola, and about 300 of them with grades better than .04 carats a cubic metre.

Most diamonds produced in Angola are from alluvial deposits.

Diamonds 'before mid-year' in Angola

00 24/2/97 (5)

LUANDA—Angola's only operating kimberlite mine is likely to begin producing diamonds in about two months, an official for Brazil's Odebrecht company in southern Africa said.

Catoca mine should start producing diamonds in May this year, director of operations Otacilio Carvalho said on Friday.

"We have great hopes this project is going to turn out well for us. We have been involved in this since 1995 and are looking forward to seeing production start," Carvalho said.

The mine is in Angola's northeastern Lunda Sul province and is believed to have one of the world's largest kimberlite deposits.

Odebrecht has a 20% share in the mine together with Angola's state diamond company Endiama and Russia's Almazy Rossii-Sakha diamond monopoly, which both hold 40%.

Carvalho said preliminary studies showed Catoca was likely to produce around 6-million carats in the first nine years.

Angola produces between \$700m and \$1bn in diamonds annually but because of the country's twenty-year civil war its vast kimberlite reserves have remained unexploited. SA's Bureau of Mineral and Energy Affairs figures show Angola produced 2,9-million carats in 1995.

The former rebel Unita movement controls most of Angola's diamond areas around the Cuango river valley — an area that generates around a million carats annually.

The government and Unita signed a peace accord in 1994 to end the civil war and are in talks to calve up the diamond area.

Most diamonds produced in Angola are alluvial deposits. There are an estimated 630 kimberlite pipes in Angola, at least 300 of them with grades better than .04 carats per cubic metre. — Reuter.

Dispute over riches of the diamond fields divi

(5) 85 25/2/97

How to share out the country's diamond wealth has come to the fore as a key factor in resolving the country's political crisis, writes **Barnaby Phillips**

WITH the United Nations (UN) apparently determined to begin withdrawing its 7 000 troops from Angola next month, pressure is mounting on the MPLA government and former Unita rebels to comply with the 1994 Lusaka peace accords, which ended 19 years of civil war.

The political signs are not encouraging. The planned inauguration of a government of national unity was abandoned in January. Unita leader Jonas Savimbi refuses to leave his headquarters at Bailundo in the central highlands. Negotiations are dragging on over the sensitive issue of whether Savimbi should have a position in the new government, although the UN has been heartened by recent signs that he might be prepared to accept a role as leader of the opposition.

Officially, there is no linkage between the resolution of Savimbi's status and the inauguration of a new government, which would include several Unita ministers and provincial governors. However, the shutting of envoys between Luanda and Bailundo discloses an obvious truth: a new government which does not have Savimbi's blessing will leave would-be foreign investors and ordinary Angolans unimpressed.

In any case, Savimbi is unlikely to agree to a role in the government until agreement

is reached on the division of Angola's diamonds. Angola is the world's fourth biggest diamond producer, but the government controls only 20% of the trade.

The fighting left Unita in control of the richest alluvial deposits in northeastern Angola. Industry sources estimate that Unita earned \$500m from smuggling diamonds out through Zaire last year, and was selling at an increased rate in the first weeks of this year.

"The government is going to have to make a very attractive offer to Unita if it wants it to give all that up," one buyer said.

The government has allowed Unita to set up a private mining firm while negotiations continue on the location of concessions.

The UN's special representative, Aloune Blondin Beye, maintains an appearance of enthusiastic optimism. The Malian diplomat denounces the "eternal sceptics" of the Angolan peace process and stresses the phased nature of the UN withdrawal: one battalion a month, stretching over six months.

"We're not going to leave Angola in the lurch," says an official of the peacekeeping

force Unavem. But many Angolans fear the precarious security situation in the countryside will deteriorate once the UN troops leave. Banditry is still rife, involving government soldiers and the 17 000 Unita troops who have deserted UN camps.

Recently aid agencies in the southern province of Benguela reported that thousands of people were fleeing renegade Unita soldiers. Tension in the province has been exacerbated by government efforts to move into areas held by Unita. The situation is typical in Angola: government-controlled towns are surrounded by vast swathes of Unita-controlled countryside.

"Unita controls some 60% to 70% of Angolan territory," says a diplomat, "and if the government tries to move into those areas before all the political questions are settled, we are going to have some nasty incidents."

On the filthy streets of Luanda, the consequences of 20 years of civil war and mismanagement are distressingly obvious. Gangs of orphans roam among the piles of rubbish at the roadside, while the luxurious four-wheel-drive vehicles of the Angolan elite roar past, the occupants' faces hidden

by tinted glass.

No matter how precarious the peace, Angola's social injustices are firmly entrenched. However, while Unita may keep dragging its feet in the belief that economic difficulties will continue to erode the government's popularity, President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos is beginning to feel slightly more optimistic about the future, at least in the short term.

After last year's dismissal of the prime minister, amid signs that Luanda's long-awaited social explosion was about to happen, there has been a superficial improvement in the economy. The Nova Vida economic programme — a series of import controls, regulated profit margins and moves towards a unified exchange rate — has brought inflation down and halted the spectacular collapse of the kwana.

Oil production remains buoyant and is predicted to rise to 780 000 barrels a day this year. The International Monetary Fund, while sceptical of the government's competence, is to send a delegation to Luanda next month to discuss structural adjustment support. — Financial Times.

UNITA, MPLA MAY BE RE-ARMING

Angolan settlement delayed

(5) CT 27/2/97

LUANDA: United Nations officials insist all is going well with the Angolan peace process, but there is suspicion that both the MPLA and Unita are re-arming.

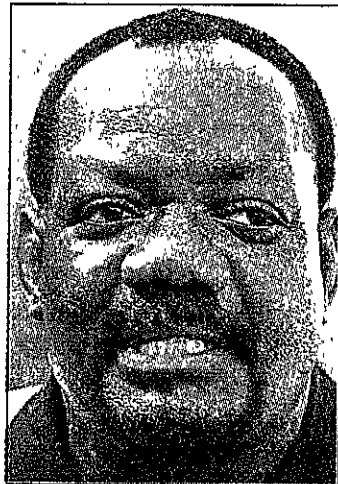
THE United Nations Security Council is expected to extend the UN mandate in Angola once again, with troop withdrawals now scheduled to start at the end of March instead of this week.

Angola's warring factions were to have formed a government of national unity in January this year, but President Eduardo dos Santos of the MPLA and Dr Jonas Savimbi of Unita could not reach an agreement.

Military sources attached to Unavem, the UN's peacekeeping mission in Angola, privately admit there is little hope of achieving this agreement before the new withdrawal date.

At the centre of the dispute is the role the temperamental Savimbi will play in the new government.

In spite of the official optimistic line, quartering camps that are supposed to be holding disarmed Unita troops are at best 25% full. The UN still claims the camps are a success and that both MPLA and Unita



TEMPERAMENTAL: Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi

armies have co-operated in the demobilisation and integration.

Privately though, many officials admit the MPLA has re-armed and that Unita's able-bodied men have returned to the bush, leaving only the old and lame in the camps.

At one camp, an eight-hour drive east of Luanda, UN troops stand solemn guard over three huge tented barracks occupied by a handful of women and children.

The battle-hardened Unita men, tense and suspicious after a two-year ceasefire, have melted away into the steamy jungle hills to regroup and wait.

Many are said to have gone to Zaire, adding to the chaos in that war-torn country.

According to the governing MPLA, Unita's crack regiments are propping up the ailing Mobutu regime, under an agreement that gives Savimbi free access from Zaire to the diamond-rich provinces of northern Angola — and gives Mobutu access to Savimbi's diamonds.

But, in spite of what is happening on the ground, the UN official line remains the same.

"All is going well," said Mr David Wimhurst, the UN spokesman in Luanda.

"The Security Council will give it another month, by which time we would have achieved what we set out to achieve."

He added that Savimbi and Dos Santos were "real close" to

achieving an agreement on Savimbi's role in a government of national unity.

Wimhurst claimed only "bandits" could break the ceasefire, as the official UN response is that all Unita soldiers are safely quartered.

But sources in Unavem's military contingent estimate that both armies have re-armed to 90% of their pre-ceasefire capability — creating a potential "bandit" problem that even international bureaucrats will be unable to wish away.

Both the MPLA and Unita are reluctant to relinquish control, fearing domination by the other.

But it is not just disputes over the division of power that are stalling progress; there is also the division of the country's wealth.

With large oil and diamond deposits Angola is potentially one of the continent's wealthiest nations.

Add to this the interest wealthier nations have shown in Angola's riches, as well as a profusion of barely legal mining and security companies, and it appears the morass of confusion and mayhem that is modern Angola could take a long time to sort out. — Independent Foreign Service

Angola's government of national unity a long way off as peace

By BRIAN LATHAM
Luanda

The United Nations Security Council is expected soon to extend the UN mandate in Angola once again, this time by one month, with foreign troop withdrawals beginning at the end of this month instead of last week. Angola's warring factions were supposed to have formed a govern-

ernment of national unity in January this year, but President Eduardo dos Santos of the MPLA and Jonas Savimbi of Unita could not reach an agreement.

At the centre of the dispute is the role of the temperamental Dr Savimbi will play in the new government. But military sources attached to Unavem, the UN's peacekeeping mission in Angola, privately admit there is little hope

of achieving their goal before the new proposed withdrawal date at the end of March.

Despite the official optimistic line, quartering camps that are supposed to be holding disarmed Unita troops are at best 25% full.

The UN still claims that the camps are a success, and that both the MPLA and Unita armies have co-operated in the demobilisation and integration exercises.

Privately though, many admit that the MPLA has re-armed and that Unita's able-bodied men have returned to the bush, leaving the old and lame in the camps.

Many Unita soldiers are said to have gone to Zaire, adding to the chaos in that war-torn country. According to the governing MPLA, Unita's crack regiments are preparing up the ailing Mobutu regime under an agreement that gives

Savimbi free access from Zaire to the diamond-rich provinces of northern Angola, and Mobutu access to Savimbi's diamonds.

But the official line remains the same; evoking eerie memories of the UN whitewash in Mozambique.

"All is going well," said David Wimhurst, the UN spokesman in Luanda.

He added that Savimbi and

Dos Santos were "real close" to achieving an agreement on Savimbi's role in the government of national unity.

Wimhurst now claims only "bandits" can break the ceasefire.

"If anyone breaks the ceasefire," he said, "it will be treated as banditry and the government will be allowed to deal with it."

It is not just disputes about the division of power that is stalling

hangs in balance

progress, it is also differences over the division of wealth. With large oil deposits in the north and newer ones being tested further south, Angola is potentially one of the continent's wealthiest nations.

The country also has boundless diamond deposits mainly in areas under Unita control.

The result has been that oil revenue has fuelled the vast MPLA war machine since the 1975 revolu-

tion while glittering diamonds fill Unita's war-chest.

For a country where crime and corruption are the mainstay of the economy, and where the streets of what must have been one of Africa's oldest and most beautiful cities now double as a sewerage system, the prognosis cannot be good despite the UN's glib assurances to the contrary. - Star Foreign Service.

(6)

Star 3/3/97

Unita stalls government by changing delegates

Luanda - Several Unita members set to take up their places in Angola's planned unity government have been replaced, possibly delaying the establishment of the new government, Unita and Western diplomats said here.

"Many things have changed in the past few days," said Domingos Toy, aide to chief Unita representative in Luanda, Isaias Samakuva.

"There have been a number of changes in the people who will represent Unita in the new government. But the reasons for these changes are for our leaders to say not for me."

Mr Toy said key people to be replaced included designate Minister of Hotels and Tourism Jorge Valentim and designate Minister of Mines and Geology Kayaya Kahala. Mr Kahala will be replaced by Marcos Samondo, the present Unita representative to the United Nations Security Council.

Several Unita deputies will also be replaced, Mr Toy said.

Unita (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) and the Angolan Government signed a peace agreement in the Zambian capital Lusaka in 1994.

A key provision in the agreement was the establishment of a unity government, a move seen formally ending hostilities that erupted after independence from Portugal in 1975.

But the unity government, one of the main goals of the huge UN mission here - the largest in the world at over 6 000 staff - has been repeatedly delayed.

Western diplomats here say Unita's changes to the planned unity government have not been well received by the incumbent Angolan government.

"Several of these people being replaced are not of the stature as the ones who were meant to come." - Reuter

Angolan adversaries agree to establish government of national unity on April 11

APR 11/1997

(5)

Luanda - Angola's rival factions agreed yesterday to establish a government of national unity on April 11, said UN special envoy to Angola, Aloune Blondin Beye.

The joint commission has agreed that the date of the government of national unity will be April 11. It was time for us to take concrete steps and we have done that," Beye told a news conference.

The MPLA-led government and the former rebel Unita movement who ended two decades of civil war in 1994 when they signed a peace pact, have delayed three times since January 25 the formation of the first peacetime government.

The UN Security Council has mostly blamed Unita for dragging its feet in the implementation of a two-year-old peace plan. But Beye said yesterday the Angolan parties were satisfied that the unity government could go ahead this month after Unita sent most of its 70 deputies to the capital Luanda for participation in the new administration.

Now that all the members of the government are in Luanda, there is no more reason to delay the establishment of the unity government," he said.

Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) leader Jonas Savimbi has, however, said the swearing-in ceremony in Luanda will take place without him, citing fears for his own safety and outstanding problems in the peace process as reasons not to attend.

Angolan government-backed civil defence units are breeding tension and fear among civilians and undermining a two-year-old peace, a UN report says. The report, compiled by the UN force commander to Angola, Philip Sbardua, says 50 ceasefire violations involving civil defence units, the Angolan army and Unita have been recorded in the past six months.

"The ceasefire violations, mainly by the civil defence and to an extent by the FAA (Angolan armed forces) and Unita, are breeding tension, generating fear and undermining confidence in the peace process," said the report, which covered the period from January 23 to March 5, Reuters.

New Angolan law gives Savimbi special status

Star 9/4/97 (5)

Recognition of the rebel leader will pave the way for long-delayed formation of a government of national unity

AFP

Luanda

Angola's national assembly yesterday approved legislation confirming the special status of former Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, paving the way for the long-delayed formation of a government of national unity.

Six deputies abstained but none voted against the law, seen as the last major obstacle to normalising Angola's political situation after a civil war which pitted Unita against the ruling Angolan People's Liberation Movement (MPLA).

Privileges Savimbi was granted under the law which can only be suspended or amended with his consent include the right to regular consultations with the president and members of the government and the right to publish messages in the official press.

He is also given the title of leader of the main opposition

party and provided with a diplomatic passport.

The government will also provide him with an official residence, "an adequate salary" and a team of bodyguards so that he can carry out his functions.

Sources said Savimbi's future residence would be at Kakuako, less than 20km from the centre of Luanda, in the former headquarters of a branch of the US oil group Conoco.

The luxurious building is situated on a mountain top overlooking the sea.

Savimbi's special status will be applicable throughout Angola and will remain in force until the next general election, expected in two or three years.

A UN source said the situation would only fully return to normal after the next general elections are held.

Political commentators in Luanda added that Unita's return to political life would not be a mira-

cle solution to the problems of a country ruined by 20 years of war, but could accelerate the implementation of other terms of the peace accords.

The search for a status for the former rebel leader has been long and complicated.

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) won 70 seats in elections in 1992, but they were never taken up as the country's civil war, which began in the mid-1970s, resumed soon after the vote.

The 1994 Lusaka peace accords allowed Savimbi to appoint four government ministers and seven junior ministers. But the formation of a national reconciliation government was repeatedly delayed as Unita argued there were still outstanding problems.

The 70 Unita deputies will now enter parliament today and the new government of national unity and reconciliation will be inaugurated on Friday.

Unita members take up seats in Angola parliament

CT 10/4/97

LUANDA: Deputies of the Unita ex-rebel movement took up their seats in Angola's parliament yesterday, nearly five years after their election, paving the way for the long-awaited government of national unity.

The deputies took office a day after the national assembly approved special status for their leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, removing the last major obstacle to peaceful political co-existence between the former warring parties.

Of the 70 deputies elected in the September 1992 elections, 59 officially took up their functions yesterday and Unita excused the absence of another four.

The seven others had already been obliged to take up their seats, as they were unable to leave Luanda when the civil war, pitting Unita against the ruling Angolan People's Liberation Movement (MPLA), resumed shortly after the 1992 vote.

After the 1994 peace accords, the formation of a national reconciliation

government had been initially scheduled for January 25, but it was indefinitely delayed as Unita argued there were still outstanding problems.

The government of national unity and reconciliation will now be officially inaugurated tomorrow and will

include four ministers and seven deputy ministers from Unita.

Under the Lusaka peace accords, Unita members will include six ambassadors, three governors and many regional administrative officials.

Tomorrow's inauguration ceremony will be attended by about 30

heads of state, including the presidents of Ghana, Ivory Coast and Mali, and South African leader President Nelson Mandela, his spokesman said.

It remained unclear whether Savimbi, who has not appeared in Luanda since 1992, would be present.

Privileges Savimbi has been granted under the law, approved on Tuesday, include the right to regular consultations with the president and members

of the government and the right to publish messages in the official press.

He is also given the title of leader of the main opposition party and provided with a diplomatic passport.

So that he can exercise his functions, the government will also provide him with an official residence, "an adequate salary" and a team of bodyguards.

Savimbi's special status will be applicable throughout Angola and will remain in force until the next general elections.

Several deputies from the MPLA have criticised the "excessive powers" granted to Savimbi although they followed the party's advice to approve the law.

Political commentators in Luanda stressed that Unita's return to political life would not be a miracle solution to the problems of a country devastated by 20 years of war.

However, it could accelerate the implementation of other terms of the peace accords, such as the formation of a new 90 000-strong army, including 23 600 from Unita and the demobilisation of some 100 000 troops. — Sapa-AFP

The government will include four ministers and seven deputy ministers from Unita.

Angola's foes poised to unite behind peace

ARC 11/4/97

Mandela to see birth of new order

Luanda - The foes that fought one of Africa's longest and bloodiest wars were poised today to join forces in an Angolan government of national reconciliation.

The new government unites President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola and the former rebel movement Unita, headed by Jonas Savimbi.

The ceremony in the capital, observed by President Mandela, President Robert Mugabe and other heads of state, is to seal the end of the civil war, which killed 500 000 people.

But the risk of renewed fighting remains, and daunting challenges face the country. "We have finally got to the culmination of a four-year peace process, but really it is just the beginning," United

Nations spokesman David Wimhurst said.

The swearing-in is the final stage of the UN-brokered plan to end a conflict that brought Angola to the brink of starvation and left much of it in ruins.

The swearing-in comes after parliament agreed earlier this week to give Mr Savimbi a special role as opposition leader, entitling him to question President Santos on political issues and giving him a salary, a house in Luanda and bodyguards, all paid for by the state.

In spite of a personal invitation by Mr Dos Santos to address the inauguration, Mr Savimbi was not expected to attend because of his fears for his safety.

The ceremony had been postponed three times since December because Unita deputies failed to arrive in Luanda.

This time, all of Unita's lawmakers are

here. Its 70 deputies took their seats in the 220-seat national assembly on Wednesday.

Princeton Lyman, the US under-secretary of state for international organisations, said Angola's new government would need courage and vision to integrate former rebel and government troops, set up a unified administration and rebuild a devastated economy.

An accord signed in November 1994 halted most of the fighting, but Unita has balked up to now at fulfilling all its terms.

Unita is to provide 18 000 troops to an integrated national army, but so far has sent only 7 000, according to the UN.

About 100 000 soldiers from both sides must be demobilised and reintegrated into civilian life.

The UN's 6 600-member force is to start disbanding next week. - Sapa-AP

Angola begins new era of power-sharing

First post-war government will include
members of Savimbi's Unita movement

AFP
Luanda

Angola is today set to inaugurate its first post-war government which will include members of the former rebel Unita movement.

The ceremony in the capital Luanda will include the investiture of four ministers and seven deputy ministers from Unita in Angola's new Government of National Unity and Reconciliation (GNUR).

The threadbare but overpopulated city, worn out by decades of civil war, is sprucing up for the arrival of some 30 heads of state to witness the inauguration. They include the presidents of Ghana, Ivory Coast, and South African leader Nelson Mandela, a government spokesman said.

It is unclear whether the head of Unita, Jonas Savimbi, will attend the ceremony. The bushy-bearded 62-year-old ex-rebel leader has previously refused to visit Luanda, saying his security could not be guaranteed.

Inauguration of the new government comes after Angola's national assembly earlier this week broke a deadlock over Unita's participation by approving a special status for Savimbi.

A law passed on Tuesday gives Savimbi the title of leader of the main opposition party, with

rights equivalent to those of a vice-president of the republic. They include the rights to regular consultations with the president and members of the government and to publish messages in the official press.

With Savimbi's status regularised, Unita deputies took up their seats in Angola's parliament on Wednesday - five years after their election in a UN sponsored vote in 1992.

That vote, won by the ruling Angolan People's Liberation Movement (MPLA), was rejected by Unita and the war continued until a final peace accord in 1994.

In the reconciliation government, Unita members will head the ministries of health, tourism, mines and commerce. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos appointed outgoing prime minister Fernando Franca van Dunem as head of the new government on Wednesday.

Political commentators in Luanda stress that Unita's return to political life will not be a miracle solution to the problems of Angola, which has been devastated by 20 years of civil war.

However, it could accelerate other terms of the peace accords, such as the formation of a new 90 000-strong army, including 23 600 from Unita, as well as the demobilisation of some 100 000 troops.

8 Nov 11/4/97

Angolan cabinet dissolved on eve of unity govt

(5) 60 11/4/97

LUANDA — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos dissolved his cabinet on Wednesday as one of the final steps preceding the formation of a new power-sharing government, Angolan state television announced.

The country is due to get a government of national unity tomorrow, after many postponements, delays and a shaky peace treaty signed after two decades of civil war in 1994.

Dos Santos also issued a decree reappointing Fernando Franco Van Dunem as prime minister to head the new "unity" and national reconciliation

tion" government. It will include former rebel Unita movement members.

Ministers in the dissolved cabinet will keep their positions in a caretaker capacity until today's inauguration ceremony, to be attended by several heads of state.

Earlier this week, Angola's parliament rushed through a bill which gave Unita leader Jonas Savimbi special status as president of the largest opposition party. The law gives him, among other things, regular consultation rights with the national president and an official residence in Luanda.

On Wednesday, 70 Unita deputies, who won their parliamentary seats in the aborted elections of 1992, were sworn in. However Savimbi has said he will not be travelling to Luanda to participate in today's ceremony.

He said the security situation was not stable enough for him to leave his Bailundo headquarters in Angola's central highlands.

Four Unita members are set to become ministers and the party will also have seven deputy-ministerial positions and a number of ambassadorial posts. Diplomats do not expect Dos

Santos to make major cabinet changes. Portugal's President Jorge Sampaio arrived in Luanda on Wednesday night and SA President Nelson Mandela was expected at the ceremony in the newly repainted parliamentary building.

The United Nations, which has begun a gradual withdrawal of its 6 000-strong peacekeeping force, believes the inauguration is a crucial step in implementing the 1994 Lusaka protocol.

That accord officially ended the war between Unita and the MPLA government, which erupted on independence from Portugal in 1975. — Reuter.

Unity government lifts hopes of Angolan peace

APG 12/14/99

Luanda - Angola yesterday swore in a government of national unity intended to cement peace between rivals who brought the country to its knees over nearly two decades of civil war.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said in a speech at a ceremony attended by 13 foreign heads of state that the new government would be no miracle cure, but added: "It could make a definite contribution towards a better solution."

Jonas Savimbi, leader of the former rebel movement Unita, failed to attend the inauguration, citing fears for his safety in the capital.

But his deputy, Antonio Dembo, read a speech on Mr Savimbi's behalf. He called for the new government to carry out its business with openness and a spirit of unity.

"The history of our country is filled with sadness and it has been a long and difficult road to this point," Mr Dembo said.

Among the foreign heads of state watching were President Mandela, President Jorge Sampaio of Portugal - the former colonial power - and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe.

"The formation of this government is another fundamental step in a long and dif-

ficult process of peace," Mr Dos Santos said. "Behind us lie thousands of dead, a devastated country and a semi-paralysed economy."

Unita has been given portfolios in the new Cabinet - geology and mining, health, commerce and tourism.

Mr Savimbi has been appointed president of the largest opposition party, a position that carries the right to regular consultation with Mr Dos Santos and an official residence in Luanda.

The ceremony yesterday was the culmination of a peace process which began in November 1994 when the two sides signed a pact in Lusaka, Zambia.

The MPLA of Mr Dos Santos went to war with Unita shortly after independence in 1975, turning the oil- and diamond-rich country into one of Africa's basket cases.

Millions of land mines still have to be cleared and a vast task of rebuilding devastated infrastructure awaits the new government.

A stable, lasting peace should allow greater exploitation of the country's largely unexplored mineral wealth and bring greater regulation to diamond mining. - Reuter.



Absent: Jonas Savimbi feared for his safety

Mandela makes flying visit for inauguration

South Africa was without a president for a few hours yesterday when President Nelson Mandela flew to Luanda to attend a ceremony marking the inauguration of Angola's new government.

The president was accompanied on his flight by Cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel and Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad.

Mr Mandela was set to return to South Africa late yesterday.

A presidential spokeswoman said that Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would fill in for Mr Mandela should this prove necessary.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who would normally stand in for Mr Mandela, is currently in the United States.

The Angolan inauguration ceremony began just after 9am yesterday.

Members from the former rebel movement Unita, together with those from the previous Angolan government were sworn in at a ceremony at the Palácio dos Congressos in the capital.

The ceremony to swear in the 28 ministers and 55 deputy ministers - including 11 officials from Unita - was expected to last several hours. - Sapa



Angolan rebels lay down arms

LUANDA: Former Angolan rebel fighters have begun formally to lay down arms in a step to consolidate the peace that has been given shape by the landmark formation of a national unity government.

Only 10 Unita members took part in the demobilisation ceremony in Vila Nova at the weekend.

"Successful demobilisation is the key to peace in Angola. At last we start the process," UN special envoy Mr Alioune Blondin Beye said at the ceremony.

One of the biggest strides to burying 19 years of civil war was taken last week when four Unita cabinet members were sworn in along with former enemies in the MPLA of President José Eduardo dos Santos in a unity government.

The swearing-in was the culmination of a peace process that began with a pact in 1994.

About 40 000 former Unita fighters assembled in UN-run camps are due to return to civilian life as part of the process. — Reuter

(5) CT 14/4/97

Members of Unita start laying down their arms

APR 14/4/97

(5)

Luanda - Former Angolan rebel fighters have begun to formally lay down their arms in a step towards consolidating the peace that has been given shape by the landmark formation of a national unity government.

Only 10 Unita members took part in the demobilisation ceremony in Vila Nova on Saturday, which was typical of the way Angola has haltingly built peace in small and usually belated steps.

One of the biggest strides to burying 19 years of civil war was taken on Friday when four Unita cabinet members were sworn in along with former enemies in the MPLA of President Jose Eduardo

dos Santos in a unity government.

The swearing-in, delayed several times over the last six months, was the culmination of a UN-sponsored peace process that began with the signing of an MPLA-Unita pact in Lusaka in November 1994.

About 40 000 former Unita fighters assembled in UN-run camps are due to return to civilian life as part of the process.

"Successful demobilisation is the key to peace in Angola," the man who has done most to end the war, UN special envoy Alioune Blondin Beye, said at the Vila Nova ceremony on Saturday.

The ceremony, attended by

5 000 people, took place at one of 15 Unita assembly areas set by the UN.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi failed to attend the swearing-in on Friday, citing fears for his safety in Luanda. His participation in the plan was secured by giving him the title "president of the largest opposition party", a specially created post which gives him the right to consult Dos Santos routinely and an official residence.

Savimbi's absence confirmed the fears of those diplomats who believe much could still go wrong in Angola.

"I would say we need to turn our attention to the issue of

central administration now," said Paul Hare, a US envoy involved in the peace process. "This will certainly be a challenge."

Unita controls a huge amount of territory, up to 70% by some estimates, including some of the richest diamond areas. Savimbi's party earns up to \$800-million (about R3,6-billion) a year from diamonds, analysts say.

The rapid unravelling of neighbouring Zaire could also spell trouble. Unita has had warm relations with Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko, who appears to be on the way out, while the MPLA sympathises with the rebels of Laurent Kabila. - Reuters.

New hope for Angola

(5) Sowetan 16/4/97

AT LONG LAST, after two decades of one of the most destructive civil wars in the world, it seems peace has finally "broken out" in Angola. The inauguration of the government of unity and national reconciliation in Luanda last week marked a new phase in the history of Angola.

The guns of war have been silenced, but a definitive peace remains to be secured. However, the new government represents a fundamental step in the long and difficult process of restoring peace and reconciliation to Angola.

The fact that it was attended by so many heads of state, including Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe, Portuguese president Jorge Sampaio and President Nelson Mandela, suggests it is also viewed as a major event for the whole Southern African region.

This development significantly increases the prospects of lasting peace in the war-torn country. It will afford the political leadership of Unita and the MPLA a real opportunity to consolidate the fragile peace which was brokered by the warring parties in November 1994, and culminated in the Lusaka Protocol.

That process can now be anchored by the new government.

While Unita has been slow to fulfil its obligations to the Lusaka Protocol, president Eduardo dos Santos, his senior colleagues, United Nations Special Representative Alioune Blondin Beye and observers to the peace process were encouraged by Savimbi's recent final acceptance of his special status in the new government.

Unita's decision to revive the demobilisation process of the army is also cause for hope and optimism. The role of South Africa and Mandela, the Southern African Development Community chairman, was critical.

It was only after his meeting in Umtata this year that Savimbi confirmed that Unita would honour its commitments under the Lusaka Protocol.

That development clearly suggests that even Savimbi now accepts that Mandela's leadership is primarily aimed at enhancing the prospects for peace and stability in Southern Africa, especially in Angola.

It is unfortunate that Savimbi found it necessary to absent himself from the proceedings last Friday. Many Angolans perceive him to be the Achilles heel of the peace process.

He has reneged on several peace pacts in the past. However, the turn of events in the recent past has not favoured him.

Many within the MPLA leadership were opposed to the numerous concessions made to Savimbi in attempts to secure his cooperation in the peace process.

There has been tremendous pressure from

The establishment of a government of national unity and reconciliation represents a fundamental step in restoring peace. **Vernon Seymour** explains why ...



'The international environment has changed. On the international scene, Savimbi finds himself without his biggest Western ally - the US government'

various fronts on him, including from within Unita. Senior aides have distanced themselves from his remarks on a number of occasions in the last two years. Some have left to form their own political groupings.

Where does this leave Savimbi? The international environment has changed.

On the international scene, Savimbi finds himself without his biggest Western ally - the American government.

His old friend, Mobutu Sese Seko, is fighting for his political life in Zaire. For decades, the Mobutu regime has been working hand-in-glove with Savimbi, supplying Unita with lethal military equipment in an ongoing violation of UN-imposed sanctions.

The imminent demise of Mobutu also means that Unita's ability to raise funds by smuggling diamonds through Zaire has now been severely curtailed.

Coupled with all this is the fact that the Luanda government has taken some bold steps to market its new image to the world. A new foreign investment law seeks to create an investor-friendly climate.

Already, De Beers and other mining companies are engaged in initiatives that could prove a boom for a country that loses so much of its revenue through smuggling.

The new government faces many difficult challenges as it seeks to implement the peace accord. The demobilisation process of former Unita guerillas and the integration of the armed forces will test the government.

The mine clearing of the Angolan countryside and, particularly, strategic sites of the erstwhile enemies, is perhaps the biggest challenge for the new government.

Extensive mine clearing will not happen without the commitment and political will of both the Unita and MPLA leadership.

The economic and social costs of the war to Angola are staggering. An estimated one third of its territory is unusable because of landmines. Farmlands are inaccessible and roads impassable.

Locally grown food cannot reach city markets. Major roads, bridges, airfields, power lines, electrical installations and dams remain mined, impeding free circulation of people and goods, preventing economic and agricultural recovery.

Besieged cities, surrounded by minefields, are deadly traps for whoever wants to get out or in. People are learning to live with the threat of being killed or maimed while fetching water, firewood or fruit when farming or going to the market.

With an estimated 10 million mines planted - roughly one for every Angolan - the country holds the sad record for mine saturation and mine victims.

The UN estimates that Angola has the highest number of amputees and also the highest proportion of amputees per total population.

Angola's collapsed health structure will be unable to cope with the huge demands of war victims, whose number will continue to grow long after the war has ended.

Angola's war wounds have not fully been healed, nor has the country begun to exploit the extraordinary potential for growth and social development.

The inauguration of the new government provides the framework for Angolans to begin the process of national reconstruction and rehabilitation. If the peace holds, and attracts an inflow of investment, it will be possible to reconstruct the economy, rebuild the shattered cities and the shattered lives within them.

A well-planned policy, together with lasting peace, could make Angola one of the richest states in Southern Africa.

(The writer is a senior research fellow at the University of Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies, Cape Town.)

Unita deal on diamond mines near-at-hand

(5) ARG 26/4/97

Luanda - The Angolan state-owned diamond company and former rebels Unita are just weeks away from signing a deal on how to share Angola's vast diamond deposits, a Unita representative said yesterday.

"We have made some recent progress in the diamond talks and have reached some conclusions," said Isaias Samakuiva, a top Unita (Union for the Total Independence of Angola) parliamentarian and the former rebel movement's main representative to United Nations-sponsored peace negotiations.

"There are still some minor details to be worked out, but we should have an agreement in three to four weeks," he said.

Diamond production in Angola is estimated to be worth around \$1-billion (R4,4-billion) a year with between \$300-million and \$600-million of production coming from Unita-held areas.

Unita entered into a power-sharing agreement with the government on April 11 that formally ended hostilities that started when the MPLA, the FNLA and Unita went to war at independence from Portugal in 1975.

Unita, though, still controls vast areas of the country - some estimates are as high as 70 percent - including most of the diamond producing areas.

A UN peacekeeping force of over 6 000 is overseeing continuing demilitarisation of Unita, demobilisation of troops and extension of central government administration to all the country.

A deal legalising Unita's current diamond holdings, including a formula spelling out how Unita will participate with other concessionaires, including foreign ones, could be a key step in securing long term peace in the country, diplomats say.

Mining analysts said the power-sharing agreement provided a legal basis for the government diamond company, Endiama, and Unita to sign a binding agreement.

One said that since Unita was now part of the government it must recognise Endiama as the only state diamond company. - Reuter

Hand-over of Unita controlled territory begins

Key Angolan players meet

(5)

ARG 30/4/97

Luanda - The former Angolan rebel movement Unita is to begin handing over the vast amount of territory it controls in the war-ravaged country today.

Representatives of the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the United Nations will descend on M'Banza Congo, capital of Zaire province, for a ceremony to transfer Unita control of the city to the government.

"We are fully prepared to go along with this," said Isaias Samakuva, Unita's top representative to the peace process, after the decision was made last week to begin the hand-over.

Some estimates say Unita controls 70 percent of Angolan territory, but M'Banza Congo is the only provincial capital controlled by the former rebels.

Unita and the government signed a peace agreement in the Zambian capital of Lusaka in 1994 which has given the country its longest period of peace since the two

sides plunged into civil war at independence from Portugal in 1975.

On April 11 a government of national unity was established, fulfilling a key provision of the Lusaka agreement and a major goal of the 6 000-strong UN peace-keeping force.

However, many diplomats and officials say the extension of central rule to Unita-held areas is crucial to cementing long-term peace.

Although Unita has agreed to the turnover of M'Banza Congo, the former rebels have objected to the government's choice of governor. Yesterday the Unita radio station VORGAM denounced the reappointment of Ludy Kissassunda, saying he had been a former member of the security services involved in bloody purges in the late 1970s.

Economists are keen to see the hand-over begin, as it could spur trade. City dwellers, for the most part, cannot travel in Unita-held areas and this strangling of goods and services contributes to high prices. - Reuter

Man killed as Israelis fire on car at roadblock

Jerusalem - A man travelling in a car from the West Bank towards Jerusalem was killed at an Israeli roadblock early today in what Palestinians said was a deliberate

Israeli police said the driver refused an order to stop at the roadblock. They shot at the car's tyres and it slammed into a truck.

The identity of neither the driver nor the truck driver is known. The driver was shot dead. The truck driver was injured. The truck was damaged. The driver was shot dead. The truck driver was injured. The truck was damaged.

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Water and electricity real luxuries in Luanda

BD 2/5/97

(4)

LUANDA — So what if you drive a Mercedes-Benz. Here in Angola's capital, status is measured by how big your electricity generator is. In a place that averages 10 blackouts a day, self-sufficiency in electricity and water supplies is a real luxury.

Luanda's power stations are unable to supply all 3-million inhabitants, plus the hundreds of thousands of shantytown residents who illegally tap into power lines.

For water, less fortunate Angolans have to walk a long way to the nearest water point, or wait for the tanker trucks of the municipal public works authority. Behind the villas of Miramar, the diplomatic quarter, swimming pools have been topped with concrete and made into reservoirs.

Making a telephone call in Luanda is an exercise in patience. Many executives and civ-

il servants gave up trying to make connections long ago — they use radio or cellular phones.

To call the United Nations (UN) base in Luanda, the recommended way is to dial the UN switchboard in New York and ask for a connection, rather than struggle with the local number.

Everyday living problems and security concerns have bred veritable ghettos among the privileged.

Big companies like the French oil group Elf, US rival Chevron, Angolan oil company Sonangol and state diamond mine Endiama all run their own independent power supplies — and much more.

They also have their own supermarkets, transport services, security systems, health services and recreation clubs.

This state of affairs is continuing in the Lu-

anda-sul district under development in the south of the capital.

One sector has been set aside for low-cost housing and another for corporate managers.

Sonangol has ordered 460 homes for its staff, while Brazil's Odebrecht — which is developing public works at Luanda-sul — has land for 110 houses already for sale at \$500,000 each.

"It's certainly more expensive than in Europe or in the US, but we guarantee water and electricity supplies," said Mauricio Vasconcelos, who is in charge of the project.

"All of the houses will be enclosed by high walls and high-performance security systems will be installed," he said.

Residents will have the benefit of a double-sized road into the centre of Luanda to avoid the vast shanty town of Rocha Pinto, home to

thousands of refugees from Angola's civil war. Lacking running water and proper sewers, the people who live in Rocha Pinto make do as best they can.

Under big tents they try to sell handicrafts or fruits to UN peacekeeping soldiers for a few hundred thousand kwanzas. One dollar is worth 200,000 kwanzas.

For petty bureaucrats, teachers and nurses earning around \$30 a month, a second job is essential.

Absenteeism from the workplace is more or less tolerated, and some nurses have opened private consultation clinics in their homes on the side. Teachers have been known to become bakers after hours.

Few war amputees have escaped a life of begging or of rummaging through garbage for things to eat and wear. — Sapa-AFP.

Angola moves in big guns to assist final push on capital

LUBUMBASHI: Troops based in Angola as well as Angolan tanks and heavy equipment are involved in the final rebel push on Kinshasa, a source involved in the operations said yesterday.

An American diamond miner, who has been assisting the rebels in flying reconnaissance missions over the Kwango River east of Kinshasa, said he saw thousands of heavily armed troops enter Tshika-

pa from Angola last week to help rebels capture the city with tanks, heavy artillery and anti-aircraft weapons.

Angolan government officials could not be reached immediately for comment, because all public offices were closed for a holiday yesterday.

Tshikapa is about 100km north of the Angolan border and 260km south-east of Kikwit, which the

rebels said they took on Tuesday. Tshikapa fell last week.

The troops from Angola have since moved to Kikwit and are now on their way to Kinshasa, the miner said. He said the Angolans are flying their own reconnaissance missions over the area.

The source said he is using his own small plane on the rebel mission to verify a report that the bridge over the Kwango River on

the main road from Kenge, 180km from central Kinshasa has been destroyed by Zairian army troops.

The United States has warned Angola not to get involved in the Zaire conflict, and Mr Bill Richardson, US Ambassador to the United Nations, was in Luanda yesterday to see Angolan officials.

Angola's formerly Marxist government has strong reasons to want to get back at President

Mobutu Sese Seko, who allowed the then US-backed Unita rebels to use Zaire as a transit point for weapons during Unita's 20-year battle to seize control of Angola.

The reported movement of troops and heavy vehicles from Angola indicates rebel leader Mr Laurent Kabila may have chosen to ignore reported US demands not to use heavy military equipment in taking Kinshasa. — Sapa-AP

Water and light, not Mercs, are status symbols

(5) Star 5/15/97

SAPA-AFP
Luanda

So what if you drive a Mercedes-Benz. Here in Angola's capital, status is measured by how big your electricity generator is.

In a place that averages 10 blackouts a day, self-sufficiency in electricity and water supplies is a real luxury.

Luanda's power stations lack the ability to supply all three million inhabitants, plus the hundreds of thousands of shanty-town residents who illegally tap into power lines.

For water, the less fortunate of Angolans have to walk a long way to the nearest water point or wait for the tanker trucks of the municipality.

Behind the villas of Miramar, Luanda's diplomatic quarter, swimming pools have been covered over in concrete and made into reservoirs.

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Sonagol has ordered 460 homes to be built for its staff, while Brazil's Odebrecht - which is developing public works at Luanda-sul suburb - has land for 10 houses that are already for sale.

The price for one of

those residences is \$500 000 (about R2,2-million).

"It's certainly more expensive than in Europe or in the United States, but we guarantee water and electricity supplies," said Mauricio Vasconcelos, in charge of the project.

"All of the houses will be enclosed by high walls and high-performance security systems will be installed," he said.

Residents will have the benefit of a double-sized road into the centre of Luanda to avoid the vast shanty town of Rocho Pinto, home to thousands of refugees from Angola's civil war.

Lacking running water and proper sewers, the people of Rocha Pinto

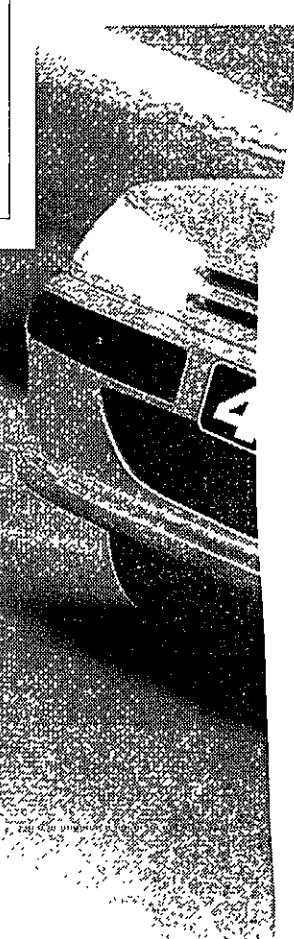
make do as best they can.

Under big tents made of parachute fabric, they try to sell handicrafts or fruit to UN peacekeeping soldiers for a few hundred thousand kwanzas. R5 is worth over 200 000 kwanzas.

For petty bureaucrats, teachers and nurses who earn around R130 a month, a second job is essential. Absenteeism from the workplace is more or less tolerated, and some nurses have opened pri-

vate consultation clinics in their home on the side. Teachers are known to become bakers after hours.

For war amputees, few have escaped a life of begging or of rummaging through garbage for things to eat and wear.



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Thousands of refugees want to enter Angola

① 00 5/5/97
LUANDA — About 17 000 refugees were waiting at the Zairean-Angolan border while Angolan and United Nations (UN) officials decided their fate, Angolan Assistance and Social Reintegration Minister Albino Malungo, said yesterday.

"I understand there could be as many as 17 000 of these refugees waiting to cross into Angola from Zaire, so we must deal with this situation," Malungo said.

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), quoting Zairean sources, said last month that about 30 000 Rwandan refugees had been seen moving toward the Angolan border.

Some of the refugees were reported to be former soldiers of the Hutu-dominated Rwandan government and Interhamwe militia, largely held responsible for the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Travel to the area has been severely restricted by the Angolan military and even personnel from the UN's peace-keeping mission in Angola, Unavem, have been denied access to the area along the border near the city of Dundo.

Malungo, the man charged with dealing with the refugees, said the Angolan government was working with the UNHCR to try to resolve the situation.

"We are working together with the UNHCR trying to bring the women and small children across the border," he said.

"The others, all those who are armed, of course, will not be allowed into Angola."

Earlier in the week Malungo said that many of the refugees camped across the border were armed. UNHCR officials in Luanda have declined to comment on the refugees, but the UNHCR in Geneva last month estimated the number at 7 000.

Another 500 refugees have crossed into nearby territory held by Unita, according to officials of the former rebel movement in Luanda. — Reuter.

Paper's report of killing slips past Harare customs

Michael Hartnack

HARARE — Newsagents yesterday held their breaths as 1 600 copies of the SA Mail & Guardian were allowed through, without inspection, by customs officers and went on sale bearing the headlines: "Mugabe's death squads" and "Nightmare of Mugabe's Matabele atrocities".

The newspaper gave massive prominence to a leaked copy of a report prepared by lawyers and churchmen on the reign of terror perpetrated by President Robert Mugabe's troops in Matabeleland in the early 1980s.

Yesterday neither Mugabe's press officers nor Archbishop Patrick Chakaipa, who ordered temporary suppression of the report, had responded to requests for comment.

Zimbabwe's state controlled newspapers ignored the leakage of the report.

Clive Wilson, a director of the company that distributes the Mail & Guardian said: "I am not afraid of government action."

However, Mugabe remains able to impose a total ban.

Anyone defying it risks seven

years in jail.

BD 5/5/97
The newly launched Zimbabwe Standard, which is outside control of the official Zimbabwe Newspapers group, yesterday carried an extensive lift from the Mail & Guardian story, further alerting Zimbabweans to long suppressed details of the atrocities.

A pro-government lawyer was previously ordered by Mugabe to prepare a report on events in Matabeleland after breakdown of the post-1980 independence government of national unity, but his findings were kept secret. Lawyers and churchmen late last year completed their own dossier after thousands of interviews, conducted in the face of continuing intimidation by the Central Intelligence Organisation.

The bishops, headed by Chakaipa, handed a copy to Mugabe on March 17, then decided to withhold distribution.

Churchmen said their aim was to get Mugabe to reverse his refusal to consider compensating families of victims, but Mugabe's government is likely to see it as a blow to its international credibility, and a stimulus to the formation of internal opposition.

Price of fuel in Zimbabwe rises

Michael Hartnack

BD 5/5/97
HARARE — With labour unrest already simmering over the cost of living in Zimbabwe, more price rises are expected due to 12%-24% hikes in the cost of petroleum-based fuel, announced by the state's national oil company.

Inflation last month bounced back to 20,1%, having fallen from 40% to a four-year low of 15%.

Illuminating paraffin, which many urban Zimbabweans depend on for cooking and heating in winter, rose in price at the weekend by 23% to 48c a litre while cooking gas rose 24% to R3,30/kg.

The price of leaded and unleaded petrol rose 12% to R2,12 and R2,47 a litre respectively and diesel rose 16% to R1,68, making increases in transport fares

inevitable.

The national oil company monopoly has been criticised by commerce and industry as wasteful and inefficient, but an official spokesman said the price rises had been forced by a further 10% depreciation of the Zimbabwe dollar since the last fuel price rises three months ago, and the cold northern winter that pushed up world prices by 30% to 35%.

The consumer council of Zimbabwe responded with a call to workers to negotiate increases that enable them to increase their living standards in real terms.

Morgan Tsvangirai, secretary-general of the Zimbabwe congress of trade unions noted real earnings had declined by at least 63% since the start of the government's economic liberalisation in 1991.



A squatter lowers a rope to the street so that belongings can be attached and raised to a newly occupied apartment in Barcelona. An estimated 1 500 Spaniards have taken over abandoned buildings as homes, triggering occasional clashes with police.

Picture: AP

Farm sector 'may be Angola's cure'

(5) BD 15/5/97

LUANDA — War-torn Angola's farm sector could be the key to curing some of the country's more serious economic ills, analysts say.

"There isn't much chance of production rising in any other sector except agriculture in the near term," said economist Laurinda Hoygaard.

Apart from its oil and diamond wealth, Angola — struggling to recover from two decades of civil war — produces only cement, beer and some food.

Although some sense of normality has returned to the country following a 1994 peace accord between the Luanda government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi's former guerrilla opposition Unita, the war has left painful scars on the economy.

Last year, inflation topped 3 700% while prices for foodstuffs in cities rival those in most of the world's capitals.

A kilogram of potatoes or tomatoes will cost \$3 or more while a kilogram of maize meal can cost as much as \$5.

Increased farm production would lead to a drop in prices and inflation and contribute to a decline in the artificially high exchange rate.

"At the moment there is some agricultural production in the interior," said Hoygaard.

"But it isn't enough to make much of a difference. If there was more freedom of movement, and goods could reach the cities, then you would see a fall in prices quite fast."

The government and Unita's April 11 power-sharing agreement should pave the way for the extension of central administration throughout Angola, which could bring about unrestricted trade in the country.

Much of Angola is still controlled by Unita and the free circulation of goods and services is severely restricted in those areas.

Farmers in these areas, the most productive zones in the country, are often prevented from bringing their

goods to Luanda and government-held provincial capitals.

A foreign agronomist pointed to Mozambique as an example of how quickly agriculture can be revived once farmers are allowed to move about freely.

Mozambique was devastated by a 16-year civil war causing up to 1-million deaths and isolating the interior for years.

After a 1992 peace treaty and elections two years later, goods began circulating in the interior, and the economy grew more than 18% — albeit from a very low base. Most of this was due to increased agricultural production.

Before Angola's independence in 1975, it exported substantial volumes of farm products and was once one of the world's largest coffee producers.

In 1973 it exported 218 000 tons of coffee, 112 000 tons of maize and 28.6 tons of beans.

With its slide into civil war, it imported hundreds of thousands of tons of emergency food aid.

Officials from the United Nations World Food Programme recently signed a contract with the Angolan government to supply 114 000 tons of food aid this year.

Angola's once farm-based economy is now driven by oil.

In 1960, oil accounted for less than 3% of gross domestic product, while agriculture contributed about 50%. By 1995, agriculture's share had fallen to 17% and that of oil had jumped to 40%.

Oil accounts for 90% of exports and 75% of government revenue, according to a report by the agriculture ministry and the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organisation.

While oil revenue has been used by the government to buy arms and boost security, agricultural spending has been dismal because of the war.

From 1991 to 1995, the government allocated less than 2% of annual spending to agriculture. — Reuter.

Lack of funds for Angolan peace process

LUANDA — United Nations (UN) and relief agencies helping to rebuild war-scarred Angola say a shortage of donor funds for demobilising thousands of soldiers could endanger the peace process.

"We are looking at a serious shortfall in funding," a senior representative of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) — the agency in charge of transporting disarmed soldiers to their homes from assembly camps — said on Wednesday.

"The IOM has been operating on its internal funds since early May, but we can't go on like this much longer," the official said.

A letter from UN headquarters in New York sent to 26 countries said that about 1 000 of a total of 400 000 soldiers were being taken daily to their villages from assembly camps where they have been awaiting demobilisation since early last year.

The letter stated that the IOM recently asked for \$48m for its demobilisation programme but had received just \$1m.

"The demobilisation and reintegration of former

combatants in Angola could be jeopardised because of a lack of resources," the letter said.

Carlo Scaramella, chief programme officer for the UN's humanitarian assistance unit, said about \$20m was urgently needed for the demobilisation programme.

"The IOM is in the most serious situation at the moment, but we have some problems too. We are currently trying to find some more money ourselves."

Scaramella said donors were becoming "tired and bored" with the drawn-out Angolan peace process, which began in 1994 when the government and the rebel Unita movement signed a pact to end 20 years of civil war. Both factions became partners in a unity government last month and the demobilisation of their troops is one of the last steps in a UN-monitored peace timetable.

Scaramella said donors were instead focusing on needs of refugees in Angola's northern neighbour the Democratic Republic of Congo, formerly Zaire. —
Reuter.

BD 23/5/97

Italians undertake to restore Angola's main railway line

(5) *Star 26/5/97*
Luanda - After more than a decade of standing idle, Angola's war-battered Benguela railway line is expected to be carrying cargo between Angola's Lobito port and the nation's northern neighbour in the next three years.

Italy's Tor di Valle company has been charged with restoring 1 350km of the railway line to the border, linking Lobito to the Democratic Republic of Congo, formerly Zaire.

"We have agreed to make the minimum repairs to the line that will allow freight to start moving within three years," said Claudio Insenga, Tor di Valle's senior representative in Angola.

Once the company has restored the line to accommodate minimum traffic, it will modernise it by replacing the steel rails, reconstructing 22 passenger stations and three work stations, and rebuilding the telephone and signals system.

The Benguela railway was used extensively by colonial Portuguese until Angola's independence in 1975. A civil war that lasted 20 years between the MPLA-led government and the rebel Unita movement saw parts of the line destroyed in

fighting. The war ended in 1994 when both sides signed a peace pact which has been slow to take effect on the ground. A new unity government was installed in April this year and will remain in place until elections are held within four years.

The line previously carried copper and cobalt from Angola's landlocked eastern neighbour Zambia and from mines in southern Zaire to Angolan ports.

Cobalt and copper exports from the former Zaire, mainly via Zambia, were disrupted by railway closures due to the country's seven-month-long civil war, which ended earlier this month with a rebel victory.

Zambia also stopped cross-border railway traffic with Kinshasa this month because of a dispute over debts.

"This railway is one of the keys to the reconstruction of the Angolan economy," said Angola's minister of commerce, Vitorino Hossi.

"I can't tell you how important it is for us. With this railway Angola has a future."

Lobito port was in good condition and could accommodate large freighters. - Reuters.



Angolan peace in (5) jeopardy

Star 27/5/97

Lisbon - Angola's former rebels warned yesterday they will pull out of the country's peace process unless an alleged military offensive by the government is halted.

United Nations officials said yesterday they will probe claims by the former rebel movement Unita that a government military offensive designed to stamp its authority on Unita-held areas has killed dozens of unarmed civilians.

Unita said government forces have used tanks and heavy artillery in an offensive launched last week in the diamond-rich Lunda Norte province, in northern Angola bordering Congo, to recover local administrative power.

Angolan government officials were unavailable for comment.

Under the 1994 peace accord, Unita is to hand back to the government the administrative control of the 70% of the country it occupied during the two-decade civil war.

The two sides joined in a power-sharing government last month. But the handover of power in inland areas of the country has been slow. Now, Unita says, the government is using force to complete the handover.

A UN inspection team will fly to Lunda Norte today to check Unita's claims. - Sapa-AP.



Italians rebuild rail line in barter deal

Rehabilitation of the Benguela railway line has economic implications for the whole region, writes Barnaby Phillips

(5) BD 27/5/97

LUANDA — An Italian construction company has started rebuilding Angola's 1 300km Benguela railway line, which runs from the Atlantic port of Lobito to the Democratic Republic of Congo's border.

The Rome-based Tor di Valle company estimates the cost of rehabilitating the line, damaged during Angola's 19-year civil war, at about \$500m. Tor di Valle has signed a barter exchange deal with the Angolan government, undertaking to repair the line in return for exclusive rights to harvest eucalyptus plantations that lie alongside it.

The reopening of the Benguela railway would provide not only a major boost to the struggling Angolan economy, but would also greatly improve the accessibility of the vast mineral wealth of Democratic Republic of Congo's southern Shaba province.

SA company Mechem has won a contract to demine about 400km of the line, between the towns of Cubal and Kuito. Mechem, using sniffer dogs, will start mine clearance in July. A Mechem representative in Luanda refused to disclose the size of the contract, but said aerial reconnaissance "showed that a lot of work needs to be done".

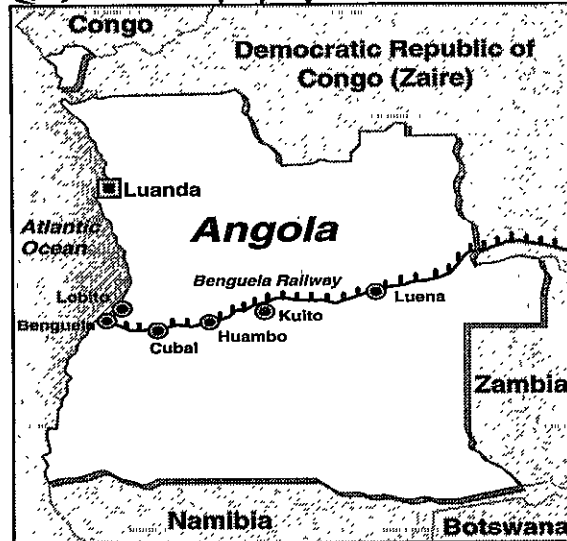
Tor di Valle's representative in Angola, Claudio Insenga, estimates it will take three years to reopen the entire line, but 14 years before it is working at full capacity. Rehabilitation work started at the beginning of this month near the port of Lobito.

Angolan Commerce Minister Vitorino Hossi described the project as "one of the keys to the reconstruction of our economy, which gives this country a real future".

The Italians are not deterred by doubts over Angola's political stability. Although the former Unita rebels joined the ruling MPLA party in a government of national unity last month, they still control large parts of the countryside, including many sections of the Benguela railway. "We see no reasons for problems with Unita," said Insenga.

Tor di Valle will have to replace 24 bridges, as well as thousands of wooden sleepers, used during the war by desperate refugees in the besieged highland towns of Huambo and Kuito as a source of firewood. Eventually, Tor di Valle will lay down an entirely new steel track, rebuild 22 passenger stations, and re-establish the telephone and signal systems.

The British engineers who built the Benguela railway at the end of the 19th century were primarily concerned with



Map: SARAH EVANS

finding a direct route to the sea for the vast mineral wealth of the then Belgian Congo and Northern Rhodesia. Copper, cobalt and zinc production in Shaba have slumped in recent years, but following the collapse of President Mobutu Sese Seko's regime there has been renewed foreign interest. American Mineral Fields did not even wait for Laurent Kabila's rebel alliance to seize power, signing a \$1bn contract with the alliance last month to rehabilitate copper and zinc mines.

Insenga said: "The Benguela railway has the potential to reinvigorate the economy of central Africa, and events in Congo-Zaire are proving us right, and making this project more attractive all the time."

But timber experts have cast doubt on the feasibility of Tor di Valle's plan to fund the rehabilitation of the line through the harvesting and export of eucalyptus wood. The plantations, which total more than 37 000ha, were planted along the railway more than 100 years ago, to provide early steam trains with a source of fuel.

Insenga was confident that sales of eucalyptus wood, primarily for pulp in Italy, would cover the costs of rebuilding the railway, while guaranteeing Tor di Valle a profit. But SA timber company Sappi Forests undertook a study of the plantations last year, and concluded that the poor condition of some of the plantations, the price fluctuations of eucalyptus pulp, and the cost of repairing infrastructure made any exploitation unprofitable.

Sappi was also concerned about the security situation in Angola's central highlands. Insenga brushes such worries aside. "We've done our sums carefully," he said, "and we will be able to harvest over a million tons of wood a year for the next 14 years."

□ Phillips is a freelance writer for *Business Day* and the *Financial Times*.

Army push threatens Angola's fragile peace

Star 28/5/97 (5)
Luanda - An army drive into areas held by the former rebel Unita opposition could endanger Angola's fragile peace, diplomats and officials close to the peace process said yesterday.

"Apparently the army is moving into quite a number of places in Lunda-Norte, and Unita is fighting back," said one Western diplomat, referring to a north-eastern province.

"This could be a special case where the military is trying to show what they can do, but they could very well repeat this in other Unita zones. This cannot be good for the peace process."

Over the weekend, United Nations and Unita sources said the Angolan army had moved into areas controlled by the former rebels in the country's diamond-rich north-east.

Unita reported dead and wounded civilians, some from artillery fire. The UN reported dead and wounded from the Angolan army.

"We have been concerned about this process for weeks now," said one Western diplo-

mat. "We are very worried about this new military activity in particular. My government is convinced that things are falling apart here."

UN sources said the head of the UN peacekeeping force, Alioune Blondin Beye, went to Unita's stronghold of Bailundo yesterday to discuss the crisis with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

Unita fought a 19-year civil war against the then Marxist government that erupted at independence from Portugal in 1975.

The two sides signed a peace agreement in the Zambian capital Lusaka in 1994.

In April Unita entered into a power-sharing arrangement with the government, thus fulfilling one of the main goals of the Lusaka accord and of a UN peacekeeping force.

Although establishment of the unity government signalled a formal end to hostilities, there are still major problems to be worked out before Angola can have lasting peace. The Angolan government was unavailable for comment. - Reuters.

Disease gains ground in Angola

Kathryn Strachan

THE fighting in Angola is over, but the country is losing its battle against malaria.

At any one time, up to 80% of the population has the malady. Yet with most hospitals and clinics destroyed by the war, patients have nowhere to go for treatment.

How many died of malaria in the southern African epidemic last year? The health ministry has not been able to calculate the toll, but it does know that the disease hits with epidemic proportions every year.

With no state health facilities, people have no option but to pay the \$80 treatment fee demanded by the private clinics which have sprung up since the war ended. And this is only the rate for uncomplicated malaria, says Angolan health ministry malaria control head Filomeno Fortes.

You realise this is a staggering fee for Angolans when Fortes says

his total monthly salary as a government "director" and as a doctor is \$200.

Only a fraction of the diseased can afford the malarial treatment offered by private clinics; and outside the cities where there are no private facilities, finding a cure is even more difficult.

"In the few state health facilities that are still standing, there are no malarial drugs or laboratory testing equipment.

"When we send chloroquine to a health centre, it is stolen and sold on the black market to the private sector," he says.

It was estimated last year that there were 3-million cases of clinically diagnosed malaria. Only clinically diagnosable cases were identified and counted. And it must be remembered that most of the country's technical resources were destroyed in the war.

"At the same time, all infectious diseases are increasing — so it is a disaster," says Fortes.

Broken down sanitation systems bring with them many infectious diseases, particularly in the capital Luanda which is home to six times more people than its infrastructure can cope with.

The entire country is a malarial area, yet the health ministry has decided to start tackling the problem on the southern border, setting up joint projects with Namibian health authorities.

As the budget for health is only 3% of the overall budget, the health ministry is severely constrained in what it can do to reverse the situation. But it is trying, says Fortes.

The first step to recovery is consolidating the peace process, and from there it can begin rebuilding clinics, training personnel and improving health service salaries.

"Now that the war is over, we are hoping that the health budget will be increased and we are requesting international donor agencies to assist us," he says.

(5) 60 29/5/97

Angolan army 'turns guns on Unita'

'People are just running away as the troops advance'

ANTONIO DA SILVA
FOREIGN SERVICE

Lusanda - Up in the far north east corner of Angola, things are not going well for Unita.

Foreign sources say that for weeks the Angolan army (FAA) had massed troops and material along what is now the former Zairian border to help Laurent Kabilla's rebels.

Now that ex-president Mobutu Sese Seko has left Kinshasa it seems the FAA has turned its considerable military hardware on Unita forces, long entrenched in this diamond-laced region.

Unita insists, and top United Nations and military sources and diplomats here agree, that at least half a dozen towns have been overrun by the FAA. They also say a number of towns have been shelled by artillery fire and then occupied by troops backed by tanks.

Dead and wounded, among them FAA

soldiers, have been brought to government-held hospitals, and the fighting has displaced thousands of refugees.

The army's movements have put Unita in a tough fix. The Lusaka Protocol, signed in 1994 by the Angolan government and Unita, brought an end to the civil war that had raged for nearly 20 years. The protocol called for the quartering, disarmament and demobilisation of all Unita's troops.

The Unita rebels maintain they have abided by the protocol, and deny they have armed troops, were engaged in fighting in Zaire, or are currently fighting against an army offensive in Unita-held zones.

"How can we fight back when we have no weapons," said General David Junjivi, a top Unita commander. "All the people out there are just running away from the army as they advance."

But military sources and residents in the north-east say otherwise. "There is no doubt there have been some serious clashes in the north-east," said one foreigner in

Dundo, which is near the fighting.

The response from Unita, aside from the complaints by Unita leadership in Luanda, has been muted at best. Most silent of all is Unita chief Jonas Savimbi, holed up in his interior highlands home town of Andulo.

"Savimbi is in a real fix at the moment," said one diplomat. "Unita is not supposed to have any armed troops. If he turns them loose on the FAA then he'll be shown as a liar, but if he holds them back he is going to risk losing more ground. The best way for him to argue this is to play it politically, but he doesn't show any sign of making a lot of noise about it. He has been silent lately and that is very worrisome - it is more of an indication that he might choose the military option."

Many military officials and diplomats say Unita has around 10 000 well-armed, trained troops that were kept out of the UN-led peace process. Most of these sources also say from 2 000 to 3 000 of these troops were sent to Zaire to support Mr Mobutu

against Mr Kabilla's rebels. Recent reports suggest some of these troops are still in the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) while others have managed to get back into Angola but are far from where they are needed in the north east.

Military sources here say there are signs the FAA may be preparing to push into Unita-held areas farther to the west toward the town of Cufunfu and into the edge of the Cuango River Valley, a diamond-rich area that is the source of much of Unita's income.

"If the FAA takes that area from Unita, that will certainly take this to another level," said one military official.

Unita has been taking some knocks off the battlefield as well. Diplomats here largely agree that Unita has been thoroughly outmanoeuvred by the government in recent months.

The government is seen as co-operating with the international community, but Unita is seen to be the problem child.

APR 31/5/97

"The government has won the peace process," said one diplomat. "They have simply played the game better than Unita. Now they are left with a dwindling number of options."

At issue is also the handover of Unita-held territory to the government, something called for in the Lusaka Protocol. Unita controls huge areas of the interior of the country, including much of the diamond producing areas in the north and north-east.

Until this week, when four Unita-held towns were turned over to the government, the pace of the handover has been painfully slow, leading some diplomats here to believe the government is prodding Unita with the recent attacks to speed up the handover.

"Perhaps the FAA is trying to send them a signal," said one diplomat. "They want this process to go faster and they know Unita is in a weakened position. This might convince Unita to be quick about it."

Long road back for Angolan coffee

BD 4/6/97 (5)

Angolans face enormous obstacles in their efforts to put their coffee industry back on its feet, writes **Barnaby Phillips in Luanda**

ANGOLANS are fond of saying that while coffee built their country, oil destroyed it.

It is a gross simplification, but it has some truth behind it. Angola's modern cities were built in the 1960s and early 1970s on the back of profits partially derived from booming coffee output. Yet during the past 25 years, coffee production has slumped, and much of the modern infrastructure has collapsed.

During the same period, offshore oil production has steadily increased and Angola is now one of the most oil-reliant economies in the world. "But have ordinary people seen any of that oil money?" asks Angolan government coffee adviser Benjamin Castello. "No, it has gone on weapons, weapons and weapons."

The result is that Angola's coffee sector has become yet another

victim of the 19-year civil war between the MPLA government and Unita rebels. The government estimates official output of coffee last year was between 5 000 and 6 000 tons, almost entirely of the "robusta" variety.

This is in sorry contrast to an estimated output of 230 000 tons in 1973, at which time Angola was Africa's second largest exporter of coffee, and the world's largest supplier of "robusta".

"To be candid, we are now growing virtually nothing," says senior government coffee secretary official Josefa Sacko. Former Portuguese-owned plantations have been abandoned, peasant farmers have fled into cities, coffee bushes have been neglected

and the rural infrastructure is in ruins. To complicate matters further, the vast majority of coffee producing areas, in the northwestern provinces of Uige, Bengo, Kwanza-Norte and Kwanza-Sul, are still Unita-controlled.

Although Angola has enjoyed an uneasy peace since the 1994 peace accords, Unita has only now begun to hand over territory it captured during the war. "Most coffee is grown in Unita areas and passes through (its) hands. We never see it," admits Sacko.

Until recently, Unita smuggled its coffee with relative impunity through Zaire, where it could rely on the connivance of officials in the regime of former president Mobutu Sese Seko. After Mobu-

tu's fall, Unita is going to find it increasingly hard to sell Angolan coffee on the international market. Yet although the ex-rebels joined the MPLA last month in a government of national unity, it is likely to be many months before it relinquishes control of all its coffee-producing areas.

Such daunting problems have not stopped Angola's government preparing a five-year coffee rehabilitation plan, costed at \$20m.

"We don't think Angola will ever produce coffee again on the scale of the early 1970s, but we are convinced it can once again be an important part of our economy," says Sacko.

The plan consists of resettling an estimated 30 000 smallholder

industry

families who fled coffee-growing areas, while also encouraging foreign investment in the sector.

The Angolan government insists the problem of landmines in coffee growing areas is not as severe as was first feared. "After all, Unita has carried on using many of these plantations," says one official. So far, though, international reaction to the plan has been lukewarm. Some experts argue that the switch in western consumer demand from "robusta" coffee to "arabica" varieties has fatally damaged the viability of Angolan coffee.

The Netherlands-based Common Fund for Commodities put forward \$300 000, but donors have opted to wait.

Supporters of Angola's coffee industry believe there are strong social and political reasons for donors to invest in the sector. "Peace in Angola is an impossibility while poverty and misery persist in rural areas," says Castello, "but coffee can give a minimum financial security to hundreds of thousands of peasants."

Yet convincing farmers to grow coffee again will be hard. Political insecurity and poor marketing infrastructure obliges peasants to make food production a priority. "In colonial times the government forced peasants to cultivate coffee, but that is no longer acceptable," says one official.

Angola's government now buys coffee from farmers for \$0.50/kg, selling it at about three times that value. "We have got to give people a better incentive to come back to coffee," says Castello.

War cries from Angola

M+G 6-12/6/97

As the peace process drags on, the overthrow of Mobutu has handed the government in Luanda an opportunity to move in on Unita's rich diamond fields, writes **Barnaby Phillips** from Luanda

A FORTNIGHT of fighting in Angola's diamond-rich, north-eastern province of Lunda Norte has raised renewed doubts about the stability of the peace-keeping process — just two months before United Nations peacekeeping troops are due to complete their withdrawal.

The Angolan armed forces (FAA), using the town of Dundo as a base, have pushed into territory held by the former rebel Unita movement. Although the UN has been denied access to the area, about 2 500 people have fled into government-held towns, and local residents report mortar and Katyusha rocket fire.

There are also reports of dead and wounded FAA soldiers being brought back to Dundo. "This is the worst fighting since the 1994 Lusaka peace accord," says one diplomat in the capital Luanda.

Unita has complained to the UN about what it describes as government aggression, and a Unita representative in Luanda has warned that the former rebels "will take appropriate measures if the offensive continues".

But despite much bluster, Unita has decided to live with its losses around Dundo, knowing that in its present weakened condition it can scarcely risk a return to all-out conflict.

The diamond reserves of Lunda Norte are an essential source of income to Unita, worth an estimated \$500-million a year.

But while diamond experts say that the recent fighting may have cost Unita between 10 to 15% of that total, the richest mining areas remain firmly under the movement's control. These areas are in the Cuango valley, further to the west, where Unita claims there has been a build-up of FAA military strength in recent weeks.

Government officials deny a decision has been taken to remove forcibly Unita from the areas it controls. They claim instead that the operation is designed to secure the northern border with the Democratic Republic of Congo, snaring troops loyal to ousted Mobutu Sese Seko who are trying to flee the forces of Laurent Kabila.

But the fighting around Dundo reflects the



Jonas Savimbi: Lost a vital ally with the fall of Mobutu Sese Seko

PHOTOGRAPH BY WALTER DILAQUILA/APP

government's increasing lack of tolerance with what it perceives as foot-dragging by the Unita leader, Jonas Savimbi.

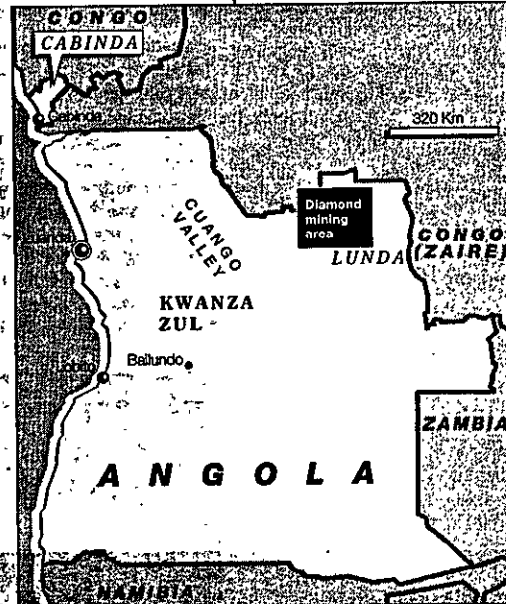
At the root of this impatience is the fact that Unita still controls about 70% of Angolan territory. At the beginning of April, Unita accepted a junior role in a power-sharing Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, still dominated by the ruling MPLA party, but there has been little progress since then.

B ut events in Congo confirm Unita's growing international isolation, and may now encourage the government to take a more bellicose attitude.

Ten years ago Unita had important friends in Washington, Pretoria and Kinshasa; now it is distinctly unpopular in all three of those capitals. "With the fall of President Mobutu, Unita have lost their last important foreign friend," says Angola's Deputy Foreign Minister Jorge Chikoti.

Mobutu was indeed a vital ally to Savimbi, allowing him to send out diamonds through Zaire, while bringing in weapons and fuel, in clear violation of UN sanctions. In contrast, Kabila is a close ally of the Angolan government, which provided support to him during the Zairean civil war.

With the assistance of Lebanese traders, Unita will doubtless continue exporting diamonds



from its airfields across Angola, but the scale of the trade is likely to be severely curtailed.

Meanwhile, speculation is growing of a split between Unita moderates who have already arrived in Luanda, and those hardline generals who remain with Savimbi in his central highlands headquarters of Bailundo.

"Those who are in Luanda are seeing they can work with their MPLA counterparts and the idea of returning to the bush becomes less and less attractive," says one diplomat.

The differences of opinion within Unita were graphically illustrated in an ugly incident last week in the central province of Kwanza Sul, when a gang of Unita supporters beat up and nearly killed a leading Unita moderate, Isaias Samakuva. He says he believes the attack was carried out by local hotheads, but his interpretation sits oddly with Unita's reputation for discipline and centralised decision-making.

UN and Western diplomats are now urging Savimbi finally to embrace the peace process, and move to Luanda. Until now, he has refused to do so, arguing that his personal safety cannot be guaranteed.

But these are critical times for the man who launched Unita back in 1966. "If he comes to Luanda, he plays his last card, but if he stays in Bailundo, he risks seeing his authority gradually being eroded," says one government minister.

UN seeks new Angola talks

(5)

ARG 11/6/97

New York - United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan has urged Angolan former rebel leader Jonas Savimbi to travel to Italy for negotiations with Angolan President José Eduardo Dos Santos, Western diplomats say.

Mr Annan had told the UN Security Council yesterday that he was pressing for a meeting during which the two leaders could discuss the recent fighting in north-eastern Angola between Mr Savimbi's Unita and

government troops, they said.

Mr Dos Santos is currently in Rome, but UN officials cautioned that it was not certain that he would agree to a meeting there with Mr Savimbi, who has refused to leave his headquarters in central Bailundo to travel to Luanda in line with peace accords.

Mr Annan said after briefing the Security Council that he spoke to Mr Savimbi by telephone yesterday as part of his efforts "to avoid escalation of the conflict in Angola." - Sapa/AFP

Angolan show of unity despite clashes

(5) *ANW 11/6/97*

Luanda - Angola's former war foes united in parliament for the first time yesterday.

However, the future of their national unity government was clouded by renewed fighting between their forces in the bush.

Members of the formerly Marxist MPLA government and deputies from the former Western-backed rebel movement, Unita, sat together for the first time in a joint parliament elected in 1992, which had never convened until now.

A total of 70 Unita deputies, 126 MPLA legislators and sev-

eral opposition party members crammed the Palacio dos Congressos in Luanda for their first plenary session.

On top of their agenda was to discuss the problems in the extension of state control to the Unita-held areas.

The fact that the Unita forces still control most of the Angolan countryside, including its lucrative northern diamond areas, is seen as the real reason behind fighting that has continued since the government sent troops to the rural area and opened an offensive three weeks ago. - Reuters.



Savimbi's 'exile' muddies the peace

A fundamental ambiguity in Unita's position is fuelling concerns about achieving a political solution for the country, writes Barnaby Phillips in Luanda

THESE are strange days in Angola. In the northeastern province of Luanda Norte, fighting between government soldiers and forces of the former rebel Unita movement has been reported for several weeks now.

The clashes, which represent the most serious violations so far of the 1994 peace accords, are having little effect on political life in Luanda. Those Unita members who joined government in April as junior partners in a power-sharing deal are busy fulfilling their ministerial functions.

In parliament, Unita deputies and their counterparts from the MPLA party, which has ruled Angola ever since independence in 1975, engage in cordial and tame debate. "We don't know whether this means war or peace," laments one Angolan journalist.

At the heart of the problem is a fundamental ambiguity in Unita's position. While Unita's representatives in Luanda are being increasingly drawn into the political process, the movement's leader, Jonas Savimbi, refuses to move to the capital.

He remains at his headquarters in Angola's central highlands, surrounded by a group of hardline generals. "If Savimbi won't come here, it is time we stopped dealing with him," said one diplomat in Luanda, who argues that Unita's government ministers and par-

liamentary deputies should instead "be accorded more respect, as elected representatives of the movement".

It is a laudable argument, but one that ignores the realities of Savimbi's enduring hold over Unita, and its military capacity to disrupt Angola's insecure peace.

It is a situation that is causing increasing impatience within the Angolan government. At the root of their frustration is the fact that Unita retains control of the majority of Angolan territory, and, crucially, an estimated 80% of its diamond reserves.

"We have a government of national unity, which Unita is participating in, so why must we wait any longer for the right to use diamond income for national development?" asked Paulino Neto, a senior official in the diamond parastatal, Endiama.

The fighting in Luanda Norte bears testimony to the fact that some generals in the Angolan armed forces have decided not to wait.

"We have been pushed out of some of our diamond mining areas," confirms a Unita spokesman. Mining sources estimate that Unita may have lost about 10% of its diamond reserves, but emphasise that Unita's richest diamond mines, in the Cuango River valley, have not been touched by the conflict.

The United Nations (UN) peace-

keeping force in Angola, Unavem, argues that press reports have been exaggerating the scale of the conflict in Luanda Norte. "These would be best described as skirmishes," insists Unavem's head, Abroune Blondin Beye. But the UN confirms that artillery has been used, and that thousands of civilians have fled from an area to the south of the town of Nzaje.

Angolan armed force generals believe their troops have been clashing with Unita soldiers returning from the Democratic Republic of Congo, where they had been based before the fall of President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Opinion in Luanda is divided as to whether the armed forces will carry on pushing into Unita territory.

But in either case, the atmosphere is not conducive to a smooth pull-out of Unavem's forces, due to be completed in August.

Already UN officials are mooting the possibility of the withdrawal being delayed, although any such proposal will run up against the exasperation of the security council, which has long grown weary of funding the Angolan peace process.

Many believe that Angola's best hope of a lasting peace lies in the possibility of a long-mooted diamond deal between the government and Unita. With the government's encourage-

ment, Unita has established a registered mining company, SGM, which has already been granted concessions in the south and centre of the country.

But negotiations have stalled over more lucrative diamond mining areas in Luanda Norte.

"We are not giving these up until we are confident that we have a deal that will enable us to compete in the next elections," said a Unita official.

But the present fighting in the province is not helping the talks to make progress.

"Both sides are too busy accusing the other of troop movements and sinister intentions," said a diplomat.

Perhaps inevitably, talk has been of another meeting between President Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi, in an attempt to dispel the mistrust, but the Angolan government shrugged off an apparent Unita suggestion that the meeting take place in Italy, where Dos Santos is on holiday.

"We are prepared to meet Mr Savimbi, but it must be on Angolan soil," said a presidential spokesman.

In any case, such meetings in the past have had little long-term effect in reducing the chronic suspicion that exists between the two sides.

War or peace? Angola looks destined to muddle somewhere in-between for a while yet.

5) 80 20/6/97

In the troubled heart of Africa: Ethnic cleansing which began in Rwanda is reaping murder and mayhem in other

Angola in a state of near-war

MTG 20-26/6/97(h)

Chris Gordon

THE last act in Angola's cold war is now in motion in the diamond-mining region of the Lundas as the opposition party Unita and the Angolan army FAA confront each other across the disputed province.

What should have been a quick operation by FAA to regain control of the Democratic Republic of Congo border and bring Unita to the negotiating table has escalated to a state of near-war.

An unconfirmed report from Luanda said President Eduardo Dos Santos gave the go-ahead for a two-week offensive to contain the militias coming in from the former Zaire, and to recapture Unita-controlled diamond fields.

FAA moved into the region four weeks ago to stem the flood of Hutu militias and refugees. Reports suggest members of ex-president Mobutu Sese Seko's presidential guard were also crossing into Angola to join Unita.

Cafunfo, the mining town and FAA base in the diamond-rich northern Cuango valley was reinforced in a secret operation and used to attack Luzamba, Unita's diamond-mining base. But Unita repelled the attacks after FAA seriously underestimated Unita's armaments.

In theory, Unita had been disarmed and had quartered its troops under United Nations supervision. In reality there has been a build-up of Unita's strength over several months.

Despite the UN's efforts, elite units of the Unita army did not go into cantonment, and up to a third of the 67 000 demobilised troops have since deserted. Effectively, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's army has reduced little.

Mobutu's fall and efforts by his nemesis, President Laurent Kabila, and FAA to control the border have cost Unita its rear bases, and its supply lines through the former Zaire. Africa's long borders and open skies, though, pose major problems for real control.

One source, who cannot be named, said there

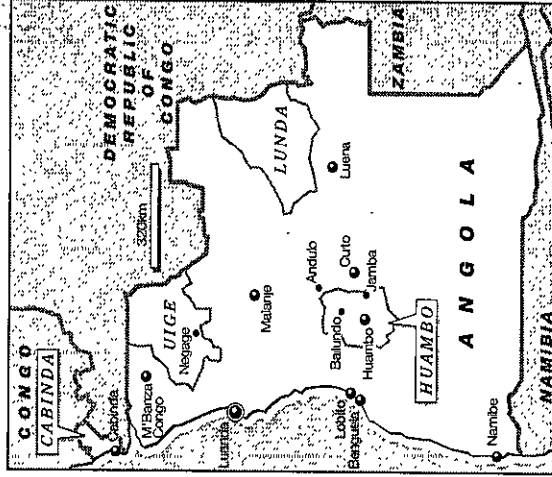
is no doubt large quantities of arms for Unita are seeping into the country, with 1994 and 1995 manufacture dates, including new Stinger missiles. The United States embassy in Luanda told the *Mail & Guardian* Unita had returned all the Stinger missiles supplied by the US as part of its covert war against Angola in the 1980s.

Much of the new *matériel* is from Eastern Europe. However, reports suggest arms for Unita are still being channelled via Unita's supporters in South Africa.

Though Angola's Government of Unity and Reconciliation contains Unita ministers, the party led by Savimbi from his Bailondo headquarters does not seem to be giving up his agenda. Unita controls 80% of Angola's diamond areas, which it seized in 1992 to finance the war against the government forces after it rejected the UN-monitored election results.

Control of the Cuango Valley netted Unita income averaging \$500-million a year. The organisation was expected to surrender the diamond mines after the government of national unity was installed in April, but Savimbi is clearly reluctant to cede control.

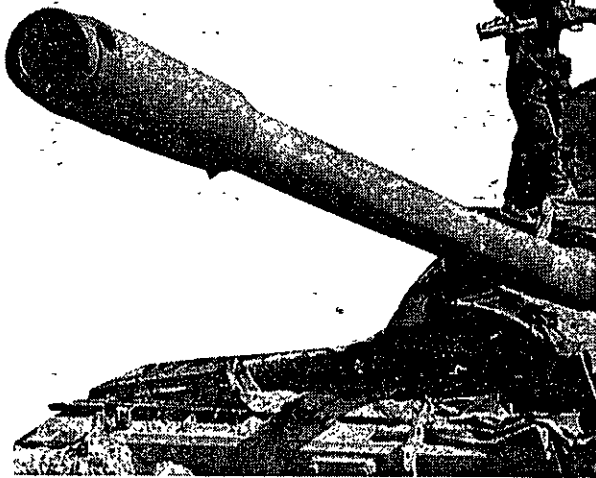
The UN peacekeeping operation in Angola confirmed this week that a group including mil-



itary observers from the Portugal, Russia and the US had visited the Kassai border region and found the area tense. The group reported people fleeing the fighting, and heard artillery fire.

Under the rules of the peacekeeping operation, the UN cannot intervene militarily. It can only observe and mediate in the face of a spiral back into war. If the issues between Unita and the government cannot be negotiated successfully, the war will be fought through to the end.

countries in the region



With tanks: Allegations have resurfaced of unauthorised South African arms sales to Angola

SA supplying arms to Unita

MtG 20-26/6/97 (6)

Peta Thornycroft

WAR matériel from South Africa is being supplied to Angola's Unita movement, according to reports by the Institute for Security Studies. One of the institute's senior researchers, Jakkie Potgieter, says he has seen military supplies being off-loaded and stored in northern Mozambique for shipment to Unita forces along Angola's border with the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The origin of the matériel is unclear — many of the arms are thought to have come from eastern Europe, particularly Bulgaria, while equipment such as ration packs and medical supplies are South African-made.

The fighting in north-eastern Angola is gathering momentum for what looks like full-scale war, and South Africa's assistance for Unita is once more the subject of intense concern.

Unita's army has regrouped and, while its traditional supply route via eastern Zaire may have been disrupted, Potgieter says, it is now being re-armed via Mozambique.

He says Unita also uses this route to export its spoils from eastern Angola — diamonds, ivory and what looked like rhino horn.

Potgieter, a former artillery officer in the then South African Defence Force, went on two field trips to Mozambique last November and this March.

His reports say weapons are transported to a Taiwanese prawn-processing plant near Mozambique's most northerly port, Nacala.

Kader Asmal: Has to authorise arms exports

"The small arms and ammunition are sent by Cessna 210s from Nampula [about 50km from Nacala] into Angola. These planes do not have South African registrations," Potgieter says.

"I also saw DC3s being used, and I have seen one of those planes at a runway near Pretoria."

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He also saw a coaster, with an Indian flag, discharging cargo at Nacala. Boxes of weapons and probably ammunition were stored in grain silos before being airlifted to Unita.

"In the past, South Africa supplied Unita with weapons, and it makes sense for them to order 60mm and 80mm mortars and 106mm anti-tank ammo from this country. Russian ammo doesn't fit," Potgieter says.

"Perhaps Unita is being supplied by France, or even Israel. I saw a well-known Israeli weapons dealer in Lunda Sul and Norte in March, but it is more likely the ammo comes through old contacts from South Africa," he adds.

Potgieter will be releasing two reports on the movement and proliferation of small arms and how Mozambique has become a major route for the supply of weapons in the subcontinent.

Exports of South African armaments have to be authorised by the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, chaired by Kader Asmal. The committee authorises arms exports after examining end-user certificates. It said it would never authorise the supply of weapons, ammunition or materials of war to Angola, or to any organisations or individuals.

However, falsification of end-user certificates has been going on for as long as the United Nations has been embargoing weapons supplies.

MPLA and Unita fail to cut a deal on diamonds (5)

The inability of these political rivals to come to an agreement means the industry is floundering

ST (A) 22/6/97

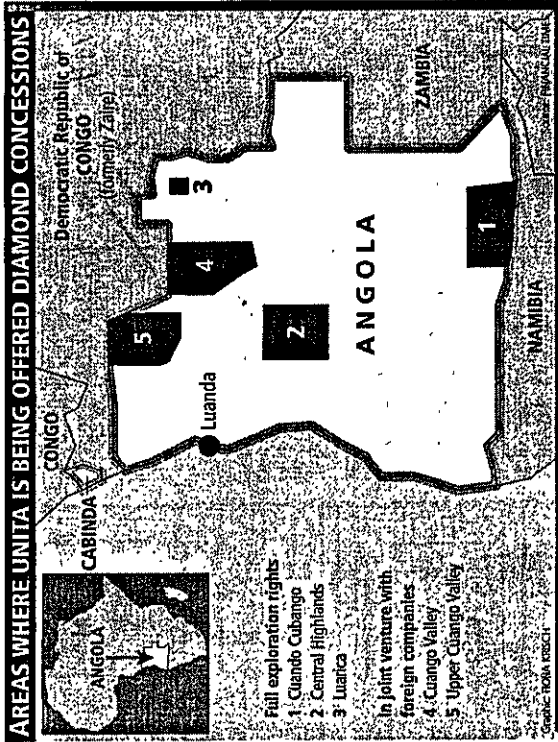
ANGOLA'S former rebel Unita movement is coming under increasing government pressure to reach agreement on the allocation of the country's diamond concessions, worth an estimated \$700-million a year.

Angola's government could increase diamond production by 70% in areas which are still under Unita's control, despite the unity government's peace process, an Angolan diamond chief said.

The dispute over Unita's control of about two thirds of the country's production has held up implementation of the peace process as government troops are deployed in the north-east of the country.

"Unita is being warned it is in a weak position, and it should sign now, rather than risk losing everything," said one diplomat in Luanda. But Jonas Savimbi, Unita's leader, has expressed concern about the movement's viability should it lose its diamond areas. One of Savimbi's close advisers says: "The government has the oil, we need at least some of the diamonds if we are ever to contest elections again in Angola."

The Angolan government, and SGM led to an agreement



Full exploration rights
1. Cuango Valley
2. Central Highlands
3. Luanda
4. Joint venture with foreign companies
5. Upper Cuango Valley

on two diamond concessions, one in southern Cuando Cubango, and one in the central highlands around the Unita-held town of Andulo. Diamonds are not being produced in either area at present, but the concession in Cuando-Cubango is believed to have exploitable Kimberlite pipes (diamond bearing structures) while the concession around Andulo is thought to have alluvial deposits.

Meanwhile, further to the west, Unita has been offered a shareholding in the Sociedade Mineira de Desenvolvimento, SMD, the consortium to which the government has already awarded the crucial Cuango valley concession.

This includes Angola's richest alluvial deposits, which are being heavily mined by Unita and Lusitana.

been awarded by the government to the Dutch-based International Defence and Security. Foreign diamond interests in Angola have surged in the past year, Neto said, adding that the total value of overseas investment was unknown.

However, the start of production at the country's first kimberlite diamond mine, operated by Odebrecht at Catoca, has been delayed two months as a convoy carrying equipment to the mine in Angola's north-east returned to Luanda amid security fears.

Prospecting by diamond giant De Beers for new kimberlites in the north-east, was going ahead, Neto said, adding that the first sample from testing had been sent to Kimberley in South Africa.

President Mobutu's recent fall has compromised Unita's ability to trade diamonds, while simultaneously buoying the confidence of the Angolan government.

In mid-May the Angolan army launched an offensive in the diamond rich north-eastern province of Luanda Norte, capturing several towns and admits they have already lost control of some diamond mines, while industry analysts report on Mohammed al Fayed, who took over Harrods in 1985.

Harrods Bank is unique. It has only one branch — in the bowels of the store — although its 3 500 customers can draw cash from 19 000 Visa Data cash dispensing machines in the UK and another 240 000 worldwide. And it offers a highly personalised service from investment advice to mortgages with the convenience of being open whenever Harrods is open — late evenings and some Sundays and public holidays.

But Harrods is dwarfed by Britain's biggest clothing and food-store chain, Marks and Spencer (M&S). It built a financial services division, which made \$50-million pre-tax profits last year, on the back of the introduction of charge-cards for customers in 1968. M&S Financial Services expanded to become an authorised bank after two years

UK supermarkets stock up on banking products



JOHN CAVILL FROM LONDON

THIS week the financial services systems giant NCR is holding a seminar in London with a provocative theme: "Consumers need banking, but do they need banks?"

The answer in Britain is that banks — in their traditional form of dignified buildings on the High Streets — are needed less and less. Over the last 10-15 years a technological revolution has hit UK banking and added to that has been intense competition from building societies as they moved to become super-banks.

Since 1990 some 130 000 jobs have gone from the banking and building society sector with 2 800 branches being shut down. Now the competition is heating up from the ever more aggressive supermarkets, giants.

Having muscled into the fuel retailing market with their own discounting service stations, they are also offering banking. Shops with banks are not a 20th century idea. Harrods, the up-market Knightsbridge department store where customers can buy practically anything, has had a bank on the premises since 1893.

No longer controlled by the store — that was wrested by the outside trustees by the Bank of England following a critical report on Mohammed al Fayed, who took over Harrods in 1985 — Harrods Bank is unique. It has only one branch — in the bowels of the store — although its 3 500 customers can draw cash from 19 000 Visa Data cash dispensing machines in the UK and another 240 000 worldwide. And it offers a highly personalised service from investment advice to mortgages with the convenience of being open whenever Harrods is open — late evenings and some Sundays and public holidays.

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draw cash from any of NatWest's 2 500 tills throughout the UK. Some 190 000 people signed up for the scheme — almost double the level expected.

In February this year Sainsbury's and the No 3 supermarket group Safeway hit back with their own financial services. To meet the new threat Tesco ended its arrangement with NatWest and a partnership was formed with Royal Bank of Scotland to broaden the use of the Clubcard Plus with an internationally acceptable credit card and a wider range of financial services.

Meanwhile Sainsbury, with a 12-million customer base, stole a march by becoming the first supermarket to enter full-blown consumer banking with the opening of Sainsbury's Bank, a 55-45 joint venture with the Bank of Scotland.

It has grown fast. From a standing start in late February, Sainsbury's Bank has won 225 000 customers and deposits of \$350-million.

The full gamut of products is on offer. Instant Access savings accounts offering 3.75% — the best so far — and personal loans arranged on the telephone.

Borrowers can get a three-month repayment holiday. Mortgage lending is planned. Mortgage

its Classic and Gold Visa credit cards can be used anywhere, including rival supermarkets. And shoppers using either of these in conjunction with their Reward card earn a 2% discount.

Safeway's ABC Bonus Account, operated with Abbey National, the first building society to be listed and turn itself into a major bank as well as life insurer, resembles the initial Tesco operation.

MPLA and Unita fail to cut a deal on diamonds ⁽⁵⁾

The inability of these political rivals to come to an agreement means the industry is floundering

ST (M) 22/6/97

ANGOLA's former rebel Unita movement is coming under increasing government pressure to reach agreement on the allocation of the country's diamond concessions, worth an estimated \$700-million a year.

Angola's government could increase diamond production by 70% in areas which are still under Unita's control, despite the unity government's peace process, an Angolan diamond chief said.

The dispute over Unita's control of about two thirds of the country's production threatens to hold up implementation of the final phases of the peace process as government troops are deployed in the north-east of the country.

"Unita is being warned it is in a weak position, and it should sign now, rather than risk losing everything," said one diplomat in Luanda.

But Jonas Savimbi, Unita's leader, has expressed concern about his movement's viability should it lose its diamond areas. One of Savimbi's close advisers says: "The government has the oil, we need at least some of the diamonds if we are ever to contest elections again in Angola."

The Angolan government,

which launched an offensive in the diamond-rich north-east of the country in May, says it will boost gem production if it can win control of the diamond mines. "If they free the areas we can increase production by up to 70%," Paulino Neto, diamond administrator of the state-run Endiama diamond firm, told Reuters.

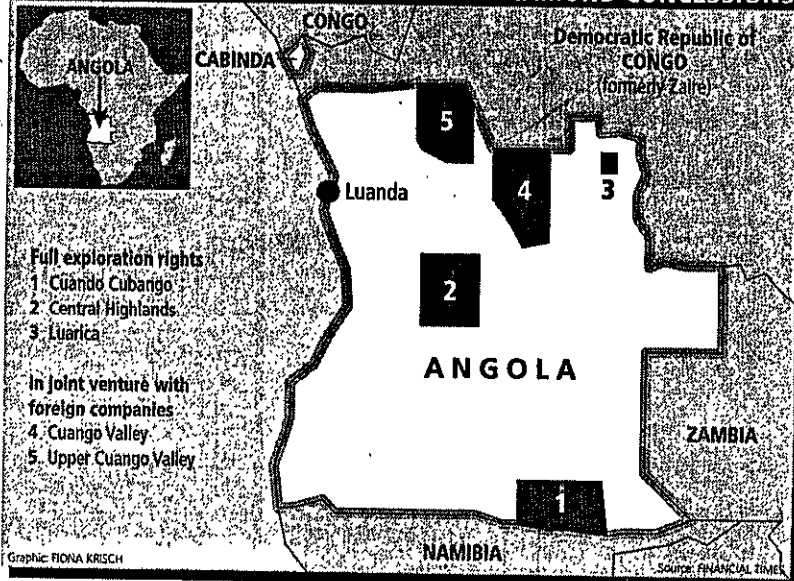
Neto, Endiama's former director-general, said the diamond sector could not grow while Unita held 80% of all diamond land. He said legal production of diamonds by Endiama in 1996 totalled around \$65-million, and that illegal diamond production was higher.

Mining analysts estimate that Unita earns up to \$600-million annually from diamonds.

"Until this moment Endiama controls about 20% of areas. Practically 80% of all areas are outside the control of the government and the volume of diamonds that leave the country illegally is more than the diamonds controlled officially," Neto said.

Neto denied Endiama was in talks with Unita over the diamond wealth, but said there had been an agreement with the Unita-linked SGM company. Talks between Endiama and SGM led to an agreement

AREAS WHERE UNITA IS BEING OFFERED DIAMOND CONCESSIONS



on two diamond concessions, one in southern Cuando Cubango, and one in the central highlands around the Unita-held town of Andulo.

Diamonds are not being produced in either area at present, but the concession in Cuando-Cubango is believed to have exploitable Kimberlite pipes (diamond bearing structures), while the concession around Andulo is thought to have alluvial deposits.

Meanwhile, further to the west, Unita has been offered a shareholding in the Sociedade Mineira de Desenvolvimento, SMD, the consortium to which the government has already awarded the crucial Cuango valley concession.

This includes Angola's richest alluvial deposits, which are being heavily mined by Unita and include its diamond mine at Lusamba.

But the rebel movement has so far failed to reach agreement with SDM, which is comprised of Australia's Ashton Mining, Brazil's Odebrecht, and Endiama.

"We still hold most of the Cuango valley, and we are not moving out until we get a good profit-sharing deal," says a Unita official.

Similar talks are going on over the Upper Cuango concession, which is also in Unita-held territory, but which has

been awarded by the government to the Dutch-based International Defence and Security. Foreign diamond interests in Angola have surged in the past year, Neto said, adding that the total value of overseas investment was unknown.

However, the start of production at the country's first kimberlite diamond mine, operated by Odebrecht at Catoca, has been delayed by two months as a convoy carrying equipment to the mine in Angola's north-east returned to Luanda amid security fears.

Prospecting by diamond giant De Beers for new kimberlites in the north-east was going ahead, Neto said, adding that the first sample from testing had been sent to Kimberley in South Africa.

Although the 19-year conflict between Unita and the MPLA government ended in 1994, the former rebels have remained in control of most of the Angolan countryside, and have carried on exporting diamonds, principally through the Congo, formerly Zaire, whose ex-leader, former President Mobutu Sese Seko, was a long time Unita ally.

The government says its forces' actions are aimed at Hutu militias from the former Zaire, but diplomats say this is simply a pretext to re-take diamond land.

President Mobutu's recent fall has compromised Unita's ability to trade diamonds, while simultaneously buoying the confidence of the Angolan government.

In mid-May the Angolan army launched an offensive in the diamond rich north-eastern province of Luanda Norte, capturing several towns and villages. A Unita spokesman admits they have already lost control of some diamond mines, while industry analysts are busy estimating the extent of the government's productive areas.

Meanwhile, further mobilisation of government troops has been reported in the north-eastern towns of Dundo, Cacola, Saurimo and Cafunfo. "The government is trying to concentrate Unita's mind," said an official involved in the Angolan peace process.

The United Nations, which is in the process of withdrawing its 6,000 peacekeeping troops from Angola, is concerned that the government's impatience to force Unita into a diamond deal may disrupt the country's fragile peace.

"At the moment the fighting in Luanda Norte is contained, but obviously everybody is worried it could spread into the Cuango valley," said a UN official. — *Financial Times and Reuter*

(5) (2/28)

Business amid the bullets

War hasn't dampened promise of rich pickings *FM 27/6/97*

It's business as usual for SA and other foreign companies in Angola, despite the heavy fighting that broke out between government forces and Jonas Savimbi's Unita in diamond-rich Lunda Norte province soon after Laurent Kabila took over neighbouring Congo on May 17.

In fact, mining interests are engaged in a race to woo the new rulers of the mineral-rich African states

Angolan Geology & Mines Minister Marcos Samondo, formerly Unita's man in New York, slipped quietly into Johannesburg this week for talks with De Beers.

He declined to disclose the nature of his business when approached by the *FM*. A De Beers spokesman said the Minister was "visiting our operations here." Samondo said he was heading for Swaziland this week where SADC Ministers were due to

sign a protocol on mining co-operation.

Inviting foreign investors to participate in Angola's development at the sub-Saharan oil and minerals conference in Mauritius last week, Samondo said "progress in implementing the Lusaka Protocol has created the necessary conditions for the end of the civil war in the whole of Angola."

De Beers, together with Anglo American, JCI, Iscor, Gencor, Spoomet and several other SA companies, met Kabila's new Mining Minister Florent Kabila-Mututulo last week.

The meeting took place in the context of the new government's wish to renegotiate existing contracts "It went well," reports De Beers director Robin Crawford

"The Minister was nice enough to say he and others in the government had been misquoted, and that they harboured no hostility towards De Beers," Crawford says.

The Democratic Republic of Congo (former Zaire) is keen to attract competition in the mining industry, and this suits De Beers, he adds.

Mututulo reminded Crawford that Congo sold its last three diamond shipments from the Miba mine to De Beers.

Meanwhile, SA's Department of Foreign Affairs has put out several notices advising South Africans to stay out of the embattled Angolan area. Alluding to what are thought to be scores of SA dia-

mond operators in the region, one official quips "we'll hear how many SA companies are involved in the area only if they get into trouble"

Though the fighting and intermittent violence elsewhere in Angola has abated, the entire region remains volatile.

Of greatest concern are the battles in Brazzaville, capital of the Republic of the Congo, sparked by militia of former President Denis Sassou Nguesso against incumbent President Pascal Lissouba ahead of general elections planned for July 27 (now in doubt). A June 17 truce, preparatory to the deployment of a multinational peace-keeping force, was shattered by a 90-minute artillery duel on Monday, June 23, which threatened to embroil Kabila's Congo when seven shells fired from Brazzaville reportedly hit a military camp in Kinshasa.

Foreign Affairs and the SA embassy in Luanda have not received any calls for help by SA companies in Angola, though De Beers last month withdrew personnel from the Cafunfo diamond area. De Beers' man in Luanda, Ken Kempson, says the fighting has not harmed the company's operations, which include offices at Saurimo and Lucapa.

Anglo American chief geologist for the region Cameron Moncur says operations aren't really affected as the company is working outside the northeast. Anglo has an agreement with Luanda to prospect in the southeast of Angola and expects to start work within months.

The Angolan armed forces moved in to Lunda Norte on the pretext of securing the border with Congo against incoming Hutu, ex-Zairean and Unita forces. They appear to have assisted ex-Zaire President Mobutu in the final stages of Kabila's takeover.

But the real reason, say observers, was



Unita's Savimbi . . . said to have a new diamond smuggling route

that Savimbi has not handed over the administration of Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul to central government, as required by a 1995 Peace Protocol between the MPLA government and Unita. The action appears intended as a warning to Savimbi of the consequences of not submitting those provinces to central control. Some analysts believe hawkish Angolan generals wished to use the opportunity to crush Unita once and for all.

Unita receives between US\$300m/year and \$600m/year from illegal diamonds from Lunda Norte, hence Savimbi's foot-dragging. And while his diamond sales and arms supply line through Congo have been cut with Kabila's accession, there are unconfirmed reports that Savimbi has found a new conduit with help from former Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga

(who resigned under a cloud two years ago), and has therefore shifted his operation to the Zambia-Angola border.

Amarnath Singh

Hostilities threaten peace in Angola

Luanda — The Angolan government warned yesterday that the country's bloody 20-year-old conflict could erupt again into full-scale war, putting at risk the benefits of a fragile three-year-old peace process, state-run radio reported.

Clashes between government forces and soldiers loyal to Jorjas Savimbi's Unita have already flared this month in the diamond-rich north east of the country since the situation was destabilised by the victory of Luanda-backed rebels in what is now the Democratic Republic of Congo.

More than 3 500 people have fled the clashes.

"The war can break out again, the signs are everywhere," state-run radio said after interviewing the commander of government troops in north eastern Angola, General Correia Marques.

Colonel Rafael Kasanja, a senior officer who deserted Unita, warned last week that Savimbi was preparing to launch a fresh war in a bid to force the government to renegotiate the terms of a peace deal which ended many years of fighting in 1994. — Sapa-AFP.

Star 1/7/97

Angola's oil industry cocooned from conflict

BD 2/7/97 (6)

Expatriate oil workers in Angola live in high-security cocoons and fly home on their days off, writes Barnaby Phillips in Luanda

THE success of Angola's oil industry lies in its ability to insulate itself from the strife which has devastated the rest of the country.

Nowhere is this more evident than at Molongo, the huge seaside complex from where the Cabinda enclave's offshore industry is managed. Land mines, high fences and security guards protect Malongo from Cabinda's small-scale secessionist war.

Inside, more than 800 people live a "lifestyle of a small town in west Texas", says a resident.

There is a golf course, lined by specially imported eucalyptus trees, tennis and squash courts, and network television. Bicycle routes link rows of prefabricated bungalows, home to mostly Chevron employees.

However, the expatriate oil workers have little time for leisure.

They work gruelling shifts for twenty-eight days, before flying home to the US for twenty-eight days' leave.

One Chevron employee from Laurel, Mississippi, said he had barely ventured outside Malongo during eight years of working such shifts in Angola.

"Although I have seen parts of Luanda from a vehicle, driving between the Chevron guesthouse and the airport," he said.

While Angola's economy struggles to recover from two decades of civil war, the oil industry has never looked in better shape.

Angola's current output, estimated at

720 000 barrels a day, is based almost entirely offshore, and emerged virtually unscathed from the fighting, which ended in 1994.

Not surprisingly, Angola's economy has become more and more dependent on oil revenues.

The civil war destroyed the country's thriving coffee sector and transport infrastructure, while many of the richest diamond deposits in the northeast of the country are under the control of the former rebel Unita movement.

The result is that oil accounts for more than 90% of Angola's exports, and for more than 45% of its gross domestic product.

Jim Henley, Chevron's general manager of operations in Cabinda, says the company is "tickled to death with what we've found out there" — the latest oil discovery in

Angola's deep waters is a potentially huge reserve that is further out into the Atlantic ocean than Cabinda's established fields.

Foreign companies are queuing to invest.

Chevron, which operates the Cabinda offshore fields that account for 65% of Angola's oil production, spent about \$500m on drilling, production and exploration last year, but the company says the figure will increase to about \$700m this year.

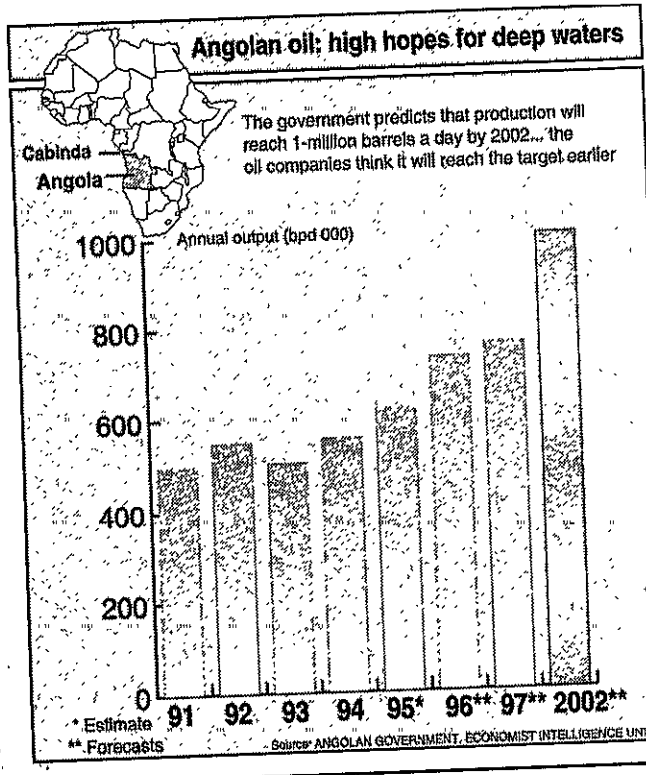
The Angolan government's recent distribution of operating rights in the now highly sought after deep water concessions sparked off a competitive round of bidding from US, Australian, British and Brazilian companies.

They are not the only companies to feel excited about the potential of Angola's oil industry.

In April French company Elf Aquitaine announced that an exploratory well in the Girassol field, also in deep water off the northern Angolan coast, was producing a daily flow rate of 18 000 barrels a day.

Further appraisals are continuing, but Elf Aquitaine's director of exploration in Angola, Jean-Jacques Biteau, says "these are very good results" which suggest that exploitation of Girassol will be extremely profitable for the company's future.

Elf is refusing to comment on its total size, but Angolan analysts predict that Girassol may have reserves of about a billion barrels.



Farmers determined to stamp out dop system

Group aims to empower workers

ARG 5/7/97 (4)

PIETER MALAN
STAFF REPORTER

Stellenbosch farmers and health workers have declared war on the controversial "dop system" under which workers receive wine as part payment for their labour.

The group, calling themselves the Dopstop Association, will try to eradicate the dop system by following a multi-faceted approach.

This will include empowering farm workers to make informed choices concerning the use of alcohol and the development of a service that would facilitate early detection of

alcohol addiction among rural workers and help with the rehabilitation of alcoholics.

Leslie London, community health lecturer at the University of Cape Town, said recent research showed that up to 38 farms in the Stellenbosch region still use the dop method of payment.

There was also found to be a higher incidence of Foetal Alcohol Syndrome, family violence and alcoholism in the rural areas of

Stellenbosch. Dr London called on farmers to put pressure on neighbours still giving wine to workers to stop the practice as it was harming the wine industry in general.

"If farmers know they're being watched, they often stop."

He said although the dop system had been outlawed for at least 30 years, the law was an "imperfect tool"

to fight the system as there were too many loopholes.

This is born out by the number of definitions that exist for

the dop system. While some people believe that the dop system only applied if wine was given to workers during working hours, Stellenbosch farmer Schalk Visser said if wine was given or sold at regular times to workers they regarded it as "dop".

"Ultimately, I would like people working on my farm to be able to enjoy a glass of wine at the end of a day's work, just like I do. This does not mean... drinking for the sake of getting drunk," he said.

He said the dop system was hurting the wine industry's image and it was time farmers got together to fight the scourge.

Research showed up to 38 farms in the Stellenbosch area still use the dop system

'CONDITIONS HERE ARE HORRIBLE'

Ominous signs of war return to Angola

 CT 14/7/97
 (5)

MBUIA, Angola: In this once-thriving town in the north-east province, signs of battle are everywhere as government troops try to remove Unita forces from the area.

NEWLY planted landmines, ransacked towns, thousands of refugees on the march — in remote north-eastern Angola, the signs of a return to war are ominous.

Angola has known war for as long as many of its citizens can remember; first the war for independence against Portugal, then civil war when that war was won.

In November 1994 President Jose Eduardo dos Santos agreed to a peace pact with the Unita rebels of Dr Jonas Savimbi, holding out the hope that the country could begin the task of rebuilding.

But in May the balance of power in the region shifted when Mr Mobutu Sese Seko, then president of the neighbouring Zaire, was ousted by Mr Laurent Kabila's fighters.

Mobutu had been one of Unita's main backers, and with his removal government troops began an offensive against Unita positions in the diamond-rich north-east province.

Residents of Mbuia, once a thriving marketplace controlled by Unita near the border of Zaire — now the Democratic Republic of the Congo — said last week the

Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) had swept into the town late in May.

Unita regrouped and recaptured the town, but the FAA launched a new assault and seized it back. The FAA was still in control last week.

Signs of battle are everywhere. The contents of mud huts are strewn across streets — clothes, pots, pans, buckets and empty bottles litter the town.

A rotting body is crumpled in the doorway of one hut, as broken as the child's doll abandoned a few metres away.

The scenes of destruction are repeated in villages around Mbuia. About 500 of the homeless have moved to a refugee camp in the town.

"Conditions here are horrible," said Ms Elizabeth Rasmusson, a UN aid worker. "We need to get these people some help or a lot of them are going to start dying."

Rasmusson said about 8 000 refugees were housed around the town of Nzaji, 40km to the north. Other aid officials said there could be tens of thousands of refugees in the region.

"We can only count the ones we see," one official said. "There

are plenty of places we have not been able to get to ... We have no idea how many people have fled (the area) or what condition they are in."

Other signs that the 1994 peace accord is in trouble include the discovery of freshly planted landmines.

"We are extremely concerned," said Mr David Wilmhurst, spokesman for the UN Observer Mission in Angola. "We deplore this and we call on whoever is doing it to stop immediately."

UN officials said a person was killed on Friday when his truck detonated a mine, thought to have been laid as recently as a month ago, near the northern city of Saurimo. They said this was not the first such blast in recent weeks.

At least two million mines are believed to have been planted in Angola during the civil war that began in 1975, and an estimated 70 000 Angolans have been killed or maimed by them.

Since the peace pact about 5 000km of roads have been cleared of mines. The UN says it could take another five years before the worst of the problem has been dealt with.

Hopes for peace were fuelled in April when Unita members joined a government of national unity. — Reuter

Section 1 (continued)

Difficult homecoming for many Angolan refugees

DD 15/7/97

Angolan refugees returning from Zambia are not finding the easy homecoming they might have dreamed of, writes **Barnaby Phillips** in Luanda (S)

CAZOMBO's dusty high street is nondescript; a small Catholic church built by the Portuguese, gutted buildings covered in graffiti, and the occasional rusting hulks of a vehicle. So, inevitably, one's eyes are drawn to its only outstanding feature: an enormous mural of Jonas Savimbi, painted on the side wall of the largest building in town.

It is not clear whether the artist had intended to portray Savimbi as an intimidating dictator, but this is the result. He is clad in military fatigues, with his head tilted backwards, his waggling finger raised, and mad-looking eyes apparently popping out of his head.

It is an extraordinary sight, and a trenchant reminder to the Angolan refugees returning from exile in nearby Zambia that they are now deep in Unita territory.

The former Unita rebels control the entire lengths of Angola's eastern border with Zambia, a vast area of sparsely populated bush. The main road that runs west of Cazombo once went all the way to Luanda and the Atlantic coast, more than 1000km away. Now the road comes to an abrupt halt at the Zambezi River, barely five minutes drive beyond the outskirts of town.

The bridge over the Zambezi, opened by the President of Portugal in 1954, was blown up by Unita in 1984. Huge chunks of concrete lie in the river water.

"Cazombo is now an island ... we have been cut off from the rest of the country," says Mateus Paulino, a recent returnee.

Mateus is part of a growing influx of refugees who are now crossing the border from Zambia. There are about 100 000 Angolans in Zambia, but the UN Refugee Agency estimates that they are now returning home at the rate of 2 000 a month.

"There is no organised repatriation, because the political conditions do not yet exist," explains a UN official, "but plenty of people are just simply walking back from Zambia of their own volition."

For many, it is not an easy homecoming. "I left Angola in 1976, when I was 10," says Mateus. "Zambia was comfortable, but I always wanted to come back to my mother country."

Unsure of what he would find in Angola, Mateus decided to return on his own, leaving his family in a camp in Zambia. "If things work out, I'll go and get them, but

I must admit, it has been difficult so far."

Mateus, whose English is fluent, is handicapped by his inability to speak Portuguese. He has returned to an area where aid organisations are rehabilitating schools and hospitals, but where many roads remain inaccessible because of landmines. Moreover, although the Angolan civil war came to a formal end in 1994, the returnees are finding out that they have come back to a country that is still far from stable.

Any large-scale reconstruction in the Cazombo area is unlikely until Unita relinquishes control to Angola's new government of national unity.

And while some of the refugees supported Unita during Angola's long civil war, others balk at having to now come under their authoritarian control.

"There is no respect for law or human rights under Unita," says a returnee, looking around anxiously to see if he is being observed. "I would like to move to (government controlled) Benguela," he added. But Unita has so far proved reluctant to allow returnees to move to areas that it does not control.

And in recent weeks old tensions have resurfaced, as both the government and Unita accuse each other of planning a return to civil war.

"Since we've come back we've been hearing on the radio about fighting in north-eastern Angola," said one young man queuing up for UN grain rations. "We never had that sort of thing in Zambia, and we don't like it."



Section 5 This section covers information regarding births.

Section 5

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Angola prepares for final showdown

(5) MTC 18-24/7/97

As both Unita and the Angolan government begin to redeploy their troops, US diplomats are desperately trying to save the Lusaka Peace Accord, reports **Chris Gordon**

AS evidence emerges of massive Unita military duplicity in Angola and the government in Luanda mobilises for full-scale war, frenetic diplomatic activities are under way to try to save the country's fragile peace accord.

Angola is on a knife-edge and Chester Crocker, Ronald Reagan's constructive-engagement guru, has flown into Luanda ostensibly to salvage the peace. Massive pressure is being brought to bear on Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, to disarm and hand over occupied areas of the country, including the diamond mines, to state administration.

Diplomats in Luanda have made clear that the alternative is a major military action against Unita within weeks, as it has become evident that Unita has rearmed and is regrouping its army.

While both sides prepare for the final showdown, the United Nations is fine-tuning its plans to evacuate about 5 000 troops and support personnel who had been brought in to monitor the country's transition to peace.

The weight of proof for the growth of Unita's military organisation over the

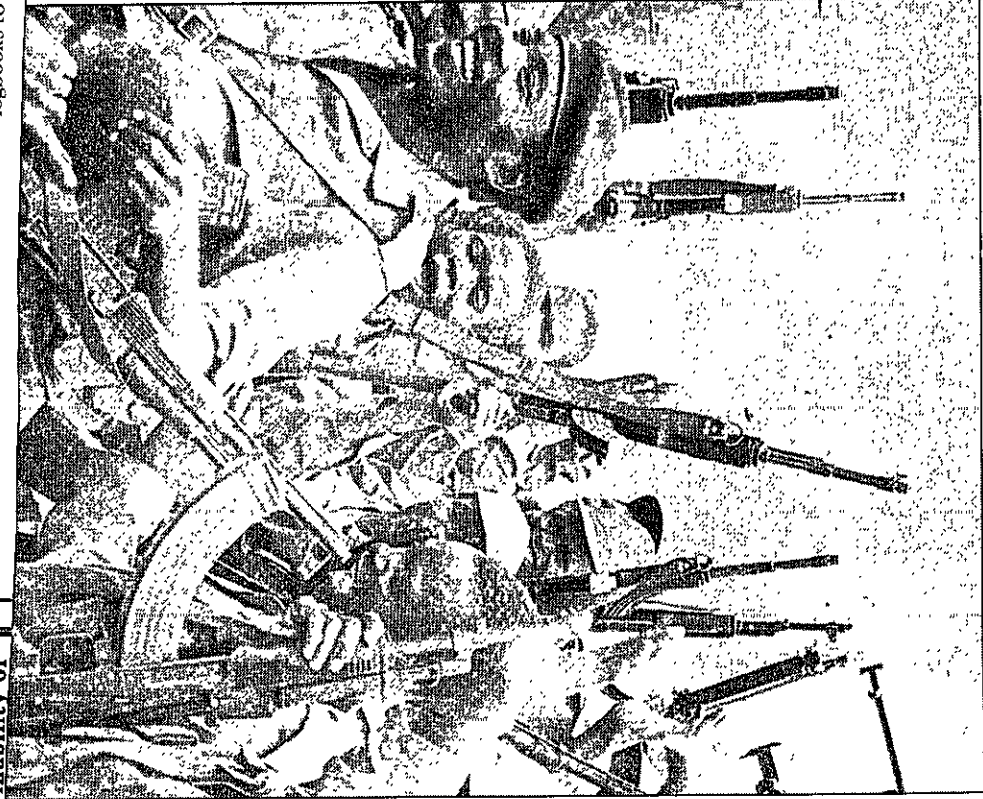
he would have left them if his motives had been in any way personal.

While diplomatic sources have suggested Kassanji had left Unita before June, and been kept "on ice", no one is disputing the truth of his story. Kassanji claimed that Unita had quartered only 25% of its 85 000 troops. Unita says it only has mining police and Savimbi's personal guard under arms.

Kassanji said: "Nowhere else will you find mining police armed with RPG-7 and D30 long range artillery." He added that Unita's troops in Luanda Norte and Sul are organised into small bands of 10 to 15 men operating in the bush.

Since 1995, Unita's military effort has been concentrated in the Lundas where Unita has kept secret bases, airports and stockpiled weapons, out of sight of the UN Angola Monitoring and Verification Mission (Unavem III).

Diamond industry sources say weapons dating from 1995 have been identified in recent weeks in the Cuango Valley. Unita maintains its diamond mining operations there. American Singer missiles were also seen, despite US assurances that these were handed back at the end of



Each year, these awards are

can clean up their communities.

and show them practical ways in which they

environmental awareness amongst children.

Provinces can't afford new curriculum

A MAJOR factor in Education Minister Sibuisu Bengu's decision this week to delay introducing the curriculum is the inability of the provinces to pay R25 for camouflaged berets. Their charge sheet, however, shows 12 charges, of which they pleaded guilty to seven and were found guilty of four.

logbooks to document the progression and

photographs, the entrants use these

community.

but also to the attitudes of others in their

This is just one example of BP's

practical innovations in action

And part of our

Angola's past is repeated as military conflict continues

BD 23/7/97

(5)

Thousands of Angolans have abandoned their homes after recent battles between Unita and government troops, writes **Barnaby Phillips** in Luanda

SORTE Malweeze had been walking all day, as fast as his tired legs would allow. He was one of a group of 20 villagers who had recently abandoned their homes, and were now making their way towards the relative security of the government-held town of Nzaje.

"We are waiting for the United Nations (UN) to tell us when there is peace, but still there is no peace," says Sorte. "Where we have come from, many people have died and it is all Unita's fault," he says.

A nasty conflict is being played out in the diamond-rich countryside of northeastern Angola. An offensive by the Angolan government army (known as FAA) has forced Unita rebels to retreat about 100km southwards of Nzaje, abandoning a series of villages and small towns.

The UN reports that more than 8 000 displaced people have arrived in Nzaje, while other groups are scattered around the surrounding countryside.

"Some of these people have been walking in the bush for three weeks," says a UN humanitarian worker. "They need food and water urgently, otherwise we would expect some of the children to start dying soon," she says. The World Food Programme has launched an emergency airlift to feed the displaced.

The heavily armed guards belonging to Angola's parastatal diamond mining company, Endiama, line the side of the dusty road leading south from Nzaje. Further on, there are groups of young soldiers seeking shade under the trees, wary and unsmiling. The burnt-out remains of a government armoured personnel carrier blocks the road.

In theory, Angola has been at peace since November 1994, when the Lusaka accords marked the formal end of the 19-year civil war between the MPLA government and Unita. But in the past two months, the fighting south of Nza-

je has provided a reminder that many of the differences between the warring parties have not yet been settled.

In particular, the Angolan government has become increasingly frustrated with Unita's refusal to move out of the country's most productive diamond mining areas, in the northeastern province of Lunda Norte.

"The government is just fed up with Unita, and launched a localised offensive to show that they want the diamond areas back," says an SA mining industry expert.

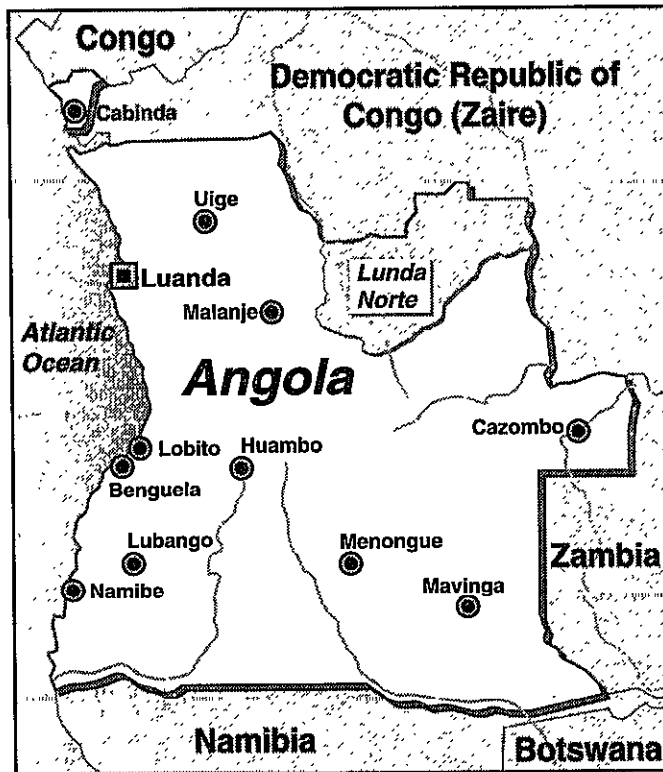
The settlement of Mbuia was once home to about 5 000 people. Now it is deserted, and the silence is oppressive. Evidently, it was left in a hurry, because the inhabitants have left all their possessions behind. Houses are still full of furniture, clothes and cutlery.

FAA soldiers appear to have had a party shortly after recapturing Mbuia, because there are hundreds of empty and broken beer bottles littering the ground. On the outskirts of the town, a group of drunken soldiers are wandering from hut to hut in a desultory manner, looking for anything that is still worth stealing.

A few kilometres further on, a group of 500 people — men, women and children — are living in miserable conditions in the bush. They have come from the town of Luia, further south, which has also been overrun by the FAA. "There was shelling, and Unita was killing civilians, so we had to leave," says one refugee.

Their makeshift camp is several kilometres from the nearest water source, and they are fast running out of food. They say they are reluctant to move onto Nzaje, because FAA soldiers might beat or rob them on the road.

"This is tragic," says one UN official. "These scenes are meant to be a thing of the past in Angola."



Angola teetering on the brink of war as Savimbi stalls

It was an out-of-character Aloume Blondin Beye who stepped off a plane in Luanda last week after returning from a meeting with Unita's Jonas Savimbi in his highland lair of Bailundo.

Beye, the UN's special representative to Angola, usually known for his upbeat flowery monologues on the peace process and his praise of Savimbi for his most recent promises, spoke of a "crisis".

After spending most of the day with the Unita leader, Beye conveyed no promises to a packed room of journalists. Instead the Malian, who has captained Unita and the government along for years said: "We will know in a few days whether there is a will or not on the part of Unita. In the coming days we will know whether we are out of the current crisis."

Seemingly, Savimbi offered nothing. But, in fact, there was a bit more said. One official said Savimbi actually agreed to a series of key demands made by the United Nations Security

Council. These include fulfilling longtime promises to turn over some of the huge chunk of territory the former rebels still hold in the countryside to the government - a move that would placate the UN and defuse any government ambitions to take the territory by force - and identifying the number of armed troops he still maintains.

Beye's shuttling between Luanda and Bailundo is in preparation for a looming UN Security Council deadline on August 15.

Unita has always stiffly played a sort of stalling game, one that delves just the minimum, at the last minute that seems to buy enough time until the next deadline some weeks or months away. And in the past, Beye has always praised the former rebels for taking big steps towards peace. But this time is different, diplomats and even people who are involved in

Unita has always skillfully played a sort of stalling game that delves the minimum at the last minute

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and away from Savimbi. Diplomats and officials say Savimbi is running out of options. With the loss of Zaire and his best friend Mobutu Sese Seko, Savimbi has been denied his arms pipeline and an escape route. As part of the payback for

Angola's peace process say: Beye's apparent hardening of attitude is reflective of a growing feeling that it's time to find a solution to Angola's never-ending problem.

There have always been great forces at work in Angola, owing, in part, to the country's enormous wealth - about \$18-billion in oil revenue and nearly \$5-billion in diamond revenue each year. Now one great force

has, according to diplomats and officials, swung fully behind the Angolan government, more specifically behind

Angolan support, Laurent Kabila has now scattered troops along the border to block Unita returning to Angola or escaping from it. International pressure is mounting for Savimbi to deliver as well. UN secretary-general Kofi Annan's recent letter to Savimbi is said to have been critical to a level that former UN chief Boutros Boutros-Ghali would have never dared venture. But it is new signals from the US that Savimbi must be most wary of. The US, in the words of one official, "is fed up with Savimbi and is getting ready to withdraw all support for him if he doesn't show some real progress this time."

In effect, the US, which once backed Savimbi to the hilt, and then moved to a neutral stance, is now starting to shift towards backing the MPLA.

Despite major diplomatic efforts, Angola appears to be on the brink of conflict once again. ANTONIO DA SILVA analyses the causes - and consequences - of another bloody conflagration in this war-weary country

Officials close to Angola's peace process say there has been heightened interest in resolving the Angola problem in Washington. Several higher-level State Department officials, including Secretary of State Madeline Albright, have put Angola much higher on the agenda than her predecessor Warren Christopher ever cared to. A small but influential group of African-Americans in Congress is also pushing for all-out support of Dos Santos, officials say.

Meanwhile, a stream of top US executives and consultants, from oil, construction and other companies, have flowed through Luanda in recent days, including Chester Crocker and the former US ambassador to the UN Donald McHenry. Significantly, a group of six Angolan army officers left last week for training in the United States. The trip, in the making for more than a year, is the first such programme conducted and raises military co-operation with the US to a new level. Another programme, managed by Military Professional Resources Inc, a group of retired US generals who took over when South Africa-based Executive Outcomes left Angola, is scheduled to begin soon. Angolan army chief Joao de Matos left for a visit to the US at the end of last week as well.

Most experts fear that an outbreak of hostilities will ensue sometime after the mid-August deadline

A Savimbi-Dos Santos meeting would go far in calming the current situation. However, diplomats say a diamond agreement between the two sides is necessary if the country is ever to have peace. Diamonds have always figured prominently in all of what happens in Angola. Unita raises

as much as \$3-billion annually from diamond production in areas under its control, analysts say. The key to the resolution of the crisis lies in coming up with some deal that will legitimise Unita participation in the diamond sector. The US is playing a leading role in the new effort to legitimise Unita's diamond business. Maurice Tempelsman, an American diamond merchant of the company Lazare Kaplan International (and a close friend of the late Jackie Kennedy-Onassis), was in Angola last week to try to bring about a diamond deal between Savimbi and the government. Sources say a deal on the Cuango, an area the former rebels firmly control and which makes up about 65% of Unita's diamond revenue a year, has been on the table for several weeks. Savimbi apparently does not like it. The problem with the Cuango is that two concessions, covering the entire valley, have already been awarded - independent, Foreign Service

agreements
26/7/97

'Peace Uncertain' as Angola heads for showdown

ANTONIO DA SILVA

APR 26/9/97

Luanda - It was an out of character Alimune Blondin Beye who stepped off a plane here earlier this week on his return from a meeting with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in his highland lair of Bailundo.

The United Nation's Special Representative to Angola, Mr Beye is well known for his upbeat, flowery monologues on the peace process and his praise of Mr Savimbi's promises. This time he spoke of a "crisis".

After having spent a day in discussion with Mr Savimbi, Mr Beye conveyed no promises to a packed room of journalists.

Instead, the man from Mali who hasajoiled Unita and the Angolan government along for years, said: "We will know in a few days whether there is a will or not on the part of Unita; in the coming days we will know whether we are out of the current crisis."

It appeared Mr Savimbi had offered nothing - but there was more said.

One official said Mr Savimbi had actually agreed to a series of key demands made by the UN Security Council. These include fulfilling promises to turn over some of the huge chunks of territory, which the former rebels still hold in the countryside, to the government - a move that would placate the UN and defuse any government ambitions to take the territory by force - as well as identifying the number of armed troops he (Savimbi) still maintains.

Mr Beye's shuttling between Luanda and Bailundo is in preparation for a looming UN Security Council deadline on August 15.

Up to now Unita has managed to play a skillful stalling game - one that delays the bare minimum at the last minute, but buys enough time until the next deadline some weeks or months away.

And in the past Mr Beye has always praised the former rebels for taking big steps toward peace. But this time is different, say diplomats and participants in Angola's peace process.

Mr Beye's apparent hardening of attitude is a reflection of a growing feeling here that it is time to find a solution to Angola's problem.

There have always been great forces at work in Angola, owing in part to the country's enormous wealth - about \$4-billion (R18-bn) in oil revenue and nearly \$1-billion (R4.5-bn) in diamond revenue each year.

Now one great force has, according to diplomats and officials here, swung fully behind Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and away from Mr Savimbi.

Diplomats and officials say Mr Savimbi is running out of options. With the fall of



Fragile peace: Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's unwillingness to keep his promises has pushed Angola to the brink of all-out war, say officials in Luanda

Mr Savimbi's ally, Mobutu Sese Seko, in Zaire, Unita has been denied an arms pipeline and escape route.

As part of the payback for Angolan support in defeating the Zairean regime, Laurent Kabila, president of the new Democratic Republic of Congo, has stationed troops along the border to block Unita returning into Angola or escaping from it.

International pressure is mounting for Mr Savimbi to deliver. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's recent letter to Mr Savimbi is said to have been critical to a degree that Mr Boutros Boutros-Gali would have never dared.

But it is new signals from the United States that Mr Savimbi must be most wary of. The US, in the words of one official, "is fed up with Savimbi and is getting ready to withdraw all support for him if he doesn't show some real progress this time."

In effect the US, which once backed Mr Savimbi to the hilt, is now starting to shift towards backing the MPLA. Officials close to Angola's re-

say there has been heightened interest in resolving the Angola problem in Washington. A number of high-level State Department officials, including Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, have put Angola much higher on the agenda than her predecessor Warren Christopher ever cared to.

A small but influential group of African-Americans in Congress are also pushing for all-out support of Mr Dos Santos, officials here say.

Meanwhile a stream of top US executives and consultants - from oil, construction and other companies - have flowed through Luanda in recent days, including Chester Crocker and the former US ambassador to the UN, Donald McHenry.

Significantly, a group of six Angolan army officers left for training in the US yesterday.

The trip, in the making for over a year, is the first such programme ever conducted, and raises military co-operation with the US to a new level.

Military Professional Resources Inc, a group of retired US generals who took over when Executive Outcomes left Angola, is scheduled to begin soon. The Angolan Army chief, Joao de Matos, left for a visit to the US at the end of last week as well.

One source here says the US has agreed to supply the Angolan army with an entire fleet of C-130 cargo planes to replace their aging fleet of Russian Antonovs.

The Americans are, in one official's words, "giving the army the nod to go after Savimbi if he does not do something by August 15".

At the same time, Mr Dos Santos and other top officials in the Angolan government are speaking of extending the administration of the state into Unita areas in a militaristic manner, if Unita does not agree to move forward on the Security Council demands.

Most experts here are saying the country is closer to all-out war than at any time since the Lusaka Agreement of 1994.

(5) Movement and they fear an outbreak of hostilities will ensue sometime after the mid-August deadline.

But escape routes exist. A Savimbi-Dos Santos meeting would go a long way towards calming the current situation.

But diplomats here say a diamond agreement between the two sides is absolutely necessary if the country is ever to have peace. A meeting of the two leaders could seal such a deal.

Diamonds have always figured prominently in Angolan politics. Unita raises as much as \$700-million (R3.2-bn) annually from diamond production in areas under its control, say analysts here. The key to the resolution of the crisis lies in coming up with some deal that will legalise Unita's participation in the diamond sector.

The US is playing a leading role in the new effort to legitimise Unita's diamond business.

Maurice Tempelsman, an American diamond merchant of the company Lazare Kaplan International (and a close friend of the late Jackie Kennedy-Onassis), was here this week to try to bring about a diamond deal between Mr Savimbi and the government.

Mr Tempelsman has played pivotal roles in Angola in the past - he helped coax Mr Savimbi into agreeing to the establishment of the unity government in April.

Officials say that this time he is operating with the full backing of the US government.

Sources here also say a deal on the Cuango, an area the former rebels firmly control and which makes up about 65 per cent of Unita's diamond revenue per year, has been on the table for few weeks.

But Mr Savimbi, apparently, does not like it.

The problem in Cuango is that two concessions have already been awarded.

One, in the lower Cuango Valley, is held by a consortium called Sociadade de Desenvolvimento Mineiro (SDM).

The other, in the north, is held by a Dutch company called International Defence and Security (IDAS) and Endiama.

A Canadian company with strong US links called American Mineral Fields, which has recently been given major mineral concessions by Mr Kabila - also holds an option to the upper Cuango concession.

SDM's official position is that they are willing to sell shares of the company to Unita to bring them into the consortium. IDAS' position is not so clear.

Unita, though, has made it clear that they are not interested in buying into anything.

"We might be a bit more interested if we are given those shares," said a Unita

SATURDAY JULY 26/27 1997

Angolan peace deal almost 'dead'

UN may opt for sanctions

ARG 26/7/97

Luanda - Angola's 1994 peace accord, in which the United States played a major role as negotiator and guarantor, appears to be on the verge of collapse, according to US and United Nations officials.

"The peace is not dead, but it's close," a US official said.

Mounting tensions have erupted into open clashes between factions loyal to the government headed by President José Eduardo dos Santos and those loyal to the Unita movement, the officials said. One unconfirmed report said two northern towns may have fallen to Unita forces.

The danger is that the new fighting will reignite the two-decades-long civil war in the former Portuguese colony, especially in view of a military build-up in the rich diamond and mineral areas of the northeast and the spread of tensions to central and southern Angola.

The Clinton administration is particularly concerned by the growing number of desertions by Unita troops who had been integrated into a restructured Angolan army.

In an attempt to defuse the crisis, Washington is planning to host an Angolan government delegation during the first week of August after Secretary of

State Madeleine Albright returns from the annual Association of South East Asian Nations conference in Malaysia. For more than two decades, the United States has intervened in Angola, first as the main backer of Unita and, over the past three years, with both sides to try to win full implementation of the UN-brokered accord.

The crisis has reached the point that the UN Security Council this week threatened to impose new trade and travel restrictions on Unita for "destabilising" actions. The political climate has rapidly deteriorated over the past two months, partly because of the political upheaval in neighbouring Congo. Unita leader Jonas Savimbi no longer has the support of ex-Zaire president Mobutu Sese Seko.

Dr Savimbi's refusal to show up in Luanda for long-overdue talks with Dos Santos and flagrant violations of UN agreements have also led to growing speculation that he intends again to carve out his own sector within Angola. Unita has claimed to control at least 40 percent of Angola's territory. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has been asked to report back to the Security Council by August 15 when a new sanctions option will be reviewed. - Los Angeles Times

UN envoy pessimistic, page 22

AFRICA

Angolan peace deal on shaky ground

AD 2817197

LUANDA — Angola's government and its wartime foe, the former National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebel movement, are trading threats and accusations again and diplomats and officials say it could be difficult to prevent a return to war.

Last month, rebel movement leader Jonas Savimbi agreed to a series of United Nations (UN) Security Council proposals designed to salvage the Lusaka protocol, the 1994 peace agreement that ended 20 years of war and on which Angola's peace process is based.

Among the proposals was a call for the movement to begin handing over to the government the vast areas it still controlled and provide accurate numbers of its forces.

The council gave the former rebels until August 15 to begin complying, but UN officials said Savimbi had so far done little to give the Security Council what it wanted.

"Unita has done nothing so far. And I don't see Savimbi doing much more. You can count on it. He is not going to deliver on the 15th," the official said.

On Wednesday, the council said it was ready to consider more sanctions against the movement, including trade and travel curbs. Fuel and arms embargoes are already in place against it, but have had little effect.

The movement entered into a power-sharing agreement with the government and more than 60 of its members joined the country's national assembly.

But recent military tension, including an army offensive into rebel-held areas in the north east, had signifi-

cantly weakened chances of lasting peace in the near future, officials said.

In recent days, the government and the movement had also stepped up verbal attacks and threats on each other.

The national assembly met in extraordinary session last week to debate a resolution that condemned the movement for "retaining men and material in flagrant violation of the Lusaka protocol" and denounced former rebels for putting "the country in a situation where war is imminent".

Angola's Defence Minister Pedro Sebastiao told parliament, including a minority of the movement's deputies, that government claims of rebel military movements "leads me to believe Unita wants to take us to war".

Movement leader Jonas Savimbi told journalists, from his headquarters in the central highlands city of Bailundo, that he believed the government was preparing for war.

The head of the UN observer mission, Alioune Blondin Beye, met last week with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos on the state of the peace process.

Officials said Beye extracted a promise from Dos Santos not to get entangled in any military engagements with the movement until the security council meeting on August 15, but Dos Santos gave no promises to restrain his forces after that deadline.

"Both sides know that a return to war would be disastrous. They also should know if they want to return to war, we will leave here immediately," the UN mission said. — Reuter.

FUNDS DELAY HAMPERS PROGRAMME

Clashes interfere with Unita demobilisation

GENEVA: Only 61 000 Unita forces and their families have been demobilised because of various problems, among them a refusal by truck drivers to enter troubled areas.

FRESH outbreaks of fighting in Angola and donors' delays in supplying promised funds are jeopardising the United Nations programme for the disarmament and demobilisation of Unita rebels.

Because of the former rebels' status as displaced people, the programme is being implemented by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM).

It is being undertaken in terms of the Lusaka Protocol, signed in 1994 and intended to end the 19-year-old civil war between the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (Unita) and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

Ms Regina Roucault, the IOM's spokeswoman here, said recent armed clashes between Unita and government troops, mainly in Lunda Norte Province, were the most serious threat yet to peace in Angola.

Since the 1994 signing of the peace agreement, the UN has overseen a shaky ceasefire and managed to prod the two sides towards a permanent peace. Despite Unita's entering a government of unity with the MPLA in April, the country remains in a state of near-war, analysts in the country say.

Application of the peace accord did not begin until this year, when

demobilisation began and Unita members entered parliament and the government in Luanda.

Roucault said the funds for the demobilisation programme would run out late next month if donors failed to provide the \$4,1 million (R18,6m) owed to the IOM.

Only 61 600 of the roughly 159 000 rebels and their families have been demobilised. Just over 20 500 of the 61 600 are former fighters. The rest are family members.

The Unita guerrillas have postponed demobilisation in the town of Licua, in the south-eastern province of Cuando Cubango. They claim they are awaiting authorisation from their central headquarters in Bailundo, in Huambo Province.

The IOM has failed to overcome the obstacles in Licua and has had to order the return to Luanda of international personnel sent in to airlift the demobilised fighters.

In other areas, a lack of security is holding up demobilisation. A number of truck drivers hired to transfer former rebels have refused to drive through areas where there has been most conflict.

An IOM statement mentioned the possibility of a meeting between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita chief Dr

(15) 0729/7/97
Jonas Savimbi. Savimbi, under pressure from the UN Security Council to fulfil the terms of the Lusaka Protocol, lost one of his last outside bases of support this year with the toppling of dictator Mr Mobutu Sese Seko in former Zaire.

Despite his international isolation, Savimbi, supported by income from the trafficking of diamonds mined in the north-east, still has influence in his command post in Bailundo and in the country's central plateau region.

Experts quoted by the Financial Times of London said Unita had collected about \$500m (R2,28 billion) from diamond sales last year.

The IOM demobilisation programme has cost \$10m (R45,6m) so far.

The UN agency also reported on progress made in a programme to reintegrate about 1 000 Angolan students returning from Cuba, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

The programme is being carried out in conjunction with Angola's Ministry of Rehabilitation and Social Assistance.

More than half of the students have been housed in two camps in Luanda.

Many of the students who had scholarships in the former socialist countries have professional training in areas crucial to Angola. These include agriculture, primary and secondary education, community health and rehabilitation of the rural infrastructure. — Sapa-IPS

Quarter ended 30 June 1997

Western Areas

WESTERN AREAS GOLD MINING COMPANY LIMITED

Registration number 59/03209/06 Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa

Issued capital: R92 222 337 (Divided into 92 222 337 ordinary shares of R1 each)

OPERATING RESULTS

(Unaudited)

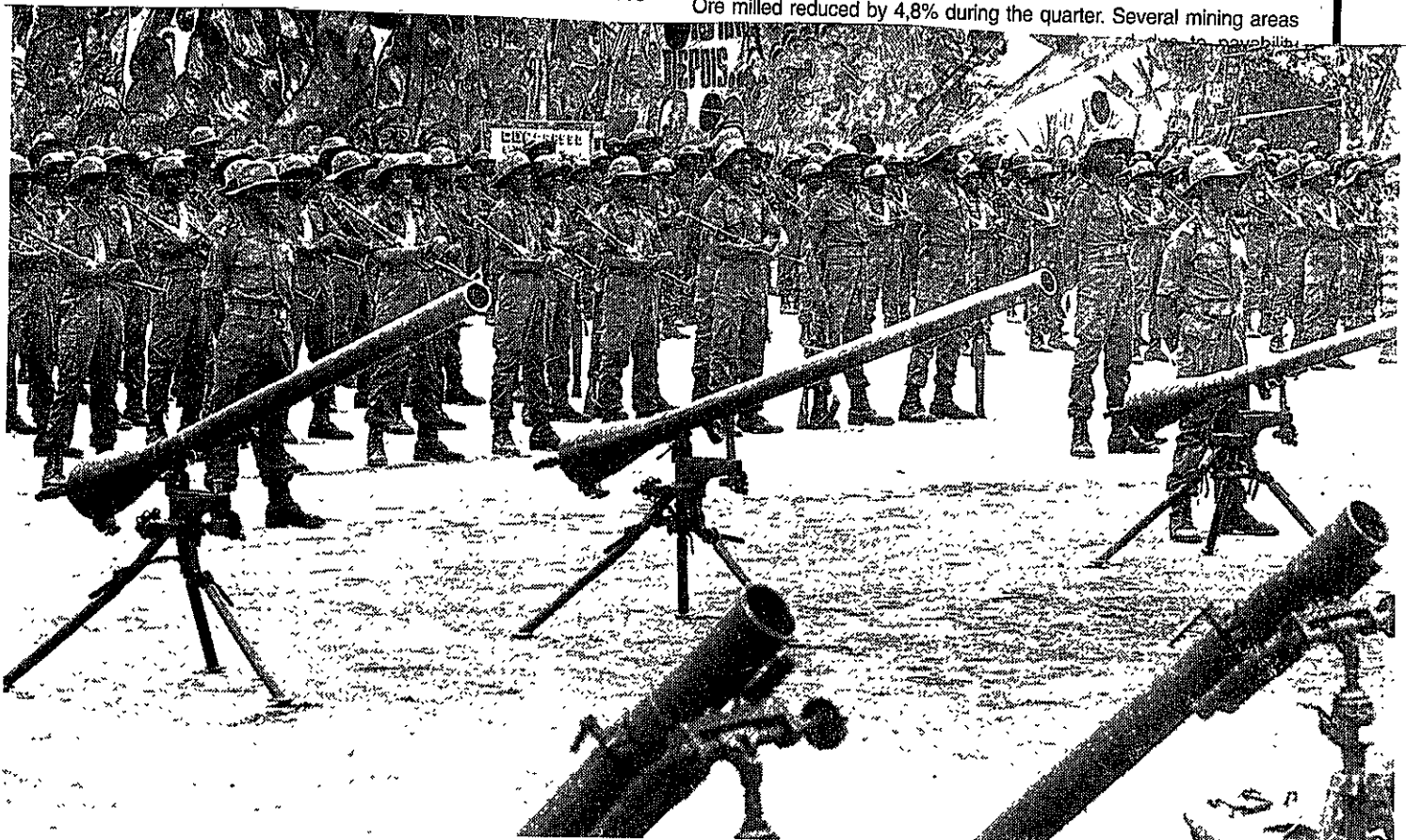
	Quarter ended		Year ended
	30.06.97	31.03.97	30.06.97
Gold			
Ore milled – metric tons (000)	658	691	2 793
– short tons (000)	725	762	3 078
Yield – grams per metric ton	6,25	6,35	6,36
– ounce per short ton	0,182	0,185	0,186
Gold production – kilograms	4 114	4 391	17 773
– ounces	132 268	141 174	571 415

Overview

Public holidays and a Cosatu strike had an effect on productivity during this short quarter. The company has engaged the various unions and associations in an effort to introduce more productive working arrangements in relation to efficiencies and time worked. Should these discussions fail, the company will be obliged to complete the process of a retrenchment programme, the estimated costs of which have been provided for. The retrenchment programme discussions commenced in June.

Gold production

Ore milled reduced by 4,8% during the quarter. Several mining areas



Jonas Savimbi's Unita troops could mass again

Savimbi and Dos Santos warn of new Angolan war

(5) mtg 1-7/8/97
Chris Gordon

WITH two weeks to go before the United Nations slaps crippling sanctions on Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement, UN peace monitors, Savimbi and the Angolan government are openly warning the country should prepare for war.

Diplomats in Luanda said in the last week that the peace process is on the edge and war is probably inevitable, while UN representative David Wilmhurst and peace monitors are calling the current situation a crisis.

The UN Security Council has ordered Savimbi to stand his troops down and comply with the terms of the Lusaka Peace Accord — the deal cut in 1994 that ended the country's bloody 19-year civil war. If he fails to comply by August 15, when the council is due to review its role in Angola, sanctions, including a freeze on Unita's lucrative diamond dealing and its bank accounts, will follow.

President Eduardo Dos Santos believes that Unita has unilaterally suspended the Lusaka Accord. He told President Sam Njoma of Namibia last week in Luanda that military conflict is likely to break out soon.

Savimbi, meanwhile, told journalists from Bailundo, his headquarters, that he believes the government is preparing for war against Unita. He warned that such a war could last for years.

At issue is Savimbi's failure to surrender Unita-held territory, back to

state control, as agreed in the 1994 accord. The process should have speeded up following the swearing in of the Government of National Unity, which includes Unita political representatives, four months ago.

Savimbi, however, has halted the process — partly because the diamond-rich territory provides Unita with a key source of income.

Low-level fighting is already under way, with tension building both in the diamond-rich Lundas and Unita's centre-south heartlands. The UN Joint Commission, which oversees the peace process, has criticised Unita for attacking and recapturing the towns of Muaquesse and Caxinagagi in Lunda Norte, in the north east of the country. The joint commission said Unita had also planted landmines in two areas in Malange province.

Attacks on the towns have forced 6 000 people to flee to the small diamond town of Nzaji, with a further 500 fleeing to Suarimo, capital of Lunda Sul. Unita troops detained seven UN observers in Lunda Norte.

The UN Security Council last week described such acts as "destabilising", and laid out its demands to Savimbi and the August 15 deadline.

The council also rejected as "neither complete nor credible" Unita's submission that it had just 4 500 men under arms, made up of mining police and Savimbi's "Presidential Guard". Estimates of Unita's troops put the figure at 20 000.

Angola puts squeeze on Unita

PD 6/8/97

(5)

LUANDA — Angola had asked Botswana, Namibia and SA to restrict flights into areas held by opposition former rebel movement Unita, officials said yesterday.

"The Angolan government is talking to the South Africans, the Namibians and Botswana about stopping flights into Unita areas," one western diplomat said.

SA embassy officials in Luanda said they were not aware of any Angolan request to SA to restrict flights to Unita zones.

Diplomats and officials close to the peace process have said in recent weeks that the country was drifting toward war as the government and Unita positioned troops and arms around the country.

Unita and the government fought a two-decade civil war that ended when the sides signed a peace treaty in 1994.

Although the former rebels entered a power-sharing agreement with the government in April, Unita still controls vast areas of the countryside.

Last month Unita agreed to a series of United Nations security council proposals including handing over its territory to the government and defining the number of troops it still has under arms.

But diplomats and officials said the former rebels were showing little inclination to go along with the proposals.

Fuel and arms sanctions are in place against Unita and the security council has threatened sanctions on travel and banking if Unita does not comply.

Most Unita supplies came from the former Zaire before the fall of veteran president Mobutu Sese Seko to Laurent Kabila in May.

Now most flights to Unita areas came from SA, diplomats, military officials and pilots said.

"Most of the cargo flights into Bailundo, Andulo and Lusamba are coming from SA these days," one contract pilot said, referring to three important Unita cities in the interior.

Officials close to the peace process said the government had indicated in recent days its willingness to give the new sanctions a chance before embarking on a military offensive against Unita.

"They have said they are going to wait and give the sanctions a chance," an official said. "But they aren't going to wait forever, especially if the sanctions are not working. This effort to shut down the flights is meant to squeeze them even more," the official said. —Reuter.

Kenya tea production falls 28%

PD 6/8/97

NAIROBI — Kenya's tea production fell by about 28% in the first six months of 1997 compared to the same period last year on account of bad weather, leading brokerage company Africa Tea Brokers-Ltd (ATB) said yesterday.

"The cumulative figure for 1997 (January to June) season now stands at 96.73-million kg — a decrease of 37.6-million kg or 27.99% over the previous year," the ATB said.

The crop figure for June 1997 was 16,264-million kg, a fall of 1,634-million kg or 9.13% over the same month in 1996, the brokerage company added.

The ATB said that although there were "fairly useful" rains in the Nandi and Kericho districts in the latter part of June, most growing areas remained cold and wet. It added that growth was inhibited and picking rounds had been reduced.

"With the slightly warmer temperatures, leaf intake will show a gradual improvement except in South and areas east of the Rift (Valley) where crops remain very low," the ATB said.

Last year Kenya was the world's leading exporter of black teas. That position is widely expected to be reclaimed by Sri Lanka this year. Kenya's production in 1996 was a record 257-million kg, according to official statistics. —Reuter.

Alliance Air

Democracy under

(5) Star

Swapo is in danger of throwing away its image as it pushes for a third term for President

By KARI JOROKE
Windhoek

Namibia has been hailed as the "model democracy" on the African continent since independence in 1990, which brought the former liberation movement Swapo to power and gave its founder Sam Nujoma the first presidency over a population of 1,5 million people.

But seven years on, this favourable tag is beginning to show a shadowy tinge with increasingly authoritarian motions, on the part of the ruling party and President Sam Nujoma, which have had people wondering whether Namibia's fragile democracy will survive another election.

The main issue here - Swapo's support for a third term for Nujoma, something that would necessitate a change to the constitution, which provides for only two presidential terms.

Ahead of its party congress earlier this year Swapo drummed up public support for a presidential third term on the grounds that Nujoma deserved another term because of his good governance and the maintenance of peace and stability in the country.

A number of Swapo-affiliated organisations such as the Swapo elders council, the Swapo Youth League, the Mine Workers' Union of Namibia and Prime Minister Hage Geingob made public statements to this effect.

As expected, the Swapo congress also endorsed the calls, which seem to have found favour with people on the ground.

But why would they want to throw away their newly-found democracy and be so readily prepared to allow Swapo, which holds a two-thirds majority in parliament, to change the constitution, the highest law in the country?

Analysts believe this is probably because people have not yet fully understood the concept of democracy.

Joe Diescho from the University of South Africa says people in Africa are not "accustomed" to democracy and as long as Nujoma "does not commit a fatal error", Namibians would see no reason to remove him.

Second, Diescho believes, the problem lies with the ruling party, seemingly unable to see itself as an entity without Nujoma as president.

He was the man who founded the liberation movement turned political party and led it to independence.

Swapo itself has not yet been able to fully execute its transformation from a strictly controlled, military movement to a political party in a democratic environment.

This was evident at the Swapo congress in May where liberation songs, praises to the president and political rhetoric outweighed open and critical discussions on national issues.

Apart from the opening session, all else was closed to pub-

lic scrutiny and those not "invited".

Even within the top ranks of the party, it seems criticism of the status quo is not allowed.

Apart from arguments about Nujoma's popularity, those supporting a third term have also pointed out that there is no one else to take his place and that in-fighting for the top position would leave the party in a shambles.

Newspaper editor Gwen Lister commented: "Swapo has known for years about the two-term maximum and, if no successor has yet been groomed, then it is up to the party to

Minority parties take government to court

choose one."

If chaos resulted, "it would be a measure of the sad state in which the hierarchy of the party finds itself, and for which they only have themselves to blame".

The official opposition, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, has also come out against a third term, saying Swapo is merely trying to consolidate its power, and a change to the constitution would merely be a rubber stamp for making Nujoma "president for life".

"They are launching Namibia on the road away from

democracy and down the normal road in Africa," it warned "where power is claimed with the barrel of a gun."

While Nujoma himself voiced concern about the reluctance of Swapo party members to stand up and debate important issues without fear of the future, his actions seem to speak a different language.

Criticism of government is increasingly being shot down as being the work of "instigators from outside", "foreigners", "Europeans" and liars, "trying to destroy the nation".

Issues raised that have had to endure this kind of slander include calls for Swapo to open its books regarding atrocities committed in Swapo camps during the liberation struggle, and calls by human rights activists to accord gays and lesbians their rightful place as fully-fledged members of Namibian society.

There is also opposition by the nomadic Himba people to the construction of the Epupa hydro-electric scheme.

When the president calls for support, he increasingly appeals to the "patriotism" of Namibians, insinuating that those, who do not conform with his and the party's opinions are not good Namibians wanting to "build a nation".

But the slogan's effectiveness has begun to wear thin.

Thousands of former freedom fighters took to the streets recently to demand their "fair share" in the "fruits of independence", saying they were no longer prepared to live on

Nujoma

threat

6/8/97

vague promises.

The demonstrations had government scrambling for solutions and, where they were not immediately forthcoming, former fighters had no qualms about holding Swapo officials hostage to show just how serious they were about their demands for jobs and a life.

Their militancy was rewarded with a decree from the president, disallowing future public demonstrations without the explicit written approval from the police.

Minority groups have openly criticised government policy and are prepared to take their challenges to court.

The Kxoe San, under Chief Kippie George, are fighting to stop their eviction from community-based tourism projects in favour of the extension of a penal centre in Western Caprivi.

The Ovahimba, under Chief Hikumhine Kapika, back from a European tour to lobby support in their opposition to the Epupa hydro-electric scheme, have gone to court to challenge a break-up of a meeting between themselves and lawyers at Okungwati by police over the weekend.

New intelligence service legislation, tabled in parliament by Geingob in June could further curtail the rights and freedom in the young democracy.

In parliament, the premier warned that Namibia faced threats to national security and public safety and was in need of an effective intelligence service. - Star Foreign Service

Unita not responding to UN

(6) 8D 11/8/97

LUANDA — Angola's former rebel movement Unita shows little sign of responding to United Nations (UN) Security Council demands before Friday's deadline despite the threat of sanctions, diplomats said yesterday.

"They have done very little so far to answer to the Security Council," one diplomat said. "I doubt very much that Unita will give them what they want by August 15."

Last month Unita leader Jonas Savimbi agreed to a number of Security Council demands calling for Unita to begin handing over to the government the vast territory it still controls and to define the number of its armed troops.

Military buildups, isolated fighting and the threat of sanctions have sent the country lurching towards renewed conflict, say officials involved in the peace process.

Military analysts in Luanda say fighting between the two sides has come to a stop but the buildup of

troops, especially on the government side, continues.

Unita, already operating under fuel and arms sanctions imposed by the UN, was given until August 15 to comply with UN demands or face additional sanctions on travel and banking.

Savimbi's response late last month, saying he had about 3 000 armed men, was deemed not credible by the Security Council.

The Angolan government says Unita has about 35 000 armed men, while military analysts say the former rebels have anywhere from 15 000 to 25 000 armed troops.

UN officials say a last-minute response by the former rebels will not be accepted. "If Unita replies on the morning of the 15th, that isn't good enough," said one UN official. "We need a few days to go out and verify these numbers. We can't count thousands of people all over the country in an afternoon." — Reuter.

UN talks tough as (5) Unita stalls on accord

ARG 14/8/97

New York – The rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) has not complied with peace accords for the troubled African nation, worked out three years ago, and is in danger of being hit by new United Nations sanctions, officials say.

Unita, which remains in control of diamond-rich zones in Angola's north-east, has until tomorrow to provide the UN with information on how many troops it has quartered and demobilised in accordance with the peace accords signed in Lusaka, Zambia, in 1994.

So far, UN diplomats contend, Unita has continued to avoid complying with the Lusaka plan's timetable on disbanding its fighting force and on Tuesday, the 15-nation UN Security Council warned of tough new sanctions against the rebels if they fail to meet tomorrow's deadline.

If no information is forthcoming, "we will consider, and we will impose, appropriate additional measures. Let no one say later they were not warned", said Security Council President John Weston of Britain.

Unita, which has fought Angola's government for the past 22 years, is already under UN sanctions which forbid all nations from providing weapons or petroleum to the rebels.

Now, the Security Council says, the

rebels could face even stiffer measures, including closure of Unita offices overseas, the freezing of the movement's foreign assets and the forcible expulsion of its members based abroad. At a time when the rebels have lost their former Zairian rear bases and many former allies – including the United States – those steps could cripple their two-decade insurgency, diplomats here say.

Mr Weston said that Unita had reached this point because of its "totally unacceptable" level of compliance with the Angola peace accords.

"Unita so far has not taken any steps towards fulfilling its commitments," he fumed.

Despite the tough talking, however, many UN officials do not expect any immediate action on sanctions against Unita immediately.

He added that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi needs such prodding to comply better with the Lusaka Accords, and that the Council's current threats are part of an ongoing "carrot-and-stick" process to deal with the mercurial rebel chief.

By now, Unita was to have joined a multi-party government led by its archrivals, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and to have integrated many of its troops into the Angolan army while retiring the rest. – Sapa-IPS

Unita reveals military info after UN threat

(5)

Staw 14/8/97

United Nations - Former Unita rebels in Angola have submitted details of their military strength and other matters to UN officials, who are threatening sanctions if the movement does not comply with the agreed provisions of the Angolan peace plan.

UN special representative Alioune Blondin Beye is "studying very carefully" the information submitted, spokesman Juan-Carlos Brandt said

yesterday. He refused to say whether the material was satisfactory or complete.

The Security Council has threatened to impose economic sanctions on the former rebels if Unita doesn't take specific steps by tomorrow to honour a 1994 peace accord with the government.

Unita gave Beye information concerning its armed elements, the extension of state administration into areas it

controls and the transformation of its radio into a non-partisan broadcaster, Brandt said.

Beye was expected to make a formal statement today.

In an editorial yesterday The Washington Post said that if civil war re-ignites in Angola, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi would deserve the bulk of the responsibility.

But, the newspaper said, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos also would deserve a

share of the blame, "especially now if he launches the sort of premature attack that could destroy the lingering possibilities of a political rescue operation".

The Washington Post added that Beye's report is expected to isolate Savimbi politically and leave him open to government attack and sanctions.

"Savimbi has been talking tough (but) it seems the United Nations is about to call his bluff." - Sapa-AP



DOUG PITHEY

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government's War Victims' Compensation Fund had been defrauded of enormous sums of money awarded on bogus claims of war injury. - Sapa

Unita warned of sanctions as it stalls peace plan

(5) ARG 15/8/97

New York - Angola's Unita movement has failed to comply with United Nations orders, international mediators say, and could end up facing economic sanctions.

The announcement came yesterday, a day before a deadline set by the Security Council for Unita to make a full disclosure of its military strength, to allow extension of government administration in areas it controls and to transform its radio station into a "non-partisan" broadcaster.

Unita submitted a report on Wednesday to mediators from the United States, Russia and Portugal, who oversee implementation of a 1994 peace plan.

Yesterday the mediators warned: "Concerning Unita's military strength, the data remains very incomplete. As regards armaments, the data provided is derisory."

The UN imposed a weapons and fuel embargo on Unita four years ago, but the sanctions have had little effect.

Unita earns \$500-million (R2,4-billion) a year from diamond sales. - Sapa-AP

ANGOLA

Railway will be back on track

CT(BR)21/8/97

(5)

JOHN FLEMING

Lobit6, Angola — The reconstruction of Angola's war-ravaged Benguela railway, first opened in the 1920s by Portuguese colonialists, is due to begin next month.

The railway stretches 1 350km from the Atlantic port of Lobito to Luau on the country's border with the Democratic Republic of Congo.

"We are almost ready to start work. As soon as we get our people down from Italy we will begin. We are looking at early September," said Raymondo Fossati, the Lobito manager for Tor di Valle, the Italian firm rehabilitating the railway.

Working track already runs between Lobito and Benguela, some 40km to the south. The line carries about 20 000 people a day.

Another stretch of track goes into the interior 150km to a bridge bombed by Unita, the former rebel movement, during the two-decade-long civil war.

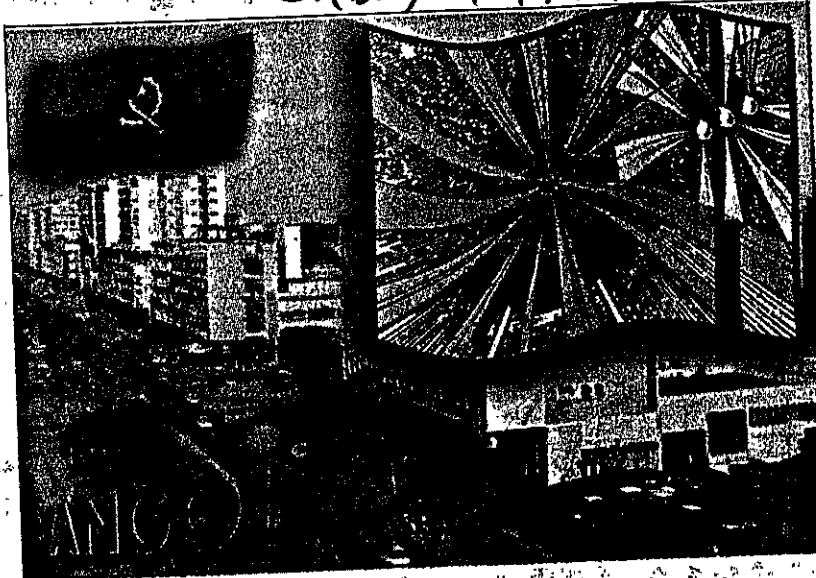
It is easy to see the havoc wreaked on the railway by the war. Near Lobito, miles of rusting stock lie along the track, as a train graveyard is choked with the remains of landmined and ambushed diesel locomotives.

Tor di Valle won the contract to reconstruct the railway through a barter scheme set up with the government. In return for the rebuilding work, the firm may exploit a series of eucalyptus plantations of about 37 000ha.

Tor di Valle officials say the plantations will bring in more than \$500 million, enough to cover the rebuilding costs and make the company a healthy, though undisclosed, profit.

The steam engines have been replaced by General Electric locomotives at a cost of about \$2 million each, but the project is fraught with problems.

"They will most likely have labour problems and logistical and supply



problems, but the biggest question is the political uncertainty. This country could go back to civil war at any time. That wouldn't be good for business," said one industry analyst who asked not to be identified.

Unita entered into a power-sharing agreement with the government in April. It continues to hold vast areas of the country, including most of the territory the railway crosses.

In recent months the country's precarious peace process has begun to unravel, bringing Angola closer to the point of renewed conflict than at any time since Unita and the government signed a peace treaty in 1994.

But even if peace holds, the work to be done on the railway is staggering.

After Tor di Valle has restored the track to accommodate minimum traffic, a three-year project, it will modernise the entire line.

Fossati said the 14-year project includes rebuilding 20 bridges, replacing the steel rails, reconstructing 22 passenger stations and three work stations, plus the telephone and signals system.

The group will also replace every one of the line's 1.5 million sleepers.

The payoff for the firm could also be huge in opening up the interior of Angola and the whole of central Africa.

"This project is vital to the development of Angola, but also to the central Africa region," said Lukoki Sebastiao, the general manager of the Benguela Railway Company.

Sebastiao said the investment was not ill-timed, despite the precarious and volatile political outlook in Angola.

"Sure, there are problems in Angola. But I think the best solution is not always to wait. This investment could be a factor in strengthening peace," he pointed out.

In colonial times, the railway was used to transport products out of Angola and to move copper and cobalt from the huge mines in the south of the former Zaire.

Company officials say that following the change of leadership in Kinshasa, those mines will once again begin exporting through Angola. — Reuter

Answer to Angola's troubles could lie in diamond trade

ET(Be)25/8/97 (5)

ANTONIO DA SILVA

Luanda — Trying to explain the troubles in Angola to an outsider can be a singularly frustrating task.

After a few minutes of Angolan history that includes cold war rivalries, shifting alliances and the intricacies of its internal politics, the listener's eyes usually begin to glaze over, or the reader yawns after a few paragraphs of context and moves onto a less turgid section of the daily paper.

But come to Luanda and settle into conversations with people talking about the troubles, for they are all talking about the troubles, and the reasons seem simple. They will assume you have

at least a beginner's knowledge of Angola: there was a civil war between a rebel group called Unita, a cold war ally of the US and apartheid South Africa, and the government backed by the Soviet Union and Cuba; since 1994 there has been a precarious peace and that recently that peace, from all indications, is rapidly unravelling.

The talk then will immediately focus on the possibility of coming war and it will turn invariably to one thing: the diamond trade.

"If you want to find the answer to Angola's problems, follow the diamonds," said one foreigner involved in the diamond trade here.

Diamonds have always figured prominently in Angola, and could still figure prominently in avoiding a renewal of war.

The former rebel movement Unita, which still controls vast amounts of the Angolan interior, including most of the diamond fields, raises as much as \$700 million a year from diamond production in areas under its control, analysts say.

A big chunk of that money

is used to purchase goods that Unita uses to support itself, most recently evidenced by transport planes from South Africa carrying loads of fuel and food. Other planes bring in a great deal of weapons, say military officials in Luanda.

The Angolan government, keen to have the diamond income itself (the government takes about \$100 million a year in diamond revenues) and to deny Unita it, moved into Unita-held diamond areas in Lunda Norte province in the northeast in May.

The government took what diamond analysts here claim was about 10 percent of their diamond production.

Foreign companies dealing with Endiama, the

Angolan state-owned diamond company, wasted no time in taking advantage of the situation and moved into areas previously held by Unita. The British company ITM had a government concession in the area but before May was only able to work the tiny bit controlled by the government; now the company has spread deep into previously Unita-held territory.

About 200km to the south, in Lunda Sul province, is the Catoca kimberlite deposit, the fourth largest in the world. The mine is due to

begin production this month and promises to produce about \$470 million in 10 years. But company officials admit they are worried about security. Barely 5km away is strongly held Unita territory.

But the company, made up of the Brazilian company Odebrecht, the Russian state-owned mining company Almazay Rossii-Sakha, the Israeli-based company Del-

monty, and Endiama, has just employed a couple of thousand more government soldiers to guard the facility and more are said to be on the way, according to company officials.

Some of those involved in the diamond trade say the government will no doubt like to push Unita away from Catoca and take some of the neighbouring diamond-rich areas for itself, including a kimberlite deposit long rumoured to be in the area and said to be bigger than Catoca.

In the central-north of the country, in the Cuango river valley, lies the heart of Unita and Angola's diamond production. Unita is in control here because the valley represents about 65 percent of Unita diamond production, say diamond analysts.

This is Unita's lifeline and the centre of its operations is the city of Lusamba, long a logistical base for shipments coming in by air and the nerve centre of diamond production.

Many say the key to the resolution of Angola's crisis lies in coming up with some deal that will legalise Unita's participation in the diamond sector that will ensure the former rebels a good amount of revenue for the future.

Put simply: \$700 million a year.

Sources here say a deal on the Cuango has been on the table for months. But Jonas Savimbi, Unita's leader, apparently does not like it. As one analyst puts it: "He doesn't like the current proposal. He wants it all."

Diplomats and industry officials say the government may not be interested in a deal that gives Unita a sizeable income.

"At the moment the government feels like it has the upper hand," said one source. "They know that as long as Unita has access to revenue it will continue to be a threat. They want to eliminate the threat." — Independent Foreign Service

Unita still holds vast areas of the interior, reaping \$700m a year from diamonds

The state would like to push Unita away from the diamond-rich Catoca area

UN sanctions on Angola 'will have dire consequences'

(5) B02818/97

LUANDA — Angola's former National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebel movement has warned that the imposition of punitive sanctions upon it by the UN Security Council could have negative consequences for peace in the country.

Gen Horacio Njunjuvili, a member of a joint commission set up by the Luanda government, its former foes in Unita and the UN, on Tuesday said that sanctions could shift the balance of power dangerously.

In a UN radio broadcast, Njunjuvili referred to a draft resolution that could be adopted by the Security Council in New York today with a view to forcing Jonas Savimbi's Unita to implement fully a peace pact signed with Luanda in November 1994 to end two decades of civil war.

He said: "The imposition of sanctions will not help the peace process and could even be prejudicial to it" as it could change the balance of power between the ruling People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which won elections in 1992, and Unita, which plunged the country back into conflict after contesting the poll results.

The UN and the "troika" nations monitoring the peace process — former ruler Portugal and ex-Cold War enemies the US and Russia, which had respectively backed Unita and the MPLA — charged that the former anti-Marxist rebels had failed to disarm completely, as had been planned, and had turned in an insufficient quantity of weapons to UN forces.

The Security Council envisaged stringent restrictions on the movement and activities of Unita members abroad, as well as an eventual ban on its commercial activities — notably diamond sales — and the freezing of its banked assets.

Military checkpoints

During a meeting on Tuesday, the joint peace monitoring commission noted that only 10 683 former Unita troops had been merged into a new joint national defence force of 90 000 men, out of a planned 24 300 ex-rebels.

The commission also objected to the strengthening of military checkpoints on Angolan strategic highways by Unita and government soldiers, while the UN World Food Programme reported an unusual flow of refugees out of the Unita-controlled northern Malanje province.

On a positive note, the commission concluded that progress had been made in establishing a unified administration in the northern and central provinces of Uije and Huambo, both former rebel strongholds.

A special envoy despatched to the southern African country last Friday by US President Bill Clinton, Paul Hare, was scheduled to have talks with Savimbi yesterday after Unita said the two could meet as soon as Hare's schedule permitted.

Since June, Unita has held seats in the Angolan government, with four ministerial portfolios and several deputy posts.

Its elected members have taken up their parliamentary seats, but the movement has retained military control of several strategic regions such as the diamond-rich northeast. — Sapa-AFP.

United Nations' guilt in Angola

M+G 29/8-4/9/97 (6)

The UN decision to impose sanctions against Unita is too little too late for Angola, argues Chris Gordon

The United Nations Security Council decision on August 16 to impose tough sanctions against Unita's military wing marks what looks like a sea change in the UN's political will towards Angola.

"It is obvious that the current state of fighting is mainly the result of delays by Unita in implementing its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol," UN secretary general Kofi Annan reported to the UN Security Council. This statement from the UN would have been unthinkable last year.

Despite the shift in viewpoint, the UN is little closer to solving the persistent problems in the peace process, after nine years' involvement and three monitoring and verification missions in Angola.

The parallels between the weaknesses of the two Unavem (United Nations Verification) missions of 1992 and 1997 are shocking. Unavem III, the mission which ended in 1997, signally failed to find the arms and supplies entering Unita territory from Zaïre. Although the mission disarmed and quartered 70 000 Unita troops, it did not quarter most of Savimbi's army and the weapons it collected were of poor quality.

During the run-up to the 1992 elections, the UN received reports that Unita had not disarmed, most notably from Tony da Costa Fernandez and N'zau Puna Puna, both senior Unita figures who deserted Unita in 1992 and claimed the organisation had held back its best troops and most of its arms from quartering areas. In each case, the UN was unable to get much access to Unita controlled territory to verify the facts.

The international monitoring group — the Troika composed of the US, Russia and Portugal — failed to investigate the problems in 1992. The international view was that Unita would win, and the will to rein in Savimbi did not exist. At this point he was still the contra hero, once feted by the White House and a bastion of anti-communism policies in Africa.

The elections took place in September 1992, and were verified as being free and fair to the UN Security Council, a statement accepted by the United States (US) government, which still did not give diplomatic recognition to the Angolan government. Unita rejected the election results and went back to war, proving the truth of many of the allegations that Unavem was unable to verify.

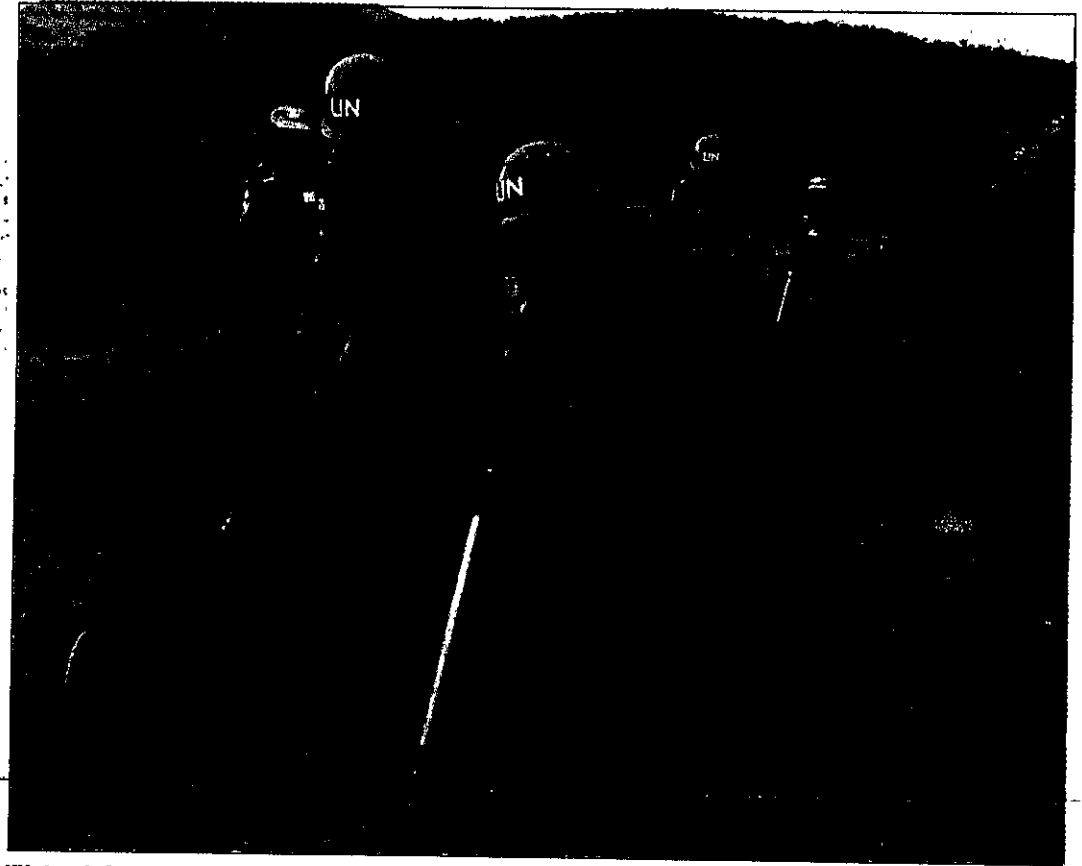
The US and South Africa carried on backing Unita, although the US claimed it sent non-lethal material. The last known payment from the Central Intelligence Agency to Unita was in 1992. The UN banned arms supplies to both sides.

The ban made it difficult for the Angolan government to arm itself during the war that followed without being condemned by the international community. Amazingly, the ban wasn't lifted until mid-1993, when the international community agreed the Angolan government had a right to self-defence.

The ban had much less effect on Unita's long-standing supply lines. Those through Zaïre remained open until closed off by Laurent Kabilla's army early this year. The South African supply chains are still functioning today, although they are now "privatised".

In the early days of the war, the UN condemned Unita for persistent violations of peace accords — but took no action. Sanctions on arms and fuel supplies followed a year later in September 1993, after the appalling siege of Cuíto, but these were unenforceable.

No effective action was taken by the UN to



UN at work: Searching for landmines that have helped reduce Angola to rubble. PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN LIEBENBERG

shorten the war. Instead, they insisted that the solution must be diplomatic and accommodate both parties.

The key role in this was played by the US. When the US sang, the UN Security Council danced. The US is the most influential member of the UN. It has a casting vote in the Security Council and is the largest contributor to the UN budget.

The pressure on Unita and sanctions that might have prevented the last war and the present threat of war were never brought to bear. Instead, the UN insisted on a diplomatic solution. The role of these peace-keeping operations is to find a negotiated solution, but as military experts point out, civil wars are rarely settled by negotiation.

International insistence also ruled out the defeat of Unita. By late 1994, when peace talks had restarted, the Angolan government was close to defeating Savimbi. US pressure stopped the government from delivering two fatal blows to Unita — recapturing the diamond regions and completing the defeat of Unita after the capture of Huambo, Savimbi's old headquarters.

The UN began to blame both parties equally for the war, a motif that continued for two years. The MPLA was not beyond criticism in the peace process, but, international perceptions still tainted by the cold war drove the agenda in Angola, and tended to deny legitimacy to the government.

The Lusaka agreement of 1994 ended the worst phase of the war and a peace-keeping force was sent to Angola — Unavem III which cost \$1-million a day and had a force of 7 000 Blue Helmets. The mission task was to complete what the previous mission had left undone.

The UN also aided in the reconstruction of a country reduced to rubble in two years, with more landmines than people. The World Food



Cheers to peace: Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Eduardo dos Santos

Programme mounted the largest humanitarian airlift in history to prevent millions from starving.

Yet this third mission was willing to tolerate endless delays in the peace process, until early this year. One critic of the UN commented that they have achieved precisely the opposite of what they set out to do in Angola. Instead of disarming and quartering Unita, the delays in the peace process have bought time for Unita to re-arm. The UN, in fact, was present when Unita re-armed and reformed its armies, not once but twice.

The appointment of Kofi Annan as UN secretary general seems to have been the turning point for the UN. The previous secretary gen-

eral Boutros Boutros-Ghali was a long-standing friend of Jonas Savimbi, from his days in Cairo in 1965.

Both the UN and the US are now taking unequivocal stances in support of the government. The reasons for this seem to be as much the need to develop trade relations with Africa's newest untapped oil resource, as any degree of guilt or responsibility for twenty years of war. The commercial lobbies want action now, though Unita's supporters in the US would still prefer the old methods.

How far the UN can translate this into action will become clear when sanctions are placed on Unita — and enforced. It may all be too little too late.

Illusions of peace shattered as Angola stumbles again

APR 30/8/97

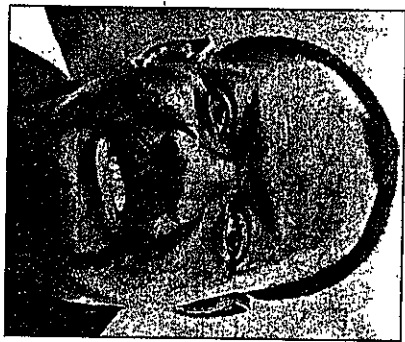
Luanda - It looked so promising a few months ago. In April, Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement at last agreed to implement the 1994 peace accord and join the ruling MPLA in a power-sharing government and an integrated army. The longest running, most lethal war in southern Africa seemed to be at an end.

Now, Angola is in crisis - and some say it could return to war. United Nations secretary-general Kofi Annan told the Security Council this week that peace in Angola was "gravely threatened" and once again ordered that the planned withdrawal of UN peacekeepers be suspended.

So what went wrong? That question misses the point. Things were never quite as right as they seemed. Even as his party agreed to join the government, Mr Savimbi signalled his attitude towards it by refusing to attend the April inauguration ceremony in the capital, Luanda. He has not been there since, preferring to remain at his well-protected Balmundo headquarters in the central highlands.

The UN, trying to bounce the peace process along on a wave of optimism, ignored persistent reports that Unita was keeping back thousands of its fighters, refusing to disarm and demolish them as promised.

The fall from power of Mobutu Sese Seko in neighbouring Congo (formerly Zaire) has brought the crisis out into the open: Unita has lost an ally and the MPLA has gained one. Unita was so dependent on Zaire as a refuge and source of arms that, when Laurent Kabila swept Mr Mobutu from his throne with the help of the Angolan army, many expected Unita's military threat to evaporate. The movement



Savimbi: cloistered in the central highlands



Dos Santos: keeping the military option open

was indeed driven out of several towns and villages in the north-east during May and June. But it still holds on to a vast area, including large tracts rich in diamonds.

Mr Savimbi's movement will not be a spent force so long as it goes on earning more than \$500-million (R2.3 bn) a year from illegal diamond exports. With this, Unita has been able to import the weapons and fuel that it needs.

The UN Security Council, exasperated by Unita's failure to comply with the peace terms, is contemplating sanctions. Unita, as usual, produced last-minute promises before Mr Annan made his report to the council on August 15. Mr Annan was unimpressed. "Half-hearted concessions, (made) under pressure and on the eve of Security

Council deliberations, are no longer acceptable," he said.

He has, however, given Unita more time to honour its promises. If it does not, what would the sanctions be and would they work?

A clampdown on Unita's diamond trade would be the most effective but impossible to implement, according to a diamond dealer in Luanda. "We all know that most Angolan diamonds come from Unita, but you can never stop dealers buying them."

The UN has also mooted freezing Unita's external bank accounts, closing its offices in Europe and America, and a worldwide refusal to give visas to its leaders. Such measures would hurt. But Unita would find ways to circumvent them.

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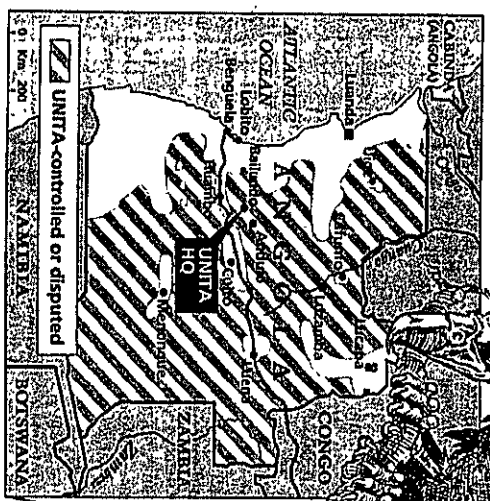
The UN observer mission in Angola says it has received assurances from Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos that he will not take any action that might precipitate a new conflict. But he is under pressure from army officers keen to have another bash at Unita.

He is said to have secured Mr Kabila's permission to allow Angolan government troops to enter Congo in hot pursuit of Unita forces. The UN reports large troop governments into strategically important provinces. In Luanda, slum-dwellers complain that forced recruitment, a regular practice during the war, has started again.

The four Unita ministers in the capital are keeping their heads down, no doubt in the hope that they will not be summoned back to the bush. The government-controlled media are pointing out a barrage of anti-Unita propaganda, much of it false and all of it inflammatory. "They are preparing the psychological conditions for war," says an Angolan journalist.

The government's confidence has been bolstered by its increasingly warm relations with the United States. During the cold war, Mr Savimbi was hailed in Washington as a freedom fighter, and given weapons. Those days are long gone; the administration now finds him an uncooperative nuisance.

The UN is urging Mr Savimbi and Mr Dos Santos to hold a face-to-face meeting as soon as possible. Senior Unita aides agree that there are many questions that can be resolved only in direct talks between the two leaders. But an MPLA minister sounds a note of scepticism. "What is there to talk about?" he asks. "We signed a peace treaty in 1994. It's just a matter of Mr Savimbi coming to his senses." - The Economist



Unita official defects to (5) government

LUANDA — Amid warnings of renewed civil war in Angola, a former top Unita official has defected to the government side, the private radio station Luanda Antena Comercial reported.

Eugenio Manukavola, the former secretary general of Unita, left the movement's Bailundo headquarters with his family for the capital, Luanda.

The radio did not give the reason for his defection.

Unita, which was backed throughout the 1980s by the US against the then Marxist government of Angola, in June formally entered a government of national unity.

But the former rebels have delayed on the formation of the government and the government side has warned of a possible resumption of the 20-year civil war here.

Unita officials in Luanda declined the opportunity to comment last week on the Manukavola's movements.

Manukavola had signed the November 1994 Lusaka peace agreements that formally ended the long civil war in Angola.

However, Savimbi has refused to sign the peace agreements. —

Sapa-ATP

SD 1/9/97

UN votes for sanctions against Unita

1995-11/9/97

6

Chris Gordon

Diplomatic attempts to pull together Angola's peace process have reached the 11th hour, with a unanimous vote by the United Nations Security Council to impose sanctions on the Angolan rebel group Unita for non-compliance with the peace accords.

The sanctions will come into effect on September 30. The next moves now depend on Unita's seriousness — and on the Angolan government's famously subtle politicking.

disarming of Unita is also being demanded.

This has — in theory, at least — been carried out twice, in 1992 and 1995/6. The UN says it has not been able to monitor Unita's compliance adequately.

Critics of the UN's peacekeeping operation say long delays have given Unita the time to reform and rearm. Reports in recent months have made

it clear that Unita still has an army and supply routes.

The US State Department said last week Savimbi has "tens of thousands of [armed] troops under his command ... who have not demobilised".

Unita indicated a feeling of betrayal by its erstwhile allies in the West. "We are handing over our areas to the government," said General Horacio Junjivili, Unita's assistant representative in the peace process. "We are telling them about the armed men still out there. What else must we do?"

Unita said last Sunday it would fulfil Security Council demands to

avert new sanctions, but officials close to the peace process said they doubt the organisation's will to comply.

The sanctions call on all UN members to bar the entry, transit or residence of senior Unita officials and their adult family members, unless on official government business. All Unita offices in UN member territories are to be closed.

UN members must ban all flights and related supplies into any area which may be Unita-controlled. The only exemptions are UN-approved humanitarian supplies.

Coke invites Angola to the party

CT(BR)8/9/97 (5)

JABULANI SIKHAKHANE

BUSINESS EDITOR

Johannesburg — The Coca-Cola Company, the world's leading softdrinks group, would today sign a joint venture agreement with the Angolan government to build a new bottling plant in Bom Jesus and upgrade the existing plant in Vitoria, sources said at the weekend.

The investment in the two plants, which would be managed by Indol, a subsidiary of South African Breweries, would total about \$83 million. It would lift the value of Coca-Cola's investment in sub-Saharan Africa to about R2,2 billion.

The agreement would be signed, at a meeting ending the three-day US-Angolan trade mission, by Eduardo dos San-

tos, the Angolan president, and Carl Ware, the president of Coca-Cola's Africa group.

The joint venture would be owned 55 percent by Coca-Cola and the balance by the Angolan government.

Cindy-Ann Boustead, a spokesman for Coca-Cola Southern Africa, said the joint venture formed part of Coca-Cola's belief in Angola's future and that of its people.

"That belief is the bedrock of Coca-Cola's focus to create value for every Angolan who touches our business — from retail level up, from spazas and kiosks to our bottling partners," said Boustead.

Coca-Cola's move into Angola follows hard on the heels of similar investments in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa

and East Africa (Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda).

In Mozambique, Coca-Cola recently announced plans for a \$45 million investment to rehabilitate the Chimoio bottling plant to double its business over the next four years.

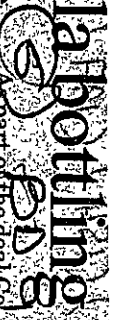
In February this year, Coca-Cola said it would invest \$60 million in Zimbabwe over the next four years.

Early this year, the soft-drinks group and its South African franchise bottlers announced a R1,25 billion investment programme.

Last year, it announced plans to invest \$30 million in two new bottling lines in Uganda.

Coca-Cola and its bottling partners employ 100 000 people in Africa, of which 13 000 are in South Africa.

Coca-Cola signs \$33m Angola bottling plant deal



9/19/97

LUANDA — Soft drinks giant Coca-Cola underwrote a \$33 million deal to build a bottling plant in Angola, the company announced yesterday. The deal is part of a broader agreement with the Angolan government to open a state-of-the-art bottling plant.

"We will start construction of the plant immediately," Coca-Cola Africa president Carl Ware said. "We are making this investment because we believe in Angola as a great place to do business and the issues of political instability are not an obstacle to our project. We are proud of the relations we have developed with the Angolan government." Angola's MPLA government and former rebel Unita movement signed a peace deal in 1994 ending two decades of civil war, but implementation has been slow. Unita continues to control about 70% of the country, including diamond mines, and only a minority of its fighters have been demobilised and incorporated into a new national army.

Prior to independence from Portugal in 1975, Angola had three Coca-Cola plants in the central highlands, the coastal city of Huambo and the coastal city of Lobito. However, after the country's prolonged civil war, only the Huambo plant remained operational. The joint venture will be 55% owned by Coca-Cola and 45% by the Angolan government. The new bottling plant will be built at the village of Bom Jesus, which is east of Luanda.

As part of the deal, Coca-Cola will upgrade an existing bottling plant which produces 5,000 cases of local soft drinks a year. Both plants will be managed by Indol, a subsidiary of SA Breyer's. Ware said the plant would have a bottling capacity of 20 million to 30 million cases a year in three years' time. Initial capacity would be 8 million cases annually. It is expected the plant will take 12 to 18 months to build. The agreement was signed during a US trade mission to Angola at which 22 companies were represented. Coca-Cola and its partners employ about 100,000 people in Africa. — Reuter.

Talks over diamond spoils hold the key to peace

RAFAEL MARQUES

Luanda — The Angolan government and Unita, the ex-rebel movement, are engaging in crucial direct talks outside the United Nations-controlled negotiating process, to settle a deal on the control of diamonds which may bring the peace which has eluded the country for so long.

Higino Carneiro, the government negotiator, spent 72 hours in Andulo last week talking to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi about giving Unita an official cut of the country's rich diamond spoils.

Analysts have long contended that a dispute over control of Angola's rich diamond spoils lay at the heart of the conflict here. The country is once more teetering on the brink of civil war, as the September 30 deadline looms for Unita either to comply with its obligations under the 1994 Lusaka Protocol peace accord, or face UN sanctions.

These obligations include the surrender of the areas it controls to government administration.

One reason Unita has been reluctant to do so is that these areas include the bulk of the country's diamond resources, the proceeds of which largely fund the party.

Abel Chivukuvuku, the president of the Unita parliamentary bench and a key Unita negotiator, confirmed the diamond talks but said nothing had yet been finalised.

"Unita has its own companies, such as SGM, and it has to have specific rights on diamond exploration and shares in other current concessions within the existing legal framework," Chivukuvuku said.

"The diamond issue is not mentioned in the Lusaka Protocol, and that is why these talks are essentially bilateral, between Unita and the government."

According to Chivukuvuku, some international diamond companies have already begun approaching Unita, hoping to participate in what it may get out of a deal. It is understood, but not confirmed, that De Beers is one of them.

Actually, Unita's SGM only has a prospecting licence with rights to two specific areas in Bie province and Lunda Norte province, in which they have to first do a prospecting study followed by a feasibility study and then apply for an exploration licence.

"All this takes at least three years, then it has to have a partnership with the state company Endiama," said Marcos Samondo, the geology and mining minister.

A UN official in Angola said: "Recently the government went to the special representative of ... the UN in Angola ... to say the government and Unita had to settle the diamond dispute between themselves. The issues are not political but financial, and until they are resolved the rest will have to wait."

"If they come to an agreement, the normalisation of the country will happen immediately."

Under the Lusaka Protocol, Unita has to

demobilise its remaining troops, hand over the weaponry it still possesses and return the areas it occupies to the state.

By August Unita had declared some troops and returned to the government 24 municipalities and 46 communes, covering 60 percent of the areas to be returned at this stage.

"We are doing what we were asked to, to show that we are serious," said Horacio Junjivili, the Unita interim representative at the joint commission.

But the UN did not agree and imposed sanctions on Unita, suspended until September 30 to give

the rebel party one last chance to comply.

Nevertheless, a UN official said: "We should not underestimate Unita's capacity. The government does not have the power it thought it had. That is why the government negotiator ... has spent 72 hours ... (talking) to Savimbi without the mediation of United Nations."

Another international observer said: "The diamond deal is about maintaining the status quo of the (government) generals, about paying them off and buying peace." — Independent Foreign Service

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Angola heading back to war

Sowetan 23/9/97 (5)

By Carmen Miranda SapaPanos-IPS

"THE West has new ideas about democracy in Angola - whoever loses is the winner," says Dr Antonio Agante, an Angolan war veteran who has single-handedly taken on the challenge of rebuilding a railway line that ran between the capital Luanda and Malange, 300km to the east.

The railway line was destroyed by the rebel National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (Unita) forces after their leader Jonas Savimbi lost the 1992 general elections.

Like Agante, increasing numbers of Angolans in Luanda are becoming disillusioned with the patchy progress of the peace process that produced the 1994 Lusaka Protocol.

The United Nations Security Council, its Military Observers Mission and Western nations are all seen as dragging their feet over Savimbi's contravention of the accord.

The peace-brokers appear to believe that given time, Savimbi will assume leadership of the political opposition in a peaceful Angola.

If that's hard to swallow, so is the assumption that he will also give up his hefty yearly income of millions of dollars from the rich mining/areas he controls. But it is equally clear to many Angolans that Savimbi has no plans to renounce either the diamond mines or his ambition to be president.

This could result in another civil war. Recently, the Angolan parliament was informed that Savimbi still

retains a 35 000-strong army, of which 15 000 belong to his elite forces - personal guards armed with the latest weapons. The situation is particularly tense in the north-east - home to the diamond-rich Luanda Norte province.

In fact, the war in Angola never really ended. When he lost in the 1992 democratic elections, Savimbi refused to accept the results and launched the country into a bloody war killing thousands of innocent people.

But as troops belonging to the then government's Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) were about to defeat Unita, "the politicians ordered the government troops to retreat," says Agante, who was in the front-line surrounding Huambo, a rebel stronghold.

According to reliable sources, the government came under pressure from some Western countries, particularly the United States, to leave Savimbi alone.

"We only needed another 15 days, and we would have finished this war once and for all. We were about to take Huambo, where we had surrounded Savimbi. I cried with frustration - the politicians betrayed

6 We only needed 15 days and we would have finished the war once and for all

Angola," he says.

The sad reality now is that despite the Lusaka Protocol, the peace process is going nowhere. Having received little cooperation from Unita, it now seems to be sliding rapidly backwards. Suddenly, everyone is preparing for war.

Recently, the government and Unita traded charges of provoking armed conflict. The government accused the Unita of laying fresh mines along the railways in Luanda Norte, while the rebels said the government was planning to attack Unita positions.

Unita positions? Savimbi is not supposed to have any troops any longer, let alone military positions. According to the Lusaka Protocol, his troops were supposed to have been demobilised by now. The "demobilisation" process cost the UN millions of rands in food, money and farming tools to support not only the soldiers but also their families.

(Savimbi had ruled that soldiers took their families with them to the battleground - or at least near it - which meant families too had to be "demobilised".)

If a great deal of money and diamonds were not at stake, the UN's and Western powers' patience with Savimbi would have been a touch incomprehensible. If Savimbi did not control the diamond-rich areas, how much time would anyone have had for his defiance of the Lusaka Protocol or, for that matter, his dismissal of warnings issued by none



Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has no plans to renounce either the diamond mines or his ambition to be Angolan president - and that could mean another civil war.

other than the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative to Angola, Aifroune Blondin Beye?

The answer is bedevilled by super politics - in Angola, the end of the Cold War simply led to the start of another war.

In the Cold War, Savimbi was propped up and armed by the US and its allies, while the MPLA had the support of the Soviet Union.

The new war appears to be the result of some Western countries' bid to take up strong and advantageous positions of power in resource-rich Angola.

Mounting concern over Unita prompted the Angolan parliament to adopt a resolution on July 26 strongly denouncing the rebels' non-compliance with the Lusaka Protocol. It roundly condemned Unita for continuing to maintain troops and war equipment in "flagrant violation" of the Protocol.

Importantly, parliament told the government to "exercise its action of sovereignty and guarantee the security of the populations and of the national resources that belong to the state according to the constitution".

There are also unmistakable signs

that the UN is losing patience with Unita.

Its observer mission in Angola, in a statement issued recently, expressed "grave concern" at Unita's non-compliance with UN Security Council demands, including troops demobilisation. Diplomats close to the process here say Unita's delaying tactics have cost the UN nearly a billion dollars.

UN, Unita confront each other as sanctions loom

(5)

BD 26/9/97

LUANDA — If the United Nations (UN) increases sanctions on Unita next week, war could reignite in Angola, leaders of the former rebel group say. A UN official dismissed the warnings as a ploy.

The warnings were a Unita attempt to stop the UN security council imposing more sanctions next Tuesday, said UN spokesman David Wimhurst.

"They're trying to exert pressure on the international community. It's a question of who's

going to blink," Wimhurst said.

Among sanctions being considered by the council is a travel ban on the Unita movement. This would be in addition to a weapons and fuel embargo on the rebels, which was imposed four years ago, and which has had little effect.

The toughened stance is aimed at putting pressure on Unita to speed up compliance with the 1994 UN-brokered peace accord.

Senior Unita official Horacio

Jijunjivili said any additional sanctions would increase Unita hardliners' leverage over Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

"Sanctions will discourage those who are committed to peace and encourage those who are against it," Jijunjivili said in an interview this week. Unita was "making a great effort" to comply with the accord.

"If the reward for all this effort is sanctions, then the whole peace process will be killed off," Jijunjivili said.

The peace process has unravelled before — with a return to war in 1992 that claimed thousands of lives.

The UN is insisting that the rebels fully disarm and demobilise their forces, and return to the government the areas they seized during the 20-year-long civil war.

Jijunjivili said 70% of Unita-held territory had been returned to the government, or was due to be returned by the end of the month. — Sapa-AP.

ANGOLA

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FM 3/10/97

UN battles to stave off war

Security Council must move deftly now to secure accord

The UN Security Council's unanimous decision this week to "postpone" for a month its deadline for fresh sanctions against Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement may have averted a return to full-scale war in Angola. The question, though, is what the UN can do in this short breathing space to secure a lasting peace in the war-ravaged country.

The postponement gives the rebel movement an extra month "to comply fully with all its obligations" under the 1994 Lusaka Peace Protocol, signed jointly by ruling MPLA leader and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and captured in Resolution 1127 of August this year.

Despite UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's recently expressed misgivings about Unita's compliance with the accords, a postponement had been on the cards since the September 23 meeting of the peace

process *troika* (Russia, the US and Portugal), which indicated that it favoured a slight extension, says Angola analyst Sean Cleary of Strategic Concepts.

"The fundamental issues are simple — to get the peace accords, which aren't very complicated, implemented," says Cleary. "That requires a combination of carrots and sticks." The key question facing the Security Council on the eve of the deadline was whether Unita would comply, he says. Had sanctions been confirmed there was a "firm chance that the lid would come off" and outright hostilities resumed.

The most important question now, says Cleary, is what the Security Council will do with the extended period to secure Unita's compliance. A key element could be a meeting between Savimbi and Dos Santos, who have not met for over a year.

The new sanctions — which would have come into effect after Tuesday but were rescheduled to midnight, October 30 — envisage the closure of Unita offices in Europe and the US, a freeze on its bank accounts, and diplomatic and travel restrictions, excepting the 70 Unita Ministers and MPs serving in Angola's Government of Unity & National Reconciliation.

Nobody is sure what Savimbi is holding out for. Some believe he wants nothing less

than the presidency of the country, even if it means returning to full-scale guerrilla war.

But his chances of holding out in the bush, as he has done since the liberation war began in the mid-Sixties, seem limited: sanctions, however leaky, will hurt Unita; his former Cold War backers have switched sides; his key ally Mobutu Sese Seko is no more; and new-found oil wealth would afford the MPLA government the military hardware for an all-out strike against him.

"Savimbi is painting himself into a corner," says a SA Foreign Affairs official — noting that Savimbi's envoy Alcides Sakala was given short shrift when he called on Pretoria a month ago. The US, Britain and UN monitoring officials in Angola are also fed up with Savimbi's endless stalling, particularly his reluctance to give the UN credible figures on Unita's armament and troop strengths, which the accords require to be demobilised and integrated with the Angolan Armed Forces.

Some believe France is hedging its bets and keeping links with Unita — its interest piqued by Elf-Aquitaine's recent discovery of a 1bn barrel oil field off Angola. This shows again that despite the perils of war, oil-, diamond- and agriculture-rich Angola offers potentially enormous returns for those prepared to take the risks Amarnath Singh

True peace still eludes Angolans 1 000 days after Lusaka accord

MERCEDES SAYAGUES
FOREIGN SERVICE/AIA

Luanda - Since the Lusaka Protocol was signed in November 1994, Angolans have been through a thousand days of uneasy peace - their first in three decades.

In spite of the protocol, signed by the MPLA government and Unita, peace has never been cemented - to the extent that, on September 30, Unita faced sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council.

However, on that day, although it handed over the rich and controversial diamond area of Cuango to the Angolan government, as well as more than 90 locales, including the strategic towns of Negage and Cuango, it has yet to return its strongholds of Bailundo and Andulo in the south.

As a reward, the Security Council did not apply effective economic sanctions against Unita and has given it 30 days to complete its demilitarisation and to return the other areas under its control.

The special representative of the UN secretary-general in Angola and head of the observation mission, Blondin Beye, said at the handing-over that the war in Angola was a thing of the past.

The UN conditions were that if Unita did not demobilise its army fully, allow state administration into the territory it controlled or tone down its Vorgan radio station, it could see its overseas offices closed, travel for its officials restricted and its foreign bank accounts frozen.

One thousand days after the Lusaka accord, at a cost to the international community of R4,7-million a day for the UN peace-keeping operation, the result is mixed: encouraging, but not conclusive.

Widespread combat, bombings and sieges of cities with their accompanying carnage have ceased. A degree of normality has returned to cities and the countryside to the benefit of crops, trade and reconstruction.

Main roads, bridges and water points have been cleared of landmines, but their threat is ever present, as many millions

remain in the ground - and new ones have been planted in contested areas.

Low-intensity fighting erupted in the Lundas in May and June, when the government retook diamond fields along the border with the former Zaire. Banditry is a problem, especially on the road from Lobito on the coast to Huambo in the highlands.

However, where the state has extended administration, security improves. The road between Huambo and Vila Nova, risky once the Uruguayan peacekeepers who escorted travellers left earlier this year, is safe again -

at least until 5pm when policemen armed with AK-47s stationed every 5km go back to base.

Angola is still a divided country. Although Unita has grudgingly conceded bits of land to state administration, it still holds about half the country.

Unita checkpoints have been manned by troops, impeding the free circulation of people and goods mandated in the Lusaka Protocol.

Limited bartering has been allowed at certain "border" points.

Unita has diamonds and American dollars, but needs cooking oil, soap, clothes and *fuba*, the staple flour made out of maize or cassava.

What was obvious but unrecognised before is now public and certified by the Security Council: Unita never sent its best troops to the quartering areas for demobilisation.

Of roughly 75 000 men registered at the quartering areas, 11 000 are in the unified army; 25 000 have been demobilised, including 2 225 boy soldiers; 17 000 should be demobilised this month and 23 000 are, in UN jargon, "temporarily absent", meaning they deserted.

Under pressure from the Security Council, Unita disclosed an additional 6 000 troops - leader Jonas Savimbi's presidential guard, a newly formed "mining police" force in the

Lundas and "residual troops".

Analysts estimate there could be as many as 30 000 undeclared fighters, some of them in the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) and in Congo (Brazzaville).

The government claims 60 000, but this figure does not seem credible.

In March, Unita generals joined the unified army and four ministers and seven deputy ministers are in the government of national unity. The arrival of 70 Unita MPs has injected new dynamism into the dull National Assembly.

A session on education, where Unita MPs pointed out its disastrous state, forced the government to inject more money into it.

As Unita MPs and ministers enjoy the good life in Luanda and the perks of the job (free cars, room and board at expensive hotels, or renovated homes, plus a R117 500 late Christmas bonus they rejected), analysts suggest a split is evolving between Dr Savimbi in his remote headquarters of Andulo and the urban Unita leadership.

Dr Savimbi suffered a serious blow with the defection of Eugenio Manuvakola, a senior official who signed the Lusaka Protocol on behalf of Unita.

Mr Manuvakola fled from Bailundo by road with 15 family members last month.

The government is sitting back in a position of strength. Its military machine is well oiled - 70% of its revenue, or R7,5-billion of R10,8-billion, is spent on "security".

In the international arena, Unita is now the villain and the UN Security Council has criticised it in no uncertain terms.

Foreign investment is pouring in, as Americans, French, Portuguese, Brazilians and South Africans vie for profitable contracts to dig for oil and diamonds and repair the damaged infrastructure:

400 destroyed bridges, the Benguela railway, roads and buildings.

But, in spite of the wealth being flaunted around Luanda, all social indicators are a disaster. Angola was ranked 164th among 174 countries in the UN Development Programme Human Development Index.

'The threat from landmines is ever present, as many millions remain in the ground'

'It is now public that Unita never sent its best troops to the quartering areas for demobilisation'

ARG 8/10/99 (5)

Exam papers lost in Harare

HARARE — An entire set of high school final examination papers to be written by hundreds of thousands of students has disappeared from a public bus that was meant to transport them from the capital to a rural Nyanga school in eastern Zimbabwe, the daily Herald reported at the weekend.

With just a week before the tests start, the Zimbabwe Schools Examination Council (Zimsec) has launched a search to prevent a leak throughout the country.

A box containing the papers went missing last week from the luggage hold of a bus when a school teacher in charge of the papers swapped transport before reaching his destination.

Zimsec director Isaiah Sibanda was optimistic the papers could be recovered, although they disappeared a week ago. He said action would be taken against the school head for not treating the papers as security documents. — Sapa-AFP.

Angolan peace in jeopardy

5
BD 13/10/99

LUANDA — The Angolan peace process was facing new obstacles as the Angolan government moved its 3rd Regiment, supported by tanks and other heavy weaponry, to the diamond region of Cuango.

Horacio Junjivili, the head of the Unita delegation for the peace process, said on Saturday his organisation was evacuating its members from Cuango in protest, an implicit threat to resume fighting.

"We are trying to convince the government that the best solution is that it withdraws the troops," Junjivili said.

The crisis prompted Blondin Beye, the peace process mediator and special representative of the secretary-general of the United Nations (UN), to fly to Andulo, the Unita rebels' southern stronghold, for talks with leader Jonas Savimbi.

"We have discussed the prevailing situation in Cuango and we got the necessary explanations, so we have our hopes for the meeting being held in Cuango today between the government and Unita," Beye said.

A UN source said Higino

Carneiro, deputy minister of the territorial administration and the government strongman in the peace process, was meeting with Unita general Altino Sapalalo "Bock", Savimbi's righthand man.

Unita had controlled Cuango since the end of 1992 and handed it over to the government administration on September 30 this year to avoid economic sanctions by the UN over its failure to fulfil promises to hand over territory, demilitarise, as well as transform its propaganda radio into a commercial station.

On Friday, general secretary of Unita Paulo Lukamba "Gato" said his organisation could withdraw from the already uncertain peace process.

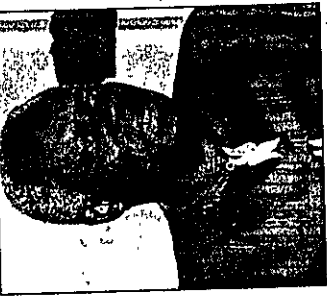
He charged that the government had broken a gentlemen's agreement on the handover of Cuango and accused the UN of failing to impede the troop movement.

According to the agreement, the government was not to militarise the zone, but merely to maintain regular police there. — Sapa-DPA.

War-torn Angola flexes military muscle

Invasion helps rebels depose Unita-friendly Congo leader

AR 18/10/1977



President Jose Eduardo dos Santos

a new military revolt with supplies from Congo-Brazzaville, Angola's MPLA government decided to use forceful military action to prevent that. In recent months it moved considerable numbers of troops and military hardware to Cabinda, the best place to deploy forces into Congo Brazzaville.

In addition to sending its forces in southern Congo-Brazzaville, the Angolan government is suspected of lending some of its Soviet-built MIG jet fighters to General Sassou-Nguesso.

Angola does not want to see that influential neighbour become a safe harbour for Unita. Using Congo-Brazzaville as a springboard, Unita could inflict many more years of conflict on Angola. Now that Unita can no longer use Zaire as a supply base, Angola's leaders apparently decided that no stone should be left unturned.

The Angolan government's decision appears to have been astute, is not surprising that Angolan forces helped to contribute to the victory.

Earlier this year, of Laurent Kabila's forces in what was then known as Zaire. Former leader Mobutu Sese Seko had been a longtime supporter of Angola's Unita rebels. Therefore it is not surprising that Angolan forces helped to contribute to the victory.

Suspecting that Unita is planning troops and well-supplied bases in southern Congo-Brazzaville.

based on recent reports that Unita forces are fighting alongside the beleaguered troops of Congo-Brazzaville, President Patrick Lissouba.

Another reason that the Angolan government has intervened in Congo-Brazzaville is to ensure that its oil-rich enclave of Cabinda remains secure. Separated from Angola geographically and a part of the country only due to colonial map-making, Cabinda has had a hardline separatist movement since the early 1960s.

The front for the liberation of the enclave of Cabinda (Fico) first struggled against Portuguese colonial rule then, after 1975, Angolan rule. If Cabinda were to achieve independence, its vast oil reserves would make it one of the wealthiest countries in Africa, and Angola would become just one of the continent's many poor countries.

Although it boasts considerable local support, Fico is critically short of arms and equipment, especially medical supplies.

Although Fico has long sought aid from Western powers, it has not found a backer, essentially because Washington does not want to risk disrupting Angola's massive supply of oil from Cabinda.

Mobutu Sese Seko gave Fico some military assistance, but Fico general has very wary of assistance from any of its neighbours because they covet the oil-rich enclave for themselves. It appears no power is to be trusted around Cabinda's oil fields.

Angola's decisive intervention in Congo-Brazzaville has given notice to all other countries in the region that the MPLA government of Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos will not tolerate any suggestion that it should not continue to control Cabinda. Similarly, the Angolans have discouraged any other neighbours from offering any support to Unita. Foreign Service

Behind all the regional rivalry for power, of course, is money, oil money. Congo-Brazzaville is a small country with just 2.6 million people. But it is Africa's fourth-largest oil producer and recent offshore explorations promise even greater deposits. In addition Congo-Brazzaville has one of the region's best Atlantic ports in Pointe Noire, from where it can export the oil.

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Suspecting that Unita is planning troops and well-supplied bases in southern Congo-Brazzaville.

Battered Angolans struggle to restore order

(5) Star 2/11/97

Wounded soldiers who helped rebels in Congo Brazzaville's civil war are flown back to Luanda for treatment

Reuters
Kinshasa

Angolan troops who helped rebels take control of Congo (Brazzaville) are struggling to pacify the tiny oil-producing nation after suffering heavier casualties than anticipated, military sources said.

A European military official told Reuters late yesterday that Angolan casualties from its involvement last week in Congo's four-month civil war

had started to arrive in Luanda, while at least 10 others were treated in the Congo capital, Brazzaville.

He added: "Most of the wounded were flown to Luanda from Pointe Noire and at least 10 others were treated in Brazzaville."

Pointe Noire in the south is Congo's oil centre and was the entry point for a 3,500-strong Angolan tank-led column that invaded from the oil-rich Angolan enclave of Cabinda, military sources say.

The Angolans, backing new strongman and former ruler Denis Sassou Nguesso, then fanned out into the countryside and Brazzaville to consolidate the overthrow of democratically elected president Pascal Lissouba.

The sources said imposing total authority is proving to be far more difficult than the Angolans had anticipated, and looting by Angolan troops and Sassou's militia had complicated the security situation and delayed Sassou's return to

Brazzaville from his hometown of Oyo in the north.

Insecurity in the Atlantic ocean nation had prompted French troops to rescue a group of foreigners from Congo yesterday. France also flew a field hospital to Brazzaville to treat victims of the civil war in the central African state.

Lissouba was meanwhile granted asylum in the West African state of Burkina Faso where he arrived on Saturday. He visited Togo yesterday but returned to his exile home in

Burkina Faso after brief talks with President Gnassingbe Eyadema, Togolese officials said.

The officials said they did not know the object of his visit. However, Eyadema, one of Africa's longest serving heads of state, is a prominent mediator in regional conflicts.

Residual fighting has been reported in Lissouba's home base, the south, to which his army and militia allies retreated after losing a four-month civil war in the capital

last week.

Diplomats said Sassou's absence from Brazzaville, five days after he claimed victory in a civil war opponents say was fuelled by a battle for control of oil reserves and regional political interests, had added to the insecurity across Congo.

General Jean-Marie Tassoua, Sassou's war commander acknowledged that looting was continuing in the capital despite a promise last Friday that it would be brought to a quick end.

Angolans withdraw heavy arms

CT 22/10/97

(5)

KINSHASA: Angolan troops who helped rebels take control of Congo started pulling heavy arms out of Brazzaville yesterday where UN and French missions arrived to assess humanitarian needs.

France flew in a 38-strong team of medical personnel and firemen to help cope with the crisis in Brazzaville where a French gendarme was slightly wounded when unidentified people shot at the French compound overnight.

Witnesses at Brazzaville's Maya Maya airport reported that two Angolan military transport planes

flew out of the airport after offloading fuel and loading rocket launchers and heavy trucks.

It was unclear whether the planes were returning home or flying to other parts of the country to redeploy the war material.

UN officials reported some fighting around the country and said security was still shaky in Brazzaville.

Angolan-backed new military ruler General Denis Sassou Nguesso remained holed up in his northern village of Oyo yesterday six days after claiming victory while his

Angolan allies struggled to restore calm to the former French colony.

A European military official told Reuters late yesterday that at least 10 Angolans were being treated for wounds in Brazzaville.

"They (Angolans) appear to have suffered far more casualties than they had anticipated."

The official said wounded Angolan soldiers had been flown home to Luanda.

The Angolans, backing Sassou who previously ruled for 14 years before losing pluralist polls, have fanned out into the countryside to

consolidate the overthrow of elected president Mr Pascal Lissouba.

But the sources said imposing total authority was proving to be far more difficult than the Angolans had anticipated and looting by Angolan troops and Sassou's militia had complicated the security situation and delayed Sassou's return to Brazzaville.

Aid workers said Sassou was now not expected in Brazzaville before Saturday.

Burkina Faso confirmed yesterday it had granted Lissouba asylum. — Reuter

Angolan bandits rob De Beers

MG 24-30/10/97 (5) (248)

Chris Gordon

De Beers is holding an internal inquiry following the shooting and robbery of the head of its Angola operations, Ken Kempson, near Lucapa in Lunda Norte. The attack left Kempson badly injured with five bullet wounds, and minus a reported \$1.5-million (R7-million) in cash he was to deliver to the De Beers diamond-buying office in Lucapa.

It was not a random robbery. The attackers knew Kempson was carrying the money and laid an ambush for him, according to a source who arrived at the airport half an hour before he did.

The source saw three Angolans dressed as policemen waiting in the middle of the road beyond the army checkpoints — waiting for Kempson, he believes. It is now widely believed in Angolan diamond circles that the fact that Kempson was carrying cash was leaked from the De Beers Luanda office.

This is borne out by the way Kempson was targeted by the robbers, who attacked only the jeep he was travelling in. A second jeep escaped. According to Andy Lamont, of De Beers corporate communications in London, the director of De Beers Holdings, Angola did not normally act as a courier for the movement of cash.

Industry sources say the company preferred not to draw attention to itself by heavy security when it moved cash. Asked whether De Beers thought its security arrangements in Angola were good enough, Lamont said De Beers was as rigorous as possible under the circumstances, adding “but those circum-

stances have changed quite dramatically”.

The Lucapa region has a long reputation for being “bandit country” even though there is a major army base securing the town. Valuable diamonds come from Lucapa, and armed bands of illicit diggers have made the region unsafe.

Military action in May and June increased general security in the region. This was evidently not enough to protect Kempson, who has been in Angola for 10 years and knows the country well.

Visitors used to travel to the town in armed convoys. There are guards posted every five kilometres between Lucapa and the mining regions. SML, the mining company based there, earlier lost 21 men in a rocket attack on the mine.

This attack raises more major questions for De Beers security in Angola. It is not the first time it has been robbed — a very large amount of cash was stolen last year from the buying office in Cafunfo in the Cuango Valley.

Lamont told the *Mail & Guardian* that De Beers will be reviewing its security procedures, but would not release the results of the inquiry. De Beers currently employs the British security company Defence Systems Limited, and has a Luanda-based head of security.

De Beers has closed all its upstasion buying offices in Angola as a result of the attack on Kempson and will also decide on their fate during its inquiry.

Kempson is now out of hospital and recovering. The unanswered question is how the attackers knew he was carrying the cash. The answer to that question will reveal who really carried out the attack.

AFRICA

Savimbi faces deadline, says UN envoy

BD 27/10/97

LUANDA — Washington's United Nations (UN) ambassador Bill Richardson, on the second leg of a six-capital African tour, yesterday gave Angola's Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) five days to prove his commitment to a 1994 peace deal with the Luanda government.

Richardson said in Luanda, before flying to Savimbi's central stronghold of Andula, that: "Unless we see some serious progress, some dramatic steps taken by Unita in the next few days, I expect to see the sanctions take effect at the end of the month."

The UN voted in August to impose sanctions on Savimbi's movement if there was no immediate progress to-

wards implementation of a lasting peace. The embargoes would include air travel restrictions and closure of Unita's foreign missions.

The proposed sanctions were first suspended until the end of September and then till October 30, but Richardson said yesterday there would be no further grace for Savimbi.

The US envoy arrived in Luanda from Kinshasa, where on Saturday he extracted a renewed promise from President Laurent Kabila to give UN investigators free rein in their probe of the alleged massacre of Hutu refugees.

Aid workers have claimed Kabila's forces or Rwandan allies massacred thousands of Hutu refugees during the revolt which ousted Zairean dictator

Mobutu Sese Seko. Kabila has repeatedly professed his army's innocence.

Richardson said in Kinshasa UN investigators would begin work early next month and try to finish their probe by February 28 next year.

Richardson said if the team needed extra time, UN secretary-general Kofi Annan would have the right to extend its mandate beyond February 28.

Earlier efforts to launch the inquiry have been derailed by objections to the composition of the team or its methods.

"The problem was never with us. The problem was within the UN team itself. There has been an international conspiracy against this government," Kabila said at a news briefing.

In Luanda, Richardson said he also

planned to raise the issue of the Angolan government's involvement in the fall of the Congo Republic's elected president Pascal Lissouba.

Angola sent 3 500 troops backed by tanks and planes into the Congo Republic earlier this month to help former Marxist ruler Denis Sassou Nguesso regain power.

Sassou Nguesso's Cobra militia and its Angolan allies won control of Brazzaville and oil centre Pointe Noire. The Luanda government backed Sassou Nguesso after Lissouba and Angola's former Unita rebels made common cause. UN diplomats said Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos had, however, cancelled a planned meeting with Richardson. — Reuter.

UN's sanctions finally catch up with Savimbi

AKG 30/10/97 (6)

PETER FABRICIUS
FOREIGN SERVICE

Luanda - Key international observers here expect Unita will pull out of the United Nations Angolan peace process in protest at the security council decision yesterday to impose sanctions against the movement for failing to comply with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol.

one minute after midnight today. They include the closure of all international Unita offices, a ban on international travel by its officials not involved in the government of national unity and a clampdown on all Unita flights.

ident Jose Duardo dos Santos might have created sufficient international sympathy to avert the sanctions.

Some diplomats fear that Dr Savimbi may go back to war in response to the UN decision, which was taken after the world body's mission in Luanda determined that his organisation had not adequately complied with his peace agreement undertakings, especially the requirements to demobilise his troops, hand over occupied territory to the government and surrender weapons.

However, the diplomatic consensus appears to be that Dr Savimbi will not resume fighting but will pull out of the peace process, including the joint commission that is monitoring the process where Unita is represented with the government, the UN and the countries which are the chief sponsors of the process - the United States, Russia and Portugal.

After being suspended for a month to allow Unita more time to comply, a package of sanctions agreed to on August 28 went into effect at

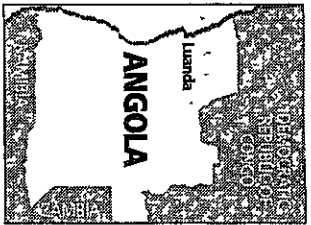
Dr Savimbi might have miscalculated that Angola's recent military incursion into Congo-Brazzaville or his agreement to meet Angolan Pres-

Diplomats in Luanda speculated that Dr Savimbi might have miscalculated that Angola's recent military incursion into Congo-Brazzaville or his agreement to meet Angolan Pres-

David Winhurst, spokesman for the UN observer mission, apparently trying to forestall a hostile reaction from Dr Savimbi, said Unita should not regard the imposition of sanctions as punishment but as pressure to comply with the Lusaka Protocol.

Uneasy peace lingers in

After 1 000 days without war, Unita is still delaying the final outcome, writes



Since the Lusaka Protocol was signed in November 1994, Angolans have been through 1 000 days of uneasy peace - their first in three decades.

In spite of the protocol, signed by the MPLA government and Unita, peace has never been finalised - to the extent that, on Tuesday, Unita faced sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council. On that day it handed over the rich and controversial diamond area of Cuanjo to the Angolan government, and more than 90 locales, including strategic towns, but has yet to return its strongholds of Bailundo and Andulo.

As a reward, the Security Council did not apply sanctions against Unita and has given it 90 days to complete demilitarisation and return other areas under its control. Special UN representative Blondin Beye said at the handing over that the war in Angola was past.

The UN conditions were that if Unita did not demobilise its army fully and allow state administration into the territory

it controls, it could see overseas offices closed, travel for officials restricted and foreign bank accounts frozen.

One thousand days after Lusaka, at a cost of R4.6-million a day for the UN peacekeeping operation, the balance is mixed; encouraging, but not definitive.

Widespread combat, bombings and city sieges have ceased and some normality has returned.

Main roads, bridges and water points have been cleared of landmines, but their threat is ever-present as millions remain - and new ones were planted. Low-intensity fighting erupted in the Lundas when the government retook diamond fields along the Zaire border.

However, where state administration exists, security improves. Angola is still divided. Although Unita has conceded some land to state administration, it still holds half the country.

Unita checkpoints are manned by stony-faced troops, slowing movement of people and goods as mandated in the protocol.

Limited bartering is allowed at some "border" points. Unita has diamonds and US dollars, but needs cooking oil, soap, clothes and "tuba" the staple flour.

What was obvious, but unrecognised before, is now public and certified by the Security Council: that Unita never sent its best troops for demobilisation.

Of 75 000 registered at the quartering areas, 11 000 are in the unified army; 25 000 have been demobilised, 17 000 should be demobilised in October, and 23 000 are, in UN jargon, "temporarily absent", meaning they deserted. Among these, some are true soldiers; but many are peasants forced to fulfill quotas.

Under pressure from the Security Council, Unita disclosed an additional 6 000 troops, between Savimbi's presidential guard, a newly formed "mining police", and "residual troops", whatever that means. Analysts estimate there could be as many as 20 000 to 50 000 un-declared fighters, some of them in the RDC (ex-Zaire) and in Congo. The government claims 60 000, but this does not seem credible.

31/10/97 Star

(5)

In March, Unita generals joined the unified army and four ministers and seven deputy ministers are in the Government of National Unity. The arrival of 70 Unita MPs has injected new dynamism into the dull National Assembly. Debates are more vigorous.

As Unita MPs and ministers enjoy the good life in Luanda and the perks of the job (free cars, room and board at expensive hotels, or renovated homes, plus a R116 000 late Christmas bonus they rejected), analysts suggest a split is evolving between Savimbi in his remote headquarters of Andulo, and the urban leadership.

Savimbi suffered a major blow with the defection of Eugenio Manuvakola, a senior official who signed the Lusaka Protocol on behalf of Unita.

At a press conference in Luanda in August, he said: "Unita is divided between those who believe in the peace process and those who do not." The government is sitting back, in a

position of strength. Its military machine is well oiled - 70% of its revenue, or R7.4-billion out of R10.7-billion, is spent on "security".

In the international arena, Unita is now the villain. The Security Council has criticised it in no uncertain terms. The fall of Mobutu deprived Savimbi of his best ally and disrupted channels for fuel, weapons and diamonds through Zaire.

Recent findings of deep offshore oil reserves promise rich revenues. Angola currently covers 7% of total US imports and could easily double that in one decade, say US oil sources.

Foreign investment pours in, as Americans, French, Portuguese, Brazilians and South Africans vie for contracts to dig for oil and diamonds, and repair infrastructure.

But, in spite of the wealth flaunted in Luanda, social indicators are a disaster. Angola was ranked 164th among 174 nations in the UNDP Human Development Index. Rural people live in misery, as do city slum-dwellers. - Star Foreign Service/Africa Information Afrique.

AFRICA

Unita 'still committed to Angolan peace moves'

31/10/97 (5)

LISBON — A senior Unita official condemned UN sanctions against the former rebel movement yesterday, but said his group remained committed to the peace process in Angola.

"I think it (sanctions) was an injustice," said Jeronimo Anda, a Unita MP and vice-president of Angola's parliament. "Just as we were getting ready to comply fully with the peace accords, this was not an opportune moment to apply a second wave of sanctions."

But he said: "The peace process must go ahead. There are no reasons to go back. We will push on with the peace process to the end. Everything (in terms of Unita's compliance with the peace pact) is going smoothly."

The UN Security Council voted unanimously on Wednesday to impose arms and travel sanctions against Unita and close its offices abroad as punishment for flouting peace accords. The sanctions came into effect yesterday.

The Security Council imposed arms and oil embargoes on Unita in 1993, but they have not been effective.

The embargoes were adopted on August 28 and were to have come into force a month ago. But the Security Council suspended them while Unita made attempts to fulfil demands under 1994 peace accords that ended two decades of civil war. Hundreds of thousands of people were killed in the war.

The resolution, drawn up by the US, Russia and Portugal, deplored Unita's failure to comply with its obligations, such as disarming fighters and integrating them into a national army.

Diplomats said the sanctions were aimed at preventing Unita from obtaining arms abroad, purchasing them through its offices in various countries and then flying them into the vast areas it still controlled.

Carlos Morgado of Unita's of-

fice in Lisbon said on Wednesday night: "Two years of hard work, concessions and investments have been thrown away."

He said Unita, "having been expelled from the peace process will have to review its role in Angolan politics". He did not elaborate.

SA said yesterday it supported the sanctions and would enforce air and travel embargoes.

White-ruled SA was Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's major supporter in his 20-year power struggle with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's Luanda government.

Earlier this month SA said it was preparing for the proposed sanctions and had already started monitoring its smaller airports from which privately funded Unita supplies were being loaded and flown directly into areas controlled by Unita. In many cases, pilots would file flight plans to neighbouring countries, but divert to Unita areas in central Angola, officials said. — Reuter.

Talking peace but making war

Angola's military adventures abroad could reignite its civil war

RAY HARTLEY
Political Editor

IT WAS billed as a summit to bring peace and prosperity to Central Africa, but it ended up sowing the seeds of a military alliance that could reignite the Angolan civil war.

Four unlikely bedfellows assembled at this week's "quadrilateral" summit in Lusaka to discuss the security situation in the sub-region. Hosting the meeting was Angolan President Eduardo Dos Santos, the rising military strongman of central Africa, still flush after his army's successful take-over in Congo-Brazzaville.

Also at the table sat the man whom the Angolans had effectively installed as that country's new leader, Denis Sassou-Nguesso.

Then there was Congo-Kinshasa's president, Laurent-Désiré Kabila — whose final push on Kinshasa earlier this year took place with the help of Angolan soldiers. And finally, there was President Omar Bongo of Gabon.

Although Bongo was the only one in the room who did not owe his rule to the Angolan army, he was nonetheless a worthy member of the club, having failed to halt the advance of the Angolan troops on Congo-Brazzaville's democratically elected government as the OAU's official mediator in that conflict.

The four heads of state represent vastly different political traditions. Dos Santos is a partially reformed old-style communist who presided over Africa's most costly and bloodiest civil war.

Sassou-Nguesso was a military dictator until ousted in elections by Pascal Lissouba, after which he began organising his return to power.

Bongo, who has ruled his country for three decades, is a classic "old-style" African ruler in the



TROUBLE IN THE AIR: Despite a peace initiative, further fighting is expected as rebels roam the streets of Brazzaville

Mobutu Sese Seko mould.

Kabila, who once styled himself as the great democratizer sweeping out the old dictatorships, has found himself increasingly relying on the might of his ragtag army in order to repress opposition.

Buried in the puttery about peace, dialogue and prosperity in the joint communiqué issued after the summit was a commitment from the four men not to allow the use of their territories by groups of armed factions.

The armed groups and factions referred to are the pockets of former Mobutu Sese Seko soldiers, the militia that failed to keep Lissouba in power and, most significantly,

Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

Coming against the background of Angola's successful military adventures to the north, the communiqué can be seen as another sign that Dos Santos is planning to revert to a military solution to the Angolan civil war.

Indeed, the intervention of Angolan troops in the two Congos was motivated by the desire to eliminate Unita's external bases and cut its supply routes.

This appears to have been achieved, with Savimbi's forces increasingly forced onto home soil and isolated.

The military isolation was compounded this week by a political

assault from the United Nations.

Backed by the US, Russia and Portugal — the three countries involved in brokering an Angolan peace — the UN passed a resolution imposing heavy sanctions on Unita. The effect of this will be to close down its representation abroad and to further inhibit its ability to bypass the military blockade to the north.

The decision comes after US President Bill Clinton renewed sanctions against Unita in September, reaffirming that the rebel movement represented an "extraordinary threat to the foreign policy of the US".

Diplomats are interpreting these

moves as affirmation that Dos Santos is now seen as a key vehicle for US influence in the territory his armed forces control.

Within that territory are huge oil resources off the Congolese coast and Angola's Cabinda enclave, not to mention the glitter of Angolan diamonds.

More than half of Angola's global exports of \$5-billion are to the US, and Angola is that country's third-largest trading partner in sub-Saharan Africa.

Add the fact that Angola provided the US with 5.5 percent of its oil imports in 1996 and the synergy between the world power and the former communist client state starts

to look impressive.

The isolation package has piced Unita — ironically, once a US client — under enormous pressure to accede to the Lusaka Protocol, which requires it to surrender its military capacity in exchange for a junior role in government.

Contained in this week's joint communiqué to the rebel movement was an ultimatum calling on Unita to adhere to the spirit and letter of the protocol.

But there are concerns that Dos Santos might now be readying himself for a final bloody assault on Unita in an effort to eliminate it from the Angolan picture.

If he does so, he may find the US and the UN, having granted him the political high ground, looking the other way.

South African Foreign Affairs director general Rusky Evans acknowledges that "there has been a major change of scenery" as a result of the latest developments.

"If Savimbi doesn't wholeheartedly co-operate, he is going to be squeezed out."

Researcher Chris Landsberg puts it more bluntly: "The bloodbath is coming. Angola is about to explode."

He says that Dos Santos might believe he is in a position to take out Unita, but a military assault could end up taking Angola back to its pre-1994 civil war, resulting in thousands of deaths as years of military campaigning drag on.

"Dos Santos is starting to do what Kabila did halfway through his civil war. He is asking himself: 'If I can win this war, why should I go and talk?'"

This week's communiqué notwithstanding, Unita will still be able to call irregulars from the north into the action, he says.

Now, after a summit about regional peace, Angola is closer than ever to reigniting Africa's most bitter civil war.

UN urges SA to enforce sanctions against Unita

New 3/11/97 (5)

After the intervention by the Angolan government in the two Congos, and in the wake of moves to cut off supply routes through Namibia, the noose is tightening around Savimbi's opposition movement

By PETER FABRICIUS
Luanda

The UN special representative in Angola, Aloune Blondin Beye, expects that the South African Government will clamp down on illegal arms supplies to Unita from SA territory now that sanctions have been imposed on the Angolan opposition movement.

In the aftermath of Angola's military interventions in both Congos recently to cut off Unita's supply lines, new attention is being focused in the Angolan capital on Unita's supply routes from other quarters, including one allegedly from SA through Zambia.

Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Georges Chicoti appealed to the South African Government to put a stop to the supplies, which he said were coming from Lanseria airport, north-west of Johannesburg. He also asked whether Armscor was

under government control.

Beye said in an interview at the weekend that under the sanctions imposed on Unita by the UN Security Council last week, no international flights were permitted to and from Unita territory.

"South Africa is a member of the UN, so any decision taken by the UN is binding on South Africa," he said when asked if any companies supplying Unita would be subject to punitive action in SA if they broke the sanctions.

Beye said SA had already been in a position to take action against Unita suppliers before sanctions, but the sanctions now imposed an obligation on SA to be "more vigilant and to take a tougher line on anyone supplying Unita".

Beye expressed confidence that SA would take the necessary action, noting how diligently President Mandela had observed UN

air-traffic sanctions against Libya by driving, and not flying, into the country on his recent visit.

According to diplomats in Luanda, Angola has warned Zambia to cut off Unita's supplies from its western regions or face the same sort of military intervention which toppled the governments in the two Congos, which were both supplying Unita.

The diplomats said Zambia's defence minister had close ties with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and was suspected of being the mastermind behind the Zambian assistance.

Chicoti would not confirm reports that Unita operates a base in south-west Zambia opposite his own old base of Jamba in south-east Angola. Diplomats said there were also airstrips in Zambia from which Unita was supplied.

The Angolan and Zambian governments have set

up a joint military commission to discuss the allegations.

Angola and Namibia have also held talks to put an end to Unita supply routes across their common border and now conduct joint border patrols.

Chicoti said Togo and Morocco were also believed to be supplying Unita still, as well as the private individuals or rogue military officials in SA operating out of Lanseria.

With the imposition of the UN sanctions, the noose has been tightened further around Savimbi's neck because the ban on international flights will make it more difficult, although not impossible, to receive supplies or sell diamonds mined in the north-east territories he still controls.

Chicoti and Beye said that although the ban on international flights would not stop air supplies to Unita, it would make them more difficult.

Peace on hold as Jonas ponders his next move

FOREIGN EDITOR

Luanda - Angola's peace process passes a critical milestone today when opposition leader Jonas Savimbi of Unita is scheduled to announce whether he will stay in the peace process after the imposition of UN sanctions against Unita last week.

Savimbi spent the weekend in urgent consultation with his advisers in his central highlands stronghold of Andulo.

He told UN special representative Aloune Blondin Beye in Andulo on Friday that he would announce his response to the sanctions today.

Beye said then that neither Savimbi nor the Unita leadership were engaged in a strategy of breaking away from the peace process.

"There is an understanding that the Angolan problem cannot be solved other than in a political way, and the military card is no longer even considered," Beye insisted.

He said in an interview at the weekend that he had insisted that Unita respond to the UN sanctions by today because there was no time to spare, and further sanctions could be imposed if Unita continued to fail to meet its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol peace process - including the demobilisation of his military forces and handing over of territory.

Asked to comment on the opinion of some diplomats in Luanda that Savimbi would probably withdraw temporarily from the peace process to review his position, Beye said he thought he would not do that because he had little time before the next round of economic sanctions kicked in.

After their three-hour meeting on Friday, he said he found Savimbi to be surprised rather than angry that sanctions had been imposed.

He said Savimbi had expected sanctions would be postponed again, as they have been several times.

Savimbi had also told him that sanctions had made it very difficult for him to move quickly in meeting his Lusaka Protocol obligations because it would now look as though he was acting under pressure.

Beye told him that he should make his decision in a statesman-like way, and not concern himself about how others would perceive his actions.

Beye was asked if the UN was doing enough to guarantee Savimbi's personal safety in the light of fears he has of being assassinated if he returns to Luanda.

Beye said this should present no problem because the protocol envisaged that Savimbi would be guarded by soldiers named by himself but trained by the Angolan government.

W

Unita spends weekend contemplating peace process

(6) BD 31/1/97

LUANDA — The past two days have been crucial to peace in Angola as the opposition Unita leadership met at its bush headquarters in central Angola to decide whether to stay in a three-year-old peace process with the government.

The United Nations Security Council has slapped air and travel bans on Unita, which still controls significant parts of Angola.

It ordered also that Unita's foreign of-

fices be closed, saying Unita had flouted the 1994 peace accord by failing to disband its guerrilla force, hand in all its weapons and give up its territory.

"Let's wait until Monday to see," UN mediator to Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, said on Friday after a private meeting with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi at the movement's headquarters.

Beye said he believed the former rebel movement was still committed to the

Lusaka peace protocol. "Neither the Unita leadership nor Dr Savimbi are engaged in a strategy of breaking away from the peace process," Beye said. However, issues would be clearer on Monday when more information on how Unita would proceed was available.

"The military option is no longer even considered," he said.

Beye said he had spent three hours with Savimbi and five hours with other

senior Unita members, including the organisation's headline secretary-general, Paulo Lukamba Gato. Gato is one of the main forces driving Unita's resistance to complying with the peace treaty and controls access to Savimbi.

In April the movement sent more than 70 moderates to Luanda to take up seats in parliament and in some ministries in a unity government agreed to in the treaty. But Savimbi, fearing for his personal

safety, refuses to travel to the capital.

Unita fears Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos could now push for a final military victory while Unita is hamstrung by the sanctions. But on Friday the government said it was still open to dialogue with Unita.

SA and the Southern African Development Community have both said they support sanctions against Unita.

Reuter.

Dark, damp and cold - people are still living there

Families wait and hope

(5) *ARG 5/11/97*
Sophia Saunders turns 81 on Sunday. At her age you would expect her to be enjoying her final years in a comfortable house and being looked after by her children.

But instead she lives in a one-roomed council house without a toilet, electricity, windows or drainage - and shares her tiny plot with 26 relatives.

Of those 26 people, most of whom are her great-grandchildren, there is only one person who works for a living. Mrs Saunders has to use her pension of R470 a month to pay for rent and rates in the dilapidated dwelling as well as put food on the table for her family.

She pays R74 in rent and a further R83 for rates - unrealistically high prices considering the conditions under which she lives.

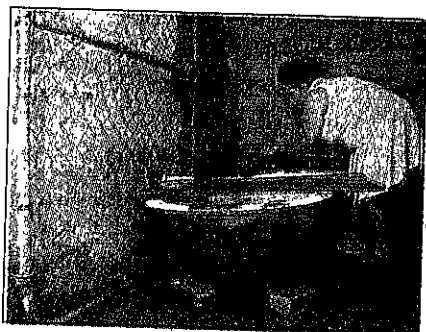
Mrs Saunders spends most of her time in a dark, stuffy room. In the winter months, she says, her humble home is "freezing", but in spite of her dire situation she is amazingly optimistic.

"I feel very happy. All the children keep me young and happy. It is no use worrying. There will be a day when everything will come right. You just have to wait for the Lord," she said.

Conditions are sometimes even worse in other parts of the property.

Most of the houses in the area have no running water and only a single outside toilet and a tap outside. As many as six families on one plot use this single tap to wash themselves and to cook and clean.

Community worker Judith Adams says every house in this section of Facteron is occupied by more than one family. Sometimes there are several to a



Precious commodity: Judith Adams uses the tap which three families share

SPECIAL REPORT



JERMAINE CRAIG

dwelling. All the houses are occupied by families who are waiting for the council to provide them with houses.

Mrs Adams shares her house with three other families. There is only an outside tap for washing, cooking and cleaning and no bath.

"It is not nice to stay in a place like this, but what can I do?" Mrs Adams said.

Residents say that in winter the houses are constantly flooded and so poorly constructed that they can hardly hammer in a nail for fear that the walls will crack.

Janet Dicks, 67, shares her one-roomed Lugmag Avenue home with seven children and seven grandchildren.

Like most of the occupants of her house, she has asthma, which with tuberculosis is common in this area. "In winter we swim in these houses," said another resident.

Mrs Adams has been fighting with the council for years about the condition of the houses.

They are not suitable for children and the conditions breed crime and gangsterism, she says.

"People die here every day from tuberculosis because they do not have proper housing. I am very, very angry about the condition of these houses.

"There is not one proper house here," she said.

"The council sends us letters every day saying they will give us notice if we do not pay rent. But what must we do? They do not provide a service to us."

Cape Town municipality's new Director of Housing, Billy Cobbett, recently visited this area of Facteron and said it was "but one example of the shocking conditions" under which many Cape Town people lived.

ANGOLA Unita willing to share political power but not its rich rough gem areas

Diamond greed a flashpoint for civil war

ET(BR)5/11/97 (6)

FROM SAPA-AP

Nzagi, Angola — Elite commandos lazing beneath mango trees, flicking away flies in the stifling heat, are the only outward sign that this town is a potential flashpoint that could reignite Angola's civil war.

Located in northeast Angola, Nzagi lies at the heart of Angola's diamond region — one of the richest in the world and the scene of recent fighting between government troops and former National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebels.

Although the two sides share power in a coalition government created last April, sharing wealth is a different matter.

Unita is dragging its feet on relinquishing control of its diamond-mining operations, which analysts say earn between \$250 million and \$500 million a year, to the government as called for by a UN-brokered peace accord.

The standoff erupted in June, when government troops ousted Unita soldiers from Nzagi and surrounding towns in a series of clashes. Unita still claims control over more than half of diamond-rich Lunda Norte province.

Set in fertile, rolling bushland, Nzagi was a thriving diamond centre under Portuguese colonial rule.

Like most of Angola, the war has scarred the town's charming colonial architecture. Its wide avenues are potholed, its imposing townhouses are crumbling, lawns are overgrown and littered. Shantytowns have sprung up on the outskirts.

The decay belies the potential riches underground.

About 30km outside Nzagi, down rough-hewn jeep tracks that are quickly engulfed by the



fast-growing bush, scattered groups of "garimpeiros" — prospectors whose work is illegal but largely tolerated — toil with shovels and pans in red soil at the confluence of two rivers.

On a recent day, an official from the state diamond company Endiama and a group of foreign diamond traders looked on as the prospectors dug as much as 5m into the earth, turning it into a scarlet moonscape with craters and mounds of soil.

The Endiama official said the earth along the riverbank yielded as much as six carats a cubic metre. One of the foreign diamond traders, who did not want his name used, whistled in astonishment.

Analysts say such a yield would make the soil among the richest for diamonds anywhere. Each carat can fetch up to \$400.

Although Unita and the government have clashed over the

diamond region — casualty figures from the fighting in June were never released — they are secretly negotiating carving up the diamond deposits, both sides say.

Companies from Russia, Brazil, Australia, Canada and South Africa were trying to snare concessions, said Des Kilalea, a diamond analyst at Johannesburg-based Fleming Martins.

"Everyone who is anyone in the diamond industry is trying to get into Angola. Everyone wants a piece of the action," Kilalea said in a telephone interview. "It is one of the most interesting areas for prospecting in the world. The diamonds are of high quality and the country is reasonably under-explored because of the war."

While Unita's dispute with the government over the diamond region can unravel Angola's peace process, it also represents a key to the nation's recovery.

Tax revenues from diamond mining could go a long way toward rebuilding this vast southwest African country, whose infrastructure was shattered in the war which broke out in 1975 upon Angola's independence from Portugal. Half a million people were killed in the war which ended, except for occasional flare-ups, in 1994.

Even though the surface of diamond production has barely been scratched, Angola is the world's fourth-largest producer of rough diamonds.

But smuggling has prevented the government from earning full revenue from diamond production under its control.

Mined diamonds must be taken to local buying houses, which report the quantity to Endiama. Endiama then levies taxes of more than 50 percent on the value.

Few of the gems make it into the assayers' offices.

Unita agrees to honour the 1994 peace accords

LUANDA — Angola's former rebel movement, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) announced that it will honour the 1994 peace accords with its former foes in Luanda, in spite of United Nations sanctions finally slapped on it last week.

The UN Security Council ordered an international travel ban against members of Unita and the closure of Unita offices abroad,

with effect from October 30.

The UN body had threatened Unita — which fought Luanda's long-time Marxist regime for almost two decades after independence from Portugal in 1975 — with sanctions because of its failure to comply with all the terms of the peace protocols signed in Lusaka in November 1994.

However, the measures were postponed for a while, after Unita

relinquished control of a key airbase in the north, where Jonas Savimbi's movement had expressed determination to hang on to diamond resources as a source of revenue.

After a few days' "reflection ... in spite of the unfair sanctions", a Unita meeting in its stronghold of Andulo concluded that it should continue with re-establishing peace in Angola. — Sapa-AFP.

Still no ⁽⁵⁾ peace in Angola 22 years on

ARG 11/11/97

Luanda - Angola's government has expressed its "firm" intention to remove "all the obstacles that remain in the way" of the peace process and has committed itself again to the 1994 Lusaka peace accords.

On the eve of the 22nd anniversary of Angola's independence, the government said in a statement last night that the country had reached a "decisive moment" for its political future.

The government said it was in favour of "urgent demilitarisation" of Unita forces, the failure of which presented the main obstacle to a durable peace.

The government, however, also said that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi should take up his rightful position in the capital.

Angola's rocky road to political and administrative normalisation has taken its toll on economic reconstruction.

Unfettered movement of goods and people is tortuous on main arteries subject to regular attack by armed groups with their own notions of territorial jurisdiction.

On the eve of Angola's independence anniversary, the country that produces 700 000 barrels of crude oil every day does not have enough fuel to fill its own tanks.

Luanda's refinery, pumping stations and generating plants lack the capacity to provide for the city - whose population now tops three million. Health and education services are practically non-existent. -

Sana-AFP

NEWS DIGEST

□ ANGOLA

(5)

Airspace violations and border instability raise diplomatic tension

The Luanda government had accused Zambia of violating Angolan airspace and planned to lodge an official protest with Lusaka, Andre Pitra, the Angolan interior minister, announced yesterday.

ET (BR) 13/11/97
"We will inform the Zambian authorities of our concern," the minister said, adding that "insecurity persists in the east of the country along the borders", notably with Zambia. Pitra blamed the instability on the presence of former Unita rebels on the frontier. Pitra said tension was also high in the diamond regions to the north on the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). "We'll have to take appropriate measures in agreement with our neighbours in the DRC," he said. — *Sapa-AFP, Luanda*

Unita 'moves guns, preparing for war'

(E) Star 15/11/97
Luanda - Troops loyal to Unita have shelled several villages in the southern Angolan province of Huila in recent days, forcing hundreds of villagers to flee their homes, the government charged yesterday.

The local military command said troops loyal to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi fired long-range artillery during the attacks and that hundreds of people had left their homes in the Butembo district.

According to the report, Unita guerrillas killed a policeman and kidnapped about 20 young men in a raid on November 8. The government also accused Unita, with which the ruling MPLA signed a peace pact in November 1994 to end almost two decades of civil war, of murdering eight villagers near Kakonda in the same province.

On Thursday, the army accused Unita of rebuilding military bases in the provinces of Benguela and Huila in the south, Bie and Huambo in central Angola and Cuando-Cubango in the south-east.

The government military commander of the southern sector, General Francisco Furtado, charged that Unita had shifted "large quantities" of weapons, including heavy artillery, to the new bases, in what he claimed were preparations for renewed large-scale war.

Unita has meanwhile accused government troops of attacking positions in the north of Angola, while UN observers monitoring implementation of the peace protocols signed in the Zambian capital Lusaka three years ago have said both sides have recently carried out violations of the accords.

The UN Security Council last month imposed sanctions on Unita to force it to speed up implementation of both the military and political aspects of the peace deal, which provides for the formation of a joint defence force and a national unity government.

Both these objectives have still been only partially achieved. - Sapa-AFP

Unita accused of renewed war bid

Guns 'moved to new positions'

ARG 15/11/97

Luanda - Angola's former rebel Unita movement has shipped heavy weaponry to new military bases and plans to re-arm some of its troops in a serious breach of a peace pact, the government charged here this week.

The commander of Luanda's troops on the southern front, General Francisco Furtado, charged that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) was preparing for a "renewed war effort".

General Furtado claimed that Jonas Savimbi's movement had transported previously "hidden" long-range artillery and other weapons to "new command posts" and was building up military bases in the regions of Benguela and Huila in the south, Bie and Huambo in central Angola and Cufando-Cubango in the southwest.

The claim came as Unita's Radio Vorgan stated that leaders of the former rebels appeared close to talks with President José Eduardo dos Santos and were considering a venue and a time, and also after UN observers accused both sides of redeploying troops in breach of peace accords signed in 1994.

Unita charged that the government was getting ready to attack the northern districts of Kimbele and Makele do Zombo "to impose state rule there by force".

In return, authorities in the southern province of Huila accused Unita

of attacking and shelling its towns of Kakonda and Chipinda. Hundreds of people have disappeared and dozens been wounded since Wednesday, they claimed.

In the village of Butembo, one policeman was killed and three others went missing in assaults ascribed to Unita. In Chikomba, a dozen bodies were found in wells, suspected victims of Unita aggression, according to the provincial governor's office and the regional military commander.

They also implicated the ex-rebels in the murder of eight people in an attack on huts in Yakonda.

The announcements by the Angolan authorities and by the ex-rebel radio station follows UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's request for Unita to make "a greater effort" to co-operate with Luanda.

In spite of an increasing number of clashes in recent weeks, Radio Vorgan claimed on Thursday that Dr Savimbi "will hold talks" with Mr Dos Santos "on the peace" - the fourth meeting between the two.

Neither have personally signed the peace protocols forged by their aides in Lusaka in 1994, about two years after Unita went back to war after losing UN-supervised general elections to Mr Dos Santos's People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

The deal signed in the Zambian capital provided for a national unity administration and a joint defence

force, both of which have been partially achieved.

Unita, long backed by Washington and apartheid-era South Africa, fought a bitter post-independence civil war against the initially hard-line-Marxist MPLA, which had support mainly from Cuba and the former Soviet Union.

Radio Vorgan, which broadcasts from the south of Angola, said upcoming talks would be dominated by a need to define "practical means of establishing Unita headquarters in Luanda".

A spokesman with the UN Observer Mission (Monua) said one of its officers, a Zambian, was attacked and injured by members of the ex-rebel movement in the southeastern town of Jamba, where UN officers were carrying out their mission to demobilise Unita forces.

Another UN blue beret, an Indian, was hurt when unidentified assailants at Boronguela in the south targeted a UN van carrying staff from a German mine-clearing organisation.

One person was killed and two injured last week when government forces attacked Unita supporters at Ganda in the south, Radio Vorgan reported.

The Security Council last month slapped sanctions on the movement for its failure to abide by aspects of the Lusaka protocols, notably regarding disarmament. - AFP

AFRICA

Savimbi to meet UN in attempt to restart peace process

LUANDA — Top mediators in Angola's peace talks will travel to the country's interior today to meet former rebel leader Jonas Savimbi in an effort to restart the stalled peace process, a UN official said yesterday.

The UN secretary-general's special representative in Angola, Aloune Blondin Beye, and officials from the three states overseeing the implementation of the peace deal will meet Savimbi at his central highland headquarters, in Andulo, the UN's Angola spokesman David Winmhurst said. "They will be leaving tomorrow morning to meet with Savimbi and

should return to Luanda by the end of the day. There has been very little movement in the peace process lately, perhaps this will get things going."

The US, Russia and Portugal are the three observer countries in Angola's transition to peace, initiated when President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Savimbi signed an agreement in 1994 ending nearly 20 years of civil war. Although the two sides have made some progress, including the creation of a unity government, huge differences still exist. The UN security council last month imposed a package of sanctions on the

former rebels for failing to implement key aspects of the deal.

The UN said Unita had not done enough to dismantle its fighting force, estimated by diplomats and analysts to be over 10 000, or to give up territory it still holds. Over half of the Angolan countryside falls under Unita's control. Isaias Samakuva, Unita's top representative in the peace process, telephoned Beye from Andulo on Saturday to tell him that internal Unita discussions "were progressing", and asked that the UN envoy and representatives of the observer nations travel to Andulo today, Winmhurst said.

Last week the Angolan government announced that a long-awaited meeting between Savimbi and dos Santos would be held in late November in Luanda. Such a meeting has long been touted by diplomats as being key to resolving outstanding issues.

But diplomats and officials said the former rebel group had to start meeting its obligations again. "Unita has to do something before the last week of November or the meeting isn't going to happen," said an official. "There is no way the Angolan government will go forward with that meeting if Unita continues to do nothing." — Reuters.

UN 'overlooking' rights abuse Support for Unita 'must end'

NEW YORK — Amnesty International said this week about 80 000 people had been killed in Algeria but that governments at the United Nations (UN) deliberately avoided taking any action.

It called for a special session of the Geneva-based UN Human Rights Commission that did not involve Algeria's consent, a reason often used to avoid airing the issue. But Amnesty officials admitted that, to date, no government had supported such a session that might lead to an investigation.

"We can think of no other country where human rights abuses are so extreme, where civilians have been targeted to such an extent and yet where there has not even been international scrutiny, let alone action," said Pierre Sane, the secretary-general of the London-based human rights group.

In other countries, he said, experts

had at least gone to make inspections or UN human rights monitors had filed reports. He said that as many as 80 000 people had been killed by fundamentalist Muslim rebels as well as government forces trying to wipe out the rebels. The massacres began after authorities scrapped a 1992 general election which the Islamists appeared set to win.

Algeria, Sane said, had used its influence successfully among nonaligned countries, the Organisation of African Unity, and even the European Union, to keep the issue out of international forums, arguing instead that it was an internal matter.

He said the massacres included decapitation, mutilation and people burned in their homes, many of them "within shouting distance" of army barracks. — Reuter.

Claire Pickard-Cambridge

GABORONE — Jonas Savimbi's Unita party was being supported by its deals with the business community and would co-operate within the Angolan system only if that support was withdrawn, Mozambican President Joaquin Chissano said yesterday.

He told a trade and investment conference that a refusal by the business community to do business with Unita was the only way to apply real pressure.

He claimed Unita was earning \$30m a month from diamond sales and would not want to "stop making war" while earning that kind of money. Although the United Nations was applying sanctions against Unita, it was the business community that could help to bring about stability. He also said the process of demobilising soldiers in Mozambique after the civil war had been facilitated by the SA government which had helped fund training centres for ex-combatants. Three centres had been set up and many soldiers had found that their newly acquired skills had helped them to find jobs. This in turn had taken considerable pressure off the Mozambican government.

Unita asked to close Paris office

(5) Nov 27 11 1 AM
Paris - The French government has asked Unita to close its offices in Paris, following a resolution by the UN Security Council two months ago.

A foreign affairs spokesman announced this week that the organisation "Demain l'Angola" (Angola Tomorrow), a Unita representative body, would have to cease its activities.

The Security Council asked on August 28 for Unita's foreign representations to be closed as part of sanctions against Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

Savimbi has had good relations with France, which cut its links with Unita many years ago. Unita still has links with some influential circles in Paris.

The French government has made a great effort to dispel rumours of continued French support for Savimbi, as French oil company Elf Aquitaine gets most of its oil in Angola. France's other oil company, Total, is also present in Angola. - Star Foreign Service

UN squeezes lagging Unita

M+G 31/10 - 6/11/97 (5)

Chris Gordon and
Peta Thornycroft

Both Unita, Angola's rebels, and the ruling MPLA government say the United Nations sanctions imposed on Unita this week will not spark off a new war.

Speaking from New York, Unita's ambassador to the UN Jaime Vilasanta, putting a brave face on the UN move, said the sanctions would change Unita's political attitudes and position within government structures in Luanda.

The security council imposition of a second set of sanctions followed Unita's refusal to dismantle its remaining military structures and surrender its towns of Andulo and Bailundo in central Angola by the end of October. The UN peacekeeping mission in Angola has been extended to January 1998 and will retain 3 000 peacekeepers.

Vilasanta said the most difficult issue facing Unita was the question of security for their leaders, and until that was resolved neither Unita leader Jonas Savimbi nor his closest lieutenants would feel safe enough to move from Bailundo.

The sanctions include withdrawal of all Unita's diplomatic privileges and a complete ban on flights from

UN member states into or out of Unita-held territory, except in the case of humanitarian aid.

Unita does not see the package of sanctions as an immediate threat to its diplomatic missions in London, Brussels, Geneva, Bonn, Abidjan, Morocco, Lisbon, Togo, New York and Washington. Vilasanta thought each of the respective governments would take time to consider their positions and pass the necessary legislation to outlaw Unita.

The security council statement made it clear, though, the UN itself would advise member states on the rapid implementation of the measures adopted against Unita. The aim of the travel ban is to prevent Unita resupply operations and make it more difficult for diamond dealers to fly to northern Angola to buy stones.

A UN representative told the *Mail & Guardian* that the Angolan government had intervened to seek a delay in the implementation of the sanctions. The government wanted a final chance for a settlement within the terms of the Lusaka peace accords of 1994. Unita had accepted the government's offer of a diamond deal, which would have allowed it to control the mines until January.

Sanctions may signal the auto-

matic suspension of the Lusaka accords, according to Alioune Blondin-Beye, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan's special representative in Angola. But this is not a trigger for war. Vilasanta said: "We have no stomach for war."

Vilasanta did not comment on the number of undeclared military personnel still to be demobilised. Unita's latest disclosure of 500 undeclared soldiers was rejected by the UN. The rebels also have considerable amounts of undisclosed war *matériel*. The MPLA's Washington lobbyist, Jim Woods, doesn't believe either side will return to the battlefield. "I don't think this is serious enough to send them back to war. This is a step to increase the voltage, another jolt."

Woods believes Unita will "grudgingly move along because Dr Savimbi is a practical man. He can see he has lost his regional support base." He said the Unita leader would reason: "It is better to accommodate them than to fight. But, there is a danger, I guess, that after 20 years in the bush one can lose the context." Woods believes Unita will slowly realise the peace process offers commercial opportunities.

Unita restarted the 17-year war with the MPLA after it lost the first democratic elections in 1992.

Angola needs to re-stock almost all its wildlife

(5) # Star 2/12/97

War and hungry people have
wiped out thousands of animals

By MELANIE-ANN FERIS
Environment Reporter

The civil war in Angola has not only claimed the lives of many thousands of people and left many crippled, it has also decimated the wildlife population in the strife-torn country.

Now the Angolan government is trying to revive its flagging wildlife numbers by protecting existing populations and encouraging the breeding of animal livestock.

The civil war, which saw millions of people uprooted from their homes as they rushed to safer areas, also forced hungry and destitute Angolans to hunt for wild animals and plants on which to live, resulting in a dramatic decrease in fauna and flora.

Thousands of animals were also killed by the anti-personnel landmines which claim about 26 000 human lives every year.

It is estimated that there are only 20 elephants, five lions, about 30 red buffalo and only 20 manatees left in the country. And it is thought there is not one white rhino remaining.

The exact number of giant sable, indigenous only to Angola, is also not known.

Last year the Kissama Foundation was founded by a group of South Africans and Angolans to rehabilitate the Quicama National Park and other national parks in the country.

Through an ambitious Operation Noah's Ark it is hoped to re-introduce wild animals from several other southern African countries.

A spokesman from the Pretoria University's Centre for Wildlife Management who is involved

“Everything
there, space
water and
grasslands

with the Kissama project, said 21 years ago the parks in Angola were teeming with wildlife, but now very little remained.

“Everything is there, water, space and enough grassland. And the only thing that is missing is the animals,” she said.

Situated about 70km from Angola's capital city of Luanda, the Quicama National Park will be the flagship in the massive endeavour to restore the parks to their former glory which will cost an estimated \$10.9-million (about R53-million).

According to Professor Wouter van Hoven,

the chairman of the Kissama Foundation, the first phase of the project will see animals such as elephant, giraffe, kudu, red hartebeest, white rhino, oryx and zebra shipped in from other countries.

Money will also be needed for the capture of animals such as the red buffalo and roan antelope still present in Angola, Van Hoven said.

John Newby, senior conservation adviser for World Wide Fund (WWF) For Nature International, said that in Africa wildlife and conservation always take a back seat to other problems such as poverty, health and shelter.

“In the case of Rwanda where between 850 000 and a million

“
Reserves
colonised
by Tutsis
and cattle

refugees flocked into Zaire and this had a devastating impact on resources such as food, wood and water.

“When the situation in Rwanda changed and the Hutus fled the country, thousands of Tutsis came back and occupied one of the premier national parks. Much of it has been colonised by the Tutsi and their cattle, having a very serious effect on the wildlife situation,” Newby said.

Pointing out the urgency for immediate action, Newby said that there were only about 20 north white rhino left in the world and that they could be found in a “little corner of north-eastern Zaire”.

Unless efforts are made to protect these animals, he believes they will die out.

Also of concern are the 650 mountain gorillas, the only one's left in the world, which are spread out over an area stretching from Rwanda, Uganda to the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Newby said that although there were efforts in place to try and rehabilitate wildlife in Africa, work was hampered by the “desperately difficult” conditions such as the lack of resources and infrastructure.

He also believes that it is vital that armed forces become involved in rehabilitation.

“It is just as difficult to get a peasant involved as it is a soldier,” he said.

“The only way the armed forces are going to get involved is if their leaders get involved. But, I don't think it is impossible to do this - get the armed forces involved.”

UN accuses Unita of replanting land mines along highways

LISBON — The United Nations (UN) accused Angola's former rebel movement, Unita, yesterday of jeopardising a fragile three-year-old peace process by replanting land mines along strategic stretches of highway previously cleared of the weapons.

"This is totally negative," David Wimhurst, the UN spokesman in Luanda, said in a telephone interview.

He said nine mines exploded last month on roads leading to Andulo, the Unita headquarters 480km southeast of Luanda. A woman and two children were killed in one of the blasts.

Unita, he said, had denied planting the mines, despite the fact that the mines were all in areas of the country still under the

rebel movement's control.

"They are paranoid about being attacked by the government," Wimhurst said. He could not say how many people had been killed or injured by the new mines.

The highways had previously been cleared of mines by the UN and humanitarian groups working in the country since a peace accord was signed in 1994.

"This comes at a time when most of the world is supporting a treaty for a worldwide ban on land mines and increases Unita's reputation as being a nonpeaceful organisation," said Wimhurst.

The UN estimates that 9-million land mines are buried in Angolan soil. Some Western aid groups say there could be as

many as 20-million mines.

About 90 000 Angolans, half of them civilians, have lost limbs to land mines. That is the world's highest percentage in terms of total population, according to the London-based Mines Advisory Group.

The mines are hindering efforts to rebuild the country which was devastated by two decades of civil war between the government and Jonas Savimbi's Unita — a Portuguese acronym for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

The UN security council imposed fresh sanctions which included a travel ban on Unita at the end of October because the movement was seen to be dragging its heels on the implementation of the UN-brokered

peace deal. Unita has not yet fully disarmed or demobilised all its forces and has not relinquished control of all the territory it seized during the war.

The sanctions were in addition to previous security council actions against Unita, including an arms and oil embargo.

Nonetheless, Wimhurst claimed the peace process was still moving forward. Over the past two months, Unita had handed over more than 57-million rounds of ammunition, including artillery and mortar shells, to the UN.

Central government administration had been restored in more than half of the territory previously controlled by Unita. Sapa-AP.

Ed 4/18/97

Angolan industrialists want to regain their place on trade map

LUANDA — Angola's industrialists say the time has come for their nation to regain the position it had three decades ago, when its level of industrialisation could be matched by few African countries.

For a start they want the government to pay more attention to industry. "We are going to roar loudly, perceptively and intelligently," says Jose Severino, Angolan Association of Industry president.

— not only Angolans but foreigners too," says Duke.

But the state has to show the way, says Severino. Thus far it is the largest procurer of goods in Angola and it has to make a start by buying local, and thus cutting back on imports wherever possible.

State institutions constitute a market of nearly \$800m, used each year to import goods, he says.

"That money has to be invested in the country."

— Sapa-IPS.

(5) BD 23/12/97
The industrialists charge that their sector has been neglected by the government, even though it is the path to Angola's economic future.

In the late 1960s, Angola was almost self-sufficient in basic food, was one of the biggest diamond exporters in the world, counted as one of the four largest coffee producers worldwide, produced large quantities of iron ore and had one of the most developed industrial sectors in Africa.

But independence from Portugal in 1975 was followed almost immediately by a prolonged civil war that raged off and on until 1994, when a shaky peace process began.

While oil, which accounts for more than 90% of export earnings, has held its own, the war has had a devastating effect on industry. According to various sources, the level of industrialisation now is less than one-tenth of what it was in 1970.

"Angola was once the second most industrialised country in sub-Saharan Africa; today it is in 15th place," says Industry Minister Manuel Duke. However, things are slowly improving.

"Basically, the war destroyed our industrial parks and enterprises," says Duke. "The economic policies that were defined at the time did not allow private initiative to really develop." From 1975 to 1991, Angola had a centrally planned economy and this retarded its economic development. It reverted to a market economy six years ago, but this created even more serious drawbacks since, as in some eastern European countries, the switch was sudden and there were no rules to guide it.

Manufacturers accuse the government of favouring trade rather than industry because top state officials earn large sums of money in commissions from importers, a fact Duke has not denied.

What he has tried to do is reassure industrialists that things are changing. The state has adopted new strategic options that recognise "the need for (it) to begin to be increasingly less of an entrepreneur and more of a regulator", he said recently. "The conditions for really taking a step forward with regard to rehabilitating industry are beginning to be created."

Manufacturers are cautious. "If the incentives that are being announced, like customs duties aimed at defending national production, bank loan incentives, the decentralisation of the foreign exchange system, are in fact implemented, then we will really feel everything will go well," says Severino.

He notes that since the peace process began some sub-sectors have started to show promising signs — the drinks made by local beverage manufacturers, for example, have been taking the place of imported ones, saving the country about \$70m a year.

But there are quite a few rivers to cross before all is well with Angola's industrialists. The main ones, says Olimpio da Rosa, administrative director of the GWNS-Limited fibreglass manufacturing company in Luanda, include difficulties in obtaining licences to bring in raw materials and in getting bank credits.

One entrepreneur, who requested anonymity, says there is another difficulty: most bank loans have gone to the trade sector "which ends up putting pressure on our balance of payments, devaluing our kwanza (national currency) more and more".

For Duke, there is yet another factor: "People's faith in Angola and its development still has to be strengthened by consolidating the peace process," he says. How? "By creating the conditions for economic stability that give people confidence so they begin to invest their capital here

Unita loses most of its best diamond mines

(5) BD 13/1/98

UNITA has lost the bulk of its richest diamond mines which financed its two-decade civil war and kept it from honouring a 1994 peace agreement with the government.

Mining sources say Unita started abandoning its mines in the diamond-rich northern Cuango river valley from October after the government deployed troops around the mines.

Unita could not supply the mines with materials and fuel after the government cut all its supply routes.

Its main routes to open diamond markets were shut off when its allies in the two neighbouring Congos were overthrown last year with Angolan government help.

Unita has clung desperately to the rich valley area in the Lunda Norte province for the past five years, earning about \$350m a year from the Cuango's rich alluvial diamond deposits.

Its entire diamond wealth is estimated at up to \$600m a year, mining analysts say.

Unita agreed in the 1994 peace talks to hand over its territory to the government after disarming its guerrilla force, but it had refused to leave its diamond mines without an agreement giving it a share of the country's diamond wealth.

Diplomats say it fled the Cuango without a deal, although it is believed to still control the key diamond town of Luzamba.

Deputy Territorial Administration Minister Higinio Carneiro said last week the government had been in control of Unita's Cuango mines since December 31.

A "gentleman's agreement" had been reached that Unita could continue to mine the Cuango valley until then, a mining source said. By then, they were meant to have finalised a deal under which Unita would withdraw in exchange for a share in concessions in the mines in the valley.

Unita's top official in Luanda, Isaias Samakuva, said last week that the international community would insist that the government pay Unita for the Cuango mines to prevent new tensions.

Last year the government gave Unita's new diamond company SGM concessions in central Bie and Cuango Cubango provinces.

A Johannesburg mining analyst said Unita might have exhausted some of the best alluvial deposits in the Cuango valley. Its diamonds fetch a hefty \$350 a carat.

Although figures on actual production are unclear, analysts estimate total Angolan production last year at between \$700m and \$800m, a drop from about \$1bn in 1996. Last year the government and Unita mined about 15% of the world's diamonds.

"The fact production dropped last year could indicate that the grade and volumes of (alluvial) diamonds coming out of the Cuango are going down," a mining source said.

The only kimberlite mine in Angola is at Catoca, a joint venture between Brazil's Odebrecht and Russia's Almazay Rossii-Sakha which expects to extract 1-million carats a year.

De Beers Consolidated Mines has sunk a core drill for kimberlite rock north of the town of Saurimo, its first drilling in Angola since 1975.

One of De Beers' three concessions in Angola, at Mavinga, borders on the Cuango River, but like other foreign mining firms it has refused to begin operations there until the government is in control of the area.

Australia's Ashton Mining also has a concession in the Cuango river basin through its 33% shareholding in an Angolan company known as SDM. The company said progress towards operating there was subject to peace.

The government has also given another chunk of the Cuango to the little known European-based International Defence and Security company and the US-based mining and exploration firm American Mineral Fields.

"Formal mining in the Cuango ought to be more efficient and better in depleting the reserves in a sensible fashion, and the government ought to see some returns because it will get taxes out of those companies," a mining analyst said. — Reuter.

Unita hands rich diamond fields back to govt

Luanda - Angola's former rebel movement Unita has handed over the diamond mines in the Kwangu valley of north-eastern Lunda Norte province, a government minister reports.

General Higinio Carneiro, deputy minister responsible for implementing the 1994 Lusaka peace agreements, said the state's Mining Development Company could now resume its activities at Kwangu.

Unita gave up Kwangu town last year but refused to hand over the rich diamond fields.

The rebel movement accused government troops of attacking the valley, and a government team went to the area

yesterday to assess the situation.

Earlier in the day local government authorities in northern Uije province said Unita troops had taken control of the town of Bewu on Monday.

Bewu and other areas in the north have seen growing tension and attacks on private cars in the past few days, the authorities have reported.

The radio said that the Uije provincial governor had given the Unita troops 72 hours to abandon Bewu "peacefully".

The ex-rebels last year relinquished control of several towns and villages in the region to the government.

However Unita has yet fully to disarm in line with the Lusaka accords, under which it was to hand over control of more than 300 districts in 15 of Angola's 18 provinces.

The United Nations, monitoring enforcement of the military and political settlements in Lusaka, last year slapped sanctions on Unita for stalling on implementation of the accords, but has also blamed government troops for frequent breaches of the pact.

Unita fought the governing People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola for almost two decades after independence from Portugal in 1975. -AFP

Star 14/1/98 (5)

Angolan mines on line soon

DD 15/11/98

(5)

LUANDA — Diamond production by Angola's state diamond company Endiama in the rich, formerly Unita-held Cuango River valley, officially handed to the government on Tuesday, would begin next month, an Endiama official said yesterday.

Endiama formally took over the mines from Unita after government troops forced out the former rebels who were reluctant to give up the mines as agreed under a 1994 peace accord to end 20 years of civil war.

Jose Dias, president of Endiama's administrative council, said the government was now in control of the area, including Unita's key diamond town of Luzamba, from where it had ferried its diamonds through friendly neighbouring countries to open markets.

Unita's supply routes were choked off last year when its allies in the former Zaire and Congo Republic were overthrown. Mining experts believe

the area now in government hands includes 16 of Unita's best mines.

World Bank figures show the government earned just \$86m from official diamond production in 1996, down from \$70m in 1995, as most of the country's diamond areas were under Unita's control. The Cuango valley is estimated to have earned Unita about \$350m annually from diamonds, while its total diamond wealth is believed to have reached \$600m.

Dias said the area taken over was a concession granted to Sociedade de Desenvolvimento Mineiro, a joint venture between Endiama, Brazil's Odebrecht and Australia's Ashton Mining.

□ United Nations secretary-general Kofi Annan recommended on Tuesday a three-month extension, until April 30, of the UN peacekeeping operation in Angola, citing delays in carrying out the peace accord between the government and Unita. — Reuter.

Former Unita rebels prey on Congo miners

KINSHASA: Diamond miners from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are being harassed by former rebels in Angola to the point where thousands are fleeing, a Kinshasa newspaper reported yesterday.

The diamond miners, who have long operated in northern Angola across the border from the former Zaire, are being targeted by former Unita rebels who steal their minerals and other goods, victims of the attacks told the paper, *La Tempete des Tropiques*.

Witnesses said that armed Unita men were also killing people and kidnapping children.

et 15/1/98 (5)
Angolan government troops, however, not only failed to protect them but were also stripping them of their belongings, the victims said.

According to *La Tempete des Tropiques*, several thousand "banalunda", as the diamond miners are known, have been forced to retreat into the DRC's southern Tembo and Kahungula regions, across the Cuango river border.

Many of the returnees were exhausted after trekking for several hundred kilometres, the newspaper said.

● Diamond production by Angola's state diamond company Endiama

in the rich, formerly Unita-held Cuango River valley, officially handed to the government on Tuesday, will begin in February, an Endiama official said yesterday.

"Production in the Cuango mines is expected to resume shortly, by the middle of February," the official, who asked not to be named, said.

Endiama formally took over the mines from Unita at a ceremony on Tuesday, after government troops forced out the former Angolan rebels, who were reluctant to give up the mines as agreed under a 1994 peace accord to end 20 years of civil war. — Sana-AFP Reuter

After 37 years, Angolan war might at last be over

Luanda - Peace in Angola has been proclaimed so many times that a breakthrough in negotiations between the government and the Unita rebels was announced almost casually on January 9.

And while it was largely ignored outside Angola, inside it was greeted with weary caution. The state television station said Jonas Savimbi, Unita's leader, would soon come to the capital, Luanda, to meet President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and that the 1994 Lusaka agreement would be fully implemented by the end of February.

Could this really be peace after nearly 37 years of war? Or will one side or the other be tempted by that other Angolan delusion: victory?

The announcement was made after a UN-sponsored meeting between Unita and the ruling MPLA, and a telephone conversation between Dos Santos and Savimbi.

What makes it all credible was the announcement, a few days earlier, that Unita had withdrawn from Luzambo, a town at the heart of the diamond-rich Cuango valley. Unita's revenue from diamonds gave it about R3-billion last year.

There have been several moments in Unita's long decline when it seemed right for Savimbi to cash in his guns for a place in the government or a comfortable retirement. He took none of them. He would use negotiations as a breathing space, and then resume the war.

The Lusaka accords stipulated that Unita should hand in its weapons, demobilise its troops and close its radio station. In fact, it has hung on to its guns and held back up to 7 000 fighters, and its radio station still broadcasts.

UN sanctions, imposed in October,

closed Unita offices worldwide and banned travel by its officials. But some aircraft still fly from its airstrips, taking out diamonds and bringing in weapons. Unita has partly evaded sanctions by setting up external companies to act as cover.

Yet Savimbi has been losing friends. Gone are the millions of rands worth of American weaponry given to him when Ronald Reagan and George Bush were president. Gone is the military support from South Africa, which rescued Unita several times in the 1980s. And in 1997 Savimbi's last two regional allies, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire (now Congo) and Pascal Lissouba of Congo-Brazzaville, were removed from power.

The Angolan army is boss of the region now. It has 120 000 troops, and is experienced and well equipped.

Unita and its cause have lost legitimacy and diplomatic clout. All UN resolutions now go against it, and its few remaining supporters do little more than provide the rebels with passports. The US now backs the Dos Santos government.

Savimbi's options are narrowing. He could join the Unita officials and MPs, who have lived in Luanda since Angola's 1992 election and now have houses, cars and businesses given to them by the government. He would have status, but no significant power.

The main danger to the new hopes for peace is that the government will allow its bolstered army to have one last swipe at Unita. This could re-activate the engine that has kept this war going for so long. Savimbi's stubborn resilience, born of the belief that one day he must be president of Angola.

- The Economist

Angola prepares for own bourse

BO 27/1/98 (5)
ANGOLA is preparing legislation to set up a capital market and a bourse by the end of the year, US advisers to the government said yesterday.

Daniel Levin of New York-based Levin & Srinivasan said he was working closely with the Angolan finance and justice ministries, as well as the central bank, to draft securities laws and capital market regulations, and create a foundation for a domestic stock exchange.

Levin said the state insurance company Empresa Nacional de Seguros e Resseguros de Angola (Ensa), some commercial and private banks, and the state oil company, Sonangol, were also involved in the talks.

"We are advising the government with respect to what they need to do to introduce a capital market, which includes a stock market, legislation and certain revisions in the court system," he said.

Levin said that the stock exchange would be launched in stages, and it was hoped that an initial trading mechanism

would be in place by the end of the year.

"It will be in a form where shares of Angolan companies can be bought and sold," Levin said.

"Within 1999, and hopefully by 2000, we will have something more sophisticated in place," he said.

Angola's oil-based economy is in disarray after two decades of civil war which ended in 1994. However, it is now seeking to join a growing band of southern African countries establishing their own stock exchanges, to boost local access to capital and to signal support for market-orientated economic reform.

The International Monetary Fund is refusing to implement a three-year emergency programme to rebuild the war-ravaged economy because the government refuses to supply the world body with new accounts of Sonangol, the central bank and the state diamond company, Endiama. Accounts of these state institutions have been closely guarded by the government. — Reuter.

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Group of Unita officers defect to Angolan army (5)

LUANDA — A group of officers from the former Unita rebel movement have sought refuge with the rival Angolan army in the northern city of Uige, military sources said yesterday.

"There's one brigadier, one major, some other officers and their families. They appeared out of the bush on Saturday saying Unita was planning a resumption of the war, and they don't want to fight anymore," a senior officer said.

The 15 fugitives had allegedly asked government armed forces for protection, the sources said.

"We are making arrangements to transport them to Luanda," the officer said. "Once we have spoken to them, we will have more details about where they have come from and what they have seen."

Unita fought a 20-year civil war with the Angolan government before signing a peace agreement in 1994.

However last October the United Nations (UN) imposed sanctions on the former rebel movement for failing to comply with the peace accords — in particular because it had not demobilised its forces and relinquished its territory to the government.

Last month a senior Unita officer sought refuge at a UN base in Bailundo, where Unita's headquarters are based. The officer said he had been held captive for the past eight months for refusing to fight, and asked for assistance to escape. — Reuter.

Angolan diamond audit needed — IMF

Simon Barber

WASHINGTON — The Angolan state-owned diamond mining monopoly, Endiama, needs to be thoroughly audited and restructured with existing claims on diamond concessions, a recently released International Monetary Fund (IMF) staff report concludes.

The Angolan diamond sector, the country's second-biggest export earner after oil, is portrayed in the report as chaotic, corrupt, beset by "theft, murder and other crimes", and not reaching its potential.

The report, prepared for the IMF's board and the Angolan government and dated November last year, became publicly available only at the end of last month.

Although the government reportedly regained control of the rich alluvial deposits previously controlled by Unita in the northern Cuango River Valley last October — shortly after the report was completed — the sector's problems ran far deeper than the former rebel movement's continuing challenge to Endiama's monopoly, the authors said.

While Angola had the capacity to produce 1.2-million carats a year or 2% of world output, official production had fallen to less than half that in recent years, the report said.

Endiama was losing about \$360m a

year in potential earnings due to Unita "smuggling operations", but smuggling was also rife in non-Unita areas.

"In addition security problems, war-related destruction of infrastructure and legal and regulatory failures in government-controlled producing areas have contributed to shortfalls in production through formal channels."

First steps to rectify the situation, argued the authors, should include "in the financial area — audits of Endiama and of each of the joint ventures of which it is or has been a part".

Before the IMF study was completed, De Beers had Angolan diamond concessions at Mavinga, Quela and in Lunda Norte and Sul provinces.

It was also setting up a diamond sorting facility in Luanda under an agreement reached with Endiama, according to a report by the US embassy in Pretoria.

Another top priority the IMF report identified was hiring outside consultants to do cadastral surveys of all diamond concessions "establishing present and past ownership and a record of exploration, (and) of production activities on each concession to date."

"On the basis of these surveys, zoning could be undertaken, classifying each concession and region according to the investments that are required by those conducting exploration or pro-

duction activities there.

"At the same time, related assessments (are) needed of the extent of informal production, tax evasion, environmental degradation and the like," the report said.

Meanwhile, Endiama needed to have its domain "very substantially curtailed to correspond to its limited capabilities".

It had been acting like a government within a government, providing everything from water, electricity, telecommunication and transport to food subsidies and "cash grants".

Functions Endiama might reasonably undertake were investment promotion, development of "model agreements" with investors, training, marketing and security services.

Everything else, including exploration and production, should be privatised, or where appropriate, spun off to other government departments.

"Large numbers" of nontransferable concessions were recently granted to small operators "without financial (or) technical means of operating effectively," the report said. "This had to stop, with those who had obtained such concessions being required to enter partnerships with more qualified firms."

"New concessions must be transferable and eligibility must be limited to qualified firms that meet strict stan-

dards as regards available capital and expertise," the report said.

"Artisanal" production also needed to be curtailed. Artisans, as well as surplus Endiama workers, could perhaps be treated in the same way as demobilised guerrillas — and channelled in to subsistence agriculture with state support to help them make the transition.

A common set of rules governing royalties, taxes and foreign exchange, and applicable to all firms, was needed to replace the "complexity" of simplify the current piecemeal system.

The report recommended establishing a standardised royalty rate of 3% or less to reduce the incentives for evasion.

It also suggested the replacement of the current export levy with an income tax "at rates and under terms identical to those applied to enterprise operating in other sectors".

The report proposed a legal framework for diamond mining in areas where Unita was continuing to prevent the central government from exercising jurisdiction, but did not endorse it.

Under this proposed arrangement, a trust would be established under the laws of a third country. Trustees would include Endiama, a Unita-owned enterprise and foreign joint-venture partners.

25/10/21/98

(5)

Angola's proposed spending up 22%

LUANDA — Angola's parliament has been debating a \$3.8bn 1998/99 budget to rebuild its war-torn economy, financed largely from the country's oil wealth, according to Finance Minister Alcantara Monteiro.

"The principle aims of this budget are to underpin the peace process, to control our national debt, to bring down the cost of living and to make the best of the country's oil wealth," he told Angola's first joint parliament.

His audience included members of the former rebel Unita movement who joined a unity government in April last year. It is the first budget in more than 20 years to include Unita, the main opposition, which signed a peace agreement with the government in 1994 to

end Africa's longest civil war.

Defence and policing have won the largest share of the cake with 23%, education and culture 11%, health and sanitation 8% and social security a tiny 0.17%.

In real terms, taking into account Angola's 1997 average 60% inflation rate from highs of more than 1 000% in previous years, proposed spending is up 22% on last year's.

"The increased revenue will come from improved oil production, the extension of state control over diamond-producing areas and the increased tax and duty raising power in areas which have recently been handed over to the government," Monteiro said. His presentation and the debate,

which is expected to last at least a week, was broadcast live on television and radio. In drafting the 1998/99 budget the Angolan government has given advance warning that it intends to devalue the national currency, the kwanza, by 30% during the coming year.

Planning Minister Emmanuel Carneiro told parliament the government wanted to stabilise the currency to relaunch internal production, reduce the fiscal deficit and raise internal credit.

The official exchange rate is 265 000 to the dollar, but the proposed budget has been calculated with the kwanza valued at 361 000 to the dollar. The Angolan government devalues the kwanza periodically to prevent the gulf between the official and the black-mar-

ket rate from widening too far. In the last week the parallel value of the kwanza topped 480 000 to the dollar.

"About 92% of this budget comes from the oil revenues," said one economist in Luanda, monitoring the budget for the United Nations. Angola produces an average of 700 000 barrels of oil a day at \$15 a barrel, but there are no official records of the oil account.

The International Monetary Fund has repeatedly demanded, without response, a proper audit of the country's oil income before it implements a three-year emergency programme of \$75m. In spite of this devaluation of the kwanza, economists are optimistic that the economy will continue to grow by more than 9% this year. — Reuter.

DIAMOND MINING

Peace may bring profit to Angola..

(5) CT(PR) 12/2/98

NICHOLAS SHAXSON

Charibu in northeastern Angola is a charred and broken village. The once-busy earthworks which pockmark the banks of the nearby Chicapa river lie waterlogged and abandoned.

Thousands of illegal miners, known in Angola as garimpeiros, used to live in Charibu, scouring the red-brown earth for diamonds. The bounty supplied by these miners helped thwart Angola's efforts to put an end to more than 20 years of civil war.

"Until recently the holes in the (river) banks were full of people digging," said Stephen Grimmer, the operations manager for Canada's Diamondworks, whose wholly owned subsidiary Branch Energy mines the Luo concession.

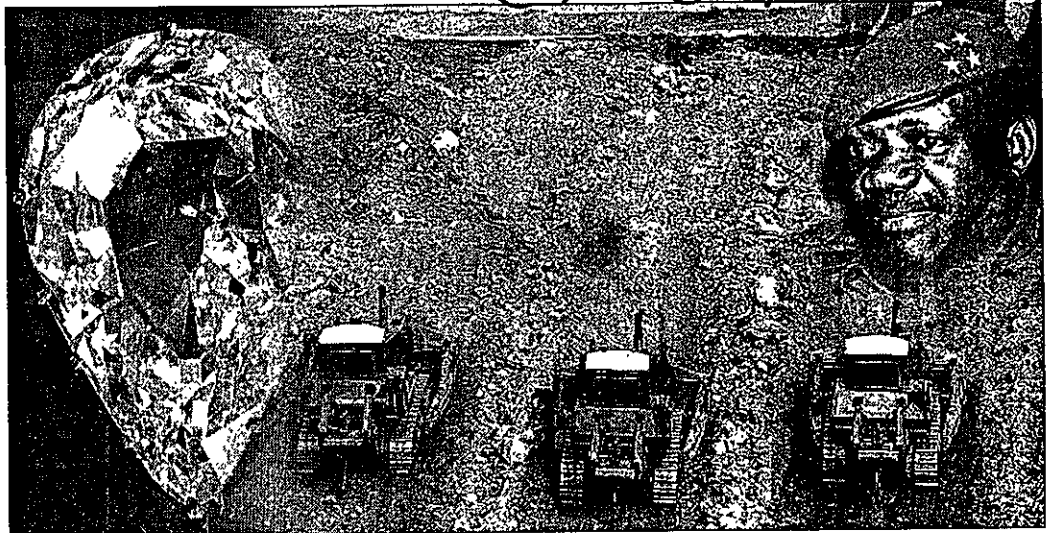
The lucrative diamond areas along the Chicapa river and 250km further west, in the Cuango valley, used to provide income for Unita guerrillas.

Unita is now part of a government of national unity formed under a 1994 peace deal overseen by the United Nations.

Under a "gentleman's agreement" in September, Jonas Savimbi, Unita's leader, said he would withdraw from the country's richest mining areas in Lunda Norte province in exchange for stakes in official diamond mining operations.

By January 13 this year Unita had withdrawn from its mines along the Cuango valley as government troops moved in to secure the area, captured by the guerrillas in 1992.

In exchange, the government offered Unita three concessions



in central Bie and southern Cuando Cubango provinces.

Unita is also negotiating for stakes in a number of foreign consortiums which have been granted concessions in Angola. The most important of these is a joint venture including Brazil's Odebrecht and Australia's Ashton Mining, which has a concession in the Cuango valley.

In the humid bush camp to the east of the Chicapa river, two heavily armed Angolans take orders from a white supervisor in a paramilitary uniform.

They work for Teleservices, a joint venture between an Angolan company and South Africa's Gray Security Services, which provides the type of protection that is typical of many mining operations in areas of conflict or insecurity in Africa.

Teleservices' commandos have prevented the return of armed garimpeiros to the Luo concession. Many of the garimpeiros are from the former Zaire, which borders Angola.

The Angolan army drove out these illegal miners earlier and expelled others. Now the garimpeiros have been replaced by earth-moving equipment and diesel-powered diggers.

A variety of clattering, twisting metal drums and conveyor belts sift through the soil, eventually spitting out the gems which are stored in a triple-locked safe.

Just a few months ago, Unita miners dived in the river, breathing through compressor pipes, to gather the gems. The divers stored the diamonds in cloths tied to their waists. The gems then were sold on open markets through a supply route in neighbouring countries.

In the diamond mining town of Lucapa, life has become calmer since the government took control of the diamond-rich Angolan province.

As little as a year ago the area was known as "the Wild West" and driving even a few miles out of town was extremely

dangerous. A senior De Beers operative was shot and seriously wounded by unknown gunmen in the town in September.

Now, with sharply improved security, mining operators are able to drive convoys to the area from Luanda, the country's capital, through territory previously considered impassable.

Unita was severely weakened last year when two allies, presidents Mobutu Sese-Seko of Zaire and Pascal Lissouba of Congo-Brazzaville, were deposed in rebellions.

"There are two clear signs coming from Unita," said Gerald Bender, a professor of international relations at the University of Southern California and one of the world's experts on Angola.

"One is that there is obviously going to be peace. The other is that there is obviously going to be war. This is part of Savimbi's plan to keep his options open, and to keep everybody off guard, including his own people," he said. — Reuter

Unita's SA supply routes blocked

MHG 6-18/2/98

(5)

Clandestine flights carrying arms and supplies to Unita in Angola will be curtailed after disclosures, reports John Grobler

The arrest of nine South African men when their DC-4 was forced down by an Angolan Air Force Mig-21 at Menongue, the provincial capital of Cuando Cubango, two weeks ago, appears to have spelled the end — at least for the foreseeable future — of clandestine flights out of South Africa to supply beleaguered Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

And with the pilot reportedly co-operating fully with Luanda's state security, the seizure of the aircraft possibly also signals the beginning of the end of the rebel movement's decades-long guerrilla campaign.

Angolan official television showed footage of the pilot, Captain Peter Bietzke, and his two crew members, with Bietzke confessing to having illegally flown more than 300 times into Angola, mostly to drop supplies to Unita at Andulo and Bailundo, the central highlands headquarters of Savimbi.

Bietzke was also reported in the Angolan press confessing to having flown arms to Unita in defiance of a United Nations ban in place since 1994. "I am a pilot and I fly for a living," Bietzke was quoted as saying in the official *Jornal de Angola*. "If I did not do it, someone else would."

Sources close to Angolan security said Bietzke "was singing like a canary", providing details of smuggling operations and, in all likelihood, providing Luanda with precious details of Unita's diamond-supplying route, the

rebel movement's main source of income, estimated at about \$300-million a year.

This income is used to sustain the rebel hard-line faction in their bush headquarters in Bailundo — Unita's more moderate faction in Parliament draws official salaries from the state as paid MPs.

The seizure of the aircraft appears to have been a major blow to Savimbi and his hard-liners still holding out in the bush. Reports filtering back via the Angolan non-governmental organisations community indicate that Unita may be facing starvation with its main supply route by civilian aircraft now exposed to attacks from the Angolan Air Force when they attempt to enter Angolan airspace.

"It's the worst I have seen yet," said an official, asking not to be named out of respect for the politically sensitive conditions under which she serves.

With nearly all supplies — including medicines and foodstuffs — prevented from reaching Savimbi at his Bailundo headquarters, his rumoured return to Luanda by the end of February has suddenly become much less of a choice than a measure of simple survival.

Observers of the Angolan situation speculate this may be the overture to a huge, final attack on Unita by their Luanda foes, committed to getting rid of Savimbi and his hard-line supporters once and for all.

The Angolan government has since the middle of last year successfully closed down Unita supply routes via Brazzaville and Kinshasa with the ousting of Pascal Lissouba and Mobutu Sese Seko. It has also been reported to be pressuring Lusaka to close down any possible land supply routes from Zambian soil.

The nine South African men — Peter Bietzke, R Swanepoel, M Steyn, MJ Steyn, GW Allen, M van Eeckelen, MJ Jeffries, Johnny Ferreira and a Mr Steenberg — are being held

in Luanda, pending a final decision on their fate by the Angolan authorities.

Indications from Luanda are that the government intends trying them in court for as yet unspecified crimes. Technically, they can only be charged with violating Angolan airspace and entering Angolan territory illegally, for which they may receive a relatively small fine and expulsion.

But newspapers in Luanda report there is political pressure for a show trial, as with the mercenaries caught in early 1975 in Angola. Nine men were executed by firing squad after being found guilty of fighting on the side of the United States-backed FVLA against the Marxist-backed MPLA.

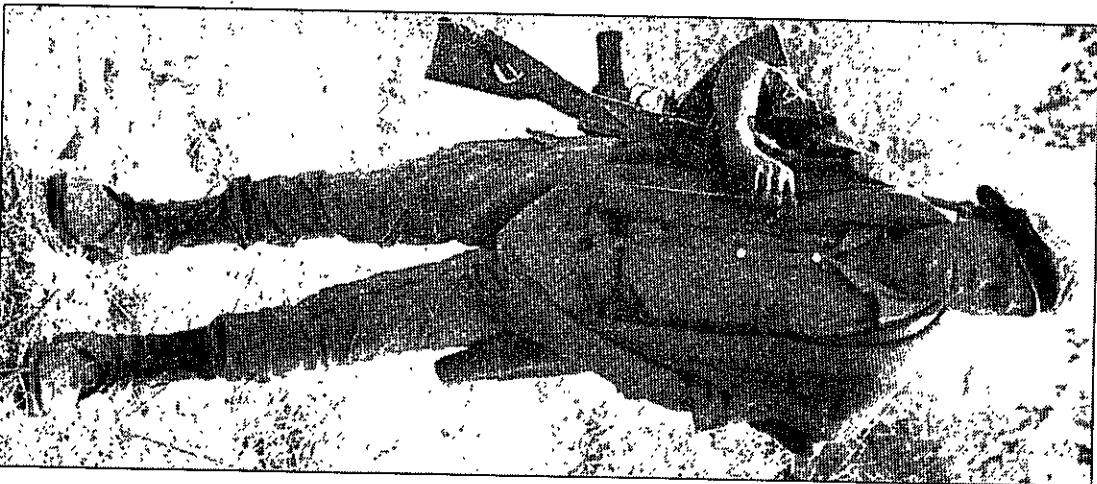
The DC-4 aircraft — thought to belong to a Belgian businessman — was apparently forced down by a Mig-21 and a Beechcraft King Air of the Angolan Air Force after it had put down at Andulo and was on the way to drop some mining supplies at Bailundo.

Questions have been raised about how the Angolan Air Force — which does not have any radar installations in the Cuando Cubango area — managed to intercept the South African aircraft. The US has been giving limited, non-lethal military support to the Angolan army since the Clinton administration recognised President Eduardo dos Santos's government in 1993. This includes a radar installation at Lubango in southern Angola's Hute province.

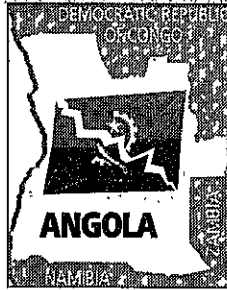
No arms were found on the aircraft, and Angolan television showed only some generators, corrugated sheets and other mining-related equipment on board.

No comment was available from the Angolan authorities, but speculation in pilots' circles is that the nine men will try to negotiate their release in return for their full co-operation.

Zambia fears Angolan invasion,



No more arms for the men: A Unita soldier in Angola. PHOTO: WALTER DHLADHLA



The silence of Jonas Savimbi

(5) Star 3/3/98

Peace in Angola looks unlikely

after Savimbi skips Saturday

date, writes Suzanne Daley

Saturday was supposed to be the day when Angola's long-delayed countdown to peace was completed. The rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi - presumably wearing his trademark double-breasted blue blazer with silk pocket swatch - was supposed to leave his highland stronghold to meet in Angola's capital with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Savimbi was to have gone there as the country's new official opposition leader, and this diamond- and oil-rich country with 30 years of brutal civil war under its belt was finally to get on with something like democracy.

But that did not happen.

The passing of the appointed hour elicited barely a shrug from Angolans. They are used to it - it was probably the 20th time such a deadline has passed.

Even those involved in the negotiations are not sure whether Angola is moving closer to peace or to war these days. South African military analysts say that both sides seem to be poised for aggression.

Even as the latest set of peace deadlines was being hammered out in December, the rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, known by its Portuguese acronym Unita, were recruiting new fighters, stocking weapons and building a new 9 000-foot-long airstrip in neighbouring Zambia.

In the meantime, the government was sending its 16th Brigade, known as the Leopard Brigade - a crack team of more than a thousand men trained by South African mercenaries - to Luena, where they could easily go after the new rebel bases when the rainy season ends next month.

Diplomats involved in the negotiations say the passing of the February 28 deadline just means they will start trying to write another new timetable. But one Western diplomat said nothing is ever clear in the Angolan negotiations.

Savimbi is considered totally unpredictable. He went back to war when he failed to win the national elections in 1992. And twice in the last year, the government has sent its troops beyond its borders to help topple administrations that had harboured Unita rebels - one in Zaire - now Congo - and the other in the Congo Republic.

"I don't believe the government is about to do a cross-border raid into Zambia," the diplomat said. "But they did do two other cross-border operations last year, so I'm not going to bet my con-

dition on it."

Others are even less optimistic. Jakkie Potgieter, a senior researcher with South Africa's Institute for Security Studies, said there were numerous indications that the Angolan government was getting tired of Savimbi's dawdling.

He pointed out that the drawn-out peace process is expensive. The government is forced to concentrate on military issues and to spend its money feeding and maintaining a huge army. Angolans, in the meantime, are becoming restless over the lack of roads, schools, hospitals and potential peacetime advances.

"What the two sides are doing just doesn't point to peaceful prospects," Potgieter said.

The current peace efforts have been under way for more than 40 months. It has been the country's longest period of relative stability since it gained independence from Portugal in 1975 and almost immediately plunged into civil war. But it has been an uneasy peace, with scattered confrontations, constant delays and a fair amount of subterfuge.

Unita is an anti-communist movement once backed by the United States that is also a personality cult around the fiery Savimbi, while the government was supported by the Soviet bloc during the Cold War.

In theory, Savimbi was supposed to have only a small number of troops left by last year, after thousands turned in weapons and were given food and other supplies to start a new life. But many experts estimate that he still has 25 000 to 35 000 soldiers, many of them just outside Angola's borders in Zambia and Congo.

Many diplomats had hoped that the war in Congo would have a positive effect on Angola. With the fall of Mobutu Sese Seko, Savimbi lost an ally and a place for his men to take refuge and re-arm. But Savimbi, who has collected about \$500 million a year in diamond revenues, appears to have been able to continue buying supplies and weaponry. - NY Times.

Unita to hang up its guns

ARG 479198
Lisbon - Angolan armed (6) opposition movement Unita is to announce tomorrow the total demilitarisation of its forces, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported from Luanda.

Lusa, which quoted a source close to the Angolan peace process, said the Unita statement would have to be endorsed by UN monitors supervising the implementation by both sides of peace accords signed in 1994.

The report also said the statement would be accompanied by an exten-

sion of the deadline granted to Unita to disarm the remnants of its army, estimated at about 1 200 men.

In a communique at the end of last month, Unita said it was not in a position to announce the total demilitarisation of its troops until the disarming of all its residual forces had been "completed in a dignified way".

Under an agreement between Unita and the Angolan government, the demilitarisation process should have been completed by February 28. - Sapa-AFP

Angola is again on the brink of outright war

7
Savan 7/23/98

By ANTHONY MUKWITA and PETER FABRICIUS

Angola is once again balanced on a knife-edge, teetering towards outright war. Sabres are rattling in the war-weary country after opposition Unita leader Jonas Savimbi missed another deadline last weekend to return to the capital and join the government of national reconciliation.

And the unresolved conflict, which has already contributed to the overthrow of two neighbouring governments in the past year, continues to raise tensions in the region. This week the Angolan ambassador to Zambia issued a thinly veiled threat to his hosts that Angola would invade Zambia - as it had invaded both Congos last year - if they did not root out lingering support for Unita coming from their territory.

In Luanda, the Joint Commission representing the government, Unita and international peacekeepers met yesterday for yet another attempt to resolve the conflict peacefully, with little confidence that it could succeed.

Diplomats believe that the Angolan government is preparing to launch a major offensive to eliminate Unita, under the guise of "police" action against "bandits".

At an Institute for Strategic Studies conference on mercenaries in Pretoria this week, Angola expert Sean Cleary said Angola was once again on a knife-edge. He said Angola-watchers had identified five factors favouring another plunge into outright war.

The first was a significant body of hardline opinion in the Angolan government that was advising President José Eduardo dos Santos that unless Unita's military might was destroyed, there would never be peace.

Secondly, the South African security/mercenary company

Executive Outcomes was active again in Angola, Cleary said, putting Angolan army troops through speedy training and performing other duties such as aerial interception.

Cleary stated publicly what had before only been privately rumoured: that Executive Outcomes pilots had been responsible for forcing down a South African aircraft supplying Unita recently.

The third factor suggesting war was that Unita, despite the passing of the deadline for demilitarisation last Saturday, still had 8 000 battle-hardened troops in the field and 12 000 in reserve. The government had between 55 000 and 63 000 troops, of which 25 000 were

'We don't want to reach the stage we reached with Congo Brazzaville and Congo Kinshasa'

capable of being deployed.

Some of the government troops had already been deployed in Luena, from where they could strike very quickly at Savimbi's military headquarters at Bailundo in the interior.

"I don't think they have political sanction to attack. I think Dos Santos is flip-flopping and there is no consensus among the generals," Cleary said, adding that the elements were in place should the political go-ahead be given.

The fourth factor indicating war was that Unita was badly split between the Bailundo militant faction and the faction par-

ticipating in the government of national reconciliation in Luanda. The militant faction was behaving illogically and Savimbi seemed to have lost both the capacity to lead and a vision for the future.

The fifth factor was that Dos Santos was quite seriously ill (he is believed to have prostate cancer) and the political transition to a successor was relatively advanced. This added further uncertainty to the volatile mixture.

In Lusaka, Angolan ambassador Augusto Emanuelle declared ominously that the Lusaka Protocol peace accord was dead.

He also alarmed his hosts, casting aside diplomatic decorum and issuing a blunt threat to the Zambian government.

"We don't want to reach the stage we reached with Congo Brazzaville and Congo Kinshasa with the Zambian government," he said, in an obvious reference to Angola's invasions of both those countries last year.

In both countries, Angolan forces played decisive roles in toppling governments which were supporting Unita and replacing them with Angolan government allies.

Emanuelle said his government had concrete evidence that some "unscrupulous Zambians driven by greed and monetary gain are ferrying arms to Unita rebels and frustrating the Lusaka peace protocol".

The ambassador told the press in Lusaka that he had told the Zambian government Zambians were aiding Savimbi.

"After the fall of the two Congos, there is no other route arms can be transported along except through Zambia. "Some planes from South Africa, carrying arms for Unita, are landing at Ndola airport." - Independent Foreign Service

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AFRICA

Angola legalises rebel movement

170 12/3/98

(5)

LUANDA. — Angola said yesterday it was legalising the former rebel movement Unita in the first major step towards sealing a long-delayed peace accord in the war-ravaged oil-and-diamond-rich country.

"We (the government) issued a declaration half-an-hour ago and it will be formally promulgated on national radio at 1pm," said Higinio Carneiro, the government's senior negotiator.

Carneiro said technical details of the special status for veteran Unita leader Jonas Savimbi were still being worked out.

The government declaration officially legalises Unita as the main opposition party in Angola. It was widely expected to follow Unita's formal declaration on Friday of military demobilisation — a requirement for officially ending Africa's longest-run-

ning civil war.

Demobilisation was one of the conditions set by the United Nations and the Angolan government for concluding the long-delayed peace settlement that ended almost 20 years of civil war.

The text formalising the legalisation of Unita was approved by Angola's Council of Ministers almost a year ago, but could not be promulgated until Unita issued a declaration of demilitarisation. Under Angolan law, it is illegal for political parties to have troops.

Unita, under mounting international pressure to make good on peace pledges, announced its demilitarisation on Friday in a statement sent to news agencies in Lisbon. Unita said it considered the demobilisation to be effective immediately, even if

it would take up to two weeks for the remaining 1,900 men it had under arms and their generals to surrender their weapons formally.

The UN mission in Angola said a new timetable had been agreed, leading to the completion of the peace process on April 1.

By the April 1 deadline, Unita must relinquish all territory still under its control, shut down its radio station, the Voice of the Black Cockerel, and move its leadership to Luanda from its headquarters in Bailundo in the central highlands.

During the last stage of its civil war against Unita, which ended in 1994 with the signing of peace protocols in Zambia, the Angolan government issued more than 700,000 automatic weapons to its civilian supporters. — Reuter.

Ban on Unita's party-political activity lifted

Star 12/3/98 (5)

Guns are out and agreement is in, as Angola searches for a peace that will last after decades of conflict

REUTERS
Luanda

Angola yesterday legalised the former rebel movement Unita in a major step towards sealing a long-delayed truce in the war-ravaged oil- and diamond-rich nation.

Regional political analysts said the move, once fully implemented, would see veteran Unita leader Jonas Savimbi return to Luanda from his central highlands stronghold.

"The government of reconciliation and national unity declares before national and international opinion that from March 11 1998 the ban on party-political activity by Unita has been lifted," said a government statement.

"The government declares publicly that, in accordance with the calendar approved by the Joint Commission for the conclusion of the protocol of Lusaka, Unita can develop within the limits of the law its party-political activities throughout the whole country," it added.

The Joint Commission is made up of the United Nations, the government, Unita and representatives of Russia, Portugal and the US.

Earlier, the government's top negotiator, Higinio Carneiro, said technical details of the special status for Savimbi were still being worked out.

Sources said the details involved Savimbi's personal

security. Unita wants its leader to take 400 bodyguards, including UN security personnel, to Luanda while the government is said to be negotiating for a lesser number.

The move by the government of President Eduardo dos Santos was widely expected following Unita's formal declaration on Friday of military demobilisation, a requirement for officially ending Africa's longest-running civil war.

Demobilisation was one of the conditions set by the United Nations and the Angolan government for concluding the long-delayed peace settlement

Savimbi wants 400 bodyguards

that ended almost 20 years of fighting.

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Unita, under international pressure to make good on peace pledges, announced its demilitarisation on Friday.

By April 1, Unita must relinquish all territory still under its control, shut down its radio station and move its leadership to Luanda.

Legal Unita now official opposition ⁽⁵⁾

CT 12/3/98

LUANDA: Angola said yesterday it was legalising the former rebel movement Unita in the first major step towards sealing a long-delayed peace accord in the war-ravaged oil and diamond-rich Southern African nation.

The government issued the declaration about noon, and Higinio Carneiro, the government's top negotiator, said technical details of the special status for veteran Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi were still being worked out.

The government declaration officially legalises Unita as the main opposition party in Angola.

It was widely expected to follow Unita's formal declaration last Friday of military demobilisation — a requirement for officially ending Africa's longest-running civil war.

Demobilisation was one of the conditions set by the United Nations and the Angolan government for concluding the long-delayed peace settlement that ended almost 20 years of civil war.

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Unita, under mounting international pressure, said on Friday it considered the demobilisation to be effective immediately, even if it would take up to two weeks for the remaining 1 900 men it had under arms and their generals formally to surrender their weapons.

By the April 1 deadline under the new agreed timetable, Unita must relinquish all territory still under its control, shut down its radio station, the Voice of the Black Cockerel, and move its leadership to Luanda from its headquarters in Bailundo in the central highlands. — Reuter

Leader expelled⁽⁵⁾ for flouting rules

LISBON — Angolan former rebel group Unita said yesterday it had expelled the man who signed the Lusaka peace accord in its name with the Luanda government.

Unita, which is in the final phase of implementing the 1994 deal, said Eugenio "Manuvakola" Ngolo had broken party rules.

It gave a list of articles and clauses of the movement's statutes that it said had been flaunted by the former military commander and Unita secretary-general.

Ngolo has not been seen for well over a year and has been rumoured to be under house arrest in the Unita-held central city of Bailunda, where leader Jonas Savimbi has his headquarters.

Ngolo signed the 1994 truce in the Zambian capital that put an end to 20 years of bitter civil war after Savimbi pulled out of the ceremony at the last minute.

More than three-and-a-half years later, Unita and the government of former Marxist leader Jose Eduardo dos Santos are within days of completing the peace process and normalising life in Angola. By April 1, Savimbi and his political high command should move to Luanda, where he will be given special status as official leader of the opposition.

However, Savimbi accused the government late last week of bad faith because it had still not finalised details of this special status, which had been due to be settled at the time of the official legalising of Unita last Wednesday.

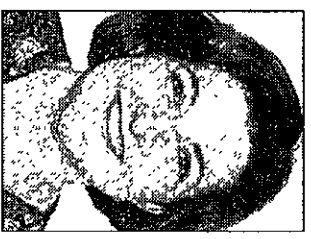
Political sources in Luanda say that Savimbi wants to keep 400 armed men for his protection, but the government is seeking to reduce this number. — Reuter.

20/7/98

It's time for Angola to help itself

Government showing a strange reluctance to get on with rebuilding, writes Laurie Boulden

(5) Star 18/3/98



Whether the war is finally over or not, the time has come for Angola to save itself and its people. The suffering and destruction have gone on long enough. In recognition of this fact, the international community has already donated millions of dollars in funding to the people and government.

Unfortunately the government itself does not yet appear able or willing to make recovery a lasting prospect. International efforts are not reinforced or assisted by the government, nor does co-ordination seem to be a priority. Instead, barriers are erected against aid work or projects are left to wither once the foreign engineers have left. The development agenda probably pales in comparison with oil and diamond projects.

One area of desperate need for Angola is landmine removal, but it will not be enough just to clear the economically important areas around oil fields or mineral mines. Hundreds of thousands of war refugees still roam Angola and neighbouring countries, unable or afraid to go home.

Even when relative peace has returned to an area, the roads are either mined or feared to be mined. As a result, people are displaced and unable to recreate their society and way of life, or in

some cases to nourish themselves properly. They do not want to return home, and even if they do, their fields may still be mined.

A number of de-mining organisations are in Angola and work its under way to facilitate resettlement and recovery through the hard work and donations of international agencies such as the HALO Trust, the Mines Advisory Group, the World Food Programme and Care International.

But while these projects complete the first steps, they are not being helped by the government.

A German NGO called MCGM (the German acronym for People Against Landmines) is busy de-mining important roads for the resettlement of refugees. In the areas where they have worked, most recently in Bengo Province, the results have been noticeable immediately.

The small village of Gombe was nearly deserted last winter. Now that the roads are open, villagers are coming home to restart their lives. Sunday mornings are now the time for chalking the soccer pitch and having the whole village come out - there are enough people for teams and spectators.

On any given day, including on a recent visit, refugees can be seen making

their way towards the village, some with bed frames and household goods, some with just a few meagre belongings and the clothes on their back.

The beneficial de-mining work of MCGM and others not only clears mines from the roads, it also removes vegetation and turns the soil into a useable, asphalt-ready road bed surface.

When a bridge needs repair, the de-miners complete this task as well, rather than leave a road in good condition but still unusable.

However, without any government decision to create finished roads, the rain and jungle will soon obliterate all of MCGM's efforts.

Within months, these dirt roads form culverts and mudholes that are impassable, or else the proliferating greenery recovers the tracks. Some of the roads cleared as recently as January are already in danger.

Now, a Swedish aid organisation is planning a road rehabilitation project worth more than R200-million.

Hopefully, they will be able to complete the jobs themselves and not be reliant on the government, lest their work is also in vain.

Another example of the government's lack of follow through is in the area of health care. In many villages, clean and shiny health clinics have been built or refurbished. They bear a sign for

the aid organisation or government who donated the funds for these clinics, which may be the only help available for thousands of people. However, these sparkling clinics may never open, either due to a lack of co-ordination with or failed promises from the government.

Even these beautiful facilities cannot operate without personnel and trained staff do not exist to run the clinics. Instead, locals still use traditional remedies, hitchhike a ride hundreds of kilometres to a town (indeed de-miners often provide this transport service), or die from broken bones and otherwise treatable ailments. At the moment it appears the clinics will certainly return to a state of disrepair and neglect.

In an example of bureaucratic hindrances, Luanda has made the acquisition of visas for foreign workers, even aid NGOs, a near impossible task. Instead of spending time in the field, workers have to trek into the city, wasting time and money to chase paperwork that takes months to finalise.

Sometimes, NGO employees work illegally while visas are being processed, or have to bear the expense of flying back home to re-enter on another time-limited tourist visa. It almost seems as if government does not want their help. International governments are still

willing to fund projects Angola despite these challenges - and on top of the other operational, supranational expense difficulties in the country. Because the current situation is portrayed as an emergency relief situation, donors accept the government's stingy inaction or lack of concern. Forgers, the government certainly did other matters to worry about.

However, as Angola us into a developmental phase, and no longer claim the war saps all resources and energy, international reparations will be far less accommodated. Already the tensions are building at embassies; in a few years little patting will be left.

All that is required Luanda is a genuine show of dedication and enthusiasm for de-mining and development efforts. Resources do exist; projects; bureaucrats could be helpful or cooperative. At the moment, however, the government's efforts, its own de-mining brigades, are with inefficiency and rumours abound.

These half-measures not enough to reassure the international community, nor will they help of Angola. - Star Foreign Section

Laurie Boulden is mines in Southern Africa research SA Institute of International. She has just returned from a visit to Angola, and writes in her perscity.

Angolan conflict may be far from over

Events in Angola over the past fortnight have brought the country back from the brink of civil war. Greg Mills looks at the prospects for peace and the regional implications

(5) 220 19/3/98

During the past month, Luanda has been abuzz with rumours of war. Initially, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's refusal to travel to the capital, Luanda, led to the MPLA government warning of a major new offensive against the rebel movement.

Yet the likelihood of conflict seems now to have been reduced by Unita's statement on March 6 that its forces had been "completely demilitarised" and, second, by the government's issuing of a decree last week declaring that Unita may operate as a political party.

This development raises two important questions: first, what are the prospects for peace in Angola? Second, what are the likely implications for regional politics and, more specifically, SA's foreign policy?

As per the current timetable — to conclude the Lusaka Protocol by April 1 — this week the demobilisation of Unita's generals and senior officers will begin, and the appointment of governors, vice-governors and ambassadors from Unita will be announced.

On Friday, Savimbi's private security detail will be demobilised and inducted into the national police, and on March 31 Savimbi himself is to be settled in Luanda, after he has surrendered his bases in Andulo and Balundo to the MPLA government.

However, it is difficult to have greater faith in this schedule than in those which have preceded it. In the words of one expert Angola watcher, "it seems to be setting the scene for a military confrontation rather than for peace".

Despite the claimed demobilisation of all Unita combatants under United Nations (UN) supervision, Savimbi still has an estimated 6 000 to 8 000 troops, and 12 000 poorly trained and equipped reserves. Despite critical shortages of diesel and cash, Unita's military command believes it will be able to withstand any government offensive.

Although the government has about 55 000 troops deployed, its army's — Forças Armadas de Angola (FAA) — fighting units are estimated by intelligence sources to be about 12 000-strong, still-armed by 100-plus SA mercenaries. Mercenaries are also believed

to be using sophisticated aerial reconnaissance and electronic surveillance daily to track Savimbi with the express purpose of assassinating him. There is still apparently a large bounty out on his head, hence his reluctance to travel to Luanda.

Yet by being intimidated in this way he is, of course, playing into the hands of government hawk who seek a military outcome, and his recalcitrance has led to a split with Unita's parliamentary wing.

There are thus two views of the current situation: firstly, that the MPLA government has a real interest in ensuring the UN leaves after April, thus enabling a strike

against Unita forces soon afterwards. Secondly, that the current threats inherent within the FAA's force deployments and warnings are just to persuade Unita it has no choice but to meet the schedule.

The likely outcome may be influenced by the fact that the crisis is about more than just inter-party rivalry. A lack of clarity about who will succeed the terminally ill President Eduardo dos Santos has led to an intra-MPLA powerplay, with hawks pitted against doves.

Indeed, it has been suggested the likelihood of a new offensive against Savimbi has more to do with Santos's lieutenants trying to prove their credentials than an

earnest (if misguided) bid to seek a military solution to the conflict.

Santos is expected to step down in the next six months, if he gets necessary assurances about preservation of his personal wealth. Prime Minister Francisco Lourenco, MPLA secretary-general Lopo de Nascimento, and MPLA delegation head in the National Assembly and Santos's favourite, Joao Lourenco, are the front runners to succeed him.

The offensive has also spelt a new bout of activity by FAA chief of staff Gen Joao de Matos who has reportedly recently been touring all of his army's forward bases. His renewed commitment to a

military offensive might also portend his rise to political power, despite his mulatto status.

What about the regional implications? These are apparent at two levels: first, the effects on Angola's neighbours, some (notably Congo-Brazzaville and the Democratic Republic of Congo) have already felt the effects of Luanda's new approach to implementing a cordon sanitaire to keep Unita apart from its supply routes.

This explains the involvement of Angolan government troops during the past year in toppling Zairean dictator Mobutu Sese Seko as well as the democratically elected president of Congo-Braz-

zaville, Pascal Lissouba. Given allegations that Unita has set up Zambian bases after disruption of its Zairean supply lines, do not be surprised if Luanda burns up the heat on Zambia.

This raises interesting questions for SA, not only as the regional powerhouse (and expected stabiliser), but also as the chair of the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

For not only does Angola have the battle-hardened troops and materiel to launch attacks against its neighbours — as apartheid SA did with its destabilisation strategy of the 1970s and 1980s — but it clearly possesses the political will to do so.

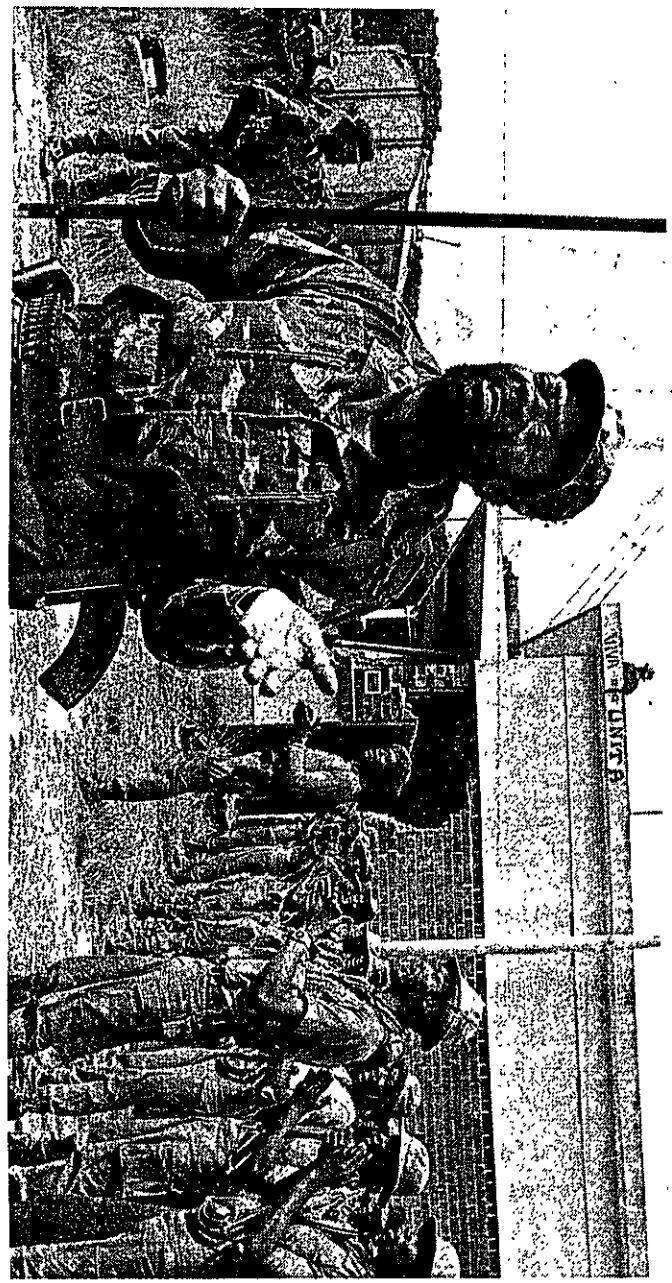
This is a far cry from an understandably cautious SA, hamstrung in its African diplomacy both by the legacy of apartheid and related fear of hegemonic tendencies, but also ironically, by the conciliatory zeal of its leadership.

Angola shows perfectly that mediator is only successful in Africa when, first, there is a real basis for an internal settlement. Here a way has to be found in which the major conflicting parties can both get essential elements of what they want at the same time. If the settlement merely puts off the day of reckoning (as in Angola), then mediation efforts will not progress far or any accord stick for a lengthy period of time.

Second, successful mediation needs a fairly united international community, so different outside parties can apply pressure on the rivals to settle. In Mozambique, for example, the external community pulled in the same direction. In Angola, given the high stakes in the oil industry, it is unlikely that the US and France, especially, are ready to risk investments by pushing the MPLA to compromise.

To stave off conflict, Pretoria will have to engage with Angola both bilaterally and via the SADC in a way making it clear that, first, all regional parties are united in their condemnation of military action by either side and, second, that it will not tolerate any further attacks on Angola's neighbours, whatever the reasoning behind it.

Mills is national director of the SA Institute of International Affairs



Will Savimbi really settle for peace this time, or are both parties gearing up for war?

Angola gives Unita leader special status

BD 23/3/98 (5)

LUANDA — The Angolan government granted special status to Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the country's former rebel movement, Unita, removing a major obstacle to peace efforts.

The United Nations (UN) special representative to Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, announced the move after a meeting with Prime Minister Francisco Van Dunem on Friday.

Under the government decree, Savimbi is allowed 400 armed bodyguards, several residences and trips abroad paid for by the state.

The breakthrough nudged Angola further towards fulfilment of the 1994 peace pact that ended a two-decade civil war between the government and Unita rebels.

The UN has set a deadline of April 1 for completion of the peace process, which has been stymied by lingering hostility between the former foes.

Beye said the ratification marked the end of a week that included "positive events for the (peace) process"

On Thursday, the former rebel

movement began demobilising its generals and top-ranking officers, soothing government fears that Unita could retain the capacity to wage a war from the bush.

However, it was not clear whether Savimbi would agree to another of the pact's requirements — moving to Luanda from his central highland headquarters at Bailundo, 290km south of the capital. Savimbi has said that he fears for his safety in Luanda.

Also, only 48 000 soldiers of Unita's 87 000 rebel army have been formally demobilised. The rest have disappeared from demobilisation centres around the country and are "a cause of major concern", the UN says.

Unita must still relinquish control over 71 of the 335 towns and municipalities it seized during the civil war.

Civil war broke out in Angola after it gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

An estimated 500 000 people have died in the continent's longest civil war. — Dow Jones.

Angolan peace 'near'

23/3/98 (5)

LUANDA: The head of a UN committee monitoring sanctions on Angola's former rebel movement Unita has said the embargo is under review as the country's peace process enters a critical phase.

"The peace process is very close to the end, and has now reached a very crucial stage," committee chairman Mr Njuguna Moses Mahugu said on Saturday.

"If the situation merits it, the sanctions could now be lifted," Mahugu said. "But be quite clear that if that is not the case, the Security Council is ready to take further measures against Unita."

Mahugu is in the Angolan capital to evaluate the impact of the air and travel sanctions the UN Security Council imposed on Unita last October in an

effort to force it to meet its obligations under the terms of Angola's peace agreement.

Since the 1994 Lusaka Protocol brought an end to two decades of civil war between the government and Unita, the UN has funded a mission to oversee the implementation of the peace accords.

The process has taken more than a year longer than originally planned.

On Saturday the government promulgated the special status awarded to Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi under the agreement.

Savimbi will hold the title of leader of the largest opposition party and is entitled to government-funded residences in five Angolan cities. — Reuter

Low oil price hits Angola's Budget plans

ANNA RICHARDSON

ETC (BR) 27/3/98
Luanda — Weak oil prices are cutting Angolan government revenues and could force the country to go cap in hand to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in a move with potentially wide political implications, according to economists.

Almost all of Angola's \$3.8 billion Budget for the financial year ending in December 1998 is funded by rising oil wealth, but the price of crude has been under pressure since the national Budget was announced in February.

Economists say the government could face a shortfall of \$120 million in revenue for every \$1 drop in the price of crude. Budget forecasts were based on an oil price of \$18 a barrel, but the government is now selling at \$15.

"In this context, the government now has an incentive for talking with the IMF," Corentino Santos, the IMF's representative in Luanda, said this week.

The Angolan government has stoutly resisted the IMF's call for a complete audit of the country's oil revenues before the IMF grants a cash injection.

Professor Renato Aguilar of Gothenburg University, a specialist on Angola, said: "The government would rather renegotiate each individual debt on very bad terms than reveal what they've really been doing with the oil revenues." — Reuters

US concerned about Angola

BD 3/13/98 (5)
LUANDA — US President Bill Clinton sent word to Angola yesterday that he was concerned about growing insecurity in the country.

A US delegation arrived in the Angolan capital yesterday for talks with top officials on Angola's delayed peace process. The delegation was headed by Joseph Wilson, a Clinton adviser who said he was carrying a message from the US president to Angolan counterpart Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

"We are concerned about the critical time the peace process is going through and about the growing lack of security on the

ground," Wilson said on his arrival at Luanda airport.

The peace process, launched with a 1994 peace pact that ended a two-decade civil war, is running far behind schedule because of mistrust between the government and former rebel movement Unita.

New deadline

The two sides last month set a new deadline of April 1 for the conclusion of the peace process, but tense confrontations in rural areas between supporters of the two sides have fuelled fears that the peace re-

mains uncertain.

Wilson, on a one-day visit, was to meet Dos Santos and the United Nations mediator in Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye.

He said he would also hold talks with Unita representatives in the capital, but would not travel to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's central highland headquarters at Bailundo, 290km south of Luanda.

Meanwhile, in Gaborone as part of his African safari, US President Bill Clinton and his wife Hillary saw elephants and hippo during a five-hour excursion into Chobe National Park yesterday. — Reuter.

Savimbi fails to meet deadline to move to

LUANDA — The former Angolan rebel movement, Unita, failed to meet a UN deadline to move from its highlands stronghold to Luanda by yesterday.

Under a timetable brokered by the UN, Portugal, Russia and the US, the Unita leadership led by Jonas Savimbi was to move to Luanda on March 31.

"At the last minute, that proved impossible," said Unita representative Horacio Jijunviri.

Savimbi, a guerrilla leader for more than 30 years, remains at his central highlands stronghold of Andulo. A

telephone conversation between Savimbi and President Eduardo dos Santos also failed to materialise.

State radio reported that the extension of government control to Unita strongholds had been postponed. "It's up to Unita to prepare the appropriate conditions on the ground. That has not been done and we do not want to have to take these places by force," said presidential spokesman Aldemiro vaz de Concoicao.

Unita's Voice of the Black Cockerel Radio, which was also due to shut down on March 31 as part of the peace process, was

still on air yesterday.

Last April Unita joined a national unity government with its former foes but was placed under UN Security Council sanctions after it failed to fully demobilise, shut down its radio station and move its headquarters to Luanda. The sanctions, which analysts say have failed to strangle Unita, included closure of Unita offices abroad.

The UN Security Council last month gave Secretary-General Kofi Annan until April 17 to report on the status of the peace process with final recommendations

still on the UN presence in Angola. The resolution said UN military formations should be withdrawn by July 1, except for one infantry company and helicopter, signals and medical support units.

The UN on Monday blamed Unita for an attack in the central Benguela region that the government said resulted in the death of a provincial official.

Spokesman Juan-Carlos Brandt said about 100 armed men wearing civilian clothes killed two people and injured three others in the town of Chongoroi on Friday. They also damaged UN vehicles.

(5) B0 2/4/98

Luanda

The UN has been overseeing implementation of a 1994 peace accord between the Angolan government and Unita to end two decades of civil war.

Implementation has reached its final stages, which include disarming the last of Unita's former guerrilla force and extending state administration into rebel-controlled areas.

Thousands of Unita fighters have been demobilised at UN-supervised camps. However, the government has accused former rebels of several random attacks in the past few weeks. — Reuter.

Unita meets accord deadline

(5) BD 3/4/98

LUANDA — Angola's former rebel movement Unita has returned to the capital, Luanda, more than five years after dashing first hopes for peace by embarking on a second, bloodier phase of civil war in 1992.

While the Lusaka accords have achieved a tenuous end to hostilities sparked off by the MPLA's 1992 election victory, the accords have not yet been implemented to the letter.

Unita has been recognised as a political party since March 11 after announcing its full demilitarisation on March 6.

Top Unita officials returned to Luanda late on Wednesday shortly before the expiry of a deadline set for completion of the peace process set in motion by the Lusaka accords.

Unita's advance team was headed by deputy leader Antonio Dembo, and included spokesman Alcides Sakala and organisational secretary Marcolino Franco.

But the party's leader, Jonas Savimbi, has given no indication when he will return to Luanda.

He and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos agreed to a meeting in Luanda in Febru-

ary, which would have been the fifth since the signing of the peace accords, but the summit was called off because of Savimbi expressed concern about security.

The Unita leader has been dividing his time between the central cities of Andulo and Bailundo.

By sending top officials to Luanda, Unita is said to have met this deadline, but it has so far not completed two other significant tasks also with an April 1 deadline: closing down its Vorgan radio station and turning over to the central government about 100 localities it still controls.

The former rebel movement controls several cities in the south, including a former stronghold in the jungle city of Jamba from where Vorgan broadcasts, as well as several sites in the diamond-rich northeast of the country.

When the peace accords were signed, Unita controlled 335 cities and towns, of which 260 have been handed back to Luanda.

Once these final steps are taken, United Nations will be able to withdraw the last of its peacekeepers, who number about 1 000,

from Angola and leave behind a few observers.

However, on the ground the situation remains far from normalised.

Ambushes on roads and attacks on villages, attributed to former Unita fighters who remain at large, are reported practically every day.

On Wednesday night, the unity government of national reconciliation announced, in the official daily *Diario da Republica*, a special status for Savimbi, who will have the official title of main opposition leader.

He will also have his own 400-strong corps of bodyguards and the right to hold regular consultations with Dos Santos and government ministers. In addition, Savimbi will be entitled to visit Angolan embassies abroad and will have access to the official media.

Unita will hold seven ministerial portfolios, four posts of deputy minister, six ambassadorships and several senior positions in the administration, and will be allowed to resume political activities throughout the country. The party has 70 deputies in parliament. — Sapa-AFP.

ANGOLA

Is it peace or just another bad joke? (5) PM 3/4/98

Unita says it is demilitarising but suspicions persist

Is the Angolan civil war finally drawing to a close after 23 years? Despite gains in the UN-brokered peace process in recent weeks, some seasoned observers doubt it. They warn that Jonas Savimbi, leader of the (former) rebel movement, Unita, has made and broken many promises of peace — particularly, the 1994 Lusaka Protocol signed by Unita and its arch-foe, the ruling MPLA under President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. Only recently, Savimbi sacked the Unita official who signed the Lusaka agreement on his behalf.

Little wonder that pessimists predict a return to war after the rainy season ends this month. They see Savimbi's compliance with a 12-point timetable to conclude the Lusaka Protocol by this week's deadline of April 1 as "form without substance".

In recent months there have been persistent rumours of troop movements by both sides to the conflict, which began at independence in 1975. Fighting stopped for a while with the signing of an accord in 1991, but resumed after Savimbi refused to accept the MPLA's victory in round one of elections held in 1992. Savimbi failed to meet three UN deadlines to surrender his troops in terms of the 1994 deal. Some believe this is part of a strategy to outlive Dos Santos, who is said to be seriously ill.

Proponents of this view insist there will never be peace in Angola until the issue of race or ethnicity is resolved between the parties. Unita, which controlled about two-thirds of the country at the height of the war, is said by some to be a more authentic African movement than the MPLA, which is run by *assimilados* and mixed-race *mestizos* based in the capital, Luanda.

Dos Santos, party chief Lopo do Nascimento, the Van Dunem brothers may look black, but in style and attitude are more Portuguese-European (*assimilado*). One of Dos Santos's possible successors, Lucia Lara, is white; the head of the armed forces, Jorge de Matos, is a *mestizo*. Members of this ruling elite are said to own houses in Brazil or Portugal. They come across as aloof to their regional counterparts. They tend to be seen as different, not entirely African.

This difference, it is argued, is at the root of Angola's conflict, and lasting peace will prove elusive until the truly indigenous population, symbolised by Savimbi in his bush headquarters, rules the roost.

"The peace process is on track," UN Observer Mission in Angola spokesman Moctar Gueye says. Last month Unita "declared the complete demilitarisation of its forces". This was followed by renewed commitment to fulfil by this week the 12-point timetable which calls for:



Jonas Savimbi and Jose Eduardo dos Santos . . . return to war?

- Conclusion of the demobilisation of remaining forces — this is in progress;
- Demobilisation of Unita generals and high-ranking officers — done;
- Demobilisation *in situ* of Unita forces in 15 areas — was expected by end-March;
- Unita's demilitarisation — done;
- Demobilisation and integration into the national police service of Savimbi's 400-strong personal guard — 260 demobbed, balance expected by end-March;
- The return of all Unita-held areas including Bailundo and Andulu to government by April 1 — 266 of 335 areas returned, remote areas to take longer;
- Legalisation of Unita — done;
- Promulgation of special status for Savimbi as main opposition leader — done;
- Appointment of Unita governors, vice-governors and ambassadors — done;
- Disarming of the civilian population by

government — process under way;

- End to broadcasting by Unita's Radio Vorgan; and

- The installation of Unita leadership in Luanda by March 31.

The head of Unita's delegation to the joint peace commission in Luanda, Isaias Samakuva, says. "We are doing our best to accomplish the peace process by April 1. (But) one point that may only be partially achieved is the installation of our leadership in the capital by the deadline."

He says a date, venue and "several conditions" for a Savimbi/Dos Santos meeting have not been established and "it will not be in the next two or three weeks".

Is Unita totally committed to peace? "We have no other choice," says Samakuva. Can he say unequivocally that the civil war is over? "I cannot say, as the war does not depend on Unita. We will not start a war, but if someone attacks us we have no choice but to defend ourselves."

He says there are elements in the ruling

MPLA who want war. They have been "agitating to create instability" by alleging troop movements by Unita. However, Samakuva describes the situation as "promising". Lack of trust is the "main problem" facing the parties, he says.

Savimbi's presence in Luanda would help heal wounds and cement the deal, but his absence would "not be a major crisis", Gueye says.

The UN mission says there have been no significant troop movements from either side recently. There are iso-

lated cases of banditry (the latest at Chingoroi in the southwest last Friday) and some antipersonnel remaining in Unita-controlled areas. Mostly, however, this appears to be the work of disgruntled elements.

Savimbi reiterated his commitment to peace at a meeting with the president of the UN Security Council's sanction committee, Kenyan UN ambassador Njijunga Mahugu, at Andulu on March 23.

Gueye admits it cannot be said for sure that peace has arrived. "But there has been phenomenal, if painfully slow, progress. Lasting peace is up to the Angolan people to forge themselves."

He points out that several high-ranking Unita soldiers already serve in the Angolan Armed Forces, and that the 70 Unita MPs who last April resumed their seats in Luanda after pulling out in 1992 are active. "The picture is not that gloomy." Amarnath Singh

Savimbi to hand over headquarters

LUANDA — The Angolan government and former rebels Unita were preparing for the handover of Bailundo — the Unita leader Joseph Savimbi's headquarters — to government control, officials said yesterday.

Experts would go to the Angolan capital, Luanda, to prepare for the transfer, Huambo province governor Antonio Kassoma said.

The handover is part of the final phase of implementation of peace accords between the Luanda government and Unita, which were signed in Lusaka in November 1994.

The former guerrillas, now the main

opposition party, have gradually relinquished about 350 towns or cities they captured between 1992 and 1994 when renewed civil war broke out after Unita lost elections to the ruling Angolan People's Liberation Front.

Units now retains control of about 80 towns. These towns include Andulo, Savimbi's other "capital" and several towns in the country's diamond-rich northeast.

In the central state of Bie, the government and Unita have agreed to restore state administration in seven villages and the "sensitive" towns of Nyareya, Gamba, Kwenba and Belg

Horizonte, near Andulo.

Unita has been recognised as a political party with the right to operate throughout Angola since March 11, after it announced its full demilitarisation on March 6.

Last week a Unita delegation led by Gen Antonio Dembo, the movement's vice-president, officially moved to Luanda and announced that its radio station, Vorgan, had been shut down — another peace implementation requirement.

Savimbi, who has obtained the "special status" of opposition leader with numerous rights and privileges, has

yet to announce when he will move to the capital.

So far he has stayed away ostensibly for security reasons.

He will be entitled to a 400-strong corps of bodyguards, to be reduced gradually to 150, and the right to hold regular consultations with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and government ministers.

Radio Vorgan, which broadcast Unita propaganda from a stronghold in the southern jungle town of Jamba, will become a nonpartisan FM radio station to be known as Radio Despertar (Wake-Up Radio). — Sapa-APF

(5)
600 7/14/98

Sapohr calls off planned protest action

Pearl Sebolao

PROTESTS planned by prisoners have been called off after promises by prison heads not to strip prisoners' privileges, SA Prisoners' Organisation for Human Rights (Sapohr) president Golden Miles Bhudu said yesterday.

Bhudu said Sapohr saw no reason to continue with the protest as the prison heads had undertaken not to implement "Operation Jikeleza" as they had been directed by the correctional services department.

However, prisoners countrywide would "be on alert and would know exactly what to do should the authorities renege on their promises", he said.

Bhudu's claims were rejected by the department.

"Everything will continue as normal and we are going ahead with implementing the operation, correctional services spokesman Chris Olckers said. The department would continue to confiscate items such as televisions, civilian clothes and other appliances from prisoners if they were not entitled to them.

He also denied prisoners at Leeuwkop maximum prison went on a work stoppage on Tuesday in protest against the stripping of prisoners' privileges. "Claims by Bhudu that there was a strike at the Leeuwkop prison were untrue," Olckers said.

BD 9/4/98

Luanda resumes talks with Cabinda separatists

(5) BD 9/4/98

LUANDA — The Angolan government had resumed discreet discussions with armed separatist factions in the oil-rich Cabinda enclave to get peace talks off the ground, Angolan press reports said yesterday.

A delegation from Luanda led by Interior Minister

Andre Pitra went to the enclave, on the West African coast north of Angola, late last week. The reports said the delegation planned to meet guerrilla leaders and local traditional chiefs.

The newspaper Jornal de Angola said the climate was now right

for the resumption of talks between the government, different wings of the Cabinda Enclave Liberation Front and former National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebels, who battled the government during the civil war. — Sapa-AFP.

Sacob

Continued from Page 1

increased spending on imports, "interest rates might need to rise, limiting the positive growth impact".

Negative factors affecting business confidence included the weakness of the rand and slightly lower month-on-month retail sales.

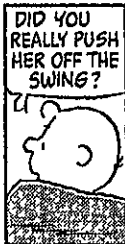
"The economy appears to be on a

plateau at present, with an expected growth rate of about 2% this year. This is not enough to stimulate more foreign investment, create more jobs and redress the inequalities of the past. For that we need above 3% growth."

Van Rensburg said the economy was still constrained by some factors. "What is now needed is a willingness by the government to accelerate the privatisation process as well as the implementation of certain other parts of the macroeconomic reform package."

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



Unita rift could ignite Angolan war

Tangeni Amupadhi

The civil war in Angola could resume as early as this month despite recent concessions by the rebel Unita movement to the terms of the Lusaka peace accord, a report by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) says.

According to the ISS, a rift has emerged within Unita between those opposed to war and hardliners refusing to trust the Angolan government's peace-making efforts. The report also talks of continued South African involvement in gun-running to Unita, despite United Nations sanctions against the rebels.

"The movement appears to have split for all intents and purposes," says the ISS in its latest assessment of the Angolan situation. "With those now in Luanda resigned to making the best of a bad deal."

Last week Unita president Jonas Savimbi sent a senior delegation headed by his deputy, Antonio Dembo, to the Angolan capital to reinforce the movement as the main opposition party. This dispatch of Dembo to Luanda from Unita's central highland headquarters of Bailundo is seen, however, as a disguised attempt to keep Unita together, rather than as proof of the movement's commitment to the peace process.

Savimbi is said to be worried that Unita parliamentarians in Luanda will break away and forge ahead with peace if the continues to delay.

NGC 98-16/4/98 (5)

Unita MPs abstained in a budget vote recently, in defiance of Savimbi's instructions to oppose it. This has been described as the clearest sign yet that a faction is willing to move on with peace regardless of Savimbi's stand.

According to the oft-delayed and renegotiated Lusaka Accord — the United Nations-endorsed peace agreement of 1994 — the entire leadership should have relocated to Luanda last month and transferred rebel-held territory to the government.

Savimbi has not shown any intention of moving to Luanda despite the MPLA government's approval of personal security provisions which Savimbi had demanded.

Unita made its latest concession last week — taking off-air its partisan Voice of the Black Cockle (Vorgu) radio, which for years has been broadcasting anti-government propaganda. Other than that there is little to suggest Savimbi will change.

Says the ISS: "Unita is not complying with the terms of the Lusaka Accord and seems unlikely to commit itself unreservedly... The ISS foresees the chance of resumption of war if sporadic clashes between Unita and government forces escalate. Pockets of fighting have been reported as late as last month when about 10 people were killed.

Unita, which has yet to demobilise all its troops, has adopted a defensive posture, and "seems to be



Defensive posture: Unita has yet to demobilise all its troops. PHOTOGRAPH BY AP

reactivating its [ush war era] military headquarters at Jamba. "The most likely time for a resumption of large-scale military operations on the part of FALA [Angolan Armed Forces] is at the end of the rainy season in April," says the report. "The current mandate of the UN observer mission in Angola, which monitors compliance with the Lusaka Accord, also expires at the end of this month.

Last month the Angolan ambassador to the UN, Franca van Duijn, accused Unita of preparing for war. Despite the sanctions, the ISS says the movement continues to "restock and resupply".

"If war resumes, in all probability the conflict will be a protracted one, says the ISS, which believes Unita guerrillas are ready to launch a guerrilla campaign.

"To a great degree the sanctions introduced on October 1 1997 have proved ineffective. If they were intended to cut off the supply of war material to Unita.

The rebel movement has an intricate web of logistics routes, brokering agents and transport companies in South Africa, Zambia, Tanzania, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. There are said to be individuals connected to the South African arms industries who are using their contacts on the international arms market to broker deals for Unita.

The international community is trying to reduce the cost of its peace-keeping operation without looking at genuine reconciliation.

Letke Potgieter of the ISS is more emphatic in his criticism of the global community. "The international community just wants them to stop fighting so they can get the diamonds and oil. What Angola really needs is a Marshall Plan for development, infrastructural restoration and to address socio-economic problems."

Meanwhile, Unita began an arduous process of transferring territory to the MPLA government this week, but the same adviser concedes Savimbi's opponents dismiss this as one of the Unita leader's temporising tricks.

"An early indicator that the peace process may be moving on would be another meeting between Savimbi and [Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos], particularly if it were held in Luanda, says the ISS report. "Another venue would fail to have too much impact given the theatrics of the past."

SA citizens, not Zambia, aiding Unita, says UN

Chilombo Mwendela

(5) 00 15/4/98

LUSAKA — The United Nations (UN) Security Council committee on sanctions against Unita has cleared Zambia of involvement in supplying arms to the rebels, and has singled out SA instead.

In a report presented to President Frederick Chiluba at State House on the Easter weekend, committee chairman Njuguna Mahugu said it was common knowledge that SA citizens had been violating airspace and territories of other countries to supply arms to Unita in Angola.

"The Security Council has no quarrel whatsoever with Zambia," he told Chiluba.

Angola's ambassador to Zambia, Manuel Augusto, said last month his government was worried at the manner in which Zambia had ignored the transfer of arms to Unita through its borders.

Augusto said that if this continued his government would be left with no choice but to protect its citizens. He urged the Zambian government to take action and stop the country from being used as a corridor for moving arms to the rebel group.

As a result Mahugu flew into Zambia last Wednesday for a visit which included a physical check on all the border points and refugee camps said to have been taken over by Unita supporters. He said he had found

no trace of Zambia's alleged involvement in running arms to Unita.

The inspection included some areas in Zambezi district on the border with Angola and Maheba refugee camp in Solwezi, which were being used as supply points for arms or training grounds for Unita soldiers.

Chiluba assured Mahugu that the Zambian government was committed to the peace process in Angola.

Chiluba said it would be absurd for Zambia, which had hosted the signing of the Lusaka peace protocol, to be instrumental in breaking up the accord. "There is no truth that aircraft were flying into Angola from Zambia," he said.

Police probing smuggling of military supplies to Unita

Stephané Bothma

16/4/98

(5)

PRETORIA — The supply of military equipment to former rebel organisation Unita in Angola from a Pietersburg airport and other SA airports is being investigated by the SA Police Service.

Police spokesman Dir Reg Crewe said yesterday, however, that no evidence existed that armaments were being flown to Angola. "Information that ex-military equipment, such as Samil trucks, fuel tanks and tow trucks, boots, socks, foodstuffs and mining equipment have been flown to Unita in Angola is being followed up," he said.

Police were probing foreign-registered planes' unauthorised use of other SA airfields to fly equipment to Unita.

Crewe said the investigation followed an official complaint by the Angolan government.

"Documentation was studied at an aviation company in the Pietersburg area, and eventually about 200 charges in terms of the Civil Aviation Act were formulated," Crewe said.

Three aircraft had been grounded because they were not airworthy.

Unita supplies 'flown in from Pietersburg' (5)

ET 16/4/98

PRETORIA: Unita rebels in Angola are allegedly receiving food and military equipment flown to them from Pietersburg airport in Northern Province in violation of a United Nations interdict.

The detective service of the police said in a statement that an official complaint had been received from the Angolan government last month.

It said trans-national crime projects unit head, Director Henk Heslinga, had later discussed the matter with the Angolan authorities. This had led to an investigation by the police and the Civil Aviation Authority.

Although there was no evidence of arms being flown to Angola, information was being followed up that military equipment such as fuel tanks and tow trucks, clothing, food and mining equipment were being exported.

Police were investigating 200 charges related to breaches of the Civil Aviation Act, the statement said.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Marco Boni said the alleged exports were in contravention of a UN Security Council embargo on supplying goods to Unita, except for humanitarian reasons.

The detective service statement said a team comprising members of the border police unit, the trans-national crime projects unit and the Civil Aviation Authority visited a Pietersburg aviation company last week.

"The documentation had been perused, and eventually some 200 charges

in terms of the Civil Aviation Act had been formulated."

These included the charge of operating aircraft without a foreign operator's permit.

The statement said it had been found that three aircraft were not airworthy and and they had been grounded.

Two aircraft that had landed at the airport while the investigation team was there had also been grounded, because they were operating without foreign operator's permits.

Detective service spokesman Senior Superintendent Faizel Kader said no arrests had yet been made.

The aircraft belonged to Russian nationals who lived in South Africa legally.

On completion of the investigation, the case dockets would be sent to the office of the senior public prosecutor for a decision on whether to prosecute.

Boni said South Africa was committed to implementing the mandatory UN sanctions against Unita, and would do everything in its power to prevent illegal flights to Angola.

He said South Africa and its Southern African Development Community partners had set up regional and national information centres last year to control illegal flights to and from Angola.

"Furthermore, South Africa last year increased its surveillance of airports from which flights to Angola may leave."

The incident would not affect good relations between the two countries, Boni said. — Sapa

More hope for Angola with Mandela's visit

of 29/11/98

LUANDA: President Nelson Mandela visits Angola for the first time today to thank President José Eduardo dos Santos and his once Marxist allies for supporting the black liberation struggle to end apartheid.

Mandela will also pay respects at Luanda's Sant'Ana cemetery to 200 South African members of his African National Congress (ANC) and Angolan supporters who died in the fight to end white rule in South Africa, and who now lie in unmarked graves.

But Mandela's aides say the focus of the one-day visit is to pledge economic support through private investment and trade so

Angola can rebuild itself after 20 years of civil war.

Angola must rebuild its war-damaged infrastructure and also create jobs for about 100,000 soldiers demobilised under a 1994 UN-brokered peace agreement between Dos Santos and the former rebel Unita movement.

Dos Santos' MPLA government actively supported the ANC during the fight against apartheid, supplying its guerrilla army with training, weapons and bases. For most of that time it was also fighting its own civil war against Unita.

Serious about bolstering ties with Angola, Mandela has sent ahead of him more than 40 South

African private sector business people interested in joint ventures. He will also be accompanied by six cabinet ministers.

"The focus here is economics and President Mandela wanted to do it with a big bang — he has never travelled to a country with six ministers before," an aide said.

Mandela will be given red carpet treatment on his arrival in Luanda this morning and will immediately go into private talks with Dos Santos.

South African political sources say Mandela will discuss Angola's peace process, trade and operations to remove landmines and will urge Dos Santos to play a stronger role in

the 14-member Southern African Development Community (SADC) trade grouping.

"South Africa feels that Angola is not playing the role it should be in SADC and sends junior members to its meetings," said one political source close to the visit.

The two leaders will also discuss illegal flights operating mostly from South African airports to Unita-controlled areas, in contravention of UN sanctions on Unita, which has been penalised for dragging its feet over the peace accord.

Five South Africans are in custody in Luanda for breaking this ban. Mandela will not meet Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, who is

holed up in his bush headquarters in central Angola, refusing to travel to Luanda out of fear for his safety. However, Mandela will meet 70 Unita deputies in the national assembly this afternoon.

Mandela has been planning a state visit to Angola since he took power in 1994, but his aides say he has waited until the political climate in Angola was considered right.

Angolan government officials say relations with the ANC had become strained over the past three years by what was perceived as Mandela's slowness in officially thanking Luanda, his staunchest ally during the struggle. — Reuter

Angolan recovery process to include wartorn wildlife

30/4/98 (5)

Angola has launched a campaign to find what is left of its wildlife, most of which was wiped out by 20 years of war, writes **Anna Richardson**

ANGOLA has launched a campaign to revive its once-abundant wildlife, almost wiped out in 20 years of war and chaos.

The starting point for the drive is a search of the vast west African country's rivers for signs of the manatee, or sea cow, and a hunt for the animal which is the national symbol, the giant sable antelope.

Thousands of animals such as antelopes and elephant fell prey to landmines, hunters and hungry soldiers during Angola's long and bitter war. Wildlife reserves now lie abandoned.

"Our national parks have been totally abandoned," said deputy minister for the environment Joao Cerodio Almeida.

"Because of the constant state of war there has been no investment in them for decades."

Angola's warring Angolan People's Liberation Movement-led government and the rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola movement signed a peace pact in 1994 and are on the verge of completing a UN-brokered peace timetable. However, the wildlife is not likely to be a top priority right now in terms of the plan to rebuild the country.

Israel is helping the Angolan environment ministry to establish a pilot conservation project to search for wildlife surviving in Angola.

"We have in mind a large-scale project for conservation in this country," said Tamar Ron, who has come to Angola to help launch the project on behalf of the Israeli Nature Reserves Authority. "But obviously any large-scale project must start off small, so we are starting with an investigation of the manatee in the Cuanza and Longa rivers."

The manatee is an aquatic mammal living in African rivers stretching from Senegal in the north to Angola in the south. It is a nocturnal creature with a head like a seal and tail like a dolphin and can weigh up to 400 kg.

"It was the sightings of the manatees' maritime cousin, the dugong, which gave rise to the myth of the mermaids," said Ron.

The female manatee swims on its back, holding its offspring to its breast with flippers and emitting a plaintive wail. In Angola it is known colloquially as the "fish woman".

The African manatee is threatened with extinction because of dense population and pollution around rivers throughout the continent.

"But in Angola, because of the war, the countryside was virtually depopulated. So we have rivers which are practically virgin, untouched and unpolluted," said Almeida.

"Because of that we believe that the manatee must still exist in large numbers in our rivers, but we have no statistics on them."

Ron will lead a manatee-tracking expedition to the Cuanza and Longa rivers, which mark the northern and southern borders of Quicama national park, about 50km south of the capital Luanda. Her mission will include recording the manatee's distribution and evaluating conditions of their habitat.

"First of all we'll interview people who live around these rivers to see if there are any of these animals still around," Ron said. "If we show them pictures and they don't know what we're talking about, then probably all the manatees have been killed."

Ron's work will be assisted by students from Luanda's Agostinho Neto University. The governments of Israel and Angola hope to co-operate on similar surveys of other species known to exist in Angola before the war.

High on the agenda will be the search for the giant sable antelope.

Before the war, more than 2 500 giant sable were recorded in northern Malange province alone. However, since fighting stopped the government has been unable to say whether any of these animals survived the conflict. — Reuter.

Luanda's people left at back of the queue

The country's mineral bonanza will allow the government put off implementing sound economic policies, writes Nicholas Shaxson

01 20/4/98 (5)

WALK along the Marginal road which curves along Luanda's sweltering sea front towards the chaotic container port on a weekday and groups of kinguilas, sitting in the shade, will hiss at you from almost every corner.

These women are street moneychangers and constitute what is arguably the most efficient financial institution in Angola.

For years they have adjusted their rates for the kwanza as the "parallel market" rate against the dollar dances, usually downhill, to the lunatic tune of the government's economic policies. "With the kinguilas there is almost no haggling, they almost never cheat you, and their rates are always exactly the same at any given time of day wherever in the city you are," a long-serving diplomat said.

The kinguilas sit near the heart of the import-based economy of a country ravaged by war and politicians. A stroll through the miles of paths that wind through the giant market will reveal some of the distortions in the economy. Angolans pay \$7 for a pineapple and \$3 for a bag of four apples from the Cape.

According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Luanda is now the most expensive city in the world after Tokyo. Goods and money must scuttle across a spider's web of special interests that links Roque with the port and then the pink-domed central bank.

The peculiar way this web is woven has bound most of the citizens of this mineral-rich country to sulk in powerless poverty. If you wish to import goods, you are supposed to pay kwanzas into the central bank at a subsidised official rate which is 265 000 to the dollar. The bank will then pay dollars to the foreign supplier, who will send you the goods. You then sell these to vendors in Roque or elsewhere for dollars, which you can convert into kwanzas through the kinguilas at the street rate, about 475 000 kwanzas a dollar.

Through the exchange rate transaction alone, you have almost doubled your money.

It seems too good to be true, but nothing is quite as it seems. The key to the riddle is the question of access. A ring of well-connected, faceless people — some are Angolans, others are Lebanese or Indian — have a cartel-like control over many areas of the import business and not only win the jackpot of the exchange rates, but have substantial say in the astronomical prices at which the imported goods are sold.

The IMF has for years pressed the government to do away with differential exchange rates, and various finance ministers have tried, with varying levels of effort and success, to do so.

The IMF is also pressing for transparency in the huge off-budget accounts of the state oil



Luanda, the capital of Angola

company Sonangol, which oversees the country's production of 750 000 barrels a day.

The discovery in two years of a clutch of billion-barrel deep water oil fields will boost production to a million barrels a day within two years. If they keep discovering oil at this rate, Angola could surpass Nigeria's current 2-million barrel a day output within a decade.

Economists estimate recent falls in the oil price may top up to \$800m off the \$2.2bn of receipts anticipated in this year's budget, and have revived hopes the government will push harder to earn a structural adjustment agreement with the IMF.

Although the funds the IMF could make available would be small compared to oil receipts, the stamp of IMF approval would persuade some creditors to reschedule some of the estimated \$10.5bn foreign debt.

Some progress has been made. Inflation for the calendar year 1997 was estimated at just 65%, compared to more than 3 000% in 1996,

and the parallel exchange rate has been more or less steady since December. However, the hopes for an IMF deal are, once again, likely to be in vain. "There is simply no long-term strategy," an economist said.

Although the government appears no longer to be prepared simply to print money to get out of trouble, it has achieved this partly by building up large domestic arrears, such as unpaid salaries.

Delays in passing this year's budget have also helped rein in the spending, but later this year more budgetary funds will become available and payments from the oil sector are expected to surge too. The exchange rate is likely to slip downwards again and inflation from January will soon burst through the government's 32% annual target for the year.

In addition, an IMF deal would probably trigger significant rescheduling only by the Paris club of bilateral creditors, which accounts for less than 20% of Angola's debt.

The rest is in the form of expensive short-term credit from foreign banks, using future oil as collateral. To service this, Angola is banking on a surge in oil production and hopes the price of oil will rise. Diamond production could treble to \$300m by year's end, now that the former rebel movement Unita has given up its diamond-producing areas.

As Unita prepares to give up its last guns, the expanding mineral bonanza will paradoxically rob the country's citizens, by shielding the government from the need to implement sound economic policies.

The IMF estimated that in 1996, the social sector accounted for just 8% of all government spending.

"I have vowed I will never write in my reports the tired old cliché that Angola is a country of huge potential," a diplomat said. "It is probably not even true. More money will keep coming in, and the people at the top will keep stealing it."

SA firms look to peaceful Angola

(5) CT(MK) 30/4/98

LESLEY WROUGHTON

Luanda — South African businesses are seeking opportunities to cash in on neighbouring oil- and mineral-rich Angola's peace.

Over 40 high-profile, private businesses are currently in the country to seek joint ventures with Angolan partners. The trade delegation is accompanying President Nelson Mandela, who arrived here yesterday for a two-day state visit.

Mandela's aides say he wants to promote economic stability in Angola through investment and increased trade. He was due to address Angolan business leaders yesterday.

Imports from Angola to South Africa in 1996 amounted to R260,7 million, equal to 230 times their 1993 levels. Exports to Angola in the same year totalled over R1,52 billion, six times their 1993 level, department of trade statistics show.

The mission is the largest by South Africans since Angola's 20-year civil war ended in 1994.

The trade delegation includes Absa, the corporate bank; Bonnita, the food company; Africon, the engineering consultancy; Hexagon traders; Metro Cash and Carry group; Murray and Robert, the construction group; and Nampak, Africa's largest packaging company.

Spoornet, the transport giant, has become interested in rebuilding Angola's railways, which were damaged by the war.

The delegation also includes black empowerment groups such as Kyd Steelwoods Africa, the construction group, and Segamont and Momat Investments, a black, female-owned investment company.

"The business mission is essentially aimed at providing opportunity for South African and Angolan business to explore and develop closer co-operation in trade, investment and infrastructural development projects," a trade official said.

Direct investment from the private sector in Angola is small due to political uncertainty. But

companies such as De Beers have been in Angola for several years. De Beers has three prospecting licences in the country and is currently drilling for new kimberlite diamond pipes embedded in rock in the north.

Energy Africa, the oil group, has interests with other foreign partners in four off-shore Angolan exploration licences and is the operator on one of them.

The company has said it was seeking more partnerships in Angola, which produces about 750 000 barrels of oil a day.

Stuartmill International, the South African-based medical services company which has five rural medical clinics in Angola, said its operations there had been bought by Johannesburg-listed Netcare. The new company would soon take over the management of Luanda's military hospital outpatient wing, said spokesman William Mutlow.

"Angola has a lot of opportunities and with the political changes we believe things will come right," he said. — Reuters

SA throws weight behind Lusaka accord as Mandela meets Angolan govt

Star 30/4/98

By Ross HENBERT

Luanda - President Nelson Mandela arrived for a state visit to Angola yesterday in a show of support for the Angolan government and to signal to the rebel Unita movement that it will face ever-greater isolation if it fails to abide by the Lusaka peace accord.

Mandela met privately yesterday with Angolan President

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who hosted a state dinner for Mandela. Six South African ministers are accompanying Mandela on the two-day visit.

"Both South Africa and Angola face the threat of forces that are unhappy with the changes that have taken place in southern Africa," Mandela said in a speech to the Angolan parliament - a reference to South Africans who have continued to

help resupply Unita long after it pledged to demobilise its troops and join a national government.

Fed up with Unita's delays in abiding by the Lusaka protocol, the United Nations barred Unita officials from travelling internationally and slapped trade sanctions on Unita to prevent it from resupplying itself. Mandela pledged tougher control and surveillance of

South African airports, which he said were being used "to demobilise the peace process". He said he fully supported Angolan efforts to stop sanctions-busters.

Mandela had several times delayed his visit, in hopes that it could be used to bring Unita leader Jonas Savimbi out of his bush headquarters to Luanda. Citing fears for his personal safety, Savimbi remains in his Bailundo bush headquarters

where his existence, along with soldiers, raises fears that war could again ignite in Angola.

South African officials yesterday took great pains to avoid contact with Unita officials. Mandela's visit coincides with a trade mission to Angola, which includes 45 South African business representatives. Star Foreign Service

See Business Report

Nelson Mandela is promoting peace and development in Luanda ... but neither

Fragile

Chris Gordon

President Nelson Mandela's visit to Angola this week takes place against a background of rumours of war and the poor health of President José Eduardo dos Santos. Mandela is scheduled to meet Dos Santos to discuss the two countries' vexed relations.

The Angolan president is believed to have cancer of the prostate and his condition is said to be deteriorating. According to the United Nations peace agreement, elections have to be held within three months if the president dies.

Despite signs of progress towards peace, there are fears Unita leader Jonas Savimbi could be playing for time. The possibility of a return to fighting to capitalise on the present uncertainty has been bolstered by recent evidence of arms shipments from South Africa to the rebel movement's rear bases in Zambia.

Despite the strong ties between the African National Congress and Angola's ruling MPLA, built up during the years of struggle, relations since South Africa's 1994 elections have been cooler than expected.

Claude Kabemba, foreign policy analyst at the Centre for Policy Studies, believes one cause is the expectation on the part of other African states that the change from the old to the new order in South Africa would be dramatic.

Angola in particular has found it difficult to accept that members of the former South African Defence Force who supported a vicious civil war are still in positions of power. "Transformation has been slow; there are real factors



On the brink of war: Despite signs of progress towards peace, there are fears that Angolans may return to fighting. PHOTOGRAPH: AP

Jailed South Africans 'flew trucks to

John Grobler, Tangeni Amupadhi and Chris Gordon

Details emerged this week of a large consignment for South African military vehicle (SAMV) all-terrain trucks, allegedly flown to Angola in violation of a United Nations arms embargo by a South African company, Interstate Airways.

The tough SAMV trucks, developed exclusively by the state arms conglomerate Denel under battle conditions in northern Namibia during the 1980s, have long formed the logistical backbone for the rural-based Unita movement.

The origin of the reconditioned military trucks may cause red faces in South Africa's arms industry.

If Denel — one of very few possible sources — supplied them, it would be in contravention of South African government policy.

The fleet of trucks — thought to be part of a R32-million order for logistical and related military equipment — was apparently flown out of Mmabatho airport during 18 days of operations in December last year by Interstate Airways, various sources in the aviation industry said.

The company is owned by Johnny Ferreira, who has been held incommunicado in Luanda central prison since January along with four other South Africans.

His alleged deal was crash-landed under curious circumstances when a DC-4, chartered from a Belgian company by Ferreira and carrying construction material, was forced down over Menongue in south-eastern Angola on January 20.

Well-placed sources said the DC-4, flown by pilot Peter Bietske, was intercepted within minutes of entering Angolan airspace by short-range aircraft, Albatross R-139s.

With no radar available in the Unita stronghold of Cuando Cubango, the Angolan Air Force would have had to have advance warning that the plane, flying out of Maun, Botswana, was on its way.

Although he could not be reached for comment, former Executive Outcomes pilot Carlos da Silva was identified as one of the pilots which shot down the DC-4.

The two other aircraft used in the mission

were also flown by former Executive Outcomes pilots, all of them speaking Afrikaans during the interception operation.

The eight men were held for 12 days in Menongue before being flown to the former Executive Outcomes operational base at Cabo Ledo, about 120km south of Luanda, and then moved to the capital city.

Reports emanating from Luanda security circles shortly after the plane was captured said that Bietske "was singing like a canary", confessing to more than 300 covert flights into Angola to supply Unita at Bailundo and Andulo.

Serious questions were also raised about why Bietske changed flight co-ordinates shortly after take-off from Maun, which took him within range of the official military airfield of Menongue.

Bietske and two of his crew members have since been released by the Angolan authorities. Bietske, flight engineer Mark Jeffrey and co-pilot Herbert Stucke were flown at their own expense to South Africa six weeks ago, and are thought to be in Cape Town.

But a wider and more international effort at closing down covert arms supplies to Unita — using Executive Outcomes staff — also points in the direction of the UN, affirming allegations that the UN has for a long time possessed a list of South Africans planes used to violate its em-

bargo on fuel and arms to Unita.

Earlier this week, Kenyan ambassador Njuguna Muhugo, who is responsible at the UN headquarters in New York for monitoring the arms embargo against Unita, was quoted in the international press as saying that illegal flights into Angola had been severely reduced over the last few months.

In December last year, there had been 186 illegal flights out of South Africa into Angola, he said, but this has been reduced to

about 40 flights for January to February this year. "There will be much less in the future," he said, without providing details of how this will be achieved.

This month the South African police said they have teamed up with Angolan counterparts in an attempt to plug the supply routes to Unita. But the same police would not comment this week on the investigation, saying it was too "sensitive".

The SABC reported last week that a police investigation has shown as many as 50 flights go to Unita-held territory every month from various airports.

At the time of going to press, civil aviation authorities were unable to say how many flights they have sanctioned to Angola since October. But they insist all were done according to the law.

Some of the flights are said to be carrying weapons, but these manage to evade detection by civil aviation, border police, customs and excise as well as immigration because operators give false destinations or say they are ferrying mining equipment, food and clothes.

The questions raised by the large SAMV vehicle shipment allegedly shipped out from



Not allowed: A DC-4, similar to the one shown above, belonging to South African company Interstate Airways, was forced down in south-eastern Angola in January

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are foregone conclusions

Angola undermined by SA arms

that have kept people in that position."

Conflicting internal security needs between the nations have left the Angolans aggrieved. Angola provided bases for the ANC during the apartheid era and suffered the continuing consequences. That South Africa has had to maintain its internal security by accommodating the old order is by no means easy to accept.

Kabemba thinks a key objective of Mandela's visit is to begin to break down the mistrust over what seems like a betrayal.

Says Vicky Maharaj, representative of the Department of Foreign Affairs: "The principal aim of this visit is to demonstrate support for the [Angolan] peace process."

One of the items on the agenda will be the supply flights from South Africa to Unita-held territory, in defiance of UN sanctions. South Africa's inability to control these flights has been a source of contention between the two governments, and has supported Savimbi's ability to delay, if not defy, the peace process.

The forcing down of a DC-4 with supplies for Unita in January provided embarrassing proof that South Africa's control measures on illegal flights don't work. But, in an almost surreal mixture, Mandela will also be promoting the development of bilateral and multilateral trade relations, and addressing the South Africa-Angola Investment Conference.

Kabemba points out that trade and security are closely linked, which is certainly true in this case. To date South African trade with Angola has encompassed the work of security companies, including a contract with the notorious Executive Outcomes and the freelance

activities of individuals like former superspy Craig Williamson, who set up import-export businesses. Illicit trade with Unita has also boosted exports to Angola.

The mistrust between Angola and South Africa has meant long delays in setting up serious trade relations. Most trading nations, including France, have now signed trade accords with Angola. The United States and France are set to be Angola's most significant trading partners as oil exports increase, following discoveries in the past 18 months.

Kabemba points out that trade with Angola is presently very imbalanced, with considerable input from the informal sector, and it is necessary to build up this sector within the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

The spatial development initiatives under discussion are rooted in the needs of the region's mining companies, in the hope that further investment will follow the miners.

South African mining companies working diamonds and iron ore, including De Beers and Anglo American, will benefit, as should smaller companies such as Ocean Diamond Mining and Trans Hex, which are both scheduled to begin mining operations in Angola.

In this opening shot at strengthening relations, the most important element South Africa can bring to the table is guarantees for Angola's internal security — for an end to illicit support for Unita.

Previous trade and security accords have been made via the SADC, rather than by the South African government. Multilateral accords have achieved little; bilateral accords and more

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action by the South African government may be more successful. But there does not seem to be any way in which South Africa can provide those guarantees, and this failure may help provoke further instability in Angola.

Richard Cornwell, head of the Institute for Security Studies, believes full implementation of the previous peace accords is unlikely at present. "Savimbi will delay and delay until conditions change," he says.

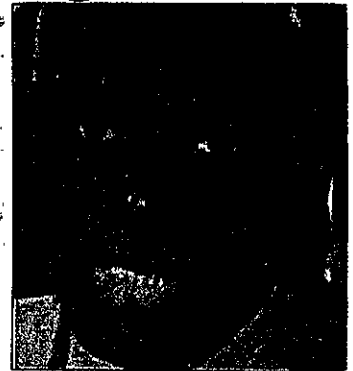
Savimbi may be hoping for a deterioration in Dos Santos's health before he makes any move. Last week the president made his first public appearance since surgery in Brazil last November, to address the MPLA party congress, according to Agence France Presse. There he announced that he wants the second round of presidential elections held, though he did not give a date.

The elections, which would include the MPLA nominee and Savimbi as candidates, would at least allow an orderly transfer of power if Dos Santos dies, or decides not to run.

The elections, though difficult to organise, would also clarify Unita's intentions.

Mario Paiva reports from Luanda that the UN Security Council is due to discuss this week the Angolan peace process, particularly the continuation of the UN observation mission, which is due to complete its mandate in December 1998 or January 1999.

The mission will be reduced to 450 people: 90 observers, 120 infantry members based in Luanda to protect civilians, military hospital staff, its communications and helicopter unit.



Uncertain future: José Eduardo dos Santos is rumoured to be terminally ill

UN special representative Aïme Beye expressed his opposition to new sanctions on Unita at the last security council meeting, saying "significant political progress has been made, but there are serious concerns on the military side in certain provinces of the country, in particular in Malange, Huambo and Benguela".

A UN observer mission press release this week confirmed an assault by unidentified soldiers in N'gove, Huambo province on April 22. It said UN officials were not assaulted, but many civilians had been — "by armed men with olive-green uniforms".

Unita'

Mmabatho are the most perplexing.

After many Gauteng airports like Lanseria had tighter controls imposed on them in the form of customs and police officials, it appears that less-monitored airports like Mmabatho became the preferred point of exit for clandestine shipments.

Said an official at Lanseria, from where Perreira's Interstate Airways had previously operated: "We've been burnt by Johnny [Perreira] before ... but I personally don't know of anything happening here during December. If they were doing anything illegal, that's a matter for the police."

The Institute for Security Studies said South Africans involved in supplying arms to Unita had been crossing through Botswana and Zambia to southern Angola. However, they are also increasingly using Entebbe airport in Uganda as a "major trans-shipment centre for central Africa and Angola".

"The brokering agent places the order from South Africa, and arranges for the transport through Tanzania, Zambia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda and to a lesser extent direct flights to Angola from the supplier country," said the institute.

However, Unita's supply line in western Zambia dried up recently after the Angolan government publicly made threats it would take action if Zambian authorities failed to stop the rebels from using their soil. But Unita merely moved closer to the Zambian copperbelt and are reportedly operating from there.

Unita is also said to have increasingly turned to transcontinental arms suppliers, mainly through Eastern Europe, as sanctions

slowly seem to make an impact. The sanctions seem to affect fuel supplies and the Angolan rebels are facing a critical situation. Some aircraft are said to have been grounded in Ballundo because Unita has no fuel.

Meanwhile, the fate of the five South Africans held in Luanda since January may depend on a much larger game of realpolitik and international conspiracies to keep Unita supplied with arms in the quite probable event of a possible dry-season offensive by the Angolan government, or to prevent this from happening.

For the families of the men caught in the middle, the past four months have been torture. "We just don't know what to do — anything we say may have a negative impact [on the detainees]," said Sue van der Eecken, wife of veteran pilot Marnix van der Eecken, one of five.

But Perreira, his 19-year-old employee Rudi Swanepoel, Willem Allan and hitchhiker and veteran pilot Van der Eecken have yet to be formally charged.

They could face heavy fines and immediate expulsion for the technical offence of violating Angola's airspace. No response could be obtained from Angola in this regard.

Sue van der Eecken said she was the end of her tether. "Physically, he is still okay," she said of her husband, who is held in high esteem in South African aviation circles.

"But he is going to need psychological counselling — if we can get him out of there." And the young Swanepoel, his friends said, had been under the impression that he was going to Brazil, but ended up in an Angolan jail.

Rebuilding what apartheid destroyed

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Ferial Haffajee

South Africa's trade mission to Angola jetted into Luanda this week with a mandate to fix what apartheid strong-arm tactics destroyed.

Pundits say it will cost Southern Africa more than R50-billion to rebuild the rail and road links the previous government helped to destroy. This week President Nelson Mandela and his trade gurus will try to sell two development corridors to the diamond-rich country.

The corridors run through the wealthiest — and most war-ravaged — diamond, nickel and iron ore mining areas. Both carry the potential for huge infrastructure projects and foreign investment which could help to stabilise the shattered Angolan economy.

The Lobito/Benguela corridor is planned to link the port of Lobito with the copper, cobalt and nickel fields which cut across both Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Ironically, the Namibe corridor connecting South Africa, Namibia and Angola is meant to resuscitate the iron-ore fields which ceased operation during the former South African Defence Force's military action against the South West African People's Organisation and support for Unita in southern Angola.

The area was the scene of the worst atrocities of the Namibian freedom struggle, and South Africa would now like to play a leading role in kick-starting the iron-ore operations there.

Several local mining companies have clinched exploration contracts, in particular with Zambia, while there

is interest in Angolan resources as well. The Department of Trade and Industry envisages that each corridor will have an anchor mining project which will spawn secondary industries.

The two Angolan development plans are part of a group of 11 corridors planned to rebuild the infrastructure and manufacturing capacity which a Southern African free-trade area will need.

South Africa presently dominates the regional economy, especially compared to Angola. Last year South African exports to Angola were three times bigger than Angola's exports to South Africa — although South Africa is only Angola's fifth-largest trading partner. It's a balance which must be corrected to stave off the southward migration of financial and human capital.

Mandela's state visit this week — with six ministers in tow — run parallel to a trade trip which saw bankers, cellphone operators, builders and a range of manufacturers in Luanda exploring business opportunities.

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Mandela's vision of a revived region with Angolan corridors

FROM REUTERS

Luanda — President Nelson Mandela, who yesterday ended a visit to Angola, outlined his vision of a southern Africa reunited by trade routes torn apart by cold war conflicts and apartheid.

Mandela said Angola knew of South Africa's interest in investing more to help rebuild Angola, rich in oil and diamonds, after the country was wrecked by 20 years of civil war.

He said he and President Eduardo dos Santos had discussed South Africa's hopes of helping develop three main economic corridors involving the port of Lobito, the southern

province of Namib, and Malange in the centre of the country. "One of the aspects which we as South Africans are interested in, apart from the oil industry, is to participate in the development around Lobito, Namib and Malangé.

"Although a country in Europe won a tender for the Lobito Corridor, we in South Africa are just next door and to deal with us means that the operation could be cost-effective," said Mandela.

South Africa, a pariah in the region until the end of apartheid was in sight in the early 1990s, is promoting transnational trade corridors involving most of its neighbours in a bid to boost southern Africa's economy.

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Mandela urges Savimbi to help in peace process

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LUANDA: President Nelson Mandela yesterday exhorted Angola's former warring factions, in particular Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, to seize the opportunity for lasting peace.

Winding up a 26-hour state visit here, Mandela said he wanted to warn the stakeholders in the peace process "that the masses of the people want to get on with their lives".

"They want stability... I am convinced that the government has taken very positive steps to show their commitment to peace," Mandela said at a joint press conference with President Eduardo dos Santos.

Mandela reserved special mention for the role of Savimbi, leader of the former rebel Unita movement, now a political party having demilitarised after two decades of civil war against Dos Santos' MPLA-led government.

"Unless we get him to participate fully in this process there will always be problems, but I am very satisfied with the preparations for his security and safety that have been made by the government," Mandela said.

Savimbi, granted special status in the new government of national reconciliation, has refused to enter the capital Luanda until his security can be guaranteed.

"They have offered Unita four cabinet posts, seven vice-cabinet minister posts and three provincial governments, and I hope that Unita would appreciate the gesture that they've made," Mandela said.

"My impression is that the MPLA as well as the government have made very serious efforts to show their commitment to peace, and I hope that Dr Savimbi would also respond to that," he added.

The fact that Savimbi has been offered a 400-strong army of security guards to ease his concerns prompted Mandela to quip: "I don't think I have more than 15 security guards in South Africa, and I'm satisfied with that."

Dos Santos welcomed the UN Security Council resolution to extend the mandate of a UN peacekeeping force in the country by two months to the end of June.

"It very important that peace be established so that the government can exercise its sovereignty" throughout the country, where Unita has yet to turn over territory under its control, particularly in the diamond-rich north.

Earlier, a solemn Mandela laid a wreath on the tomb of the unknown soldier in Luanda's sadn-down Santana cemetery to commemorate ANC soldiers and Angolan comrades who fought against apartheid.

The central theme of the visit was trade and investment, however. The two countries signed a bilateral cooperation agreement late on Wednesday. — Sapa-AFP

Madiba urges Savimbi to embrace peace ⁽⁵⁾

Sowetan 1/5/98

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela yesterday delivered a stern warning to Angola's former warring factions, in particular Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, to seize the opportunity for lasting peace.

"The masses of the people want to get on with their lives. They want stability ... I am convinced that the government has taken very positive steps to show their commitment to peace," Mandela said at a joint press conference with president Eduardo dos Santos.

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"They have offered Unita four cabinet posts, seven vice cabinet minister posts and three provincial governments, and I hope that Unita appreciate the gesture that they've made," said Mandela before boarding a plane to Durban.

"My impression is that the MPLA (Angolan People's Liberation Movement), as well as the government, have made very serious efforts to show their commitment to peace, and I hope that Dr Savimbi will also respond to that," he said.

Savimbi's Unita party has since last April taken up its four ministerial posts in Dos Santos's government.

- Sapa-AFP

● See picture on page 4.

Angola to relaunch mining project

20 8/5/98 (5)
LUANDA — Angolan Mines Minister Marcos Samondo said yesterday the government planned to relaunch the Cassinga iron ore project in the south of the country.

The project would be tabled today at a meeting of the Council of Ministers, Samondo said.

His ministry would soon begin promoting investment for the extraction of five other key minerals in Angola, including platinum, manganese, copper, phosphate and gold.

The Cassinga deposits were exploited for 10 years prior to Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975, but

Angola's 20-year civil war brought the project to a halt.

The war ended in November 1994 when the warring factions, the government and former Unita rebels signed a peace agreement.

The Companhia Mineira de Angola, with unidentified Portuguese backers, proposed funding to redevelop the project, Samondo said.

He said the government, with the help of the World Bank, would also review Angola's mining laws. The World Bank and British Geological Survey had already proposed changes to give investors more security. — Reuter.

Security fragile in parts of Angola, envoy warns

PRETORIA — The United Nations' (UN) special envoy to Angola has warned that military-style attacks destabilising some areas could create an explosive situation if left unchecked.

"We need to calm the security situation which has become fragile in parts of the country," Alicune Blondin Beye said after talks in SA on Monday with Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo.

He said while most of Angola was enjoying calm brought by a 1994 peace accord, the troubles were centred on a triangle of three provinces, Huambo, Huila and Benguela, in the south west.

"If this worsens it could turn into an explosive situation, which must be avoided," Beye said, noting that a UN-chaired joint commission had called on all parties

to try to stop the trouble.

The 1994 UN-backed peace agreement ended a civil war that had raged since independence from Portugal in 1975 between the then Marxist government and US-backed Unita rebels.

Unita, led by veteran guerrilla Jonas Savimbi, said it had complied with the accord and demobilised its soldiers. It denied any role in the attacks on civilians, police and even UN posts, but was blamed by the government.

An independent intelligence source said that Unita men were at fault but that it was impossible to know if the attacks were sanctioned by its leadership.

While about 3-million war refugees started going home in other regions, new refugees were fleeing homes due to the

attacks in what had become known as the "terrible triangle".

The UN mission to Angola, Monua, said about 300 men armed with machine guns and mortars attacked the central town of N'gove last month and looted a UN post. It also said 10 people died on May 2 when their truck ran over a landmine and was ambushed by armed men. There have been numerous similar but unconfirmed reports.

Beye said since most of the 7 200 peacekeepers had now left Angola as the UN mission drew to a close, it was hard for the observer mission remaining to verify how many attacks there had been or how many people had died. He said some of the violence in the triangle was plain banditry in a country awash with arms.

"But also there are ... actions with a military character if you consider the professionalism with which they are carried out, the arms used and above all, the targets chosen. Also, with the numbers that take part — sometimes more than 100 — it can't be called banditry any more."

Beye said the problem had existed for a long time, but was more urgent now that Unita had said it had disarmed.

Last month the UN-chaired joint commission of government and Unita representatives pronounced the growing violence in the south west a real threat to the peace process. Beye said the commission had called on both sides to do everything possible to help find a solution.

On the political front, much progress had been made, Beye said. Unita had

been legalised and had become an opposition party with deputies in the parliament in the capital Luanda.

The former rebels had also been handing over areas they held to the authorities of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, as envisaged in the 1994 accord signed in Zambia's capital Lusaka.

Beye said four-fifths of Angola was now in government hands.

An exception was the central highlands area just to the north of the triangle, around Bailundo, Unita's headquarters and Andulo, where Savimbi resides.

Savimbi said he feared for his life if he went to Luanda and had yet to meet Dos Santos in Angola itself, steps seen as vital to sealing peace even if neither was covered in the accord. — Reuter.

Angola aims for oil output of 3m barrels a day

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CT (BR) 19/11/98

JAMES LAMONT

Windhoek — The Angolan government estimated oil production could rise to 3 million barrels a day by 2007, Albina de Assis Africano, Angola's minister of petroleum, said yesterday.

"By 2005 we can have 2 million barrels a day on what we expect from deep water and ultra-deep water discoveries. Then we can look towards 3 million barrels by 2007."

Angola now produces 730 000

barrels of oil a day and is Africa's second largest oil producer. Official estimates have put production levels at 1 million barrels a day by 2000.

"If you can stabilise the military situation and the economy, then you have the possibility of doing many things," she said.

"Angola is the only producer in the SADC," she said. "You need to support it."

Speaking at the Southern African Economic Summit, Africano said the winners of a

bidding round for ultra deep blocks for exploration off the Angolan coast would be announced next month.

The government would also consider the privatisation of Sonangol, the state oil company, but had no plans to take immediate steps.

Sonangol and the accounting of oil revenues, which have bankrolled the government's war effort, have been a stumbling block between the state and International Monetary

Fund (IMF) finance.

However, Mario de Alcantra Monteiro, Angola's minister of finance, said the relationship between the government and the IMF was improving.

He said the IMF had expressed reservations about the image of corruption and lack of transparency his government had, but the state had tried to maintain "transparency and dignity" where possible in a war, which "doesn't allow a normal, regular government".

Angola says creditors' interests at forefront

BD 19/5/98 (5)

WINDHOEK — Angola said yesterday it was battling on behalf of its creditors but ducked specifics on whether it had made progress with the International Monetary Fund.

An IMF mission began talks with Luanda last Thursday aimed at stabilising relations with countries the war-torn Angola owes an estimated \$10bn.

But Angolan Finance Minister Mario de Alcantara Monteiro declined to say if there was a chance this heavy burden might be eased, and chose instead to refute charges that his country's public finances were murky and lacked credibility.

"For our part we have done everything we can ... in order to make our accounts as transparent as possible," he told delegates

and reporters attending the Southern African Economic Summit organised by the World Economic Forum.

Economists are concerned that Angola's balance of payments has been pressured by falling oil revenues, weakening its ability to service the debt and making an IMF deal essential. De Alcantara said Angola was aware of the shortcomings in its economic performance, but was taking steps to put things right.

"We know what we need to do to get our economy going. We will do what is necessary," he said through an interpreter.

Most of Angola's \$3,8bn budget for this year comes from cash generated by its 750 000 barrels per day oil industry. Economists calculate that every dollar lost

on the price of crude costs the country \$120m a year in future income.

Angola, at the annual conference to lure foreign investment, is criticised for the lack of an audit of its oil business, which complicates an IMF agreement.

De Alcantara dismissed these concerns and said Angola's finances had been published and accepted by the IMF. It said the government was working hard to clarify the state of the industry.

"There is a working group between the parties concerned to co-ordinate these matters," he said. "Angola is a state of law and we cannot go outside the rules of law."

He stressed that he was aware of the foreign fears, but that the government's hands were tied. — Reuter.

UN implodes Angolan foes to break peace deadlock

LUANDA — Concerned that the peace process is crumbling, the United Nations envoy to Angola pressed the country's former foes to comply yesterday with the outstanding provisions of the 1994 peace pact by month end.

Although close to completion, the process is "deadlocked" and tension is rising in eight of 18 provinces, said UN spokesman Laura Melo.

Fresh minefields had been laid in recent months, and rebels were repeatedly attacking rural towns, Melo said. The perpetrators had not been identified.

UN special representative Alioune Blondin Beye presented the government and the former rebel movement Unita — the Portuguese acronym for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola — with a document, spelling out steps to be taken to avert the collapse of the peace process.

Beye told the government it had to stop issuing hostile propaganda through the state media. Furthermore, it had to stamp out human rights abuses committed by police in areas previously held by Unita.

The document called on Unita to return to the government the four towns it held.

Rebels have relinquished most of the 70% of territory they seized during the two-decade civil war. However, Unita has dragged its feet on turning over four rebel strongholds, including its headquarters at Bailundo, 290km south of the capital.

"The document is not an ultimatum. It's a plea for the two sides to show the political will needed," Melo said.

Government and Unita told Beye that they backed his moves to push the delayed peace process towards a quick conclusion, Melo said. Beye had threatened to quit if he felt there was no political will to complete the process.

Civil war erupted after the country's 1975 independence from Portugal. A 1991 peace accord collapsed the following year. — Sapa-AP

(5) M 21/6/98

40 000 people flee for safety as armed bands terrorise Angola

By David S. ...

LUANDA — Armed bands active in Angola have forced almost 40 000 people to flee for safety in towns in several parts of the country, the United Nations mission in Luanda said yesterday.

The UN's humanitarian assistance unit said that the worst affected provinces were Benguela in the southwest, where 34 000 people had been displaced, Bengo, Uije and Malanje in the north, Lunda-Sul in the northeast and Huambo in the centre.

These figures cover the period from April 14 to May 15 in the country which is still emerging from two decades of civil war.

The two sides signed peace accords in November 1994, but some aspects, notably the handover by former rebel movement Unita of

towns still under its control to central authority, still have to be met.

The UN mission said it expected the number of displaced people to rise considerably because of insecurity in several regions.

The Luanda government blames the attacks and insecurity on groups of ex-Unita rebels who have failed to decommission in line with the accords signed in Lusaka

more than three years ago. The pact provided for demobilisation of troops on both sides and the formation of a new defence force.

Some Unita senior military officers have already taken up posts in the new army, while political officials from the rebel movement have gone to Luanda to take up posts. However, ex-rebel leader Jonas Savimbi has consistently re-

fused to go to the capital, citing fears for his safety.

Police in provinces most affected by the unrest have decided to coordinate their efforts at national level to tackle the problem. Some Angolans say they do not believe Unita is the only one to blame for violence and have pointed fingers at renegade members of the security forces. — Sapa-APP.

War is a constant threat in Angola, but it is the struggle to survive that occupies the

(5) MGT 29/5 - 4/6/98

Life on the street:
A war orphan begs on the streets of Luanda
PHOTOGRAPH: JOAO SILVA
PICTURENET



The high cost of a 'free market'

Chris Gordon

The in-your-face style of marketing practised in downtown Luanda, Angola, is a normal hazard of life on the dishevelled and risky streets of the capital.

Young men and children, mainly refugees from the provinces, sell anything from chewing gum to clothes, pushing it through car windows, following potential customers down the street, disbelieving that you might not want their goods — and desperate for the money.

There's nothing unusual about street trading in Africa, but Luanda's is not simply the scramble of the marginalised for a few million kwanzas; it is one of the city's more successful business sectors and a major source of foreign exchange earnings for South Africa.

The South African Embassy in Luanda says it issues a thousand visas a week, mainly to traders in the informal sector. Angolans — and foreign visitors — can take up to \$5 000 (R25 000) out of Angola without formalities and many of them do, to buy the goods that supply the street vendors, the squalid, fly-blown and crowded markets, and those fortunate enough to own small shops. The business is worth up to \$20-million (R100-million) a month for South Africa alone.

This is a free market economy in action; the free market of the unskilled poor in a country where skilled people are in very short supply and illiteracy is almost as high as under the Portuguese dictatorships. Most people have no prospect of employment in the formal sector; their choices are trading in the cities or subsistence in the bush.

Angola adopted a "free market" economy in 1992 before the fatal elections whose results led the losers, Unita, to a further orgy of destruction. The laws were liberalised, allowing even members of the government to have their own business interests.

The stark contrast between the

wealth of a small elite and the dire poverty of the population cannot be missed; it is as much a feature of life as the daily power cuts or the pervasive smell of sewage and rubbish.

The refurbished marble and steel office of the African Investment Bank in downtown Luanda sits next to a grim slum, seeping sewage into the street.

The decayed building, ironically, was once a centre for slave trading, Angola's biggest business in the 19th century.

The emerging free market in Angola, a deregulated market operating independently of social needs, has not and cannot produce the education, the training, the health care,

or any other form of social intervention that is needed to rebuild the country.

Instead it perpetuates a skewed economy, driven by the pursuit of money alone. It is a recipe for long-term instability, as the mass of the population realise they will never have better conditions, or jobs, without government intervention and investment.

The unregulated economic free-for-all feeds one of the major economic problems the International Monetary Fund expects the government to address — the inflation rate. On the parallel money market, fed by street trading, a million kwanzas is now worth just more than \$2, and

stable at this new low. The government is committed to devaluing the kwanza this year, but has so far not done so. Devaluation could cause major unrest.

Nor does the opposition party, Unita, offer an alternative. Unita's policy documents say it is committed to a free market economy, as every aspirant to power must say these days. Yet the evidence from the Luzamba region, where Unita carried out its major economic activity, diamond mining, is that it operates in practice a totally controlled and closed economy, for the benefit of Unita.

Angola's free market is not, of course what the global financial institutions say they mean by a free market. Yet it conforms in most respects to the model; a weakened non-interventionist state, minimal regulation of economic life despite the labyrinthine system, little expenditure on social services.

Development is left to a market place which doesn't deliver the goods.

It is hard, when in Angola, to escape the thought that this is the kind of economy that the apostles of globalisation expect in Africa.

It is an economy which has been priced open by the brute force of war and an enforced change in the political system. The dollar has won this war.

Unita refusal puts peace at an impasse

Chris Gordon

Luanda's frantic daytime commercial activity belies tension in the peace process, but at night the city falls quiet, reflecting the fears that the low-level war will increase when the United Nations completes its pull-out at the end of June.

The new impasse comes as Unita refused to hand over their political and military capitals — the "sensitive

zones" of Ballondo and Andulo by May 31.

The UN mediation mission has described the situation as a crisis, which may lead to further action against Unita.

Unita has been accused by the UN of attacking civilians and UN installations in the past two months. These attacks have been verified by the UN in many cases and at least one aid worker was killed in May.

Unita denies responsibility and

says it is a victim of UN bias. It says Ballondo and Andulo now house refugees from government aggression and there should be no timetable involved in the handover.

The UN has also criticised the police for "grave excesses" in extending state administration.

However, if either side now refuses to comply, UN special representative Blondin Beye may resign, and the peace process may come to an abrupt end.

Unita team races to beat UN chief's peace deadline

ARG 1/6/98 (5)

Luanda - Unita leaders jetted in today, saying they had fresh proposals to finalise the peace process - an hour before the deadline for fresh UN sanctions.

Alioune Blondin Beye, head of the UN peacekeeping mission in Angola, threatened to call for tougher economic sanctions against Unita unless it completed a four-year-old peace process by today, which means handing over towns it still controls.

Mr Beye, who said he would quit otherwise, spent the weekend in last-ditch talks with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in his headquarters in the central town of Andulo, diplomats said.

Mr Beye flew back to Luanda and a top Unita delegation - minus Dr Savimbi - followed him.

"We have returned with proposals from our leadership but we cannot divulge their contents until we have explained them to the mediator (Mr Beye)," Unita's Isaias Samakuva said on

arrival at the airport. The Unita team then sped off to UN headquarters.

Mr Samakuva said the proposals included suggested new dates for the final steps in complying with the peace accord that Unita and the government of President José Eduardo dos Santos signed in 1994.

Diplomats said the next step would be for a team of government representatives to head to Andulo, and Unita's nearby headquarters of Bailundo, to sort out arrangements for their transfer to administration by the state.

Angolan state radio has mentioned June 21 as a date for the next important step in the peace process, a date Unita has not confirmed.

But Mr Beye had demanded the transfer by June 1.

There was no early word from Mr Beye on whether Unita's latest proposals met with his satisfaction.

Today is a national holiday in Angola. - Reuters

Going down? Angola peace process can plunge fast

DEAN MURPHY

Luanda, Angola - This is a capital where gunfights erupt in the streets, the tap water reeks like sewage and mosquitoes carry a strain of malaria that can kill you overnight.

But what makes visitors really fear for their lives? The lift at the Hotel Le Meridien Presidente, which has a nasty habit of dropping 20 stories at a time.

An erratic lift in a developing nation ravaged by three decades of civil war may not seem unusual. But this is not an ordinary lift, and its white-knuckled passengers are not ordinary visitors.

Despite its faded looks, the ocean-front Le Meridien is the Angolan capital's premier address for visiting dignitaries.

The guest register includes everyone from President Mandela to US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. French President Jacques Chirac is booked this month.

In April, a delegation of anti-government Unita rebels chose the exclusive location to announce their relocation to Luanda, a crucial milestone in the country's on-again, off-again peace process.

Leading members of Unita have been abandoning their rebel outposts as part of a 1994 agreement that recognises the US-backed rebel movement as a legitimate political organisation.

But after a fancy news conference, the rebels were taken for a hair-raising ride that nearly sent them running for cover back at their outposts.

The lift rose from the eighth to the 22nd floor - and then suddenly fell to the ground, abruptly coming to rest in an underground shaft several feet below the main floor.

No one was hurt, but the nine passengers - including Antonio Dembo, second-in-command to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi - pried open the doors, climbed out of the lift and stormed into the lobby prepared for an ambush.

Unita has long maintained that Mr Savimbi cannot leave his remote headquarters in the central highlands because of continuing "politi-

cal insecurity" in the capital, the plummeting lift has become a case in point.

"They thought it was sabotage and someone was trying to kill them," said an official with the UN peacekeeping mission here.

"I don't know what happened, and I know it scared the people inside," said hotel general manager Mario Solleiro.

'Unita rebels were taken for a hair-raising ride that nearly sent them running for cover'

"But the lift did not drop uncontrollably for 22 floors. If it had, they would be mashed potatoes."

Mr Solleiro has apologised for the episode, but so far words have not been enough to put Unita's suspicions to rest.

In an attempt to clear the air, the hotel has agreed to an investigation by a Luanda court, which is trying to determine who was responsible for the fright.

The lift, in the meantime, has been sealed shut and guests are being directed to the hotel's four other lifts, which have been otherwise avoided because they are older, look like wobbly sardine cans and have spotty records of their own.

Security personnel have preferred the single large lift because it fits the bloated entourage of bodyguards who usually stand shoulder-to-shoulder with high-level guests.

"I can assure you there was no conspiracy, that it was merely a technical problem," Mr Solleiro said.

"If this incident had happened to me or any other guest, the lift would be operating right now.

"But because of the repercussions - and to put aside the political dimensions - we will let the court decide what really happened."

The Unita plunge couldn't have come at a worse time for the hotel's management, which thought its lift woes were finally behind it.

The faulty lift has been in operation only since February, when it replaced a 15-year-old model that was removed after causing its own diplomatic snafus.

Among those who fell victim to the former lift: Ms Albright, who spent 20 minutes trapped inside during a visit two years ago while she was a UN ambassador, according to an American official.

At one point, stranded passengers and long waits became such a routine at Le Meridien that hotel officials opened the staff lift to guests.

But even that solution caused Mr Solleiro headaches when, packed with then-Botswana President Ketumile Masire and his security detail, the doors closed but the lift would not budge.

In a separate incident, another lift reportedly took a dive just as Mr Masire was about to board.

As shocking as such tales may sound, the sad fact of life in Luanda, longtime residents say, is that its lifts are only as reliable as the city's crumbling electrical system.

When the power falls, as it often does, so does the city's fleet of colonial-era lifts, many of which have not been serviced since Angolan independence from Portugal in 1975.

At a high-rise office building on the edge of town, workers said they will enter the creaky lifts - which have no doors and no lights - only if someone has a walkie-talkie to summon help.

In other high-rises, sceptical workers and residents said they use the stairs, even if it means climbing five or six stories.

Newcomers to the capital from the country's rural provinces are particularly hesitant to try their luck.

"These people have been living in the bush for most of their lives, and suddenly they find themselves stuck in a lift," said a longtime diplomat in Luanda.

"They begin to visibly shake. I can understand the fear. The lifts here are terrible all of the time. They scare everyone."

Mr Dembo and his fellow passengers, he said, may be a case in point.

While acknowledging that the 22-story ride was undoubtedly terrifying, Mr Solleiro said it probably seemed worse because the group was not accustomed to travelling in lifts, particularly Luanda-style.

Since stalled and falling lifts can usually be traced to power fluctuations, Le Meridien has begun operating its lifts on generators when high-profile guests are in town.

But even the generators did not spare the Unita passengers last month.

Mr Solleiro suspects that he may have fallen victim to his own good intentions. After suffering so many problems with the old lift, the hotel chose a state-of-the-art Italian model as its replacement.

But high-tech in Luanda, it turns out, can mean high drama. The new lift's complex electrical components, he said, may be too sensitive for the city's primitive conditions.

The hotel has several enormous purification filters to treat city water and four back-up generators to provide electricity.

Workers are now building a sleek business centre to cater to demanding European and American visitors.

But, Mr Solleiro said, there is only so much the four-star hotel can do to shut out the world beyond its shiny glass doors.

"It is hard," he said. "As much as you try, you can't be an island." - Los Angeles Times



Water sales now a booming business

By SEBASTIAO MARQUES

(6)

STAN 8/6/98
water unnecessarily."

Luanda - With Angola's taps mainly dry, selling water has become a major business for the unemployed, including children, who will travel long distances to find water for re-sale.

Joana Pedro (10) and her sister Fefa (7) sell water in a public square in the city centre. They put the water into small plastic bags and sell them. On hot days they manage to earn up to five million kwanzas, which is equivalent to about US\$12 (about R60) on the black market.

The deficient supply and treatment of water in the country is a major problem facing the residents. The provision of clean drinking water is a luxury.

The Ernesto family is one of the more privileged families in the city. They purchase three 200 litre barrels of water daily from the water supply trucks that go around selling water.

"We are spending an immense amount of money on water, but we do not have a choice. We have become used to it. Since independence we have been living like this.

"If you go to the city centre you will see that there are people who use

According to a 1995 study on conditions in Luanda undertaken by the National Institute of Statistics, 50% of inhabitants buy their water supplies from water tanks. The study said in 1995 the informal water market involved US\$35-million (about R175-million) in Luanda alone.

There are about 10 000 informal water sellers in Luanda. This informal tank network is supplied by the public network itself and by bowser trucks.

In 1996 the retailing price of water increased threefold. The population supplied by the informal market paid 120 times more than families supplied by the normal network, who generally do not pay at all.

Water sold in the informal market does not undergo any chemical treatment and there is no inspection by health authorities. In 1996, at a national level, only 35,3% of the households had access to purified water for their own consumption.

But the low price charged for purified water is one reason there is no motivation to make economical use of water - Independent Foreign Service/Africa Information Afrique

AFRICA

Unita troops 'ready to wage a new war'

LUANDA — Angola's former rebel movement Unita still had 30 000 troops, half of them elite soldiers ready for immediate call-up, despite pledges to demobilise, a government army spokesman said this week.

Col Waldemar Graca told diplomats in Luanda that 15 000 troops in elite Unita units were ready to wage a new war.

Under peace accords signed in Lusaka in November 1994, the former rebel faction Unita agreed to hand over all territory it controlled and demobilise its troops.

However, the Angolan government and the United Nations (UN) suspect the movement led by Jonas Savimbi is still heavily armed and dangerous.

Earlier this month, Alioune Blondin Beye, the UN representative for Angola, said that Unita still had a large but unspecified number of troops in several provinces.

Graca also accused Unita of plotting with forces loyal to ousted Congolese president Pascal Lissouba and to late Zairean dictator Mobutu Sese Seko to retake their rear bases in those countries on Angola's northern border.

The colonel also claimed that Unita

(5) BD 12/6/98
was being supported politically and militarily by a number of countries in the region, although he did not name any countries.

Angola supported the rebel movements in Congo and Zaire, now known as the Democratic Republic of Congo, which ousted Lissouba and Mobutu and have taken power in those countries.

The military backing of these rebel movements was to secure Angola's own borders against Unita and smaller separatist forces in the enclave of Cabinda, an Angolan oil territory which lies between the two Congos.

Unita declared on March 6 that it had demobilised completely, and it was then recognised, according to the peace accords, as a political party.

The movement has postponed to June 25 the deadline for turning over its four remaining strongholds of Andulo, Bailundo, Nhareya and Mongo, in the centre of the country.

The UN Security Council debated a resolution last week that would slap new sanctions on Unita if it did not respect the accords. The UN has already imposed measures such as travel restrictions. — Sapa-AFP.

UN'S last bid to budge Unita

Chris Gordon

As increasing Unita military activity is reported across Angola, the United Nations has imposed a fresh set of conditional sanctions on Angola's intransigent rebel movement, in what is now a bid to avert serious conflict.

These sanctions will come into force on June 25 if Unita does not surrender its headquarter towns and the "sensitive zones" around Andulo and Bailondo by June 23.

This third tranche of sanctions has been imposed as the UN recognised the degree of the crisis. David Winhurst, New York-based UN representative defined the situation as "a crisis of the endgame" — almost the end of the diplomatic road in Angola.

Two weeks ago Alloune Blondin Beye, UN special representative to Angola, declared that Unita is still armed, following attacks on villages and on UN monitoring and observation forces. Unita had declared full demobilisation on March 6. This, the UN now says, is "patently untrue".

The UN came under threat of imminent attack in Luau, Lunda Sul, on Monday, Winhurst said. The UN said Unita is massing troops in the north of the country and Cazomba in Moxico Province has been attacked.

The UN has moved to impose further sanctions because Unita has "persistently and relentlessly delayed completing the Lusaka protocols." This has been going on far too long. "The evidence of Unita's failure to demilitarise is incontrovertible. Many

(5) MFG 19-25/6/98

would say it is predictable. The experience of 1992 should have warned the UN that Unita is at its heart — or at its leader, Jonas Savimbi's heart — a military, not a political organisation. Unita has ascribed the attacks to banditry, but the UN pointed out that bandits do not lay landmines, or organise concerted military action.

The sanctions are economic: they freeze international bank accounts owned by Unita and immediate relatives of Unita members. They sanction all diamond trading which does not have a government export certificate. Finally, they aim to cut off all Unita communications.

The immediate point of these sanctions is to produce a political response from Unita. If it cannot, conflict is imminent, though unlikely to be on

the scale of what happened in 1992.

The UN now has the unenviable task of investigating two of the world's most secretive business sectors: Swiss banks and the diamond industry. Switzerland is not a UN member.

Unita surrendered most of the Cuango valley diamond mines by the end of December. This now looks like a pre-emptive move on the movement's part to prevent identification of its mining operations — and small batches of diamonds from scattered mines are more difficult to identify.

A visit to Luzamba in May confirmed that Unita is still mining in the north of the Cuango valley, and on a river to the east of the valley.

It has also been working deposits near Andulo, and possibly in Cuando Cubango, near Jamba. The Cuango

mines provided Unita with an income of at least \$600 million last year.

The diamond sanctions make any smuggled diamonds from Angola illegal, not just Unita's. The problem will be to trace the pipeline; diamonds are easy to "launder", and Antwerp is an open market for diamonds.

Over its years of diamond trading, Unita has had buying contracts with dealers in Antwerp, and Zairean and Belgian buyers based in Luzamba. Most of the diamonds have ended up in London, bought on the open market by De Beers.

Even if the threat of sanctions is effective and Unita surrenders Bailondo and Andulo, guarantees of peace are little nearer. There is still a loophole for Unita: it does not have to demilitarise to avoid the imposition of sanctions, and could move back to its old headquarters at Jamba.

The sanctions are the last throw of the diplomatic dice, in a peace-keeping operation which has never had a mandate to enforce peace. "Our patience is exhausted; we have no other option," said Winhurst.

Angola's victims of peace see no war against poverty

(6) ARG 22/6/98

DEAN MURPHY

Luanda, Angola – Her sobs sang out in the crowded street like a heartsick lullaby to her dead baby. But except for friends cushioning her head against the pavement, the collapsed woman went mostly unnoticed.

The spectacle of a grieving mother outside the paediatric hospital here is as familiar to Angolans as the ubiquitous stench of death inside.

Every day an average of 16 children lose their lives to meningitis, malaria, diarrhoea and malnutrition in sweltering, fly-infested wards. About one in every three patients admitted to the hillside hospital dies – usually within a few hours.

"The hospital has such a bad reputation that people avoid coming," said Dr Luis Bernardino, who runs the 250-bed facility. "The government gave us a budget of \$1.6-million (about R9-million) last year, but we received only half that. We often don't have enough money to buy drugs."

Down the shady road toward the centre of town, Mario Silva is facing a severe shortage as well. The smartly dressed commercial director of the capital's new Mitsubishi car dealership has imported two sports cars from Japan. With a sticker price of about \$100 000 (R550 000) each, the two have 15 would-be buyers.

Mr Silva has decided to sell the flashy red vehicles to whoever shows up first with the cash.

"To say the economy is in the hands of the people is not true," said Mr Silva, whose thriving business has been built on sales to government officials and foreign businesses. "The situation with luxury cars isn't necessarily right in relation to the misery you see in this country. At the same time, it shows the world that something isn't right here."

Something hasn't been right in this country for a long time, but with three decades of colonial rebellion and United States-backed civil war giving way to an uneasy truce, people here are beginning to ask questions that not long ago would have been considered unpatriotic.

Topping the list: Where has all the money gone?

At issue are billions of dollars in government spending that receives scant public accounting, a decade of massive foreign aid that has made Angola one of the world's biggest charity cases, and the country's enormous oil wealth that keeps homes heated in New York and Chicago but, according to popular perception, enriches so few here.

"As I see it, just 2% of the people in Luanda are getting the benefits of the system," Dr Bernardino said.

Alzira Gomez, 34, who runs a small food store across town from the hospital, agreed: "The highest echelon of the government is benefiting from this peace, not us. Not the people."

That's not the whole story, according to Finance Minister Mario de Alcantara Monteiro. "It is necessary to note that governing in the conditions that Angolans have lived in the last years – facing invasions, blockades (and great destruc-

tion) – doesn't allow for normal government," Mr Monteiro said. "We are aware of the shortcomings in our past economic performance. The reason for the shortcomings, particularly the war, are now behind us."

But oft-repeated explanations that the costly demands of war are to blame for the country's intractable economic and social ills are no longer accepted as plain truth on the street or in the offices of international humanitarian organisations.

Despite violent clashes in rural areas and increasingly frantic reports of an unravelling peace process, now in its final stage, there has been no major fighting between the government and the erstwhile US-backed Unita rebel forces for four years, and the fleet of Mercedes, BMWs and other expensive cars navigating the city's potholes is an in-your-face reminder that not everyone in Angola is suffering.

When provincial leaders fly to Luanda, they typically load their aircraft with fancy vehicles to cruise the capital in style and comfort.

"I see the beautiful cars," said Xavier Alfredo, 22, who peddles household furnishings on a dusty median strip clouded in exhaust fumes. "I don't know where the money comes from, but they stop and buy things."

Beyond the tinted windows and leather upholstery, unemployment hovers around 45%, destitute children beg and steal to survive, infant mortality remains among the world's highest, and most of Angola's 12 million people will not live past their 47th birthday.

In 1996, the country's gross national product per capita was estimated at \$320 (R1 760), compared with an average of \$490 (R2 700) in sub-Saharan Africa.

The United Nations, which is scheduled to end its peacekeeping mission here this summer, has spent more than \$1-billion (R5.5-billion) trying to set things straight in Angola.

Scores of private organisations have spent millions more. Relief workers say "donor fatigue" is taking hold as unsafe conditions make many operations too hazardous to continue and major funding sources – from the European Union to the US government – question the value of their contributions.

"Our biggest problem right now is donor reluctance," said Sandra Laumark, director of CARE International Angola, which distributes food and other relief in several provinces.

At the core of the discontent is the growing perception that the Angolan government isn't doing enough to help its people. The International Monetary Fund estimates that in 1996 less than 9 cents (49 cents) of each \$1 (R5.50) spent by authorities here went to social programmes.

UN officials say there is a deep resentment that the government is

shirking its own rebuilding responsibilities. Philip Owusu, head of the World Bank office in Luanda, says about half of the government's \$3.5-billion (R19.25-billion) budget is spent on items not included in the public budget; a recent IMF report says that more than two-thirds of total government spending occurs without adequate accounting records or budgetary review.

The so-called "extra-budget" spending is impossible to trace, Mr Owusu said, but financial and political analysts suspect that much of the money is lining the pockets of government officials, military officers and their close network of friends, supporters and suppliers.

The IMF suspended its economic assistance programme in 1995, in large part because of what economists euphemistically refer to as a "lack of transparency" in the government's bookkeeping – code for corruption and under-the-table dealing in everything from armaments to electronics to foreign currency.

The beneficiaries of what one diplomat characterised as undocumented "wild capitalism" are as easy to identify as the passenger lists on the perpetually overbooked flights between Luanda and South Africa. Angolans of means do their shopping in Johannesburg and Cape Town; those with entrepreneurial sense return home with bloated inventories of goods, which are then sold at great markups. "There is no proof," Mr Owusu said of the government's complicity in economic corruption. "You can only make wild guesses."

Mrs Gomez, the grocery shopkeeper, says life in Luanda has become more difficult since the 1994 peace agreement. The mother of two struggles to keep shelves stocked amid constant shortages and crumbling city services.

As she spoke outside her ground-floor shop, sewage from the apartment building above gurgled into the street.

"You have to do what you can to survive," said Mrs Gomez, who buys much of her stock on the black market.

Prices in Luanda are a case in point. At official exchange rates, a single egg costs 40 cents (R2.20), an apple about \$1 (R5.50) and a tube of toothpaste \$4 (R22). Even on the black market, where prices are halved, most goods are beyond the reach of ordinary Angolans.

A recent World Bank survey ranked Luanda as one of the world's most expensive cities, second only to Geneva. Yet the city's posh restaurants and nightclubs never lack clientele. Those with money can buy satellite television services from South Africa and evening gowns from the US. Angolan officials in Luanda did not respond to requests for interviews. Questioned by a reporter during an economic conference in Namibia, finance officials dismissed questions about "lack of transparency" as journalistic invention.

"I would like to assure you that we already have enough transparency – probably not total, but better than in some other countries," said Mr Monteiro, the finance minister. – Los Angeles Times

'The highest echelon of government is benefiting from this peace, not us. Not the people'

'At the core of the discontent is the perception that the government isn't doing enough'

Angola slowly sinks back into war

MTC 26/6-2/7/98 (5)

Christine Gordon

With Angola's peace process at breaking point, the government in Luanda is mobilising its army to block any further advances by opposition movement Unita.

No direct fighting has been reported, but the government is preparing for war.

Unofficial estimates put Unita's military capacity at 30 000 armed troops, a militia of 60 000 and sufficient equipment to launch a guerrilla war. With its guerilla army concealed, these figures are impossible to verify. But the sheer existence of a sizeable army does not indicate peaceful intentions by Unita.

The question everyone is asking is whether Unita leader Jonas Savimbi intends to launch a guerrilla war and choose political suicide and more destruction in Angola.

He is using this threat to negotiate, demanding an extension of the United Nation's deadline for withdrawing from the Bailondo and Andulo regions, in the face of looming UN sanctions.

Unita wants an extension of five days until June 30. "After four years, what difference can five days make?" asked a puzzled UN representative.

By Wednesday evening, no word had come from the joint commission monitoring the Angolan peace process to say whether the imposition of a third set of sanctions should be stopped. A statement had, however, been prepared in New York in the event of a decision to delay sanctions.

The joint commission — consisting of the United States, Portuguese and Russian ambassadors, the UN special representative to Angola, and Angolan government and Unita representatives — was awaiting "a solid commitment from Savimbi" on the handover of their headquarter regions. Their decision had been expected late on Tuesday June 23, Unita's deadline for compliance.

Unita has backed down far enough to begin the process of handing over headquarters; technical teams went to the area last weekend to begin the process.

Secretary General Kofi Annan told the UN that if Unita met its demands, he would recommend an extension of the UN observer mission in Angola's southern regions until August 31.

He added that if there is no political will to complete the peace process, "it would become necessary ... to review the United Nations involvement in Angola."



Armed and dangerous: Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is using the threat of war to negotiate an extension of the United Nations deadline for Unita's withdrawal from its headquarter regions. PHOTOGRAPH: AP

Civilians flee forcible recruitment

John Grobler

Angolan civilians began fleeing into Namibia this week as both the Luanda government and its Unita foes started forcibly recruiting soldiers.

But both could find it hard to recruit willing soldiers to a new war, Angolan watchers said. Last Saturday June 20, about 100 Angolan civilians crossed into Namibia from southern Angola.

The men, who were trying to cross at the official border post of Santa Clara, were summarily arrested and appear to have been taken back to a military training camp at Peu-Peu, 150km north of the border, eyewitnesses said.

"A lot of them waited until dark

and then crept through the fence. They were terrified of having to go back. They slept next to the road in the culverts, and in the morning disappeared among the local population," said a businessman from Oshikango. Road traffic to Lubango has also stopped. Trucks have now been waiting for two weeks to get through."

Angola's first secretary at the country's military chancery in Windhoek, Sebastiao Ndombashi, has been travelling throughout Namibia asking Angolans to return home to support the MPLA.

But ordinary Angolans are loath to identify themselves, lest they be called back to serve in another bloody chapter of a senseless war. "You go for a year, and they keep you

for five," said a young Angolan. "It's the generals' war — let them send their own sons for a change."

According to Phil ya Nangoloh of the Namibian National Society for Human Rights, forcible recruitment has also been under way in Unita-held territory. "If you live in their area, you have to fight in their army," he said.

Most NGOs active in Angola have withdrawn from the field and are now "sitting at the closest airport in case they need to be evacuated on short notice," said George Kruessner of the German Menschen Gegen Minen (People Against Landmines) based in Luanda.

"Things are looking very bad, as bad as in 1992," when Unita rejected national election results and returned

to its guerrilla war in the bush.

Unita is not only hunting down humans in Namibia. Phil Minnaar, a manager of a lodge in the Caprivi Strip, said about three weeks ago Unita soldiers crossed into Namibia along the Cuando River. They drove a large herd of elephants back to Cuando Cubango province, presumably to be slaughtered.

"We know they're going hunting over there," Minnaar said. "But you don't shoot 30 elephants for the pot."

The United Nations has to find an honourable way of extracting itself from the Angolan mess, which was approaching Somalia-like proportions of epic bureaucratic bungling, said Ya Nangoloh.

"When I was in southern Angola in 1996, I saw thousands of AKs in Makusso. They had been there since 1994 — but no one from the UN came to collect the guns. Now you can be sure all those guns are back in soldiers' hands again."

The UN knows that Unita has lied systematically about its army. Even if Savimbi co-operates now, the underlying problem of disarming the Unita military machine remains.

If the level of conflict in Angola rises, its government now has powerful allies. US links with Angola have

strengthened. Angola is one of its more important sources of oil, providing 7% of US oil imports. Military co-operation has been under discussion for some time.

Renewed relations with Russia could also aid Angola. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos visited Russia this

week and signed a co-operation agreement which resolved the \$6-billion debt incurred by Angolan purchases of military equipment during the 1980s.

The debts are to be translated into assets, including diamond mines, it was reported by Interfax.

This agreement also opens the door for a further credit line for arms purchases and spare parts.

Unita may try to isolate a region of its new fiefdom, while buying time from the UN. But Savimbi is not in a position to win a war; only to prevent anyone else "winning".

AFRICA

UN poised to impose new set of sanctions on Unita

(5) 00 1/7/98

NEW YORK — Diplomats say the recent death of United Nations (UN) envoy Alioune Blondin Beye could complicate the already faltering peace process in Angola.

Beye, and five of his colleagues and two pilots from the UN observer mission in Angola, were killed when their light plane crashed near Abidjan, the commercial capital of the Côte d'Ivoire, last week.

As head of the UN's Angola operation, Beye had been trying to persuade the opposition Unita movement to complete its obligations under the peace pact it signed.

Beye, 59, a former Mali foreign minister and respected legal authority, law professor and barrister, had led the UN operation in Angola since 1993, negotiating peace accords that ended two decades of civil war.

A minute after midnight on Tuesday — this morning in Angola — a new layer of security council sanctions will go into force against Unita, unless it fulfils its obligations in terms of peace accords it signed in 1994.

Yet council envoys said there was little evidence Unita had made progress in relinquishing the four areas it controls to the national unity government and

demobilising the remainder of its fighters.

The sanctions — which supplement previously imposed travel curbs and an oil and arms embargo — include a freeze on the bank accounts of Unita, its leaders and members of their families, and a ban on its lucrative diamond trade.

How tightly the embargoes can be enforced is debatable since diplomats believe Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's bank accounts are long under assumed names, and that many of the diamonds are smuggled.

Anxious

Yet Unita leaders wanted the sanctions delayed, an indication that the measures might make life more difficult and further isolate the former rebels.

The security council, however, and the US in particular, is anxious to withdraw its peacekeepers from Angola. Of a force once numbering more than 7 000 about 1 200, including police and civilians, remain. The council wants most troops to withdraw shortly.

The new reduction, adopted in a resolution on Monday, would leave behind 90 military observers, an infantry compa-

ny, a helicopter unit and signals and medical support units.

Another 83 civilian police observers would, though, be added to the existing complement of about 345 and the mandate of the operation was extended until August 15.

Bernard Miyet, undersecretary-general for peacekeeping, has gone to Angola to appraise the situation. Berhanu Dinka of Ethiopia, the special UN envoy to the African Great Lakes region, will temporarily lead the peace process.

Louise Frechette, the UN's deputy secretary-general, described Beye as tireless, energetic and a strong personality — qualities diplomats fear cannot easily be duplicated.

Council members now fear that violence will escalate, with neither the government's army nor Unita guerrillas able to achieve a clear-cut victory.

The council, in its resolution yesterday, expressed concern "at the deterioration of the security situation in Angola as a result of the reoccupation by Unita of localities where state administration was recently established, attacks by armed elements of Unita, new minelaying activities and banditry". — Reuter.

Yet again, hopes for peace in Angola fade

Hopes for peace in Angola appear to be dying in the wake of the death of Ailoune Blondin Beye, the man who tried to keep the process on track. Stephen Laurer looks at the deteriorating situation

By Stephen Laurer 3/17/98

THE violent death this week of Ailoune Blondin Beye could be the distant thunder that heralds a full-blown war closer to SA's borders than at any time since Namibian independence in 1990.

The signs were that there would be war in Angola by the end of this month, interviews with military and intelligence sources this week indicated. That it may become an international conflict that includes Zambia seems possible.

Beye was the United Nations (UN) Angola mediator until his death last Friday in an air crash in Cote d'Ivoire. He played a consistently crucial role in keeping alive the often stumbling, complex attempts to bring peace to Angola, shuttling between the government and Jonas Savimbi's Unita.

Beye's departure from the scene comes at a critical moment. Unita is in defiance of an international agreement under which it was to have ceded a number of areas under its control to the government by midnight on Tuesday.

The UN sanctions imposed as a result show that without Beye to push and cajole the Angolan sides—and the UN, which has democracy in Nigeria and wars in Guinea Bissau and between Ethiopia and Eritrea higher up its agenda—the key parties are increasingly clueless as to how to prevent conflict from erupting again.

Reports from a variety of sources familiar with the Angolan government's thinking say it is preparing for an all-out offensive against Unita with the advent of the dry season at the end of this month. A senior UN official says: "We are concerned at these reports and have been counselling the government in Lusanda not to do anything precipitous."

The attempts by the US to use what remaining influence it has on Savimbi is a further indication of how precarious things are. The official said Secretary of State Madeleine Albright had written to him and "we have asked other friends of his to counsel that he should not give the government reason to act and crush him."

"Maitre Beye," said one SA official this week, using the legal title by which he was widely known, "knew how to get everyone moving again towards agreement when they were derailed and could not see a way out. He would not take no

for an answer. Maybe that is why he had to die."

The suggestion that Beye's death might not have been entirely accidental puts a potentially chilling twist on some of the messages of condolence sent after the crash.

Similar on the surface, there was, in fact, a wide divergence in the realities behind the messages by the heads of state and international organisations on whose agenda Angola has been prominent for years. They ranged from a small child's wish in the dark and the crocodile sobbing of the masses at a Matia funeral.

Messages came from Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo in Pretoria, Togo's President Gnassingbe Eyadema, Mali's Alpha Oumar Konare, and US President Bill Clinton in China. UN secretary general Kofi Annan called Beye a "dedicated and dynamic peacekeeper," while for the Angolan government, he was "the messenger of peace."

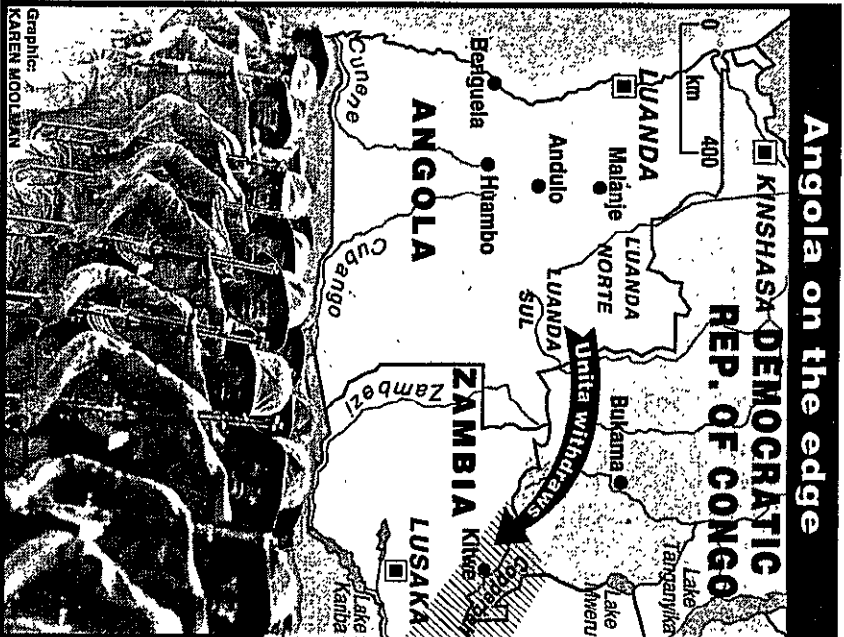
Konare was mourning one of Mali's greatest sons, a former minister who in his five years on the Angolan beat had become a crucial element in the tough, slow moves away from war. If not yet towards a stable peace.

Eyadema's woe, it must be assumed, the crocodile tears so common at mob funerals. Certainly if the claims of diplomatic and intelligence sources are correct that for Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, Togo's is the last really friendly government in Africa.

Beye's plane came from the Togoese capital Lome. Intelligence sources say it is possible that it was tampered with while on the ground there because of Beye's pressure on Savimbi to comply with the Lusaka peace accords.

Eyadema could be the single biggest reason the UN sanctions will remain largely ineffective. Sources say he facilitates Unita's banking and a good portion of the organisation's diamond sales, probably for a healthy fee, but also out of old loyalty to Savimbi.

The sanctions have made international travel for senior Unita officers impossible since last November, but the new provisions are almost laughable. They seek to freeze Unita bank accounts and stop the organisation selling the diamonds it mines in Angola, the backbone of its war effort.



Angola on the edge

Graphic: KAREN WOOLMAN

It can be assumed that internally there are few bank accounts directly identified with Unita or Savimbi. "As for diamonds," said one source familiar with the Angolan trade, "they do not have an imprint telling you who has mined them."

In 1996, Unita was believed to control at least 50% of Angola's diamond production, most of it of gem quality, valued at an estimated \$1bn. Current Unita production, said a source familiar with the industry in Angola, was probably worth between \$200m and \$500m.

As far as the message of condolence from Lusanda goes, its purple rhetoric hardly masked the drums of war rolling in the background. As such as the Angolan govern-

ment might have liked to see Beye succeed, it is also preparing for all-out war.

Angola was producing 750 000 barrels of oil a day, one source said, valued at more than \$3.5bn a year. The government had been buying weapons, probably from Brazil, Russia, the UK, and eastern Europe, and was already moving men and equipment into place.

As for the South Africans, they are fearful of the gathering storm clouds which could spread the Angolan conflict into neighbouring Zambia, where Savimbi has been marshalling many of his remaining forces and further destabilising the region.

As yet unconfirmed intelligence reports suggest that Savimbi has been moving troops through the south of the poorly controlled Democratic Republic of Congo into the Zambian copper belt.

The US official said there was speculation that Savimbi's aim was to sit out the Clinton administration in the hopes of a Republican successor from whom he could expect stronger support. He was possibly also waiting for Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who has cancer, to die, speculating that the ruling MPLA would be split by infighting.

There was also speculation that he believed Deputy President Tsabolo Mbeki might be more favourable to his cause. "How this all mixes in his mind is anyone's guess."

The official said that if reports of troop movements into Zambia were true, they would indicate a strategy by Savimbi to appear to be complying with the Lusaka accords requiring him to disarm and hand control of his territory to the government while keeping a military ace up his sleeve. Zambia, he believed, was not complicit, but simply did not have the military forces to stop the troop movements.

Whatever Zambia's current role, suspicions sit deep between Lusanda and Lusaka. They are potentially explosive, SA officials believe. Intelligence reports say that many of Savimbi's supply routes run through Zambia.

It appears that the Unita embrace between Savimbi and President Nelson Mandela in January last year, when SA tried to move the peace process forward, cost Pretoria a great deal of influence in Lusanda, which it has only recently been able to re-establish.

While SA was acting as an honest go-between, the ever suspicious Angolan government perceived the meeting as South African ambivalence towards its cause of national unity and an end to civil war.

The illegal delivery of arms to Unita from SA territory has not helped perceptions. Repeating the relationship took considerable effort, reaching their peak in Mandela's state visit to Angola in April. Still, there seems no prospect of a high-level intervention by SA in the Angolan situation. So it is over to the UN. However, the fact that Beye was threatening to quit before his death because of a sense that he was not getting enough backing from New York does not augur well.

Angolans flee, repatriation halted as conflict resumes

(5) 00 3/7/98
Christof Maletsky

WINDHOEK — Close to 80 Angolan nationals, most of them police officers, have fled into northern Namibia following renewed fighting in the Cuando Cubango Province, which borders on Namibia's Okavango region.

The Angolan consulate at Rundu confirmed that 50 police officers, nine administrative officials, five women and 14 children had arrived there and more people were expected as tension mounted in southern Angola.

Angolan ambassador to Namibia, Garcia Bires, confirmed that Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels had taken over two former United Nations (UN) bases in southeastern Angola and were expected to take Calais soon.

Calais is close to Rundu, on the other side of the Kavango River.

Fresh clashes between the warring factions in Angola have forced the UN High Commission for Refugees in Namibia to stop advising Angolan citizens to return home.

The high commission's assistant programme officer in Windhoek, Martha Mutilifa, said the situation had forced them to postpone plans to encourage voluntary repatriation of Angolan refugees.

The high commission launched a campaign in April to encourage more than 2 000 Angolans at Osire refugee camp to return home as part of a voluntary repatriation programme to start in September.

Asylum seekers are also entering Namibia daily from Congo, Burundi and Rwanda.

On Wednesday fresh UN Security Council sanctions went into force against Unita for not keeping to the Lusaka peace protocols. The new sanctions include a freeze on the bank accounts of Unita and its leaders and members of their families, as well as a ban on its lucrative diamond trade.

However, observers warn that the sanctions can be circumvented easily.

Hopes fade: Page 10

No war, no peace, no Angolan solution

Mercedes Sayagues A SECOND LOOK

The news of Alloune Blondin Beye's death in a plane crash found me writing in my mind an angry letter to the *Mail & Guardian*, prompted by its latest stories on Angola.

My anger was not about the stories nor directed to Beye (although nothing bad is said about the dead). After all, as envoy of the United Nations secretary general, Beye followed orders of the Security Council.

Last week the council — again, for the umpteenth time — delayed sanctions against Unita. That made me angry.

Not that those sanctions meant much. If you warn that certain foreign bank accounts will be frozen in two weeks, it is likely there won't be much left in said accounts. As for blocking Unita's lucrative and illegal diamond trade, it is easier said than done.

When Beye was appointed special representative to Angola in 1993, the Malian diplomat took the challenge enthusiastically, doggedly, relentlessly. A hard worker, everybody agrees. A permanent optimist, throughout serious violations of the 1994 Lusaka agreement from both warring sides.

Although I had my tiffs with Beye while I was representative for the UN World Food Programme in Southern Africa between 1992 and 1994, I always conceded his devotion to a thankless task. With the benefit of hindsight, I see now that the food programme's goal — delivering food aid — sometimes conflicted with Beye's — political negotiation.

I felt sorry when his luggage full of fabulously embroidered Malian robes was stolen on arrival in Luanda — as was Margaret Ansee's, the former negotiator. Angola welcomes visitors in strange ways.

Beye's optimism often irritated me, first because his interviews and soundbites remained Pollyanna-esque ("we are making progress"); secondly, because he shied from publicly assigning blame for violations. This seems to have been official UN policy since the first, evidently incomplete demobilisation of Unita in 1991/92. Why? Your guess is as good as mine.

I saw it so many times through the years. Just a sample: Mavungu, 1992; Huambo, 1995;



Benigo, 1996; Luanda, 1997. Young soldiers with rusty weapons and lame excuses, press-gauged peasants who fled the demobilisation camps as soon as they could; little of Unita's formidable artillery.

How could the UN certify the demobilisation of 70 000 Unita soldiers between 1995 and 1997, and today Unita is said to have 30 000 fighters?

Again and again the press denounced this mockery of demobilisation. Again and again the UN acted like the proverbial three monkeys, covering their ears, eyes and mouth. Again and again the UN accepted excuses for not handing over territory, not presenting fighters, not relinquishing weapons, missing deadlines.

For journalists who cover Angola, it has been a long rosary of *déjà vu*. For Angolans, an exhausting series of war, peace agreement, demobilisation, lack of war, threats of war, lack of peace — except for the heady, happy 500 days of peace between the Bicesse accord and elections in September 1992. For Angola, as a country, a permanent bleeding

and rape of people and resources.

Not only Unita went unreprimanded. It may be argued that it is not UN business what the government does with its money, but the UN spoke little or nothing about Luanda's weapons build-up, its foreign forays to help Laurent Kabila and Pascal Lissouba in the Congo.

It seems that Luanda's role model is Nigeria, the other bully of West Africa; foreign policy based not on moral authority but on an army ready to fight beyond its borders when requested.

At the height of its operation in Angola, the UN was spending \$1-million a day on peace-keeping, plus hundreds of millions in humanitarian aid. When earlier this year the Angolan Minister of Defence said that Angola should start a weapons industry, did the UN protest that Angolans have other pressing needs; or that UN aid is not supposed to save money so governments can spend it on weapons?

It was not Beye's fault. He deeply believed in an African solution to the conflict. It was the willful, self-righteous, perhaps selfish, to bring other African leaders into the process.

(5) MGS 3-9/7/98

But, four years after Lusaka, this strategy of accepting delays and saving face has prolonged, not solved, the conflict.

In the end, who benefits from this amorphous condition of neither war nor peace?

Unita's Jonas Savimbi benefits first, although more and more he looks like a combination of Pol Pot, an international pariah reduced to a bit of jungle fleighlands, in Savimbi's case), and Marlon Brando's demented Colonel Kurtz in *Apocalypse Now*. He may still harbour the delusion of going into history as a statesman instead of as a sinister strongman.

The MPLA government has a good excuse to continue building up its army, buying more weapons (recently it struck a deal with Russia, trading diamond concessions for spares for its Soviet military hardware, with some new ones tossed in).

In a war economy, there are plenty of opportunities for high-ranking officials to make juicy deals. And, if there were real peace, the Angolan people might start asking why the diamond and oil revenue is never spent on alleviating their wretched poverty.

The United States, although now a drum of Luanda's, must be happy to see some restraint to MPLA greed and power.

"We didn't own Savimbi, we only rented him," joked once an American ambassador in Luanda. Well, maybe one day they will say the same about the MPLA government.

Who gets screwed? The Angolan people. Their social statistics are a disaster: the human development index, shocking.

None of this is Beye's fault. Nor the UN's. But the Angolan mess was not helped by a muddled vision of peacekeeping, peace enforcement and conflict resolution.

Since UN peacekeeping multiplied in the 1990s, the failures have been dramatic: Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda, Liberia, and countless other mean little wars from Chechnya to Afghanistan to Sierra Leone.

Beye never spoke loud and clear about the dirty backdrop to Angola's civil war. A judge by profession, he must have believed that reason and justice would prevail, and the fine print of the Lusaka agreement respected.

Sometimes I wonder if Beye's dogged optimism, that pulled him through so many hard times, allowed him to see that, in the absence of real political will to have peace, not even the most skilful negotiator can succeed. If he did, was that chilling thought in his heart, as the plane went down?

Arms heist link to Unita

MTC 3-9/7/98

Tangeni Amupadhi (5)
and Wally Mbhele

Former Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) operative Johan Niemoller, named in court this week as the mastermind behind a recent spate of arms heists from military bases, has a long history of supplying military equipment and other assistance to the Angolan rebel movement, Unita.

Niemoller was in 1995 named as the head of one of several South African groups still supplying Unita with arms — in contravention of a United Nations ban and South African government policy on arms sales to the rebel movement.

Although Niemoller has been identified as the brainchild behind the recent theft of weapons, the police this week said they "have taken note" of the allegations against him but have not started to investigate his involvement with Unita.

He appeared in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court this week charged with dealing in uncut diamonds worth R1-million. His R10 000 bail was extended.

Speculation is rife that a huge number of arms stolen from Bloemfontein were destined to go to Unita, which is currently gearing up for a renewed war with the ruling MPLA government.

Contrary to evidence which emerged during this week's bail application of one of the suspects, Marius Swanepoel, that arms were stolen to overthrow the South African government, the weaponry could be destined for Unita's depleted armoury.

It emerged during Swanepoel's bail application that two other suspects have fled to Angola.

Angolan government armed forces intelligence chief "General Itha" in 1995 revealed to the *Mail & Guardian* a list of companies, individuals and aircraft he claimed were involved in "covert" support of Unita "in spite of the transition to democracy in South Africa".

Itha alleged food, medicine and military means from South Africa had been flown mostly to the then Zaire. Mobutu Sese Seko, then president of Zaire, would redirect them to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi. Sese Seko was known for his support for Savimbi.

One aircraft registration supplied by Itha was traced to Niemoller Pharmaceuticals in Windhoek, which is owned by Niemoller's father. He also owned a factory manufacturing military gear in Upington.

Swanepoel testified this week that he had organised several meetings for Niemoller in the Free State. After the hijacking and kidnapping of two soldiers who were later found dead, he went to Johannesburg to inform Niemoller about the events in Bloemfontein.

Swanepoel denied that Niemoller was going to fly him to Angola and said when Niemoller failed to turn up for the meeting, he went back to Bloemfontein and handed himself over to the police.



Heist mastermind: Johan Niemoller has a long history of supplying military equipment and other assistance to the Angolan rebel movement, Unita

It is understood that in the early 1990s, when the fighting in Angola was gaining renewed momentum, Niemoller's aircraft was grounded by the Namibian authorities. They seized large quantities of expired medical supplies destined for Unita.

Niemoller was also named in a botched attempt in 1984 to kidnap four top African National Congress leaders, including the late Oliver Tambo, in London.

In 1994 an inquest into the assassination of South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) leader Anton Lubowski named Niemoller as one of several apartheid agents involved in the planning — if not the act — of assassinating Lubowski.

The inquest heard that Niemoller was given R600 000 by the CCB to "establish himself" in Namibia and set up a front company. His work for the CCB was to gather information and make videos of "everything that was important for use by the CCB".

Shortly before Lubowski's assassination, it emerged that Niemoller visited the Swapo leader several times under the pretext of seeking advice on mining operations. He also video-

recorded Lubowski's house from within.

Using Namibia as a base, Niemoller and several of his friends with strong ties to the South African military have for a long time been shipping medical supplies to Angola. It is believed ammunition was concealed among the supplies.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs this week said it was not aware of any South Africans still supporting Unita with weaponry. Representative Marco Boni said the ministry knew of only five South Africans recently arrested in Angola.

"The United Nations has decided to extend sanctions against Angola, and we are going to adopt them immediately. Whoever is arrested contravening those provisions will be left to face the Angolan justice system," said Boni.

Various attempts to reach Itha in Angola were unsuccessful. The police investigating arms heists ruled out any possibility that they will explore Niemoller's alleged links to Unita.

He is expected to appear in court again on October 9.

Yet again, Angolan diamonds are a political pawn

LONDON — Angola's diamond industry has again become a political pawn, six months after Unita surrendered its mining operations in the Cuango valley.

The United Nations last week imposed sanctions on the rebel movement's economic activities, including diamond trading, in a bid to avert the collapse of the peace process in Angola. The move follows increasing military activity by Unita and several failed deadlines. However, the sanctions cover not only Unita's diamonds but all diamonds exported without a government export certificate.

Large quantities of Angolan gemstones have reached the open market in recent years. De Beers bought some \$800m in 1996 and \$600m-\$700m last year, but this year the supply has fallen with Unita's withdrawal from the Cuango valley.

Sanctions against Unita have undermined confidence in the diamond sector, says Chris Gordon

Unita has been the main source of smuggled diamonds from Angola since 1992, accounting for two-thirds of its estimated \$1bn production last year.

The return of the Cuango valley to state control at the beginning of this year seemed to be the green light for the beleaguered diamond sector as Angola's most valuable diamond resource. Sociedade Desenvolvimento Mineral — a consortium comprising Ashton, Mining of Australia, Odebrecht Mining Services of Brazil and the Angolan parastatal Endiama — formally took over the Luanda mines in January and has been rehabilitating the area.

The consortium expects to begin small-scale mining operations this month, stockpiling the production until repairs to

its dense media separation plant and sort house are completed.

Unita's occupation of the mining regions in 1992 had brought official mining activities almost to a halt, but growth in the sector over the past year had been considerable.

New mining projects have come on stream, and most of the known diamondiferous areas of the country are subject to mining and prospecting contracts with a wide range of companies.

Angola's largest state-backed mining project, the Cahoca kimberlite near Saurimo in Luanda Sul, expects to produce 1 000 000 carats of diamonds over the next year. The project, a joint venture between Almazay Rossi-Sahka (Alrosa), Odebrecht, Lev Levier and Endiama, has

moved faster than expected and is self-financing. The installation of new plant by August will allow a 50% rise in production. The diamonds, worth \$75 or more per carat, are sold to Levier by Alrosa, which holds the marketing contract.

The alluvial deposits that have attracted smaller mining companies, and illegal miners, are most difficult to secure. Angola produces the second most valuable gemstones in the world — after Namibia — from its rivers.

Military and police operations to improve security in the eastern mining regions have led to a fall in the number of garimpeiros or illegal miners outside Unita areas. The strategy of using licensed buying offices to soak up the diamonds produced by the illicit diggers also seems

to have worked.

The third of Angola's diamonds not mined by Unita have largely gone out through legal channels, according to Endiama. De Beers and the American Lazare Kaplan International are the largest buyers on the open market in Angola and Antwerp.

However, the optimism of a few months ago has given way to a more sober assessment as security conditions in Angola have deteriorated and Unita's commitment to the peace process is now in serious question. Diamond trading sanctions will become more meaningful if Unita tries to recapture the mining regions. Although army units, as well as private security companies, protect the bigger mining projects, the next few weeks will be tense unless Unita backs down. — Financial Times.

(6) MB b/7/98

PAWN

Thousands flee renewed Angolan war

GENEVA — Thousands of people had fled fresh fighting in Angola between rebel movement Unita and government forces, the United Nations (UN) refugee agency said yesterday.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Kris Janowski said more than 7 000 people had fled to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, formerly Zaire, in the past week and had taken shelter in the

150 15/7/98 (6)
southeastern Kisenge area where there were now 22 000 refugees.

"There is a continuing outflow of people as a result of fighting between Unita and government forces," Janowski told a briefing. The UNHCR had no details of the latest fighting.

Angolan Social Assistance Minister Albino Malungo reported recently that 150 000 people were newly displaced by the conflict. — Reuter.

Angolan refugees pour into Congo

Geneva - Thousands of refugees have fled into Congo to escape fighting in neighbouring Angola, the UN refugee agency said yesterday.

About 22 000 refugees are now camped out in the Kisangi area in the south-eastern region of Congo, said Kris Janowski, spokesperson for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

Last week, about 7 000 refugees crossed into Congo to escape continuing clashes between Angolan government forces and suspected rebels linked to Unita.

Janowski said the UNHCR is buying food supplies in Congo to transport to the refugees.

Attacks by suspected members of Unita on police and civilians threaten to derail Angola's 1994 peace pact.

The government says remnants of Unita's 70 000-strong guerrilla army are responsible for the attacks. Unita has rejected the accusations. - Sapa-AP

SPAN 15/7/98

More flee Kosovo forces step up t

Geneva - The United Nations refugee agency yesterday reported a sharp rise in the number of people fleeing growing violence in the Serbian province of Kosovo.

The office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees said 2 900 Kosovo refugees had fled to neighbouring Montenegro in recent days.

This follows battles near Pec, Kosovo's second largest city and the latest hotspot in the war between the rebel Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and Serbian forces.

"More and more people are forced to flee Kosovo," UNHCR official Kris Janowski said.

Serbian security forces have stepped up their offensive against the KLA in areas near Pec.

Since emerging from obscurity late last year to begin a battle for the independence of

Mugabe takes swipe at press

Harare - President Robert Mugabe has hinted that the government would introduce laws to monitor freedom of the press.

He said on Monday there was a tendency to manufacture lies in some sections of the press, and the government would not allow this to continue.

"We have seen tendencies in our press to try and sell their papers on the basis of manufactured lies, and the so-called opposition press is thriving on lies," Mugabe said.

He was speaking at a reception for MPs before the opening of parliament yesterday.

"You cannot go for a week without reading blatant lies printed in bold letters in order for the paper to sell. Shall we allow this to continue? Shall papers of that nature be allowed to manufacture lies at the ex-

pense of individuals? I say no."

Mugabe added that when the government began taking measures that would affect and inhibit the right of expression, it should not be seen as going against freedom of expression.

"Let the gutter press take heed because we are not going to have this kind of journalism in this country. It can't be freedom of expression if you are telling lies and defaming individuals."

Journalists should research and investigate to establish the truth of what they wrote about.

He also warned ruling Zanu (PF) MPs to toe the party line, saying clandestine groups were starting to emerge. While MPs had the right to express their views, they should remember they were in parliament on a Zanu (PF) ticket and would be whipped into line. - Sapa

Unita rebels seize 35 towns in renewed Angolan hostilities

LUANDA — Angolan former rebel fighters had seized 35 towns and villages since the start of a series of military assaults last March, amid growing insecurity, according to a government report released yesterday.

Forces of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) took two small towns in the north and southeast on Monday, injuring several citizens and causing others to flee.

Jonas Savimbi's movement, which signed a peace pact with the ruling Angolan People's Liberation Movement (MPLA) in 1994, was recognised as a fully fledged political party after its declared demilitarisation in March.

However, Luanda contends that Unita has at least 30 000 fighters armed and equipped for a new war at its disposal.

National Development Minister Faustino Muteka warned parliament on Tuesday of growing instability in recent months in nearly all regions in the east, north and south of the country.

Social Security Minister Albino Malungo estimated that 150 000 people have fled their homes during hostilities he blamed on

the former rebels.

About 7 000 refugees arrived last week in the southeast of neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo, bringing the number of Angolans seeking shelter there to 22 000.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos on Tuesday met presidents Laurent Kabila and Sam Nujoma of the neighbouring Congo to the north and Namibia to the south in Luanda to discuss border instability caused by the escalating violence.

The United Nations (UN) observer mission in Angola said on Tuesday it would examine both a political and a military solution.

However, it suffered a setback when forced to suspend a session of the joint commission monitoring the November 1994 peace pact after Unita representative Isaias Samakuva left in a huff for a rebel stronghold in central Angola more than a month ago.

Unita leaders saw their assets abroad frozen by UN sanctions earlier this month for dragging their feet in the peace process.

The movement was also placed under an embargo on diamond sales, a measure which follows

(5) 20 16/7/98

previous UN sanctions such as international travel restrictions.

Implementation of the 1994 treaty hinges on Unita's demilitarisation and its giving up almost 100 districts it controls, including four central strongholds it was supposed to have given up by the middle of this year.

The accords signed in Lusaka, Zambia, also provided for Unita members of parliament elected in 1992 to take up their seats and for the former rebels to take up a number of government and diplomatic posts. The role of Savimbi himself, given "special status", was then left to one side.

More than a million people have been killed and hundreds of thousands displaced or maimed by landmines in the country, which was crippled by civil war after its independence with Portugal in 1975.

An initial peace deal fell apart when Unita lost the 1992 general elections to the MPLA and took up its arms again. Dos Santos also beat Savimbi in the first round of a presidential poll, but failed to win enough votes to avoid a run-off round which never took place. — Sapa-AFP.

Angolan officials flee as fighting resumes

LUSAKA — About 140 Angolan government officials living in eastern border towns of Angola had fled into Zambia after Unita rebels launched a ferocious attack on the towns, Zambian government and Angolan embassy officials in Lusaka confirmed yesterday.

Thirteen United Nations (UN) officials and aid workers from the Federation for World Peace have fled into the Kalabo district in Zambia's Western Province.

The province's permanent secretary, Tebuho Mulikela, confirmed that the affected government officers were those working in districts on the eastern border

with Zambia. Officials said Unita had intensified attacks on government posts in areas they controlled in eastern and northern Angola.

The death of UN special envoy to Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, who was the only person that commanded Unita's confidence, has brought Angola on the threshold of renewed civil war.

Western diplomats in Lusaka say the Lusaka protocol is in jeopardy and that the international community should act expeditiously to avert Angola degenerating into another cycle of brutal war bringing large-scale human carnage. — Sapa.

Unita denies breaking deal

(5) 00 73/7/98

LUANDA — The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) denied yesterday it had abandoned the Lusaka peace accord it signed with the Luanda government in 1994, despite a recent surge in fighting.

"Unita has never renounced, nor has any intention of bypassing the Lusaka protocol," Gen Horacio Njunjvili, the movement's delegate to a joint commission on implementing the peace plan, said yesterday.

He was responding to a resolution passed by parliament on Tuesday charging that Unita had implicitly renounced the peace plan and calling on the government to take "steps to prevent war from spreading".

Parliament blamed Unita leader Jonas Savimbi for the fighting in which Unita had retaken 68 towns, mostly in the diamond zones of the north and northeast.

The government has previously hesitated to implicate Savimbi and police have blamed bandits or former Unita fighters who had not embraced the peace plan. — Sapa-AFP.

Portugal urges Amman to attend to Angola

LISBON — Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama had urged United Nations (UN) secretary-general Kofi Annan to visit Angola as soon as possible to halt the southwest African country's imminent slide back into civil war; officials said yesterday.

In a letter sent to Amman on Monday, Gama said there was a "dangerous crisis" in the former Portuguese colony because the former rebel movement Unita was not observing the 1994 peace pact with the Angolan government that ended a two-decade civil war.

The political and military situation in Angola "has deteriorated sharply in recent

weeks, prompting legitimate fears that we may be about to see the outbreak of a generalised conflict," the letter said.

The letter was published in yesterday's edition of the *Diario de Noticias* and confirmed as official by the foreign ministry.

Unita, which was to have demobilised its 70 000-strong guerrilla army under the UN-brokered peace deal, "has maintained military activities in several Angolan provinces," Gama wrote.

The Angolan government "was displaying clear signs of impatience with the deadlock in fully implementing the peace accord."

Unita refuses to hand over its central highland strongholds to the government, alleging that police have committed human rights abuses in areas already handed over.

Dozens of civilians and police have been killed in ambushes in remote areas of the vast country over the past two months.

The government has blamed Unita for the attacks, saying the former rebels want to destabilise the country, although Jonas Savimbi's movement has denied involvement.

The UN mission overseeing the delayed implementation of the peace accord has only 1 200 staff in Angola and has been unable to

verify the government's claims.

Gama said Amman's personal intervention was essential to restore confidence between the former foes.

Suspected Unita members killed 12 people in Angola on Wednesday, government radio said yesterday, after the rival sides accused each other earlier this week of edging back to the brink of civil war.

Bandits killed two people in an attack on a bus in southern Angola and more than 10 died in a separate assault on the village of Ngola-Luize in the north, which sent hundreds fleeing, the radio said. — Sapa-APF-AP.

DD 21/7/98 (5)

Angola buys up arms

PHOT 24-30/7/98 (5)
Howard Barrell

The Angolan government has moved troops and heavy artillery into position for a large-scale offensive against rebel Unita positions in the central highlands of the country. South African-based security analysts expect an assault to commence in the next few days.

The government in Luanda is understood to have sought, and got, the permission of the Namibian and Congolese governments to move military forces and supplies across their territories if doing so will help it outflank Unita.

Angolan government forces have taken delivery of two shipments of heavy-calibre artillery over the past fortnight. The supplies come from one or more Eastern European countries that once formed part of the now-defunct Warsaw Pact military alliance. A number of these countries have surpluses of weaponry compatible with the armaments supplied to Angola by the former Soviet Union.

On the opposing side, key Unita strategists and military leaders who had been working within the peace process in Luanda are reported to have slipped out of the Angolan capital in recent weeks, and headed for rebel territory.

They include General Antonio Dembo, Unita's deputy president, who is reported to be in the central highlands in the vicinity of Unita strongholds near Andulo and Bailundo.



Diamond offensive: The Angolan government is gearing up for an attack on Jamba, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's old headquarters. PHOTOGRAPH: TREVOR SAMSON

He and others have been organising resistance against the anticipated attack.

Ordinary Unita foot soldiers have deserted demobilisation points across the country and, in recent weeks, Unita forces have retaken scores of positions which they had earlier ceded to the government under the peace process.

The Angolan government's public justification for the expected offensive will be that the rebels have shown they are not at all serious about the pursuit of peace. But security analysts say a more important motivation for attacking Unita now is a worsening financial crisis within the government.

Angola has already spent large cash advances it has sought and received for future oil production, leaving the government with a serious revenue-flow problem. Establishing control over diamond fields currently in Unita territory and bringing an end to the war have become more urgent.

A major government offensive would mean

the end, finally, of the Lusaka accords, signed in November 1994, which form the basis of the search for peace in Angola. These provided for the demobilisation of the two armies and the resumption of peaceful political activity.

Security analysts interviewed say the government has a three-month time-frame for the offensive, which it hopes will culminate in a successful attack on Jamba, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's old headquarters. The rainy season, which makes much Angolan terrain impassable particularly for heavy military equipment, usually starts in October or November.

"We could be looking at an endgame scenario in Angola in the next few months — and there is no saying which way it will go," a South African-based security analyst said.

It was quite within the realms of possibility that Unita could inflict a decisive defeat on the Angolan government, he added.

Lull not peace but arms spree, PAGE 14

Week of death for Angola

ET 24/7/98 (5)

ANGOLA: At least 150 people were killed in the north-eastern Angolan village of Mussuku, reports said yesterday.

National radio attributed the massacre to supporters of the former rebel movement Unita.

State television showed pictures of survivors of the massacre in their hospital beds after several dozen injured were taken to Luanda's Josina Machel hospital.

A hospital official said that the hospital was short of medicine for the injured.

Mussuku was the scene last week of clashes between government forces and the former rebel movement.

Police later announced that the village had again come under government control.

Citing armed forces officials, state radio also said that three people died on Wednesday when a passenger truck was ambushed

near the town of Lumone in the north-eastern Lunda Sul province.

In another incident, more than 10 people were reported killed in an attack attributed to Unita rebels at Ngola-Luije in northern Malanje province, also on Wednesday. Hundreds of villagers have left Ngola-Luije for Malanje, the main town of the province of the same name.

Earlier this week Unita insisted that it would abide by peace protocols signed with the Luanda government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in November 1994 in the Zambian capital, Lusaka.

Unita is already under sanctions by the UN Security Council for failing to comply with some aspects of the Lusaka Accords — which were meant to end two decades of civil war against the ruling, formerly Marxist, Angolan People's Liberation Movement (MPLA). — Sapa

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Chaos in Angola could spell war

Neighbouring countries would be dragged into conflict if war breaks out, warn diplomats

(b) ARG 20/19/98

ROSS HERBERT

All-out war in Angola moved several steps closer to reality this week as diplomats warned of a humanitarian catastrophe that could drag Angola's neighbours into the conflict.

Richard Cornwell, director of the Oasis security information programme at the Institute of Security Studies, believes war is imminent. "I hope we are wrong ... but the signs are all there it is happening. The ammunition has arrived. Two shipments of heavy calibre ammunition arrived in Luanda last week-end. They are not buying it for fireworks," he said.

Mr. Cornwell and the Independent Foreign Service correspondent in Namibia believe Namibia has agreed to let Angola use its air base at Katima Mulilo in the Caprivi strip, and to allow an Angolan force to land at Walvis Bay to move north-east for an assault on the Unita stronghold of Jamba in the southeast of Angola.

This would allow Angola to seal off the Zambian and Congo borders and at the same time it would invite retaliation that could embroil Namibia, Congo and Zambia in the war.

Namibia's foreign minister, heatedly denied the accusation in Parliament by opposition members, but unconfirmed reports say cabinet ministers have been told to evaluate the potential effects of military activity in the strip.

South African and Western diplomats said they had no knowledge of the Namibian pact, but Namibian President Sam Nujoma and Congo President Laurent Kabila met privately on July 14 with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, after which Mr. Nujoma raised the issue in cabinet.

risk of war, but batted tensions were rising. With access to the interior of Angola extremely dangerous, first-hand information is scarce, but increasing violence is clear.

■ Sources report heavy fighting in the diamond-rich Luanda Norte and Luanda Sul provinces, where Unita ceded control of at least 31 rich mines last year and was driven off others forcibly. At least 150 people were killed in Unita attacks on Musskuku village, according to government press reports. Dozens of others have been killed in recent days in widely scattered attacks.

■ Unita ceded control of 270 towns to government forces, but recaptured about 60, after complaining that government sent large police detachments into newly controlled towns. They then drove off Unita political staff from 212 towns, confiscating its property, arresting officials and abusing Unita sympathisers.

■ Unita claimed at least 263 Unita members have been killed by the police and 633 detained or tortured. Before he died last month in a plane crash, UN special envoy to Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, wrote of such abuses in a report, noting that they were stirring sympathy for Unita.

■ The UN reported widespread forced conscription by the government into the army and national police force. Sources said Unita fighters had left demobilisation camps and begun their own conscription, laying new landmines and fortifying their positions across the country.

■ On Tuesday, the government-controlled National Assembly passed a resolution threatening to expel Unita from the assembly and government of national unity.

General Horacio Njunuvili, a Unita delegate, disputed government charges and accused the govern-

ment of preparing the public for war.

■ Unita has never renounced, nor has any intention of bypassing the Lusaka protocol," he said.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama urged UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan to intervene to stop renewed civil war.

The UN observer force has pulled most of its staff back to provincial capitals as a result of the violence and about 120 UN and aid workers recently fled into Zambia after being attacked in Unita-controlled territory.

The Luandan government recently called in the foreign diplomatic corp to warn bluntly that its patience was wearing thin and that it could not rule out a full assault on Unita if the present situation persisted. That threat is taken seriously because of Angola's aggressive military posture in the past year.

On his way to South America, President Mandela stopped in Luanda on Monday and met the Angolan prime minister. What they discussed is not known, but some sources said South Africa had kept too low a profile on the intensifying conflict that has major regional consequences.

Namibia's involvement presents a real risk that Unita will mark Namibian infrastructure and military as legitimate targets if that country is used to insert forces into Unita's previously safe southeastern

zone. Unita is said to have retained large quantities of arms and heavy weapons. Diplomats doubt if has the capacity to win a conventional war, but could wage guerrilla war with deadly effect.

In a new twist for Unita, Jackie Potgieter, a field researcher for the institute, said international aid workers reported Unita ground forces working in conjunction with two helicopter gunships piloted by English-speaking men.

The Angolan government retains a capable air force and has significant heavy airlift ability, but it, too, is considered unprepared to completely defeat Unita.

Even if both sides know they cannot win, Mr. Cornwell and others fear that tensions and distrust have reached such a level that both sides see no option but to fight.

Mr. Beye's death has increased the risks. He was extremely well versed in the issues and had enough credibility with both sides to keep dialogue going. So far the UN has done nothing to replace him. On Wednesday, Unita called for the UN to replace Mr. Beye to restart talks.

The Organisation of African Unity and Southern African Development Community (SADC) have kept a low profile on the issue. In the heart of the SADC, the conflict ought to be the chief responsibility of the SADC security organ, headed by Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe.

"Mugabe is scared our president

will steal all his thunder. Mugabe has less than zero credibility with Unita. They don't want to hear from him," said a South African official.

Even if Mr. Beye were replaced quickly, a diplomatic solution seems far off. Despite the government of national unity, Angolan troops and police have shown a winner-take-all attitude on the ground that leaves little room for Unita to function as a normal civilian political party.

Although Unita ceded 31 rich diamond mines to the government along the Kwango River in Luanda Norte, the government has not fulfilled its promise of giving shares in the resulting diamond mining companies to Unita.

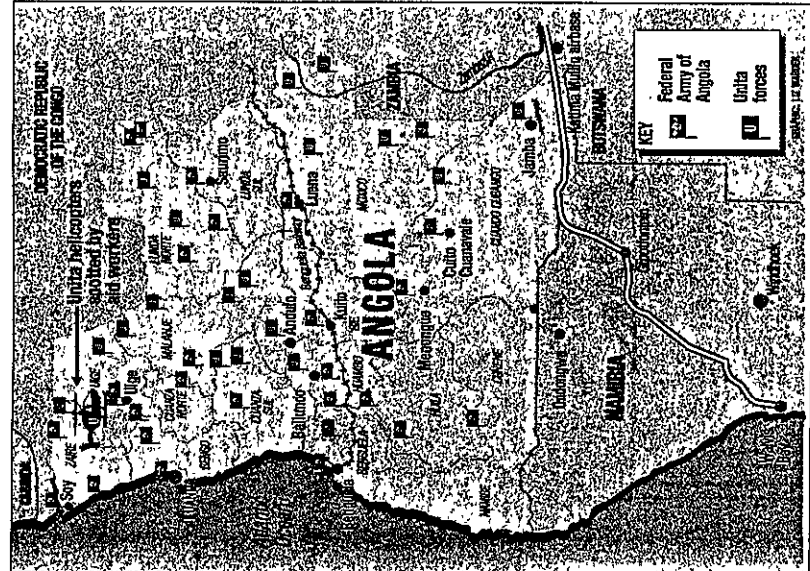
Analysts said the widespread bandit attacks and looting reflect, in part, economic desperation by Unita troops who have no prospects except to regroup and pillage. When such attacks began early this year, Unita denied it held any more control over troops and ascribed the attacks to rogue elements that should be dealt with as criminal cases.

However, the breadth of the attacks and Unita's failure to fully declare its arms or demobilise all its troops has led to speculation that random attacks are part of a strategy to maintain plausible deniability and buy time by frustrating government efforts to take more towns.

A key flashpoint will be the central highlands in Huambo province, where Unita maintains its headquarters in Andulo and Bailundo. Unita repeatedly refused to turn over the towns to government forces and now looks set to defend them.

Whether the increasing chaos and intransigence will lead to war is unclear. But the risks of total war seem likely to grow unless the region intervenes. - Independent Foreign Service

'I hope we are wrong... but the signs are all there it is happening. The ammunition has arrived... They're not buying it for fireworks'



Tension between the government and the opposition Unita movement has been building for months as Unita fell behind on commitments to demobilise soldiers and turn over its territory to government control. Unita claims to have fully demobilised its 70 000-strong military, but Angola has been plagued by increasingly violent and well-organised attacks against the United Nations aid agency and government facilities across the country.

All-out war looms a

Namibia may be used as base to attack Unita flank, and diplomats warn

By ROSS HERBERT

All-out war in Angola moved several steps closer to reality this week as diplomats warned of a humanitarian catastrophe that could drag Angola's neighbours into the conflict.

Richard Cornwell, director of the Oasis security information programme at the Institute of Security Studies, believes war is imminent.

"I hope we are wrong ... but the signs are all there it is happening. The bullets have arrived. Two shipments of heavy-calibre ammunition arrived in Luanda last weekend. They are not buying it for fireworks," Cornwell said.

Cornwell and the Independent Foreign Service correspondent in Namibia believe that Namibia has given agreement in principle to allow Angola use of its air base at Katima Mulilo in the Caprivi Strip - and, in addition, to land an expeditionary force at Walvis Bay that would be moved north-east for an assault on the Unita stronghold of Jamba in the far south-east of Angola.

In parliament in Windhoek, Namibia's foreign minister heatedly denied these allegations made by opposition MPs, but unconfirmed reports say cabinet ministers have been told to evaluate the potential effects of military activity in the strip. And, according to Cornwell's sources, the Angolan ships are already under way.

South African and Western diplomats said they had no knowledge of the Namibian pact, but Namibian President Sam Nujoma and Democratic Republic of Congo President Laurent Kabila met privately on July 14 with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, after which Nujoma raised the issue in cabinet.

A force launched from Caprivi would allow the Angolan government to move north and seal off the largely unguarded Zambian and Congo borders. At the same time it would invite retaliation that could embroil Zambia, Namibia and Congo in the war.

Tension between the government and the opposition Unita movement has been building for months as Unita fell behind on commitments to

demobilise soldiers and fully turn over its territory to government control. Unita claims to have fully demobilised its 70 000-strong military, but Angola has been plagued by increasingly violent and well-organised attacks against United Nations, aid-agency and government facilities across the country.

With access to the interior of Angola extremely dangerous, first-hand information is scarce, but a pattern of increasing violence is clear.

Sources report heavy fighting in the diamond-rich Lunde Norte and Lunde Sul provinces, where Unita ceded control of at least 31 rich mines last year and was driven off others forcibly.

At least 150 people were killed in Unita attacks on the north-eastern village of Mussuku, government reports said on Thursday. Dozens of others have been killed in recent days in widely scattered attacks.

Unita has ceded control of 270 towns to government forces, but recaptured about 60 after complaining that the government had sent large detachments of police into newly controlled towns, then systematically drove off Unita political staff from 212 towns, confiscating its property, arresting officials and abusing Unita sympathisers.

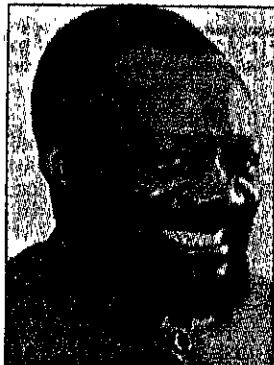
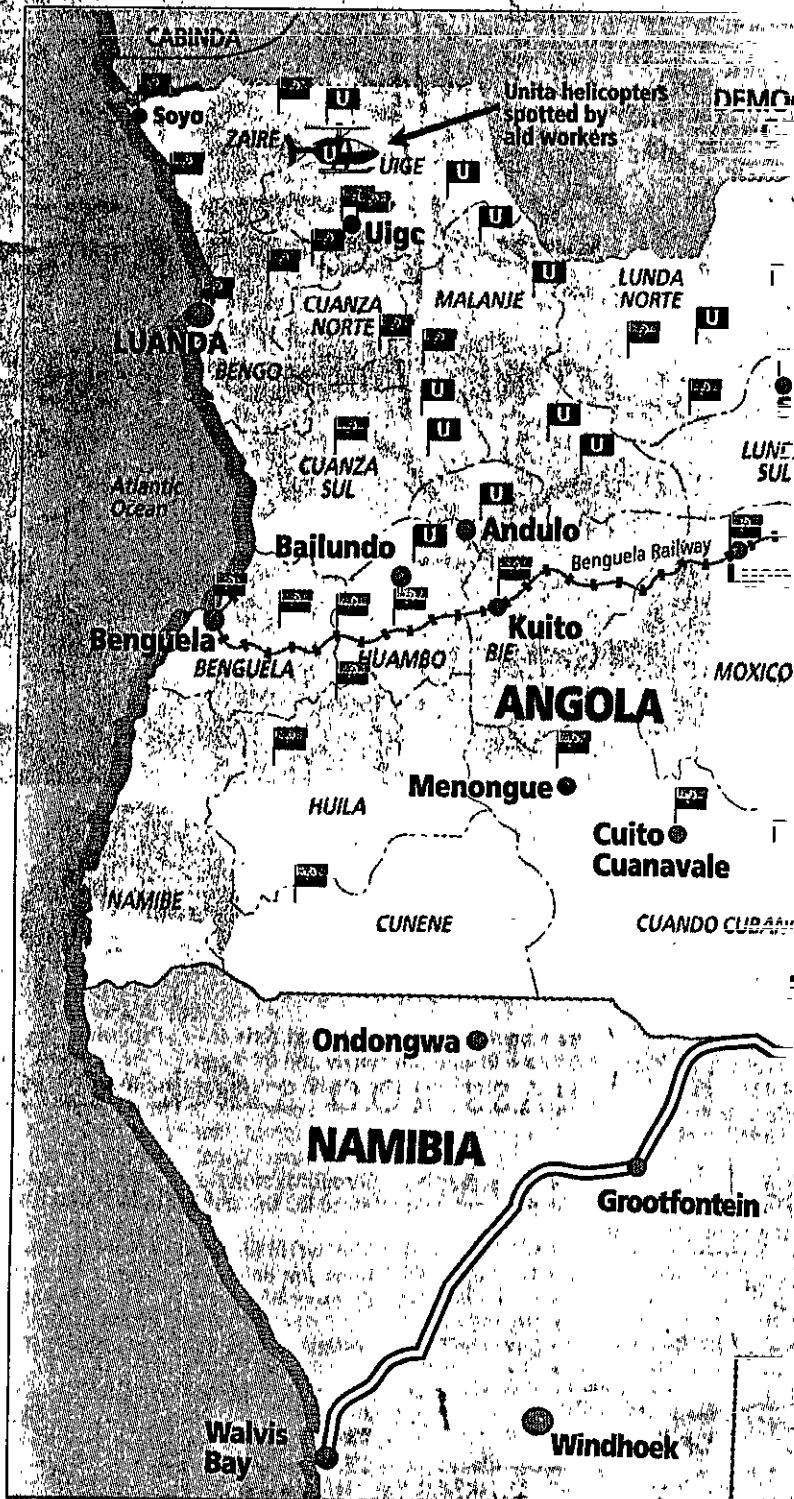
Unita claims at least 263 members have been killed by the police and 633 detained or tortured. Before he died in a plane crash last month, UN special envoy to Angola,

Alioune Blondin Beye, wrote about such police abuses in his second-last report, noting that they were stirring sympathy for Unita.

The UN reports widespread forced conscription by the government into the army and national police force. Sources said Unita fighters have abandoned demobilisation camps, initiated their own conscription, and begun laying landmines and fortifying their positions.

On Tuesday, the government-controlled National Assembly passed a harshly worded resolution threatening to expel Unita from the assembly and the government of national unity, a move touted in the Luanda media as giving the government licence to attack Unita.

General Horacio Njunjuvili, Unita delegate to a joint commission to



PREPARING: Jonas Savimbi is said to be fortifying Unita positions

implement the 1994 Lusaka peace plan, disputed government charges and accused the government of preparing the public for war.

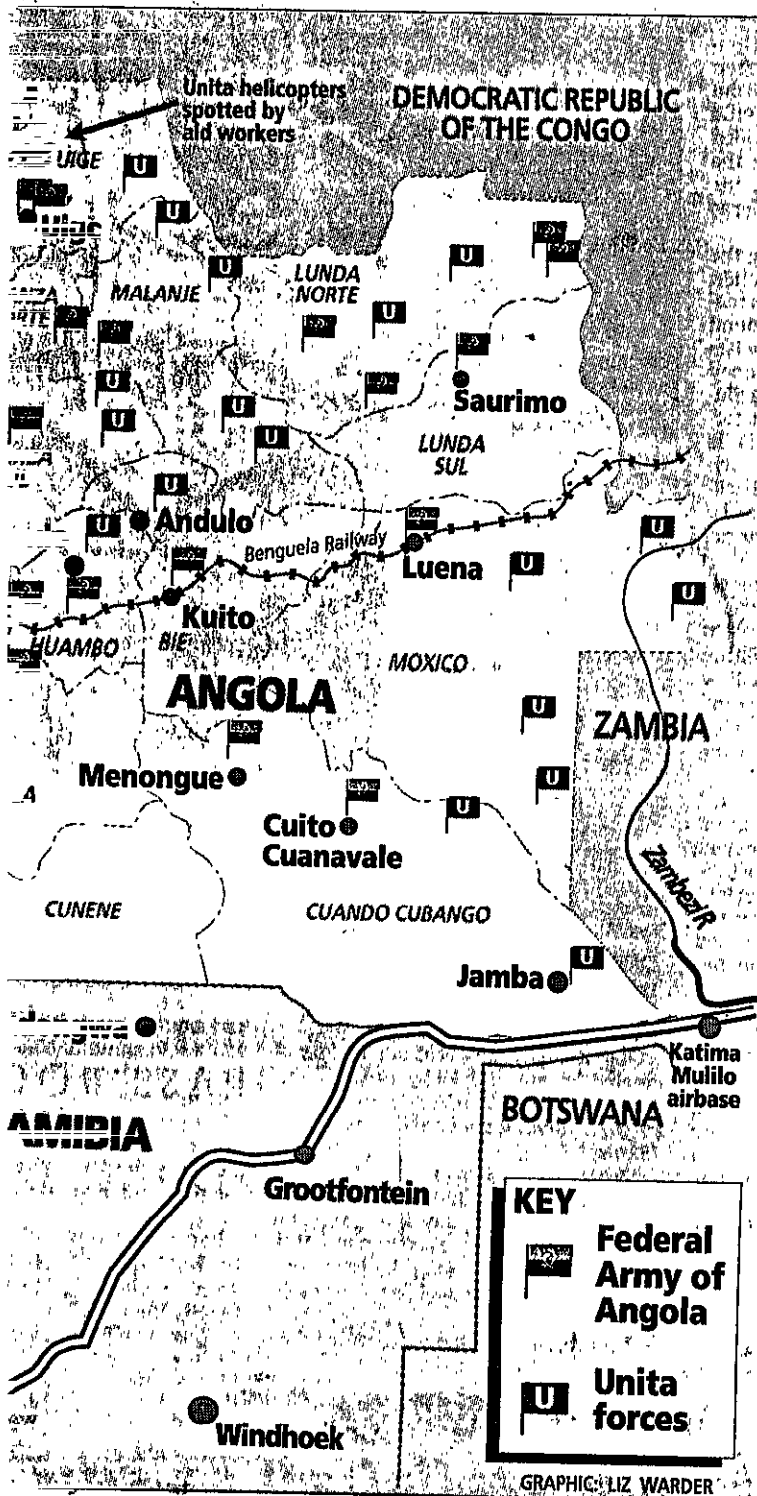
"Unita has never renounced, nor has any intention of bypassing, the Lusaka protocol," he told AFP. He

said he feared for the safety of Unita officials in Luanda, but would not allow them to be killed, as happened in 1992 when Unita officials were attacked at the start of renewed fighting.

Portuguese Foreign Minister

Mines again in Angola

... and diplomats warn of catastrophe that could embroil neighbours



GRAPHIC: LIZ WARDER

said he feared for the safety of Unita officials in Luanda, but would not allow them to be killed, as happened in 1992 when Unita officials were attacked at the start of renewed fighting.

Portuguese Foreign Minister

Jaime Gama on Monday urged UN secretary-general Kofi Annan to intervene to prevent renewed civil war. He complained to Annan that the situation "has deteriorated sharply in recent weeks, prompting legitimate fears that we may be

about to see the outbreak of a generalised conflict."

The UN observer force has pulled most of its staff back to provincial capitals as a result of the strife, and about 120 UN and aid workers recently fled into Zambia after being attacked in Unita-controlled territory.

The Luanda government recently called in foreign diplomats to warn bluntly that its patience was wearing thin and it could not rule out a full assault on Unita if the present situation persisted. That threat is being taken seriously because of Angola's aggressive military posture in the past year.

Angolan troops toppled the government in Congo Brazzaville and played a key role in defeating Mobutu Sese Seko in the former Zaire; and the Angolan foreign minister threatened to do the same to Zambia if that country did not prevent Unita from resupplying from its territory.

On his way to South America, President Mandela stopped off in Luanda and met the Angolan prime minister. What they discussed is not known, but some sources said South Africa has kept too low a profile on a conflict that has major regional consequences.

"Perhaps we have been too cautious, too diplomatic," said one source familiar with diplomatic moves.

The involvement of Namibia presents a real risk that Unita will mark Namibia's infrastructure and military as legitimate targets if that country is used to insert forces in Unita's previously safe south-eastern zone.

Unita is said to have retained large quantities of arms. Diplomats doubt it has the capacity to win a conventional war, but it could wage guerrilla warfare with deadly effect.

In a new twist for Unita, Jackie Potgieter, a researcher for the Institute for Strategic Studies, said international aid workers had reported Unita ground forces working in conjunction with two helicopter gunships piloted by English-speaking men. The Angolan government retains a capable air force and has significant heavy airlift ability, but it too is considered unprepared to defeat Unita completely.

Even if both sides know they cannot win, Cornwell and others fear that tensions and distrust have reached such a level that both sides

see no option but to fight.

Beye's death has raised the risks. He was very well versed in the issues and had credibility with both sides. So far the UN has done nothing to replace him. On Wednesday, Unita called for the UN to find a replacement so that talks could resume.

So far the OAU and Southern African Development Community have kept a low profile on the issue. In the heart of SADC, the conflict ought to be the chief responsibility of the SADC security organ, headed by Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe.

"Mugabe is scared our president will steal all his thunder. Mugabe has less than zero credibility with Unita. They don't want to hear from him," said a South African official.

Even if Beye were replaced quickly, a diplomatic solution seems far off. Despite the government of national unity, Angolan troops and police have shown a winner-take-all attitude on the ground that leaves little room for Unita to function as a normal civilian political party.

Although Unita ceded 31 mines to the government in Lunda Norte, the

government has not fulfilled its promise of giving shares in the resulting diamond mining companies to Unita.

Some analysts said the widespread bandit attacks and looting reflect, in part, economic desperation by Unita troops who have no prospects except to re-group and pillage.

When such attacks began early this year, Unita ascribed them to rogue elements

that should be dealt with like criminals.

However, the breadth of the attacks and Unita's failure to fully declare its arms or demobilise all its troops has led to speculation that random attacks are part of a strategy to maintain "plausible deniability" and buy time by frustrating government efforts to take more towns.

A key flashpoint will be the central highlands in Huambo province, where Unita maintains its headquarters in Andulo and Bailundo. Unita repeatedly refused to turn over the towns to government forces and now looks set to defend them.

Whether the increasing chaos and intransigence will lead to all-out war is unclear. But it seems more likely unless others in the region intervene. - Independent Foreign Service



TALKS: President Dos Santos met in private with President Nujoma

Unita blames massacre on diamond traffickers

BD 27/7/98

(5)

LUANDA — Former rebel movement The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) yesterday denied involvement in the massacre of 215 people in the north-east Angolan village of Mussuku last week.

Unita said the massacre was part of a series of "programmed crimes ... intended to be blamed on Unita". Luanda said Unita forces were responsible.

The Unita statement quoted "reliable sources" as saying the massacre resulted from tensions between Angolan and foreign diamond traffickers "working in private security firms headed by mercenaries of all types". Unita demanded an urgent inquiry into the incident, in the diamond-rich Kwangu valley region, to be held under the supervision of the United Nations mission in Angola.

It was the latest incident in the escalating violence of the past four months, with the rival sides accusing each other of returning the country to the brink of civil war.

Mussuku was the scene the previous week of clashes between Unita and government forces. Police later announced the village had again come under government control.

Unita promised in March that it would fully demobilise, but the government has said the movement, which fought the Marxist government after

Angola's independence in 1975, still has at least 30 000 armed men.

The peace process following the 1994 Lusaka accord has been paralysed for several months and critics blame Unita. The movement is supposed to relinquish its four main strongholds at Bailundo, Andulo, Mungu and Nhareya, plus about 100 other places under its control. However, in less than four months of its latest reported offensive, Unita has seized control of 68 towns and communities.

Meanwhile, the Angolan government said that it feared a renewal of its long-running civil war with Unita forces following the massacre.

"Unita's failure to comply with the Lusaka peace accords means we are practically in a state of war," government spokesman Joao Lorenzo told national radio on Saturday night. "Now is the time for decisions, the time for the government's forces to assume their responsibilities to ensure that no more Angolans die," he said.

Southern African leaders meeting in Namibia yesterday were expected to discuss the Angolan conflict, SA's foreign affairs department said.

The leaders from the Southern African Development Community are due to meet in Swakopmund to look at ways of boosting trade and investment. — Sapa-AFP, Reuter.

(10)

OAU and other bodies must try to solve Angolan situation, says Mugabe

Swakopmund - The worsening situation in Angola would have to be dealt with through the Organisation of African Unity and other international bodies, Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe said yesterday.

Addressing a media briefing

soon after a South African Development Community heads of state meeting, Mugabe said the region was restless over recent developments in war-torn Angola.

About 215 people were killed on Wednesday in a village in the diamond mining town of Caf-

unfo in Lunda Norte province. And two UN peacekeeping convoys were ambushed in Lunda Sul and Benguela provinces recently.

Reports claim that as many as 150 000 refugees have been driven away from their homes by the latest upsurge

in fighting.

There have been unconfirmed reports of military reinforcement on both sides.

Accords to halt the civil war and form a government of national unity appear to be crumbling, according to media reports. - Sapa

(5)
Star 27/7/98

Leaders dither as fears of renewed Angolan civil war mount

By Ross Herbert and Norman Chandler

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28/9/98

Angola is on the brink of a war but diplomats and heads of state from the region have so far come up with nothing more concrete than expressions of concern.

Angola has been plagued by increasingly violent attacks across the country by the opposition Unita movement. Last week in the diamond-rich province of Lunde Norte, 215 people were killed in an attack that the government blamed on bandits and mercenaries operating in the diamond fields.

"This is a severe indictment of the lack of progress with the SADC security organ and the real willingness of the region to ensure stability," said Jackie Chiers, executive director of the Institute for Security Studies.

Unless action was taken quickly, Chiers and diplomats said they feared Angola would steadily slide into civil war. Already about 150,000 people have been driven from their homes by fighting and thousands have fled into Congo and Zambia.

"We are hoping and praying that war does not break out," Defence Minister Joe Modise said yesterday. "If it does the whole region will be affected."

and we still have the taste (in our mouths) of what happened in Mozambique in the past."

The United Nations imposed sanctions on Unita, backed by South Africa, which blamed Unita for failing to live up to its commitments to demobilise its army and turn over territory to government administration.

Unita accuses government forces of abusing its officials in areas surrendered and failing to grant shares to Unita in diamond mining operations after Unita ceded mines to government control.

The diplomatic options are either to convince Unita to return to peace or let the Angolan

government carry through its recent warnings to attack Unita if it does not comply with the Lusaka accords.

The problem is little real dialogue is underway. The UN has been immobilised since the death last month of Alioune Blondin Beye, the UN special representative to Angola. Unita has withdrawn all but junior diplomats from Luanda and regional diplomats said sanctions prevent them from holding talks with Savimbi except through the still leaderless UN operation in Angola.

Observers say both sides are making preparation for war. On Sunday, Robert Mugabe,

Zimbabwe president and head of the SADC security organ, said existing mechanisms were clearly failing in Angola but a solution would have to come through the OAU and the UN.

Modise said South Africa might eventually participate in a UN peacekeeping operation, but ruled out involvement in a mission that required troops to enforce peace when neither party was committed to peace.

Decisions on Angola remain the province of the UN Security Council but the key players, the US, Portugal and Russia, have shown little willingness to engage in Angola. — Star Foreign Service

Angola deploys 18 000 troops as war clouds

28/9/78

(5) PD

LUNDA — Western diplomats said yesterday that the Angolan government had deployed 30 battalions of about 18 000 troops in towns under its control while rebel movement Unita was said to have intensified attacks on civilian targets.

"Both sides are preparing for war. They are all stock-piling, they are fortifying positions and they are recruiting en masse," a Pretoria-based diplomat said. "In the countryside war has virtually broken out but it goes unreported."

The fear that Angola is about to return to full-scale war has also been fuelled by a huge conscription campaign in government

towns across the country.

Diplomats said Unita, led by Jonas Savimbi, was conscripting men and women and its army had been reinforced by members of defeated government armies from the former Zaire, Rwanda and Congo Republic.

Meanwhile, Sapa-APF reports that former Unita rebels have taken two northern towns while three other attacks carried out in diamond regions killed 16 civilians, soldiers and police, according to government radio reports yesterday.

Unita took control of Kimbele and Makokola in Ute province after fighting with police. It also attacked Koxe in the

northern Bengo province, a day after deadly road ambushes in the diamond regions of Lunda-Norte and Lunda-Sul.

Pule Molebeledi reports that Defence Minister Joe Modise has issued a stern warning to SA arms smugglers suspected of aiding the warring parties in the Angolan conflict, saying they stood to have their property confiscated or to serve lengthy prison sentences.

Modise said in Pretoria yesterday there were rumours that some South Africans were directly smuggling arms to Angola. He reminded smugglers that Parliament had recently passed a law, the Regulation of

Foreign Military Assistance Act, prohibiting any mercenary activity by South Africans. SA Police Service detective spokesman Dir Reg Crewe said the service was not aware of any local citizens smuggling guns to Angola.

However, government observers said there were a number of rogue elements who had resumed their arms dealing connections with Angola. These elements had apparently built-up a good network with Unita during the apartheid years.

Last night it was reported from Washington that United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Kofi Annan was sending a senior

envoy to Angola with a strong message for both Unita and the government.

Ibrahim Brahimi, an Algerian diplomat and experienced UN trouble-shooter, was expected to leave New York late yesterday in a bid to shore up the faltering peace process in Angola, sources said.

Modise said he was hoping that a full scale war would not break out. SA would do its best to assist the parties involved resolve the conflict peacefully.

Modise, who expressed concern that the war would exacerbate the refugee problem experienced by SA, said there were about 2 million refugees in the country.

gather

UN emergency mission to save Angolan peace

(6) 26 Mar 29/7/48

Experts say the Angolan government is planning a last-ditch offensive to wipe out Unita as both sides recruit en masse

SAPA-AP, REUTERS
New York

With an upsurge of violence threatening Angola's UN-brokered peace accord, UN chief Kofi Annan is sending a top official, Lakhdar Brahimi of Algeria, on an emergency mission to the nation this weekend.

The trip comes after indications that the Angolan government is soon to launch a three-month dry-season offensive against the former rebel group Unita with backing from Namibia and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The Johannesburg-based Institute for Security Studies said Angolan forces were also relying on the expertise of some 250 foreign military men, mainly

South Africans, in a campaign they hoped would finally break Unita, which fought a 20-year civil war against the Angolan government after independence from Portugal.

"As far as we know, the decision (for an offensive) was taken. It will be a three-month dry-season offensive," the institute's Richard Cornwell said.

There was no official word on the campaign from Luanda but diplomats on Monday said the Angolan government had deployed 18 000 troops in towns it controls across oil- and diamond-rich southern Angola.

They said both the government and Unita were recruiting en masse.

Cornwell said neighbouring Namibia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo had

agreed, after a request from Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, to allow their territories to be used as springboards for attacks on Unita.

Angolan forces backed Congolese President Laurent Kabila in his military campaign against late dictator Mobutu Sese Seko in the former Zaire.

Brahimi will urge the government and Unita "to desist from any action which could undermine the peace process and to resume negotiations without delay in order to fully and expeditiously implement the remaining provisions" of the 1994 peace accord, a statement said.

Fighting has spiralled in recent weeks, including a reported massacre last week in which 215 people were killed.

Angola on the brink of full-scale war

BY NORMAN CHANDLER
Defence Correspondent

The conflict in Angola demanded immediate intervention by peacekeeping forces, including South African forces, if economic growth, security and stability were to be maintained in southern Africa.

This was said yesterday by Tony Yengeni, chairperson of Parliament's joint standing committee on defence. He said the Southern African Development Community "should pay more attention to what is happening in Angola. As the conflict gets more out of hand, we cannot sit by as spectators as Angola explodes."

He was answering questions after presenting a paper on peacekeeping at the annual African defence summit in Midrand.

On Monday, Defence Minister Joe Modise ruled out the deployment at this stage of South African forces in a peacekeeping role in Angola.

A United Nations force comprising Indian, Romanian, Zambian and Namibian troops is currently deployed there to maintain a fragile peace between Angolan government forces and the Unita rebel movement as well as to undertake demining operations.

Sapa-AP reports that Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad told a parliamentary foreign affairs committee yesterday that the Angolan situation was "disastrous".

Further negotiations with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi were pointless, he said, and would only lead to more delays. "The issues are clear. We don't want to give any more excuses for more delays," Pahad said.

► Emergency UN mission

Page 4

Grisly find deepens Angola crisis

5 ARG 30/7/98

Luanda - A mass grave containing at least 100 bodies has been found in the village of Bula in north-eastern Angola, nine days after the massacre of 215 people in the same province, Angolan television reported yesterday.

The Angolan government declared Tuesday a day of mourning for the Mussuku massacre.

The 215 people were killed on July 21 in the diamond valley of Kwangu.

The television report did not link the latest discovery to the Mussuku

killings. The government has blamed troops of the former rebel Unita movement for the murders.

However, Unita denies any responsibility for the killings on Tuesday.

Unita maintains the Mussuku massacre was linked to hostilities between rival diamond traffickers, private security firms and troops loyal to the central government.

The commentary on the macabre television images from the Bula mass grave this week asked whether the United Nations mission in Angola "will have the courage to attribute

this massacre to Unita".

On Tuesday, the UN observer mission in Angola began an investigation into the Mussuku massacre as the European Union imposed sanctions on Unita.

In March, Unita announced that it had fully disarmed, earning it the status of a political party.

However, it has since been held responsible for paralysing the November 1994 Lusaka peace protocol.

This has had the effect of plunging the country back into a period of military instability. - Sapa-AFP

27

A struggle for peace

SWAKOPMUND – Leaders of the 14-member Southern African Development Community (SADC) expressed grave concern on Tuesday night over the continuous violation of the Lusaka peace protocol by Unita and the rapidly deteriorating situation in Angola.

In a communique issued after their meeting in Swakopmund, Namibia, they condemned the resumption of acts of hostility that amounted to a declaration of war by the Unita opposition movement of Jonas Savimbi. They said this could lead to a full-scale war.

The communique urged Unita and Savimbi to comply with the provisions of the Lusaka protocol and United Nations Security Council resolutions, and to stop prolonging the suffering of the people of the diamond-rich country.

"SADC heads of state and governments called on Dr Savimbi to proceed to the Angolan capital, Luanda, without further delay and to play a constructive role in the reconstruction and development of Angola," said the communique.

The leaders reiterated their support for the Angolan government and people, and encouraged them to ensure the maintenance of national unity and reconciliation, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country.

The SADC leaders also committed themselves to do everything to ensure that the Angolan peace process remained on course and was speedy and successfully completed.

They renewed their resolve to work together to ensure that their territories were not used as springboards to undermine and destabilise Angola – already devastated by many years of civil war between Unita and MPLA government soldiers.

Special appeal

The communique followed Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's special appeal on Monday night, at a banquet for 350 delegates attending the second Southern African International Dialogue, for the continent to rebel against political instability, the seizure of a presidency by force and anything that tainted the image of Africa.

"We must rebel against this because it makes even residents of a small American town (like) Dead Man's Creek in Mississippi laugh at us," he said.

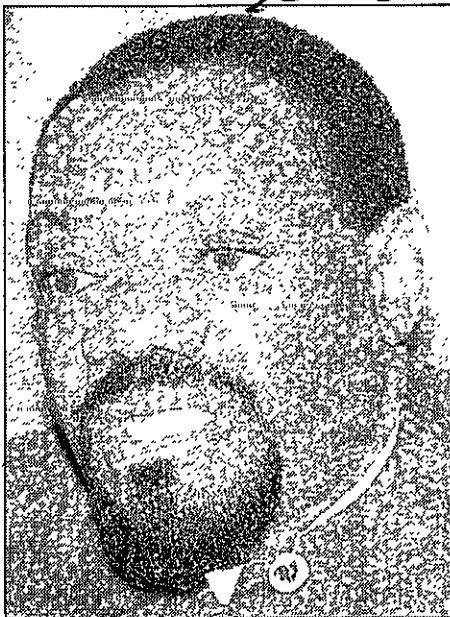
He urged increased cooperation to ensure that everything possible was done to re-educate the world to recognise that there were good things on the continent.

The Tuesday night communique asked the international community to help ensure the speedy implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and full compliance with UN resolutions on Angola.

At a news conference, Namibian president

Southern African leaders have taken steps to counter the rapidly deteriorating situation in Angola. **Israel Mogale** considers the ramifications.

Sowetan 30/7/98 (5)



Unita leader Jonas Savimbi ... accused of resuming acts of hostility in Angola.

Sam Nujoma denied that his country would allow Angolan forces to launch an attack on Unita from Namibia.

"We have no knowledge of any plans by the Angolan government to use our territory as a springboard to attack Unita," he said.

"And, as far as I am concerned – in my capacity as commander-in-chief of the Namibian Defence Force – I have no knowledge of any such plans nor have I or my government received any request from the Angolan government to use our territory as a launching point on Unita," he said.

The UN observer mission in Angola (Monua) has begun a probe into last week's massacre of 215 people, officials said on Tuesday, as the European Union (EU) imposed sanctions on Unita.

Monua has sent military observers and police to Mussuku in northeast Angola to compile an independent report on the slaughter, blamed by the government on Unita, which has denied responsibility. A national day of mourning was in effect on Tuesday to commemorate the victims of the Mussuku massacre, which also left more than 80 wounded.

A statement from the EU presidency in Brussels, Belgium, said the sanctions against

Unita would include a ban on imports of diamonds from Angola not accompanied by a government certificate of origin.

The measure also freezes all overseas assets belonging to Unita or its senior officials and their immediate families, as well as prohibiting any financial contributions to them.

EU countries will also be banned from providing petroleum products, aircraft and aviation components to Angola other than through certain points of entry, the statement said. – *Sapa*.

● **LUANDA** – In March Unita announced that it had totally disarmed, earning itself the status of a political party.

However, the Luanda government, which Unita members are supposed to have joined as well as taking up diplomatic posts under the Lusaka pacts, accuses the ex-guerrillas of seizing back 68 villages and towns it had handed over to state administration in line with the accords.

The Angolan government also claims that Unita has at least 30 000 men still under arms, including elite troops. Last year the movement made clear that it would not relinquish control of its diamond-rich zones without any other source of income.

Unita and the MPLA signed a peace protocol in Lusaka, Zambia, in November 1994 that provided for a political and military settlement of the devastating civil war that followed independence from Portugal in 1975.

One of Savimbi's top aides who signed the Lusaka accords but has since been disavowed by the movement, Eugenio Manuvakola, last week in turn disavowed his former chief, stating that he had lost his mental faculties and was bent on plunging Angola back into war.

Four strongholds

Officials in Luanda state that Unita currently controls more than 300 districts, including its four strongholds in central Angola: Bailundo, Andulo, Mungu and Nhareya.

Meanwhile, Angolan government and Unita sources said on Tuesday that the commission implementing the 1994 Angolan peace accords planned to meet today.

The lengthy peace process took a blow last month with the death of the main UN envoy to the country, Alioune Blondin Beye of Mali, who was killed in a plane crash in Ivory Coast.

Last week Unita called on the UN to name a new envoy and accused the government of seeking to return to war. – *Sapa-AFP*.

Angolan govt accuses Unita of more attacks

(6) CT 30/7/98

LUANDA: The Angolan government yesterday reported new attacks on outlying towns by the former rebel movement Unita, while the rebels warned that Angola's four-year-old peace accord was on the verge of collapse.

"The peace in Angola is hanging by a thread," Unita official Rui Oliveira said, referring to the deepening tension between the former foes which threatens to undermine their 1994 peace agreement.

The government claims that Unita has killed hundreds of civilians and police in attacks in recent months, including the massacre of about 200 people last week, while the rebels allege that police have tortured and murdered their supporters.

There was no independent verification of the charges which have further delayed full implementation of the peace accord that ended the two-decade civil war.

Unita forces on Tuesday captured the strategic town of Mussende, about 250km south of Luanda, after "fierce fighting" with local police, the local governor told state-run media yesterday. No information was available about the number of casualties.

Mussende, a town in the Cuanza Sul province near where rebel soldiers had occupied two villages earlier this week, lies on a main road leading to Luanda. Last year, Unita had handed back control of the towns to the government as part of the United Nations-brokered peace agreement.

Jonas Savimbi's rebels, regarded as one of Africa's strongest guerrilla forces, seized more than half of the country during the war.

Meanwhile, Oliveira — a Unita official who lives in Lisbon — said the group's supporters had reported a massive government troop buildup in Huambo province, 560km south of the capital, within striking distance of Unita's remaining central highland strongholds.

He denied the government reports of Unita attacks.

Oliveira complained that European Union sanctions against his movement, announced on Tuesday, were "unfair" and further undermined the peace process.

"The international community is biased against Unita and is giving the government a carte blanche to launch an attack against us," Oliveira said.

The EU sanctions included restrictions on Unita's diamond sales, which provide the movement with hundreds of millions of dollars annually, and a freeze of its bank accounts. The UN passed similar sanctions earlier this year.

Oliveira alleged the army and police had committed human rights abuses in areas returned to government control, but had escaped punishment.

In Swakopmund, Southern African Development Community leaders condemned the Angolan rebel movement for threatening full scale war and demanded that Unita take its rightful place in the elected government. — Sapa-AP

Angola drums up UN support for offensive

LUANDA — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was seeking international support for an offensive against the former rebel group Unita, diplomats and security sources said yesterday.

They said Dos Santos was in France as part of a strategy to win support from members of the United Nations (UN) Security Council to allow his forces to wage war against Unita without attracting penalties from the world body.

"Dos Santos is drumming up support for a fresh offensive against Unita," a security source said. "He is trying to get France, as a permanent member of the Security Council, to back his government."

Diplomats said Dos Santos was courting Security Council support to block any attempt to impose sanctions on Luanda in the event of a government campaign against Unita. "If the government does start another war, the Americans will definitely call for UN sanctions to be imposed," said one

Western diplomat.

From France, Dos Santos will fly to Brazil, also a Security Council member and one of Luanda's closest allies. "It seems that Luanda will be able to count on three Security Council votes," said the diplomat, naming France, Portugal and Russia.

Unita has warned that the UN-brokered peace accord is on the verge of collapse. "The peace in Angola is hanging by a thread," Unita official Rui Oliveira said, referring to the deepening tension between the former foes which threatens to undermine their 1994 peace deal.

Unita forces occupied two villages in Guanza Sul province, 250km south of Luanda over the past two days, state radio RNA reported, citing unidentified government sources.

Oliveira said the group's supporters had reported a massive government troop buildup in Huambo province, 560km south of the capital, within striking distance of

Unita's remaining central highland stronghold where its leadership is based.

In London analysts said Angola's booming offshore oil industry was not likely to be deterred by the prospect of renewed war.

"I would say the effect on oil production and investment would be very small," said Andrew Latham of Edinburgh consultancy Wood Mackenzie.

However, analysts said that Unita might find it difficult to fund its war effort with diamonds. Unita previously illegally sold diamonds mined from areas under its control, estimated to have earned the former rebels \$300m to \$600m a year.

Analysts said Unita would be hard-pressed to dispose of its diamonds because its main diamond-trading route through the Democratic Republic of the Congo had been severed. "President Laurent Kabila is closer to the Angolan government. The national chain of distribution areas has faltered to a large extent," — Reuter, Sapa-AP

Unita 'building up forces near Zambian border'

(4) 120 31/7/98

LUSAKA — International human rights observers reported a military build-up, including forced conscription, by Angola's former rebel Unita movement in the area bordering Zambia yesterday.

And Angolan television reported that a mass grave containing at least 100 bodies was found in the small village of Bula in the northeast, nine days after the massacre of 215 people in the same province.

Authorities have attributed the massacre to Unita troops, although the movement denies responsibility.

A growing number of Angolans was reported to be crossing the border to refugee camps in northwestern Zambia following fresh hostilities between the Angolan government and Unita.

"We interviewed over 50 refugees in the camps and they were unanimous in their testimony. Unita is conscripting people, mostly teenage boys, in preparation for war," said Human Rights Watch in Africa researcher Alex Vines.

Diplomats and analysts say Angola is rapidly sliding back into war, with both Unita and the government reinforcing their positions and recruiting en masse.

An increasing number of refugees were fleeing their trouble-torn country to Zambia, as allegations of human rights abuses in Unita-held areas escalated.

Human rights abuses described by refugees include rape, summary execution, lack of freedom of expression and movement, and forced conscription,

Vines said.

Zambia has about 63 000 Angolan refugees living in camps in the northwest. Thousands of unofficial refugees live in the border area.

Last week the Zambian government said several aid workers operating in Angola had fled to Zambia after being harassed by Unita.

"A lot of other people have fled Angola because of being harassed by Unita," said Zambia's Western Province permanent secretary, Tebuho Mulikela.

Human Rights Watch and Afronet urged the international community to take action to curb human rights abuses in Angola, particularly the US, Portugal and Russia — the nations charged with

monitoring Angolan moves towards peace after 20 years of civil war.

Meanwhile, Unita has taken the southern town of Chicomba in Huila province after several attacks, a government official in Luanda said.

The farming town fell into Unita's hands following a week of raids, while the situation in the rest of the province was "worrying", the official said.

Government reports of Unita activity in the south follow accounts of offensives by the rebels, who supposedly demobilised in March, in the north and diamond-rich northeast of Angola.

On Wednesday Luanda said that Unita troops had taken the farming town of Mussende, a strategic location between

the northern Malanje and Kwanza-Sul provinces. In mid-May, United Nations observers monitoring the stalled Angolan peace process warned that Unita was apparently out to isolate Malanje.

The ex-rebels, who signed peace protocols with the MPLA in November 1994, made clear last year that they would not give up their diamond-rich territories without another source of income.

Unita became the official opposition party when it demobilised. The ruling MPLA has tried to have Unita, which holds 70 seats in parliament, rendered illegal, but the former rebels rejected the terms of a resolution passed last week declaring that Unita had renounced the Lusaka protocols. — Reuter, Sapa-AFP.

Weary Angola returns to arms

Chris Gordon in Luanda and Howard Barrell in Cape Town

Angola's return to arms, which appeared inevitable this week, could spill into neighbouring territories and destabilise the entire Southern African region.

In the line of fire are Zambia, which the Unita rebel movement continues to use as a rear supply base and which is bracing itself for cross-border incursions; and Namibia and the Democratic Republic of Congo, which are believed to have offered their territory to the Angolan government as springboards to hit Unita from the south and east. In addition, tens of thousands of refugees are already on the move into Congo and other neighbours.

South Africa's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Aziz Pahad told the *Mail & Guardian* this week "it will be very difficult to build an iron curtain around a full-scale war in Angola". He said it would have a "spiralling effect that would impact on everyone in the region".

The Angolan conflict has been internationalised by last year's war in the former Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo. Alliances were forged after the Angolan government supported Laurent Kabila's march to Kinshasa, while Jonas Savimbi's Unita troops fought side by side with former president Mobutu Sese Seko's army. Elements of the Hutu extremist militias from Rwanda and Burundi are also believed to have found a safe haven in Savimbi's territory.

The alliances were perpetuated in the overthrow of Unita sympathiser Pascal Lissouba in Congo (Brazzaville) last year, after intervention by the Angolan military to seal off Savimbi's major supply route.

Though no major government counter-attack against Unita had started late this week, all indications are that Angola is now preparing for war. Television broadcasts each night summarise the failed peace process and Unita's actions. People are wearily gathering their strength for the next onslaught. After four years of ineffective United Nations intervention, a third renewal of civil war now seems inevitable.

South African officials believe there are still influential voices in Angola, including President José Eduardo dos Santos, holding out against a full-scale military offensive. Final attempts at dialogue are continuing, a tired-looking Minister of Defence Pedro Sebastião told the Angolan media last weekend.

The Angolans are understood to be particularly mindful of the United States, which desperately wants to stave off war. Fresh from a policy debacle on the other end of the continent, where US allies Eritrea and Ethiopia are battling it out, war in Angola would be a crushing blow to US foreign policy in Africa. Once the main backers of Savimbi, the US has become the main guarantor of the peace process and has copious strategic interests, particularly in the fabulously rich off-shore oil deposits.

"We've lived with fluctuating levels of conflict and tension for some time," an optimistic US official was quoted as saying. "This is not a level we haven't seen."

But forces on the ground appear to be moving in a direction that the international community is powerless to prevent. Dos Santos — who has evidently recovered considerably from his severe illness — last week described the political situation as "extremely grave" in an address to the nation before leaving the country for two weeks. He returns on August 7.

Dos Santos said there is a state of undeclared war on Unita's part, as Unita continues to capture towns and villages on a daily basis. The final go-ahead for government retaliation is said to wait on the international community and on the president's return next week.

Meanwhile, the Angolan army (the FAA) is being positioned to reinforce the diamond-rich Lundas in the north-east and the east and south of the country. The eastern Moxico region is logistically difficult for the army, say observers, but control of this region is crucial.

It is here where Unita has secured supply lines via Zambia by capturing the town of Luau in Moxico Province and nearby villages



Above: Tens of thousands of Angolan refugees are expected to move into Congo and other neighbouring countries. **Left:** Overflowing village graveyards have grown following a spate of attacks the government blames on Unita. **PHOTOS: JOÃO SILVA/PICTURNET.CO.ZA**

The rebel movement is reported to have 28 arms stockpiles, which include assault rifles, submachine guns, rocket launchers, mortars, shells, cannons, missiles, anti-tank and anti-personnel mines, ammunition and explosives.

The complex web of supply lines to Unita, set up by elements within the South African military establishment in 1992, is still alive, and procures armaments from the Far East and Central Europe. Friendly African states — Togo is one recently cited — allow the transhipment of arms to Unita.

Other materials — small arms, spare parts, uniforms, field rations, trucks and fuel — are sourced locally, principally in South Africa, and are flown or trucked to Unita-held territory.

UN observers in Angola believe Savimbi has not been committed to the peace process. They believe he only ever sent young, inexperienced fighters to military assembly points set up under the Lusaka accords, all along holding back his crack troops. Even the greenhorn troops, however, have now deserted the assembly points.

The UN secretary general's special envoy to Angola, Lakhdar Brahimi, a former Algerian foreign minister, was due to see Savimbi on Thursday. Pahad said: "The security council has sent a very strong message to Savimbi. So has the European Union. There is no way the international community and we in the SADC [Southern African Development Community] can countenance any attempt not to implement the Lusaka accords."

Brahimi's report is expected to reach UN Secretary General Kofi Annan over the weekend or early next week.

Pahad said the main thrust of South African policy is to "create a situation where full-scale war does not break out". This means "getting Savimbi to stop sabotaging the process".

A top-level South African security official said the government is "very worried that Angola will return to a war we thought was over". The different arms of South Africa's security and intelligence communities are apparently "seized with the issue".

Pahad said South Africa is hoping for "dynamic contact with Annan on Angola". The way forward had to be plotted under the rubric of the UN. He added South Africa had made its position clear to Savimbi. "There is an immediate need for Savimbi to commit himself to the accords," he said.

This has caused much consternation for the authorities in Luanda.

It is understood that, at the time of the visit to Southern Africa by US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in December last year, the Angolan government was on the verge of unleashing a pre-emptive strike into Zambian territory because of its belief, which was not independently confirmed, that some Zambian officials, including then minister of defence Ben Mwila, were helping to re-arm Unita rebels.

After diplomatic interventions by Albright and others, Zambian President Frederick Chiluba moved Mwila from the defence portfolio to energy and water, and Angola called off the planned attack on Zambia. Mwila is understood to be related by marriage to Savimbi.

Angolan impatience with Zambia is rising, and a strike into that country is now a distinct possibility.

Pahad said if Zambia is knowingly allowing its territory to be used to help Unita, "it would be a very serious matter". In that case, "we would have to find a way of dealing with it". He thought it more likely, though, that the Lusaka government was finding it difficult to exert full control over western Zambia.

Zambian officials say allegations that their government is undermining the peace process are "very unfair". Said one: "Peace in Angola will help Zambia."

In Angola, a national day of mourning was called on Tuesday for the 105 people, mostly diamond diggers, killed in an attack near Cafunfo in the Cuango Valley, which the government blamed on Unita. However, it is not clear whether it was a Unita attack or a robbery.

Another attack last Saturday, on the road between Saurimo and Luena, two strategically

important provincial capitals, killed 20 civilians.

Meanwhile, the government and Unita representatives have effectively withdrawn from the body overseeing the implementation of the peace process. Isias Samakuva, Unita representative, left Luanda for Bailondo weeks ago and General Antonio Dembo, Unita general secretary, has also left.

The Angolan weekly, *Comercio Actualidade*, reported last Friday that Unita's newly installed Luanda offices were being stripped of all equipment, by night. Dembo opened the offices at the beginning of June, as proof of Unita's good intentions.

Reusal to hand over these areas by the end of June led to UN sanctions on Unita's economic activity and diamond trading, which the industry says is unenforceable; and the freezing of its international bank accounts.

Unita surrendered 70% of its diamond mines at the beginning of this year, pre-empting the sanctions. Unita's present mining activities in the north and to the east of Cuango, and in at least two other areas, are still substantial.

On Tuesday, Unita captured the city of Caungula, controlling the road to the towns of Cuango and Luzamba, the site of much of Unita's previous diamond-mining activity.

Unita military activity has been reported around Quilbaxe, north-east of Luanda, and 300km to the south, on main roads to the capital. More troop movements are reported in the south of the country, and in the east.

A new pattern to the offensive is emerging after weeks of attacks on UN and NGO installations across the country. Unita is now testing FAA positions and trying to force diamond-producing regions of the Lundas

War as usual, seems to be Angola's only future

AP 2/18/98

Dos Santos and Savimbi going on the offensive

ALL the signs are evident that potentially rich Angola, still crippled by its last war, is set to wage another one - before the country's rainy season sets in.

ANGOLA once again seems set on civil war - a conflict which would reverberate through the entire southern African region.

However, the international community - from the UN and SADC - to the US and SA - seem powerless to prevent the conflict taking place. However, four years down the line - from the hope of the lasting peace promised by the Lusaka Protocols - the chances of Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement and the Angolan government finding common ground in the interests of their long-suffering country now seem dim. Angola might be full of soldiers and guns but it is not blessed with great leaders.

While neither Savimbi or Angolan president Eduardo dos Santos have the stature of world statesmen, the greatest blame for the collapse of the Lusaka Protocols is laid at the door of Savimbi - who has steadfastly kept open his military options, while testing the waters of the peace process.

He has claimed that areas under Unita control were being victimised by Luanda. Unita did surrender about 70 per cent of its diamond mines but maintained a grip on the industry and is under UN sanctions for refusing to hand over more area.

The troubled situation has moved beyond deceptions and tensions and a third full-scale war seems likely. Both sides have effectively withdrawn from overseeing the peace process!

WAR HAS NEVER REALLY BEEN FAR AWAY ... Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, has steadfastly kept open his military options while testing the waters of the peace process



Political Editor

This is not least because a civil war will not be contained within Angola's borders but will impact on neighbouring states like Namibia, Zambia and Congo and retard development of the SADC.

Unita has reportedly been engaged in seeking new supply lines. The movement lost two important allies when Laurent Kabila came to power in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Pascal Lissouba was overthrown in neighbouring Congo Brazzaville.

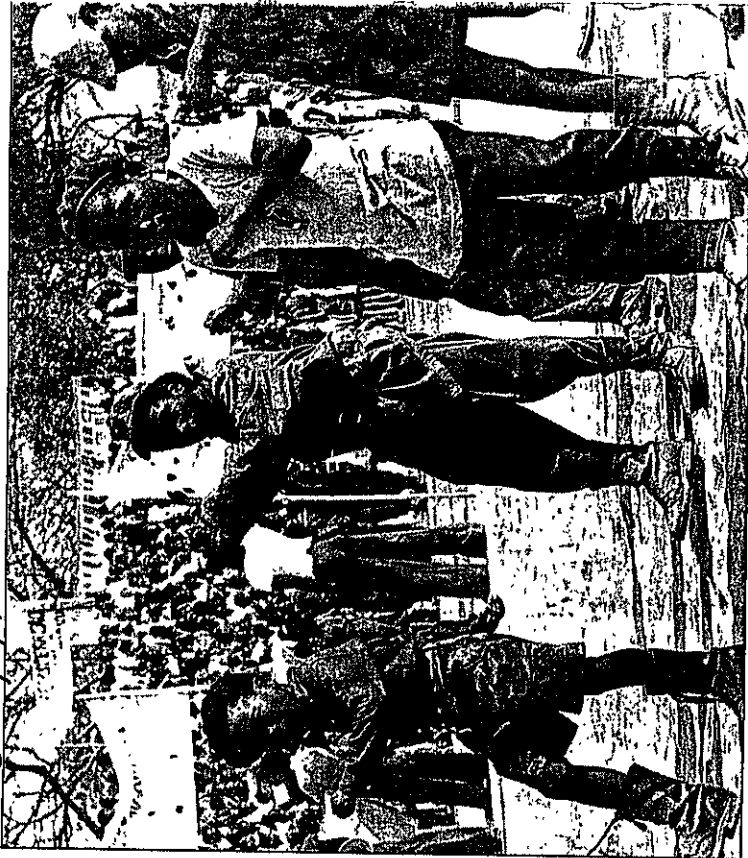
But Unita, which back in the cold war days was supported by the previous SA government and the US, has gone on the offensive.

It recently captured a string of towns and villages, including a supply line stretching to western Zambia.

Now it seems set on securing strategic diamond fields and is mobilising a few hundred kilometres from Luanda.

Meanwhile, the Angolan government seems to be opting for the view that the best way forward is to go on a military offensive.

Such a drive would have to take place soon - before the rainy season begins.



EVENTUALLY THE CHILDREN ARE DRAWN IN ... Like these young boys wearing outside boots and uniforms, pictured in Luanda during the previous war between the MPLA government and Unita

According to US foreign affairs officials, Washington wants to prevent total war but faced with the intransigence of Savimbi, is likely to give the Angolan government a long leash.

South African officials admit extreme concern about the situation and say the government wants to exert pressure on Savimbi to return to the peace process.

However according to intelligence reports, Savimbi is being assisted by South Africans with links to previous state security struc-

tures with rations, clothing and fuel exported from SA.

He is also being supplied with more deadly cargo - a range of armaments which reach Unita through a complicated network of countries based in the Far and Middle East, the Baltic states as well as other African states.

The discovery of more than 100 people massacred in north east Angola and buried in several mass graves has worsened the situation. The UN is investigating and is yet to say whether the killers were

The massacre has added moral weight to the Angolan government's complaints about Unita. However, were Angola to go to war, such massacres would pale into insignificance compared to the inevitable carnage that would follow.

The question is whether such a war is avoidable - but observers say that Savimbi has left no other option for this struggling nation.

It ever Angola[®] needed ST 2/8/98 hope, Coke is it

As the threat of war rumbles once again, ANDREW TRENCH discovers the country's once headline Marxist government embracing capitalism in a can

XAVIER EULLILO hoes mesale fields in the village of Bom Jesus 65km southeast of the capital, Luanda. Sure he says he's heard there may be war again soon but even with his son a soldier for the Angolan government today he is more excited about something else.

He looks across the road to a sign on which he sees the promise of his future. Stuck into the field, it announces that this will be the site of a \$36-million plant — a joint project signed this week between Coca-Cola and the Angolan government — that will bring locally made Coke to 10.5-million Angolans.

Until recently, he had never heard of Coca-Cola, says the 47-year-old farmer, but he knows about this factory. "It is a good idea because it is a chance to better job. To work there would be a pleasure," he says.

Today, he earns \$10 (R60) a month. Tomorrow, who knows? But the factory in the bush at least offers some hope.

If Eullilo's faith in the future of a country balanced on the precipices of another bloody civil war is surprising, it's nothing compared to the ideological leap made by the MPLA-dominated government when it signed on to drink multinational in Luanda this week. Coca-Cola will own 55 percent of the new company, the government, 45 percent.

A decade ago, the MPLA was in bed with Cuba and the Russians, and the US was pouring money and guns into Angola to back Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita movement. Now the US has abandoned Unita and the government is to be a joint manufacturer of capitalism in a can.

The biggest foreign investment venture in Angola outside of the oil and diamond industries since 1994, the Coca-Cola deal hints that maybe more has changed than renewed threats of war would suggest.

"The government views this as a symbol that Angola is open for business," says the US ambassador to Angola, Donald



A FIZZY FUTURE: The \$216-million Coca-Cola plant planned in Bom Jesus has brought the prospect of jobs for hundreds of desperately poor Angolans

Steinberg.

The deal, during what many outside the country regard as a crisis, seems bizarre but can be seen as a more accurate barometer of the severity — or lack of it — of Angola's problems.

Coca-Cola, after all, would not be inclined to spend millions in a country it thought was about to tear itself apart again.

A diplomat in Luanda called South Africa's perception of imminent war "hysteric" and a "feeding frenzy" in response to a rise in the level of propaganda from both sides. "There has been an impasse but it has been steady, not a sudden collapse."

The Coca-Cola investment appears to support this view. The company does not disguise the fact that its investment is about making money and not about altruism.

It estimates it sells 168-million cans of Coke in Angola a year. This is remarkable considering

that all Coke is imported and sells for more than R12 a can.

With a bottling plant in the country, cheaper drinks and an extensive marketing campaign, Coca-Cola sees Angola as one of the biggest markets in the region — despite the possibility of war.

"There is tension within the country," acknowledges the vice-president of Coca-Cola Southern Africa, David Lyons, "but we've invested in more severe countries in the past."

"We feel confident that the government is in full control and will bring everything to a peaceful solution."

And even if fighting does break out, he says, "very few people are going to target Coca-Cola. We are neutral."

This might be optimistic. If sales are to be as lucrative as the company believes, the Coca-Cola factory may be one of the first places Unita heads for — espe-

cially since it will be part-owned by the government.

In many ways, the Coca-Cola deal represents the change that has swept through Africa since the end of the Cold War. Where once much of the continent stood with the socialist bloc, today it is the last frontier for the Cold War's victor, economic liberalism.

An investment by Coca-Cola in a country like Angola emphasizes the extent of that victory — and how far the government has moved since it began its conversion to the free market in 1992.

In Bom Jesus, a local government official asked about Coca-Cola laughs and says: "Oh yes, the aftermath government."

If the public statements of those involved in the deal are to be believed, the Angolan authorities danced smiling into Coca-Cola's arms. "The negotiations were followed by the whole government and were supported by the whole government," says

Angola's Minister of Industry, Manuel Duque.

Behind the scenes, though, more hardline officials are said to have lobbied over the pending relationship. Would they not be allowing a monopoly in the soft-drink market? What about Pepsi? Let them invest too, Coca-Cola replied.

With characteristic bounce and an eye to the bottom dollar that defies the irony of timing, the US-spawned company applies the same global-speak to its philosophy in Angola as anywhere else. "The connection with Coke is not that it is American or Western. It represents refinement, quality and a better way of life," says Lyons.

In a country where a glass of water can be deadly the appeal could be deadly in appeal bill you.

Everyone acknowledges, however, that the deal's political impact may outweigh the

immediate economic dividends.

"In political terms at this point, sure it has an impact," says Duque. "We think it can be a very important factor in restoring confidence in Angola in terms of the international community."

Steinberg says the deal can be seen as a kind of peace dividend that will help keep alive the embattled 1994 Lusaka Accord.

"I do not want to overstate this: Coca-Cola is coming in not to make money. But if a project like this can give a sense that there is movement, then the Angolan people will see a different kind of future."

It's hard to believe the accord can be rescued by a soft drink, but Steinberg's point about people having faith in a fizzy future is supported in Bom Jesus — this is exactly how the bucolic farming community sees it.

Coca-Cola estimates the plant will provide jobs for 440 people

and indirectly create another 12 for each one of these. The road to the village will undergo a million-dollar upgrade, the electricity supply will be improved and a communal tap will be installed.

The company plans to open 10 distribution depots immediately and about 22,000 outlets in the north over the next three years.

One person who is thrilled is Maria Semedo da Silva, 18, whose only income — about \$20 a week — comes from selling soft drinks in the village market. "It's good, this factory opening here. At the moment it is not good."

Dunmings Miguel Politano, a 40-year-old widow who has supported her eight children by selling catfish in the local market since her MPLA soldier husband was killed in the war in 1989, considers the venture a lifeline.

"Now I will have an opportunity," she says. "We want peace. No war ever helps us."

In Bom Jesus, Coke is it.

Picture: ANDREW TRENCH



Unita leader Jonas Savimbi

Angola's Savimbi should be tried and punished

The only way to put an end to the aggression of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in Angola is to arrest him and have him tried as a war criminal, writes Horace Campbell

80 3/8 198

LAST month more than 100 nations signed the treaty for a new United Nations (UN) International Criminal Court. The forces that came together to establish this new legal instrument envisioned a kind of global Nuremberg — a permanent court where individuals accused of atrocities and genocide can be tried and punished.

This meeting in Rome wrote into international law the fact that it is a crime if any military operation is begun with the cause incidental loss of life and injury to civilians. Under these rules of engagement the military leader in the Balkans who is being hunted as a war criminal and others who targeted civilians in war would be tried as war criminals.

Delegates overwhelmingly approved the historic treaty creating the world's first permanent war crimes tribunal, ignoring strong US objections. The treaty was approved by a vote of 120-7, with 31 abstaining. The US tried to block passage, but was soundly defeated by a vote of 113-17. It not only refused to

sign the treaty, but refused to attend the signing ceremony. The US is opposed to the International Court of Justice and is opposed to the democratization of international diplomacy. Just as it stood against the partitioning of land mines, the Pentagon is afraid of international conventions that can bring war criminals to justice. The Pentagon wanted to have the same kind of veto over international law relating to crimes against humanity that the US has over the whole question of peace in African countries, especially those in the Southern African Development Community region.

Those in the Southern African Development Community region now have an opportunity to take the lead in ratifying this treaty so that elements such as Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in Angola can be brought to justice. For those who live in the memory of the cold war, crimes against civilians were permissible as long as the justification was that the enemy was com-

munist. When millions of people were held under city sieges, those were crimes, but the whole concept of reconciliation was suppressed to excuse these crimes. This justified the alliance between the racist in SA, the Pentagon and Savimbi. Many of these elements in SA provide the rear base for supplies for Savimbi. Up to this time, Savimbi and his military wing in Angola have not come to the realization that the days of the cold war are over and his supporters in the Pentagon no longer have a veto on the nature of international relations.

The advanced political, diplomatic and military maneuvering that have been set in motion for the mobilization of more than 70,000 Angolan troops to blockade Savimbi will not be a short surgical war as the military experts predict.

There is more business in the reconstruction of Angola than in the destruction of lives and the society. Some elements in SA and in the region must take the lead to prevent the escalation to full-scale warfare.

The UN Security Council has dithered since 1994, always giving Savimbi more time to demobilize his army. For five years, UN representative in Angola, Blondin Baye, was patient with Savimbi. Two weeks after he lost his patience and declared that the military wing of Unita

was preparing for war, he lost his life in a mysterious plane explosion. The security council is finally aware that Savimbi is not seeking fame to demolish, but is ready for a war which will again kill hundreds of thousands of Angolans.

Those from the Angolan military who, like Savimbi, engage in war as a business (relying on oil and diamonds for military equipment) need, a new outbreak of fighting.

The security consultants in SA and in Washington are again making predictions from the safety of conflict resolution and centers for security studies. There are security risks in SA and back channels to Savimbi. They are still deluded by the idea that the war in Angola is a "tribal" conflict and without Savimbi there can be no peace unless Savimbi is in the government.

For the past 22 years this has meant delegitimizing the liberation struggle in Angola and investing in a "peace" process that allows Savimbi more time to kill innocent civilians in Angola. The fact that the women of Kunjo, who are supposed to be from his ethnic group, provided the conditions for the military defeat of Unita in 1994-1994 is heavily in the "tribal" category.

The history of Savimbi and Unita is the history of Unita, not the military wing of Unita, pro-

vides a clear example of how the old apartheid warriors, the security specialists, the media and the pseudo peace makers have provided the legitimization for Savimbi to continue to maintain a military capacity through an elaborate network.

Savimbi was defeated in the elections in September 1992. He returned to war, and in the process killed more than 300,000 Angolans. The city sieges of 1994 rank as the most brutal in the 500 years of war and destruction in Angola.

Under the new rules of war which were embodied in the war crimes tribunal, Savimbi would qualify as a war criminal and he would be now being hunted as Badoyan Karadic is hunted in Bosnia. Both Karadic and his generals are now hiding and their ethnic base cannot keep them from international justice.

The new rules of war should be implemented urgently in Angola especially since the leaders of Unita who negotiated the Lusaka Accord are in Luanda and are participating in the political process seeking to return normality to the country. This is the Unita that the UN should be speaking to.

Boutros Boutros Ghali is no longer the UN Secretary General. However, it was under his leadership that Savimbi had the courage to go back to fight with the capture of the international community in New

□ Campbell is professor of African-American studies at Syracuse University in New York.

Presidents slate rebels in Angola

LUSAKA: Presidents Frederick Chiluba of Zambia and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe have strong-ly criticised Unita for detaching the peace process in Angola.

The two leaders said the international community should use its diplomatic efforts to compel Unita to abide by the Lusaka Protocol or Angola would slide into a fresh bout of civil war.

Chiluba and Mugabe predicted the civil war in Angola could spill over into neighbouring countries and probably engulf the entire Southern African Development Community region.

Mugabe, speaking at a banquet hosted for him by Chiluba, said SADC leaders wanted to avert the civil war in Angola and had asked the United Nations to intervene offensively because, if war broke out, it would unsettle the peace process in the region.

"The Angolan situation is worrying and of great concern to us all."

The Angolan government and Unita are beefing up their armies as Angola appears to be heading for a second round of civil war four years after the Lusaka protocol was signed. — Sapa

SOUTH AFRICANS IN FORCE OF 300

Mercenaries on way to boost Unita

OF 3/8/98

JOHANNESBURG: Former senior SA army officers and disaffected MK cadres are said to be among a mercenary force assembling in Angola, **NORMAN CHANDLER** reports.

A MERCENARY force of more than 300 men — among them many South Africans — has infiltrated Angola to join Unita rebel soldiers in their fight against government troops.

Intelligence sources in London, Ireland, Pretoria and Paris say that most of those signed up are former members of the Executive Outcomes military advisory organisation, previously active in Angola, other African states, the Middle East and Papua New Guinea.

Executive Outcomes said last year it had closed down its military operations ahead of new legislation passed by Parliament this year which prohibits South Africans from offering freelance military skills and services to foreign countries and companies.

The government is aware of the infiltration. Last week, Defence Minister Joe Modise said action would have to be taken to prevent South African mercenaries and supplies reaching the rebels.

He said when asked about the Angolan situation: "We will have

to stop the trafficking of weapons and supplies to the warring parties. There are many rumours to the effect that supplies are coming from this country and that our people are involved."

Questioned about this, defence sources referred to the new legislation, which provides for heavy fines, confiscation of property and long prison sentences for mercenaries convicted by local courts.

It is not yet clear what type of weaponry is being carried by the mercenaries, nor what supply bases and routes were used. Sources said they had probably been airlifted from neighbouring countries into Unita territory, which is dotted with hand-dug strips, some of which are all-weather facilities, constructed during Angola's 30-year civil war.

They are being closely monitored by various intelligence agencies.

The group is said to include former senior officers of the South African National Defence Force, the old South African Defence Force, and disaffected members of



AWARE OF SITUATION: Defence Minister Joe Modise



ASSEMBLING FORCES: Unita leader Jonas Savimbi

unskilled workers. Some have served in special forces and infantry, parachute and engineer units.

The mercenaries were signed up by a new, so far unnamed security group that has links to business interests in South Africa, the United States, France and Britain.

The group, which is said to have among its directors a number of diplomats, is apparently not associated with the British-based Sandline international military services organisation, which is linked to Executive Outcomes and maintains a close association with founder and former chief executive Eeben Barlow.

Barlow's former partners, Nicolas Palm and Lefra Luthingh, are not involved, sources said. Palm has entered the aviation business and is trying to raise funds to establish a charter cargo airline. Luthingh could not be contacted.

Executive Outcomes withdrew its forces from Angola in 1994 soon after President Eduardo dos Santos ended a \$40 million (now R245m) a year contract signed in 1993.

UN envoy believes solution can be found

LUANDA: A United Nations envoy on an emergency mission to avert renewed civil war in Angola kept a low profile at the weekend as he prepared for talks with the two leading figures in the simmering conflict.

Lakshmi Brahmi is to meet President Jose Eduardo dos Santos here this afternoon.

Tomorrow, he is to travel 480km south-east to the Highland base of the former guerrilla movement Unita to meet veteran rebel chief Jonas Savimbi.

Dos Santos and Savimbi sealed a truce in 1994, but a decade of civil war, fuelled by Cold War geopolitics, with a UN-brokered peace accord in 1994.

Successive deadlines for full implementation of the agreement have passed unheeded. Unita has ignored UN sanctions imposed because of the former rebels' reluctance to relinquish control of rural strongholds.

A sudden surge in tensions and bloodshed in recent weeks prompted UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan to send in Brahmi.

The government and Unita have been accused of preparing for another war and of undertaking forced recruitment drives.

When Brahmi arrived here on Friday, each side said the other was



SENT ENVOY: Kofi Annan

responsible for the rising tension.

Following a meeting on Saturday with the UN mission in Angola and diplomats from the United States, Portugal and Russia — the "troika" monitoring the fragile peace — Brahmi said he believed Angola's problems could be overcome. "Together with the observers and both sides, we will look for a solution," he said.

Brahmi is to leave the former Portuguese colony on Wednesday for a tour of neighbouring states and talks with leaders close to Dos Santos or Savimbi.

Details of his itinerary are not available. — Sapa-AP

Angolan refugees pouring into Zambia

20 4/8/98 (5) (20)
LUSAKA — About 64 000 Angolan refugees fleeing conscription into Unita in eastern and northeastern Angola have arrived in Zambia, human rights organisations said yesterday.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and Zambia's interior ministry would verify the figures later this week.

A UNHCR spokesman could not confirm the numbers of refugees. He said about 2 000 refugees of Burundese and Rwandese origin had arrived in Mwinilunga and were temporarily camped there.

Inter-African Network for Human Rights and Development executive director Ngande Mwanajiti and Human Rights Watch researcher Alex Vines said Unita rebels were about to execute a major military offensive in Angola.

Mwanajiti and Vines, who recently returned from eastern Angola bordering Zambia, said Unita was forcibly drafting men and women aged 13 to 30 to beef up its defences.

They visited refugee camps at Maheba near Solwezi in the northwestern province, and Mukulaikwa in Lukulu in the western province, where they saw columns of new refugees arriving.

A statement issued yesterday quoted some refugees at the camps as saying Unita was killing anyone who opposed its military adventurism. "They want to beef up and build a powerful battalion to topple the Luanda government," one refugee said.

Mwanajiti and Vines appealed to the United Nations to prop up the faltering Lusaka protocol to salvage the Angolan situation from sliding into full-scale war.

Presidents Frederick Chiluba of Zambia and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe also appealed to the international community to pressure Unita to implement the Lusaka protocol, signed on November 20 1994 to prevent another outbreak of war in Angola.
—Sapa.

ANGOLA De Beers says Unita's bootleg gems haven't hurt prices

Diamonds may finance new war

DARREN SCHUETTLER

Johannesburg — De Beers, the diamond producer, and analysts said on Monday that Angola's rebel Unita movement had the resources and determination to smuggle out diamonds to finance fresh fighting in the African country.

But it rejected speculation that the bootleg stones threatened to provoke a crisis in the diamond trade and undermine prices.

"We're fairly close to the market, and we're just not seeing any substantial increase in diamonds from Angola," said Bill Lear, a De Beers' spokesman.

"The amount of diamonds coming out of Angola is rather less than in past years."

Asked about reports of widespread smuggling of diamonds from Unita areas on to world markets, Lear said: "There always is smuggling and there is bound to be some. We're simply not seeing evidence of it."

London's Guardian newspaper reported on Monday that the diamond industry faced the "spectre of a worldwide crash" in gemstone prices as smugglers shifted "huge quantities" of stones out of Unita-held areas in northern Angola.

"There have been a lot of whippers about the Angolan problem in recent weeks, and this just adds further fuel to the fire," said a diamond analyst in Johannesburg.

"I certainly believe Unita has a lot of stones, and perhaps they have been stockpiling them for a rainy day," he said, but he did not expect their sale to put severe pressure on prices.



Fears abound that Angola is sliding back to civil war as the 1994 peace accord falters and the government and Unita ready themselves for renewed fighting.

In January, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi agreed to withdraw from his main diamond mines in exchange for mining concessions in other areas. The Unita-controlled mines produced between \$500 million and \$600 million of Angola's total annual production of \$1 billion last year.

Some analysts forecast Unita's diamond output will drop to around \$100 million in 1998.

The Guardian said the European Union, which slapped sanctions on Unita and its diamond trade last week, received a confidential briefing which estimated that Unita controlled up to 6 percent of all the world's diamonds.

Lear said De Beers was unaware of the briefing, and the estimate of Unita's resources was not "a sensible figure".

He said De Beers was comply-

ing with the sanctions, which require a government certificate of origin for diamonds from Angola.

As a result, De Beers has switched its strategy for dealing with diamonds entering the market from sources outside its marketing arm, the Central Selling Organisation (CSO).

"Our whole job in the CSO is to put on the market the number of diamonds needed," Lear said. "If there were diamonds coming from outside sources and selling ahead of us, then we would hold back."

De Beers, which controls about 70 percent of the world's uncut diamond sales through the CSO, has been drilling for new kimberlite pipes in northeastern Angola since last year.

Analysts and other prospecting firms in Angola said Unita's communication and supply lines through neighbouring countries had weakened since 1994, but they still expected contraband diamonds to get through and on to the world market. — Reuters

A little more than a year since the dream of an 'African renaissance' was born, the winds of

Unita terror to revise accords

(5) MCG 7-13/8/98
Chris Gordon

Unita is continuing to recapture small areas in the Angolan countryside on a daily basis, sowing terror to reach their objectives.

Diplomats in Luanda believe Unita leader Jonas Savimbi now wants the Lusaka protocols renegotiated, with a better deal for Unita. Savimbi described the protocols as being the destruction of Unita. They should have led, on Unita's side, to complete disarmament and transition into a political party. Savimbi's inability to take the final steps of this process provoked the present crisis in Angola.

Observers here suggest that Unita is attacking in order to be able to renegotiate the protocols from a position of strength. The atrocity at Bula, where 88 *garimpeiros* (farmworkers) were burned alive, was the worst of many such attacks on the unarmed population. The attack was carried out by 440 heavily armed men who robbed the population of about 700 mainly Zairean diamond miners, money, food and equipment.

Monua, the United Nations's monitoring force in Angola, could not verify that it was Unita who attacked since many of the killers wore civilian clothes. Monua said that attributing the attack to Unita is hostile propaganda. Survivors of the massacre and workers in the region say they believe it was a Unita attack, in revenge for being forced out a few weeks earlier.

More than 105 000 newly displaced people are fleeing either Unita attacks or the threat of them. Valerie Julliard, deputy director of the UN's Unit for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Assistance (Uncha) told the *Mall & Guardian* that the situation in the interior has deteriorated rapidly since May, when Unita went on the offensive.

Uncha is expecting the number of people displaced by Unita attacks to reach 200 000 and aid agencies are finding it more difficult to reach them. Aid workers have been pulled back into provincial capitals as ambushes, landmines and attacks on agency teams by Unita have made the countryside unsafe. The reduction of Monua means that only 500 armed escorts for food convoys are available — and conditions on the ground are getting more dangerous.

For the aid agencies, responding to a new humanitarian crisis when they had moved on to the resettlement of those displaced by the previous war is difficult. Donor funding was given for development projects, not emergency aid.

While there is enough food, there is a critical shortage of other items: no water purification tablets, not enough buckets and cooking kits. If the political situation doesn't improve in the next few months, it will mean a humanitarian disaster, Julliard believes.

The visit of UN special envoy Lahdkar Brahimi to Angola has resulted in Unita agreeing to send their representative, Isias Samakuva, back to Luanda for further talks on the hand-over of Unita's headquarters region, and the towns of Ballondo and Andulo.

Lahdkar met President José Eduardo dos Santos and Savimbi, as well as Monua and the representatives of the monitoring nations, the United States, Russia and Portugal. The outcome has been an apparent step back from the brink, although this may only have the effect of buying more time for Savimbi.



South African rightwinger recruiting for Savimbi

Tangenl Amupadhi

A former Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) agent named as the ring-leader in the theft of arms from military bases is now said to be organising mercenaries for Unita.

Johan Niemoller, said to be the leader of Die Volk, whose members allegedly stole weapons from two military bases in the Free State, is reportedly recruiting mercenaries in Europe to fight for Unita.

Police have confirmed they are investigating whether the stolen arms, the bulk of which have since been recovered, were destined for Angola. Two of the accused have apparently fled to Unita areas.

Information reaching the *Mall & Guardian*

indicate that South African citizens are now using Brazzaville, the Congolese capital, as a supply base for Unita. They are reportedly supplying weapons and other logistical material, such as spare parts, from South Africa and other parts of the world.

The Angolan government has also been mentioned as using mercenaries. A former director of the Executive Outcomes has allegedly obtained a major contract with the Angolan government to supply technical expertise in the training of pilots. The activities of the man is believed to extend to the training of soldiers.

An observer noted: "There are still a lot of mercenaries in Angola, but there is no clear proof."

A senior South African intelligence official confirmed that Niemoller's name was among those cropping up in investigations into sources of supply for Unita in Angola.

The illicit supply of weaponry was "a matter which continues to get the attention of the intelligence services". He said the legislation was now in place to act against unauthorised military assistance to foreign states and movements.

"There are investigations in the pipeline which will result in prosecutions in the not too distant future," he said.

Meanwhile, unconfirmed reports say Hutu militias are on the rampage and may have been the culprits in last week's massacre, which was largely blamed on Unita.

UN envoy has hope for Angola

Christof Maletsky

WINDHOEK — The MPLA government and opposition Unita's distrust of one another was largely to blame for hostilities in Angola, UN special envoy Lakhdar Brahimi said yesterday.

Fresh from a visit to Angola, he said he remained optimistic about peace prospects.

Brahimi, who is in Namibia to brief the government on the situation in Angola, said the UN was optimistic about finding lasting peace in Angola, and was still working hard to help achieve this. He held lengthy talks with Unita and the MPLA government last week, and regarded peace prospects as slightly improved.

He said his discussions with the Namibian government on the Angolan situation had also "been extremely useful. We look forward to continued engagement."

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi

had assured him that he would start disarming his troops and reintegrate some of them into the Angolan army, the UN envoy said. Savimbi had also sent his representative back to Luanda after withdrawing him at the start of current hostilities.

"I told him frankly that the UN was not happy with the fact that Savimbi was not implementing the Lusaka Protocol, and that peace could not prevail in that country under current hostilities," Brahimi said.

Unita has claimed that its supporters are being thrown out of towns that it handed over to the government, in compliance with the Lusaka Protocol. Brahimi has appealed to the Angolan government not to molest or eject Unita supporters from those areas.

Four areas that Unita still had to hand over to the government would head the agenda at a joint commission meeting scheduled for

next week, he said.

Responding to a question on reports that Unita had enlisted foreign mercenaries, he said he had no direct information on this but that it was being taken seriously.

Brahimi said although he had read reports about Namibia and the Democratic Republic of Congo signing a pact with the Angolan government to crush Unita, he had no reason to believe them.

He felt Namibia could help in current mediation efforts on the Angolan situation, due to its influence over the two sides.

The diplomat met Namibia's President Sam Nujoma, Prime Minister Hage Geingob and Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab.

He is accompanied by Berhanu Dimka, the UN's special envoy to the great lakes region, who is acting as a special envoy to Angola in an interim capacity.

Brahimi is also scheduled to pay a visit to SA.

Govt, Unita 'fighting on two fronts'

BD 12/8/98

LUANDA — Fighting has flared between the Angolan armed forces and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebel movement in the northern province of Malanje, UN officials said.

"Apparently there has been fighting on two fronts, near the towns of Milhando and Cota," a UN official said on Monday. "This appears to be an Angolan army offensive against Unita."

"Foreign aid workers in Malanje have been told by the Angolan army that their safety cannot be guaranteed if they venture outside the city," said the UN official, who declined to be named.

Aid workers in Malanje said the fighting erupted on Friday and continued into Monday. There are reports that government soldiers wounded in the fighting have been transported to Malanje hospital, but independent observers

have been denied access to the hospital. State television said that up to 145 people had died in clashes over the weekend, but did not say if they were soldiers or civilians.

The Angolan army was reticent. "I can't deny or confirm these reports at this stage," said Angolan army spokesman Brig Jose Manuel.

Reports of fresh conflict come just two days after UN special envoy Lakhdar Brahimi wrapped up a week-long mission to the troubled southern African state, a visit that appeared to pull the country back from the brink of a renewed civil war.

Tensions have been high in recent weeks following attacks across the country attributed to Unita by the government and by the former rebels to diamond smugglers and bandits. The attacks have threatened to shut

ter a fragile peace patched together in 1994 with the signing of the Lusaka protocol, which ended two decades of war between the Cuban-backed government and Unita.

"The Angolan army is saying that one Unita battalion attacked four army battalions at Milhando," said one security analyst in Luanda.

"It may be that what we are seeing is the first proper fighting between the army and Unita."

But he said the area was very remote and it was almost impossible to verify exactly what was going on.

Malanje province has been a sensitive area for the government and Unita. It is considered the gateway to the rebels' strongholds in the central highlands, as well as a supply corridor linking the rebel headquarters to the Democratic Republic of Congo. — Reuter.

Unita rejects govt's August deadline

CT 13/8/98

LUANDA: The Angolan government set a new deadline for the Unita forces to hand over their remaining strongholds, a demand that was immediately rejected.

The stumbling peace process got under way again last week when the government and Unita started talking after a visit to Angola by UN special envoy Lakhdar Brahimi, but each party has made demands which have been rejected by the other.

"The peace process is in a profound crisis," government spokesperson Higinio Carneiro said. "The fundamental reason for this is that Unita still has arms."

He also criticised Unita's proposals on resuming the peace process. "It blames hostile propaganda and police abuses for the crisis and fails to propose ways of stopping acts of violence and demilitarising Unita."

Unita chief negotiator Isaias Samakuva rejected Carneiro's criticism and called the new deadline "completely unrealistic". He proposed October 15 as a tentative date for the handover. — Reuter

Africa still struggling to privatise state enterprises

THABO LESHILO

ET (12R) 14/8/98 (5)

Johannesburg — Africa has had mixed success in implementing privatisation, even though most countries on the continent have had detailed divestiture plans, the heads of African investment promotion agencies heard yesterday.

"It is estimated that less than 20 percent of all public enterprises in Africa have been divested, most often by liquidation," Kofi Morna, the head of KMCL Consultants, the Ghanaian economic consultancy, told delegates to an executive management training workshop.

The three-day workshop was organised by the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency on behalf of African Investment Promotion Agencies (Afripa) and is hosted by the Lesotho National Development Corporation.

It was supposed to be held in Lesotho from Tuesday but had to be moved to Johannesburg because of political turmoil. It started on Wednesday.

Morna said only four countries had succeeded in divesting as many as half of their state-owned enterprises. He blamed the slow progress on political constraints, technical issues and the inability of the private sector to absorb a higher rate of divestiture.

He said such government objectives as achieving wide shareholding, black empowerment objectives, reducing the budget deficit and maintaining employment levels often slowed privatisation.

"Political impediments, such as the attitudes of the unions and other vested interests, also need to be overcome."

These constraints have economic costs because they lower the purchase prices of state-owned entities by reducing competition for the sale, and in reduced efficiency after privatisation.

Kwodwo Filson, the secretary general of Afripa, said African countries had had mixed success in attracting foreign direct investment. Africa pulled in only R4,7 billion of \$315 billion in global foreign direct investment in 1995.

Angola set for new IMF bale-out (6) programme

100 17/8/98
LUANDA — An Angolan government economic team is due in Washington today for negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to secure new financing.

"If we begin an IMF-monitored programme it would be a sign to international creditors that government is implementing economic reforms," said Manuel da Costa, head of the finance ministry's international relations.

At \$10bn, Angola's external debt stands at twice gross domestic product. An estimated three-quarters of the debt is in long-term concessional loans and the rest is in short-term, high interest, commercial loans guaranteed against oil collateral.

Da Costa said that all mainstream international creditors had cut off financing to the Angolan government, which is paying interest of 7% to 9% on the oil-backed loans.

Economists say they believe the government is running out of oil to mortgage. Oil prices slumped in June slicing around one-third off the country's income. Over 90% of Angola's income is derived from 750 000 barrels of oil per day.

"The chance of war is looming. They've mortgaged almost all their oil so can't get any more commercial loans; they're under social pressure because conditions are so bad and they're having trouble importing enough food," said an analyst, who asked not to be named.

Angola has been a member of the IMF since 1989. The closest the country came to accepting IMF recommendations was in 1995 when the government agreed to implement a six month programme.

However, during the trial period the government introduced policies which worsened the economic situation.

"If the government is serious they'll implement reforming policies over the next nine to 12 months and then the IMF will talk about making money available," the analyst said.

Weekly devaluations of the kwanza since June have cut by half the gap between the official and parallel rates.

In July the government passed a revised budget to cut expenditure by one-quarter.

The recurring problem souring the Luanda-IMF relationship is a failure to give an account of how oil money is spent. — Reuter.

Diamonds mined in Angola's war zone

6/20/8/98

CATOCA — Only a few kilometres from clashes between Angolan government troops and rebels, earth movers claw out a huge pit to extract diamonds worth millions of dollars.

A hundred Russians and dozens of Brazilians and Israelis work alongside 700 Angolans in the Catoca diamond mine in northeastern Lunda Sul province.

Yuri Jeliabovski, Catoca's exploration manager, who hails from Siberia, believes Unita rebel attacks in the area are aimed at shutting down the mine and depriving the government — a partner in Catoca along with diamond companies from Russia, Brazil and Israel — of revenue.

Much of the recent fighting in Angola centres on diamond-producing areas as each side seeks to choke off their enemy's source of funds.

Security has been tightened since fighting escalated in June. Government army troops patrol nearby. Elite anti-terrorist police are camped just down the road.

The mining consortium has carved out a town from the surrounding bush, with an air strip, medical post, supermarket and air-conditioned accommodation.

Catoca's total production and other details are confidential, but mine officials say the investors are repaying the project's start-up money with diamonds already extracted, and expect to reap profits.

Gem-quality diamonds as big as 30 carats and industrial diamonds as big as 90 carats have been extracted from the open-pit mine, which will eventually be 1km wide and 550m deep. — Sapa-AP.

US slaps economic sanctions on Angola's Unita movement

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton imposed a series of economic sanctions on Angola's Unita movement on Wednesday, saying it was important to press the former rebels to complete the peace process.

Clinton's executive order freezes Unita assets in the US, bans the importation of any diamonds not certified by the government of Angola, and bans the sale of mining equipment, according to the White House statement.

"The measures taken in the order will immediately demonstrate to Unita the seriousness of our concern over its delays in implementing the peace process," Clinton wrote in a letter to Congress.

"The blocking of Unita's

property and the other prohibitions that are imposed under this executive order will further limit Unita's capacity to pay for its military build-up and to undermine the Angolan peace process."

He said it was particularly important for the US, which has a big stake in Angola's oil industry, and the international community to underscore to Unita the importance of moving ahead with peace.

The sanctions will be lifted once Unita "fully complies with its obligations and completes its transition from an armed movement to an unarmed political party," Clinton's letter said.

Over the past months, fears have grown that the conflict in the oil and diamond-rich coun-

try could resume due to a breakdown of trust between the government and Unita.

The two sides, who have accused each other of violating a peace accord that was signed in the Zambian capital Lusaka in 1994, resumed talks last week after a visit by a senior UN envoy, Lakhdar Brahimi.

But since then a government spokesman in Luanda has said that the peace process is in "profound crisis".

The UN voted in June to impose financial and trade sanctions on Unita for holding up the reconciliation process.

After waging a prolonged war against colonial power Portugal, Angola plunged into civil war after independence in 1975. — Reuters.

(b) PD 2/18/98

Unita cuts ties with observers

BD 25/8/98 ⑤

LISBON — Former Angolan rebel group Unita said yesterday it had decided to cut ties with a troika of peace observers consisting of Portugal, the US and Russia, accusing them of siding with the MPLA government.

Portugal's news agency, Lusa, said it had received a statement from Unita's central highlands headquarters in Bailundo saying the movement had decided "to disregard from Monday any collaboration" with Portugal, the US and Russia.

Unita said the three parties "disqualified themselves totally for not observing the criterion of neutrality".

Fears have grown that a full-blown conflict could resume in the oil-and-diamond-rich country due to a breakdown of trust between the MPLA government and Unita.

On August 13 the United Nations Security Council demanded that Unita comply immediately with the 1994 peace accord, seeking the complete demilitarisation of its forces and full co-

operation in the extension of government control throughout the country. The council approved a one-month extension for a peacekeeping force in Angola that is trying to prevent the accord between the MPLA government and Unita from falling apart.

Unita accused Portugal, the former colonial power in Angola, of favouring the MPLA government. The Portuguese "have systematically pursued the option of siding with the MPLA, via UN sanctions", it said.

The UN voted in June to impose financial and trade sanctions on Unita for holding up the peace process.

Last Wednesday US President Bill Clinton imposed a series of economic sanctions on Unita.

Unita said that despite the peace process, Russia had continued to provide arms to the MPLA government.

Despite breaking ties with the peace observers, Unita said it remained committed to the peace accord signed with the MPLA. — Reuter.

Unita breaks with peace team

Lisbon - Angola's former rebel group Unita said yesterday it is to cut ties with a troika of peace observers comprising Portugal, the US and Russia, accusing them of siding with the MPLA government.

Portugal's news agency Lusa said it had received a statement from Unita's central highlands headquarters saying it had decided to end co-operation because the members had "disqualified themselves totally for not observing neutrality".

Fears are growing that the Angolan conflict could break out again because of a breakdown of trust between the MPLA government and Unita.

On August 13, the UN Security Council demanded that Unita comply immediately with the 1994 peace accord, seeking the complete demilitarisation of its forces and full co-operation in the extension of government control throughout the country.

The council unanimously approved a one-month extension for a peacekeeping force trying to keep the MPLA-Unita

accord from falling apart.

Unita has accused Portugal of siding with the MPLA by backing UN sanctions on Unita for holding up the peace process.

On Wednesday, US President Bill Clinton imposed a series of economic sanctions on Unita, saying it was important to pressure the former rebels.

Clinton's executive order froze Unita assets in the US, banned the import of any diamonds not certified by the government of Angola and banned the sale of mining equipment.

Unita said that despite the peace process, Russia had continued to provide arms to the MPLA.

Despite breaking ties with the peace observers, Unita said it remained committed to the peace accord.

The agreement "is an important basis for finding solutions to the country's problems", it said.

Portugal, the US and Russia have been observers in the Angolan peace process since 1991. - Reuters

(5) Khaw 25/8/98

Unita axed from cabinet

(5)
Luanda - Angola's ruling MPLA party has expelled Unita representatives from parliament and from the government of national unity because Unita has failed to disarm.

"By taking up arms once again Unita has violated the constitution of Angola, the law of political parties, and the Lusaka Protocol (peace deal)," said a statement from the office of the president of the national assembly, read out on national radio.

Unita has 70 deputies in parliament, and the ruling MPLA has 132. A second communiqué announced

ARG 1/9/98
the suspension of Unita's four ministers and seven deputy ministers from the government of unity and national reconciliation as of midnight last night.

The unity government was formed in April last year under the terms of the Lusaka Protocol, the 1994 peace accords which ended two decades of civil war.

"The government of Angola calls on the population to remain calm, vigilant and to not act in a manner contrary to the spirit of national reconciliation," the communiqué stated.
- Reuters

Peace deal at risk as Luanda backs Congo

(6) 00119/98

LUANDA — The Angolan peace process, nearly four years after the signing of the Lusaka accords, has been seriously jeopardised by Luanda's involvement in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Angola is undergoing its "most serious crisis" since the peace deal was struck in the Zambian capital between the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), a UN official said.

Angola, torn by two decades of civil war, had since March seen a rise in unrest before conflict broke out early this month on Congo's northern border.

Angola's intervention there in part aims to support the country's ally, Congo President Laurent Kabila, against foreign aggression from Uganda and Rwanda, whom Kabila accused of backing the month-old Tutsi rebellion and invading his country.

For its part, Unita is suspected of backing the Congo rebels.

The Angolan government has glorified the intervention as a "liberation" campaign, while the press has been skeptical and individual Angolans have been reluctant to comment.

The independent weekly Agora late last week criticised a "costly intervention at a time when the government says it does not have the financial means to bring the country out of its social chaos."

Meanwhile, internal unrest in Angola, mainly attacks blamed on Unita fighters, has claimed more than 650 lives this year, according to the government. Luanda four weeks ago gave Unita until the end of August to complete fulfilling its commitments made in November 1994: handing over remaining territory, disarming its fighters and setting up headquarters in Luanda.

If not, the government ultimatum stated, Unita's 70 parliamentary representatives would be expelled as well as its 11 ministers and deputy ministers.

But Unita negotiator Horacio Junjuvili said Unita was never officially informed of the ultimatum and had learned about it from the media. — Sapa-AFP.

SAVIMBI 'FAILED TO HONOUR ACCORD' (5)

Split in Unita follows expulsion

ET 3/9/98

LUANDA: Unita members expelled from the government on Monday have formed a splinter group with a "temporary leadership".

INFLUENTIAL members of Angola's former rebel movement yesterday announced a split from Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, saying they were committed to the peace process.

The move comes after the Angolan government on Monday expelled Unita from the government of national unity saying it had failed to adhere to agreements made under the peace accords signed in Lusaka in 1994.

In a manifesto issued in Luanda, the defectors stated that "the current leadership of Unita, under the direction of Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, has shown itself incapable of honouring the commitments freely undertaken in Lusaka".

The document, signed by "officers and members" of Unita including Savimbi rival Eugenio Manuvakola and several suspended ministers, announced the creation of a "temporary leadership".

The manifesto said Savimbi's policy was "contrary to the interests of members of the party and the Angolan people".

The group said it "renounces war, embraces peace, democratic political struggle and national reconciliation" so that the peace accords can be fully implemented.

It is not known what level of support there is for the splinter group.

The government blames Unita for the nearly 700 lives lost since March, when Unita announced its commitment to total disarmament, thereby earning its status as a political party. The four suspended ministers and seven deputy ministers took up posts in Luanda in April 1997, and 70 deputies who had been elected in 1992 took up their seats in March.

The splinter group's manifesto called on "all comrades of the party still in arms" to immediately reject war and respect the clauses of the Lusaka protocols, in particular the demilitarisation of Unita and normalising state administration throughout national territory including Bailundo, Mungo, Andulo and Nharea", Unita's four main strongholds.

The communiqué was read by Jorge Valentim, suspended Hotels and Tourism Minister. Beside him was Manuvakola, who signed the Lusaka accords.

● Unita's secretary-general Paulo Lukamba Gato said yesterday that Angola's decision to expel the organisation was the first step towards a full-scale military offensive against Unita. Gato said Unita was prepared to work for peace.

"Our wish is to stay in the peace accords, but this is entirely up to Luanda. They must decide whether to fight or not, but all signs are that they want to fight." — Sapa-AFP

US urges Angolan govt to talk to Unita

DD 3/19/93

(5)

WASHINGTON — As Angola lurched closer to a full resumption of civil war, the US on Tuesday called on its government to enter talks with Unita to ensure a return to posts from which its members were barred a day earlier.

The Angolan government on Monday announced its decision to suspend 70 members of parliament and ministers who are members of Unita.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Angola's president, flew to the Nonaligned Movement summit in Durban to meet UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and try to find a way to salvage Angola's crumbling 1994 Lusaka peace agreement. The government accused Unita of repeated violations of the 1994 Lusaka peace accord that ended the civil war in Angola and paved the way for the power-sharing arrangement.

"This decision calls into question the government's stated commitment to full implementation of the Lusaka protocols," US state department deputy spokesman James Foley said.

But the state department noted the government was seeking "clarification from Unita of its commitment to the peace process" to allow the officials to get back to work.

"We call upon the government of Angola to do so," Foley said. "What is needed now are constructive solutions to conclude the peace process."

Unita charged yesterday that Angola's decision to expel the group from a national unity government was the first step towards a full-scale military

offensive against Unita.

Unita secretary-general Paulo Lukamba Gato said from the Unita stronghold of Andulo that the government action was motivated by its military successes against rebels in neighbouring Congo-Kinshasa.

"This (military action) is the main objective. They want to launch an offensive against us. They are in the Congo and because of what they see as successes there, they think they can come and finish us," Gato said.

Gato's remarks were the first official Unita reaction since the expulsion.

Gato said Unita was prepared to work for peace. "Our wish is to stay in the peace accords but this is entirely up to Luanda," he said.

The US also called on both sides to "desist from military and other actions that could further heighten tensions".

Luanda four weeks ago gave Unita until the end of August to complete fulfilling its commitments made in November 1994: to hand over remaining territory, disarm its fighters and set up headquarters in Luanda.

The government said Unita attacks had claimed 650 lives since March and that Unita had again seized control of 90 towns and cities that had been handed over to central administration under the peace accords.

On Tuesday the official Jornal de Angola said Unita forces had taken Luremo, a diamond town in north-eastern Lunda Norte province. — Sapa-AFP, Financial Times.

APL News

Unita dismisses call by breakaway faction

⑥ DD 4/9/98
LUANDA — Senior members of Angola's former rebel movement Unita loyal to veteran leader Jonas Savimbi dismissed yesterday a statement by a breakaway faction that it was suspending Savimbi's role as leader.

"This doesn't represent anything," Horacio Junjunvili, a Unita negotiator in Angola's peace process, said. "These people have no support. It's five of them and no one else." He was responding to a call on Wednesday by some Unita members for Savimbi's removal.

The breakaway faction, led by Jorge Valentim, a former minister in Angola's national unity government, said it had decided to suspend Savimbi and his team from the leadership of Unita.

"There is a crisis in the country. There was an appeal from members of Unita that we should take this position and very soon you will see how much support we have," Valentim said yesterday.

He was joined by four senior Unita ministers who were all expelled from parliament and the national unity government by the MPLA on Monday.

Angola's ruling MPLA government expelled the representatives because Unita had failed to disarm, it said.

Sapa-AFP reports that the breakaway faction declared that they were committed to the peace process that began with the Lusaka peace protocols of November 1994, aimed at ending two decades of civil war.

In a manifesto the defectors said "the current leadership of Unita, under the direction of Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, has shown itself incapable of honouring the commitments freely undertaken in Lusaka," referring to the pacts reached in Zambia's capital.

Savimbi's backers yesterday blamed the split in Unita on government manoeuvres. — Reuter.

Zimbabwean firms feel chill of war

POD 4/9/98
Michael Hartnack

HARARE — Zimbabwean firms are beginning to feel the chill from the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo with one company alone, William Smith & Gourcock, having a Z\$7m contract to supply tarpaulins to the Congolese railways running into a dead end.

The company, a subsidiary of the Apex industrial group, was among many which believed they had strengthened their order books until fighting flared.

Estimates of what Zimbabwe could lose if President Laurent Kabila is ousted are up to Z\$2bn, with Zimbabwe Defence Industries — a parastatal — taking the biggest knock for supply of munitions and logistical support to Kabila in the past two years.

The business supplement of the state-controlled Herald reports other unfortunate firms had already dispatched goods when fighting began, and contact was lost with customers.

They are hoping for a speedy and complete victory by President Laurent Kabila to allow them to pursue claims and resume penetration of what President Robert Mugabe's government encouraged them to think of as a promising market.

Allied Angolan, Namibian and Zimbabwean forces assisting Kabila are now poised for an eastern offensive.

...government... placed in overall charge of...
...merous anomalies and many w...

Dos Santos tells UN his govt will not deal with Savimbi

NEW YORK — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos told the United Nations today his government will no longer deal with National Front for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) leader Jonas Savimbi because he had excluded himself from the peace process and placed himself outside the law.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said his government had decided to recognise the Unita Renovation Committee, formed by Unita leaders who broke away from Savimbi, as the only legitimate interlocutors for concluding the four-year-old peace process.

Dos Santos said the peace process had been at a stalemate since the middle of this year "and there are no perspectives of resolving the impasse it now faces because of the deliberate and obstructionist attitude of Savimbi".

"Savimbi has again launched a military campaign all over the national territory and has hardened his positions against the Angolan government," he said.

"This is an unequivocal demonstration that he no longer considers the Lusaka Protocol a valid instrument for the establishment of peace in Angola."

He said the patriotism of a large group of Unita political and military leaders with a "profound knowledge of Savimbi's strategy" led them to break away from him, remove him from the leadership of the party and set up the renovation committee, pending a party congress to be scheduled this year.

"The Angolan government has decided to recognise the Unita Renovation Committee as the only legitimate interlocutor for the conclusion of the Lusaka Protocol," Dos Santos said.

□ Thirty people, mostly diamond traffickers, were killed by armed men at the weekend in northeastern Angola, government radio reported yesterday.

The report blamed rebel troops loyal to Savimbi for the massacre, which was alleged to have happened on Sunday in the mining town of Kamatuka.

Angolan army troops have been sent to the area to investigate and find the killers. — Sapa-AFP, Reuter.

Residents see no hope, but are unable to leave the former Portuguese colony which, although rich in oil and diamonds, has a 92% inflation rate and lacks most basic necessities after more than 20 years of civil war

How Angolans battle to survive

APR 17/9/98 (5)

By Anne L. Cox
Luanda

Outside Luanda, overlooking the bay the vast Roque Santeiro market symbolises for Angolans the depth of their country's economic decline after more than 20 years of civil war.

The majority of Luanda's three million inhabitants do their shopping at the hundreds of cloth-covered rickety stalls.

At Roque Santeiro market - named after a Brazilian television soap opera - people buy food, furniture, household appliances, clothing - even medicine.

The market is supplied illegally by West African, Lebanese or Asian traders and the prices are three to four times cheaper than in the city centre where shops are now few and far between.

"The shopkeepers cannot pay taxes or customs duties and anyway they would have no customers. Those who've got the money do their shopping in Lisbon or London," said a market customer.

Pharmacies for example are "reserved for the rich", he said. According to the United Nations Development Programme, fewer than 25% of Angolans have access to medical treatment. Average life expectancy is 47.

"At the hospital there is never medicine available," said one man. For ordinary Luandans, the solution is Roque Santeiro where drugs are sold, some authentic, others counterfeited, made in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria or India. Often the products have passed their "use-by" dates.

In its 1998 budget, the government set aside 1.34% for health care, 1.95% for

UN peacekeeping force to stay on until mid-October

UNITED NATIONS - The UN Security Council on Tuesday unanimously adopted a resolution extending until October 31 the mandate of UN peacekeepers in Angola.

The resolution, adopted after a vote of 14 to 0, urged the government to continue to cooperate with UN peacekeepers and to allow them to carry out their mandate. It also urged the government to continue to cooperate with UN peacekeepers and to allow them to carry out their mandate.

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education - and 9.18% for defence. The widely held view is that the figures are approximations. Even the budget total set at 1.031-trillion "readjusted kwanzas" is "meaningless" a diplomat said.

Officially, the kwanza at the beginning of September was 44.8-million for \$100 (R\$5). On the black market it was between \$3-million and \$3.4-million. Over the last year, inflation has been 92% while the currency lost 49% of its value, an independent report found.

The minimum wage of eight million "adjusted kwanzas" will buy 16 cans of Coke. "Just buying a loaf of bread a day comes to six trillion kwanzas a month," one father said. "This is the state we are

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In with all our oil and diamonds." Oil production of 790 000 barrels a day accounts for 45% of national revenue and 90% of the country's exports. But, diamonds are mainly exploited by the armed opposition Unita movement.

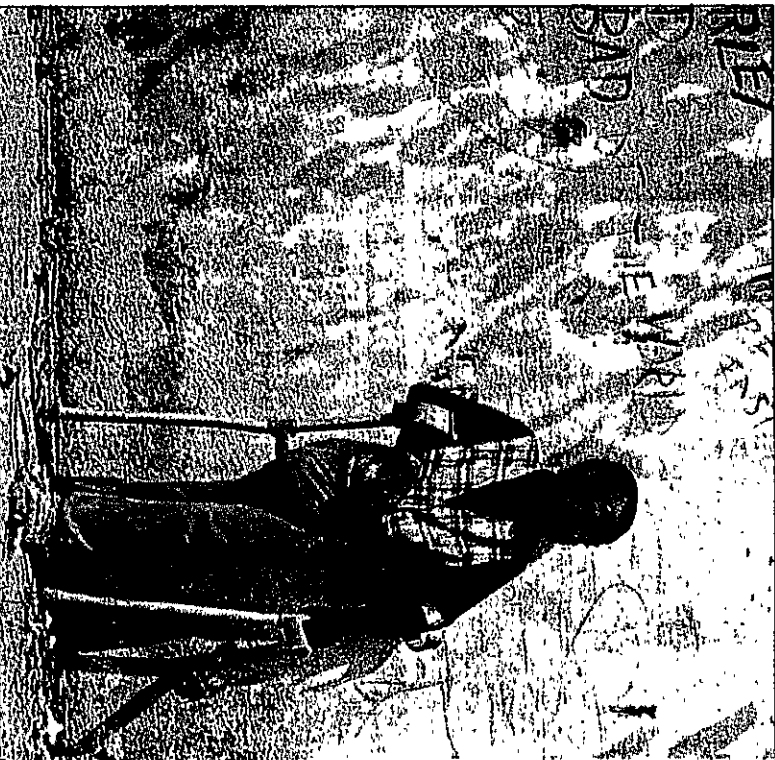
While for those in Luanda the situation is not easy, in the interior it is far worse. Tens of thousands of people have been driven from their homes by recurring fighting between government troops and Unita. Agricultural output is virtually nothing, hunger and disease are widespread - not to speak of the injuries caused by millions of mines.

Because it is not safe, nobody dares to travel between the provinces.

In Luanda, 12 000 people live in refugee camps. Augusto Brandao is one of them. He arrived in the autumn of 1992 from the central region of Huambo to do some shopping for Christmas. Brandao was trapped when fighting resumed after Unita refused to accept the outcome of elections it lost.

Since that time, he has not been able to return home and lives at the Amargosa centre along with 57 families, some in tents, others in shacks.

"Some lost everything in 1976. They fled and later returned and rebuilt their homes. They lost everything again in 1992, so now they no longer want to go home," he said. - Sapa-APF



Poverty stricken ... a young landmine victim in Lobito, Angola.

Peace nothing more than a word in Angola

⑤ CT 17/9/98

"THERE are no angels in Angola," a UN observer remarked recently.

With its vast oil and diamond resources, Angola could be one of the richest countries in Africa, but civil war has made it one of its basket cases.

The Portuguese colonised Angola about 500 years ago, and although there were rebellions over the centuries, they were eventually ousted in 1974 after several years of guerrilla warfare.

Two of the political groups that fought to overthrow the Portuguese were the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

The MPLA became the governing party of the newly independent Angola in 1975. Unita, headed by Jonas Savimbi, also wanted to rule Angola and the two groups started fighting each other.

This turned into a bitter civil war which started in 1975, and although it ended in theory with the Lusaka peace accord in 1994, fighting continues today.

During the Cold War years, the Soviet Union and Cuba backed the Marxist; Leninist MPLA, while the US and South Africa backed Unita.

In 1987 and '88, South Africa fought with Unita troops in the notorious battle of Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola against the combined Cuban and MPLA

forces, which raged for weeks.

Hundreds of South African soldiers were wounded and dozens killed, but most South Africans at home knew little about it. At the time, former president P W Botha went on national television and denied South Africa had a part in it.

Cuba and the MPLA won the battle, and after Cuito Cuanavale, South Africa realised military involvement in Angola was too costly.

With the Cold War over, there was international pressure on the MPLA and Unita to stop fighting.

In 1991 the MPLA abandoned Marxism, embraced "democratic socialism", and in 1992 the two sides agreed to hold elections. Unita lost, went back to the bush and the civil war continued.

In 1994, the Angolan government and Unita eventually signed the Lusaka peace accord, and Unita joined the government of reconciliation.

Under the agreement, Unita had to demobilise its army and hand over the territory it holds, which included the rich diamond fields. It hasn't done that.

This has resulted in UN sanctions against Unita, but it continues fighting, and massacred over 200 people in a village in July.

Some say Angola is closer now to an all-out war than it has been since the 1994 peace accord.

Cost of a country racked by conflict

THE Angolan government earns \$4 billion (about R26,16bn) a year from oil revenues and \$100 million (about R629m) a year from diamonds.

- About 70% of Angolans live below the poverty line.

- The IMF estimates that two-thirds of Angolan government spending is unaccounted for.

- Less than nine cents of every dollar is spent on social programmes.

- The IMF rates Luanda as the second most expensive city in the world.

- There are between 10 and 20 million landmines in Angola. About 14 000 have been neutralised since 1995.

- There are 80 000 Angolans maimed by landmines.

- About 35% of landmine victims are

children who have lost one or both legs.

- The Unita rebel army earns about \$500m (about R3,145bn) a year from its illegal diamond operations.

- The US gets 7% of its oil from Angola, three times as much as it was getting from Kuwait before the Iraqi invasion.

- Angola has the largest army in Africa, estimated at 120 000 soldiers.

- About 4,5m Angolans have been uprooted by the civil war.

- Fewer than half Angolan children reach Grade 4 and only 24 % have access to health care.

- One in three children admitted to Luanda's paediatric hospital dies.

- The UN has spent over \$1bn (about R6,29bn) trying to sort out Angola's problems.

South Africa thinking of slamming the door on Savimbi

(5) SHAN 22/9/98

By MARCO GRANELLI
New York

South Africa has tried in vain to negotiate with Angolan opposition Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, at the risk of being seen to support him over the Angolan Government.

It now believes he should be shut out of the political process until he convinces the international community that he is committed to peace.

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo said this on the eve of the opening of this year's United Nations General Assembly debate.

Nzo was explaining SA's participation in a decision by the Southern African Development Community summit last week to back the Angolan Government's move to recognise a breakaway Unita group as their legitimate opposition.

He said South Africa had tried its best to negotiate with Savimbi, at the risk of being seen to support him over President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, and had failed.

He said it was now up to Savimbi to prove he was a willing participant in peace.

"Savimbi must be able to

convince the Angolan government that he is committed to a peaceful solution," Nzo said.

Nzo also explained SADC's decision to back the Angolan government's move to recognise a breakaway Unita group as the legitimate opposition. "After four years the Lusaka proposals have still not been fully implemented and Unita is identified as an impediment."

The SADC was fully aware that the UN Security Council had taken certain decisions for the isolation of Unita because of the intransigence of that organisation and the

SADC re-emphasised the need for that isolation.

"The new element which has arisen is the breakaway group which the Angolan Government thought could be an important breakthrough in getting Unita to fall in step with the implementation of the proposals.

"Quite naturally, the Angolan government called for the recognition of this group as an important element in the solution of the problem. It has given hope to the process, and South Africa of course is fully in step with this," Nzo said.

given credibility

Last thing Angola wants is Savimbi to be

6

Star 30/9/98

The Angolan government has moved to eliminate Unita leader Jonas Savimbi from the national airwaves and the official press and replaced him with the breakaway New Unita party. But ANTONIO DA SILVA of the Star Foreign Service in Luanda argues that the old warhorse cannot merely be wished away

Luanda - The Angolan government "cannot guarantee the security" of the United Nations special representative in Angola, Isso Diallo, if he visits Unita leader Jonas Savimbi at his Bailundo headquarters in a last-ditch effort to save the peace process.

Strange.

Diallo's predecessor, Alouin Blondin Beye shuttled back and forth between Luanda and Bailundo all the time in no apparent danger.

It makes one wonder whether the Angolan government perhaps does not want Diallo to secure peace with Savimbi.

Secretary-general of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, asked the Angolan government to safeguard the travel arrangements of his representative, Isso Diallo, when he visited Savimbi.

The Angolan government has told Diallo over the past few days that it would not be able to guarantee his safety while he was

travelling to and from Bailundo.

It is true that security in the countryside has deteriorated over the past few months. Even so, it looks as though the Angolan government is using security as an excuse to shut out Savimbi even more than it has already done from the politics of the country.

The Angolan government is doing everything it can to get the international community to recognise the breakaway party, Unita Renovada (the New Unita) as legitimate representatives of the Unita party and to complete the four-year-old Lusaka Protocol with them instead. Savimbi popping up again would spoil the scene completely.

The Angolan government has launched a political and publicity campaign to try to obliterate Savimbi from the public mind. He has now been expelled officially from the leadership of Unita by Unita Renovada and the government has suspended Savimbi's rump Unita

from Parliament and the Joint Commission.

A few weeks ago Unita and Savimbi were in the media daily and making headlines every week. Today Savimbi may as well not exist at all. He is barely mentioned in official TV, radio or newspapers.

On the other hand, Unita Renovada is given one front page story after the other in the state-owned newspapers and the leaders, headed by the previous Minister of Tourism Jorge Valentim, are hailed as the new creators of peace and prosperity.

So for Diallo to see Savimbi would be to grant him a political existence - domestically and internationally - which Dos Santos is otherwise trying hard to deny. It would

hinder the apparent plan to nurture Unita Renovada so much that the international community and the United Nations would finally recognise them.

This plan seems to have worked with the Southern African Development Community (SADC) which at its recent summit branded Savimbi as a war criminal and expressed approval of Unita Renovada.

But for all this energetic domestic and international marketing, the facts on the ground are that Unita Renovada has not succeeded in attracting more than a handful of the previous leaders of the old Unita.

Most of the previous parliamentarians are standing by nervously watching the new development, unwilling to accept the new party on

the word of Jorge Valentim and his friends only.

And Unita Renovada's independence and integrity are shrouded in doubt. Only five hours after Valentim made the decision in Luanda to split, Dos Santos was able to announce the birth of Unita Renovada at the Non-Aligned Movement summit.

This seems to imply that the news did not come as a great surprise to the President.

And the more important facts on the ground are that the creation of Unita Renovada has had no impact on the war.

Villages and convoys of cars are being attacked every week at an accelerating pace and large parts of Angola are under the almost com-

plete control of Savimbi's Unita. Jonas Savimbi remains the most severe threat to the Angolan government and the peace process. He still controls an army of some 35 000 soldiers, according to reliable sources within the United Nations, and also controls most of the territories to the north and east of Luanda. President Dos Santos and sections of the government are worried that they simply would not win in a direct combat with Savimbi's troops. Some observers go as far as suggesting that Dos Santos and the MPLA doves were the ones who ordered detachments of the Angolan army into the Democratic Republic of Congo last month in support of President Kabila - to ensure that their own hawkish could not launch a major offensive against Unita. But perhaps the SADC summit's denunciation of Savimbi was a sign that the Angolan government is collecting prior approval regionally -

aggressive SADC? But is Dos Santos hoping that he can be removed at last by the new propaganda. Savimbi is a fact, and certainly a threat to the peace in Angola who cannot simply be wished away by dia publicity alone.

Savimbi is a fact, and certainly a threat to the peace in Angola who cannot simply be wished away by media peace and security for itself by me- seriously imagine that it can create

The Angolan government cannot effort him? Since Dos Santos apparently fears he cannot win this war on his own, is he hoping that SADC's sudden recent policy shift towards aggressive military intervention in support of established governments - dramatically demonstrated twice in the last two months, in the DRC and in Lesotho - might one day ben-

Since Dos Santos apparently fears he cannot win this war on his own, is he hoping that SADC's sudden recent policy shift towards aggressive military intervention in support of established governments - dramatically demonstrated twice in the last two months, in the DRC and in Lesotho - might one day ben-

Blunt attack does not deter Savimbi

ANGOLAN government efforts to weaken Jonas Savimbi, the leader of rebel movement Unita, by isolating him from senior representatives of his government in Luanda have failed so far and their hamfisted efforts may even have strengthened his position.

There are few signs of grassroots support for a breakaway anti-Savimbi faction, formed by some of the Unita members who came to Luanda under the now-lifeless 1994 Lusaka accords.

"This has been done very clumsily," a former Unita member said. "There would have been finer ways to corrupt Unita. What they may have done now is to discredit people in the party who would have been a threat to Savimbi."

The government and Southern African Development Community (SADC) states now recognise only the dissenters, known as Unita-Renovada (New Unita) and Luanda has not only cut all links with Savimbi but also ordered new United Nations (UN) special representative Issa Diallo not to contact him either.

But the UN and the "troika" monitoring Lusaka — Russia, the US and Portugal — have not recognised the new group led by former minister Jorge Valentim, seen by many as a buffoon.

They know Savimbi still controls an army of about 15 000 fulltime troops, currently battling the Angolan Armed Forces in the north.

"Unita-Renovada are not in a position to negotiate anything," a diplomat said, also saying that the troika and the UN "neither embrace nor reject" the new group at this stage.

The UN Security Council extended last week the mandate of the 1 000 peacekeepers and observers until December 3 but government spokesman Higinio Carneiro said he expected "a phased UN withdrawal to start then".

Fireworks are expected when parliament reconvenes after Unita's representatives were unconstitutionally suspended in last month and then some were reinstated.

Though a few heavyweights like former party secretary-general Eugenio Manuvakola and deputy defence minister Demosthenes Chilinguitila have joined Unita-Renovada, almost none of the 70 elected Unita parliamentarians have publicly declared their support.

They include the charismatic Abel Chivukuvuku, who has lost his parliamentary salary and his perks after declaring he backs neither the defectors nor Savimbi.

Moves to isolate Unita leader Jonas Savimbi appear to be strengthening his hand more than anything else, writes Nicholas Shaxson in Luanda



No rest for Savimbi's forces is in sight.

The nondefectors are now potentially the only real opponents in Luanda not only to the ruling MPLA, but because they are not seen as government

lackeys, to Savimbi too.

If there is to be an eventual solution to this conflict, which erupted upon the country's independence from Portugal

in 1975, then it is, with these people that the battered hopes of Angola may one day lie.

Initially, after Lusaka, the government used limited attacks, or the threat of offensives, to try and force Savimbi into complying with the Lusaka accords and come to Luanda.

Rebellions last year which toppled presidents Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and Pascal Lissouba of Congo, two of Savimbi's closest allies, combined with the capture of Unita's main diamond mines, increased the pressure.

But a couple of months ago, realising that Savimbi had no intention of complying with Lusaka but that he could not be decisively beaten on the battlefield, government strategy shifted. "They are obsessed with Savimbi and now they just want him dead," the former Unita member said.

By trying to foster a political challenge to Savimbi, Luanda hopes it can find a way to replace him with someone more prepared to negotiate a way across Angola's deep social divisions.

The ever-elusive Unita's strategy is changing too. "Their centre of gravity has shifted northwards," a diplomat said. Less importance is being placed on the central highlands headquarter towns of Andulo and Bailundo and Unita's Gen. Gato said this month he would "run like hell" in the face of a sustained army offensive there.

Most of the northern provinces of Malange and Uige and much of eastern Angola are now under government control and the UN said over a quarter of a million people had fled their homes since June.

Foreign diamond companies in the northwestern provinces of Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul have reported Unita hit-and-run attacks there recently, although the main mines are still in government hands.

The Lusaka agreement is effectively dead but neither side has officially repudiated it. "Lip service to the protocol protects Unita against being declared beyond the pale," another diplomat said. The oil-rich government, for its part, also wishes to avoid being cast in the role of spoiler.

But diplomats said it was possible Luanda would eventually get Unita-Renovada to do it for them.

Failing an internal coup against Savimbi, which looks extremely unlikely at the moment, Angola is set for more conflict, perhaps for years. The UN's Diallo is powerless to stop it.

AFRICA

Savimbi loses his special status

(5) BD 29/10/98

LUANDA — Angola's National Assembly on Tuesday evening stripped Jonas Savimbi, leader of rebel movement Unita, of his "special status" as leader of the opposition for failing to keep his side of a peace treaty signed with the government.

The assembly, acting on a motion put forward by the ruling People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, also removed Savimbi's squad of 400 bodyguards which went with the special status.

The parliamentary legal committee recommended the move, concluding in a report that the leader of the Unita intended to seize power through force and "endangered the sovereignty of the Angolan nation and state unity".

Savimbi won the special status in April last year shortly after Unita announced its total disarmament as called for by the Lusaka accords of 1994.

The status gave Savimbi the right to consult ministers of the government of unity and national reconciliation, created at the same time, foreign diplomats and the president, among other privileges, making him a virtual vice-president.

But some opposition MPs questioned whether stripping Savimbi of his special status would persuade him to abandon his military ambitions.

Savimbi has remained in his central strongholds of Andulo and Bailundo, refusing to take up offices in Luanda, citing security concerns.

The decision on Savimbi came during two days of intense activity within Unita. A party dissident, Eugenio Ngola Manuvakola, was sworn in Tuesday night as the leader of the Unita parliamentary group.

In August, Manuvakola suspended from parliament 55 deputies who remained loyal to Savimbi, but they were later reinstated after diplomatic pressure.

The party's organiser and a Savimbi supporter, Franco Marcolino Niani, resigned on Monday and said he was disgusted at the fighting in the country.

"Peace and nothing but peace is what is important to Angolans. There is no point in the war," he said.

Relations had been severed between the Luanda government and Savimbi since early last month, when a dissident "peace faction" of Unita — led by Manuvakola and another dissident Jorge Valentim — emerged with an offer to co-operate with Luanda and United Nations observers in completing the stalled peace process.

The regime of President José Eduardo dos Santos has designated the splinter group, known as the "renewal committee",

as the "only valid interlocutor" in Unita.

Officials said yesterday that Unita fighters had captured three towns in northern Angola.

On Tuesday, Unita took control of Songo, near the provincial capital of Uije, which many government officials had already abandoned to head for the capital, fearing an all-out assault by the rebels. The government deployed MiG warplanes to the Uije area late on Tuesday, according to witnesses there.

In the past few months, Unita fighters had gained control of areas around the town held by government forces, informed sources in the capital said.

The movement, which is supposed to have demobilised all its forces in line with 1994 peace protocols, controls 13 of the 16 municipalities in Uije province.

Unita troops have also captured the small towns of Kamulemba and Ngola-Luije in the northern Malanje province, almost without opposition, the same source said.

The province's capital is under nighttime curfew and government troops patrol its streets.

The government has launched a recruitment drive to protect Malanje town, which was besieged by Unita between 1992 and 1994. — Sapa-AFP.

\$350m loan for US oil groups in Angola

TOM DOGGETT

⑤

CT(BR) 2/11/98

Washington, DC — The US Export-Import (Ex-Im) Bank is close to finalising a \$350 million loan to help American companies supply equipment to offshore oil producers in Angola, the head of Chevron told Reuters.

"The final (loan) approval, it's just about there," Kenneth Derr, Chevron's chairman and chief executive officer, said late last week.

Chevron has been operating in Angola since the 1950s and is the country's largest oil producer. Half of Angola's oil is shipped to the US market.

Derr said the \$350 million loan may rank as the largest loan the Ex-Im Bank has made in Africa. Over the past five years, the bank has financed a total of \$792 million in projects for sub-Saharan Africa.

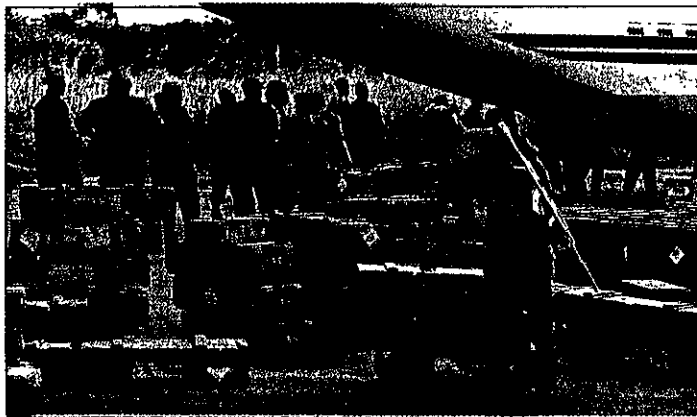
The Chevron chairman and CEO said his company would spend \$1 billion a year in Angola over the next five years in new construction and equipment.

"I would hope a lot of that would go to US suppliers," he said. "This Ex-Im bank loan will certainly help, and I think it's a great step forward," he said.

The Ex-Im Bank does not comment on pending transactions, according to a bank spokesman.

The loan would pay for "equipment for our projects. We'll be the operator of these projects, but we buy pumps and platforms," Derr said.

The Ex-Im Bank's board of directors approved a preliminary commitment to Chevron for the Angola project on August 20, but did not identify the size of the proposed deal. The board is tentatively scheduled to meet on Friday. — Reuters



Stocking up: Congolese rebels unload ammunition flown by private cargo plane to Buta, a rebel-held town north-east of Kinshasa. PHOTOGRAPH BY BRENNAN LINSLEY/AP

Inside Angola's undeclared war

Chris Gordon

A woman's rib cage, with only the mummified head left attached, arcs elegantly out of the sand in the street. Her arms, legs and pelvis are missing. A man's body pops into focus like the three-dimensional pictures that only reveal their secret after a few moments' study. His corpse was almost indistinguishable from the rubbish pit he had been dumped in.

No one knows who they were, who killed them or when they died. They were not recently dead, and they were only two of many who died some time during the weeks of fighting in which first Unita and then government forces gained control of their town. They were found by United Nations forces.

There are more like these across the country; the unknown dead of Angola's unrecorded war, as the Forces Armada Angolana, the Angolan army and Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel army battles for control of three crucial corridors. And this is only the beginning.

The conflict began to build up in August after months of small-scale attacks by Unita. The focus of the fighting has been in the Uige and Malange provinces, where Unita has captured more territory over the past few weeks. In Malange, the government may only now control the provincial capital.

While the dead from this conflict remain anonymous, the displaced are at least recorded, fleeing Unita zones and in some places forced into conscription by both sides. It is not a clean war, say those close to the fighting, and the villagers are caught in the middle, killed or raped or kidnapped or just robbed. The survivors run.

There are now nearly half-a-million internal refugees, 100 000 of these in Malange and the neighbouring Bengo, as the government struggles to displace Unita from its most important corridor, the Democratic Republic of Congo border to Savimbi's headquarter region of Bailondo and Andulo. This region encompasses two areas where Unita are mining diamonds, along the northern Cuango, which defines the border with the Congo, and near N'Harea. Another corridor and major supply line runs east from Bailondo to the Zambian border.

It is certain that the war will intensify. The question is when. The answer, say analysts in Luanda, is when the Angolan troops are called back from the Congo. The two sides are fighting each other on the border, each blocking the other from returning. The possibility that Angola might be planning a quiet withdrawal from the Congo to deal with the increasing threat from Unita was raised by a United States diplomat in Kinshasa earlier this week.

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe denies this. Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola have reinforced their troops and military hardware

in the Congo and intend to pursue the rebels east. The Angolan ambassador in Kinshasa has confirmed at least that Angola does not intend to revoke its commitment to the Southern African Development Community military initiative. But Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos was not at the crucial meeting where this decision was taken. A Congolese military representative refused to confirm Angola's position.

Inside Angola, political moves against Unita are gathering momentum. The Angolan Parliament voted to strip Savimbi of his special status as leader of the main opposition last week. The government has stood down all national police guards who came from Unita ranks under the UN-sponsored attempt to integrate the various armed forces of the two sides.

Unita has asserted that it does not seek war and wants fresh negotiations — a familiar tactic. Whether the outcome is intensified war or a fresh set of negotiations with a cornered and politically isolated Savimbi, the solution is likely to be more definitive than that of previous internationally sponsored efforts. And there will be many more anonymous atrocities.

Meanwhile, our correspondent in Kinshasa reports that Laurent Kabila's regime is mobilising and recruiting thousands of ex-Congo defence force and *interahamwe* elements from refugee camps in Congo (Brazzaville) and the Central African Republic. The recruitment is believed to come before a counter-offensive against the rebel coalition which is moving south towards Kananga and Mbuji-Mayi, the centre of the diamond industry.

The Congo (Brazzaville) government has publicly denied requests from Kabila to dispatch Rwandese across the river so that he could deploy them in the war in the Congo. Despite Brazzaville's public posture, there is growing evidence that the two countries are collaborating in a major drive to move thousands of Rwandese now based in Congo (Brazzaville) into the Congo.

Since October 31, the refugee camps of Kinshasa, Loukolela, Ndjoundou and Liranga have been emptying. Three thousand men abandoned Loukolela and crossed by boat into the Congo. The recruitment exercise is being conducted by ex-Congo defence force officers. At the river crossing, the Rwandese were kitted out with military uniforms and weapons. They were then taken to a military garrison in Mbandaka. During their flight to Congo (Brazzaville), the Rwandese hid huge quantities of weapons in caches along the Congo river.

The Congo coalition seems to have adapted a "Maginot Line" mentality to defend fixed positions at Kananga and Mbuji-Mayi in the centre, Lubumbashi in the south-east, and Kinshasa and Matadi on the western front. Zimbabwean military reinforcements have been deployed to Kananga and Lubumbashi for defence of those two cities and Mbuji-Mayi.

MTC-6-12/11/98 (5)

Both sides 'have breached accord'

Stephen Laufer

THE United Nations' special envoy to Angola, Iffa Diallo, has accused both sides in the conflict there of pushing towards full-scale war.

Speaking in Pretoria after a meeting with Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad, Diallo said Jonas Savimbi's Unita and the Luanda government were in breach of the Lusaka protocol signed in 1994. The accord, guaranteed by the US, Russia and Portugal and backed by a UN peacekeeping force, mapped out a peaceful settlement of the decades-old conflict.

It has been flaunted increasingly openly by both sides in recent months. The Angolan government recently withdrew privileges accorded to Savimbi under the accords. The Unita leader is subject to

international sanctions, including a travel ban, as a result of his alleged belligerent activities.

Diallo, who arrived in SA from Luanda, said that although the Luanda government was not allowing him to travel to Savimbi's headquarters, he was in contact with the opposition leader as the UN had to talk to all sides. He left later for Namibia and will visit several other countries in the region to try to build pressure for a return to the Lusaka protocol.

Diallo said the international community could not sit back and watch "warlords" impose their rule on the region.

But the going was tough for the peacemakers, and the clock was running on the UN involvement, which had cost \$1bn to date. The UN mandate on Angola had three weeks to run.

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Attack on mine may signal Unita

Nicholas Shaxson

AN ATTACK on an important diamond mine in Angola, in which 21 people died, is the first sign that Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerrillas may have returned in strength to the diamond-rich northeastern provinces they left at the end of last year.

Canada's Diamond Works and its operating subsidiary, Branch Energy, said about 50 people attacked the Yetwene concession on Sunday. Although Unita denied it was responsible, officials in Luanda said the scale of the operation suggested Unita was the likely culprit.

Another 20 people were killed when armed men ambushed two lorries near Kaluteva, about 50km from Benguela in southern Angola, on Monday in what appeared to be an unrelated incident.

The mine attack follows months of growing

Angolan mining companies are pulling staff back to operations they can defend

insularity in the northeastern provinces of Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul in which scattered hit-and-run attacks have forced foreign companies to pull personnel back from isolated outposts and focus activities on core mining areas which are more easily defended.

Diamond Works said although operations had been suspended at Yetwene, which had been producing \$1m to \$1.5m worth of diamonds a month, security reinforcements flown to the mine had helped secure it again.

Another similarly sized Diamond Works operation 100km further south is still operating. Other mining companies also said their well-defended operations were continuing without interruption.

"We have had isolated incidents since the

beginning of this year, but we have seen no particular escalation recently," said an official at SDM, a joint venture of Brazil's Odebrecht, Australia's Ashton Mining and Angolan state diamond company Endiana. The SDM concession is one of Angola's largest and lies in the Cuango Valley, about 400km west of the Diamond Works operations on the Tchicapa and Luachimo Rivers.

A company staffed by South Africans, Petradiamond, also said its mining operations, about 300km from Yetwene, were running normally. Another SA company, Ocean Diamond Mining, is also operating in Angola but a spokesman could not be reached for comment.

Angola's northeast is a huge, complex patchwork of concession areas held by more

than 50 foreign and local companies and Unita has had a measure of shifting control over parts of it for years.

Analysts suggest Unita, using mostly small-scale mining equipment, is unlikely to produce much more than a third of Angola's expected \$500m to \$600m total output this year, compared to slightly more than half of last year's \$800m to \$900m total output. This is still enough to fund extensive guerrilla operations.

Insecurity has grown across Angola since Savimbi decided five months ago he would complete no more of the tasks required of him under the 1994 Lusaka peace agreement. Although the Lusaka agreement survives on paper it is effectively dead and the government has cut all links with Savimbi, preferring only

deployment

to talk to a group of Unita dissidents who have rejected Savimbi as their leader.

This latest attack illustrates Luanda's failure to weaken Savimbi. Distracted by battles with the Democratic Republic of Congo across the northern border in areas adjacent to the Lunda provinces, the Angolan armed forces will struggle to prevent more such attacks.

Little was stolen in the latest mine raid, and although a motive has not been made clear, the fear the attack has provoked will serve a key Unita objective by adding to pressure on foreign companies in Angola to limit or reduce their mining operations.

"This event has convinced us even more than before that we need to hide our time," said Earl Young of American Mineral Fields. The company has another large concession area in the Cuango Valley but has not started mining there.

REST OF AFRICA

Call for annulment of Lusaka peace deal

Although it is not yet full war, clashes between Unita and government troops are spreading across Angola

Nicholas Shaxson,
Sapa-AFP, Sapa-DPA and AIA



LUANDA — The Angolan government wanted to annul peace accords reached with Unita in 1994, the Deputy Minister for Territorial Administration, Gen Higinio Carneiro, said late on Tuesday.

Carneiro said that an official decision could be announced tomorrow — on the fourth anniversary of the signing of the peace accords in Lusaka, Zambia.

Implementation of the peace accords has been at a standstill since March, when the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) stopped handing over territory to central administration.

Although it is not yet full war, clashes between Unita and government troops continue to occur across Angola.

Unita controls huge swathes of territory and continues to capture small towns.

The government has retaken some towns and repelled an attack on the strategic Ngove Dam in the Huambo province, pounded with heavy artillery by Unita.

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However, the chief-of-staff of the Angolan army, Gen Joao de Matos, has expressed his concern that Unita rebels are poised to attack and destroy the Mataala dam in the Huila province.

De Matos left yesterday for the province of Lunda-Sul, which he described as the "main problematic area on the military front."

In Malange province, the government controls only four out of 14 districts.

The provincial capital is technically under siege by Unita with a safe perimeter reduced to about 25km.

Terrified rural people are seeking refuge in Malange, depleting its scarce resources. Health facilities report a doubling of patients seeking consultations.

Social Assistance Minister Albino Malungo said that across the country, about one million people had been displaced after fleeing the fighting. Malange and Huambo provinces have the largest number, 52 500 and 41 000.

Recently five swept through the camp for displaced people in Caxito, Bengo province; 40km north of Luanda. It destroyed 650 houses and left 3 000 people without shelter.

According to United Nations sources, about 50% of Angola is inaccessible and the UN humanitarian assistance co-ordination continues to receive daily reports of people killed and maimed in land mine explosions.

The World Food Programme suspended road deliveries to many areas after a 21-truck food convoy escorted by the UN peacekeepers was attacked by Unita in the Kwanza Nord province last month. One UN member died and six others were injured.

Another convoy of 40 food aid trucks, including UN escorts, has been trapped in central Angola since last Sunday when the road ahead was declared unsafe.

An official of the food programme said more than 80% of the food aid allocated for the areas around southern Huambo, Bie and northern Cuanjo Cubango remained undelivered, which could affect as many as 200 000 people.

He said airlifts were being considered, but the cost of airlifting food was two or three times higher than transporting food by road.

Several demining groups have halted their operations in protest against the fresh laying of land

mines by both Unita and the government.

Last week's attack on an important diamond mine in Angola, in which eight people died, is the first sign that Unita guerrillas may have returned to the diamond-rich northeastern provinces they left at the end of last year.

Canada's Diamond Works and its operating subsidiary, Branch Energy, said about 50 people attacked the Yetwene concession. Although Unita denied it was responsible, officials in Luanda said the scale of the operation suggested Unita was the likely culprit.

The mine attack follows months of growing insecurity in the northeastern provinces of Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul in which scattered hit-and-run attacks have forced foreign companies to pull personnel back from isolated outposts and focus activities on core mining areas which are more easily defended.

Analysts suggest Unita is unlikely to produce much more than a third of Angola's expected \$500m to \$600m total output this year, compared to slightly more than half of last year's \$800m to \$900m total output. This is still enough to fund extensive guerrilla operations for some time.

Beefed-up Unita winning battle

Luanda - Backed by superior firepower, Unita has gained the upper hand in battles against the Angolan government's army in Angola's central highlands, the government's chief-of-staff said yesterday.

General Joao de Matos said the rebels were supported by mercenaries from Israel, South Africa, Ukraine and Morocco. He expressed surprise over Unita's firepower, which included tanks, assault vehicles, and long-range artillery.

"We stand before a Unita with a military potential far beyond the one it had before."

Government officials had not made any public comment on the fighting since the army launched an attack on Unita's central-highland strongholds on December 4, ending a four-year-old peace pact.

Neither side has acknow-

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ledged the collapse of the UN-brokered 1994 agreement which ended a two-decade civil war in which 500 000 people were killed and hundreds of thousands more were left maimed, homeless and threatened by disease and hunger.

The pact called on Unita to disarm its 70 000-strong army and hand over control of almost half the country it occupied to the government.

De Matos expressed dismay over Unita's military buildup, which had taken place "under the passive gaze of the United Nations".

Unita reportedly has re-armed in the past year and has a well-equipped guerrilla army of about 30 000. The government army numbers 100 000, although only about 30 000 are believed to be properly trained soldiers. - Sapa-AP

Unita rebels on the rampage in Angola

Thousands flee as soldiers loot UN refugee agency's offices

BLACKMAN NGORO
STAFF REPORTER

Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels have taken vehicles belonging to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees as well as the Lutheran World Foundation, looted their offices and caused the officials to evacuate from Angola to Mehebe refugee camp in Zambia.

One of these vehicles was later recovered in Lusaka when

the bandits came into town to replenish their stocks using the United Nations logo as cover.

Asked why this incident, which occurred in Cazombo near to the Zambia's northern border, had gone unreported, Dominik Bartsch, official spokesman for the UN High Commission for Refugees in Lusaka, said: "We wanted to keep it low profile."

With an increase in the number of refugees coming out of

Angola, this hardly seemed possible. Many of the refugees claimed they fled after being forced to join Unita insurgents in exchange for their lives.

Commission representative Oluseyi Bajulaiye said there were three Unita battalions at Cazombo.

"There have been 30 000 Angolans leaving the country in the last six months, headed for Zambia, Angola, Namibia - all the neighbouring countries."

Leonard Saluweyi, 32, used to run a honey-production outfit in Cazombo, marketing the produce in Luanda, helped by the Lutheran World Foundation.

"If you want to stay in Unita rebel-held territory then you must be prepared to do their bidding."

Mr Saluweyi painted a picture of total brutality that led to the evacuation of non-governmental organisations and their workers. He said this followed

the collapse of the government of national unity in September.

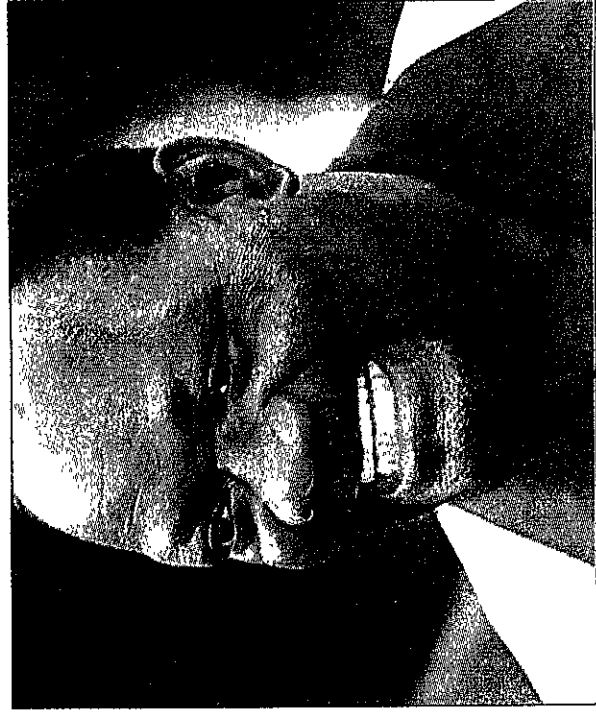
Unita government ministers were expelled from the MPLA-led government after a resolution adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement which branded Jonas Savimbi as a war criminal. This was later ratified by a meeting of Southern Africa Development Community heads of state, held in Mauritius.

Since then, Unita has gone on the rampage, leaving a trail of

ghost towns which include Cazombo. Mr Saluweyi said the people were fleeing because the were "fed-up" with the war.

"Even some Unita people were hoping that the government of national unity would hold so that they could get on with their lives."

"But that was not to be. The problem is Jonas Savimbi simply wants to steal. If the people voted he would get nothing, but if he fights he will keep looting."



Still fighting: Unita leader Jonas Savimbi

Fierce fighting in Unita bid for Cuito

(5) LISBON — Angola slipped closer to renewed full-scale civil war yesterday with rebel Unita forces making a concerted bid to capture the central town of Cuito.

Units forces had the strategically important road and rail junction surrounded and were trying to take the airport, reports said.

Tens of thousands of refugees were reportedly packed into the city from surrounding areas.

The United Nations said UN and other relief workers had been evacuated from Cuito and Huambo, where fighting was also reported to be heavy.

Rebels in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, meanwhile, have claimed that Angolan forces, apparently responding to the surge in attacks at home, have withdrawn at least one battalion from western Congo. The Angolan troops were deployed in support of Congo President Laurent Kabila, who is fighting a bid by rebels, backed by Rwanda and Uganda, to overthrow him.

Congo rebel leader Ernest Wamba dia Wamba said at least 1 000 Angolan troops and tanks had left the air base at Kitona, about 400km southwest of Kinshasa. Rwandan officials also reported the withdrawal. The claims could not be confirmed.

Angola's chief of staff, Gen João de Matos, was quoted as saying that "heavily armed" Unita troops were attempting a "powerful counterattack" around Cuito. He accused unspecified "foreign interests" of helping the rebels.

A Russian-built Antonov plane, carrying soldiers as well as women and children to Luanda, was shot down near Cuito by Unita forces, the Lusa news agency reported. It said many people were

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killed or wounded.

Portuguese news reports said Unita was trying to push eastwards, taking areas around the important Benguela railway, which runs across Angola to the southern part of neighbouring Congo.

Heavy fighting between Unita and government forces has been taking place since December 5 in defiance of a 1994 peace accord that ended two decades of civil war. The terms of the peace deal have never been fully implemented because of mutual suspicion between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, a former Marxist and his long-time foe Jonas Savimbi, Unita's leader.

Portuguese media also reported yesterday that Unita was selling diamonds, in violation of a UN embargo, to finance its battles against government forces.

Angolan military officials said Unita was now better armed than before the peace accord was signed four years ago. Despite UN Security Council sanctions slapped on Unita for refusing to comply fully with the demobilisation pact, the government estimates that Savimbi still has about 35 000 armed men at his disposal.

De Matos blamed the UN, which is overseeing the peace accords, for the failure of Savimbi's men to disarm.

Late last month, government troops, who were joined by some top Unita officers under the Lusaka accords, launched an offensive to take control of about 200 districts supposed to have been handed over by the rebels.

The government broke off talks with Unita in September, six months after it became the official opposition on the basis that it had disarmed. — Sapa-AP-AFP, Reuter.

Fierce clashes as Angola unravels

MTG 4-10/12/98

Chris Gordon

Four years after the Lusaka accords officially ended Angola's civil war, the internationally brokered peace process has come unglued. Renewed war seems almost certain.

United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan told the Security Council last week that prospects for reactivating the peace process in

Angola look bleak. The political and military situation continues to deteriorate, according to a UN representative in New York.

The UN confirmed reports of heavy fighting last week at Alta Hama, near the strategic central highlands city of Huambo. Ironically, the Angolan government's recapture of Huambo from Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita brought about the signing of the Lusaka peace deal in November 1994.

Another signal of a potential war is the approval by the Angolan Council of Ministers of compulsory drafting of youths between the ages of 17 and 19 into the army. For months, both sides have been increasing their armies through forced recruitment.

However, the final political step towards war is not yet in place. The government must formally declare the Lusaka peace accords no longer govern relations with Unita.

The peace process has been in slow motion since last May when Unita forces began attacks on UN positions. Fighting intensified in August as Unita captured much of the Uige and Malange provinces and began major troop movements in the diamond provinces of the Lundas.

A government offensive in the north has successfully reduced Unita's control there, according to reports from the region. Now, the government is preparing for a major offensive against Savimbi.

A build-up of government troops, particularly around Huambo, began two weeks ago. But the expected counter-offensive against the Unita strongholds of Bailondo and Andulo has not been launched.

Eleven remaining observers are waiting to be pulled out by the UN. But Unita is holding them, saying an airport runway needs repairs, and they cannot leave. The UN denies its personnel are being held hostage to prevent a government offensive. The focus of military activity has moved away from the north.

Despite an attack on a Diamond Works mine three weeks ago, Unita has shown no disposition to recapture the Lundas. And the vast majority of Congolese mining for Unita in the region have returned to the Democratic Republic of Congo or dispersed elsewhere.

Although Savimbi no longer controls the richest diamonds fields, Unita is still smuggling out gems, probably worth about \$200-million this year, in defiance of sanctions.

The ultimate stakes for Unita are much higher than enough diamonds to carry on fighting. The prize sought by Savimbi is political control of the country, one of the richest in Africa.

The international community, whose insistence on the Angolan peace process prevented the defeat of Unita in 1994, is apparently powerless in the face of Savimbi's refusal to surrender his army.

International intervention has given Angola three years of relative peace after 23 years of war, interventionists claim. But Angolan officials in Luanda privately confess they may have made a mistake by agreeing to the 1994 peace accords.

The UN and the three peace monitoring nations — the United States, Russia and Portugal — place most of the blame for the renewal of conflict on Savimbi and his failure to disarm his troops and surrender his headquarters.

The UN has also made it clear that it will withdraw if there is a return to war.

Savimbi's stronghold falls

Chris Gordon and Howard Barrell

Jonas Savimbi's stronghold has fallen, according to reports coming out of Angola. Government troops are thought to have entered Unita's Bailundo headquarters on Wednesday and Unita are said to be retreating eastwards to their bases in the Cazomba region, Moxico province, next to the Zambian border, leaving the town relatively undefended.

However, Unita secretary general Paulo Lukamba Gato has told Reuters by telephone from Andulo, another Savimbi base 600km from Bailundo, that government ground forces were on the retreat after suffering heavy casualties and were being pursued by Unita forces toward the strategic town of Cuito.

The *Mail & Guardian* has not been able to independently verify these reports, but it has been able to disprove previous claims by Unita of supposed military successes. Although the rebel movement claimed it had recaptured the diamond mining town of Luzamba in the Cuan-go valley, phone calls to the town ascertained it was still in the government's hands on Thursday morning and no fighting or Unita threat had materialised.

Reports last week from the region in fact indicated that security was better than it had been for months, and that Unita had been pushed north into Uige province. Unita also claimed to have captured the nearby town of Za-Mutembe, but this claim has also not been verified.

The United Nations is taking no chances after Unita's reports, and has pulled its observers back into Luanda. They were airlifted out of Luzamba on Thursday morning.

Bailundo was reportedly taken this week after Angolan troops launched a major offensive — including air raids — on the Unita-controlled region of the central highlands.

The offensive is aimed at getting Unita out of its bases there. Since Unita began recapturing areas in May, it has taken 40% of the territory it had handed back.

The UN secretary general's office confirmed Unita now had control of large areas, pointing out that these were outside the towns where most of the population is concentrated.

Reports coming out of the region are extremely difficult to verify. No journalists are allowed into the region and the UN has had no observers there since last Saturday.

The UN is concerned the government may be unleashing a major operation, which would effectively end the notional peace process. The UN Security Council was briefed on December 2 about the increased fighting.

A UN representative confirmed heavy fighting, concentrated in Bela Vista, Kuito and Kitemba, had been reported in recent days.



Nothing changes: Hopes for peace in Angola are dashed as fighting mounts to the same intensity as that experienced in 1993 to 1994. PHOTOGRAPH: STEFAANS BRÜMMER

"We are seeing a return to a similar intensity of fighting that we saw in 1993/1994," said Richard Cornwell of the Institute for Security Studies in Midrand.

The escalation of the Angolan conflict is matched by an escalation of the war in the neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo, where Angolan troops are supporting President Laurent Kabila's army against a rebel force.

There is now a well-established pattern of Unita forces helping the Congolese rebels, Angolan forces helping Kabila, and Unita taking advantage of Angolan government troop deployments in the Congo to attack weakened government positions inside Angola.

A second major flashpoint is in the east central region of Congo. There, around the town of Kabalo in the southern Katanga province, Angolan and Zimbabwean troops backing Kabila have clashed directly with Ugandan and Rwandan troops helping the rebels.

Zimbabwean troops have launched repeated attacks against rebel-held Kabalo, but each has been beaten back.

"Each Zimbabwean attack was a carbon copy of the earlier one. So the rebels knew what they were up against," said one source.

Optimism, after the Paris summit of African and French leaders, that peace was imminent in Congo has been exposed as ill-founded.

A meeting scheduled for Lusaka this week to take the process forward had to be cancelled, entailing also the cancellation of a meeting scheduled for December 11 in South Africa. Kabila is still refusing to meet with the rebels.

Angolan and Zimbabwean troops are reported to have been sent from eastern Congo to Lisala on the Congo River in the north to reinforce Chadian troops stationed there who have been badly mauled by a semi-autonomous rebel group led by Jean-Pierre Bembe, a former general in the late Mobutu Sese Seko's former Zairean armed forces.

Zimbabwean troops are reported to be training Hutu former soldiers from the armed forces of Rwanda, many of them associated with the *interahamwe*, to help them raise the level of opposition to the mainly Tutsi Rwandan government.

Regional security experts also say they have received reports of a serious lack of discipline among Kabila's troops around Lubumbashi. About 30 mercenaries who were fighting for Kabila are reported to have left after not being paid. The sources take this as evidence of a gradual breakdown of morale and order among Kabila's forces.

Unita military strength stuns MPLA

M+G 18-23/12/98 (6)

Unita's improved military strength is of growing concern to Angola and its neighbours, write Chris Gordon and Howard Barrell

Unita military pressure on the government has escalated dangerously over the past week, prompting deep concern among neighbouring governments.

A powerful Unita offensive, including tanks and heavy artillery, on forces at Kuito and Huambo in the central highlands of Angola has exacted heavy government casualties over the past week.

The Angolan government and regional security experts have been astonished at the recent improvement in Unita's conventional warfare capacity, particularly evident in the rebels' attack on Kuito.

These experts attribute this to help for Unita from former middle-ranking South African military officers hired for the purpose on individual contracts, but they decline to provide details.

A senior South African government official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said this week that South Africa viewed the situation in Angola "very seriously".

On Wednesday, Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos met Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano, Namibian President Sam Nujoma and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe in Luanda to discuss the further deterioration of the security situation in the interlinked conflicts in Angola and its northern neighbour, the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Kofi Annan, the United Nations secretary general, told the Security Council early this week: "There is war in Angola."

The fate of Kuito was unclear on Thursday (December 17), although the usually well-informed United States embassy in Luanda, citing both independent and Unita sources,

said late on Wednesday that the town was still in government hands.

This contradicted earlier reports that the strategically important town had fallen to Unita on Monday or Tuesday. However, regional security analysts said that the fall of both Kuito and Huambo was possible within days.

The fighting around Kuito and Huambo has been so fierce that a UN refugee agency in Luanda reported 60 000 new refugees fleeing in the space of just five days.

The UN told the *M&G* and *Guardian* that it has pulled its personnel from those towns, and from Luena, a strategic town in the north-west controlled by the government which cuts Unita's route to its camps near the Zambian border.

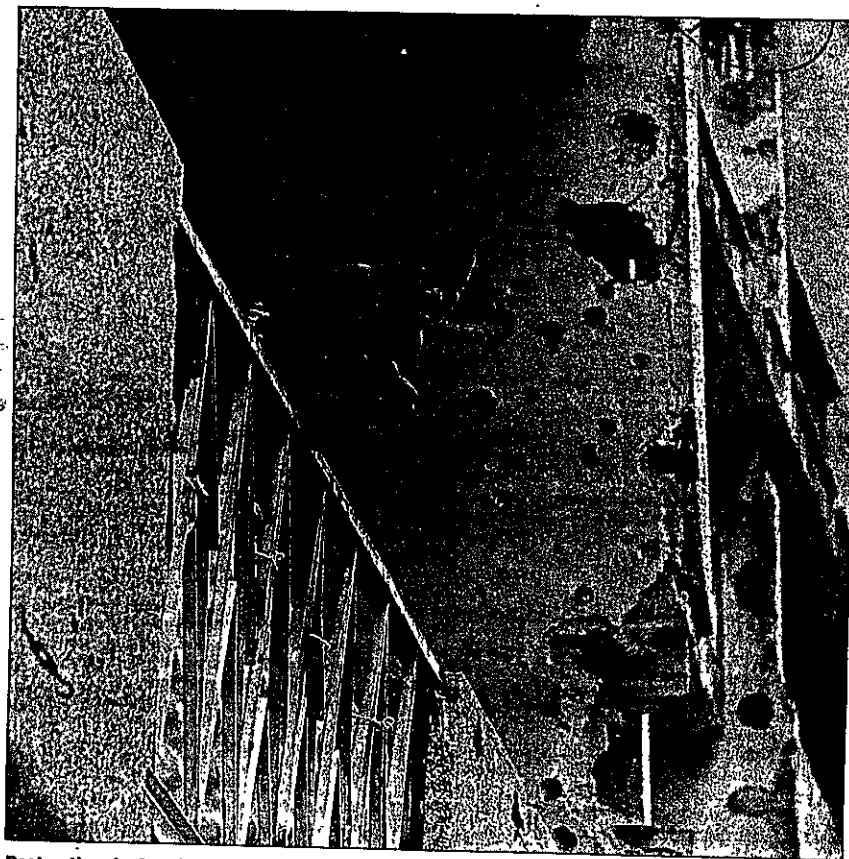
The UN must now to decide whether it will pull out of Angola after four years of trying to broker peace.

The Angolan government says the world body no longer has a role in Angola, in view of its signal failure to demilitarise Unita and also the failure of UN sanctions to prevent Unita rebuilding its military capacity.

Unita is evidently now well prepared for a major land battle, no longer just for a guerrilla war. Angolan government forces encountered Unita troops in heavy concentrations in the central highlands, backed up with tanks, ground attack vehicles and heavy artillery.

Unita has made an oblique offer of talks to the Angolan government. On Wednesday, agencies quoted General Paulo Lukamba Gato, Unita's secretary general, as saying Unita might consider returning to the negotiating table.

But he indicated this might have to be preceded by a withdrawal of



Destruction: An Angolan child in war-torn Huambo. A UN refugee agency reports that fierce fighting around the town has led to more than 60 000 refugees fleeing in just five days. PHOTO: AP/ADIL BRADLOW

some government forces from the current positions in the central highlands.

Regional security analysts see this as posturing which indicates a new level of confidence within Unita.

Any rise in oil prices as a result of the latest US-Iraqi confrontation is not expected to improve the cash-strapped Angolan government's ability to re-arm itself.

Angola has already mortgaged a substantial portion of its future oil production, including that from big new offshore finds.

The serious security situation is forcing the Angolan government to cut back on its troop deployment to prop up President Laurent Kabila in Congo. Several elite units have already been withdrawn back to Angola.

Mugabe is likely soon to face growing domestic pressures also to reduce his military support for Kabila. Over the past two weeks, Zimbabwean forces have taken substantial casualties in clashes with

anti-Kabila rebels around the town of Kabalo in east-central Congo. News of these losses appear to have been largely covered up so far in Zimbabwe.

These pressures on the Angolan and Zimbabwean governments may impact on attempts to bring about direct negotiations between Kabila and the rebels in Congo.

Kabila was expected at a two-day Organisation of African Unity meeting in Burkina Faso which began on Thursday and which was due to discuss several African conflicts including that in Congo.

But Kabila's position on the eve of the talks was still that he would not hold face-to-face talks with the rebels — though he would agree to proximity talks.

Unita, which also operates from bases in southern Congo which adjoin Angolan territory, has been building up its war capacity over a long period. Since late October,

quantities of cheaper Angolan diamonds have hit the open market in Antwerp. Unita seems to have increased its smuggling and is thought to have sold part of its diamond stockpile to buy ground attack vehicles and heavy weapons.

The UN Sanctions Committee does not, according to a UN representative, have any power or budget to investigate who is supplying Unita or who is buying Unita's diamonds.

The *M&G* was told it was the responsibility of member states to prevent such infractions of international law and to supply any information to the UN.

British-based human rights group Global Witness this week attacked the diamond industry, particularly De Beers, for failing to take on the questions raised by Unita's smuggling of diamonds to fund its war.

De Beers has stated that it is no longer buying any smuggled diamonds originating in Angola, following the UN embargo.

ANGOLA- GENERAL

1999

Divides that feed Angolan war are as deep as ever

The conflict in Angola has intensified in recent weeks and the end is nowhere in sight, nor is there likely to be an outright military victory in the war, concludes Nicholas Shaxson

(5)
BD 5/1/99

ANGOLANS have found many reasons for fighting each other in the past four decades but two factors above all are now propelling the conflict into its fourth phase, as troops from the Angolan armed forces battle Unita rebels and render the moribund Lusaka peace agreement increasingly meaningless.

First, Unita's blood-thirsty leader Jonas Savimbi believes it is his destiny to be president of Angola and he will fight until he wins, or is eliminated.

The second reason is more complex. A deep schism in Angolan society pits a rural-based Unita, claiming to represent real working Africans, against a corrupt, oil-rich government, symbolised by Portuguese-orientated, urbanised assimilados and light-skinned mesticoes.

The ebb and flow of battle over the years suggests there will be no outright military victory in this conflict, which could be described as a cultural struggle or even an old-fashioned class war.

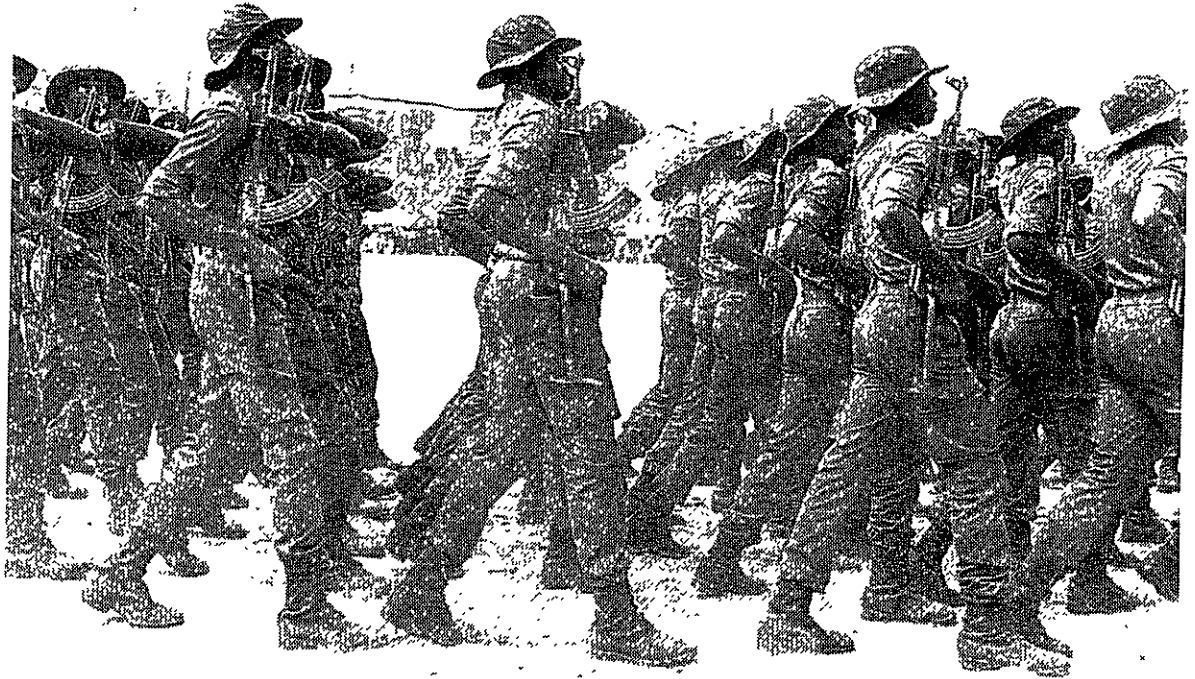
When Unita leader Jonas Savimbi used his astonishing charm and persuasion to convince policy makers in the US and SA that he was a freedom fighter and true capitalist believer during the cold war years, he led what was, and still is today, essentially a peasant movement guided strongly by Maoist principles.

Savimbi has sought to exacerbate this divide, and Unita's recent military successes near the towns of Kuito and Huambo in the central highlands illustrate that though many ordinary Angolans hate him, his appeal to rural society has an enduring resonance.

The government has shown its concern.

"We do not practice social exclusion," President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said in a speech on December 5, suggesting Unita was "heightening the class struggle to deepen these contradictions, so as to seize power violently".

The armed forces traditionally holds towns and cities, funding their war with oil revenues which



The decades-old conflict in Angola is now entering its fourth phase.

have also fostered huge corruption and inequality, while Unita's guerrillas prefer to hide in the bush, digging alluvial diamonds scattered over huge areas of it. The war's resource base, combined with its military imperatives, deepen this social divide.

Another dimension, important in the past, has faded. As an anti-colonial struggle ended at independence in 1975 and the war entered a second phase, Savimbi appealed increasingly to ethnic Ovimbundu identity.

However, after he had rejected defeat at presidential elections following a 1991 peace agreement, many former Ovimbundu supporters turned against him after his unsuccessful efforts to shell and starve Kuito into submission, and because of Unita's sinister and terrifying reign in nearby Huambo before the armed forces recaptured it in 1994.

"We will never, ever, allow Unita into our city again, even in peace," a Huambo resident said at the time.

Many Unita officials who went to the capital Luanda as part of the Lusaka deal also rejected Savimbi's leadership, dividing his sup-

port among the Ovimbundu elite.

The ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is divided too, but it is held together more than anything else by a strong, shared opposition to Savimbi.

"Many politicians in Luanda want Savimbi alive, to keep them in power," a foreign analyst said.

The full reality may be less cynical. Until mid-1998, Dos Santos wanted to weaken Savimbi through international and domestic pressure, and force him to move to Luanda under the terms of the Lusaka accord, effectively as a weak junior partner in a power-sharing agreement. This could have addressed the class-like divide.

But when Unita began offensive operations again in mid-year the government's suspicions that the mercurial rebel leader would never complete Lusaka were confirmed, and policy changed tack.

It mounted a clumsy effort to foster an anti-Savimbi faction of Unita officials in Luanda, to replace Savimbi with someone more willing to find a way to heal Angola's divisions.

But Savimbi remained firmly in

control of his troops.

In the meantime, Dos Santos expects to have the upper hand in a long war of attrition, given that oil production will rise sharply next century, and the diamond deposits used by Unita for funding are slowly becoming degraded.

Savimbi has for years used the UN-monitored Lusaka agreement, which he never saw as more than a negotiated surrender, as a shield behind which to hide, re-arm, and wait for future opportunities.

Two have appeared: the conflict in neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo which has distracted the armed forces, and a catastrophic fall in the oil price which has torn huge holes in government finances.

Savimbi has hoped for years that these divisions, fed by Angola's abominable poverty, will lead to an anti-MPLA uprising, perhaps backed by poorly paid army conscripts and junior army officers.

Savimbi's dream, like the government's belief in the possibility of an anti-Savimbi coup within Unita, may prove to be a delusion. But the fundamental divide which defines the war, and propels it forwards, is as deep as ever.

SA firms warned over Unita boycott

bb 6/11/99

(5)

Embargo-busters face 'full brunt of the law' as strife flares again in Angola

Stephen Laufer

SA COMPANIES discovered breaching the United Nations (UN) trade embargo on Angolan rebel movement Unita would "feel the brunt" of domestic and international law, Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad warned yesterday.

At a media conference in Pretoria, Pahad said the UN also needed to "give teeth" to its resolutions on Angola. It was inexplicable that Unita should be able to flout UN sanctions so easily, he said.

Jonas Savimbi's Unita is again engaged in an increasingly bloody war with government forces, and appears to have shot down two UN planes recently. The trade embargo was imposed after Unita abandoned the Lusaka accords on a peaceful transition to democracy in Angola.

Pahad said Unita and those assisting the organisation should be made to pay for ignoring UN resolutions and for failing to adhere to the most basic rules of warfare. Besides the Lusaka accords, he was referring to the organisation's refusal to allow UN teams to search for survivors of the two planes shot down over Huambo.

Pahad said the UN Security Council, which is due to discuss the Angolan crisis on Friday next week, should weigh further sanctions against Unita in particular. These could include freezing known bank accounts worldwide belonging to the organisation and its leaders, seizing their assets and preventing resources from being moved.

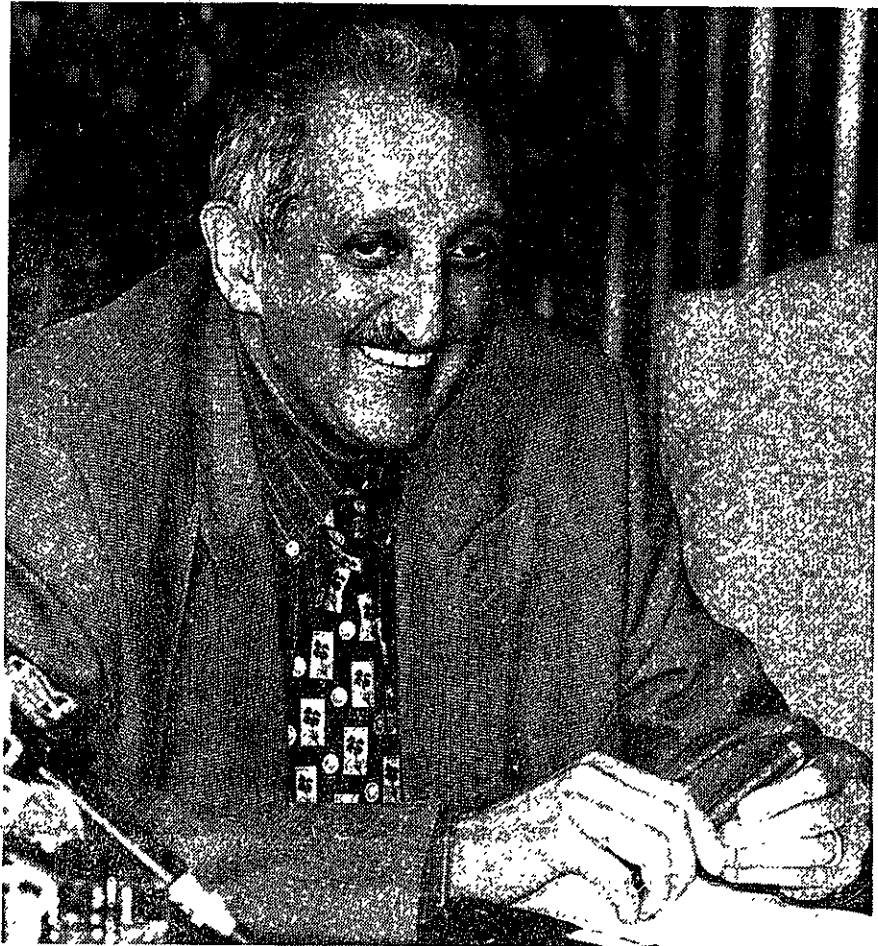
The UN had managed to "give teeth" to its resolutions on crisis areas elsewhere in the world. The same should be done with the Angolan situation.

Pahad said the matter would be discussed with British Prime Minister Tony Blair, who arrives in Pretoria today for a three-day visit. Britain is a permanent member of the Security Council.

Pahad's views appear to signal an increasingly hard line on Unita by SA, after efforts to involve Savimbi in dialogue with the Angolan government failed.

Pahad was not specific about the firms his warnings were directed at, but said government was appealing to "big and small companies not to breach the embargo". He said government had been trying for some time to deal with repeated allegations that SA was being used as a transit base for Unita.

The allegations frequently assume



Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad at a briefing in Pretoria.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

that former SA security force members familiar with such clandestine operations — and trusted by Savimbi — are among his suppliers. Unita's operations are financed largely through sales of diamonds extracted in areas it controls, and some accusations have been directed at major diamond dealers.

Pahad said that while no evidence had been found to back the allegations against SA, co-operation with neighbouring countries was being intensified in an attempt to find and prosecute those who were dealing with Unita.

He said SA would be guided by the views of the Angolan government on the subject of the UN pulling out of Angola

altogether. Calls for such a move had been growing, "but our view is that there can be a pullout only on the understanding that there will be no further deterioration of the situation".

Pahad said pumping in more UN personnel was not necessarily the answer to the Angolan situation. There was a need for the international community to find the political will to convince Savimbi to honour the Lusaka accords.

Meanwhile, Reuter reports that UN undersecretary-general for security Benon Sevan demanded a ceasefire to allow access to the crash sites of two UN planes. "Our appeal is to all parties. There can be no ceasefire with one side," he said.

America at a loss over Angola

US is loath to pull the plug and declare the
Lusaka Protocol void, writes **Simon Barber**

(5) BD 8/11/99

WITH the quarter-century civil war between Angola's ruling MPLA and Jonas Savimbi's Unita back in full swing, pressure is mounting for the withdrawal of United Nations (UN) peacekeepers who have been in the country in one guise or another since 1989.

Both sides are making it clear that they want the blue hats, now operating as the UN Observer Mission (Monua) in Angola, out. The government has expressed itself verbally; Unita (though it denies this) apparently by blowing UN aircraft out of the sky. As former assistant secretary for Africa Chester Crocker, a connoisseur of both sides' psychology, dryly observed, "they'd rather do it in the dark", away from the eyes of the international community.

Monua's mandate from the UN Security Council expires on February 26. Secretary-General Kofi Annan has until next Friday to prepare a report and recommendations.

The Clinton administration, though still weighing options, is loath to pull the plug. To do so, a senior US official argued this week, would effectively be to declare the December 1994 Lusaka Protocol, whose implementation the parties invited the UN to referee, dead.

That agreement, hashed out over months of above-normal bloodletting, put the toothpaste back in the tube after the last full-scale eruption began in 1992, following elections in which Unita came second.

The official stressed that much had been accomplished, however haltingly, as a result of the "Lusaka process".

This included the establishment of a government of national unity, and the resumption of a Unita "presence" in Luanda. Unita had closed its propagandist Radio Vorgan. Unita officers were now serving in the Angolan military. There had been a "diminution of mistrust between the MPLA and certain aspects of Unita". All of that made the present return to war "intensely frustrating".

"If the UN pulls out, the Lusaka process is over. The joint commission (the principal forum for settling disputes, chaired by the secretary-general's special representative with the US, Portugal and Russia as observers) comes down. We are back to square one," the official said. "That has to be understood."

The official acknowledged that

there were those who questioned spending money on UN peacekeepers when there was no peace to be kept and their lives appeared to be increasingly in danger. The administration's view was that too much had already been "invested" to give up.

Before Monua, there were UN Angola verification missions I to III. Not counting the first, the verification missions cost more than \$1bn. Monua, which consists of about 700 soldiers and 300 civilian observers, is budgeted at \$140m a year.

To justify the continued expense and potential further loss of UN lives, a strategy would be helpful. Candidly, the official admitted that the administration was still refining one.

The immediate goal, he said, was to secure a 24-hour ceasefire to search for, and hopefully rescue, those aboard the two UN-chartered C-130s shot down outside Huambo between Christmas and New Year.

Then what? "How is peace or a (more general) ceasefire to be brought about? How can we develop a framework for discussions? We don't have answers yet."

A major obstacle was that the US no longer had much "leverage" in the post-Cold War era. It could offer incentives for peace, the official said. For example, it could undertake to "mobilise the private sector" in support of Angola's economic development. It did not have a lot else in its arsenal of diplomatic tools.

Could Washington not simply decide to weigh in on the government's side and help finish Savimbi once and for all? "We are not going to arm one side to wipe out the other," the official replied. In any event, military co-operation with Luanda was out of the question while its troops were still deployed in Congo-Brazzaville.

In all probability, the Security Council will get Monua personnel to safety and wait for the warring parties to exhaust themselves as they have in the past.

The question then will be how to improve on the "Lusaka process". Had the "process" worked, Savimbi would in theory neither feel the need nor have the men and arms in place to go back to war.

Assuming the "process" was revived, what could the UN do to make it work better? How might Monua's mandate be made more effective?

"That's a really good question," the official replied. The administration was still formulating an answer.

Snapshots from war-torn Angola

Bram Posthumus takes a look at what lies at the heart of Angola's misery

A snapshot, taken in Kuito two months ago on Angola's 23rd birthday. The crowd in front of the bullet-riddled government buildings at the Praça de Vergonha (Shame Square) listens impassively to the music and speeches and then walks away.

There's not much else to do on Independence Day in Kuito. In the afternoon, the roofless sports hall is filled with children who possess a great deal less revolutionary zeal than the slogans they are rehearsing with a local MPLA cheerleader. "MPLA for peace and reconciliation" is the text of one

If the buildings on Shame Square have since succumbed to Unita shelling, only Kuito's long-suffering inhabitants know. Since early December no one can get in or out of the town.

A second snapshot. In front of a bombed-out building in the large city of Huambo, a Unita flag is fluttering. Workmen are rebuilding the nearby office. Has Unita returned to the city it terrorised in 1993 and 1994? No, this is Unita Renovada (Unita-R), the new party that says it has severed all ties with the old rebel movement and its leader, Jonas Savimbi.

In Huambo, passers-by shrug their shoulders. They don't want to comment. Whether the Unita-R office still stands is uncertain: perhaps the people of Huambo have decided that they are, after all, not too keen on having a "new" Unita around, flying the same flag as the "old" Unita which is shelling their city once again.

On December 4 1998, full-scale war returned to the area that matters most in the Angolan military landscape: the Planalto, of which Huambo and Kuito are the principal cities.

An aid worker described it thus: "It was like a swarm of locusts had descended on the place." Local people are generally pleased with the protection the presence of government soldiers offers, but there is a price to pay — an army has to eat.

There is an alternative available to the locals: being attacked by Unita.

Kalenga is a peaceful town near Huambo, set in the hills of the Planalto. It was singled out as a target in the first week of November. The *administrador* escaped with his life.

"They came in the dead of night," he recalled. "Everyone was asleep. They killed six soldiers and then they tried to get me... There were about 100 of them. They have taken cattle, clothes and food. Even a 16-year-old girl. It is a sad situation for us all."

He was in no doubt as to who was responsible. "Savimbi sends them here to destabilise our region."

While the war rumblings in the field were getting louder, the political scene in the capital, Luanda, witnessed something of an earthquake. Until early September, the picture was pretty clear-cut. The political scene was dominated by the ruling MPLA and Unita.

But the spring ushered in a period of intense manoeuvring. On August 31, Unita was expelled from the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation. A few days later, Unita-R appeared out of the blue. It declared its allegiance to the government and de-

nounced Savimbi as the main obstacle in the way of the peace process.

All this suggested that the MPLA element in the government was moving to isolate Savimbi politically. But the moves also indicated a deliberate preparation for war, both politically and militarily.

Unita had lied about its demobilisation, had frustrated the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol — enough, it was felt, was enough.

The moderating influence of President José Eduardo dos Santos gave way to more radical elements among top decision-makers who plot Angola's course from the presidential palace.

Then there was the army. Its chief of staff, General João de Matos, a *mestizo* ("coloured": colour politics matter in Angola) and a non-partisan professional soldier whose fate depends on army performance, had been a very frustrated man since 1994.

At that time, the military felt it was capable of finishing off Unita on the battlefield. The signing of the Lusaka Protocol thwarted all that.

As the implementation of the protocol stuttered on, Unita's military actions became a matter for law-enforcement officers. But by mid-1998, the police could no longer deal with the spate of rebel hit-and-run attacks.

The army was brought back in. The hardware was already in place: after the lifting of the international arms embargo, the government had gone on an arms shopping spree.

On September 29, the government banned all flights from its territory to Unita zones. For United Nations personnel, working there became impossible and by mid-October it was clear the UN was moving its peace monitors out of Unita territory.

A week later, it was clear how ill-conceived the war plans had been. Unita hit back hard and has been declared "stronger than ever before".

Unita is as divided on the situation. Take, for instance the story of Cazombo, in the Mexico Province near the Zambian border.

There, a peace zone was declared in July. Even the Unita *administrador* declared himself a man of peace. He had gauged the mood of the people correctly: no more fighting. It is doubtful whether the Unita leadership ever took notice of this signal and if they did, they chose to ignore it.

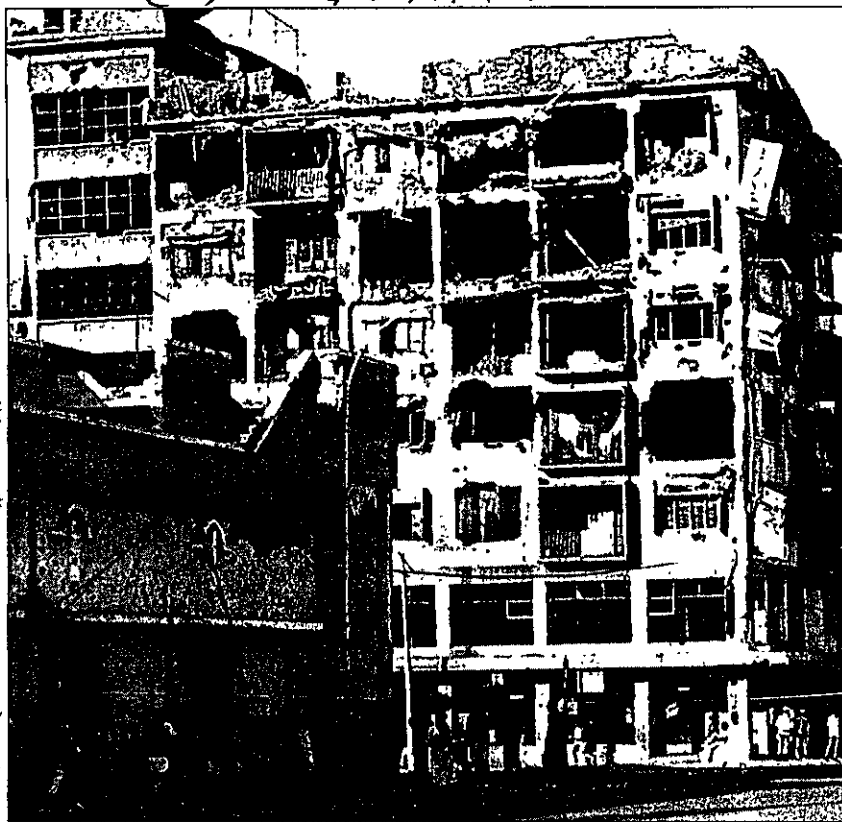
Government planes dropped bombs near the town in the first week of November. If the intention was to scare people away, it certainly achieved its objective. People left for Zambia.

One month later, Unita looted what was left. Now it is a ghost town.

The political game being played in Luanda is hard to understand. The real actors are hidden and what the public gets to see is this dizzy array of confusing scenes. It has not helped reduce the high levels of mistrust and paranoia which already exist.

For instance, this was what the Kalenga *administrador* had to say about Unita-R, which was opening an office in the town: "I don't trust this thing. It's a trap. They want to cooperate in Unita-R but in fact they are doing Savimbi's murderous work."

Unita-R could be a real and viable alternative. It distracted attention



Trapped: Since early December no one has been able to get in or out of the Kuito. If the buildings on Shame Square have succumbed to Unita shelling, only the town's long-suffering inhabitants know

from the very serious military momentum building up on both sides, a development that Unita-R was in no position to influence, since it did not — and still does not — have a military constituency.

But there is an even more fundamental point to be made, so obvious perhaps that it is often overlooked. The Luanda show attracts a very limited audience and does not solve any of the problems, which are in essence not political, but economic.

It's not war — it's poverty and what causes it that lies at the heart of Angola's misery. Fernando Pacheko is the director of a large local development NGO. "People are all citizens of this country — in theory," he observes. "There are large sections of this society which are not even neglected or exploited — they are not noticed! Outside the city centre of Luanda exists a forgotten city..."

The same is true of other towns. A local aid worker in Huambo remembers the time when the city had to be defended against Unita attacks, back in 1992. Elaborate works were put in place by the MPLA — but there were entire neighbourhoods that remained outside the protective barrier.

The inhabitants on the outside concluded there were those who merited official protection and those who did not. When Unita entered Huambo, it exacted bloody revenge on those who had excluded it.

The cruelty with which Unita treated Huambo's citizens once it entered the town has scarred people there forever. "They have no respect for human life," is a mild comment people venture — if they are at all willing to talk about the 1993/94 reign of terror.

UN observers know of gross human rights abuses last year in the

provinces of Uige and Zaire, at the hands of the army and police. There were murders, people disappeared. Perhaps this is yet another sign of the old MPLA paranoia about the BaKongo, who inhabit these provinces and have vague yearnings for the long-expired empire of Kongo.

Similarly, Human Rights Watch has documented human rights abuses in the territories that were returned to the government when the Lusaka Protocol was, at least partially, still a going concern.

Unita has turned its zones into prisons, exacting food taxes on its farmers and hammering people into discipline.

What is next? Most likely the formal announcement of the death of the Lusaka Protocol. There is no longer a role for the UN, which has allowed itself to be outmanoeuvred by the hawks in Luanda.

There is something to be said for the argument that the long-term mediation process has actually prolonged the war. It has certainly created enough time for both Unita and the MPLA to prepare for war.

The recent downing of two of its aeroplanes and the unwillingness on the part of both combatants to help in search and rescue operations has made it clear that the UN has overstayed its welcome in Angola.

In the absence of the UN, regional bodies like the Southern African Development Community (SADC) might finally get involved. Again, this is unlikely. The SADC Organ on Defence and Security that would be responsible for restoring a semblance of normality is the playing thing of Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, who is using it to great personal effect in the

Democratic Republic of Congo.

The SADC will probably limit itself to the release of a number of turgid statements. So the war will once again run its destructive course.

There is money for it: Unita can still smuggle its diamonds and the MPLA can still sell its oil and its exploitation rights. And there is money in it: the group of high-level career racketeers, speculators and mercenaries on both sides continue to do well out of the conflict and remain unaffected by the catastrophic state of what might be termed — with a little fantasy — the national economy.

Angola has a US\$7-billion foreign debt, oil and diamond prices are at their lowest for a very long time, large swathes of the countryside can again not be used for agriculture. But those are other people's problems.

A final snapshot. A group of young people gather in the backyard of a villa in the part of Huambo where Savimbi's bungalow used to stand. They call themselves "The Voice of Africa" and bring theatre to the people.

They have little in the way of props, these are not professional actors and the scenes tend to get a bit crowded and crass. But they have a message: respect for human rights.

People in the *barrios* will recognize the depictions of child abuse, corrupt doctors and male chauvinist behaviour, facts of life in a country whose leadership has so little regard for the rights of the bulk of its people.

Naïve perhaps, but if, as many Angolans and observers believe, none of the existing parties and their factions in either Luanda or Bailundo are parties of the future, then you have to start somewhere to create an alternative.

Aid groups warn of looming disaster in Angola

LUANDA: Angola's humanitarian situation will deteriorate rapidly if food and medicine flights, suspended after two UN-chartered planes were shot down, are not resumed soon, aid workers said yesterday.

All UN flights were halted last week after the shooting down of the transport planes over Unita-held territory in Angola's central highlands.

Some privately chartered planes have flown into the worst-affected cities — Cuito and Huambo, about

500km south-east of Luanda and Malanje, 300km east of the capital — but most aid flights are grounded.

"We have to get access or we are facing a potentially huge humanitarian situation," said Sherril Laker, director of Save the Children in Luanda.

"If we reach the end of January and links are not re-established, then we will start to see a major deterioration."

Fighting since early December between government forces and Unita troops has unleashed a flood of

refugees from rural areas into regional cities like Huambo, Cuito and Malanje. But Unita is now besieging the government-held towns and the influx of displaced people has increased the pressure on aid agencies.

Malanje, where the UN says Unita is concentrating its offensive, is trying to support more than 70 000 refugees, Huambo nearly 80 000 and Cuito around 55 000, according to the World Food Programme.

Food shortages in some cities have

pushed prices to absurd levels. A cup of powdered milk trades for \$50 (R300), one aid worker in Huambo said.

"We can hold on for a little longer (without flying in more aid) but there are already people who have reached the critical stage," said Laker.

Particularly affected are children. Half of Angola's population of around 12 million are younger than 15 years old and many have been orphaned by more than two decades of civil war. —
Reuter

Eastern European aid boosts Unita's force

MTG 15-21/1/99

Chris Gordon

Details are beginning to emerge of a vast resupply operation carried out by Unita, as the rebels strike at the north-west of Angola.

Jonas Savimbi's rebels are now better armed than in 1992, the Angolan government claims. It is a claim borne out by Unita's new tactics and reports of the type of weapons Unita now has at its command.

Paul Beaver, representative of the military specialists, Jones's Information Group, confirmed that Unita is employing completely new tactics that make it a greater force for destabilisation than its guerrilla methods ever did. "It is beyond Unita's capacities to have achieved this alone," said Beaver.

And Unita is not achieving this alone. Savimbi has won support from business interests in Eastern Europe, promising concessions within a stabilised Unita zone once it wins the war.

This gave Unita easy access to the arms bazaar and allowed it to carry out its military build-up. Unita's latest offensive has been planned operations, not a response to government attacks.

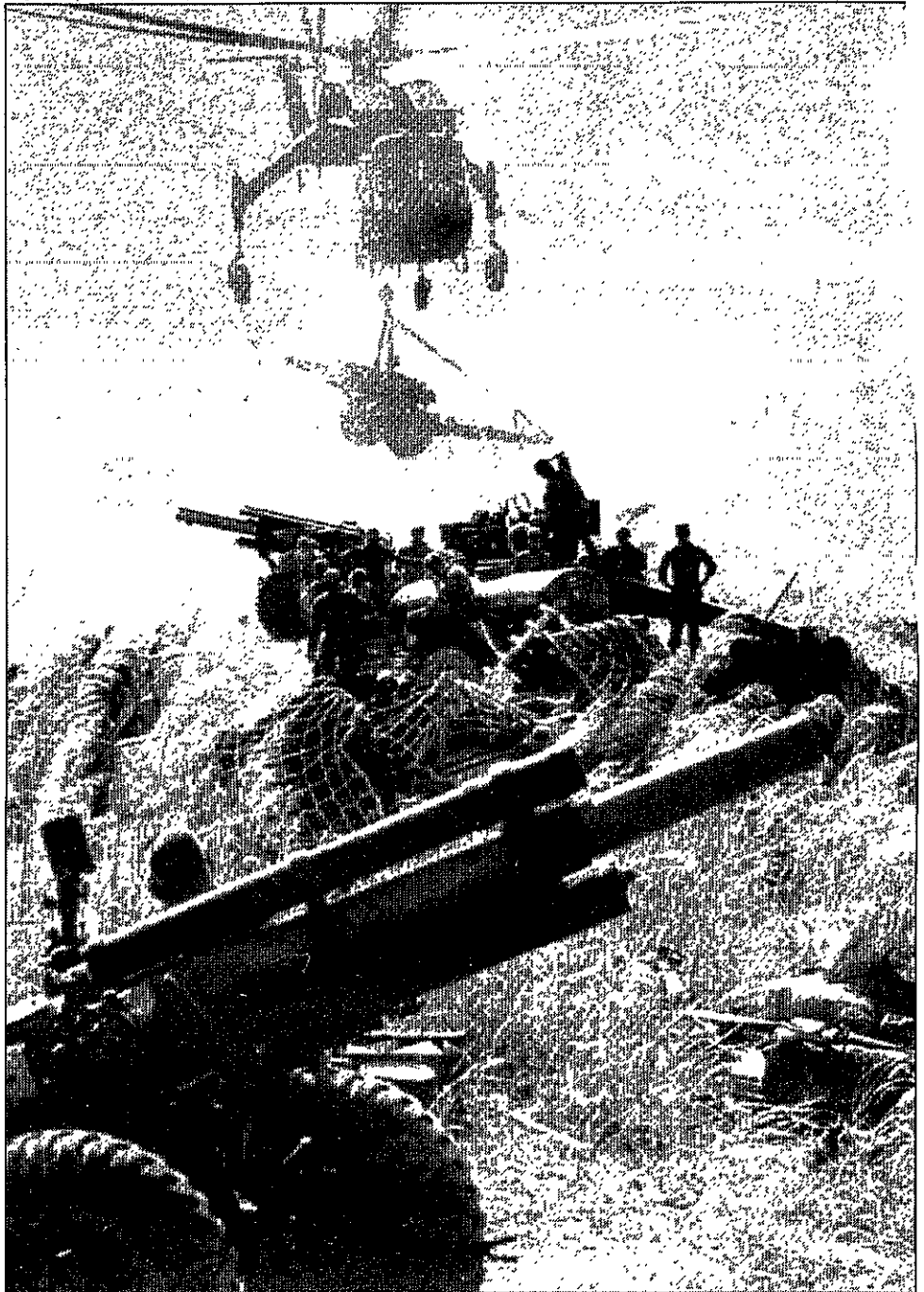
Unita has brought an arsenal from the Ukraine and Bulgaria, says Beaver, and paid for it and the support to operate it with diamonds traded directly to the supply companies in a grim form of barter.

A Bulgarian state armaments company, based in Carno and fittingly called Arsenal, has long experience in arming rebels. Beaver said it is known to have sold arms to South Yemen and recently to the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Unita has not won the fierce battle for Kuito, which began in early December and demonstrated a newly developed capacity to fight conventional battles — it used tanks for the first time.

Angolan diplomats said the Angolan army, FAA, has estimated that Unita has at least 60 tanks. The T55a tanks were bought from the Ukraine and are being operated by Ukrainian mercenaries, whose presence in Unita territory has been confirmed by defence and risk analysts. South African supporters of Unita are fighting alongside them, as well as militia from the Congo rebel group.

Unita is using mercenaries as its new tac-



Military build-up: It is believed Unita traded diamonds for armaments, and the support to operate them, with the Ukraine and Bulgaria. PHOTOGRAPH: AP

tical thinkers and for training its fighters on the ground to use the new equipment. The FAA has identified some of the equipment on the battlefields of Kuito: D30 medium-range howitzers, a standard Soviet system; G5 155mm howitzers, 106mm field guns, ZU23 anti-aircraft guns, which use high-explosive shells. It also has BM-21 truck-mounted multiple rocket launchers called "The Grad" — in use on every battlefield in the southern hemisphere. BNP1 armoured vehicles carry Unita troops.

All that saved Kuito from capture was that Unita ran out of diesel, giving the FAA time to regroup. The FAA says it has recaptured three areas around Kuito and Huambo and strength-

ened the security cordon around the towns.

Airports at Kuito and Huambo are now open, but the food situation is critical following a huge influx of refugees. More than 100 000 people have fled into these cities in the past month.

Unita has opened a second front in the north-west of the country, attacking the coastal oil town of Soyo and M'Banza Congo, the capital of Zaire province. Malange, 300km from the capital, Luanda, has been shelled for two weeks, and much of the province is under Unita control.

Analysts believe Unita wants to isolate Luanda from the interior to create a Savimbi-ruled zone, almost certainly ruled from Huambo.

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UN set to quit Angola as Annan says it's war

ARG 18/1/99 (7)

Unita accused of wrecking peace

New York – United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan has called for the shutdown of the UN peacekeeping programme in Angola.

"The events of the last few months have clearly demonstrated that ... the Angola peace process has collapsed and the country is now in a state of war," Mr Annan wrote in a document sent to the UN Security Council.

"The conditions for a meaningful United Nations peacekeeping role in Angola have ceased to exist."

When the mandate for the UN Angola Mission (Monua) expired on February 26, "the United Nations would then proceed with its technical liquidation," he said.

On Friday Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos called for the

departure of UN personnel, blaming the escalation of civil war on "foreign interference".

Mr Dos Santos said the UN had "now lost control" of the peace process and had jeopardised it by putting Unita on an equal footing with the government.

"Monua has no other option but to continue to reduce its presence within Angola, and proceed with the orderly repatriation of UN personnel and property as requested by the Angolan government," Mr Annan wrote to the Security Council.

By Saturday hundreds of UN peacekeepers had already withdrawn from areas of conflict to the capital, Luanda.

The majority of the UN's 1 000 peacekeepers, military and civilian,

should have quit the country by March, Mr Annan said.

But a rump force of 200 UN soldiers will stay behind for up to six months to wind up the operation.

Mr Annan blamed the resumption of violence in Africa's longest-running conflict squarely on Unita.

The rebel movement, he charged, had refused to "demilitarise its forces" and "allow state administration to be extended" throughout the country in line with the Lusaka peace accord".

■ The International Committee of the Red Cross today vowed to continue with its humanitarian work in the war-ravaged Bie province.

The Red Cross said it resumed its work in Kuito, the capital of Bie, last week – Sapa-AFP

UN has lost control in Angola, says Annan

Star 18/1/99

(6)

United Nations - UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan called for the "technical liquidation" of the United Nations peacekeeping programme in Angola in a report released at the United Nations late yesterday.

"The events of the last few months have clearly demonstrated that ... the Angola peace process has collapsed and the country is now in a state of war," he wrote in a document to the UN Security Council.

"The conditions for a meaningful United Nations peacekeeping role in Angola have ceased to exist."

When the mandate for the UN Angola Mission (Monua) expires on February 26, "the United Nations would then pro-

ceed with its technical liquidation", Annan wrote.

Angola President Eduardo dos Santos called for the departure of UN personnel on Friday, blaming the escalation of civil war on "foreign interference".

Dos Santos said the United Nations had "now lost control" of the peace process and had jeopardised it by putting Unita rebels on an equal footing with the government.

"Monua has no other option but to continue to reduce its presence within Angola, and proceed with the orderly repatriation of UN personnel and property as requested by the Angolan government," Annan wrote.

By Saturday, hundreds of

UN peacekeepers had already withdrawn from areas of conflict to the capital, Luanda.

The majority of the UN's 1 000 peacekeepers, military and civilian, should have left the country by March 20, Annan wrote. But 200 UN soldiers will stay behind for up to six months to wind up operations.

He blamed the resumption of violence in Africa's longest-running conflict squarely on Unita. The group, he charged, had refused to "demilitarise its forces" and "allow state administration to be extended" throughout the country in line with the Lusaka Protocol.

But without the co-operation of both sides, the UN could not play an effective role. In this

context, he branded the shooting down of two UN aircraft on December 26 and January 2, as "outrageous crimes". He demanded a full investigation into the incidents which were "apparently intended to intimidate the United Nations and force it to curtail its operation".

The UN would not be turning its back on Angola, Annan wrote. Instead he outlined a new strategy, pledging to appoint a special envoy for Angola to be based in New York initially.

The report was released two days later than anticipated because of pressure from other African countries and Security Council members not to pull the UN mission out. - Sapa-AFP



RATIONS OF COMFORT: Angolan mothers queue at a feeding centre in the Acucareira camp, 60km north of Luanda, for people displaced by the conflict. About 23 000 people have fled their homes in Bengo province.



STREETS OF aged by shells in U

Angola bleeding to enrich elite

SCORES of innocents have died in Angola's renewed civil war and two UN aircraft have been downed. **MXOLISI MGXASHE** traces the conflict's history in the Cold War.

WHEN the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was still a liberation movement led by the late Agostinho Neto, its main sources of political solidarity and military assistance were the Soviet Union and its allies in the Warsaw Pact, among whom it had the status of a fraternal workers' party.

The MPLA was perceived by its broad international support base in the West to be the "sole and authentic" liberation movement in Angola — as were the ANC/SACP in South Africa, Zapu in Zimbabwe, Swapo in Namibia and Frelimo in Mozambique.

Jonas Savimbi's Unlon for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) and Holden Roberto's National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) — like the PAC in South Africa, Zanu in Zimbabwe, Swanu in Namibia and others — were cold-shouldered. Some, including Unita and the FNLA, went into the arms of the CIA as pawns in the East-West Cold War.

All kinds of shifts have occurred in the face of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the US-inspired "new world order". The MPLA has not been exempt from these.

Political analysts — some of whom were once sympathetic to the ideological path previously espoused by the MPLA — say a different kind of class struggle among the elite within the MPLA and Unita has replaced the old Cold War antagonisms. Rivalry among the elite, led by generals, in a new scramble for diminishing resources has become the major catalyst of the continuing conflict between the MPLA and Unita.

Their motive? Self-enrichment.

Angola, like the Democratic Republic

of Congo, is rich in minerals. It is no wonder that neither country has had peace and stability since attaining independence — the DRC in 1960 and Angola in 1975. It is also no wonder that they should be locked in interminable, senseless wars that have opened the region to some of the most vicious smugglers, robbers, wheelers and dealers in the world.

Angola also has great agricultural potential, a heavy rainfall and some of the richest deposits of diamonds, platinum, copper, uranium, manganese, and other minerals in Africa.

It is estimated that by 2005 Angola, with its population of about 12 million, will produce about two-thirds of the present oil output by Nigeria, which has more than 112 million people. It is also estimated that by the year 2020, Angola's oil production will surpass that of all the Middle East countries put together.

Patrick Ncube, a business consultant who has been involved mainly with Southern African Development Community-related projects, says that after the liberation of Angola, the ruling MPLA accepted the political and economic prescriptions imposed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. These included the liberalisation of trade, privatisation, drastic cuts in government expenditure and so on.

"Theoretically it meant any ideological distinction between MPLA and Unita disappeared," Ncube says. "There were no longer any ideological reasons why the two could not come together — unless perhaps the reasons had to do with personal ambition."

Ncube says it would be unfair to attribute historical events to individuals' personal ambitions, although in the case of Savimbi — whose actions have had a

strong and negative impact on Angola's stability and development — this evaluation would not be far off the mark.

One has to find an economic reason that would explain why this war is being fought mainly in the areas that are rich in diamonds and oil, Ncube says.

"It would seem that when they signed the Lusaka peace accord in 1995, there was an understanding between the two parties that Unita could have the diamonds while the government took care of the oil."

Now that the prices of both commodities are declining, "there is a scramble for resources". Those who have been most enriched, through the smuggling of diamonds and other minerals, are the MPLA and Unita generals. And there is no way they would want the war to end.

What is interesting, Ncube says, is that neither party — not even the MPLA, which once described itself as a Marxist-Leninist — now raises the welfare of impoverished Angolans as needing attention.

Development and the building of infrastructure to provide essential services have been halted. Precious resources are being expended on the war, which itself has become a primary source of livelihood for some people.

The intensification of the conflict reflects vigorous competition among MPLA members to succeed Dos Santos, believed to have terminal cancer. The hawks are in control and would want the war to continue so they can hold on to power when Dos Santos leaves the scene.

While the UN has been trying to implement the terms of the Lusaka accord, Unita has been building up and arming its forces, financing these efforts with diamonds from the mines in areas under its control.

Several expatriate miners and other workers, including South Africans, have been killed, kidnapped or injured in ambushes by Unita "repossession" units.

Kwesi Prah, of the Centre for the

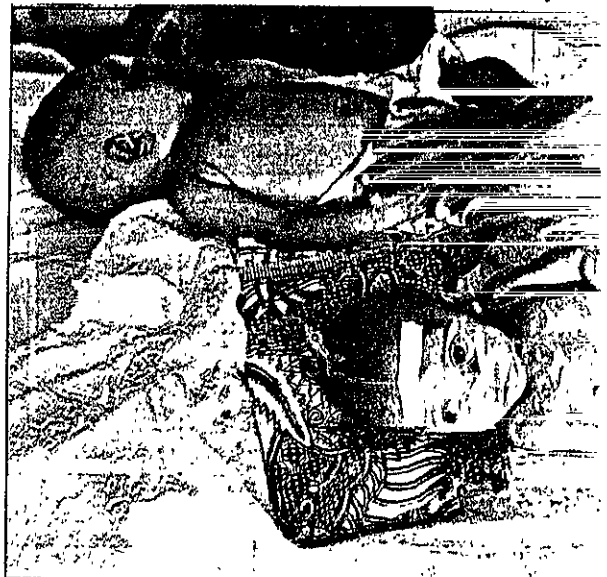
Advancement of the African Society, based in Plumstead, sees the protracted war in Angola as stemming from similar political and social dynamics — "the control of diminishing resources" — as those that have been raging in Sierra Leone, Senegal, the DRC, the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), Uganda, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Somalia, Sudan and Mauritania.

According to Prah, a sociologist with a strong Pan-Africanist disposition, the wars that have engulfed these countries in Africa are simply a manifestation of the imminent "collapse of the neo-colonial state" that lacks the organisational

capacity and direction it needs to "the economic, social and cultural aspirations of the majority, who have not tasted the fruits of decades of "so-called independence".

The pressures arising from the World Bank and IMF's globalisation strategy and the responses by the people to the strategy's negative impact are among the factors that have pushed the "neo-colonial state" in Africa into a premature but inevitable collapse. This will create adequate room for innovators and those who espouse the vision of the African Renaissance which, if properly handled, will provide a brighter future for Africa in the next millennium.

Meanwhile, the United Nations, which has not recovered from the shock of being impotent in the face of Unita's defiance and has adopted numerous resolutions pleading for peace, is contemplating withdrawing about 1 000 of its



BATTLEFRONT OF PAIN: An Angolan woman tends to her sick baby and another camp for displaced people. About 23 000 people are being cared for in the camp.



by the conflict. About 23 000 people have fled their
PICTURES: AP

STREETS OF DESPAIR: A resident of Culto, displaced by the Angolan conflict, rides past a building damaged by shells in Unita's assault on the government-held town, 500km south of Luanda.

h elite

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employees, as if to say to the Angolans: If you do not want peace and stability in your rich country, you might as well stew in your own juice.

The Organisation of African Unity, despite its ineffectiveness in dealing with crises of this nature, might be compelled to step in once more. Zimbabwe, Namibia, Chad and Angola's dissipation of scarce resources and partisanship in supporting the DRC's Laurent Kabila, coupled with Uganda and Rwanda's backing for groups determined to oust him, have compromised and weakened the OAU and its Southern African chapter, the SADC.

African diplomacy may yet prevail, although it has tended to be misconstrued by people like Savimbi and that old Congolese renegade and secessionist of the 1960s, Moïse Tshombe, as agreeing with all peace terms while knowing that none will influence their actions.

South Africa, whose leadership has a remarkable record in mediation and reconciliation, is considered capable of bringing about a climate that is conducive to peace, development and prosperity for a people who at times seem complacent about remaining perpetual beggars.

But South Africa has serious hurdles to overcome before it can be accepted by all as a peacemaker in Africa and a leader that has an ideal climate of democracy and respect for human rights, as well as the infrastructure for rapid economic development.

One of the hurdles, analysts say, is the need for a more rigorous effort by the ANC government to show more visible links between an African Renaissance as a vision affecting the whole of Africa and as a social movement that benefits the people who are most marginalised and deprived.

The other hurdle is the need to deal with some African governments' notion that South Africa is fast becoming a “blue-eyed boy” of the United States. This view is fairly prevalent in Zimbabwe, where Robert Mugabe is loudly proclaiming his revolutionary fervour.

Criticism of what is perceived as “a not-for-our-comfort” close relationship with the Americans has been voiced by some ANC stalwarts who in the past were — and perhaps still are — connected with intelligence and security matters. They believe South Africa's foreign policy is too dependent on research findings and analyses by NGOs that fall within the US sphere of influence.

The deputy director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Wellie Nhlapho, who has served as a diplomat in the Great Lakes region, says the perception that South Africa's role as a peacemaker in Africa is part of a US agenda is unfounded. It was sheer coincidence that South Africa and the US had talks about the issue at the same time.

Nhlapho says the country's commitment to peace, stability, democracy and respect for human rights is in line with its vision of an African Renaissance — which requires an entirely new environment in which African people can rise to meet their challenges in the coming millennium.



IN FRONT OF PAIN: An Angolan woman tends to her sick baby and another sharing its bed in a hospital at the Acucareira for displaced people. About 23 000 people are being cared for in the camp.

Despair of the refugees caught in the middle of warring armies

Star 19/1/99

By LUKE BAKER
Caxito, Angola

Fleeing from a war leaves few choices. Caxito proves the point.

Here, thousands of Angolans from the countryside have arrived since Christmas Day, fleeing attacks by rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita).

Some walked for four days and nights through jungle from the edge of Bengo



Man in the saddle ... Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

province, 250km northeast of Luanda, where the rebel movement is sweeping north, carrying its guerrilla campaign towards fresh territory.

Refugees from the fighting say Unita's assault, begun on Christmas Eve, went on for several days, with the last guerrillas leaving villages in the area just five days ago.

The attack on Maria Gongga's home in the settlement of Pangu Alukeu came at three o'clock in the morning.

Terrified, she grabbed her children and whatever else she could lay her hands on and fled.

She left behind her blind father.

A bundle she thought was a swaddled

child turned out later to be a pillow, she said.

"When Unita came they killed the old ones and the kids. When they found them lying in bed, they murdered them with machetes. I heard the screaming," she said.

In all there are about 25 000 people displaced by the war living in makeshift straw huts outside Caxito, a small town surrounded by sugar cane 70km north of the capital, Luanda.

Some are refugees from previous rebel-government fighting in 1992-93, before a vaunted 1994 peace accord was signed, but most have come since conflict flared again in early December.

Most are women and children. The husbands and fathers either stayed behind to fight or were killed in previous assaults.

Unita and the government have been at war like this for more than two decades, since before its independence from Portugal in 1975.

On December 5, hoping to wipe out Unita once and for all, the government launched an all-out offensive against the rebel strongholds of Andulo and Bailundo in the central highlands, 500km southeast of Luanda.

Unita's strength was underestimated and government troops were repelled, losing 100km in just a few days.

In the six weeks since, the rebels have besieged three major government cities - Kuito, Huambo and Malanje - and driven north towards the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo, putting almost all the country's diamond deposits in their hands.

All over the country people have fled from farmland to the relative safety of cities.

Huambo, Kuito and Malanje combined are trying to shelter more than 200 000 refugees.

People closer to Luanda have sought relief in camps like Caxito.

They arrive wounded or sick and always hungry, a government worker said. Supplies are running low.

Doctors are on hand but there's no medicine, and although three kilometres away down a dirt track water flows, there are no chemicals to treat it.

Children have stood around naked for weeks, their mothers not managing to

snatch clothes or shoes before they left home. They spend the day sucking on long shoots of sugar cane.

"Most are anaemic or ill with cholera," said Custodio Mateus, who works for the ministry for social assistance.

"We had food deliveries but they've stopped. Without help the people will go hungry, they have no means to feed themselves."

The land around is fertile. But the peo-



Rebel who won't call it quits ... Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

ple don't know how long they'll stay, so they don't want to sow if they won't be here to reap the harvest.

Besides, they have no seeds and now it's too late to plant for this season.

The assistance in Caxito is pretty basic, but offers some evidence that some government spending in Angola occasionally goes towards services other than just the military.

But then again, many of the displaced in Caxito were also wearing new sports caps, emblazoned on the peak with the words "MPLA - strong into the 21st century", a promotion for the governing Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. - Reuters

UN has little to show for its Angolan mission

Many believe the United Nations repeated mistakes in attempting to keep the peace, writes Nicholas Shaxson of the Financial Times

THE UN has little to show for years of costly effort as it prepares to drag its peacekeepers out of Angola under the contemptuous gaze of the government and their Unita foes.

Heavy fighting has spread through northern Angola since December 5, when the Angolan armed forces launched an offensive against Unita's twin headquarters of Andulo and Bailundo in the central highlands, only to be beaten back by a Unita army far better armed than was thought.

In the six weeks since, Unita has besieged three government-held cities — Malanje, Huambo and Kuito — and stormed northwest towards the border with the Democratic Republic of the Congo. At the weekend the government stepped up a mass conscription campaign calling for all men aged between 17 and 20 to register for military service.

Terrified civilians now crowd into urban centres with tales of atrocities committed by rampaging Unita forces as UN peacekeepers, who had previously ensured some restraint, withdraw from exposed areas.

The fighting is threatening the diamond industry and is making oil executives nervous as inflation strangles the economy. Last week the kwanza reached 1.4-million to the dollar from 1-million just two weeks ago.

Many believe the UN repeated past mistakes in Angola. Its first operation, the UN Angola Verification Mission (Unavem), began in January 1989 to oversee the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops supporting the Marxist MPLA government.

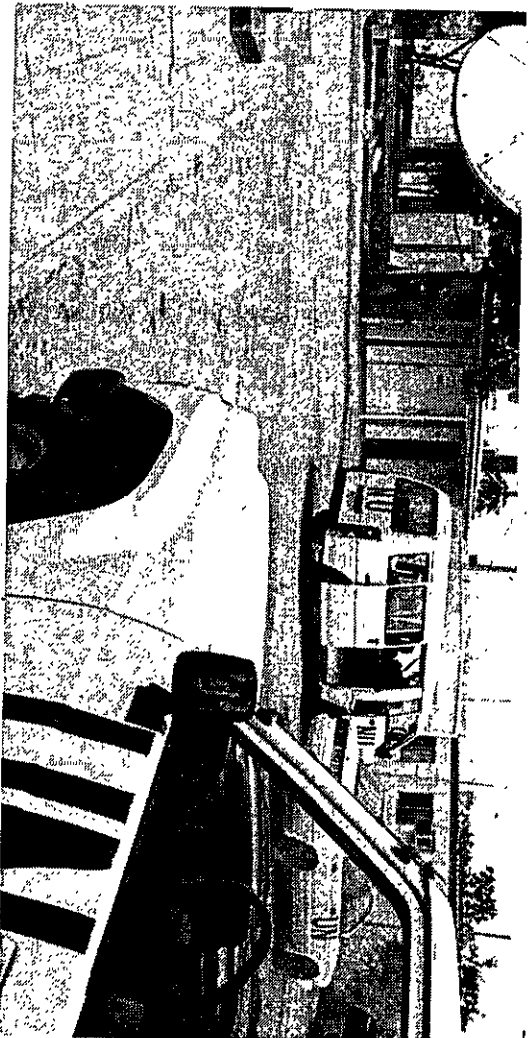
However, the peace deal which followed fell apart in 1992 when Jonas Savimbi, Unita's leader, rejected defeat in presidential elections and plunged Angola into what the UN

said at the time was "the worst war in the world".

Unita used secret arms stockpiles it had built up during the peace that followed the accord to capture huge swathes of territory in 1992 and 1993 from a government army which had largely demobilised under the UN-brokered accords.

Angolan officials accuse Monna, set up under the 1994 Lusaka agreement as a successor to Unavem, of repeating that error by providing a new shield behind which Unita has been able to re-arm.

Diplomats in Luanda said the government's forces were confident, however, that they could repeat events of late 1993 and early 1994, when huge oil revenues allowed them to reverse Unita's gains and eventually force Savimbi into signing the Lusaka deal on unfavourable terms. "We always take losses, then recover," a general told a diplomat.



UN vehicles parked outside the UN compound in Luanda on Monday. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan has submitted a recommendation to the UN Security Council that the UN observer mission should pull out of war-torn Angola.

"If we lose a tank, we pick up the phone and order another one. If Unita loses one, it is more difficult."

The government taps oil revenues generated from plentiful offshore fields and Unita sells the diamonds which litter its territory.

Analysts believe that despite a call from UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, for a full withdrawal, Monna may try to keep a small token presence. James Higgs, director of stud-

ies at the SA Institute of International Affairs, said: "If I were Monna I would want to keep a foothold in Angola — even if it is just a skeleton presence. Once they are out, it would be much harder for them to come back."

Humanitarian organisations such as the UN World Food Programme, which continued operating in Angola even after one of its aircraft was shot down by a missile in 1993, are unlikely to pull out with Monna.

Paul Hare, former US special envoy for the Angolan peace process and an architect of the Lusaka accord, said the UN need not be made the chief scapegoat for Angola's bitter new war. "This is not a peace enforcement mission — it is peace keeping, and that depends on cooperation of the two parties. If you are going to be critical then you would be better pointing the finger at Jonas Savimbi."

Cartoonist Zapiro is on leave. This cartoon, which appeared in Sowetan, is taken from his book Zapiro End of Part One, a compilation of his works.

Total war looms in Angola

LUANDA – The United Nations is preparing to pull its peacekeepers out of Angola, but it will not abandon the people of the war-battered country, according to UN special representative Issa Diallo.

Diallo told reporters in the Angolan capital that aid workers would continue to provide humanitarian assistance in the country ravaged by almost 30 years of near continuous conflict.

In a 26-page report circulated to the UN in New York on Monday, secretary-general Kofi Annan recommended that the world body should pull out after almost 10 years in Angola.

Annan said the Angolan government and Unita rebels were determined to resolve their dispute on the battlefield and not by diplomacy.

He said he expected most of the remaining 1 000 peacekeepers to be out of Angola by March 20, leaving about 200 to protect UN property and equipment.

Diallo said the UN Observer Mission, (Monua), was preparing to scale down its operations without destroying the world body's aid capacity.

"The secretary-general is proposing that the UN should not abandon the population of Angola, which will be suffering from the war," he said.

"Therefore, the UN should manage to assist them – how and through which means will have to be decided by the government and of course with Unita (because) humanitarian assistance is for all Angolans."

Aid to civilians

Diallo said the UN had yet to determine how to maintain the aid flow to civilians, including an estimated 200 000 refugees in the major battlefields of central Angola following the withdrawal of the last UN peacekeepers.

The worst fighting has been around Huambo, where 80 000 refugees have swelled the population to 280 000; in Kuito, where the 150 000 population includes 55 000 refugees; and in Malanje, where 70 000 refugees are among an estimated 200 000 people.

"Regarding the withdrawal of Monua, the date has been proposed and set. These are approximate dates because Monua has many resources and equipment and we need the necessary time to withdraw all of that in a very firm, orderly manner," Diallo said.

Annan told the UN Security Council there was no more peace to keep in Angola and that UN personnel could no longer function.

He said the shooting down of two UN aircraft on December 26 and January 2 was "an outrageous crime" aimed at intimidating the world body.

"The events of the last few months have clearly demonstrated that, for all intents and

(6)
The UN is preparing to pull out of war-torn Angola as requested by president Eduardo dos Santos; now the civil war is set to escalate, writes **Lara Pawson ...**

Sowetan 20/11/99



Flashback ... a mother and her child wait for a bag of grain at a United Nations feeding depot in Cunje, central Angola.

PIC: PAUL VELASCO

purposes, the Angolan peace process has collapsed and the country is now in a state of war."

Diallo defended the UN's R9 billion peace-keeping operation, saying it had brought four years of relative peace to a country ravaged first by a liberation war that forced Portugal to relinquish control in 1975 and then tipped the two major liberation groups into a war for control of the country.

"We are not bitter. There is no reason to be bitter. The job done was a good job," he said.

Angolan minister for territorial administration Faustino Muteka said Angola wanted the UN peacekeepers out.

He told *Reuters*: "We have been asking them to go for some time."

Unita officials were not immediately available for comment.

The UN has been in and out of Angola since 1989. In 1994 it brokered a peace accord that ended the country's two-decade-old civil war for four years.

Annan attributed the collapse of the peace process to Unita.

He said Unita had refused to comply fully with the terms of the Lusaka agreement, including the surrender of territory to national control and the disarming of its fighters.

● The UN Security Council is expected to discuss Annan's recommendation today and will probably approve it by the end of the week, diplomats said yesterday.

But they added that some African states on

the council had reservations.

Council president Celso Amorim of Brazil also said he hoped for a UN presence in the country "so we don't give the impression the UN is turning its back on Angola".

However, the Angolan government has told the UN it will not be welcome when its mandate expires on February 26, and Annan said the UN could not stay without government consent.

Diplomats believe the government wants to rid itself of the last restraints before all-out war.

Annan said both the Luanda government and Unita had "committed themselves either to 'neutralise' their opponent politically or to escalate the military confrontation".

Displaced people

He said he hoped a UN human rights unit would be able to stay in the country. He also said it was necessary, in view of thousands of displaced people and untold brutalities against civilians, for relief workers to carry on their work.

But, Annan added, this required assurances of their safety from all parties.

He also said he expected all parties to help UN rescue teams reach the sites where two UN-chartered planes, with 23 passengers and crew members on board, crashed.

A UN search team briefly visited the first crash site, about 30km east of Huambo. They found charred wreckage but were unable to carry out an investigation because of fighting in the area. – *Reuters*.

Angola rebels deny claims of foreign aid

'Zambia has no money'
 ART 21/1/99 (5)

Luanda, Angola - Angola's Unita rebel group today denied it was receiving military assistance from three African nations and pledged to maintain pressure on government-controlled cities.

"Suggestions that we are being assisted are absolutely false. They are an excuse for the government to take action against Zambia," said Alcides Sakala, Unita's foreign affairs spokesman.

"They want to destabilise the Zambian state."

Zambian President Frederick Chiluba also denied the accusations, saying his government had neither the political will nor the capacity to help Unita.

On Friday, in a speech to foreign ambassadors in Luanda, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos accused three central and southern African countries of helping Unita in its latest military campaign.

"There are three African countries, one a neighbour of Angola, who are lending military-logistical support to (rebel leader) Jonas Savimbi in a near-explicit way," he said, without directly naming the countries.

Zambia was thought to be the neighbour and Mr Dos Santos said the other two were involved in destabilising central and southern Africa, hinting at Uganda and Rwanda's backing of rebels in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Mr Chiluba said: "We have received a letter accusing Zambia of supporting Savimbi and you know this is extremely sad because Zambia has neither the political will nor the money to engage in such."

■ In New York, key Security Council members called for a limited United Nations political presence in Angola despite Secretary-General Kofi Annan's recommendation that the operation be ended. - Reuters

Angola war worsens as UN rejects pullout

Threat to north after Unita claims key victories

New York - As Angola sank deeper into civil war, the Security Council unanimously called for a United Nations presence to be maintained in Angola despite Secretary-General Kofi Annan's call for a pullout.

The council adopted a statement drawn up yesterday by the "troika" of countries overseeing the peace process - the United States, Russia and Portugal.

The council backed Mr Annan's assessment that a lack of co-operation and renewed fighting between government and Unita rebel forces have made it impossible for the peacekeepers to function.

But it advocated a "continued multi-disciplinary presence" in Angola and appealed to the Luanda government, which has demanded an

end to the UN operation, to allow the mission to continue.

Diplomats envision a staff up to 100, excluding humanitarian workers now in Angola, but including some military observers.

The name of the operation would probably change so that the UN observer mission in Angola, known as Monua, can terminate next month as Luanda wanted.

Angola's UN ambassador, Afonso Van Dunem Mbinda, indicated his government might agree to some UN presence as long as it was not Monua. "The matter is not the United Nations in Angola. The matter is Monua's presence in Angola," he said.

Yesterday Unita claimed fresh military successes while the government stepped up conscription in the capital, Luanda.

(5)
ARG 22/1/99
A senior aide to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi said the rebel forces had dealt the government a strategic blow by capturing the Porto Salazar bridge across the country's largest river and edging closer to the key northern city of Malanje and the oil town of Soyo.

An Angolan army spokesman confirmed there had been fighting around Malanje.

A Reuters correspondent in Malanje said the town had not yet been shelled and fresh government troops had been flown.

Jakkie Potgieter of the Institute for Security Studies in Johannesburg said the fall of Porto Salazar bridge, if confirmed, would mean Unita would try to capture Malanje itself and thus seize control of the northern region of the country. - Reuters

Mbeki initiative behind Congo ceasefire bid

Howard Barrell

South African diplomacy lay behind the potential breakthrough achieved this week in attempts to end the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo when five neighbouring countries involved in the fighting committed themselves to signing a ceasefire agreement.

Ironically, however, South Africa was sidelined from the summit in the Namibian capital, Windhoek, on

January 18 at which the advance was achieved. Only the leaders of Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe, which are backing President Laurent Kabila's Congo regime with troops on the ground, and Rwanda and Uganda, which are supporting the Congolese rebels, were invited.

A ceasefire agreement is due to be signed in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, soon.

Kabila and rebel leaders were also not at the Windhoek meeting and have responded cautiously to

the agreement in principle to a ceasefire reached by those attending. But regional security experts believe there is a realistic prospect that the five foreign belligerents in the conflict may have sufficient clout to herd Kabila and his enemies into agreeing to a ceasefire.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki secured the basis for the understanding shortly before Christmas when he set up a secret meeting between Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and Paul Kagame,

the vice-president of Rwanda and the real power in that country.

Zimbabwe and Rwanda are the two main foreign belligerents in Congo. Zimbabwe has an estimated 5 000 troops there, while regional security analysts say Rwanda has committed its own troops to the war and is the main backer of the Congolese Rally for Democracy, the main rebel group.

A South African government representative said it would "not be right to say we were excluded from

the Windhoek meeting". But, privately, South African officials say they were "surprised" by the summit in Namibia and would have expected to be there.

Following a meeting of foreign and defence ministers of the Southern African Development Community and others in Lusaka about a ceasefire late last week, about 16 heads of state or government had been expected to gather in the Zambian capital on January 16 or January 18 to take matters forward. But plans for that wider summit were scuttled during what officials say was a "difficult" ministerial meeting.

And the five foreign belligerents then surprised others with a plan for their own, exclusive meeting in Windhoek.

It is understood that Mbeki's diplomatic initiative started with the inaugural journey of South Africa's new Blue Train to Zimbabwe in mid-December, on which he was accompanied by various Southern African leaders and on which he was eventually joined by Mugabe.

On the train, Mugabe, under serious economic and domestic political pressures to extricate his country from its heavy commitment to the war in Congo, indicated a willingness to meet Kagame, widely seen as the key player on the rebels' side.

Mbeki then moved with a speed that surprised the Zimbabweans. Within days he was back in Zimbabwe on a secret trip, this time accompanied by Kagame.

Mugabe and Kagame met, so establishing the direct channels of communication and the basis for this week's Windhoek summit.

Mbeki's representative, Ronnie Momoepa, would not comment this week on the details of Mbeki's role in the Congo peace process apart from saying that he was "involved in a number of peace initiatives".

Mbeki is understood to have immediately followed up the Kagame/Mugabe meeting with a set of proposals that were circulated to the two African leaders and others. These proposals cover the terms of a ceasefire and troop standstill in Congo, a peacekeeping force made up of units from the various warring armies but under neutral foreign command, the terms of a final end to all hostilities and the creation of a forum of heads of state to oversee and guarantee the democratisation and reconstruction of Congo.

These proposals elaborate on an earlier Congo peace plan drawn up by Mbeki and presented by President Nelson Mandela to other African leaders in September last year.

South African officials refuse to be drawn publicly on the reasons for the sidelining of South Africa in Windhoek. But regional political and security analysts suggest a number of explanations. They say that the heads of state of a number of the belligerents feel uncomfortable about South Africa's keen awareness of their own and their families' business interests in Congo, and of how this might be affecting their decision-making on the war. They also suggest some heads of state resent Mbeki's ability to exercise intellectual and political leadership.

An additional factor in the belligerents wanting to meet alone in Windhoek, rather than in broader company in Lusaka, is that the Angolan government is deeply distrustful of President Frederick Chiluba and Zambia, whom they accuse of continuing to support Unita rebels.

How the UN failed Angola

The United Nations peacekeeping mission in Angola is over, writes Chris Gordon

The United Nations Security Council decision this week to cut back its peacekeeping operation in Angola to the barest minimum is the final acknowledgement that the country has returned to full-scale war. The question must now be asked: why did the international community again fail the people of Angola?

The UN dates the de facto collapse of its peacekeeping role in Angola to June 1998 when Unita leader Jonas Savimbi finally refused to surrender his headquarters, Bailondo and Andulo. The death of UN special representative Alouine Blondin Beye in a plane crash in the same month stalled the failing peace process. The UN's final peacekeeping attempt was a further set of sanctions on Unita's economic lifeline — diamonds — and the freezing of bank accounts.

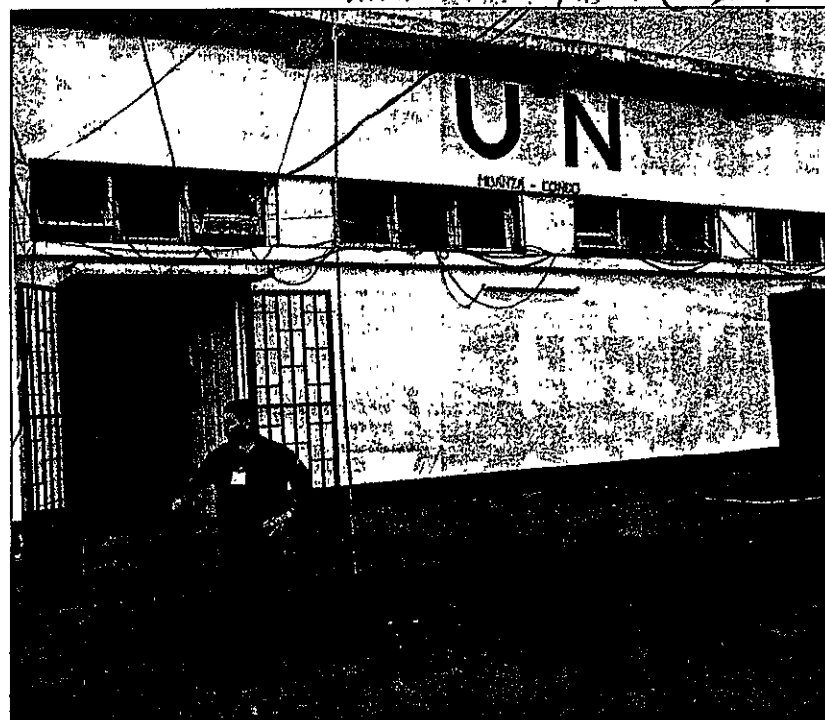
By December the real battles, for Kuito and Huambo, had begun and it was clear that Unita had re-armed. It had done this, again, while a UN peacekeeping force was in the country. The response in Angola was fury.

Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos asked the UN to leave, and last week, it agreed. The peacekeeping mission will pull out of Angola by March 20, but humanitarian aid will remain in place. The UN will form a new team to restart the peace process, if it is called on to do so.

The UN's operations in Angola from 1994 to 1999 probably constituted the wrong type of peacekeeping operation from the start. A mandate to disarm Unita was needed, but not forthcoming. Unita had flouted the UN once by resuming war after it lost the elections in 1992. It had remained armed throughout the election period.

Why did the UN believe that a post-war attempt at peaceful settlement would succeed without disarming Unita? The answer must be that the strong influence of the United States' Cold War agenda was still operational and it defined the UN's response to events in Angola. The US supplied and supported Savimbi for more than a decade as a proxy belligerent against the Soviet- and Cuban-backed government in Luanda.

This partisan approach was supposedly over by the time Angolans went to the polls in 1992, with the international community supposedly the guarantor of democracy and freedom. But Angolans' hopes were soon dashed with the UN's slow response



Backing out: The United Nations peacekeeping mission will pull out of Angola by March 20. Humanitarian aid will, however, remain in place. PHOTOGRAPH: WILCO VAN HERPEN

to events during the post-election war from 1992 to 1994.

The ban on weapons to Angola — the Triple Zero Option — was not lifted until 1993, even though Unita had ignored it. Sanctions against Unita were delayed until they were useless. Angola was still the communist enemy, it seemed, until US President Bill Clinton's government gave diplomatic recognition to the country in 1994.

Even so, the US intervened to prevent a decisive military defeat of Unita in late 1994 when the government, with the support of Executive Outcomes, had Savimbi in its sights. Once or twice a US diplomat has been heard to suggest that, in hindsight, this was a mistake. Had the US not intervened, Angola would not be facing another war.

The position of the US has always been a crucial element in security council decision-making. And these days the US has a complex African agenda. This became clear during Clinton's African trip in March last year, when he visited both Rwanda and Uganda.

Rwandan Vice-President Paul Kagame and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni are seen by the US

as part of the "New Africa"; modernising free marketer strongmen who have brought stability and represent a southern bulwark against the encroachment of Islamic fundamentalism in sub-Saharan Africa.

Clinton, however, did not visit Angola. This is surprising as Angola, by 2002, will produce at least 10% of the US's oil supply.

And US military assistance in the shape of a contract with US Military and Professional Resources Incorporated, which was to replace Executive Outcomes under the deal by which Executive Outcomes was asked to leave Angola, has never quite materialised.

The US State Department has blamed Savimbi for restarting the war, but US African foreign policy has left Angola out in the cold, a position difficult to reverse. Angola is now at war with two of the US's strongest African allies, Kagame and Museveni.

The US State Department condemned Uganda and Rwanda's invasion of the Democratic Republic of Congo last August, but it also accused Congolese President Laurent Kabila

of undermining regional security by falling to deal with rebel incursions from Congo into Uganda and Rwanda.

In other words, Angola is now on the wrong side, at least while the Congo war continues. The international community and particularly the US, which bears some responsibility for events in Angola and for Savimbi's ambitions, are backing away, despite UN Secretary General Kofi Annan's efforts. All the Angolan government can expect is condemnation of Savimbi, coupled with criticism of its own positions, and international demands to return to the Lusaka Peace Protocols.

At best, the UN has been misguided in thinking that a peaceful settlement is possible in Angola. There is little evidence to suggest Savimbi has ever been willing to accept any terms but his own, and even less to suggest that Unita ever had any serious idea of demilitarising.

At worst, the peacekeeping agenda has been compromised from its inception by Cold War thinking. It would be difficult for the UN to disarm Unita at this time, but there seems little willingness to try and little chance of gaining backing.

Angola out in the cold

5) Souetan 22/1/99

THE year started off pretty grimly for Kofi Annan. A saddened United Nations secretary-general was hard-pressed early on to make a diplomatic confession: for a long time in Angola, the UN had cried peace where there was none!

Annan then recommended that the world organisation should bring to an abrupt end its operations in that imploding state.

The reason: the belligerents – the MPLA government and Unita rebels – are hell-bent on annihilating one another through brute force.

This unprecedented about-turn by the UN was in part triggered by the shooting down of two UN planes last month, in what the secretary-general called “an outrageous crime”.

But the move was also a mere affirmation that the Angolan peace process had, sadly, totally collapsed. So Annan’s decision to close shop was not an indictment of the UN, but of the deeply troubled Angola.

The UN’s tragic experience in that war-torn state should now teach us, for better or worse, some critical lessons about keeping the peace in rather hazardous environments.

The first lesson is that the political will to make genuine peace cannot be summoned from outside like the Ten Commandments from on high. It is for the belligerents in intractable conflicts to stop glorifying war and commit themselves to genuine peace.

To be sure, in countries like Angola the UN and other external entities have vital roles to play; but theirs can only be supplementary roles.

Second, even if the UN wants to play a primary role of peace-enforcer, as it attempted in Angola, the world’s only superpower and other great powers are highly reluctant to supply it with the necessary deterrent power to contain, let alone terminate, wars.

The UN is not Rambo, and should not act as such; it should have a sober grasp of the limits and the extent of its capabilities.

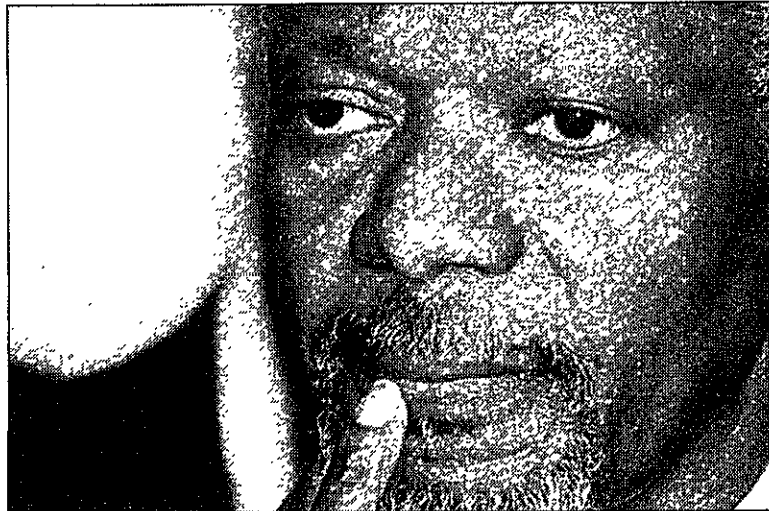
The third lesson is that the formalism of peace agreements can never be substitutes for the real thing: hard-won, genuine peace. Peace is a scarce commodity that must be cemented.

Quick-fix solutions are too counter-productive and costly. The UN and most people should accept the charge that it glorified the Lusaka Peace Accords of 1994 without unmasking its rotten insides. It was very important to create the illusion of a real peace in Angola.

Fourth, the most discouraging lesson to gauge from Annan’s decision is that Angola will now become a scapegoat: more influential players will rid themselves from what they see as Africa’s “sorry realities”.

The international community’s already tainted perception of peacekeeping in Africa will become even more clouded, and commit-

The political will to make genuine peace in Angola cannot be summoned from the outside like the Ten Commandments, **Chris Landsberg** explains why ...



United Nations secretary-general Kofi Annan recommended to the organisation's Security Council this week that it should end its operations in Angola.

ment to resources for peacekeeping in Africa will fade even further.

We are exactly where we were during the chilly winter of 1992 when the ghosts of Somalia haunted us.

The Somalia syndrome is vividly playing itself out again in Angola, with terrible fallout for Africa and the African renaissance.

During the Somalia fiasco, the UN for the first time took the decision to withdraw its troops and bring to an ignominious end its operations. The decision to withdraw was taken long before the mission was completed, and a trail of bloody disasters was left in its wake.

UN is leaving

The Somalia scenario is now enveloping Angola. The UN is leaving and war will become a nightmare for the Angolan populace.

They will suffer and the number of displaced people will probably reach a million in a matter of weeks.

Starvation will probably become a harsh reality because such are the ramifications of war. Hundreds of thousands of people will cheaply lose their lives.

To add insult to injury, the UN is deeply divided on what course of action to take: Annan sanctioned a complete withdrawal, the Security Council only a partial departure.

But the council’s position will leave the UN nakedly exposed to further disaster.

And, from abroad, the world community will murmur that this cannot be tolerated – but in reality their silence and inaction will be deadly.

In the meantime, the war-mongering elites will deceitfully be claiming that their war is in vital national interests.

They will spend more time castigating and discrediting “Kofi Annan’s UN” rather than seeking “peace”.

Neither of the warring factions seems truly committed to establishing a culture of democracy and tolerance. So the charge that the crisis in Angola is the making of Annan’s UN is grossly unfair and malicious.

Not only is peace illusory, but the country is coming apart. The health of Angola’s economy is in a coma. Peace has been destroyed.

The world community, including many Africans, are beginning to shun Angola. International organisations and investors are becoming weary of the country.

Angola is one of the world’s poorest states: it has a paltry gross domestic product per capita of R2 500. Basic services are near collapse and the infrastructure is devastated.

Soldier-miners on both sides of the divide are caught up in territorial clashes. Diamond mining continues to be used by Unita to pay for war.

In Luanda, in the meantime, oil revenues are being used to subsidise war efforts and service the massive bill caused by fighting on Kabila’s side in Africa’s “First World War”.

In short, recent developments in Angola may prove to be the gathering of dark clouds before the thunderstorm.

(The writer is deputy director of the Johannesburg-based Centre for Policy Studies.)

Fresh produce market to be privatised

③ Bd. 28/11/99

Louise Cook

PRETORIA—The Johannesburg fresh produce market is to be privatised, ending nearly a decade of uncertainty about its future ownership.

Land and Agriculture Minister Derek Hanekom said yesterday he would approach the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council to "express concern over the way that the financial difficulties of the council are having a severely negative impact on the Johannesburg market".

The move follows nearly a decade of uncertainty around future ownership of large fresh produce markets which use facilities of metropolitan councils which receive a percentage of the markets' annual turnover.

The fresh produce forum, representing big and small farmers,

market agents and traders, said yesterday it had lobbied Hanekom last year to prevent the Johannesburg market from being sold to the highest bidder. The forum said stakeholders had to oversee the privatisation process.

The minister's decision to have the Johannesburg market — the biggest in the country with an annual turnover of R1bn a year — privatised, was confirmed by the agriculture department yesterday. This followed a probe by the national agricultural marketing council into the finances of the market last year as allegations of gross financial mismanagement by the Johannesburg metropolitan council persisted.

A source said the accumulated cost as a result of the mismanagement totalled at least R87m. The council was meant to have used its cut of the market's income to

maintain and expand the market, but these benefits apparently were not passed on to the market.

Other ministerial decisions on the future of the market included the council granting the market financial independence. Privatisation of the market should happen in a "neutral and objective way that is not unduly beholden to any set of vested interests".

The National Agricultural Marketing Council recommended that there was no "compelling reason why the metropolitan council should continue to own the Johannesburg market, but if it does, ownership and management should be split".

"The market authorities should invest time and money in upgrading the operations of the market. In particular, money should be spent on improving the fabric of the market, especially

security, wholesale facilities and the computer system."

Hanekom also said the payment by farmers of statutory levies on produce delivered to markets was no longer legal except on wheat, barley, oats, sorghum and cotton.

In some cases, farmers had been ripped off by having levy fees deducted.

Reacting to the privatisation of the market, Fresh Produce Forum chairman Bertie van Zyl said the Johannesburg market should not simply be sold to a large trading house.

The forum told Hanekom last year that any privatisation should be done with the full participation of the stakeholders like the SA Agricultural Union's horticultural society, National African Farmers' Union, Informal and formal traders and market agents.

Angolan govt still far from final victory over Savimbi

Morale in Unita is high as the rebel movement continues to make inroads into MPLA-held areas across the country, writes Francois Misser in Brussels

5 28/11/99

MORE than a month after the start of the Angolan army's offensive against Unita's headquarters of Bailundo, in central Angola, morale among the rebel forces is high.

Jonas Savimbi's army managed to overrun enemy bases in several places and has seized large quantities of materiel, including 20 tanks. Now his forces have besieged the capitals of the Huambo and Bie provinces.

Nearly all the territories handed over to the central administration since the November 1994 Lusaka peace accord are back in Unita's hands. It denies government claims this was the result of massive arms supplies from Uganda. Instead, the determining factor was its capacity to reorganise its 80,000 men, who had allegedly been demobilised.

"We only used Russian-made equipment captured from the Forças Armadas Angolanas (FAA) such as BMP2 APCs (armed personnel carriers), and T-56 tanks," says Unita's Brussels representative Azevedo Kanga. Yet Unita may have bought ground-to-air missiles "somewhere," he admits.

At present, the war is moving northwards from Kuito and Huambo towards Malange, which is under rebel heavy artillery fire. There are also Unita troops around Mbanza Congo in the north.

It says its troop advance is still a purely "defensive" move. Yet foreign military experts are expecting Savimbi to launch operations soon in areas close to the capital, Luanda. Unita is already sending scouts along the coastline, while forces led by Gen Carlos Numa — said to be one of Unita's best operational commanders — are progressing along the Cuanza and Dange rivers, which emerge on either side of Luanda, with the

idea of "asphyxiating" it, the sources claim.

There is speculation that the FAA may retaliate by using more and more destructive weapons including cluster bombs and chemical warfare.

In Luanda itself, though, a surrealistic atmosphere prevails. "Everybody knows this may be a long war. Yet, on the beaches, it's like the Rio carnival or a giant rave party," says a Belgian academic who spent new year in the capital.

"Every night, thousands of people were dancing there... three-quarters were girls. They want to enjoy themselves before it's too late," he said. The awakening is rude: at dawn trucks rush the conscripted youngsters towards the warfront and the press reports on their fears and lack of motivation.

Meanwhile, the rebels are preparing to counter government plans to drive them out of the diamond-rich areas in Luanda Norte.

Unita's official objective is to force the government of President Eduardo dos Santos to resume the Lusaka peace process. SA, with which Unita maintains good relations, could "build a bridge" between them, says Kanga. Yet should the FAA generals go ahead with their plans to "neutralise" Savimbi, the rebels are ready to fight on. They are convinced that they can win.

"It will be us or them," say Unita militants. One of the secrets underpinning this confidence is that Unita has developed tight security and population control, which makes its areas impenetrable for the enemy. Conversely, it claims the FAA is so "corrupt, demoralised and infiltrated" that Unita gets intelligence and fuel from its members.

The only factor that could prolong the war is foreign interference and it is rearing

its head, says Kanga.

He claims sources within the FAA chief of staff passed on data to Unita saying 3,000 more Cuban troops were on their way to Angola to add to the 2,000 already there, including some in the presidential guard.

"There have been no protests about this despite Unita raising the alarm and it seems the US, Portuguese and French intelligence services knew about it."

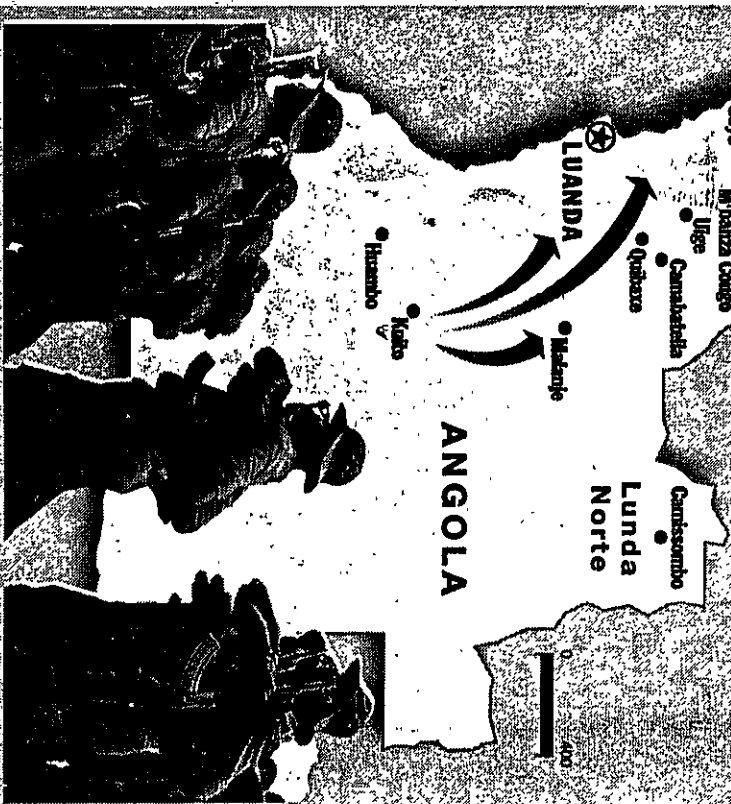
Observers say the US government has so far ignored requests by US companies to provide security for US oil facilities in Angola and therefore a Cuban deployment might actually serve those interests without having US citizens trapped in the war.

Despite some attacks on diamond mines, Kanga is adamant the business community has nothing to fear from Unita. Businessmen are "victims of MPLA propaganda," forced to provide aid in the fight against Unita by recruiting mercenaries.

He says the Brazilian firm Odebrecht and the Russian company ABS, which fought for the Catoca diamond mine, were told by the MPLA: "If you want some economic advance, you must provide us with a counterpart on the political side."

"We will respect the contracts signed by the Angolan government.... If you penalise the foreigners, they won't come back. Yet, we need them to develop our country. Foreign companies have nothing to fear from us but they should withdraw their staff from the war zones to preserve security," advises Kanga, who invites foreign businesses to make contact with Unita. Yet firms "should stop playing the MPLA's game," he warns. He also denies De Beers' support for Unita, as alleged by UK-based non-governmental

Unita soldiers on the move



organisation, Global Witness.

"De Beers has always maintained links with the MPLA, even under the apartheid regime. These allegations derive from intrigues within the diamond sector itself. It is true that some time ago De Beers tried to interfere in the political game. They had obtained concessions in a zone controlled by us. At that time, De Beers had tried to wage a political war against Unita. However we told them not to play this game anymore. I think they've calmed down now," he says. At any rate, the company is continuing its

work in Angola, which must be "the primary exploration target for kimberlites in Africa," says James Campbell, assistant to chairman Nicky Oppenheimer. It is operating in Luca-pa, in Namibia and in the Lunda Norte region. "We are (doing) some drilling, especially where they are fairly close to the base camp operations. Yet as soon as we feel our people are endangered, we pull them out. We are not contemplating working in areas dangerous to our people," says Campbell.

□ Misser is a freelance journalist.

Angola abandons 1994 peace accord

(5) ET 28/1/99

LUANDA: Angola's government yesterday abandoned a four-year-old peace accord with the mainstream Unita rebel group led by Jonas Savimbi, saying it would seek agreement now with the renegade Unita Renovada group in Luanda.

"It's decided — we are going to conclude the Lusaka Protocol only with Unita (Renovada)," Faustino Muteka, minister for territorial administration, said.

The UN-brokered peace accord, signed in the Zambian capital Lusaka in November 1994, aimed to end nearly 20 years of war between the government and Savimbi's Unita rebels.

Unita Renovada, led by former Savimbi aides, rebelled against their veteran leader in September after accusing him of working against peace. But analysts say the group has no real power base and its recognition by Angola would have no bearing on Savimbi, who controls over 30,000 troops.

Muteka said the move had been prompted by the Unita rebels taking up their armed campaign again, despite the accord. He said the question of land control would "not be settled peacefully". — Sapa-APF, Reuter

Unita threatens Dos Santos with '2-3 more years of war'

LUANDA: Unita yesterday threw down the gauntlet to Angola's government, challenging President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to all-out civil war.

"Dos Santos has decided that war is the way, so we are going to make a long war, for two, maybe three years," senior rebel commander and Unita secretary-general Paulo Lukamba Gato said.

"After that, then we will come back to the negotiating table."

The conflict is estimated to have killed 800 000 people since 1975, when Angola gained independence from Portugal.

The most recent fighting began on December 5, when the government launched a full-blooded offensive against rebel strongholds in Andulo and nearby Bailundo.

The rebels repelled the attack and have since taken the initiative, seizing three government cities and pushing to the north and west.

Military analysts believe Unita holds the upper hand, aided in part

by the fact that many of Angola's best troops are deployed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, helping President Laurent Kabila.

In a move designed to raise the intensity of his anti-rebel onslaught, Dos Santos on Saturday shuffled his cabinet, removing the defence minister and replacing him with a strong-arm general, Kundy Payama.

On Friday, Dos Santos fired his prime minister, then abolished the post, leaving himself as head of state, government and the army.

"From now on there will be a change in the method and style of government," Dos Santos told his newly appointed cabinet.

"Our first priority is the final fight for peace. In other words, we must make war in order to have the conquest of peace."

But Gato played down the government's threats, saying its forces had little chance of defeating Unita's war-hardened guerrillas. —

Reuter

(5) ET 1/2/99

It's all-out war for years, says Unita

Star 1/2/99

Dos Santos reshuffles cabinet, vows to win the 'final fight' for peace

REUTERS
Luanda

Unita rebels yesterday threw down the gauntlet to Angola's government, challenging President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to all-out civil war.

"Dos Santos has decided that war is the way, so we are going to make a long war, for two, maybe three years," senior rebel commander and Unita secretary-general Paulo Lukamba Gato told Reuters by telephone from his Andulo HQ.

"After that, then we will come back to the negotiating table."

The government and rebels of Unita were at war for almost 20 years before a shaky 1994 peace treaty which seems now to have completely collapsed.

The conflict is estimated to have killed 800 000 people since 1975, when Angola gained independence from Portugal, and has flushed millions from their homes.

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"Our first priority is the final fight for peace. In other words: we must make war in order to have the conquest of peace."

But Gato, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's key commander, played down the threat of the government turning up the heat, saying government forces had little chance of defeating war-hardened guerrillas.

Gato also accused the government of receiving help from neighbouring countries and former allies saying Dos Santos was getting logistical assistance from Cuba and support from Namibia and possibly Zimbabwe.

Asked about external help, Payama was dismissive: "To break the spine of Savimbi, we don't need to ask for help from foreign forces," he said.

Accords be damned: ⁽⁵⁾ it's civil war

Sowetan 8/2/99

LUANDA — Full-scale civil war is raging once more in Angola between government forces and Jonas Savimbi's National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (Unita), bringing misery, despair and a feeling among the people that their country's valuable resources are being wasted.

Since independence from Portugal in November 1975 the Angolans have known only five years of a doubtful peace which failed to reconcile Savimbi with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Four years of effort by the United Nations, which deployed 7,000 men to supervise the implementation of the Lusaka accord of November 1994 have come to nothing.

Thousands of people are again fleeing the combat zones, while mines are once more being laid in the areas where the UN and other organisations had managed to defuse a meagre 16,000 out of the more than five million estimated to exist in Angola.

The resumption of the civil war has placed serious constraints on humanitarian efforts, which must now be conducted entirely by air, Maria Flynn of the UN World Food Programme (WFP) said in Luanda.

"Up until last year, less than 20 percent of the aid was transported by plane, and the rest by road," she said. "Delivery costs have tripled."

Humanitarian needs

She added that humanitarian needs had surged since fighting resumed last November between Unita and government forces.

"We are sending 1,500 tons of food each week, but we will have to deliver another 3,000 tons a month to meet the needs of people displaced by the war," Flynn said. "We need more planes."

The WFP had estimated its needs for 1999 at least 79,000 tons for some 530,000 people. However, now it is thought that 780,000 people will need food aid, including half a million displaced by the fighting.

Blame for the renewed fighting is generally laid at the door of Savimbi, whose Unita movement has fought the ruling Angolan People's Liberation Movement (MPLA) since well before independence.

He is accused of failing to comply with the Lusaka accord by refusing to hand over territory, and retaining a small but powerful army despite requirements to disband his forces.

Unita justified its reluctance to give up territory by claiming that Luanda had carried out reprisals against its supporters after regaining control.

At the end of last year the government lost its patience, renounced all the Lusaka accords and determined on a military solution, which analysts predict will be a long and difficult task.

While Savimbi can no longer count on his former allies, apartheid South Africa and the United States, which backed him against the Marxist dos Santos, he has a string of new regional friends as a consequence of the civil strife plaguing Angola's neighbours on all sides.

Luanda has sent troops to aid government forces against rebels in the Congo, and the Democratic Republic of Congo claims that its own rebels are being aided by Unita, Burkina Faso, Rwanda, Uganda and Zambia. — Sapa-AFP.

Gem production expected to grow despite civil war

LUANDA — Angola's civil war has not interrupted production by the Catoca diamond company and production is expected to grow this year and next, a senior company official said on Friday.

"We are producing around 80 000 to 90 000 carats a month and we hope production will grow to 1.2-million carats in 1999 and 1.5-million in 2000," said Marcelo Gomes, Catoca's director of administration. *BD 8/2/99*

The company mines diamonds from the Catoca kimberlite pipe 35km south of the northeastern town of Saurimo. The pipe is the world's fourth largest in terms of surface area and constitutes the single largest diamond operation in Angola in production value.

Although Unita rebels have attacked various diamond operations in the northeastern provinces of Luanda Norte and Lunda Sul in recent months, Gomes said Catoca had been safe. "Fortunately we have avoided that — we have a guarantee of protection from government troops in the area and we also have a private security company, Alfa-5."

Gomes said that between September 1997, when production started, and December last year, Catoca had produced a total of 1.25-million carats worth \$85m.

"Because of the insecurity we are not going to make the investments now that we were planning to," he said. "We will, though, spend about \$12m to increase our production in 1999 and 2000."

After the first phase of the project ends in 2003, Catoca plans, if the military situation permits, to invest another \$250m to \$300m in the second phase. This should boost production to 5-million carats a year, he said.

Total diamond reserves in Catoca stand at 40-million carats.

Catoca is a joint venture company in which state diamond company Ediama has a 32.8% stake. Russia's Alrosa holds 32.8% while Daumonty Financing, a subsidiary of Israel's Lev Leviev, has 16%.

Gomes is the senior representative of Brazil's Odebrecht, which holds the remaining 18.4%.

— Reuter

Oil workers retreat before Unita advance

CHRIS BLOMSTAND
and PETER FABRICIUS

LUANDA: Oil workers began to flee from the oil city of Soyo in north-western Angola this week as the rebel army of Jonas Savimbi advanced to within 200km of this prize in the battle for territory.

Unita took Mbanza Congo, about 230km south-east of Soyo, last week, and earlier this week Tomboco.

"Soyo is definitely threatened," a military expert on Angola said at the weekend. However, diplomatic sources in Luanda said Soyo was well-defended and it appeared that the Angolan army had sent most of its forces there, putting up little resistance to Unita on the way.

"Soyo is well defended. It's here that the army has concentrated its defence and it would be very difficult for Unita to take it," a source said.

Unita might not intend to take Soyo, but merely to force the government to concentrate its troops there, to enable Unita to take territory elsewhere.

Unita has been capturing territory rapidly since the war re-ignited just before Christmas when the Angolan army launched a failed attempt to seize Savimbi's strongholds at Bailundo and Andulo.

South African experts on Angola said yesterday that the oil companies had begun to evacuate workers from Soyo this week, leaving only key personnel.

Regarded by both sides as a strategic and symbolic objective,

Soyo produces about 33 000 barrels of oil a day, about five percent of Angola's total oil output, most of which comes from off-shore wells.

Apart from the oil wells at Soyo, Unita would also be able to use rocket-launchers to shell two or three off-shore wells from the town.

The government's fight against the rebels is being hampered by the fact that much of its resources are being used to prop up the governments of Congo (Brazzaville) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The loss of Soyo would be a financial and psychological blow.

It was after Soyo fell to Unita during the last escalation of the war in 1992/93, that the government employed the controversial mercenary/security firm Executive Outcomes which turned the tide of war against Unita. Most analysts think that if Soyo falls this time, it might also be a turning point in the war, prompting the government to throw everything into its war against Unita.

This will mean extricating itself from the two Congos, which it has been struggling to do. Angola and the other countries propping up DRC President Laurent Kabila have been showing signs of desperately wanting to get out of the DRC and have tried to persuade Kabila to negotiate with the rebel forces trying to oust him, so that they can withdraw without loss of face.

Despite Unita's gains, analysts do not believe it is capable of taking Luanda, even if it does manage to seize Soyo. — IFS

(5)
CT 9/12/99

FINANCE *The country relies on short-term loans and secretive bonuses to fill its budget hole*

Where oil is concerned, bankers just keep on lending to Luanda

NICHOLAS SHAXSON

Luanda — Low oil prices have torn huge holes in Angola's finances, but the country will not run out of money to pay for the long-continuing war against Unita rebels, local economists and bankers say.

"Things are as bad as at any time I can remember, but they are not panicking," said an economist in Luanda.

"It is a short-term problem: how do they get through this year?"

The price of oil, which accounts for over 90 percent of exports, has fallen one-third since 1997, but production has passed 800 000 barrels per day (bpd) and should reach 2 million bpd by next year.

The oil price collapse tore an estimated \$800 million hole in last year's original \$2.2 billion budget, when production was averaging just under 750 000 bpd

and the resurgence of the conflict with Unita created new demands on the military.

Angola has returned to full-scale civil war this year. The peace accord signed in 1994 collapsed over the refusal by Unita to disarm fully, resulting in a government offensive against the rebels.

Oil officials say Angola expects to receive huge secretive signature bonuses early this year.

These are non-recoverable, one-off down payments from oil companies for the rights to explore for oil in licences numbers 31, 32 and 33 in ultra-deep offshore waters.

Industry sources say these licences may hold the largest untapped oil reserves offered for exploration anywhere in the world.

Officials believe the bonuses add up to more than \$900 million.



GRAPHIC: HADJESON

The government also produces diamonds. Last year, official production was \$188 million. For years, Sonangol, the state oil company, has used future production as collateral for short-term loans. Angola now

relies heavily on the loans for financing.

The country is in arrears on most of its external debt, estimated at \$11 to \$12 billion.

But Sonangol has never defaulted on a loan repayment.

European bankers say Warburg Dillon Read, the investment bank is arranging a fresh syndicated \$500 million loan for the company.

Apart from project finance, this will be the largest such loan Angola has secured. Its four-year repayment term is longer than that of any earlier loan.

"Despite Angola's problems Sonangol is very well received here," said a London-based banker.

"That reflects an appreciation of its ability to meet its repayment obligations.

"They also know very well that if they screw up at all it will affect not only oil sector investment but also their ability to get more money."

"There is quite an appetite in the market for short-term risks," said another European banker. "I do not think the limit of that appetite has been reached."

The Warburg loan will be

secured against an oil contract that was earlier hedged, or insured, against falling oil prices.

This means that Angola has managed to lock in a higher price for the collateral.

An economist in Luanda said foreign governments would also ensure Angola maintains access to these loans in order to protect enormous foreign oil investments against the possibility of Unita disruption.

He cited recent loan guarantees by the official US export-import bank as an example of this political support.

Another economist said few knew how much had been borrowed in this way, but he ventured that it was almost a quarter of external debt.

Bankers say these oil-backed loans involve fairly onerous interest rates, typically two or more percentage points above the benchmark London inter-bank offered rate. — Reuters

Facts scarce as Angolan oil

As the country prepares to go to war, it is becoming increasingly rumour and propaganda from what is really happening on the ground. Service's correspondent in Angola managed to put together a bird's

(5) Star 10/2/99

Fight for your country - in the spirit of the 4th of February (Independence day)", said Angola's new Minister of Defence, Kundy Palhama. "We must fight and completely annihilate the military machine of Jonas Savimbi."

This summons to the people and youth of Angola was made as the country witnesses a new surge of the forces of Savimbi. Men between the ages of 18 and 35 have great difficulty leaving the country and there are daily programmes on TV and radio showing people signing up to defend it.

At the same time information on what exactly is happening out in the field is becoming scarce and is far too often replaced by rumour and hearsay.

Savimbi's forces, having shelled and fought around the cities of Huambo and Kuito for several weeks, suddenly hit on the city of Malange at the beginning of January. The city has now been shelled for a few days at a time since then. During the first days of February the shelling of the city with long-range Unita missiles and artillery continued and thousands of displaced people now roam the area.

The sudden news followed that the provincial capital of Zaire (a province in Angola), Mbanza-Congo, had been attacked and taken by Unita on January 28. Mbanza-Congo is situated 200km inland from the very important oil centre of Soyo, along the coast. At Soyo both the Americans with Texaco/Chevron, and the French with ELF have large installations to service their offshore operation.

To the US, taking 8% of their total import of oil from Angola and operating mainly from Soyo and Cabinda, the advance of Savimbi's troops is extremely worrying. According to Western diplomatic sources and military personnel, there are large numbers of defence troops in the area of Soyo. Soyo is 300km north of Luanda along the coast.



Legacy of unrest ... this street scene in Huambo shows how normal civil society has been disrupted in many towns in the country.

Last week, Unita secretary-general Paulo Lukamba Gato announced in Bailundo that Tomboco, in Zaire province, had fallen to Unita forces. This should make it possible for their soldiers to organise themselves with a view to launching an attack on Soyo.

As a way of denying the occupation of Tomboco, Government forces were sent to Tomboco with a Portuguese TV team which showed pictures indicating that Tomboco was

indeed under the control of the government and the information on Tomboco falling was false.

Meanwhile, information is circulating of intense military activity in the province of Benguela, with Unita forces attempting to occupy the locality of Balombo (north-east Benguela), which is an important point for Unita forces on the way to Benguela. Unita will be desperate to take and hold a harbour town in Angola in order to secure a way to

transport supplies and further armaments.

According to Gato, Unita is willing to go to war for a period of two to three years, after which they will once again return to negotiations. On Friday MPLA (the ruling party) secretary-general João Lourenço confirmed that the Angolan government was prepared to unleash what they believe to be the last war in the search for peace, making it clear that it would no longer tolerate

external pressure and giving Jonas Savimbi opportunity.

President dos Santos has also taken on chief commander of army, as well as of In a move to "get out of and economic crisis" ment has been ministers appointed. sources say the playing his cards closer

NICKY DE BLOIS/AP



Victims ... a displaced woman holds two babies, taking refuge in a building outside the town of N'Dalatando, 200km east of Luanda. Unita is allegedly 50km away in Bula Atumba.

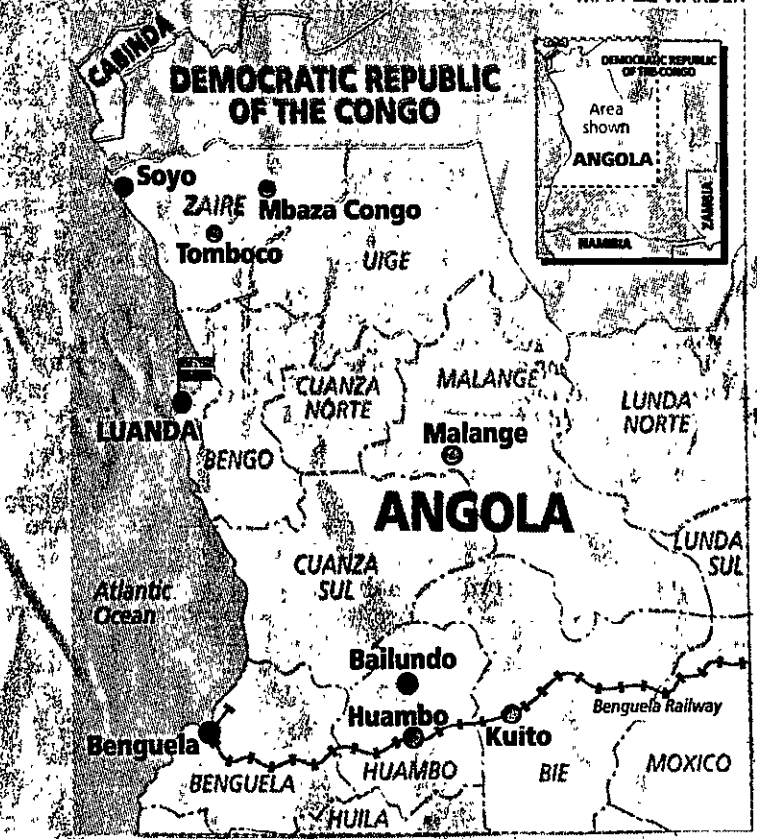
Angolan observers leave

It is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish what is really happening on the ground. The Star Foreign Editor has put together a bird's eye view of the situation

10/2/99

ROSS HERBERT

MAP: LIZ WARDER



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external pressure and the habit of giving Jonas Savimbi one more opportunity.
President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has also taken on the post of chief commander of the Angolan army, as well as of prime minister. In a move to "get out of the social and economic crisis" the government has been re-formed and new ministers appointed. Diplomatic sources say the president is now playing his cards closer to his chest.

At the same time the UN Observer Mission in Angola, Monua, is dismantling its operations. This follows the downing of two UN aircraft and earlier the refusal by the Angolan government to extend its mandate, after claiming that the Observer mission had allowed Savimbi and Unita to mobilise their new army right under the nose of UN personnel supposed to control the demobilisation.

Today only 200 to 300 people are left at the former headquarters at Vila Espa, just outside Luanda. By the end of February all observation posts in the country will have been vacated and only a very small skeleton staff left in Luanda.

This also means important sources of information from different parts of the country have ceased to exist. The result is a situation of the most ludicrous hearsay and rumour-mongering. In the official

Angolan media, the major ones being government-owned, the war is described in a rather biased way.

The UN humanitarian agencies will stay on and continue their work in Angola. UN deputy emergency relief co-ordinator, Martin Griffiths, said this week the agencies would stay in Angola because the number of war victims now in need of assistance had reached 1.5 million.

At a news conference in New York, Griffiths, who visited the region following recommendations to the Security Council that the 1000-strong Monua be withdrawn, was emphatic: "I think that the first simple fact is that as far as humanitarian agencies are concerned, they are not going to be leaving Angola."

But the already "very difficult" task of the 92 international NGOs, UN agencies such as WFP, Unicef, UNHCR, WHO and 170 local NGOs will only become more difficult.

South Africa pushes for peace in war-torn Angola

Howard Barrel

(V)

M+G 12-18/2/99

South Africa has launched a diplomatic offensive to spur the United Nations and big powers into decisive action to halt Angola's accelerating slide into all-out civil war.

In Parliament this week, President Nelson Mandela called for a new international approach to bring peace to the Angola. At the same time, South African officials this closed they were trying to pressure UN Secretary General Kofi Annan

to take active steps to bring the Angolan government and the rebel Unita movement together in talks.

The UN recently decided to pull most of its peace mission out of Angola when a ceasefire broke down with fierce fighting in the central highlands.

Leaders of the Southern African Development Community, meeting in Mauritius late last year, declared Unita leader Jonas Savimbi an international criminal. The implication of this is that only the UN secretary general may now deal with him officially.

Some South African officials believe the decision was a mistake as it prevents neighbouring states from exploring all avenues for peace.

South Africa has also been appealing to UN Security Council permanent members France and the United States, whose transnational corporations own most of the oil facilities in Angola, to engage actively in the search for peace there.

South African officials said they were "very worried" at the gains being made by Unita and some of the aggressive postures being struck by

the government in Luanda.

The Angolan government, which already has troops in both Congo (Brazzaville) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), recently made threatening noises against Zambia, accusing it of providing aid and transit to Unita.

There is particular concern about the potential for spillover from the Angolan war. Already, the Angolan government is supporting President Laurent Kabila's regime in the DRC and President Denis Sassou-Nguesso in Congo (Brazza-

ville). Unita is supporting the rebels in both those countries.

Moreover, several other countries — Chad, Namibia, Rwanda, Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe — have had or currently have troops in the DRC. Southern African security analysts report that rebel forces within the DRC are continuing their advance westwards. They have now reached Kabinda, a town about 100km east of the diamond mining centre of Mbuji-Mayi, situated in east-central DRC.

Although the major foreign belligerents backing both the government and the rebel side in the DRC agreed last month in principle to a ceasefire, they have not yet signed an agreement.

20 000 refugees flee Angola for Congo, Zambia

Fighting moves deeper into north

ART 13/2/99 (5)

Johannesburg

Nearly 20 000 refugees fleeing renewed war in Angola have crossed into neighbouring Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a United Nations agency said yesterday.

The UN Integrated Regional Information Network (Irin) said in a report released in Johannesburg that thousands of Angolan refugees were moving into the Congo as fighting between government troops and Unita rebels went deeper into northern Angola.

The report, quoting sources at the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, said a few hundred refugees had also crossed into Zambia, fleeing fighting in the central and southern districts of the oil and diamond-rich nation.

Other South African-based aid agencies say hundreds of thou-

sands of Angolans have also been internally displaced by the fighting, which erupted in December.

"The new wave of refugees entered the Congo through the Luvo border post from Mbanza Congo, which was captured by Unita 10 days ago," the report said.

Angola has known little peace since independence from Portugal in 1975.

For much of that time, it played host to a Cold War sideshow that pitted Luanda's Marxist government and its Cuban allies against Unita and its United States and South African backers.

A 1994 accord signed by the government and Unita restored a fragile peace. But this was shattered late last year when the government, frustrated by Unita's lack of compliance with the peace terms, attacked the rebel headquarters.

The attacks were quickly

repulsed. Since then, both sides have pronounced the peace accord dead and the UN has effectively abandoned its monitoring role.

Government forces have surrendered Mbanza Congo, the capital of Zaire province. Unita forces have threatened to hit the oil town of Soyo in the north and have bombarded the key central city of Malanje.

In an effort to try to contain Unita, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos appointed a hardline war cabinet after a government reshuffle last month.

The UN agency said 6 040 refugees had been registered in the Congolese town of Songololo. A further 4 080 had been registered at the town of Kimpese.

The agency said the largest concentration of Angolan refugees was at the Congolese port city of Matadi, where an estimated 9 000 refugees were camped. - Reuters

Angola again refuses peacekeepers

NEW YORK — During a closed-door session on Monday, a senior Angolan official again turned down a United Nations (UN) Security Council request for a political and military presence in the country.

Angola's vice-minister for territorial administration, Higinio Carneiro, who has much influence in the government, spoke to the 15 members three days before they were to vote on peacekeeping in Angola, now wracked by renewed civil war. Diplomats at the meeting said Carneiro welcomed a UN human

rights mission to Angola and wanted an increase in technical aid, as well as other relief.

Yet he rejected the Security Council's request for a small multidisciplinary presence in Angola that would have included some military observers as well as a special representative and his staff.

The UN special representative, he said, could be based in New York and not in Luanda as

the council wanted.

The mandate of the UN's observer mission in Angola expires on Friday and most of its remaining 1,000 peacekeepers are to be out of the country by March 20.

Yet diplomats fear a full UN withdrawal would mean the total collapse of the Lusaka protocol, a 1994 peace accord designed to end nearly 20 years of civil war.

The envoys said that the US, Russia and Portugal — the for-

mer colonial power — were working on forging some kind of compromise before tomorrow, when the council is expected to vote on the mandate. The three nations form an advisory group on Angola.

However, the envoys said Carneiro had so far echoed previous positions from President Eduardo dos Santos. Both wanted the council to declare rebel leader Jonas Savimbi singularly

responsible for breaking the peace agreement.

The council has blamed the failure of the agreement mainly on Savimbi's Unita rebel movement which refused to hand over land under its control to a national unity government and did not disarm its fighters as called for in terms of the 1994 peace accord.

However, the Luanda government does not want the UN to negotiate with Savimbi any longer and has formed a rival Unita group which is the only one it recognises. — Reuters

BD 24/2/99

UN force to quit Angola

(5) ARG 26/2/99
New York - The United Nations Security Council, after winding up the UN force in Macedonia after a Chinese veto yesterday, today votes to liquidate the UN peacekeeping mission in Angola.

While the contexts are different, the result is the same - the abrupt withdrawal of a UN force, which had been described as a UN success story, and which the 15-member Security Council as a whole wished to maintain.

Yesterday China cast its veto to oppose the proposed six-month extension of the UN force in Macedonia,

which for four years had helped prevent a spillover of ethnic tensions from the former Yugoslavia.

China did not mention Taiwan, which established diplomatic relations with Macedonia on January 27.

Slovenia's ambassador said China's actions could have a negative effect on the whole region.

The veto could also harm "the functioning of the UN Security Council as the principal UN organ entrusted with responsibility for maintenance of international peace and security," said ambassador Danilo Turk. - Sapa-AFP

POLITICS

High-level efforts to avert Zambia-Angola war

By Jimmy Seepe

A HIGH-LEVEL diplomatic delegation involving South Africa and the Southern African Development Community is expected to be dispatched to Zambia and Angola to try and calm the situation between the two countries.

This follows concern that a full-scale war could erupt between the two countries following a series of explosions in Lusaka on Sunday.

Fears of a war between these countries first arose when Angola accused Zambia of supplying arms to the rebel Unita movement currently at war with the Luanda government.

Senior South African intelligence sources told *Sowetan* yesterday that the Lusaka bombings had raised concern that "the situation could

get out of hand and deteriorate unless urgently addressed".

Although there is still no clear indication as to who might have planted the bombs, it is generally believed that they could be related to a deteriorating relationship between Angola and Zambia.

Possibilities that the bombs could have been planted by Angolans have been dismissed by South African intelligence sources who suggested that they had nothing to gain from those actions.

Speculation is rife that the blasts could have been a decoy coming from inside Zambia to get attention and put pressure on Angola.

The first blast went off at 1.10am, the second at 1.15am and the third at 1.30am, causing panic among residents who suspected at first that Angola had attacked Zambia.

The bombs shook houses in several parts of Lusaka, some as far as four kilometres away from the scene of blasts in Rhodes Park and the posh residential area of Kalundu.

The fourth bomb was defused by police bomb disposal experts. There were no casualties. Nobody has claimed responsibility for the blasts. Speaking to *Sowetan*, the intelligence official said "there are clear indications that this (the bombings) is a warning of bigger things to come".

The South African Secret Services, which gathers intelligence information in the region, is understood to have warned the Government and the security committee of the SADC about the deteriorating relationship between the two governments.

It is believed the secret services had urged the Government and regional countries to develop a mechanism to respond to early warning signals promptly.

Angola has little to offer except good faith

Luanda is seeking a financing agreement with the International Monetary Fund. Nick Shaxson looks at the shape of the economy

(5)

20 4/3/99

ANGOLA'S new economic team is probably better qualified than any before it to secure a long-sought financing agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), despite low oil prices, a growing national debt, and a resurgence in the war with UNITA rebels.

"The president feels he needs to do something," an economist in Luanda said. "He also feels this could be his last chance."

Finance Minister Joaquim David and central bank governor Aguiar Jaime are well respected in the international financial community, and visiting US envoy Whitney Schneidman said this month he expected talks to begin shortly for a six-month staff-monitored IMF programme, possibly to be followed by a full structural adjustment facility for Angola.

However, economists are worried about the commitment to reform of Soviet-trained President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who advocated in a speech in December a continuation of the ill-defined "market socialism" that has been the banner economic policy for most of the decade since Marxism-Leninism was formally abolished in 1990.

"We must reject the school that tries to equate the market with democracy, and which regards the former as the basic condition for social justice," Dos Santos said. "The market is also likely to create gross imbalances among the classes."

Angola plunged into crisis last year after a collapse in the price of oil, which accounts for more than 90% of exports. The Angolan Armed Forces also began making huge new demands as a conflict with Jonas Savimbi's

UNITA spilled into a new war in December. A new government, purged of moderates, was appointed in January.

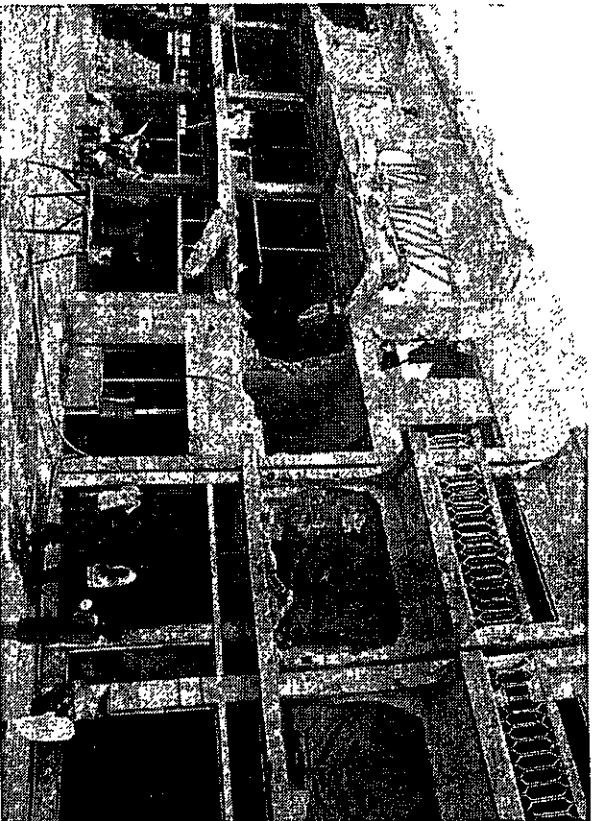
Many have worried in the past month about the possibility of a UNITA attack on Soyo, responsible for 20 000 barrels a day (bpd) of onshore production and another 95 000-100 000 bpd offshore within artillery range from land. However, Soyo is heavily defended, and government forces appear to have the upper hand in fighting for nearby Mbanza Congo.

The government is short of money but not broke. Oil production is more than 800 000 bpd and should exceed 1-million bpd in less than two years, making it easier to repay debts. Diamond output was officially about \$190m last year, although it may be triple that figure if production by UNITA and other illegal miners is taken into account.

Angola is also front-loading contracts, giving up future revenues in exchange for cash today. Most spectacularly, oil officials in Luanda believe that by the middle of this year Angola may receive "signature bonuses" or down payments of as much as \$900m for the rights to explore potential deep offshore oil fields.

State oil company Sonangol has also borrowed for years using future oil production as collateral, and despite huge arrears on most of Angola's estimated \$12bn external debt, the oil company has built up a good repayment record. In addition, repayments on some old loans have finished, freeing more oil.

The system is not transparent, but economists suggest that more than a quarter



Economists are worried about President Eduardo Dos Santos's commitment to reform

of national debt is in the form of oil-backed loans. UBS bank is preparing another \$500m loan to Sonangol from a syndicate of banks. This will not only be Angola's biggest loan of this type, but its four-year repayment terms are also longer than for any others.

"Despite Angola's problems Sonangol is very well received here," a London-based banker said. "That reflects an appreciation of Sonangol's ability to meet its repayment obligations in the past."

In Luanda the kinguias, or black market

currency traders' hess from the pavement and wave half-bricks of local currency.

Though these traders, like Sonangol, have built a reputation for scrupulous adherence to the terms of their dollar-denominated deals, they also represent one face of a powerful and perilous economic mechanism. The gap between the kinguias' rates, currently 1.4-million kwanzas a dollar, and the official rate of 700 000, enables those with power and vested interest to juggle the account books and divert oil money.

Importers not only milk the dual exchange rates but also use their political links to obstruct their competitors. This, combined with low productivity, and an agricultural base crippled by war, enables them to dictate the high cartel-type prices for consumer goods in Luanda. The IMF has tried in vain for years to persuade Angola to abolish dual exchange rates, liberalise imports and implement other reforms.

This team is perfectly equipped to carry out the economic reforms needed to obtain an agreement with the IMF, a diplomat in Luanda said. However, many are concerned that the finance minister, in his previous position as head of Sonangol, helped set up a system that allows for the diversion of oil funds into private bank accounts.

Diplomats remain uncertain if the Angolan team has a mandate on implementing widespread IMF-led reforms, or if they are merely in pursuit of foreign loans. "On the other hand," the diplomat said, "David's track record at Sonangol is as an effective channeler of funds. We will have to wait and see what he does."

Unita claims total victory and hundreds dead in major battle

MD 5/3/99

(5)

LUANDA — Angola's Unita rebel movement said yesterday it had crushed a government assault on its headquarters in the central highlands, killing hundreds of troops and capturing equipment.

"We had an extremely heavy battle about 50km from Andulo where the government forces were totally defeated," Unita secretary-general Paulo Lukamba Gato said.

"Hundreds were killed, and many ran away, each one going in his own direction."

Gato said the rebels captured several tanks, armoured vehicles, artillery and other heavy weaponry during a battle on Wednesday, which he said involved an attack by 6 000 to 8 000 government troops.

He said Unita had suffered some casualties, but he would not give figures. In addition, he said that an account of weapons taken and numbers killed or captured would not be made until later.

Earlier, a regional military source said the government had attacked with as many as 15 000 men via N'harea, a town 30km east of Andulo.

Gato said N'harea was back in Unita hands.

"We have destroyed their access to N'harea; there are now no Angolan Armed Forces soldiers anywhere around Andulo."

State radio in Luanda reported yesterday that government troops had met Unita forces "using more sophisticated weapons than seen before" just outside Andulo.

Radio Nacional did not give details of the battle but said "military activity" continued around Andulo.

Despite a wealth of diamonds and oil, Angola is among the poorest countries in Africa. A 20-year-civil war between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's MPLA government and Unita rebels ended with a peace accord in 1994.

However, fighting resumed in early December when the government launched an offensive against Unita strongholds, frustrated by the rebels' failure to comply with the accord, which called for them to disarm, demobilise and hand back land.

Gato is seen as the second most powerful man in Unita (the National

Union for the Total Independence of Angola), which is led by veteran guerrilla Jonas Savimbi, who has not been seen in public since 1994.

After Unita repelled the government's December assault, it pushed north and west, laying siege to three government-held cities — Huambo, Kuito and Malanje.

While the grip on Huambo and Kuito has been loosened, Unita continues with heavy pressure on Malanje, a city of 250 000 people, 380km east of Luanda. During the past week Unita has shelled the city heavily, killing nearly 20 civilians, aid agencies say.

"We're keeping pressure on Malanje. They have destroyed a bridge south of the city but I think we have means to overcome that," Gato said yesterday.

Earlier this week Gato said it was not the rebels' intention to take Malanje, merely to keep government forces pinned down.

"Our plan is to defend Andulo, and to defend Andulo we have to keep up pressure on Malanje," Gato said. — Reuter.

Endless war of poor versus the miserable

Angola conflict seen as a grim Tom and Jerry show

Nicholas Shaxson

Financial Times

LONDON — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's problem with Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi is similar to that faced by Tom, the cartoon cat, suggests the writer Rafael Marques.

Tom never manages to catch and eat his small but elusive foe, Jerry the mouse. "They fight, with a lot of noise," he says. "Sometimes they almost make friends, and then they fight again."

Angola's army, fighting for a government whose oil exports were worth about \$3bn last year, has been bloodily defeated in battles across northern and central Angola since December by the Unita rebel movement, which digs diamonds worth less than a tenth of that.

Last week, the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping mission withdrew after the collapse of the latest peace pact, the Lusaka protocol. Unita has besieged the northern city of Malanje since January, though its shelling was reported to have eased yesterday. Unita was "playing games" with the army, a diplomat said.

João Lourenco, secretary-general of the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), said his government wants to "completely eliminate Jonas Savimbi's war machine". State television pictures a snarling Savimbi with "war criminal" stamped in blood-red let-

ters across his face. State newspapers damn him as a "bandit" and "terrorist".

Most analysts believe that despite Unita's military successes, the government's resource advantage will let it expand its territory, but only so far. The long-term plan may be a cynical acceptance of an indefinite, manageable war in which Unita forces are contained, while the MPLA controls main towns and survives handsomely on fast-growing oil revenue.

"This is a war of poor people against miserable people," a diplomat said. "The people running the show, especially here in Luanda, are immune from the tragedy."

In this scenario, Savimbi also accepts indefinite war as a natural state of affairs as he continues to punch out geographical and political space for himself. "For Savimbi, survival is victory. Looking at it that way, he has been winning for years."

Another peace deal while Savimbi is alive appears to be out of the question. The MPLA considers the two UN-sponsored periods of peace as having provided shields for Savimbi to rearm.

Unita officials hope that one day a military stalemate, combined with worsening social conditions and a growing perception of government corruption, will provoke a favourable political realignment in Luanda. "Unita's greatest asset is the government's mistakes," said a Unita official. "The government's biggest weak point is bad management."

The propaganda battle

A MOUNTING wall of propaganda in oil- and diamond-rich Angola is making the country's two-decade guerrilla conflict ever murkier and threatening hopes for a resolution of the civil war.

Since the end of Portuguese rule in 1975, Angola's government has been fighting a civil war against Unita, led by veteran Maoist-trained fighter Jonas Savimbi.

Over the years both sides have briefly held the upper hand, seizing a key town or taking land in the diamond-laden interior, but knowing who is winning has rarely been straightforward.

"It's very difficult to know what's going on. Both sides are hurtling the propaganda out," a Western diplomat in Luanda said.

"Most of the population in Luanda is resigned to accepting that both sides are probably lying through their teeth."

Being a guerrilla war, most fighting happens in rural areas or around provincial capitals. The rebels have never tried to take Luanda, the capital on the coast, where more than a third of the country's estimated 11 million people live.

Fighting has gone on so long Angolans are both bored and disillusioned, and from Luanda it's almost impossible for them to get a grip on the state of affairs in the bush.

More distracting is the propaganda campaign that government and rebels have waged for years and stepped up in recent months, since fighting broke out late last year after a four-year lull.

"Angola's terrain lends itself to secrecy. One has to expect a lot of disinformation, misinformation or even no information," Jan van Eck, an analyst at the Centre for Conflict Resolution at the University of Cape Town, told Reuters.

"Increasingly this whole thing will just descend into something very ugly and we will be witnesses after the event."

Recent fighting broke out in early December when president Jose Eduardo dos Santos, frustrated by Unita rearming in violation of a 1994 peace deal, launched a full-blooded offensive against rebel strongholds in the central highlands of the country, 500 kilometres southeast of Luanda.

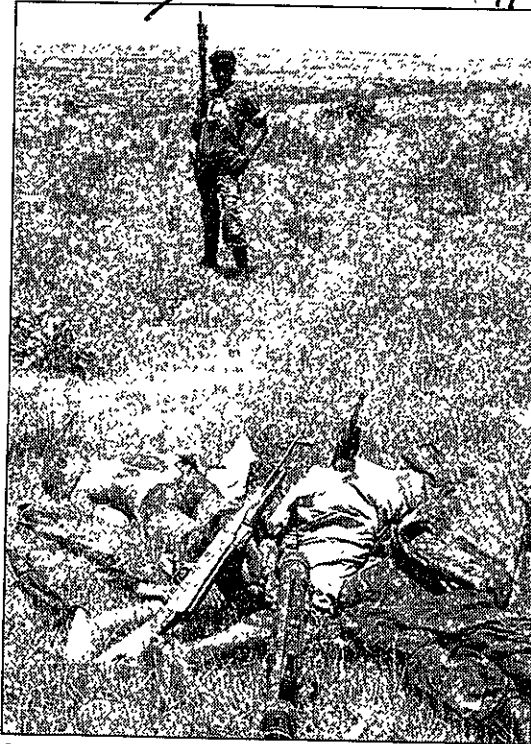
The rebels quickly repelled the attack, driving the Angolan army back to the government-held cities of Kuito and Huambo.

Both cities remain under rebel siege, as does the northern government town of Malanje, 380 kilometres east of Luanda, which Unita has been shelling on and off since January.

In the past three weeks, government troops have reapplied pressure to the Unita headquarters of Andulo, hoping to strike a psychological and tactical blow.

Last week a battle took place outside the stronghold. Unita claimed victory, sending faxes

Discovering who has the upper hand in the Angolan civil war is worse than looking for a needle in a haystack. **Luke Baker** analyses the situation.



An Angolan government soldier poses with bodies of Unita rebels who were killed during an attack on the city of Caala on February 5.

to the media detailing numbers of soldiers killed and tanks and artillery captured.

The government said it had made a "tactical withdrawal" after hitting rebel defences and remained committed to taking the town.

The truth likely lies somewhere inbetween.

"It's nigh on impossible to know what Unita is doing around Malanje or the government is doing around Andulo," an intelligence source in Luanda said.

"The government has been saying it will take Andulo for some time, and hasn't managed it. But it could happen next week."

Government propaganda focuses on Luanda, where it needs to keep residents thinking it has national security under control.

Unita meanwhile concentrates on informing the rest of the world about its activities in an effort to don a sheen of international legitimacy. It has in the past retained the services of a United States-based public relations firm.

"Unita has to give the impression that it is responding justly to government attacks and

make it seem as if it is ready to negotiate at any time," said the Western diplomat.

The rebels also have a radio station, Radio Vorgan, banned under the 1994 deal but recently reopened with the aim of reaching rural Angolans.

Since the United Nations began scaling back its peacekeeping operations in December, keeping tabs on rebel-government activity has become tougher, diplomats say.

Last month, the UN decided to make a full withdrawal from Angola after a 10-year presence, saying there was no peace left to keep. That signified the complete collapse of the 1994 agreement, known as the Lusaka Protocol, and means fewer well-trained eyes to peer through the fog of disinformation.

"The level of communication with either side, which was always poor, is now very bad," said Van Eck.

"The pulling out of the UN means a further process of severing international ties which is very negative. There's less observation and less credible information, which lets both sides slide deeper into war and puts resolution further out of reach." —Reuters.

● Unita rebels declared this week that their campaign would not waver in the face of government offensives and battles on several fronts across the country.

"The popular resistance will never spare its efforts to defend those excluded by the Luanda regime," said a statement. The crisis will only be resolved when all of "Angola's political, cultural and socio-economic landscape" is taken into account.

"It will be better for our common future if Jose Eduardo dos Santos quickly understands that."

Luanda cut relations with Savimbi late last August and then recognised a group of dissidents who disowned the rebels in September.

Late last year Dos Santos said he would pursue the "military option" against Unita, accusing Savimbi of reneging on agreements to disarm his men and hand over his strongholds to state administration.

In January, the president announced an "exceptional period" and reshuffled his government, purportedly to better crush Unita. — Sapa-AFP.

ANGOLA (7)

FM 12/3/99

REDEFINE THE PROBLEM

What matters most to parties

A new strategy is needed to end the agony of Angola's 24-year civil war, says Sean Cleary, a former diplomat and MD of the Midrand-based Africa consultancy Strategic Concepts.

He spelt out this view, increasingly held by "those who carry the tragedy of Angola in their hearts", in an address to the SA Institute of International Affairs this week.

The core of a new strategy, Cleary explained, must be "to redefine the problem as a deep-rooted conflict involving a clash of needs and values" and not simply to focus on the adversaries' interests (oil in the case of government, diamonds for Unita).

"Compromises are possible on the competing interests of the parties, but the needs of each will have to be honestly addressed and accommodated. The competing values of the constituencies each represents will have to be closely examined by the parties themselves, and their compatibility assessed," he advised.

This may sound rather abstract, Cleary said, but "it is exactly what was done in SA" in creating the national peace accord and the first constitution, by which the transition from conflict to political accommodation was managed.

He warned against the pervasive but foolish inclination in diplomatic circles to treat Unita simply as a "perverse rebellion led by a megalomaniac against a 'legitimate' government. The failure to ad-

dress the root causes of the conflict... in social, cultural and class terms... has been the primary reason for its durability."

The civil war between the MPLA government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement entered its third phase in December, during the ruling MPLA party's fourth congress. Dos Santos took a hard line against Unita's perceived failure to demobilise in terms of the 1994 Lusaka peace protocol, and decided on a military solution. Unita claims the peace plan was being used by government to systematically kill and arrest its people.



Independence: From Portugal, November 11, 1975
Leader: Jose Eduardo dos Santos (57), President Since 1979
Population: 1.5m (1995)
Area: 1,246,700 kms
GNP: \$1.4bn (1995)
Languages: Portuguese (official); Kimbundu, Umbundu, Kongo, Chokwe
Principal export: Oil (94%)
Civil war: Begins 1975 between MPLA government and Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement
1991: MPLA and Unita sign peace accord
1992: Savimbi rejects MPLA election victory; War resumes
1994: Lusaka Peace Accord signed; UN oversees disarming of Unita as negotiations continue
1997: Government of national unity including Unita formed
Dec 1998: Civil war resumes

Cleary argues that national reconciliation, national unity and nationhood are still foreign concepts in Angola. Neither the Angolan government of National Unity & Reconciliation (formed in 1997) nor the dominant element in Unita attributes good faith to the other party. Neither has a clearly defined strategy that allows it to move from conflict to political accommo-

its borders to displace those governments that have supported Unita.

Neither party has the strength to destroy the other, Cleary says. Unita probably lacks the resources to maintain its dominant military position for more than a few months if government acquires new weapons and foreign support, but it has appreciably more resources at its disposal

than it has committed to date.

"If Unita is pressed to engage in a full-blown fight for survival, the war will become nastier... with serious implications for existing conflicts in Congo (Kinshasa) and Congo (Brazzaville) and for Zambia," Cleary says.

However, even if Unita is defeated in a conventional war, it will retain the ability to revert to guerrilla activity. "Government's reliance on political machinations at home and military aggression against its neighbours — a style reminiscent of the Botha government of the late Eighties — is no substitute for honest dialogue and domestic political accommodation," Cleary maintains.

The war, he warns, must be choked off before both parties have fully committed to it. "As it appears that Unita has not yet crossed from seeing the war as an instrument to press government into a new round of negotiations, to acceptance of the inevitability of a long war of attrition, there is still a narrow window of opportunity through government has not shown similar flexibility, the fact that one side is not yet committed, and that the other has recently taken serious losses, presents an opportunity that should be seized."

The key to stopping the war, he argues, lies in stopping the flow of money that sustains it. Unita will not be able to conduct a long war without access to more diamond areas, and government relies on oil revenues for the costs it will incur.

To achieve this the UN Security Council would need to act with the support of its most important members.

But the core of the problem, Cleary says, remains each party's deep hostility towards the other.

At the risk of over-simplification, he says, the Luandan elites tend to see Unita members as ignorant, uncivilised peasants; incapable of contributing meaningfully to government, culture and society. Exceptions are allowed, but only those that don't disturb the existing social order.

"Savimbi is feared precisely because he does not accept the values of that order. He is seen as a dangerous, racist populist, capable of setting the masses against the

elite. The logical outcome... is the need to prevent Unita gaining power at all costs. Only thus can the civilised cultural values the *assimilados* learnt from the Portuguese colonialists be preserved."

Unita, on the other hand, tends to see the *Luandenses* as being foreign and even hostile to African culture.

Cleary may well be right. But the repeated failure of the MPLA and Unita to sink their differences suggests they will, after all, fight it out to the bitter end.

Amarnath Singh

Using force for peace

SINCE the war erupted in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zambian president Frederick Chiluba has been playing a very important role in trying to find a diplomatic solution.

In the past weeks, however, that image has been tarnished by Angolan accusations that he was using Zambian territory to transport arms to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola – together with Rwanda and Uganda – helped Kabila in his seven-month rebellion that ousted die-hard dictator Mobutu Sese Seko in May 1997.

Zambia was used as a springboard by Kabila's forces to launch an attack on Mobutu's Zaire. Nevertheless, this time Chiluba managed to stay out of the conflict.

Instead, he emerged as the leading negotiator in the conflict, partly because of his perceived neutrality. Four factors explain why Chiluba chose to stay out of the conflict in the Great Lakes region.

Firstly, if he supported Kabila, he would have reinforced allegations from the Zambian opposition that he is a Congolese citizen.

Secondly, supporting the Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD) rebels when geographically sharing borders with the DRC, Angola and Zimbabwe would have been suicidal for Zambia.

Thirdly, he thought being neutral and actively seeking a solution to the conflict in the DRC would restore the regional prestige Zambia enjoyed under Kenneth Kaunda's presidency.

Fourthly, given Zambia's economic weaknesses, Chiluba could ill-afford to be party to the conflict. Involvement would have provided the vibrant Zambian opposition with an opportunity to incite the public against the government's unpopular economic policies and ever-growing poverty in the country.

Regarding the last point, the recent bomb blasts in Zambia may be the work of the opposition using the clandestine organisation called Black Mamba, which emerged on the eve of the last general elections.

The opposition fears that Chiluba may stand for the presidency for a third term. By using bombs, the opposition intended to worsen relations between Luanda and Lusaka and force Angolan president Eduardo dos Santos to use his military muscle to undo Chiluba's government.

Dos Santos has been lobbying Angola's Southern African Development Community (SADC) partners for backing against Unita. The Angolan crisis, however, has never constituted a serious threat to SADC's survival nor has it ever been a source of conflict among its members.

(SAP) (5) Souletan 15/3/99
The Southern African Development Community will have to face up to facts in the Angolan war. **Claude Kabemba** explains what this means.



Zambian president Frederick Chiluba.

Now that Dos Santos believes that a forceful SADC intervention – similar to that in Lesotho and the DRC – was needed to weaken Unita, the Angolan crisis has become yet another test for SADC's survival.

It is how the countries in the region react – especially Zambia – that will defuse or increase tension within SADC.

If Angola remains convinced that Unita was getting support from Chiluba, it may just be a matter of time before Angola attacks Zambia. But military actions against Zambia would have serious implications for the region.

Such an attack would change alliances in the region and have serious repercussions for both the DRC and Angola conflicts.

Firstly, an open act of aggression would push Zambia to align itself with Unita for protection in the presence of a more powerful Angolan army.

Secondly, an alliance with Unita or an open conflict with Dos Santos would facilitate a closer relationship between Zambia and the forces fighting Kabila in the DRC.

In such a relationship, Chiluba may consider allowing the use of Zambian territory by the RCD rebels and their backers, Uganda and Rwanda, to attack the rich DRC province of Katanga.

Already tension is growing between

Zambia and the DRC since Zambia cut off the oil supply to Kabila. Let us not forget that Mobutu fell soon after Chiluba allowed the troops led by Kabila to attack the south of the country through Zambia.

Military actions against Zambia would increase insecurity for other countries in the region too. These countries would be forced to increase their defence spending to guard themselves against any external threat.

The increase in military spending would negatively effect spending on poverty alleviation in the region.

The Angolan and DRC wars have reached a point where the region cannot afford to contemplate a military victory of any side. All countries in the region should resist the temptation to provide military support to the belligerents.

If some are already involved in such activities, they should stop. Negotiation remains the best way to save Angola, the DRC and SADC.

At present mutual distrust and fear characterise relations among the region's leaders. It is a fact that mutual trust among governments restrains conflicts and fosters interdependence.

Conversely, when fear characterises state relations, interdependence is unlikely to remain high. Lack of interdependence and the presence of fear puts the region in a situation of perpetual insecurity, with potential military conflicts.

In fact, the insecurity prevailing in SADC ruins regional integration efforts.

The role of South Africa should be that of trying to rebuild trust among the different governments in the region. South Africa can succeed in that task only on two conditions.

Firstly, it would have to demonstrate its ability to take independent decisions. Secondly, it would also have to demonstrate its neutrality in the various conflicts in the region.

In playing that role, South Africa should aim to create a collective security strategy for the SADC. A collective security that is relevant for peace building will require the honest and constant exchange of views among the region's truly democratic states.

Consequently, "sustainable democratisation" in the entire region may be the only way to achieve permanent peace and positive transformation.

(The writer is a foreign policy analyst at the Johannesburg-based Centre for Policy Studies.)

UN envoy leaves Angola

LUANDA (AP) — A United Nations (UN) special representative quietly left Angola yesterday after failing to end decades of fighting between government forces and Unita rebels.

Isa Diallo, head of the UN's observer mission in Angola, was seen off by a handful of foreign diplomats and aid workers having spent less than a year in the country.

"It should be clear, we are not abandoning Angola," he said as he left the airport in the capital Luanda. "We have only pulled back, we will return as soon as possible. Just hang on," he said.

Diallo came to Luanda in the middle of last year to replace former special envoy Alioune Blondin Beye, a Malian law professor who died in a plane crash last year while on a peace mission to west Africa.

Soon after his arrival fighting broke out again, shattering a 1994 peace deal aimed at ending nearly 25 years of civil war.

The UN Security Council voted against renewing the mission's peacekeeping mandate last month, and set a March 20 deadline for withdrawal.

The UN says it is still fully committed to providing essential humanitarian aid to Angolans. — Reuter

BO 16/13/99

M&G 19-25/3/99

Unita threat to oil rigs

5
Howard Barrett

Unita rebels have taken delivery of new weapons which enable them to attack Angola's offshore oil rigs and bombard the nation's capital, Luanda, according to unconfirmed intelligence reports.

The rebels now have three Russian-built MI 25 Hind helicopters, with another seven on delivery. They have also recently obtained more than 20 Russian-built unguided ground-to-ground mini-scud missiles, known as FROGs.

The new weaponry comes from the Ukraine, according to the reports. Deployment of the new weapons would almost certainly entail an increase in Western diplomatic pressure on Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos to seek new talks with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

The Hind, a gunship and helicopter transport, has a combat radius of 160km and a total range of 1200km, said Helmut Heitman, South African correspondent of Jane's military publications. This would put offshore oil platforms, operated mainly by United States and French oil companies, well within range of a Unita attack. Ukrainian crews are to fly and maintain the helicopters, according to the intelligence reports.

The notoriously inaccurate FROG rockets would be suited to big-area targets such as cities, fuel farms or oil refineries. They have a range of up to 60km. They could also be used for attacks against a hydroelectric installation or big dam.

US diplomats stationed in Luanda, however, expressed scepticism over the reports of deliveries of Hinds and FROGs to Unita.

Independent South African military analyst Willem Steenkamp was also doubtful. He said the Hinds and FROGs would require considerable maintenance, and would need to be stationary for days or weeks, which would expose them to attack. He thought Savimbi was too canny a guerrilla leader to allow that kind of vulnerability. "Pliny the Elder said Africa always brings us something new," said Steenkamp, "but these reports stretch the limits of credibility."

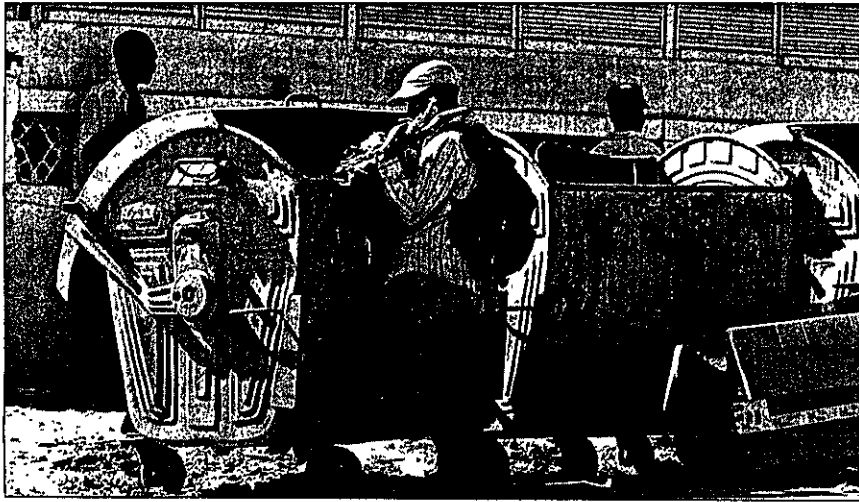
However, another South African-based analyst said that, during its military involvement in Angola in the 1970s and 1980s, the old South African Air Force operated semi-permanent maintenance facilities for helicopters inside Angola. These had not been identified or attacked by Angolan government forces.

Unita had long operated an air transport operation into and out of Angola, he said, adding that the rebel movement could create a relatively secure environment for a new helicopter force. "Angola is a vast country. Much of it is heavily wooded and it has a sparse population. There are thousands of places to hide a small helicopter force and maintenance capability," he said.

Meanwhile, Unita forces are providing logistical support for a group of Bakongo rebels fighting President Laurent Kabila's regime in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Bakongo rebels are being led by Rwandan military officers, according to *Mail & Guardian* sources.

The Bakongo force adds to the array of groups confronting Kabila. The main force, the Rally for Congolese Democracy, is an uneasy alliance of smaller groups operating mainly in the eastern half of the country. It is also backed by Rwanda. Uganda is the main backer of another anti-Kabila force, led by Jean-Pierre Bemba and consisting of former loyalists of deposed and deceased dictator Mobutu Sese Seko.

The *M&G* has also learned that Rwandan troops, rather than anti-Kabila rebels, were responsible for the recent heavy defeat inflicted on Zimbabwean troops near Kabinda in east-central Congo this week. Estimates of the Zimbabwean dead vary from 80 to 150. Zimbabwe has denied suffering a defeat on this scale.



A youth looks for food or anything valuable that he can use to survive in Luanda. An estimated 1500 youths live on Luanda's streets, coming from the Angolan provinces, as they flee the war between government MPLA and Unita forces, to find better living or earn money. PIC:AP

Luanda in decay as civil war rages

(5) *Soweian* 25/3/99

By Luke Baker

Few African capitals ooze affluence - but Luanda is truly in decay, rotting under the strain of too many people, too little money and dying hope.

A quarter of a century of brutal civil war has killed an estimated 800 000 people and caused a refugee crisis, swelling the capital's population to around four million, more than a third of all Angolans.

What infrastructure there is simply cannot cope. Roads and buildings crumble while garbage accumulates at a pace with the number of children forced to sleep rough.

Sewage flows along downtown streets into the once beautiful bay, turning a stroll among the palm trees on the sweeping colonial "marginal" into a fetid olfactory onslaught.

"It's getting worse," says 42-year-old Lourenco Pereira, who works in a shop in Luanda's chaotic centre.

"When I came here 25 years ago, I thought my life was going to be much better."

Pereira left Malanje, 380 km east of Luanda, in 1975 scared by fighting between the then-new Marxist government and a rebel Unita movement.

Twenty-five years on, the two sides are still at war. Malanje has been under rebel siege and near constant shelling for three months, provoking yet another flood of refugees into the capital.

Shanty towns

As they arrive they either join distant relatives living in one of the ever-expanding shanty towns on Luanda's outskirts, or head for the centre, intending to find food in one of the markets or shelter in an abandoned building.

Many of the displaced are children, their parents sending them to Luanda in the hope that they'll find a better life. Thousands of those children end up living out of dustbins and shining the odd shoe for short change

Across the street from one four-star hotel are six steel garbage trollies, guarded by six young men who pick through them for scraps all day and sleep beside them at night.

"I can't do anything else, I have to feed myself," says 17-year-old Pedro Adriano, who each day polishes the one boot of a uniformed soldier who lost a leg to a land mine.

Luanda's governor has tried hard to improve conditions for the street children, working with the Catholic

It's getting worse. When I came here 25 years ago, I thought life would be better

Church to find them better shelter and some schooling, but there is scarce money available for such programmes.

Everything is spent on the war. For as long as the conflict has gone on, defence has swallowed the lion's share of the budget, leaving virtually nothing for education, healthcare, welfare or development.

The skeleton of a 12-storey housing block which government started in the 1980s sat unfinished for so long that Luandans filled the gap themselves. Rooms were built from breeze blocks, with little gaps left for windows, and the building is now a living, breathing mass of concrete.

There's no plumbing, so residents on the 12th floor stroll along the unprotected walkway outside their homes - 30 metres or more up - down a flaking staircase to ground level, where they scoop water from a rain tank.

But Luanda is also a city of contradictions. The country's wealth of oil and diamonds has made many rich. Huge air-conditioned 4x4s dominate the roads, whisking their occupants in suspended luxury over gargantuan potholes.

Restaurants charging an easy R300 a head are regularly full and the expensive beach bars on a spit of land across from downtown are constantly abuzz.

The local currency, the kwanza, cannot compete against the oil-generated dollars which the wealthy generally use, meaning the exchange rate slides daily and inflation is extreme, affecting the poorest the most.

"Fifty million kwanzas this month is only half that next month," says Augusto Manuel, an unemployed shipping agent. "But a dollar is always a dollar."

Some of Luanda's wealthier residents say the city has improved in recent years, what with more restaurants and clubs opening up and new cars available on the market

But the vast majority knows better: that for as long as the civil war rumbles on, thousands more will be forced to

seek refuge here, and each day the government will spend less and less on them.

"I always hope things will get better, but I haven't been right in the past," says Pereira.

Meanwhile the UN World Food Programme tried to resume aid to the besieged city of Kuito on Tuesday, but halted operations after the first flight due to fresh security concerns.

"They flew in one plane with 17.5 tons of food but decided against two more flights because of the rapidly deteriorating security situation on the ground," Fernando da Costa Friere, of the UN Humanitarian Coordination Unit (UCAH), aid workers told Reuters.

Ten days ago, aid agencies were advised to evacuate government-held Kuito because of the threat of an imminent assault by Unita rebels.

Government troops and arch-foes Unita resumed their civil war in December, shattering a 1994 peace agreement.

Severely hampered

The attack on Kuito never occurred but efforts to distribute food and supplies were severely hampered.

Save the Children UK, which is handing out food to half the estimated 60 000 war displaced people in Kuito, says more than 15 percent of children in the city are malnourished, with many on the brink of starvation.

Kuito is now left with 300 tons of food, forcing distributors to halve rations and focus on the most vulnerable.

After 10 days of relative calm, security sources said the rebels resumed pressure around Kuito on Tuesday.

The town of Cunhinga, 30km north of Kuito, was believed to have fallen to the Unita guerrillas on Monday, bringing them within shelling distance of the besieged city. The reports could not be independently confirmed.

In its latest situation report, UCAH said residents fleeing Cunhinga had begun arriving in Kuito.

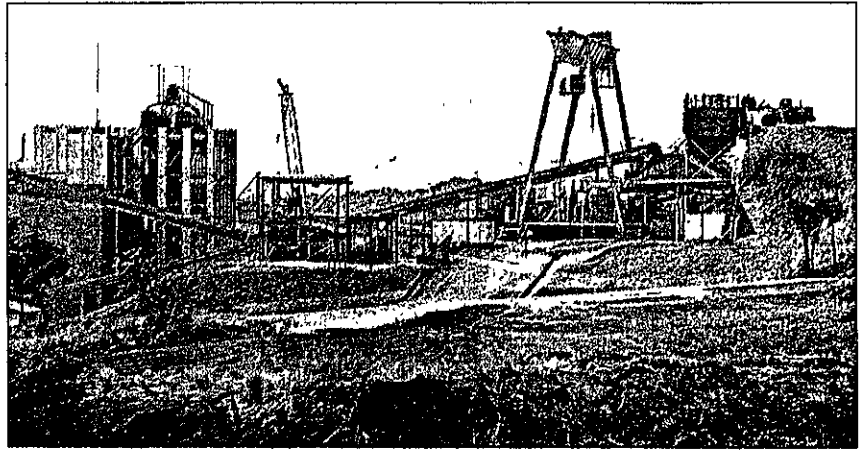
Recent fighting has routed more than 600 000 Angolans from their homes, increasing pressure on non-government and UN-related organisations working to stem the widening humanitarian crisis.

The 1999 aid budget for UCAH and its related UN agencies was forecast at R396 million. But UCAH says the cost of emergency food and of flying aid across the large and sparsely populated country could double - Reuters.

Angola's diamonds of contention

March 26/3-1/4/99 (5)

The outcome of a stand-off in the Malange region will determine the course of the Angolan war. Chris Gordon reports from Luanda



Under siege: Angola's diamond mines have come to resemble fortified camps. PHOTOGRAPH: THEMBA HADEBE/AP

The pilot radioed Luanda repeatedly: "Permission to climb; permission to climb higher." It was the first clear indication of war in the provinces. The small Beechcraft plane, heavily laden, was struggling to its maximum air height to avoid possible Unita missiles as it flew over the city of Malange.

Luanda had been subdued, but calm simply because little information comes in from the interior. Rumours ebb and flow through the city as word filters in from the fronts, but Luanda, torpid under the vertical light of the hottest month, is going about its normal daily business. The fronts seem a long way off unless you have family in the army or are trapped in the cities under attack.

But go out to the airport and it quickly becomes clear that the calm is an illusion. Tanks

guard the military section of the airport. On the tarmac, Angolan armed forces (FAA) soldiers or supplies wait for the planes that will take them east to Malange or south to Andulo, or Kuito where the battles are most intense.

We were flying to Angola's diamond fields, high above the battles for control of the cities. The diamond fields are the frontline in a terrorist war as Unita units raid villages and threaten the mines. The region has become an armed camp again since December, guarded by the FAA, by mine security guards, by local people.

The grass is still scorched by the side of the mine road where an RPG fired by Unita hit a security guard truck. At the moment Unita attacks by small units are being repulsed, but because of the threat of larger, retaliatory, attacks, the *Mail & Guardian* was

asked not to identify most of the locations visited; or people interviewed, during two visits to the region.

The raids are the opening moves in a strategy that could culminate in the recapture of the diamonds regions. Villagers are being targeted. A bus with 12 civilians was hit by Unita recently, killing all the passengers including two children. There was no reason for this attack beyond intimidation of the local people.

It is an effective strategy: the villages started to empty, leaving Unita to move unseen through those areas. Near one mine, Unita attacks have been recorded every two or three days since the beginning of the year. These go unreported. They are carried out by units travelling across the region or from the Unita bases to the north and the south.

Unita is raiding villages for food and supplies, even raiding FAA positions on occasion. The rebel movement is living off the land in the north. It is clear that the rebels have logistical problems, at least with food. The raiders are seriously malnourished.

and escorted by a truck-mounted field gun and a rapid reaction force from Alpha Cinco, the main security company guarding the diamond fields.

It protects the movement of all workers and supplies to the mine. After three major attacks on the road, resulting in the deaths of miners and security guards, it is the only safe way to travel — for the moment.

Mining companies have adapted to the new situation gradually as the pressure has built up over the past three months, until the mines have come to resemble fortified camps.

But there is no indication at present that Unita intends to occupy the mines yet again. These are high profile mining operations and the rebels would have trouble selling such identifiable diamonds when the capture became public knowledge. The otherwise ineffective United Nations sanctions on Unita's diamond trading may help protect the diamond fields.

Unita's strategy now is preparatory; the rebel movement aims to deny the government as much income from diamonds as possible. Mine managers have been targeted since May last year; almost all the companies have had senior expatriate personnel killed. The companies stayed put nonetheless and have been able to recruit new staff.



OBintahouse/PO3 99

To counter the raids, the government has reformed local civil defence units and armed more people. Young men can be seen on the roadside at the edges of the fields cradling their AK-47s and watching the long horizons of the rich hills. They guard the villagers as they work. Their stake is high; it is their land, their families, their lives that are threatened. They are effective as well; they track Unita through the bush and know their movements.

This intelligence, giving the possibility of an early warning of attack, is the mines' first line of defence against Unita's arrival. All the mines have built relationships with the *sobas* (chiefs) and local populations.

Since December last year, the stakes have been raised higher and higher, as mines have increased their security measures to counter Unita. Each time they do so, they know that the attack, if and when it comes, will be more intense than before. Mining directors now spend time not just running the mines but planning for attacks.

The danger is palpable. At one mine, we travelled the roads in a heavily armed conveyer, led by an armoured sweeper vehicle, a Mamba

The question at present is whether Unita will raid the mines for food and fuel supplies. Capturing diamonds would mean large-scale raids. Vital stocks at the mines are being kept as low as possible, but this pushes up costs; road travel is no longer possible so all supplies are flown in from Luanda.

If Malange falls to Unita, then the road to Luanda westward and the Luandas eastward, will fall under their control. The city is crowded with refugees who fled there for safety when Unita began attacking the villages in the province, and civilian casualties are climbing. The local people have few places to run to.

It is what happens to Malange, still under heavy bombardment by Unita after three weeks, that will allow the mining companies to gauge what to do next. For them the worst-case scenario is, as one miner put it: "We leave here carrying our dead."

AFRICAN BUSINESS

ANGOLA *The rich see improvements, but the poor know refugees will keep streaming in*

Luanda crumbles beneath the strains of war

CT(BE) 25/3/99 (5)

LUKE BAKER

Luanda — Few African capitals ooze beauty, but Luanda is truly in decay, sinking under the strain of too many people, too little money and dying hope.

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"It's getting worse and worse," says Lourenço Pereira, who works in a shop in Luanda's chaotic centre. "When I came here 25 years ago, I thought my life was going to be much better."

In 1975, Pereira left Malanje, 380km to the east, scared by fighting between the then new Marxist government and the Unita rebel movement.

Twenty-five years on, the two sides are still at war. Malanje has been under near-constant rebel shelling for three months, provoking yet another flood of refugees into the capital.

As they arrive they either join relatives living in one of the ever-expanding shanty towns on Luanda's outskirts, or head for the centre, hoping to find food in one of the markets and shelter in an abandoned building.

Many of the displaced are children, their parents sending them to Luanda in the hope that they will find a better life. Thousands end up living out of dust-



LIFE ON THE STREETS A Luandan youth looks for food or anything he can use to survive. An estimated 1 500 youths and children live on the Angolan capital's streets, fleeing the war between the government and Unita that has ravaged the countryside PHOTO AP

bins and shining the odd shoe.

Across the street from one four-star hotel are six steel garbage trollies, guarded by six young men who pick through them for scraps all day and sleep beside them at night.

"I can't do anything else, I have to feed myself," says 17-year-old Pedro Adriano, who each day polishes the one boot of a uniformed soldier who lost a leg to a land mine.

Luanda's governor has tried hard to improve conditions for the street children, working with the Catholic church to find them better shelter and some schooling, but there is little

money for such programmes.

Everything is spent on the war. For as long as the conflict has gone on, defence has swallowed the lion's share of the budget, leaving virtually nothing for education, healthcare, welfare or development.

The skeleton of a 12-storey housing block begun in the 1980s sat unfinished for so long that Luandans filled the gap themselves. Rooms were built from breeze blocks. The building is now a living, breathing mass of concrete.

There is no plumbing, so residents on the 12th floor stroll along the unprotected walkway

outside their homes and down a flaking staircase to ground level, where they scoop water from a rain tank.

But Luanda is a city of contradictions. Oil and diamonds have made many rich. Huge air-conditioned 4x4s dominate the roads, whisking their occupants in suspended luxury over gargantuan potholes. Restaurants charging \$50 a head are regularly full, and the expensive beach bars are constantly abuzz.

The local currency, the kwanza, cannot compete against oil-generated dollars. "Fifty million kwanzas (about R1 500) this month is only half

that next month," says Augusto Manuel, an unemployed shipping agent. "But a dollar — a dollar is always a dollar."

Some of Luanda's wealthier residents say the city has improved in recent years, with more restaurants and clubs open, and new cars available.

But the vast majority of its soaring population knows better. For as long as the war rumbles on, thousands more will be forced to seek refuge here, and each day the government will spend less and less on them.

"I always hope things will get better, but I haven't been right in the past," says Pereira. — Reuters

An expectation of war

source from 29/3/99

(5) (scribble)

ZAMBIA and Angola were whispering about war a year ago. Six months later they were talking about war. Now they are shouting about war.

The situation is so tense that a small spark could ignite what most Zambians have been anticipating: an Angolan invasion of Zambia.

Since 1997 Angola has been accusing Zambia of being an accessory to the arming of Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel movement. Zambia flatly denies this but Angolan president Eduardo dos Santos is not convinced.

Zambian president Frederick Chiluba brokered the ill-fated 1994 Lusaka peace protocol between Dos Santos and Savimbi, who was originally funded by the apartheid-era South African regime and the United States.

Unita reneged on the deal and the war has since escalated. Dos Santos takes little cognisance of that peace effort.

The question is who is propping up Savimbi?

Last year Angola accused Zambia of letting Savimbi use the country's airspace to transport arms, fuel and other accessories to Savimbi's eastern stronghold of Andulo.

They claimed he was using Ndola airport, on Zambia's border with the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Zambia denied the accusations but surprisingly fired top management at Ndola and banned Metex International, a South African airfreight company operating a Boeing 737 aircraft.

Airlifting of arms

Angola has since named Zambian vice president General Christon Tembo and former defence minister Ben Mwila, now energy minister, as the main figures behind the airlifting of arms to Savimbi.

In a three-page letter to United Nations sanctions committee chairman Robert Fowler, Luanda claims Zambia supplies arms to Angola through the Zambia Intelligence and Security Services (ZISS).

"Metex International used Zambian airports and airspace to supply material to Unita military forces with the Zambian government's consent," reads the letter.

While Angola was presenting its case before the United Nations in early March, three bombs went off in Lusaka.

One killed a security officer at the Angolan embassy. In all, 15 bombs exploded in the city.

The Zambian government hastily hired American FBI and Dutch military officers to investigate.

Involvement of top Zambian government officials in gunrunning seems difficult to prove. Political analysts agree that some individual Zambians were most likely involved.

Fears are that Angola may invade Zambia because it appears to be helping the Unita rebel movement.

Hastings Nyasulu sketches the background.

Whether top government officials were or not, Angola would like to persuade Zambia to fall in step with its neighbours in joint actions on issues affecting the region.

The Dos Santos government wants Zambian military cooperation against Savimbi to help cut the rebels' military supply lines.

So far Zambia has been the pariah. It has problems because of the absence of a clear regional foreign policy. Chiluba seems to have nothing in common with his neighbours.

By contrast, Angola has strong ties with almost all its vital neighbours - Namibia, Zimbabwe, Congo-Kinshasa and Congo-Brazzaville.

Angola cut Savimbi's traditional routes from the north by helping to engineer the overthrow of former president Pascal Lissouba of Congo-Brazzaville and Savimbi's once-ardent supporter Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.

Angola is controlling the air space in the two Congos with well-established battalions and radar systems, effectively creating a no-fly zone for Savimbi in the north.

To the south Namibia has tightened up its air space and is most unlikely to help Savimbi in any way.

The only air space over which Angola has little influence is to the east - Zambia.

The entire stretch of this long border is under Savimbi's control, in effect making him the neighbour.

The Angolans believe the war is unwinnable unless Savimbi is ostracised by all the surrounding countries. They are convinced that tight control of Zambian airspace is the sure way to throttle Unita.

Military analysts believe Savimbi's recent successful bombardments of government-held territory show that he has enough supplies to fight for much longer.

Augusto Manuel, Angolan ambassador to Zambia, says there is no way Savimbi could have survived until now without external support from a neighbouring country.

Angola further claims that Ugandan and Rwandan troops have been training Savimbi. Ugandans and Rwandans are fighting against Congo-Kinshasa president Laurent Kabila, who is bolstered by Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and faraway neighbour Chad.

Congolese Rally for Democracy rebels led by Professor Wamba dia Wamba, control large diamond areas. So does Savimbi.

So long as the diamonds remain in rebel hands the wars in both Angola and the Congo

will be difficult to control.

Chiluba has been trying unsuccessfully to broker a peace deal between Kabila and the rebels, but he is said to be more comfortable whispering in the ears of president Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and president Pasteur Bizimungu of Rwanda. This seems to be earning him mistrust from his neighbours.

Chiluba says Zambia has neither the capacity nor the will to fight anybody and for that reason will not go to war. "But we are ready to defend ourselves if provoked," he says.

Many factors stand in Chiluba's favour. A direct invasion of Zambia by Angola would be deplored by the international community.

No known organised rebel movement - through which Angola could channel military aid - exists in Zambia. Nor would an attack be likely to gain support among the Zambian people.

Acquiring arsenals

Although Zambia may not have the ground and air power to withstand Angola, the Dos Santos government would weaken itself by spreading its soldiers in the two Congos and Zambia while it has to face the menace of Savimbi at home.

Still, Angolan threats could push landlocked Zambia into acquiring arsenals and creating a regional military build-up.

Already Uganda has been buying highly sophisticated weaponry from Russia, China and South Africa. So have Zimbabwe and Angola.

It was a story about Angola and the Zambian army that led the government to lay police siege to the offices of *The Post* newspaper and arrest many of the staff.

The story said Angola's air and ground power surpassed Zambia's by a factor of three to one. Those arrested were ordered to be released by the judge but editor Fred Mmembe and eight reporters have since been charged with espionage.

Meantime, life goes on as usual in overcrowded Lusaka, where thousands of poor people pour on to the streets try to eke out a living by selling their wares.

And the headlines about a possible Angolan invasion hit the streets every other day. - *Gemini News*.

(The writer is a freelance reporter based in Lusaka and a former chief reporter for the *Zambia Daily Mail*.)

Govt 'vastly underestimated' Unita's

Four months into Angola's third civil war the country faces catastrophe as the main achievements of a four-year

Bd 30/3/99

(5)

LUANDA — When the Angolan armed forces sparked off the country's third civil war last December by bombarding Unita strongholds, government officials spoke of a swift, surgical, three-month campaign to wipe out the rebel movement.

Now, four months later, the same officials admit in muted tones that this is going to be a very long war. Western diplomats report that military intelligence is being purged, having grossly and repeatedly underestimated the military capacity of Unita, with lethal consequences for the government's forces.

"Unita is very well prepared, offensively and defensively," army chief of staff Gen João de Matos said during a recent visit to boost the morale of his forces in the besieged city of Kuito, in Angola's central highlands. "Our operations have not been very successful. We need to create better conditions for definitively annihilating the enemy." If not master of the military situation, De Matos at least remains master of the understatement.

Kuito, already decimated by months of bombing during Angola's previous war, from 1992 to 1994, is today again reeling from Unita's mortars. The rebels have advanced to entirely encircle the city, having inflicted the worst defeat of the last four months on the government forces two weeks ago.

The army sent a massive force to try to capture Unita's headquarters in Andulo, said a senior European diplomat based in Luanda. "They fell into a trap set by Unita and lost about 600 men, with over a thousand others wounded."

Reportedly the government force met no resistance when it tried to enter Andulo, 110km north of Kuito. The town appeared utterly deserted.

The government soldiers poured jubilantly into Andulo, birthplace of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, and began celebrating, whereupon Unita forces, concealed in bunkers all around the town, emerged from their hiding places and massacred the trapped government troops.

Similar setbacks mean Unita now controls virtually all of Angola's vast countryside, while the government nervously re-

tains only the besieged main cities.

In four months, the main achievements of the four-year peace process which followed the country's last war have been reversed.

Angola is again partitioned, troops demobilised by the United Nations are being re-imbled by both sides.

"What we are now seeing is a military game of cat and mouse," one UN humanitarian official explained.

"Contrary to everyone's expectations Unita is the cat, and the government is the mouse."

For Angola's long-suffering civilian population, the conditions are proving catastrophic. The UN Humanitarian Coordination Unit said more than 650 000 civilians have abandoned their homes with the resumption of the conflict.

They join the 1.3-million displaced by the previous war, who have still not been able to return home. The majority of the newly displaced are peasant farmers from villages in the combat zones around the main cities.

In cities like Kuito and Malanje, 300km to the north, where the airports have been closed by Unita bombardment, food aid can no longer get through, giving rise to fears of chronic shortages.

Even in the city of Huambo, 150km southwest of Kuito, where the airport remains open, food prices have increased four-fold since December as road access to the city has been severed and food supplies dwindle.

Aid agencies working in Huambo report that 15% of children under the age of five are already suffering from malnutrition.

"We are receiving World Food Programme rations once a month," Carlos Silvano — a 40-year-old teacher from the town of Vila Nova who fled to Huambo last December — explains.

"But the rations have had to be cut and they are not enough. Silvano now lives with his wife and three children in a disused hospital, on the outskirts of Huambo.

Since December the decrepit building has become home to 2 000 newly displaced people. They live packed together in indescri-

ably squalid, noisy conditions. Outside, it is pouring with rain, the courtyard is ankle deep in mud, and the building is filled with the acrid smoke of a thousand cooking fires.

"We had to leave home in the middle of the night when the fighting started," Silvano recalls. "We brought nothing but the children. We have no saucepans, no blankets, no spare clothes.

"We're very squashed together in here," Silvano, and hundreds of thousands like him, long to return home, but have little hope of doing so.

A military solution to the conflict is improbable. And while the Luanda government reiterates its determination every day never again to talk to Jonas Savimbi, a negotiated settlement also remains remote.

"We stand shoulder to shoulder with the men fighting at the front," announced João Lourenzo, secretary-general of the ruling MPLA party. "And we vow never again to negotiate with the terrorist and war criminal Jonas Savimbi." — Sapa-DPA

strength
peace process unravel

Angolan civil war spreading

(5)

31/3/99
Sewer

LUANDA - Angolan army troops and Unita rebels fought heavily yesterday outside northern Malanje, one of the country's main towns.

Residents said battles were under way less than 5km from the town between government soldiers and troops of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita).

Large numbers of residents have fled on foot or by car from Malanje, which lies about 400km east of the capital Luanda, heading for the neighbouring province of Cuanza Norte, said an inhabitant who was himself preparing to leave.

Since November last year, Angola has been plunged back into all-out civil war after it became clear that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi was not serious about honouring the terms of a peace pact agreed under UN auspices in November 1994.

The fighting outside Malanje began on Monday and escalated early yesterday, the witnesses said.

Ecclesia, a private Catholic radio station, also reported an upsurge of fighting yesterday in the small village of Kuiji near Malanje, in which an

unknown number of people were killed.

In the central city of Kuito, 14 people were killed on Monday during rebel shelling, the station said.

Government sources in Kuito said in Luanda that the shelling was continuing yesterday on the outskirts of the city.

Fighting for Kuito and Malanje began last November and has claimed 900 lives, according to the government.

Fighting was also reported in the far north, where the government admitted yesterday that Unita fighters had gained control of Maquela do Zombo on the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

Maquela do Zombo, in Uije province, is the main city en route to the DRC from Angola, on the road leading directly to Kinshasa. It was the scene of heavy fighting between Unita and government forces last November and December.

On Monday, the Uije administration said the rebels also controlled the DRC-Angola border along the Congo River, to the east, and as such threatened the sovereignty of both countries.

- Sapa-AFP.

Signs of hope emerging from the chaos in Luanda

(5) BD 31/3/99
Small steps have been taken towards sorting out Angola's economy, and there are indications that a financial clean-up may have started, writes **Nicholas Shaxson**

AN ANGOLAN businessman recently hired policemen from a powerful friend to evict the tenants of some apartments not far from Luanda's central bank, and he had official documents saying the building was his. But the tenants had good contacts in a more sinister arm of the local constabulary and they got their rooms back the same day.

Property rights, often rooted more in the political power of local partners than in legal details, worry many foreign investors more than Angola's long-running civil war, which does not directly threaten the capital, Luanda.

"I do not trust the legal basis of anything here," another businessman said. "But the profit margins are huge and there are ways to operate."

After the chaotic decolonisation which followed a coup in Portugal and independence in 1975, many Portuguese properties were nationalised. Different ministries often took over the same property and the mess has never been cleared up.

"It is a mix of capitalism, corruption and old Stalinist ideological positions," said a Europe-based Angola specialist, adding that the main economic sectors had been carved into private fiefdoms by about 40 or 50 Angolan families.

Since abandoning Marxism-Leninism nearly 10 years ago, the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola has allowed more foreign investment, but still keeps a tight grip on it. Many foreign companies form joint ventures with powerful local partners who help secure the investment, but typically take a 40% to 50% stake, creaming off profit without usually providing their share of capital.

From the diamond miners in the north-east, who work under management contracts for armed forces generals, to private helicopter companies backed by state oil company Sonangol, a local partner usually lurks in the paperwork.

Some of these companies are strong enough to exclude competition and such monopolies have helped turn Luanda into one of the world's most expensive cities, plunging ordinary citizens into poverty.

Security company Defence Systems Limited (DSL), which did not have a formal joint venture but largely relied instead on a relationship with Interior Minister André Pitra, known as "Petroff", was expelled last year after it became too powerful in the lucrative private security industry.

"Petroff joined the board of another company, and DSL was tarred and feathered and run out of town," a local businessman said. "But having a formal joint venture is not a requirement, it is just a strategy. If you know the country well enough you may try going it alone."

Bureaucratic Portuguese-era tax and



Political uncertainty before a government reshuffle in January added to Angola's crisis

customs legislation, which still requires archaic practices such as the use of wide-carriage typewriters, provides a maze of rules on which lucrative patronage networks thrive. This stable economic system, which mocks efforts by the Southern African Development Community to harmonise regional taxes and other legislation, will be politically hard to dislodge.

Clearing equipment through Luanda's cramped port can require 15 or more stamps, and most companies prefer to delegate difficult jobs like this to local agents.

A foreign businessman said vestiges of old command and control structures still counted for something, however. "In Nigeria or the Democratic Republic of Congo, nobody respects anybody, and a policeman at a roadblock will use his stripes to force you to pay up," he said.

"Here, if your paperwork is all correct, and if you are bloody-minded enough, they should eventually let you go."

In the oil industry, Sonangol has carved out a fairly trustworthy and efficient business environment. "If you bring in useful, focused high technology or training for the oil industry, Sonangol will make sure your investment is safe," the businessman said.

"But if you import second-hand cars, others can do that, so you risk being eaten by the sharks."

A cartel-like group of Lebanese and other importers act like agents for political patrons who influence the allocation of crucial import licences and foreign exchange.

However, a financing crisis caused by last year's oil price collapse and the rebirth of a long war in the countryside with rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola ended the regular "fixing" sessions through which business and other interests could obtain dollars with local kwanzas at a preferential official exchange rate. Political uncertainty before a government reshuffle in January added to the economic crisis.

"Business has been horrific for the past few months," an importer said. "Almost no dollars have come out of the banking system, and many people foolish enough to ship goods without cash up front got hurt."

The appointment as finance minister in January of the respected Joaquim David, previously Sonangol's MD, was partly aimed at spreading some of Sonangol's efficiency into the wider economy.

Small signs of this are emerging. The sacking of Petroff in January and the demotion last month of Gen Higinio Carneiro, considered two of Luanda's most powerful economic predators, may represent the start of some kind of financial clean-up ahead of yet another attempt to reach an International Monetary Fund structural adjustment agreement.

A few debts to foreign suppliers have been paid in the past couple of weeks. "There is still a lot of chaos but I see a bit of movement now," the importer said.

□ Shaxson is a freelance journalist.

Angolan war enters dangerous phase

Star 1/4/99 (5)

Analysts concerned over Unita's new fighter planes

REUTERS

Angola's civil war, one of Africa's longest-running conflicts, is entering a more dangerous phase after reports that Unita rebels have acquired air power, analysts said yesterday.

The Johannesburg-based Institute for Security Studies and diplomats told Reuters that Unita forces, led by Jonas Savimbi, had bought attack helicopters and Russian-built MiG fighters in a bid to end Luanda's monopoly in the skies.

"That is what we hear, and we are getting it from good sources," the institute's Jackie Potgieter said. "If true, this will give Unita air capability, which they have always desired but never had."

Potgieter said the acquisition could dramatically alter the course of the war between the embattled government in



Jonas Savimbi

Luanda and Unita, founded by Savimbi in 1966.

The oil and diamond-rich nation returned to full-scale civil war in December when a four-year-old peace deal collapsed after Unita refused to disarm, triggering a government offensive against the rebels.

Civil war broke out in Angola before it gained independence from Portugal in 1975, and has erupted sporadically ever since.

The December offensive against Unita's central strongholds of Andulo and Bailundo quickly bogged down after the rebels counter-attacked, grabbed huge tracts of land.

Unita, one of Africa's oldest guerrilla movements, has consolidated gains in the country's southern and central regions and northern diamond-mining areas. It has put key cities like Kuito, Huambo and Malanje, the gateway to Luanda, under siege.

The government, led by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, has confirmed that Unita has taken control of a sector of the Angolan border with the Democratic Republic of Congo along the northern Uige province.



President Dos Santos

Officials said Unita controlled large areas of the Zaire River, enabling it to supply its forces in border areas.

Since Monday witnesses in Malanje said, there has been heavy fighting outside the city between Unita and government troops seeking to break the siege of the strategic

capital, also a gateway to the diamond-rich Luanda region and neighbouring Congo.

Diplomats said Unita's acquisition of MiG-23 fighter planes and Mi-25 Hind helicopters would allow the movement to attack behind government lines as well as carry the war to Luanda.

"If confirmed, this is a very, very frightening development. It places the war at an unacceptably high level," said a Pretoria-based diplomat.

The United Nations formally ended a peacekeeping mission in Angola last month and shut down its operations on March 20, leaving the two warring sides to battle it out.

Government battlefield losses have seen it recall some 7,000 troops from the Congo, sent in August to back President Laurent Kabila against Ugandan and Rwandan-backed rebels.

Government forces claim to be in control of besieged town of Malanje

Luanda - The Angolan army said yesterday it was in control of the military situation in northern Malanje, which Unita rebels have been pressuring with artillery bombardments since November.

The Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) said a "certain number" of Unita rebels were killed, a Unita lieutenant was captured, and FAA forces had seized three assault vehicles from the rebels.

Fighting raged on Monday and Tuesday in the east of the major town, which has almost entirely emptied of its inhabitants, having earlier sheltered people displaced from fighting elsewhere in the area.

An FAA spokesperson admitted yesterday, for the first time since the start of fighting for Malanje, that the two sides were clashing on the edge of the town, confirming reports from witnesses.

Angolan humanitarian organisations said the fighting had intensified in recent days

Refugees displaced once again

with rebel artillery fire landing in the centre of the town. In Luanda, the Ministry of

Assistance and Social Reintegration said several hundred residents were fleeing Malanje towards the capital, 400km to the east, each day.

Before the fighting, Malanje had given refuge to about 150,000 displaced people, according to recent UN figures.

Meanwhile, an upsurge of fighting outside the central city of Kuito had forced humanitarian organisations to

suspend all flights to the city as from March 23, depriving about 80,000 people of emergency food-aid, the ministry said.

Kuito's airport is within range of rebel artillery. In Zaire province, in the north, two men were killed in an ambush at the weekend attributed to Unita rebels, the government daily *Jornal de Angola* reported yesterday.

Sapa-AFP



Zambian aid for Angolan rebels

Fears are growing that Angola's civil war could spill over its borders following reports that Zambia is aiding Unita. Ivor Powell reports

New evidence has come to light implicating President Frederick Chiluba's Zambian government in aiding Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita movement in neighbouring Angola.

Indications have also surfaced of Ugandan troops seconded in support of the rebels.

Aid with Angola's MPLA government already having warned the Zambians on three separate occasions of possible military action if Chiluba's government continues to aid Savimbi's military machine, fears are growing that Angola's civil war could spill over the borders as the Angolan military apparently prepares for a major offensive.

Earlier this week the Angolan Ministry of Defence issued a proclamation calling up the entire male population born between January 1 and December 31 1978 for military duty in the second half of this month.

The *Moz & Guardian* can reveal that earlier this year six MiG-23 fighters, piloted by Ukrainians, were grounded in transit at Zambia's Ndola airport for nearly two weeks. Approached to explain the presence of the aircraft, airport authorities claimed initially they were Zambian air force material and were undergoing repairs. Later this version was abandoned when it was pointed out that Zambia owns no MiG-23s.

Subsequently it emerged — as reported in the *Moz & Guardian* — that Unita had acquired six MiGs; the aircraft were traced back to deals with Ukrainian weapons suppliers. Unita's MiGs are reported to be based at Lukla airport near Chibhanda in Unita-held territory. Their acquisition is in flagrant violation of sanctions by the United Nations and other international bodies against Unita.

Analysts have said that the acquisition of the fighter aircraft, along with six Hind strike helicopters, could significantly alter the balance of power in Angola's on-

going civil war, giving Unita, which has in the past been largely reliant on relatively localised guerrilla tactics, the capacity to strike at longer-range strategic targets.

Meanwhile, in another development, sources inside Zambia have reported mysterious troop movements in recent months — apparently into Unita-held areas of Angola. In one such case, opposition United National Independence Party secretary Basil Kabwe told the *Moz & Guardian* personally observed eight brand-new military trucks — apparently part of a much larger convoy — in procession along the Shengombo highway leading to the border with Unita-held areas in Angola.

Number plates on the trucks identified them as being Zambian registered; however, the vehicles were not of a kind used by the Zambian military. Each of the trucks observed by Kabwe was loaded with around 30 heavily armed soldiers — likewise dressed in uniforms other than those worn by the Zambian army.

Unconfirmed reports have traced the route taken by the convoy back to Uganda — another of Unita's alleged allies. It is almost inconceivable that troop movements of this magnitude could have taken place without the complicity of the Zambian authorities.

Uganda's alliance with Unita is believed to arise from Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni's sponsorship of rebels seeking to depose Democratic Republic of Congo President Laurent Kabila. Kabila is backed by the Angolan MPLA government.

Last month in a letter to the UN Security Council's Committee on Angola, the Lusaka government registered similar claims regarding Unita and Ugandan support for the Unita rebels.

Angolan permanent representative Alfonso Van-Dunen alleged that in July 1998 a convoy of no fewer than a hundred trucks laden with supplies left Kitive bound

for Unita strongholds.

Van-Dunen's communique also alleged that a Unita representative, Angelo Bembo, was permanently in place in Zambia — under the protection of Chiluba's Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) — to oversee the provision of supplies. It is understood that payments for military assistance and supplies is made in diamonds. Last year international agencies estimated that Unita's haul from diamond mining stood in excess of \$300-million per year.

Counting contacts, the Angolan government claims, were guaranteed by a top-level meeting of four Unita generals with Zambian political leaders and representatives of the intelligence services between September 5 and 11 last year. In the wake of the meeting, a number of senior Zambian officials and senior intelligence operatives embarked earlier this year on a two-week "state visit" together with Chiluba to Belgium and Israel — both major diamond-dealing and cutting centres. No visible business of state was concluded on the visit.

Among the senior MMD figures directly named as being involved in assisting Unita are former defence minister Ben Myrtila, who is believed to be of Angolan origin, and Enock

Kavindile, a former commerce and industry minister and a close personal friend of Savimbi.

According to UN estimates, the latest cycle of war in Angola has left no fewer than 650 000 people displaced (from a total population of only 16-million) since April 1988.

In the middle of last year, up to 30 000 Unita soldiers were reported by foreign intelligence agencies and military analysts to be hiding out in refugee camps on the Zambian side of the border. Their status as potential combatants was in defiance of the 1994 Lusaka protocols where Unita agreed to demobilise and reconstitute as a civilian political party.

Allegations of top-level Zambian assistance to Savimbi's rebels have led to two diplomatic notes per hazes — threatening military action against Zambia — and at least one written threat since late 1997. Since that time, however — largely owing to huge weapons-for-diamonds deals and allegedly the assistance of allies like Uganda and Zambia — the tide of the war has turned. Unita currently controls around a third of Angola.

In the face of mounting evidence to the contrary and UN Security Council calls for Zambia and Angola to meet to address the allegations, Chiluba has consistently denied any Zambian involvement in the Angolan war.

SA hitmen sent to kill Kenneth Kaunda

Ivor Powell

A dramatic warning that two professional South African hitmen were inside Zambia and plotting with elements in President Frederick Chiluba's Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) government to eliminate opposition leader Kenneth Kaunda may have been the factor that saved the former president's life.

According to Kaunda's son, Major Wezi Kaunda, it was because he had been tipped off that Kaunda's SUV was not in the passenger seat of his Land Cruiser when it was raked with AK-47 fire at the gates of his home

in Lusaka's Kabulonga suburb at around 8pm last Thursday. Wezi Kaunda said the intelligence — of a four-man hit squad being assembled with two professionals from South Africa — had been passed on to the Zambian authorities but they failed to provide any protection.

It is not clear whether the alleged South African hitmen were actually involved in the attack last Thursday. Wezi Kaunda has accused Chiluba's MMD government of being behind the attempted hit — the third against his father in as many years.

It came the day after the Zambian Citizenship Board — in a bizarre explanation to a drawn-out citizenship

battle between Kenneth Kaunda and Chiluba — declared the former president a stateless person on the grounds of his Malawian descent.

The decision by Judge Siskala for the Citizenship Board contradicts an earlier ruling by the Supreme Court to the effect that any person inside Zambia at the time of independence could claim citizenship. That ruling was recorded in a case brought by Kaunda's United National Independence Party against Chiluba — in the light of evidence that Chiluba was born across the border in the former Zaire to non-Zambian parents.

The Citizenship Board ruling has been appealed in the light of the

Supreme Court precedent. Observers say it is almost certain that the Supreme Court ruling will win the day — allowing Kaunda to stand as a candidate for the presidency.

Chiluba himself, however, will need to change the Constitution in order to contest the presidency for a third term — which currently allows only two terms.

Despite public avowals that he intends to stand down, current indications are that Chiluba does indeed intend to stand for a third term — and that constitutional changes are in the pipeline. In the early part of 1998, a team of Namibian constitutional lawyers — fresh from introducing

changes to the Namibian Constitution to allow President Sam Nujoma to stay in power for a third term — were brought into Zambia by Chiluba. They stayed there for around three months, apparently drafting similar amendments to the Zambian Constitution.

These amendments were discussed at a series of meetings of senior MMD personnel during the parliamentary recess at the end of March this year. They could be implemented around the middle of 1999.

Sources close to the MMD said that Chiluba has banned his party colleagues from putting themselves forward to campaign to take over the presidency on his departure.



Implicator: President Frederick Chiluba's Zambian government has allegedly been aiding Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita movement in neighbouring Angola. PHOTOGRAPH: AP PHOTO/ADL BRADLOW

MHQ 9-15/14/99

Angola struggles with barrier to fresh loans (5)

DD 13/4/99

CAPE TOWN— Angola faces fresh trouble in raising money on international markets as a planned \$500m loan to be underwritten by Swiss bank UBS has run into difficulties, bankers said.

The loan would be partly used to service a 1997 UBS loan of \$400m.

A London banker said this week there had been less interest in the syndicate than expected. UBS declined to comment.

Angola's poor repayment record on an external debt now estimated at \$12bn has choked off most lending. But special oil-backed loans like the planned one from UBS have been available because state oil company Sonangol has retained its credibility and not defaulted on repayments.

Most of Angola's nearly 800 000 barrels a day of offshore oil production is being used to pay back previous loans.

Sources said more than half UBS's \$500m target had been raised, but the rest would be harder, partly because of a global reduction in banks' appetite for emerging market risk.

UBS's trade finance arm, which handles Angolan oil-backed loans, is being sold to Standard Chartered Bank and bankers said that uncertainty was making selling the loan extra tough.

In addition, rumours that Unita rebels, with whom the Angolan government is

fighting a bloody and expensive war, have acquired Russian MiG aircraft that would allow them to attack offshore oil installations, have made Angola look riskier.

Diplomats in Luanda play down the rumours, saying that while Unita has strong forces it is unlikely to have acquired jets.

Another London banker potentially involved in the UBS deal said: "We think there has been some misinformation, pitched at disrupting Angola's ability to raise money."

"Many bankers wish to spend neither time nor money investigating these reports more deeply — it is not their truth that matters here, but their effect."

Bankers say the new UBS deal is unlikely to collapse, despite the demise last year of some oil-backed loans that Angola asked JP Morgan, Paribas and other banks to arrange.

"It could be re-priced or restructured — or maybe the original transaction will still go ahead," one said. "The underlying fundamentals are sound and Sonangol has done nothing to tarnish its reputation. It's a victim of sentiment."

Even if no new loans come in, Angola has a limited revenue stream from residual oil royalties, and some revenue from a diamond sector which produced around \$190m last year. — Reuter.

UN drive to track secret gem trafficking gathers momentum

The embargo on Unita rebels' illicit diamond trade is proving to be virtually unenforceable. The obstacles start at home with the Angolan government, writes Francois Misser in Antwerp

THE implementation of the United Nations (UN) Security Council resolution, passed in June last year and imposing an embargo on rebel Angolan group Unita's diamonds, is gaining momentum.

On April 1, the ACP-European Union Joint Assembly, which groups representatives from African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, including SA and European MPs, voted in a resolution which called for "a thorough investigation by the (European) Commission into the conduct of the diamond trade with a view to eliminating smuggling by (Unita leader Jonas) Savimbi to fund his war effort".

The vote follows a call made in March by Belgian Foreign Minister Erik Derycke to the European Union (EU) to investigate the links between diamond sales from Africa and arms trafficking.

Derycke admitted that owing to the importance of the diamond sector in Belgium, investigations should take place there, and also in the UK and SA.

It is believed that about 80% of transactions in rough diamonds take place in the Belgian city of Antwerp, despite the fact that De Beers' commercial arm, the Central Selling Organisation, is based in London.

However, despite these recent resolutions, Unita's war machine has proved more effective than ever.

Robert Fowler, chairman of the UN Security Council sanctions committee, has urged member states to take further measures, including legislation to make violations of the sanctions a criminal offence and to get from private companies and individuals information on the illicit diamond trade with Unita.

British nongovernmental organisation Global Witness accused De Beers in December of having bought Unita's gems since 1992. De Beers replied: "We do not purchase any Angolan diamonds which may be offered to us where their provenance is uncertain. From the outset of sanctions, De Beers has been in contact with and offered assistance to the Angolan government, and has also written to the UN secretary-general (Kofi Annan), stating our position and offering assistance."

It remains to be seen whether this rhetoric will curb Unita's illegal trade. Global Witness, which focuses on the links between environmental and human rights abuses, also noted loopholes in the control of imported diamonds to Belgium where Angolan diamonds were described as originating from other countries.

Global Witness also charged that Zambian ministry of mines officials had provided false certificates of ori-



Only about 10% of the country's diamond output is exported legally

gin for Angolan diamonds smuggled out by Unita.

Jan de Kesel, general director of the Antwerp-based Diamond High Council, which defends the industry's interests, has claimed that the Belgian authorities are "rigorously" respecting UN sanctions.

Nevertheless, he says he does not know whether other important trade centres, such as Tel Aviv, are implementing measures to enforce the embargo. In any case, De Kesel says the real problem lies in Angola and its neighbouring states.

Angolan parastatal company Endiama has admitted that only about 10% of the country's diamond output is exported legally. Indeed, Global Witness itself stressed the Angolan government's "failure to operate a rigorous system of controls". Its certificates of origin do not bear printed names or titles under the signatures, and the government has not responded to requests from Belgium for a list of approved signatories.

One reason for this lack of transparency could be that Angolan army officers and relatives of the president are themselves involved in the diamond trade, and do not want to leave a trail of their activities.

Portuguese weekly Expresso reported in February that the Angola Diamond Corporation, a company run by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's daughter, Isabel, holds 60% of the capital of a concession in Lunda Norte. The contract was awarded to her through a deal imposed by

government officials who ousted the original contractor.

Another problem is that export routes for Angola's unofficial diamonds have changed over the past two years. Until early 1997, diamonds were smuggled through former Zaïre and Congo-Brazzaville and sent directly to Antwerp. However, the takeover by Angola's allies in Kinshasa and in Brazzaville forced Unita to find alternative routes.

Global Witness claims that one of these is Zambia, where a local newspaper has reported ministers confirming that smuggled Angolan diamonds are being sold in Mongu in western Zambia.

Another new route could be through Kisangani, in the rebel-held area of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Belgian state security is investigating claims that an intermediary of Antwerp-based diamond trader Glasszoll opened a gem-buying office there in 1998 and recently bought parcels of Unita's diamonds.

Antwerp is no longer the main destination for Unita's gems, at least not their direct destination: only 14 593 carats were exported from Zambia to Belgium last year, according to Diamond High Council statistics. Uganda and Rwanda, which presumably re-export Angolan and Congolese diamonds, sent only 11 303 carats and 166 carats respectively to Belgium last year. This is a fraction of Unita's 1998 sales of about \$200m.

Most Unita diamonds are now go-

ing to Israel, says a former adviser to Pascal Lissouba, ex-president of Congo-Brazzaville. Israel's sympathies for Unita are an open secret. Accordingly, an Israeli security company, linked to diamond and oil interests, facilitates the transport of the gems between the Zambian capital, Lusaka, and Tel Aviv.

Sources say it is possible that old routes via Togo and Côte d'Ivoire are still operational.

To complicate matters, diamond dealers concede that it is almost impossible to identify individual stones as Angolan because dealers often mix gems of different origins.

This leads Israeli diamond industry circles to dismiss the sanctions as "unrealistic".

In addition, a European Commission official says the organisation is not able to monitor the implementation of UN sanctions by EU member states as it is up to each member to do so.

The embargo debate has generated some nervousness in Antwerp's diamond circles. A journalist inquiring about violations of the embargo was recently threatened with death.

The secrecy that surrounds the diamond trade, major vested interests by arms traders and some African governments make the success of any moves to crack diamond smuggling almost a pipe dream. In fact, it is likely to make the smuggling circuits more complex.

□ Misser is a freelance journalist.

REST OF AFRICA

Unita claims 70% control of Angolan

Government morale is low and troops are fighting without boots, say the rebels

LISBON — Angola's Unita rebels are claiming they control 70% of the vast country, and suggesting that church groups mediate talks to end the civil war.

Unita forces have seized much of the countryside, the southeastern border with Zambia and the northern border with the Democratic Republic of Congo, the rebels said yesterday.

Government officials in the capital, Luanda, were not available for comment.

However, the government's army chief, Gen Joao de Matos, said recently that his forces were focused on defending key provincial cities.

This follows reports in the Angolan media claiming that Namibia and Zimbabwe are aiding the Angolan army in a major offensive against the rebels on the Congo border.

The rebels' statement yesterday said the Catholic Church and other Angolan churches were welcome to take part in negotiating an end to the conflict.

Angola's civil war erupted after the country's 1975 independence from Portugal. A 1991 peace deal collapsed the year after, and a 1994 United Nations brokered peace ac-

cord unravelled late last year as hostility led to a resumption of fighting.

Unita troops have since inflicted heavy losses on the government's forces.

The rebels are believed to have about 30,000 men, compared with about 100,000 on the government side.

However, analysts say that Unita's troops

are more mobile, include many guerrilla veterans and have more sophisticated weaponry than the government.

Unita also claimed in their statement that morale has fallen among the government's army troops owing to defeats in the battlefield and inadequate logistical support from army headquarters.

"Some of the troops were seen in combat with no boots or uniforms," the rebels said in the statement. — Sapa-AP.

territory (6) 00 30/4/99

World Bank issues deadline on Angola

Main change needed is accounting transparency

LUANDA — The World Bank plans to pull out of war-torn Angola until the country has implemented critical economic reforms, Angolan Finance Minister Joaquim David said yesterday.

The World Bank will suspend its activities in the country until September this year, David told independent Radio Ecclesia at Luanda's airport on his return after a week of unsuccessful talks in Washington.

"We had negotiations with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. We had the occasion to explain our calendars... The bank is now waiting for us to implement economic reforms."

The lender institutions told David the main change needed in the short term was accounting transparency, particularly in the oil and diamond industries. Banking privatisation is also a priority, he said.

David, former managing director of state-owned oil company Sonangol and respected in finance and business circles, is struggling to stamp out endemic corruption and disentangle the close relationship between the government and the

oil industry. *BD 4/11/99*

"The government is in a very tight spot," an economist in Luanda said. "They can't carry out the most basic changes. Take customs reform.... In theory it's very easy. But here, it would cost an awful lot of people a lot of graft."

After Washington, David visited Spain and Portugal, both of which have lent large sums to Angola in the past.

"Neither Spain nor Portugal are prepared to lend any more credit to Angola," Radio Ecclesia reported. Despite the World Bank's concerns and the resumption in December of the 25-year civil war between the government and the rebel Unita movement, the business world remains interested in Angola, said a US embassy official.

"There's an awful lot of potential out there for development and the US market recognises that," said commercial officer Patrick Dunn. "There could be a big market here." However, he said since December the number of calls from businessmen interested in investing had declined sharply. — Reuter.

LT 4/5/99 (5)

Angola police whip protesting moms

LUANDA: The Angolan paramilitary Rapid Intervention Police last week violently dispersed about 300 mothers protesting against the forced conscription of their sons into the Angolan army, in the northern province of Cabinda.

The demonstrations came as both government forces and Unita rebels are reportedly re-arming and recruiting fresh troops before the onset of the dry season which begins this month and is expected to result in a more intense phase of the war.

"The police arrested four women

thought to be leaders and violently dispersed the demonstrators," a resident of Cabinda told the United Nations news agency Irin on Friday.

"The next day the women went to the streets again to demand the freedom of their colleagues and a response to their demands. Again, the police whipped the demonstrators and dispersed them violently." The arrested women were then released to prevent any further disturbances.

It was the first public protest against the compulsory military call-up of all able-bodied men born in

1978, declared recently by the hard-pressed government in the renewed war against Unita.

Meanwhile, The UN's World Food Programme (WFP) has appealed to the international donor community to provide funds to airlift food to displaced Angolans in the embattled cities in the country's highlands.

WFP is seeking US \$8,8 million to charter cargo aircraft to transport desperately needed food to the war-affected cities of Cuito, Huambo and Luena where supplies are running out. — IFS

Angola approves three drilling licences

CAPE TOWN — Angola has approved the allocation of three drilling licences to BP Amoco, Elf Aquitaine and Exxon, according to an official.

Jorge Vandeste, director of negotiations for state oil company Sonangol, yesterday confirmed Angola's council of ministers had approved not only the operators of the blocks, which major oil companies believe may hold the largest untapped reserves in the world, but also the junior equity partners in each.

Vandeste confirmed BP-Amoco would win operatorship of block 31 with a 40% stake, Elf would win operatorship of block 32 with 30% and Exxon block 33 with 45%.

The licences involve water depths of more than 2 000m — known as ultra-deep — which are at the frontiers of world drilling technology. Norway's Statoil issued a state-

ment two weeks ago saying block 31 would also include Sonangol, with 20%, Exxon with 25%, and USX-Marathon with 10%.

Statoil is expected to take a 13.33% stake in the block under its existing international alliance with BP-Amoco. Vandeste said in December that he expected Sonangol to win about 20% in each of the three blocks.

Approval by the council of ministers is the last major hurdle before licence awards are formalised. The next step is to publish decrees in the official gazette.

Vandeste said: "After publishing those we will sign the production sharing agreements with the companies. At the moment of signature, we will make an announcement with all the details."

It will be "one or two weeks" before these agreements are signed.

Final announcements of the equity stakes in the three blocks have been eagerly awaited in Angola because of huge up-front down payments, known as signature bonuses, which the oil companies will have to pay for the rights to the blocks.

The country is in the throes of a huge financial crisis, provoked by the severe fall in oil prices last year, one-on-one debt repayments, and a resurgent war with well armed UNITA rebels.

The preamble to the 1999 budget reveals the scale of the problem: "Angola's access to external financing is almost at its limit... commercial lines of credit are over-saturated," it read.

Sonangol has declined to comment about the size of the signature bonuses, but many believe Angola may receive as much as \$900m in total for the three blocks.

Vandeste declined to say how

soon signature bonuses would be released after the signing of the production sharing agreements, saying it was confidential.

Oil officials involved in bidding have expressed reservations about the possibility of small equity stakes going to little-known companies with limited experience in complex deep-water projects.

"This is a big, big change and it is not viewed as a positive development by anybody," said a senior official at one of the foreign oil companies involved in the bidding.

Another said companies were worried about an increasing tendency for Sonangol — which plays a complex role in the government's efforts to raise money — to insist that foreign oil companies "carry", or pay for, its share of exploration and other expenditure in joint ventures. Reuters

(5) PD 11/5/99

Presidents intervene in stand-off over site

BD 12/1/99

(5)

(2/11/99)

Christof Maletsky

WINDHOEK — Namibian President Sam Nujoma and his Angolan counterpart Jose Eduardo Dos Santos are to intervene in the stand-off between officials of the two countries about the site for the controversial Epupa hydropower scheme.

Mines and Energy Minister Jesaya Nyamu said the Namibia-Angola permanent joint technical commission will meet next month to make the final recommendation on which Kunene River site the hydropower plant will be built — at the Baynes site in Angola or the Epupa site in Namibia.

It was most likely that no agreement would be reached, and Nyamu said the matter would be referred to the presidents for arbitration.

Since the completion of the feasibility study last year, Angola and Namibia have been at loggerheads over where to construct the power generator.

Angola wants the hydroelectricity project stationed at Baynes, 40km downstream from the Epupa falls, which is on the Namibian side.

The Angolans would use the construction of the project to canvas for funding to repair the Gove dam which has been damaged in the civil war between Unita rebels and Luanda, and has not been regulated since 1975.

Namibia is adamant that the plant should be built at the Epupa falls, arguing that Baynes is too small.

This is despite the fact that Baynes is seen as environmentally and socially more acceptable, and will have less impact on the nomadic Himba communities in the Kunene region.

Namibia says a dam at Baynes would be more prone to the effects of drought.

Namibia is also wary of Baynes as it is reliant on the functioning of the Gove dam, which will take millions of dollars to repair.

Namibia has taken flak from the Himba communities living around Epupa who say the electricity project will displace them, destroy their lifestyle and flood ancestral graves.

The site at Epupa — 7km downstream from the falls — is expected to displace 700 Himba people.

The actual construction is not likely to kick off this year.

The final report of the feasibility study by a consortium of Namibian, Swedish, Norwegian and Angolan consultants said that the environmentally more damaging Epupa Falls site would be the more economically viable option for the project.

The final report includes comments from the Namibian-Angolan permanent joint technical commission, which oversaw the feasibility study process, on the outcome of public hearings held in Angola and Namibia on the scheme.

These inputs were also based on the comments of organisations such as the World Conservation Union (IUCN) and the Norwegian Water and Energy Administration directorate, which were specifically requested to review the draft final report released in October last year.

Acknowledged shortcomings in the draft final report — which had to be addressed before the completion of the final report — included the consideration of measures to lessen the impact on the Himba communities affected by the building of the scheme.

The draft final report put the total price for the Epupa site project at \$539.4m and the cost of the Baynes site scheme at \$551.2m.

Angola and Zambia walk out of talks

(7)

BD 13/5/99

Meeting quickly became bogged down over the Unita issue

TALKS to ease tension between Angola and Zambia broke down this week, with Zambian officials accusing Luanda of failing to back up claims that President Frederick Chiluba's government supports Unita rebels.

"I am afraid the talks have collapsed mainly because Angola failed to come up with the much touted evidence that we are supporting Unita," said an aide to Zambian security chief Frank Chungu.

The meeting of defence ministers and intelligence chiefs began in Swaziland's capital Mbabane early on Tuesday, but quickly became bogged down over the Unita issue.

"The Swaziland government concluded it would be pointless to continue the meeting in the absence of evidence from Angola," said another Zambian official.

"The meeting was accordingly brought to an abrupt end and we are going back home tomorrow," the official said.

Angola claims that Zambia provides military and logistical support to Unita and that diamonds mined by the rebel group make their way to international markets through Zambia.

Zambia has repeatedly denied the allegations and has openly challenged Angola to substantiate the claims or subject any evidence to international scrutiny.

The meeting of defence and security ministers and intelligence chiefs was meant to lower rising tension between the neighbours.

The closed-door talks were hosted by Swaziland's King Mswati III amid fears by regional analysts that the tension could lead to a new African conflict.

Officials said the talks, an initiative by the 14-nation Southern African Development Community (SADC) which includes Angola, Zambia and SA, would include an investigation into Angola's charges of Zambian involvement in arming Unita.

Analysts said that at the heart

of the matter was Angola's belief that Zambia was using its military muscle to bolster Unita, allowing it to make gains in fighting in the oil- and diamond-rich southern African nation.

Zambia says the accusations emanate from Lusaka's refusal to allow Angola to hit back at Unita through Zambian territory.

Unita has been fighting the government since independence in 1975 after Portugal withdrew from the territory.

SA President Nelson Mandela, who has intervened several times to try to ease tension between Angola and Zambia, welcomed reports of the talks earlier this week as evidence that African leaders were ready to address their own problems.

Angolan military involvement helped to overthrow governments in the Congo Republic and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (then Zaire) in 1996 and 1997 after Luanda accused them of backing Unita. — Reuter.

AP Wire

Angola tries for more support

BD 19/7/99
⑦
Stephen Laufer

ANGOLA's foreign minister Joao Miranda spent yesterday in Pretoria in an apparent bid to gain increased SA support for his government's war effort against Jonas Savimbi's rebel group Unita and for the ailing Angolan economy.

Speaking after meeting Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo, his deputy Aziz Pahad and a number of senior officials, Miranda said there had been consensus on the need to put new life into a number of bilateral agreements signed during President Nelson Mandela's state visit to Luanda. The two countries had so far not done enough to realise the economic and human potential the agreements could mobilise.

But SA officials seemed more sceptical of the short-term prospects for the economic, scientific, technical, cultural and political agreements as long as the Angolan war rages. Nzo said that regular

meetings between the foreign ministers had been agreed.

While supporting international sanctions against Savimbi, SA is keen to focus international efforts on moves to peace. Miranda said peace was "only possible through the isolation of Savimbi".

Pahad said discussions with the United Nations security council envoy on sanctions against Unita were continuing. They were focusing on tightening the embargo on Unita's diamond exports and on cutting supplies to the rebels of fuel, arms and mercenaries.

Miranda said he had been encouraged by the discussions which had included "the defence sector". Neither Miranda nor Nzo would be drawn on details of the defence discussions, with Nzo apparently seeking to play down their significance.

Officials said there was no immediate prospect of SA military support for the Angolan government.

BY ROSS HERBERT
Star Foreign Service

SA rejects Angolan request for military aid to crush Unita

Angola's foreign minister has been in South Africa since Tuesday to garner support for the intensifying war against the Unita rebel movement. His request for military aid, which was rejected by SA, represents a difficult diplomatic challenge South African policy sup-

ports the Luanda government but is firmly against military involvement in a civil war that both sides have the capacity to drag out for years but which neither side can win.

The Angolan government attacked Unita's central highlands strongholds in December but was beaten back, and has recently acknowledged Unita has the military advantage.

That shift in fortunes, diplomats said, has led Angola to seek help from SA and other nations in the region.

Angolan Foreign Minister Joao Miranda, South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo expressed full political support for the Angolan government and pledged to back regional and UN efforts to cut Unita's supply lines.

Diplomats in Angola said Unita had brought guerrilla units within 60km of Luanda, whose presence was having a psychological impact.

"Angola's people must reach the conclusion that peace is essential to that country's future. And that conclusion must be

SA 20/5/79

reached by them. Unless they do, it will be difficult to intervene from outside," said Jackie Selebi, director-general of SA's Department of Foreign Affairs.

Years of broken peace pledges, deceit and intrigue by Unita and the government have created a climate of such bitter distrust that both sides believe battle is a preferable alternative to a political settlement.

BELEAGUERED ANGOLA ASKS FOR HELP

SA says no to military aid

(7) CT 21/7/99

JOHANNESBURG: Angola, facing mounting losses as it fights wars on three fronts, may soon need outside help, analysts say.

ANGOLA'S foreign minister, in South Africa this week to garner support in the intensifying war against Unita, had his request for military assistance turned down, diplomats said.

The request for aid was a difficult diplomatic challenge, as South Africa supports the Luanda government, but is firmly against military involvement in a civil war that both sides have the capacity to drag out for years.

The Angolan government attacked Unita's central highlands strongholds in December but was beaten back and in recent weeks has acknowledged that Unita has the military advantage.

That shift in fortunes, diplomats said, has led Angola to seek assistance from South Africa and

other nations in the region.

Angola-SA relations have long been cool because Angola believes the ANC government should have offered military support against Unita as a payback for the years of costly support Angola gave the ANC during the struggle.

In a press conference with Angolan Foreign Minister Joao Miranda, South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo expressed full political support for the Angolan government and pledged to back regional and UN efforts to cut Unita's supply lines.

"The Angolan people must reach a conclusion that peace is essential to the future of that country. And that conclusion must be reached by them. Unless they do, it will be difficult to intervene from

outside," said Jackie Selebi, director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Years of broken peace pledges, deceit and intrigue by Unita and the government have created a climate of such bitter distrust that both sides believe battle is preferable to a political settlement.

Angola also wants Pretoria to rein in up to 400 of its nationals working with Unita — skilled white former officers now running the rebels' command and control facilities, air defence systems and field combat operations.

In Congo Brazzaville, where Angola deployed over 1 000 of its best troops to oust President Pascal Lissouba in 1997, it is under siege from militias seeking to topple its protégé Denis Sassou Nguesso.

Last week, that effort erupted into renewed war when the militias almost captured the airport in Brazzaville, but were repulsed with the aid of Angolan troops.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Angolan forces are key to keeping the western front open and secure from rebel assault.

Back at home, Angola is battling to end a bush war with separatists in Cabinda, the oil-rich enclave between the two Congos.

Analysts are questioning whether Angola can maintain its military commitments and survive.

"Angola certainly needs help to reverse the tide against Unita," a researcher at the SA Institute for International Affairs said.

A military analyst said Angola's army may have underestimated the enemy. "Poor intelligence, arrogance and lack of strategy have played a big part in Angolan losses at home and abroad," he said.

"They attacked Unita at a time when they wrongly thought Unita was too weak to fight and they went to the Congos without analysing the enemy's capacity and resolve to fight," he said. — IFS, Reuter

SA offers Angola aid and police training

(5)

Star 22/5/99

Efforts being made to solve neighbour's problems once and for all

By **PEDRO NETO, HANS PIENAAR**
and **PETER FABRICIUS**
INDEPENDENT FOREIGN SERVICE

The Angolan government says the South African government this week offered to help train its police force and to provide humanitarian assistance to help alleviate the effects of war.

Angola's ambassador to South Africa, Alexandre Rodrigues Kito, said on Angolan radio that, in a meeting this week, Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo had offered his Angolan counterpart, Joao Miranda, South African training for "Angolan cadres in the defence sphere, especially the police".

However, Miranda himself only mentioned that SA had offered training for police and there was no evidence that SA had offered any kind of military assistance. South African government sources earlier said Miranda had asked for South African military support but had been turned down.

Angolan government sources denied that they had asked for South African military assistance. The Angolan officials were speaking in an interview with National Radio of Angola. Kito also said Deputy President Thabo Mbeki had promised to seek concerted action by the Southern African Development Community to help resolve the

conflict in Angola. He did not elaborate.

Sending policemen into neighbouring countries is reminiscent of tactics used by the previous regime during its campaigns in or against the Frontline States. South African policemen used to fight side by side with the forces of white minority governments such as those of then Rhodesia and South West Africa against guerrillas of various liberation armies.

Military sources admitted at the time that the police presence was meant primarily as a cover for military activity.



GO-BETWEEN:
Minister of
Foreign Affairs
Alfred Nzo

Most of this amounted to signallers conducting "electronic warfare", or eavesdropping on army radio networks on the subcontinent, but later in the bush war the army launched hot-pursuit raids in southern Rhodesia. However, there is no evidence that training police in Angola would be done with the same purpose.

Director-general of foreign affairs Jackie Selebi said this week that military intervention in the form of peace-keeping operations in any African country would happen only as a last resort. At this stage, SA was focusing on building up an early-warning

surveillance and intelligence capacity.

Kito said the SA government had admitted that private South African citizens were supplying the Angolan government's enemy, Unita, and promised that efforts were being made to solve the problem once and for all.

Kito emphasised that the South African officials had demonstrated that the SA government itself was not supporting Unita.

Reuters reported yesterday that the Angolans had asked SA to do something about 400 former South African military officials operating Unita's command headquarters.

Meanwhile the humanitarian problem in Angola has reached crisis point, according to the World Food Programme, which said this week its food stocks would last only another two months. If its funds were not replenished, a catastrophe would ensue.

Catholic Radio reported in Luanda that Pretoria would send a fact-finding team to evaluate the humanitarian crisis and the need for assistance.

The WFP has appealed to the international community for about R680-million to feed 1,5 million people. Francesco Stripoli, WFP director in Angola, said food supplies in Huila province, in the south, were about to collapse. "The situation in Angola is very serious. We hope the donors respond positively."

Sanctions are what Angola is

In the twisted logic of war in Angola, United Nations efforts to tighten sanctions against the Unita rebel movement may be turning both sides in the civil war away from thoughts of reconciliation towards planning for a long conflict. Canada, which energetically pushed for the global treaty banning landmines, is in the driver's seat on Angola sanctions, to which it is expected to bring similar verve.

Robert Fowler, Canada's UN ambassador and chairman of the UN committee on sanctions against Unita, has been touring the region on a fact-finding mission aimed at enforcing the strict trade sanctions on Unita that the movement has apparently had little trouble violating.

Fowler hopes to build a far tighter net around Angola through a variety of measures. Among them, he is looking at cutting the illegal trade in diamonds from which Unita finances itself, beefing up border control, tightening financial controls on those trading with Unita, examining how to track and control the currently uncontrolled airspace around Angola, and limiting overland shipments of arms and diesel.

After months of low-level banditry, open war erupted in December when hawks in Luanda decided to attack Unita's central highland strongholds, which Unita had, under the Lusaka peace agreement, pledged to hand over to government control but delayed for months. Unita smashed the government attack with surprisingly well-equipped forces that, only weeks before, Unita claimed had been fully disarmed and demobilised. Unita subsequently went on the offensive, apparently consuming large amounts of fuel and ammunition in what regional diplomats surmise was an effort to show the Luanda government that the rebels could not be crushed and must be negotiated with.

Earlier this year, Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos was quoted as declaring that war "is the only road to peace in

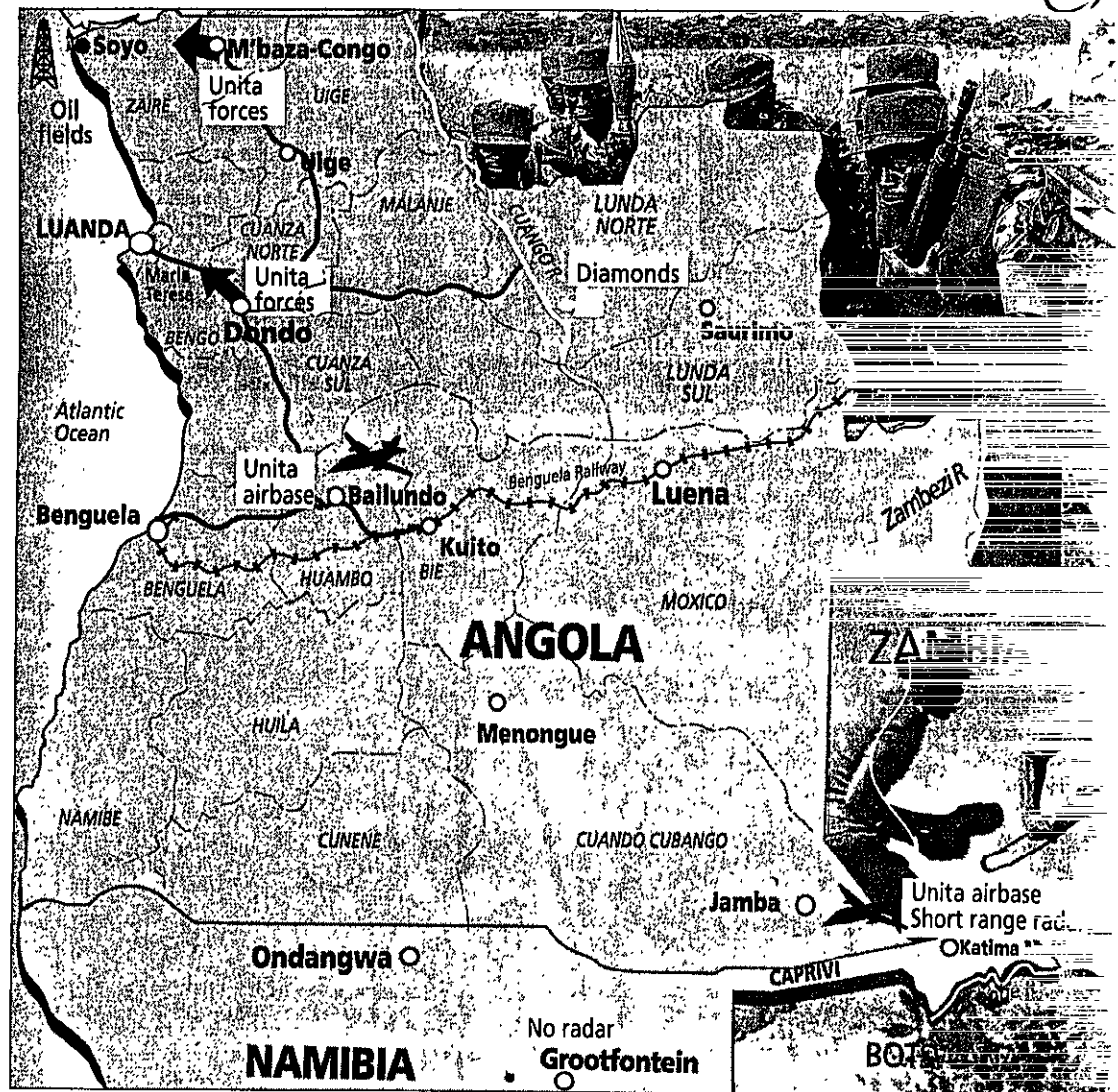
Unita forces have advanced to points an hour's drive from Luanda, striking fear into the local population

Angola". Diplomatically, South Africa this week turned aside an Angolan request for military support, arguing instead that outside intervention could achieve little until both parties in the fight became convinced that a political settlement was the only way out.

Knowing where the battle lines are is next to impossible, with both sides engaged in sometimes true, sometimes completely fabricated bits of disinformation. Unita forces, most likely small bands of infiltrators, have advanced to points an hour's drive from Luanda, striking fear into the local population and producing an influx of refugees in the capital. But recent reports that Unita had bought attack helicopters and MIG-23 fighter planes have not been followed by any evidence of their actual use, leading to speculation that the story was either planted by Unita to demoralise its enemy or by the government to convince the international community that arms smuggling had got so out of hand that drastic action was needed.

While Fowler's visits have been welcomed, diplomats have asked whether his mission has convinced Unita that the world is united against it; and that its hopes of spending its arms stocks in an effort to force the government to reopen peace talks are doomed, and thus it must make preparations for either a long campaign or an intensified fight to gain ground before Fowler succeeds in choking off supplies.

On Monday, Unita secretary-general Paulo Lukamba Gato, number two to Jonas Savimbi, said Unita had reinforced its positions near Luanda, in diamond areas in the north and along the frontier with the



UN's good intentions may push both sides into

Democratic Republic of Congo. He said mobile Unita units were also eyeing onshore oil fields near the northern town of Soyo.

Another persuasive interpretation is that the only real concessions Unita has ever made came after a period of great setbacks on the battlefield in 1994. As soon as the threat of imminent defeat was averted through the Lusaka talks, Savimbi began stalling and re-arming.

"I could not in good conscience tell the Angolan government only to negotiate. He (Savimbi) lies as easily as you and I breathe," said one Luanda-based diplomat who doubted that Fowler could ever truly cut off Unita supply lines but reckoned that "anything that makes life more difficult for Savimbi will help".

In the past, Savimbi was able to import arms by rail through Zambia from ports in Tanzania. Harder to stop will be the shipment of arms by air from the former Soviet bloc. Savimbi has been flying in former

Eastern-bloc arms on Russian-made cargo planes, which are large enough to carry as many as six armoured personnel carriers in one flight. The planes stop at Uganda's Entebbe airport, where they pick up enough fuel to fly to Unita territory - typically its stronghold at Bailundo - and return to Entebbe to refuel for the return journey.

Uganda, which is deeply involved in the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, is effectively allied against the Luanda government, whose mechanised units are supporting Laurent Kabila

Attempts to throw a net around the already war-ravaged country to avert

further conflict appear futile, writes Independent Foreign Service's ROSS HERBERT



against Uganda, Zaire, Burundi and Congolese rebel forces.

Even without UN sanctions, it would be virtually impossible under current international law to stop the air arms traffic. Africa can make refuelling stops at virtually any airport in Africa without having to declare their cargo. The easiest way to stop the arms traffic is to get an agreement from all

possible African governments would be to use radar and Angola's fighter aircraft.

Using radar and Angola's fighter aircraft.

ions are not Angola needs

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If action is not taken to halt the supplies, Fowler is reportedly ready to publicly embarrass governments in the region by naming names, which could endanger the flow of IMF World Bank and bilateral aid.

Another Fowler mission will be to get governments in the region to enact legislation outlawing trade with Unita. So far no African government - including South Africa's - has passed legislation directly outlawing such trade or declaring penalties for violators of authorised UN sanctions. One possibility is for Fowler to bring in UN police investigators, seconded from member governments, to trace shipments and target companies dealing with Unita. Creating such an investigative force would take months to build.

The last piece of the sanctions puzzle is the diamond trade. Angola's total production - illegal and legal - is estimated at around R5.6-billion a year, of which roughly R2.8-billion flows through legal Angolan channels. De Beers, which met with Fowler, denies having any diamond dealings in Angola outside of its joint ventures with the government.

Corporate spokesman Tom Tweedy argues that it is virtually impossible to halt illegal diamond sales because of the thousands of highly secretive diamond buyers spread across the globe. Such buyers know that undocumented stones from war zones like Angola and Sierra Leone can be purchased at a discount, which means powerful financial incentives exist to get the stones into the world market.

Jakkie Potgieter, security analyst at the Institute for Security Studies, said: "The diamond trade is going to be the most difficult link to cut, contrary to popular belief. If you have a sympathetic government it is easy to get a certificate of origin for diamonds (The diamond trade) is like the drug issue. How long have we been battling that issue?"

A key factor in any Angolan calculations is Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

De Beers denies having any diamond dealings in Angola outside of its joint venture with government

South African diplomats this week said Mugabe's senior officials are desperately seeking South African help in extricating Zimbabwe from the quagmire in the DRC, where it has about 10 000 troops. Human and material losses are mounting for Zimbabwe, while Mugabe has failed to win new financing from the IMF or Iran and China, to which he recently appealed for assistance.

While his subordinates have sought South African diplomatic cover for a pull-out, Mugabe himself has rejected anything that remotely looks like he has been forced out of Congo or openly requested South African help.

If economics overcome Mugabe's gargantuan pride and force a pullout, Angola would be left alone in propping up Kabila's precarious regime against Ugandan, Rwandan, Burundian and Congolese rebel troops. An Angolan pullout or defeat in the DRC would leave the wild Congo frontier back in the hands of Unita.

The recent surge in world oil prices has boosted Luanda's fortunes. The increase has helped to cement three new off-shore oil exploration deals with British Petroleum-Amoco, Exxon and Elf, which are expected to pay nearly \$1-billion in signing bonuses. However, Angola has already mortgaged most of its future oil production for past cash, which means it is battling to pay its bills and buy new arms.

Africa Confidential reports that Angola has granted minority stakes in the new oil blocks to companies with links to the arms trade, including one South African arms maker.

may push both sides into a protracted war

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Attempts to throw a net around the already war-ravaged country to avert further conflict appear futile, writes Independent Foreign Service's **ROSS HERBERT**



against Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and their Congolese rebel allies. Even without Uganda's strategic interest in supporting Unita, it would be virtually impossible under current international rules to stop the airborne arms traffic. Aircraft can make refuelling stops at virtually any airport in Africa without having to declare their cargo. Stopping refuelling is theoretically the easiest way to stop the arms traffic to Unita, but securing agreement from all the possible African governments would take years. Using radar and Angola's fighter aircraft

to police the skies is a possibility, but neither Angola nor its neighbours have the radar installations. Aside from short-range military radars at Namibia's Katima Mulilo airbase in Caprivi and at Lubumbashi, there is no radar tracking of the skies in a vast area north of Windhoek and west of Lusaka. South Africa has portable military radars that could be installed in relevant spots to track incoming aircraft. But why should South Africa do the job when Angola could and should spend its own funds to control its airspace? Most difficult is control of the virtual wilderness of western Zambia, through which Unita's supplies of diesel fuel almost certainly must travel. Zambia has heatedly denied equally heated Angolan accusations that members of Zambia's government are involved in supplying Unita. Conspicuously absent has been any discussion of any positive steps Zambia has taken to control its own borders.

Angolan central bank allows kwanza to float

LUANDA — Angola's central bank has dramatically devalued the country's currency against the dollar to bring it in line with the black market rate, according to the country's state-owned radio.

"The National Bank of Angola is not going to fix (the official rate) anymore, or the cost of credit or the price of foreign exchange," central bank governor Aguiinaldo Jaime told Radio Nacional earlier this week, when the policy became effective.

Angola's central bank said the official rate on Monday was 2-million kwanzas to the dollar.

The official rate was about 700 000 kwanzas to the dollar last week, nearly three times stronger than on the street where a dollar fetches 2-million kwanzas.

The currency slid rapidly in recent months after

the country fell back into civil war last December. At the beginning of the year a black-market dollar bought 800 000 kwanzas. The decline since implies inflation of 150% in five months.

Jaime said the realignment, which the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have been pushing for several years, would be positive for the economy.

Angola's parallel markets have fluctuated widely in recent years. Ten years ago, during one of the peaks in the country's 25-year civil war, the street rate was 100 times cheaper than the official rate.

The women who change money on street corners, known as kinguilas, said the shift in policy would be inflationary and lead to a more rapid depreciation in the kwanza. — Reuter.

(5) 8D 26/5/99

JN

Unita claims victory in four regions

Luanda - Angola's rebel Unita movement claimed victory yesterday in several recent skirmishes with government forces but the defence minister said the army was still fully in control.

In a fax sent to Reuters in Johannesburg, Unita claimed the edge in a week of fighting in four provinces, saying it had killed 85 soldiers and taken two towns, Bungo and Ambuila, east and west of the government-held city of Uige.

There was no independent confirmation of the rebel claims, which were faxed from rebel headquarters at Bailundo on Tuesday.

Unita, led by veteran guerrilla Jonas Savimbi, said last week it held 70% of Angola's territory following the resumption in December of a 25-year civil war against the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Fighting has spread to all corners since the government launched an offensive against the rebels, from north-east diamond-mining regions to oil centres in the north-west and throughout Bengo province which surrounds Luanda.

But Defence Minister General Kundy Payhama said yesterday the military situation was entirely under control.

"I have the 18 provinces, all of them under my control, and he (Savimbi) doesn't have any provincial capitals," he told Radio France Internationale in Cape Verde, where he was attending a meeting of Portuguese-speaking defence ministers. "Unita has Bailundo, but what's Bailundo? It's a township," he added.

The government has twice tried to take the rebel headquarters, which lies about 500km south-east of Luanda in the mountainous central highlands, but failed.

The government has said it plans to make use of the onset of the dry season, which should provide easier access to rebel territory, to launch a third offensive in the coming weeks.

Aid workers say the humanitarian situation in the rebel-besieged city of Kuito, 150km east of Bailundo, continues to deteriorate with hundreds of people close to starvation. - Reuters

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AFRICAN

Cost of war has exhausted foreign reserves

Angola gives up control over kwanza

ROSS HERBERT

Johannesburg - War is steadily squeezing the Angolan economy as it strains to pay the cost of its battle against Unita rebels.

The Angolan central bank announced on Tuesday that it had relinquished control over foreign sales on Monday, allowing the price of the kwanza to be set by the market and massively devaluing the currency from an official rate of 700 000 to the dollar to a prevailing black market rate of 2 million to the dollar.

"The National Bank of Angola is not going to fix (the official rate) anymore, or the cost of credit or the price of foreign exchange," Aguinaldo Jaime, the central bank governor, told Radio Nacional on Monday.

The Angolan central bank is said to have nearly exhausted its foreign currency reserves: Almost all of the massive quantities of fuel and arms consumed in the war with Unita must be paid for in dollars, which has shortened the supply of hard currency and driven down the value of the kwanza.

"It shows what dire straits the economy is in," said Jackie Potgieter, a security analyst with the Institute of Security Studies.

In a fiscal system in which government accounts are notoriously opaque, with no public

accounting of the oil revenues that constitute the vast majority of national spending and foreign exchange, the dollar exchange rate is one of the few clear indicators of the strain the war is placing on the economy.

"You are going to see a lot more hardship for ordinary citizens," said Josephine Tsele, the African banking economist at Standard Bank.

However, diplomats in Luanda reacted positively because freeing exchange rates represents a move towards meeting the fiscal conditions required before the International Monetary Fund and World Bank will resume lending to Angola.

For business the previous system of managing and allocating foreign currency was a strong deterrent to trade. Diplomats said the lifting of restrictions would bring more goods into the market and reduce opportunities for corruption, as happened when similar restrictions were lifted in Zambia in the early 1990s and in Zimbabwe in the 1980s.

A recent 50 percent rise in the price of oil, which provides more than half of Angola's exports, will help offset the currency shortage. But nearly all of Angola's oil production has been mortgaged to pay for past expenditure.

- Independent Foreign Service

ex (copy) 27/11/99

Angola broke as Unita tightens noose

Howard Barrrell

The Angolan government is having difficulty finding the money to pay for a large consignment of arms it needs to mount a dry-season counter-offensive against Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels, according to regional security sources.

The government has already postponed the counter-offensive once, and looks like having to do so again because of a shortage of artillery, rocket launchers and armour, the sources say. The *Mail & Guardian* sources said the Angolan government's financial predicament was worse than it had ever been. What they described as "drifts and drabs" of arms were getting through, but "not the heavy stuff the government needs".

Unita, meanwhile, is slowly tightening its

noose around the capital Luanda, and various diamond-rich areas across the country. Diamonds have provided most of Unita's funds since the civil war began after Angolan independence in 1975. Since then, Luanda is now home to about 4.5 million, many of whom have fled from fighting in outlying areas. The population in the capital makes up just less than half Angola's population, and sources warn of a humanitarian catastrophe if the shooting war moves into the capital.

Actual fighting in the capital, however, seems still to be some way off, although sources warn of Unita terror units being smuggled into the capital to worsen the nervous atmosphere among Luanda residents. There has been a marked decline in morale in the city

in recent months — fuelled by, among other things, a crude campaign to conscript all able-bodied men.

Political developments within the government are also causing concern. There are indications that relations between President José Eduardo dos Santos and the Ministry of Defence are strained. At the same time, the defence ministry is, inexplicably, "full of beans", one of the sources said.

"Tactically on the ground, the government is getting hit harder and more frequently than we thought," one said. "And the fact is that there is nothing that government armed forces can do about it at this stage."

"But the government is just beating the propaganda drum. And sometimes they believe it themselves," the source added.

Meanwhile, Unita is indicating a willingness to talk, confirming the view that it has long seen negotiations with the government as the first prize of its recent military advances. The government, however, has insisted it will not negotiate with Savimbi. Attempts over the past year to negotiate with non- or anti-Savimbi factions of Unita have not brought any reduction in the fighting.

Unita is the target of international sanctions because of its non-compliance with earlier peace agreements. But experts argue that attempts to marginalise Savimbi have not worked and it is time to rethink this approach.

They argue there needs to be pressure on both sides to talk — a view rapidly gaining ground within South Africa's foreign policy and intelligence establishment. The argument is that, if the subcontinent is to avoid a humanitarian catastrophe, the international community needs to overcome its almost "punch-drunk state" on Angola and find the political will to apply whatever pressure is necessary.

(5) M+C 28/5 - 3/6/99

Reeling Angolan govt wins new foreign loan

PD 28/5/99 (5)

LUANDA — A \$575m loan from a group of foreign banks has given a boost to Angola's embattled government as it struggles to cope with a civil war and an unprecedented financial crisis.

It follows the approval two weeks ago by Angola's council of ministers of foreign oil companies' stakes in three sought-after offshore oil licences that will trigger the release of more than \$800m in special down payments to the government in the next few months.

Two offensives by the Angolan armed forces against the central highlands headquarters of the rebel National Union for Total Independence of Angola (Unita) since December have failed. Paulo Lukamba Gato, Unita secretary-general, asserted last week that rebel units had moved to within 60km of the capital, Luanda.

The army says it is restricted to "active defence", and the government has admitted that foreign currency reserves were almost depleted last month.

Many businesses in Luanda have ground to a halt this year because of a local shortage of dollars.

Traditional sources of lending have dried up because of a poor repayment record on most of the country's exter-

nal debt, estimated to be about \$12bn.

Nonetheless, state oil company Sonangol has carved out its own area of credibility in international financial markets, and for more than 10 years has secured fresh loans based on its promise to repay them with oil cargoes.

"Sonangol has not let us down before," a London-based banker said.

The new loan is being underwritten by Warburg Dillon Read, the investment banking arm of UBS.

The company said much of the money would be used to refinance a set of earlier loans facing repayment problems, reducing the amounts that will be made available to the government.

Many had feared that, without the UBS facility, Sonangol could have risked missing some of its repayment obligations, damaging its credibility with international markets, a matter of great strategic importance for Angola.

The 1999 budget, published in March, said that access to external financing was "almost at its limit".

Angolan officials said at the time that almost every cargo from Angola's share of its current 780 000 barrels a day output was being used to service oil-backed loans. — Financial Times.

Angola asks SA for food and medicine amid human crisis

(5) 00 1/6/99

CASH-STRAPPED and war-torn Angola asked SA yesterday for supplies of food and medicine amid a spiralling humanitarian crisis caused by the resumption of civil war in December.

In a list of items sent to SA's trade department and published in newspapers, Luanda-based merchants requested exports of hospital equipment, medicine and food as resources run dry in the decaying capital.

"Maize (for human consumption), animal feed and chickens," read one trader's requisition order.

Angola's slide back into a 25-year civil war six months ago has already displaced 1,5-million of its 12-million people and has made most of the country impassable for fear of landmines or rebel or bandit attack.

The UN said on Saturday there was a new flood of refugees into the government-held southern town of Cuito Cuanavale, 1 000 km southeast of Luanda.

Some wore clothes they had made from tree bark.

The UN's humanitarian co-ordination unit in Angola said the World Food Programme (WFP) had received only half the 120 000 tons of food needed this year to ease the suffering.

The World Food Programme (WFP) is responsible for feeding the country's displaced population.

The unit said the WFP's grain stocks were exhausted and distribution was continuing only through food borrowed from the European Union. The EU Com-

mission opened a tender last week for the supply of 10 000 tons of maize to Angola in a single lot with the first supply deadline set for July 18.

Angola's central bank governor warned earlier this month that the country was running out of foreign exchange and was finding it increasingly difficult to finance essential imports.

However, the government's recent sale to BP-Amoco, Elf-Aquitaine and Exxon of licences to drill rich offshore oil fields should generate an estimated \$800m, analysts say.

That fresh inflow of capital, bolstered further by Union Bank of Switzerland's successful sale earlier this month of a \$575m oil-backed loan, should help keep the country afloat in the near future, but financial woes run deep.

Last week the central bank dramatically devalued the currency.

This moved the official rate from 700 000 kwanza to the dollar to two-million overnight to come in line with black market rate.

The government is also weighed down by \$12bn of foreign debt, 10 times the annual revenue from oil exports.

Angola's oil and diamond riches form the background to one of Africa's most intractable civil wars, pitting President Eduardo dos Santos against veteran guerrilla Jonas Savimbi.

The two have been at war, with brief periods of peace, since 1975. That was when the country won independence from colonial power Portugal. — Reuter.

REST OF AFRICA

Angola had no choice but to float kwanza

Government measures regarded as a reflection of the desperate state of economy

LUANDA — Angola's National Bank, after 25 years of defending an artificially high value of the kwanza, has now been forced to float its currency in what analysts say reflects the perilous state of the economy.

The move last week has resulted in the kwanza immediately losing about two-thirds of its exchange value.

The bank also liberalised imports. These measures are regarded as an indication of just how desperate the state of the economy and the position of the Unita government have become. "The government has introduced these measures because it has no alternative," a said a senior United Nations economist in Luanda.

"The national bank has no foreign reserves left, international creditors no longer want to lend to them, and domestic confidence in their economic policies is at rock bottom. They have to set their house in order," the analyst added.

Until the move, the National Bank had valued the kwanza at 700 000 to the dollar. However, the black market street value, a more realistic indication of its worth, stood at 2,15 million to the dollar.

This extreme disparity between the official and parallel exchange rates has distorted the Angolan economy, making a few individuals with access to currency at the of-

ficial rate enormously wealthy.

On state radio, Aginaldo Jaime, the governor of the National Bank, said: "This system meant that those with access to dollars from the national bank could buy them at one-third the real price. We cannot continue to allow this system because it is unfair, and because we have no dollars left," he said.

Jaime was appointed in February as part of a new economic team charged with saving the country from economic collapse. The new team has begun to implement measures which the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank have been urging on Angola for 10 years.

"This liberalisation is straight out of the IMF textbook," said a UN economist, who requested anonymity. "In principle, it is a positive step. However it is not enough ... it remains to be seen if the vested interests which will be affected by these measures will really allow them to be implemented."

One of the IMF's key demands is that the government become more transparent in the way it spends the country's money, and particularly its oil revenues.

About 90% of Angola's revenues come from its booming oil industry. It is expected to overtake Nigeria as Africa's biggest producer by the year 2005.

When crude oil prices slumped to as low



Anninha, 16, sits next to the rusting body of a car in which she sleeps. Anninha shares the car with a 17-year-old friend and her one-year-old baby. Humanitarian organisations estimate that there are 5 000 children living in the streets of Luanda, most of them sent to the capital by their families to escape the civil war in the Angolan interior.

Picture: AP

AFRICAN BUSINESS

ANGOLA National bank also liberalises imports as economy disintegrates

Luanda has to float kwanza

ANNA RICHARDSON

Luanda - After 25 years of defending an artificially high value of the kwanza, Angola's national bank has now been forced to float its currency in what analysts see as a reflection of the perilous state of the economy.

The move last week has resulted in the kwanza instantly dropping by about 300 per cent.

The bank also liberalised imports, which until now have been controlled by a prohibitive licensing regime.

"The government has introduced these measures because it has no alternative," said a senior UN economist.

"The national bank has no foreign reserves left, international creditors no longer want to lend to them and domestic confidence in their economic policies is at rock bottom. They have to set their house in order."

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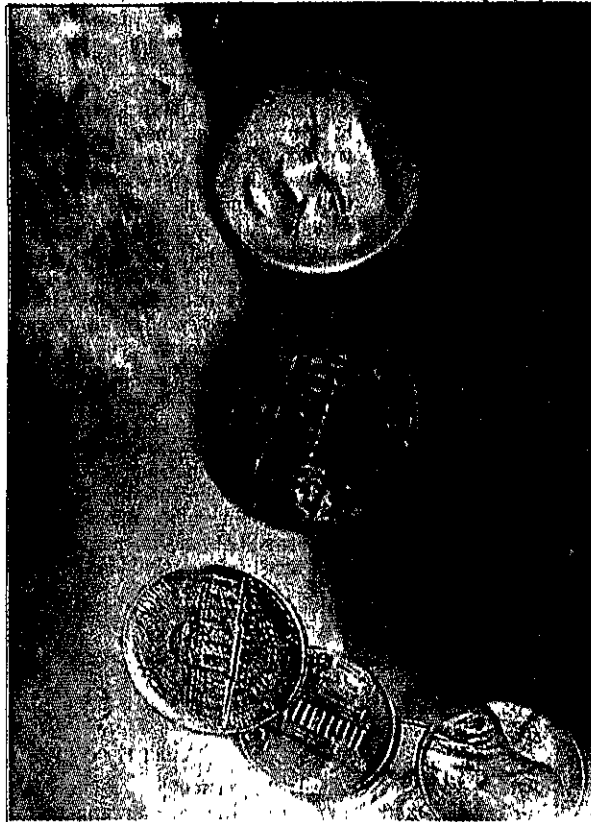
This disparity between the official and parallel exchange rates has grossly distorted the Angolan economy, making a few individuals with access to the official rate enormously wealthy while the vast majority struggle to survive.

Those allowed to buy the cheap dollars have been people linked to the presidency, the government and the ruling MPLA party.

Aguinaldo Jaime, the governor of the bank, said: "This system meant that those with access to dollars from the national bank could buy them at one-third of the real price."

"We cannot continue to allow this system because it is unfair and we have no dollars left."

Jaime was appointed in February as part of a new economic team charged with saving the



country from total economic collapse.

The new team has begun to implement measures that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank have been urging on Angola for the last decade.

"This liberalisation is straight out of the IMF textbook," said the UN economist.

"In principle, it is a positive step. However, it is not enough. It cannot work in isolation, and it remains to be seen if the massive vested interests that will be affected by these measures will really allow them to be implemented."

The new economic team appears to be trying to meet conditions laid down by the IMF for it to consider helping Angola out with a structural adjustment programme and credit facilities.

IMF officials have completely lost confidence in the Luanda

government, which has twice before promised and failed to meet the standards required for an IMF programme to be put in place.

"It's too early to say if this time will be different," said a Western investment banker. "What is true is that the economic situation now is far worse than it has ever been and the government is running out of options."

One of the IMF's key demands is that the government become more transparent in the way it spends the country's money, particularly its oil revenues.

About 90 percent of Angola's revenues come from the booming oil industry. Producing at 790 000 barrels a day, the industry is expected to overtake Nigeria as Africa's biggest producer by 2005.

When crude oil prices slumped to as low as \$9 a barrel,

Angola's projected revenues were slashed by almost 50 percent. This price collapse could not have come at a worse time, coinciding with the resumption of the civil war between the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebels.

Even before the oil price collapse, the country was in an economic crisis. It had a balance of payments deficit of about 30 percent and a mounting external debt of over \$12 billion.

Conventional creditors severed all credit lines to the Luanda government after it repeatedly failed to service its debts.

In recent years, Luanda has managed to continue funding its overspending by securing new loans, at very high interest rates, from adventurous private creditors willing to accept repayment in the form of future oil production.

The investment banker said: "Now even these oil collateral loans have dried up because all of the country's share of oil production for at least the next three years has already been signed away to creditors."

"Normally when a government floats the currency, it has large supplies of hard currency on hand to buy back the local one, thereby maintaining its value," the banker said.

"This government has no dollars, so we could soon see the kwanza go into a nose-dive."

But there is a way to avert the monetary collapse. Last week Angola signed contracts allocating the exploration rights to three new offshore oil concessions.

In exchange for the concessions, the three oil leaders - BP, Amoco, Elf and Exxon - each have to come up with a down payment of \$300 million.

Were the Angolan government to allocate even 20 percent of this money to the national bank to prop up its monetary reforms, they could succeed. But there is no guarantee that this will happen. - Sapa-DPA

Sanctions clampdown aims to suffocate Unita

(5) BD 10/6/99
Report outlines SA's role, writes Simon Barber

WASHINGTON — Durban and airfields in northern SA were among the sites at which monitors should be placed to watch for arms shipments to Unita, the Canadian diplomat charged with beefing up sanctions against the Angolan rebels has told the United Nations (UN) Security Council.

He also urged consideration of SA Development Community (SADC) members being deputised by the UN to conduct air surveillance and interdict aircraft suspected of supplying the rebels — a task that only SA would likely be equipped to undertake.

At the same time Robert Fowler, Canada's UN ambassador, hailed De Beers for its co-operation in cracking down on Unita's diamond sales, which had generated as much as \$4bn for the rebels since 1992, with revenues set to increase from newly discovered kimberlites.

Fowler presented the Security Council with a 14-point plan to strengthen UN sanctions on Tuesday. The plan aims at sapping Unita's ability to wage war by denying it access to arms, fuel and the international diamond market.

His report, based on talks with regional governments and the diamond industry, included a defiant official reaction from Unita headquarters in Bailundo: "Do not come to our country ... dripping with the blood of the native people of Canada, whom you murder on a daily basis."

Fowler noted that "a significant number of SADC members" were alleged to be involved in smuggling to Unita, though in most, but not all, cases, "as a result of private interests acting without the knowledge of their governments".

He quoted an African cabinet minister as calling the flow of materiel to Unita from all over the continent and Eastern Europe as "a crisis of African solidarity".

Among his key recommendations was that the UN deploy civilian inspectors with

customs experiences at suspected trans-shipment points in SA, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia, Uganda, Rwanda, Angola itself — including Luanda — and as far afield as Ukraine.

In addition, inspectors could be placed at major diamond exchanges around the world to identify and confiscate Unita diamonds. Identification would require collaboration among producers and licensed buyers in Angola, including De Beers, Lazare Kaplan and Russian mining firm Alamazy Rossti-Sakha, as well as industry councils in the major cutting centres, to introduce standardised and "credible" certificates of origin.

Fowler met officials of De Beers, which has been accused of abetting rebel diamond sales. They pledged to co-operate in improving purchase practices in central and southern Africa, and to encourage "better control mechanisms on the part of governments in Europe, the Middle East and Asia".

De Beers insistence that it wished to be part of the solution to the civil war in Angola rather than part of the problem was welcome, the diplomat said.

He urged that countries, in particular those in the neighbourhood, should take immediate steps to make illegal violation of the UN sanctions.

SA should also be encouraged to enact pending legislation that would bar mercenaries based on its soil from assisting Unita.

Fowler said it had not been his brief to investigate specific violations. That would be carried out by "expert panels" established by the Security Council and due to present findings by the end of the year.

The sanctions were not intended to be punitive but to foster condition for a resumption of political dialogue between the Unita and the Angola government, the diplomat stressed. The Security Council is considering his recommendations.

Zambia, Angola bury the hatchet

TOM HOLLOWAY
INDEPENDENT FOREIGN SERVICE

ET 11/6/99
MBABANE: Zambia and Angola have buried the hatchet by signing an agreement here on earlier this week "to forget all past disputes" in the second meeting between intelligence and security chiefs lasting nearly 13 hours.

The Swazi Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Albert Shabangu, said yesterday the success of the meeting was beyond anyone's expectations.

The agreement said the two countries would protect each other's nationals and would discourage any hostile propaganda or press reports about each other.

Mechanisms would be put in place to prevent similar crises arising in the future.

The meeting praised the role of Swaziland in bringing the two disputing countries together for talks.

Delegates laughingly praised "Swaziland muti" which earlier Shabangu had joked had been sprinkled around the conference centre to prevent delegates from leaving until they had reached agreement.

Zambia has consistently denied any knowledge of weapons passing through its territory to Unita rebels. Such allegations were first made by the Angolan ambassador in Lusaka, augmented by submissions before the Security Council of the United Nations.

This was followed by a bomb blast inside the Angolan embassy compound in Lusaka, killing one person and creating fears that war would erupt between the two countries.

The start of the meeting had twice been postponed since its scheduled official opening by Shabangu on Tuesday morning due to late arrivals of some key delegates.

When the delegates eventually trooped out of the conference hall at about 10pm, they looked tired but were in good spirits and pleased with the outcome of the conference.

It was also agreed to hold a ministerial meeting in Swaziland very soon to formalise the agreements reached.

'Crack down on Unita's diamonds'

APR 16/99 (5)

UN man says Angola rebel movement earned R1 832-million from sales in 1988 alone

ROSS HERBERT
Kampala

A system of certificates of origin for all diamonds mined in southern Africa and placement of UN monitors around the region to crack down on trade with the Unita rebel movement has been recommended to the Security Councils by Robert Fowler, chairman of the United Nations sanctions committee for Angola.

Fowler's report comes after he visited seven nations in the region in May in search of methods for blocking trade with Unita, which has been engaged in full-scale war with

Angolan government forces since December.

The major western powers are not prepared to intervene in Angola militarily and none of Angola's neighbours have the means or interest, which has left the UN looking for ways to block Unita's war-making ability by cutting off its supplies and finances.

Fowler estimated that Unita had netted US \$200-million (R1 832.4m) in 1988 alone from diamond sales and a total income since 1982 of US \$2.4-billion (R21.4bn).

"Unconfirmed reports indicate that such revenues stand to increase following the discovery and

exploitation by Unita of new kimberlite deposits in the territory they continue to control," he said.

Fowler met De Beers representatives, who put forward proposals on controlling the trade which the company declined to disclose.

"Improving controls in the diamond industry obviously would have a significant effect (on the Angolan war).

"This is a problem of international proportions which requires the right controls put in place by sovereign governments," said De Beers corporate spokeswoman Tracey Peterson, who said the company was providing Fowler with "advice and

support across a whole range of issues" to improve the proposed control of the diamond trade.

Regulating the highly secretive diamond trade faces numerous hurdles. Certificates can be forged and the thousands of buyers around the world make control difficult.

Blocking the flow of Unita's diamonds to the world market would require stopping the war in the neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo and getting that country's significant production under control, diamond industry sources said.

Thousands of informal diamond diggers mine areas in northeastern Angola and southern Congo and sell

to unregulated buyers in the field. To fund its war effort and gain control of the diamond trade, Congo president Laurent Kabila decreed that all Congolese diamonds must be sold through a state buying operation for Congolese francs, which have been rapidly depreciating.

That move, industry experts say, drove much of Congo's diamond trade underground. Fowler recommended that licensed foreign diamond buyers in Angola - including De Beers, De Beers Limited, Lasare Kaplan International, the Antwerp-based Diamond High Council, the Israeli Diamond Exchange and other buyers in India

and the United States - should nominate representatives to work with the sanctions committee, and refuse to purchase diamonds without the appropriate certificates.

He said monitors should be placed in major diamond exchanges but that they should try to avoid damaging the legal diamond trade that he said brought two-thirds of the gross domestic product of Angola's neighbours, Botswana and Namibia.

Fowler said countries in the region still had not passed legislation outlawing trade with Unita. South African diplomats said South Africa had also not done so but a bill was in preparation.

To cut off the flow of war material Fowler suggested placing monitors in cities around the continent and in the nations from which Unita buys arms.

These include Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso, Abidjan in Cote d'Ivoire, Takikapa, Dilolo, Kolwezi and Lubumbashi in DRC, Nampula in Mozambique, Rundu in northern South Africa, Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, Lome, Togo, Entebbe and Kampala in Uganda, Mansa, Mongu, Ndola and Livingstone in Zambia, the Angolan capital Luanda and other Angolan ports, and Kiev, Ukraine - Foreign Service

15/6/99 (5)
B/A

Bank official in Angola

LUANDA — The World Bank's director for Africa, Barbara Kafka, arrived in Luanda yesterday to discuss a possible resumption of the bank's financing projects in Angola.

Kafka said the World Bank wanted Angola to show more transparency in the management of public resources, to privatise the banking sector and to allocate more funding to health and education.

The World Bank has no programme in Angola, and has withdrawn its representative. — Sapa-AFP.

DEFYING THE ODDS OF WAR

SA company exports entrepreneurial skills to a ruined city

(5)

fm 18/6/99

Leon Kukuk is one hell of a brave guy. He works and lives in Huambo city, in war-torn central Angola, where he is helping teach Angolans how to start sustainable small businesses.

Kukuk's work requires nerves of steel. Living conditions in the city are bad. Fuel is rationed and electricity is available for only two hours each night. There are random shootings in the city after dark. There is also the ever-present threat of the city coming under attack from Unita forces. In December last year and in January, two UN planes were shot down nearby. But Kukuk has twice refused to be evacuated with other expatriates.

He still has hopes for the city. Describing the Angolans as optimistic and hardworking, he says they have "a genuine desire to build themselves a sustainable future and they need to be encouraged and enabled to do this".

Kukuk is an employee of Rutec, an SA-based micro-enterprise development agency which is 40% owned by the Mineworkers Development Agency, a subsidiary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), and 35% by the Land Bank of

SA. The balance is owned by Rutec MD John Dommett, who founded the company in 1987 with equity capital of R6 000.

Last year, Rutec had sales of R18m and it is forecasting turnover of R25m for the current financial year. In addition to enterprise training, the company manufactures about 92 different types of production equipment from a small factory in Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Most of its income is generated in SA. About 25% of its turnover is accounted for by exports to Mozambique, Lesotho, Angola and Papua New Guinea.

Dommett describes the core of Rutec's business philosophy as: "How do I make money using the small resources at my disposal?" Most of Rutec's clients have used part of their retrenchment packages to start their businesses.

Dommett says many more opportunities could be exploited if start-up capital were available. "Our discussions with retail lenders, including the micro-financiers, to finance some of our businesses have come to naught."

The equipment Rutec produces ranges from a medium-scale brewery which can

produce 176l/week to a household chemicals production facility which can produce up to 80l/day of bleach.

Rutec has set up several development centres in southern Africa to assist retrenched mineworkers. It was engaged by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) to establish a centre in Huambo.

Within the next 18 months, the centre hopes to help start 1 080 micro-enterprises and to create more than 2 000 jobs. Given the circumstances, the centre may have pitched its hopes a bit high, but achieving even a small portion of its target would be most welcome in Huambo.

Once a thriving industrial production zone with brickmaking, textile and food processing factories, the city now lies in ruins,



John Dommett

torn apart by the almost three decades of war between the MPLA government troops and Unita.

There are no formal business enterprises operating in the area and the city's unemployment rate is estimated at 95%. For those not employed by government or aid agencies, hawking fruit and vegetables is the only other source of income.

Even subsistence agriculture has virtually collapsed as the peasants, fearing

attacks, have moved closer to the city, which remains under Angolan military control

Without open roads in or out of the city, food and other essential consumer items are flown in. At least 60% of the items are allocated to the government army, leaving ordinary Angolans to compete for the rest. Prices are exorbitant. An egg costs upwards of 50 US cents.

Huambo mirrors conditions in the rest of Angola, with the exception, perhaps, of the capital city, Luanda. A country of 12m people, Angola has potential for diversified agriculture, fisheries and forests, and substantial hydro-electric capacity and mineral resources. But apart from oil and diamonds, all this remains untapped because of the continuing war.

War has destroyed what little infrastructure Angola inherited from its Portuguese colonisers. Take the Huambo Development Centre.

It operates from a building that once housed 2 500 textile machines. Before moving in, Rutec trained a group of labourers to help con-

struct the centre. Now, using models it developed in SA, it trains Angolans in the running of micro-businesses and offers them access to raw materials and production equipment. Soon, the centre will offer graduates access to micro-loans; the city has no formal or informal financial services sector

The centre is training Angolans to bake bread, make fruit juice and peanut butter and produce shindugo, a local condiment. The brickmaking facility, run by 15 people, is the only source of bricks in the Huambo region

And signs that the entrepreneurial activity encouraged by the centre can affect the market have begun to emerge. Local production of goods like fruit juice has introduced competition for imported items, thus reducing prices

"Though all fruit juice producers are still selling at a 200% profit, the price to the consumers has now become far more affordable and they are competing well with imported alternatives," Kukuk says.

The centre also supplies goods to the local military, including a recent order to make barbed wire to fortify the Huambo airport

Kukuk says the centre's ultimate success will be when it becomes a catalyst for local economic development and when it begins to resolve serious problems like the lack of infrastructure and energy.

That may be a tall order in Angola. But at least the foundations are being laid

Jabulani Sikhakhane



how do I make money using the resources at my disposal?

Lisbon must push for Angolan peace

An initiative to end the debilitating conflict would go a long way towards easing troubled relations with SA too, writes Greg Mills

(5) 21/6/99

PORTUGAL and SA have enjoyed something of a topsy-turvy relationship in recent times. There is a solid trade and investment association, reflecting regional colonial ties and related personal links. Portugal still retains a strong interest, both emotional and financial, in what happens in Angola and Mozambique.

However, more recently the bilateral SA-Portuguese relationship was placed under the spotlight by the now infamous "port and sherry" issue in Pretoria's trade negotiations with the European Union (EU), where the Free Trade Area (FTA) agreement was for a time apparently held hostage to Portugal and Spain's objection to the naming of SA fortified wines.

The 250 000-plus Portuguese-speaking community in SA provides a strong emotional bond which is buttressed by the trade and investment relationship. Portuguese exports to SA in 1998 reached R306m, or 40th place among SA importers, and 0.2% of Portugal's sales abroad.

SA exports were worth R708m, ranking SA as the 28th supplier to Portugal with a market share of 0.3%. Portuguese investment in SA has grown significantly in the past two years, totalling R250m in 1998.

Rather as Francs's role in its former African colonies was in the past perceived to give Paris special international clout, Lisbon still attaches value to its former African territories — Guinea-Bissau, Ango-

la and Mozambique. However, their plight today (Mozambique is the only one ostensibly not at war with itself), reflects the embarrassing nature of Portuguese decolonisation after the toppling of Lisbon's Salazar regime in 1974 — more helter-skelter abandonment than orderly withdrawal.

This explains Lisbon's desire to remain involved in trying to engineer an end to the continuing conflict in Angola, potentially one of Africa's richest states, blessed with abundant oil and diamonds. Instead, Angola today faces mounting poverty as a result of the civil war, and political differences are heightened by the struggle to maintain access to these resources.

In the past, Portugal was engaged in trying to secure peace as part of the "Troika" — along with the US and the former Soviet Union. However, their credibility as honest brokers has been largely discredited.

While Washington is trying to deepen its ties with Luanda, Russia is busy selling them arms. As a result, Lisbon is attempting to play a role as a concerned Lusophone African ally. As Prime Minister Antnio Guterres has put it, the Portuguese feel "anger about the abandonment and indifference of the international community about Africa".

Officially, in line with United Nations sanctions, Angolan rebel Unita members are persona non grata in Lisbon, but there seems to be a growing recognition, as in other capitals, that no military solution is possible, and that a "third way" has to be

found, accommodating both Unita and the MPLA government. This is partly due to the large number of Unita supporters among the Angolan Diaspora, an estimated 25 000 of whom live in Portugal.

A conference examining the state of politics and economies of southern Africa convened in Porto last month by a foundation established by former president Mrio Soares, highlighted the need to create a middle ground of debate on Angola. The war would continue if Unita was not constructively engaged, while economic and political development would not progress as long as both sides continued to regard debate as dissent, and sought consensus by patronage.

To some extent Lisbon's desire for ongoing engagement also relates to the potential of Portuguese economic links with Angola and Mozambique. In 1998, Portugal's exports to Angola totalled R2,5bn, or 1.7% of total exports (of which 2.7% went to Portuguese-speaking African countries). Imports from Angola reached R146m that year. Portuguese exports to Mozambique amounted to R410m in 1998 (0.3% of the total); with imports R190m.

SA's ties with Portugal thus have to be appreciated at a number of levels: first, in relation to the link with southern Africa and, second, in terms of the role played in the global community, through the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries, linking Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and Sao

Tome and Principe, and in terms of finding solutions to common problems such as the situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. Third, in terms of the role played by Portugal in the EU.

While Africa might be important to Portugal's pride and offer some niche market access, Europe remains its number one foreign policy priority. When President Jorge Sampaio's Socialist Party came to power in October 1995, it established five main areas of concern for its foreign policy: the EU, co-operation and development, Portuguese overseas communities, East Timor, and Macau. The latter shifts to Chinese control, a la Hong Kong, this year.

Portugal makes up just 2% of the euro zone's economic output, imports from the EU make up 80% of total imports, while 74% of exports are to EU member-states. Since it joined the Community in 1986 along with Spain and Greece, it has been the recipient of massive amounts of EU aid from the structural and cohesion funds.

Currently Portugal derives around 3.5% of its gross domestic product (GDP) from EU fundings. This has helped lift the per capita income of its 10-million population from about 55% of the EU average in 1986 to about 70% today.

Portugal is promoting itself as Europe's "Atlantic frontier" with access to global markets. Along with infrastructural investment, improved productivity, fiscal austerity and privatisation, this new outlook seems to be working, with 4% GDP growth

in 1998, and projections of 3.5% this year. Unemployment is 5%, and inflation 2%.

Unsurprisingly, the benefits of EU membership are strongly defended. Portugal, like other poorer southern European states, is reluctant to risk the dilution of such funding to either third countries (such as SA or the 70 other Lom states) or through an enlargement of EU membership. This explains the reluctance in agreeing to the EU-SA Free Trade Agreement.

Now Lisbon is preparing itself for the EU presidency in the first half of 2000 — and the Africa connection offers a special filip. As Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation Luis Amado said recently, Lisbon will use its presidency to "correlate" EU policy with the problems Africa faces.

In closing the conference, Mrio Soares observed: "We have to convince everyone that Africa... has a future." Lisbon is still, however, apparently confused about what to do about its relations with SA, preferring to characterise the future as co-operation, where today competition exists.

This tension has been heightened recently with SA overtaking Portugal as the largest foreign investor in Mozambique. If Lisbon is sincere about seeking "constructive engagement" with Pretoria, it could start by pushing Angola's warring parties towards peaceful negotiations.

□ *Mills is the national director of the SA Institute of International Affairs who attended the Porto conference.*

Food running out in warring Angola

ET 23/6/99 (6)
JOHANNESBURG: A million Angolans face starvation as food supplies dwindle in the midst of a seemingly endless civil war, the World Food Programme said yesterday.

"We have a combination of no food, inadequate transportation and a growing number of beneficiaries. If that's not a recipe for disaster, I don't know what is," Maria Flynn of the UN agency said by telephone from Luanda.

She said food stocks "were running out quickly" with only eight weeks worth left.

More than 1.2 million Angolans have fled their homes since December, when government forces and Unita rebels resumed fighting.

The WFP feeds about 900 000 of the displaced — almost a 10th of Angola's population — but because of the pressure on supplies, has had to limit delivery to about 500 000 of the most needy.

The incidence of malnutrition in children has quadrupled in the past few weeks, Flynn said, and deteriorating sanitary conditions have created a breeding ground for disease.

"The poor and hungry people of Angola are all at risk, at grave risk ... it's a silent death," Flynn said. "What is the solution, do we let them die?"

While aid workers are reluctant to talk of donor fatigue, the WFP's food shortage is a sign resources are running dry. — Reuter

Unita 'feels pinch' of sanctions

INDEPENDENT FOREIGN SERVICE

5) CT. 25/6/99

LUANDA: Unita appears to be feeling the pinch of a UN sanctions policy that in the long term could have an impact on the Angolan conflict, international observers said yesterday.

"It's quiet on the sanctions-busting front," Alex Vines of the London office of Human Rights Watch said.

Diamond multinational De Beers had committed itself to work with the Angolan government and abide by a UN resolution banning trade in unofficial diamonds, he said. Diamonds are Unita's main source of revenue.

Recently there have been few violations of sanctions on military equipment to Unita, he said.

Also under UN embargo are fuel supplies. Fuel is Unita's Achilles heel, said Vines, a respected Angolan researcher. "It is important for their mechanised units.

"In the first offensive (in December) Unita ran out of fuel while in hot pursuit of government troops on the road to Cuito."

Another factor affecting Unita, which is far from short of arms and ammunition, is finding conscripts. The conflict, which resumed in December after the breakdown of the UN-monitored 1994 peace accords, has depopulated vast areas, with the displaced fleeing into government-held towns.

CT(MR) 25/6/99

Investors hail reform in Angola

FROM INDEPENDENT
FOREIGN SERVICE

Luanda - The Angolan government's recent decision to scrap the dual currency exchange rate system has not had a major impact on the lives of ordinary people, analysts said.

"Although the move might stabilise the economy, as there is now uniformity in the currency rates as opposed to official and market rates that used to apply, prices of commodities and goods still remain as expensive," a source told IRIN, the United Nations news agency, this week.

Over the past decade, the government has been forced to switch from the original kwanza to the "new kwanza" and lately to the "adjusted kwanza" in an effort to prop up the currency that has been battered by 24 years of civil war.

Meanwhile, the government's move to abolish the dual currency rates has met with approval from international finance institutions.

"There are indications that this move will attract finance institutions to make commitments to the Angolan economy," an analyst said.

Last week the World Bank announced Angola had stabilised the servicing of its debt to the bank.

Barbara Kafka, the director for the Bank of Angola, said she was pleased with the economic reforms introduced by the government. These would enable the bank to make new investments in the country.

Kafka said she had discussed with the government the need to reduce the fiscal deficit, increase spending on education and health, and reduce the government's bloated bureaucracy.

The World Bank is funding 10 projects in Angola amounting to \$250 million and has put on hold its earlier decision to close its Luanda offices.

Angola strapped for cash

(5)

Chris Gordon

The Angolan government published its accounts for the first time in April, revealing that it has no foreign exchange reserves.

While the short-term financial position has been improved by an oil-backed loan and signing fees from new deep-water exploration areas, the longer-term position depends now on Angola's relations to the major international financial institutions.

With a major dry season offensive against the rebel Unita forces planned, and most of its budget committed to defence expenditure, the Angolan government stated in the preamble to its budget: "Angola's access to external financing is almost at its limit."

Two shorter-term measures have resolved the immediate crisis. Angola secured a \$575-million loan for four years from the investment banking division of the United Bank of Switzerland, Warburg Dillon Read. The loan was guaranteed by an oil contract be-

tween Sonangol and British Petroleum. Part of it will be used to repay loans taken when the price of oil was about \$19 per barrel. The fall in oil prices has led to repayment difficulties. Economists say most of Angola's 780 000-barrel-a-day offshore oil production is now being used to pay back previous loans, often in the form of crude oil.

But with oil revenues now fully committed to war expenditure, the only further boost due to the treasury is the signing fees of \$900-million for three deep-water oil blocks, agreed to about three weeks ago.

The gloomy picture is brightened a bit by an increase in oil prices to \$15 a barrel from \$9. But in the longer term Angola needs financial backing from the international community, and it has taken some dramatic steps to begin to repair its fractured relationship with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Last month, the World Bank announced it would stop further lending to Angola unless economic reforms were implemented, including control-



Digging deep: The Angolan government has banned mining companies from depositing revenue earned from diamond sales in foreign banks. PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN LIEBENBERG

ling corruption and transparency in the oil and diamond accounts. These have been key features in the negotiations between the government and the World Bank over several years.

Unita's strategy is to target the economy and bring down the government by creating a total breakdown, say observers in Luanda. New investment in Angola is declining as the war takes hold, and the economy is becoming paralysed yet again.

A new economic team, put in place at the beginning of this year, has begun to implement some of the actions wanted by Bretton Woods institutions.

A week ago, the government took two major steps. It effectively devalued

the kwanzas held in the banking system by setting the official exchange rate at the same rate as the parallel market, an incredible two million kwanza to the dollar. The official rate had been 780 000 to the dollar.

The government also cracked down on how diamond companies imported money into Angola. The governor of the National Bank of Angola, Aguinaldo Jaime, banned mining companies from depositing revenue earned from diamond sales in foreign banks and said all transactions must be conducted through the banking system.

The government is aiming to maximise its income from the diamond sec-

tor to pay for its weapons imports. A commission was ordered to investigate and stop the leakage of diamonds and money from the diamond parastatal, Endiama. No estimate is available yet for the value of diverted revenues and stolen diamonds.

The question is whether Minister of Finance Joaquim David can take the process further and create much more accountability and transparency in the economy. He has until September, when the International Monetary Fund will reconSIDER Angola's position. By then the dry season — the season of war and diamond digging — will be almost over and the government's position will be clear.

DEBT RELIEF *New cabinet team in Luanda is putting in place some of policies demanded by IMF and World Bank*

September crunch for Angola's floundering economy

et CBS 17/99

CHRIS GORDON

Luanda - The recent meeting of G8 finance ministers in Frankfurt included Angola among the 36 poor countries eligible for debt relief. The war-torn country's high level of external debt - \$11 billion - and poor repayment record has cut off its potential access to other loans, at entirely the wrong time.

The official economy is under greater pressure than ever since 1995 because of the renewal of the 30-year-old civil war. About \$6 billion alone is owed to Russia, debt gathered during the long years of fighting against the rebel group Unita.

For the first time, the government published its accounts in April this year, revealing it had no foreign exchange reserves. Angola has committed most of its budget to defence expenditure this year at the expense of its already desperately ravaged social infrastructure.

Unita's strategy is to target the economy and bring down the government, creating a total breakdown, say observers in Luanda. New investment in Angola is declining as the war takes hold and some foreign

mining projects think twice about their security. Much of the oil industry is safely offshore, but onshore facilities and personnel also need protection to keep vital oil monies flowing.

In May, the World Bank announced it would stop further lending to Angola unless economic reforms were implemented.

This included controlling corruption and providing transparency in the oil and diamond accounts. These have been a key feature in the negotiations between the government and the World Bank for several years.

But lack of international backing is disastrous for the government. While the short-term financial position has been improved by an oil-backed loan and signing fees from new oil development in the deepwater blocks, the longer-term position depends now on Angola's relations with the major international financial institutions.

Two shorter-term measures have helped ease the immediate crisis. Angola secured a \$575 million oil-backed loan for four years, from the investment banking division of UBS, Warburg Dillon Read. The loan was



RACK AND RUIN *Women and children make their way along a war-ravaged street in Huambo in central Angola*

PHOTO ROSS HERBERT

guaranteed by an oil sales contract between Sonangol, the state oil company, and BP International.

Part of the latest UBS loan will be used for repayments for previous oil loans, taken out when the price of oil was around

\$19 a barrel. The fall last year in oil prices has led to repayment difficulties.

Economists say most of Angola's 780 000 barrels a day of offshore oil production is now being used to pay back previous loans, often as crude oil.

But with the oil revenues now fully committed to war expenditure, the only further boost due to the treasury is the signing fees for a total of \$900 million for three deepwater oil blocks some six weeks ago.

The gloomy picture is relieved a bit by an increase in oil prices to \$15 a barrel from \$9. But, in the longer term, Angola needs financial backing from the international community, and it has taken some dramatic steps to begin to repair its fractured relationship with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

A new team of cabinet ministers, put in place at the beginning of this year, has begun to implement some of the actions demanded by the IMF and the World Bank, in face of its dire need for external support.

A month ago, the government took two significant steps. It effectively devalued the kwanzas held in the banking system by setting the official exchange rate at the same rate as the parallel market, an incredible 2 million kwanzas to the US dollar. The official rate had been 760 000 to the dollar.

Before this surprise move, the government had cracked down on diamond companies importing money into Angola.

Agnaldo Jaime, the governor of the National Bank of Angola, banned mining companies from depositing in foreign banks revenues earned from diamond sales, and said that all transactions must be conducted through the Angolan banking system.

The government is hoping to maximise its income from the diamond sector, in the face of its need to pay for arms imports. A new management team at Endiama may begin to create more transparency in the diamond sector as a response to the government's need to garner maximum revenues.

Can Finance Minister Joaquim David take the process further and create much more accountability and transparency in the economy, and in particular in the oil sector? He has until September, when the IMF will reconsider Angola's position.

By then, the dry season of war and diamond digging will be almost over and the government's position will be clearer. Independent Foreign Service

Bid to get UN to halt Unita's arms flights

Plans include cutting diamond sales, writes **Stephen Laufer**

BP 12/7/99 (5)

ALGIERS — The United Nations security council is to be asked to deploy sanctions monitors in southern Africa in an effort to stop fresh weapons supplies reaching Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels in Angola.

The proposal is part of a package of measures put forward by the chairman of the council's Angola sanctions committee, Canada's UN ambassador Robert Fowler. They include stricter controls on sales of diamonds from territory under Unita's control.

Under the monitoring proposal, civilian customs experts would be sent to countries, which share borders with Angola, and to other nations in the region to assist local police and border officials searching for illicit weapons shipments destined for Unita. Recent supplies are said to have included tanks and other heavy arms, many manufactured in eastern Europe.

It is understood that Fowler wants the UN contingent to include monitors at airfields suitable for large transport planes in the Northern Province.

The Angolan government has on several occasions said it believes Savimbi is using SA as a supply route. SA says it is doing all it can to prevent this.

Fowler told Organisation of African Unity (OAU) foreign ministers in Algiers at the weekend that the group of about 40 monitors would help the international community find sanctions busters. While ministers unanimously welcomed the proposal, some southern African officials privately expressed reservations.

Namibian Foreign Minister Theo Ben Gurirab said anything that helped to weaken Savimbi's war effort was welcome. Fowler was "very innovative in his approach, producing the best ideas on Angola to come out of the security council for some time".

Representatives of other countries in the region said the monitoring proposal might have unwelcome repercussions for national sovereignty. There was a need to guard against the UN becoming a "super government able to come in and say you are not doing this policing right, we are taking over".

Ben Gurirab said he did not see sovereignty as an issue if UN monitors acted in concert with national police and customs authorities. Monitors should be deployed in countries bordering on Angola.

Fowler said in an interview he was optimistic, after meetings with De Beers and the Central Selling Organisation, that it was possible to drastically limit Savimbi's diamond sales. Governments of leading diamond trading countries, including Belgium, the UK, India, and Israel would be asked to rigorously implement a new certification system which could make it virtually impossible for Unita to sell the stones they mine legally.

De Beers and the CSO had assured him they were not knowingly buying stones from Unita. "I will give them the benefit of the doubt until proven wrong." Fowler said he would embarrass the companies if they were found dealing with Savimbi.

"Diamonds will not be for ever if

they are seen as involved in death and destruction in Africa."

Savimbi finances his war effort through diamond sales. Sanctions have so far proved ineffective.

Fowler said De Beers and the CSO had told him that it was possible for an expert diamond evaluator to identify parcels of stones from Unita-held territory quickly, allowing customs officials to seize them. He would ask the relevant governments to deploy experts at key customs posts.

Fowler said he could "also embarrass governments if they don't do regular and thorough checks of diamond parcels in accordance with UN resolutions". It would be impossible to prevent every sale by Unita, "but if we can drive them into the grey market and cut their profits, they will have much less to spend on weapons".

Fowler is expected in the Ukraine this week in an effort to gain Kiev's support in the battle to deny arms to Savimbi. Eastern European weapons manufacturers have reportedly sold massive amounts of materiel to Unita in recent years, allowing Savimbi to make major military gains in the initial stages of the current round of the Angolan conflict.

Fowler said he believed Savimbi got most of his supplies by air; as many as 10 flights a night, it was suggested. He believed the UN should consider deploying a force capable of interdicting transport flights. This would not be a costly operation.

Angolan govt claims success against Unita

(F) - BD - 13/7/99
Rebels retort with website version of attacks on Luanda's troops

LUANDA — The Angolan government said yesterday it had recaptured control of northern parts of the country from rebel group Unita, — but the guerrillas countered by detailing their recent military operations in the area.

Aid workers said conditions in the region remained dangerous with regular rebel-government skirmishes. A western diplomat said there was little evidence that the situation had changed.

State Radio Nacional said army successes around the province of Uige, northeast of the capital Luanda, had let many people, forced from their homes by the resumption of civil war in December, to return to their villages.

"The political military situation ... is controlled in spite of the fact our territory is subject to certain actions in a few parts," Defence Vice-Minister Armando Cruz Neto told an interviewer.

"In Uige, for example, the armed forces have broadened their cordon of defence ... The local popu-

lation is returning to areas after the expulsion of the band of terrorists of Jonas Savimbi."

Unita, led by veteran guerrilla fighter Savimbi, said on its website it had carried out several attacks on government troops in the area in the past three weeks.

The movement, which has been fighting the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos since the early 1970s, said it recently killed 40 soldiers in and around the city of Uige, the capital of the province of the same name.

Displaced

A western diplomat in Luanda said there was little evidence to suggest the military situation around Uige had changed recently.

Aid agencies working in the city, where an estimated 50 000 refugees have arrived since December, say there are no signs of displaced people leaving to return to their villages.

"There are a lot of internally dis-

placed in Uige from Sanza Pombo, 150km to the east. They are not going back.

"In fact, there are new displaced people arriving every week," an aid worker in the city said.

He described the situation as "extremely difficult" with no fuel in the city and continual rebel movement only 20km from the centre of the town.

Fighting between the rebels and the government resumed seven months ago after Dos Santos grew frustrated with Unita's lack of compliance with a 1994 peace accord.

The accord, called the Lusaka Protocol, aimed to put an end to more than a quarter century of fighting by calling for the demobilisation and disarmament of rebel units and the formation of a government of national unity.

Distrust of the government prompted Savimbi to slow the process of disarming and even to re-arm in places, which eventually sparked an army offensive and renewed the civil war. — Reuter.

Angola leads world's oil exploration league

PD 14/7/99 (5)

LONDON — Angola's debilitating civil war did not stop it being the world's hottest spot for oil exploration last year, consultants IHS Energy Group said in a report released yesterday.

Foreign explorers helped Angola add more than 2.25-billion barrels of oil finds last year, nearly double its closest rival Nigeria, with Algeria coming in third with 500-million barrels.

"West Africa was the place to be last year — and 1997 — in terms of new liquid resources added," it said.

Angola has topped the list for the last two years and a group of substantial deep-water finds in prized deep-water blocks 31 to 34 has spurred rapid new drilling by international oil firms.

Industry sources say Angola aims to license more ultra deep-water acreage next year as well.

Saharan Africa enjoyed a busy year for exploration with a 12% rise in the number of new-field wildcat wells drilled there, the report said.

"There were significant increases in wildcat drilling in both Algeria and

Tunisia," the IHS report said.

This ran counter to a global trend which saw activity outside North America fall by 10% as last year's oil price collapse hit home. The number of North American wells slid by 24%.

Harsh oil company budget cuts means drilling activity this year is likely to fall by up to 50%.

Drilling success rates worldwide last year fell sharply from 38% to 29%. Only 300 new oil and gas discoveries were made, nearly 30% down.

The poor record meant only 7.6-billion barrels were added to global oil reserves, just a third of all oil produced in the same period.

In the past five years only 38% of all oil output has been replaced by new discoveries, with big producers outside the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries faring particularly badly. Last year not one major non-OPEC producer found more oil than it produced.

The most prolific sources of new gas finds last year were China, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, the IHS said. — Reuter.

Zim wants troops in Angola

MTG 16-22-79 (279A)

Howard Barrell

Zimbabwe will be pressuring South Africa and other countries in the region to agree to use military force to back peace efforts in Angola when leaders of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) hold a summit in Maputo next month.

"There has to be general consensus within SADC on a military commitment shared by all countries," a senior Zimbabwean official told the United Nations news agency, IRIN, on Wednesday. He claimed there was "a very strong indication" that the necessary "political will" for this would exist at the Maputo summit.

The official said last week's ceasefire agreement for the Democratic Republic of Congo, which was agreed to by neighbouring states, represented "a new vision for peacekeeping in Africa", which should be extended to the Angolan context. He added: "When we [Zimbabwe] talk of underwriting an Angolan settlement, it is not just in moral terms, but in physical terms."

Earlier this year, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, his Namibian counterpart Sam Nujoma and Congo's embattled self-proclaimed head of state, Laurent Kabila, met in the Angolan capital, Luanda, and formed an alliance with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos against UNITA. The heads of state resolved to use "all possible measures" to help Dos Santos's Angolan government.

So far "all possible measures" has excluded Zimbabwean and Namibian military involvement because they already have thousands of troops in Congo propping up Kabila's regime. But a major thrust of Zimbabwean

regional policy over the past few years has been to try to corral other SADC states — particularly South Africa, the most powerful state in the 14-nation grouping — into getting involved militarily on the side of Kabila in Congo and Dos Santos's government in Angola, South Africa has been assiduously avoiding this.

The Zimbabwean official's statement is seen as an attempt by Mugabe's government to turn up the pressure on South Africa ahead of the Maputo summit.

The head of Early Warning at the Institute of Security Studies in Pretoria, Richard Cornwell, said: "All the indications are that the South African Department of Foreign Affairs is understandably reluctant to fall into the kind of regional entrapment being suggested by Zimbabwe."

"To proclaim success for the DRC [Congo] ceasefire, as the Zimbabwe official did, is entirely premature. And to talk about resolving the Angolan war easily is simply wishful thinking," Cornwell added.

Senior South African government officials, who spoke to the *Mail & Guardian* on condition of anonymity this week, dismissed the Zimbabwean official's suggestion that a willingness was developing among SADC member states to deploy military forces in Angola to back up a new peace initiative there.

"It is pie in the sky," said one senior official. "I don't want to rule it out entirely. But I am not aware of any discussions on the issue."

The South African sources said they had the impression that the Zimbabwean official's statement was an attempt by the Mugabe government to claim as its own any success



Working together: Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos (right), with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and Namibian President Sam Nujoma. PHOTOGRAPH: AP

in Congo — if indeed the ceasefire was implemented.

"Basically, Zimbabwe wants to be able to come out of its military involvement in the DRC [Congo] smelling of roses, and then to advocate the same thing in Angola. It is part of an ongoing quest for prestige," said a South African official.

Underlying the official's comments is Zimbabwe's ongoing rivalry with South Africa, particularly acutely felt in the case of Mugabe. For 14 years before the birth of democracy in South Africa in 1994, Zimbabwe was the unofficial political leader of most states in the region. Since then, however, its government has been smarting at

South Africa's predominance. Much of this rivalry has been played out in a dispute over the status of a SADC body called the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security. The organ was originally chaired by Mugabe, and he continues to convene meetings ostensibly held under its auspices despite the fact that South Africa and most other SADC countries consider the organ to have been suspended. The Luanda meeting earlier this year, for example, at which Mugabe, Nujoma and Kabila met with Dos Santos, was, as far as Mugabe was concerned, a meeting of the suspended organ.

'90 bodies found in

Angolan mass graves

ct 20/7/99 (S)
LUANDA — Villagers have found more than 90 bodies in mass graves in central Angola and the government has blamed Unita for the killings, a private Catholic radio station reported yesterday.

Radio Ecclesia said the bodies were found in ditches near the village of Chipeta, about 20km east of Kuito, in a region that has seen much of the worst fighting.

"More than 90 bodies were deposited there by Unita, says the government," Radio Ecclesia reported. "The government says that Unita burnt the people in that place."

The report quoted government officials as saying the ditches were found during a clean-up campaign by villagers. One person interviewed by Radio Ecclesia said the victims had been tied up and thrown into a ditch, "where grenades were thrown and machineguns fired".

It was not clear when the massacre occurred. The report could not be independently verified. — Reuter

Angolans uncover mass graves

LUANDA — Villagers have found more than 90 bodies in mass graves in central Angola and the government has blamed Jonas Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) for the killings, a Catholic radio station said yesterday.

Radio Ecclesia said the bodies were found in ditches near the village of Chipeta in a region that has seen much of the worst fighting between the government and Savimbi's Unita.

Radio Ecclesia quoted the government as saying four ditches, containing 90 bodies, were found in the Chipeta commune. The Angolan government

has been at war with Unita since the country's independence from Portugal in 1975. Several peace initiatives have failed to restore peace and fighting escalated last year after an unsuccessful government attack on the rebel headquarters. One person interviewed by Radio Ecclesia said the victims had been tied up and thrown into a ditch, "where grenades were thrown and machine guns fired". The graves were found three days after state-owned Jornal de Angola reported the alleged massacre of more than 50 people in Huambo, 150km west of Kuito. Reuter.

(S) 20/7/99

Angola still showing the dark and dangerous side of Africa

By CHIARA CARTER

ELECTION graffiti scrawled on a Luanda wall several years ago read: "Exercise your democratic right, vote for the murderers or thieves."

That cynical assessment of the country's political options has resonance today as war once more ravages Angola while human development continues its downward spiral.

The civil war that restarted late last year has attracted little attention—after all, the internal conflict in one of the potentially wealthiest African states began way back with independence in 1975, flourished in the 1980s, courtesy of international Cold War players, and is now interlinked with the complex Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) war.

But the bleak and worsening situation in Angola has potentially serious consequences, not least for South Africa, where local business aspirations to invest in Angola are frustrated and refugees trickle down as far as Cape Town.

South Africa, as one of the most influential members of the South African Development Community, will shortly have to consider Zimbabwe's proposal for SADC forces to be sent to support the beleaguered Angolan government of Eduardo dos Santos, which has achieved enhanced international status since Unita failed to meet its obligation to disarm as demanded by the 1994 Lusaka accord.

Jonas Savimbi's Unita might be an international player but its forces this week were shot 60 km east of Luanda attacking the town of Catebe.

Despite Unita withdrawing after a fierce battle, a flood of refugees from the area began trekking towards an already overcrowded and unsanitary Luanda.

A Unita statement subsequently claimed that more than 200 government soldiers had been killed in four days' fighting in five provinces: Bie, Bengo, Huambo, Moxico and Kuanza Norte.

This week also saw the United Nations express deep distress at unconfirmed reports that an aid convoy was attacked and staff gruesomely massacred near Uige.

Catholic church and Protestant activists to Cabinda-based women's groups.

The failure of Savimbi to fulfil the Lusaka agreement and the renewal of hostilities has seen the United Nations call for the enforcement of sanctions against Unita and Savimbi.

But the UN secretary-general Kofi Annan, recommending the closure of the UN peace mission in the country in January this year, said the country is now in a state of war.

There is little chance of renewed talks between the two sides, not only because of a history of broken agreements and

Startling statistics: In 1992, 1.6 million people were displaced in Angola. In 1993, 1.8 million people were displaced. In 1994, 2.1 million people were displaced. In 1995, 2.4 million people were displaced. In 1996, 2.7 million people were displaced. In 1997, 3.0 million people were displaced. In 1998, 3.3 million people were displaced. In 1999, 3.6 million people were displaced. In 2000, 3.9 million people were displaced. In 2001, 4.2 million people were displaced. In 2002, 4.5 million people were displaced. In 2003, 4.8 million people were displaced. In 2004, 5.1 million people were displaced. In 2005, 5.4 million people were displaced. In 2006, 5.7 million people were displaced. In 2007, 6.0 million people were displaced. In 2008, 6.3 million people were displaced. In 2009, 6.6 million people were displaced. In 2010, 6.9 million people were displaced. In 2011, 7.2 million people were displaced. In 2012, 7.5 million people were displaced. In 2013, 7.8 million people were displaced. In 2014, 8.1 million people were displaced. In 2015, 8.4 million people were displaced. In 2016, 8.7 million people were displaced. In 2017, 9.0 million people were displaced. In 2018, 9.3 million people were displaced. In 2019, 9.6 million people were displaced. In 2020, 9.9 million people were displaced. In 2021, 10.2 million people were displaced. In 2022, 10.5 million people were displaced. In 2023, 10.8 million people were displaced. In 2024, 11.1 million people were displaced. In 2025, 11.4 million people were displaced. In 2026, 11.7 million people were displaced. In 2027, 12.0 million people were displaced. In 2028, 12.3 million people were displaced. In 2029, 12.6 million people were displaced. In 2030, 12.9 million people were displaced.

Units' return to war but also because the MPLA has a more hawkish profile since the MPLA congress in December last year.

A briefing by Richard Corneil of the Institute for Security Studies noted that the congress saw Dos Santos strengthen his hold over the party and marginalise his chief critics.

Cornwell said there had been an ascendancy of hardliners. However, the expected government offensive against Unita, which now holds some 70 percent of the countryside, is yet to come and the dry season is half-gone. Conscription has failed to produce the recruits the government hoped would swell the army's ranks and human rights groups claim youngsters

are being press-ganged on both sides of the war.

Analysts have begun speculating that the Luanda government might well have overextended itself by becoming embroiled in the DRC conflict.

Angolan troops are shoring up the government of Laurent Kabila with a view to cutting off Unita supply lines and diamond routes, but recent significant strategic advances by the Congo rebels mean Unita is strengthening and Angolan troops tied down in holding off rebel advances.

The United Nations, which spent US\$1.6 billion implementing the now collapsed 1994 peace plan, is focusing on finding out how to enforce sanctions against Unita. The spotlight is on three areas critical to understanding just how the Angolan war has continued so long—oil, weapons supply and diamonds.

A report by monitors Global Watch says that Unita Global about US\$3.7 billion between 1992 and 1998 from direct diamond sales. The report says this enabled Unita to "rearm and maintain supplies despite the UN officially sponsored peace process". Unita sold its diamonds on the outside market and found buyers within the diamond industry.

Angolan diplomat Penola Mafumana said "they (Unita) have occupied the most productive areas and the same thing (occupation of the diamond rich areas) is being used to buy the arms which they are using on innocent people".

The Global Watch report entitled *A Rough Trade* said: "The international trade in diamonds has become a major obstacle to any possible progress towards peace, and has played the major role in enabling Unita to restock its munitions and maintain a flow of supplies which in turn has enabled it to disregard the 1992 elections results and to avoid meeting its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol."

The UN embargo on unofficial diamond exports from Angola, adopted by the European Union, requires Angolan diamonds to be certified. But loopholes mean this restriction has so far failed to stem the tide in an industry dominated by De Beers and its Central Selling Organisation with major diamond markets situated in Belgium and

Israel. The UN is now to look at how to monitor cross-border smuggling of both diamonds and weapons, and even monitoring air traffic.

Meanwhile the MPLA government, which is severely short of foreign reserves but slightly helped by rising oil prices, has effectively ransomed the country's massive oil reserves to fund the war coffers.

The International Monetary Fund has demanded the government exercise transparency in the proceeds of the oil sector and the D-Day for whether the IMF will reach agreement with Angola is September this year.

For ordinary Angolans life is bleak with a high infant mortality rate, low life expectancy and the vast majority of people living in abject poverty.

A country with three of the world's potentially richest deep sea oil reserves faces its highest child malnutrition rate in 25 years, a polio epidemic and severe food shortages.

There are an estimated 1.6 to 1.7 million displaced people in Angola, which has a population of 11 million. A million of these refugees fled this year and the ongoing flight from rural areas means poor harvests are likely making still more people reliant on donated food.

The United Nations has warned that food relief for Angola is seriously underfinanced.

Unita's advances make it difficult for food to reach outlying areas and aid workers acknowledge most goes to people living in government territory.

Unita's renewed onslaught on towns such as Huambo, Kuito and Malanje has increased legis-

tical problems for relief organisations and upped the bill with aid having to be flown into besieged areas.

With indications that the war is likely to intensify and the human tragedy deepen, Angola, a country forgotten by most of the world, poses a critical challenge met.

to those who want to see Africa realise its potential and turn away from corruption, profiteering and power struggles played out by the murderous charter of guns.

Right now there is little to show that the challenge will be met.



ARMS RACE... With Unita continuing to arm itself with income from diamond sales, the prospect for peace is dim.

to those who want to see Africa realise its potential and turn away from corruption, profiteering and power struggles played out by the murderous charter of guns.

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Unita claims big army casualties

As fighting continues, Angolan govt issues arrest warrant for rebel leader Jonas Savimbi

LISBON — Angolan rebels say they have killed 68 government soldiers in battles over the past week outside two cities where tens of thousands of people have sought shelter.

A communiqué released by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) on Saturday said an additional 36 soldiers were killed in fighting in the provinces of Huila and Kwanza Norte.

There was no word on guerrilla casualties nor could the rebel claims be independently verified.

On July 20, rebel forces attacked an army truck 14km north of the central highland city of Huambo, killing 28 government soldiers, Unita said.

The next day rebels quashed a government offensive 10km outside Huambo, killing 21 government soldiers, Unita claimed.

It also said the rebels killed 19 government soldiers on July 22 in a battle staged 9km outside Malanje, a strategic city 300km east of Luanda, where

150 000 people have sought refuge.

Meanwhile, Angolan authorities have issued an arrest warrant for Unita leader Jonas Savimbi on charges that include rebellion, sabotage, murder and torture, news reports said on Saturday.

The warrant was issued on Friday by the National Directorate of Criminal Investigation and follows charges filed by the government in February.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos asked the United Nations (UN) in February to declare Savimbi a war criminal and issue an international warrant for his arrest.

Unita has fought the Angolan government since the country won independence from Portugal in 1975.

A peace agreement was reached in 1991 but it collapsed the following year when Unita rejected its defeat in the country's first democratic elections.

The UN brokered another peace accord in 1994, but full-scale war resumed last year, displacing thousands of poor people. — Sapa-AP, Dow Jones.

DD 26/7/99 (5)

Dissidents 'backing Savimbi'

Unita-Renewal accused of passing strategic information on Huambo to Savimbi

LUANDA — Anastacio Ndavoka, the local kingpin of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) party machine in Huambo, Angola, says members of the dissident Unita-Renewal group are helping Jonas Savimbi and his rebel group Unita.

The Luanda government issued a warrant for Savimbi's arrest on Saturday.

"Unita-Renewal and Savimbi's Unita are one and the same organisation," Ndavako charged.

His claim sparked an outraged denial in Luanda from Jorge Valentim, a leader of the dissidents in the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita-Renewal).

Ndavako said: "We have seen how members of Unita-Renewal have helped shelter infiltrators from Jonas Savimbi's Unita and that they communicate among themselves from Huambo." Huambo is Angola's second city and has been under attack from Unita artillery.

"From central Huambo, Unita-Renewal (activists) give precise details of major targets, such as the electrical power stations, water supply centres and other strategic points," he said.

Valentim said these allegations were "extremely serious, because they come from a party which shares the same aims as Unita-Renewal: the fight against warmongering."

Unita-Renewal was set up last September by Valentim and other former top aides to Savimbi.

It became the only rebel faction that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's administration was prepared to deal with, as Angola plunged back into increasingly fierce conflict after the collapse of United Nations' (UN's) efforts to make peace and oversee disarmament of the rival sides under a 1994 accord.

Valentim said Ndavoka's charges would lead to a "very thorough investigation (by his movement) and the MPLA government"

The Dos Santos government broke off all dialogue with Savimbi in August last year.

It has been backed in its claims that Savimbi is primarily responsible for the war in Angola by the UN, which has slapped sanctions on Unita.

Already officially considered a "war criminal" by the parliament in Luanda, Savimbi on Saturday became a man wanted to face charges such as rebellion, murder, sabotage and torture.

His Unita group said at the weekend that it had killed 104 government soldiers between July 20 and 22 in operations in four provinces, and had seized a large number of light weapons and artillery shells

A statement issued by the Unita headquarters at Bailundo in central Angola said

the "Forces of the Generalised Popular Resistance" also destroyed five troop transport lorries and other military hardware.

In Huambo province, Unita troops attacked a government column some 10km from the town

They also struck a troop transport in a separate operation 14km from Huambo.

According to the communique, these two actions cost the lives of 49 government soldiers. Unita failed to mention casualties among its own ranks.

However, it said "the Generalised Popular Resistance is pursuing its actions to resist the offensive plans" of government troops.

Ever since a first peace pact was signed with Luanda in May 1990, which led to presidential and general elections in 1992, Savimbi had refused to go to the capital, expressing concern for his safety.

Civil war has ravaged Angola since before independence from Portugal in 1975.

Unita-Renewal is led by Eugenio Manuakola, who was Savimbi's secretary-general at the time of the Lusaka accords of November 1994.

The accord provided for disarmament, the forming of a new joint defence force, the handing over of towns under Unita control to central administration, and power-sharing with the MPLA — Sapa-AFP.

TOWN 'CLOSE TO DEATH'

Desperate Angolans live off mice, locusts

CT 28/7/99 (5)

LUANDA: A lack of aid and the inability of aid agencies to get food to tens of thousands of people displaced in the civil war has put much of the population at risk.

ANGOLANS driven to desperation by the country's slide back into civil war are eating mice to stay alive, an independent radio report said yesterday.

Catholic Radio Ecclesia said residents in the town of Cuima, in Angola's central highlands where Unita rebels are based, were badly hit by a lack of food.

"These people don't have anything. They are living in extreme, inhuman conditions. They catch mice and eat them with herbs," Domingos Dala, the municipal administrator of Cuima, told the radio station.

Dala said Cuima's population of 6 000 was close to death and that aid being flown into the rebel-besieged city of Huambo, 60km away, wasn't reaching Cuima because of the rebel threat.

Television correspondents who recently visited Huambo, where 200 000 people forced from their homes by Unita are seeking shelter, shot footage of refugees surviving on roasted locusts.

Angola fell back into civil war late last year after the government, frustrated with Unita's lack of compliance with the 1994

peace accord, launched an offensive against rebel strongholds.

Unita withstood the attack, drove the government forces back and besieged the government-held cities of Huambo, Cuito and Malanje which have since become humanitarian disaster areas.

An estimated 500 000 rural Angolans have fled to the cities to escape Unita and in the hope of receiving food and shelter. But humanitarian agencies are running out of food.

Aid is mostly being flown to besieged towns, which is not as efficient as sending it by truck, but aid convoys risk being hijacked.

In all about 1,2 million Angolans, 10% of the population, are homeless or on the run.

Much of the country's vast oil and diamond wealth has been squandered to pay for the conflict.

The UN's World Food Programme was planning to launch a three-month emergency operation in September to feed 80 000 of Angola's most desperate people.

But so far there hasn't been a single donation towards the \$37,5 million the agency says is needed for the rescue plan. In total, UN

agencies have appealed for emergency relief support of \$105m.

Three to four people die daily from hunger-related diseases in Malanje according to an assessment last week by relief groups including the international aid organisation World Vision.

"Malanje is very, very bad," said World Vision's co-ordinator for the city, Fernando Chidundo, who said it was facing the "worst humanitarian situation" he had seen in Angola's three-decade war.

"People are falling down in the streets from hunger. Children are dying and vulnerable, adults as well. There is no food and no seed and there are no agricultural activity going on," he said.

About 130 000 people have flooded into Malanje which has been without sustained relief efforts since the start of the year, when Unita launched an artillery campaign against the city and relief organisations were forced to evacuate, World Vision said.

Shelling of the town had abated in recent weeks, allowing the assessment before renewed relief efforts.

"Malanje's stocks of relief food are critically low," it said. "There is no food available for general distribution and only minimal supplies available for vulnerable group feeding." — Reuter-AFP

Sparkling profit for Unita on gem sales

(7) APR 30 7 1999

New York — Angola's Unita rebels have raised an estimated \$3-billion to \$4-billion through diamond sales over the past eight years and that sum has probably grown as a result of wise investments, the chairman of a UN sanctions committee said here.

Canadian UN ambassador Robert Fowler was speaking to reporters here yesterday after briefing the Security Council on a recent trip aimed at tightening sanctions against Unita.

He said one of two panels he was setting up to study ways of clamping down on sanctions-busting would look into Unita's financial transactions "and see if we can get a better hold of what they are ... so that we can begin to shut them down". — Reuters

'Diamond sales bring Unita billions'

UN sanctions committee head thinks Savimbi has been growing his fortune with wise investments

5) ND 2/8/99

NEW YORK — Angola's rebel movement Unita have raised \$3bn to \$4bn through diamond sales over the past eight years and that sum has probably grown as a result of wise investments, says the chairman of a United Nations sanctions committee.

Canadian UN ambassador Robert Fowler said this after he briefed the Security Council last week on a recent trip aimed at tightening sanctions against Unita. The council has blamed Unita,

which controls a number of Angola's diamond-rich areas, for the breakdown late last year of a 1994 peace accord with the government and the resumption of a bloody civil war.

The funds estimate, based on various sources, seemed "reasonably accurate", said Fowler. "There is some indication he (Savimbi) has made more money by investing a lot of that very wisely in a bull market," the ambassador added.

He said one of two panels he is setting up to study ways of clamping down on sanctions-busting would look into Unita's financial transactions and see if we can get a better hold of what they are, where they are, and in whose name so we can begin to shut them down.

Fowler's recent trip included meetings diamond industry officials in Belgium, Britain and Ukraine and a visit to Interpol headquarters in France. In May he visited seven African countries —

Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Namibia, SA, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The committee aims to block Unita's diamond sales, tighten curbs on the flow of arms, oil and financial resources to Unita and enforce an air embargo and travel restrictions on top Unita officials. Fowler said the purpose of sanctions against Unita was not punitive, but to "cause this war to end by reducing Unita's capacity to make war". — Reuter.

Women who face the enemy for fire and love

(5) BD 3/8/99

KUITO — The basis of the economy in the besieged, Angolan government-held city of Kuito is firewood.

It is collected mostly by women, who have to trek up to 40 km in a day in their search for fuel. They dodge the fire of Unita rebels and minefields that ring the central highlands city, crammed with about 70 000 displaced Angolans.

It is winter in Angola and the temperature drops sharply at night in the Panalto highlands. Firewood is the main source of heat, both for warmth and cooking for those in Kuito, who shelter in makeshift, roofless grass huts and bombed-out buildings.

A small bundle of firewood costs the equivalent of about \$0,50 in the market. With the World Food Programme agency able to feed only the most vulnerable of those in Kuito, the sale of firewood helps families to buy the maize meal and vegetable leaves on which most people subsist.

Apart from a limited amount of fresh produce grown in a narrow perimeter around the city, everything at the market is flown in, which raises the price.

This affects both the displaced people and residents of Kuito, who in theory should be better off. However, while

the malnutrition rate among displaced people has stabilised since the last survey in March, 40% of 250 children admitted each week to the city's special feeding centres are from local families.

Elnusia Simela fled to Kuito from Andulo, about 100 km to the north, when Unita turned on government supporters after the 1992 election. She supports eight people in her household, including her surviving grandchildren.

"Life in Kuito is very expensive," says Simela. "There is a lot of suffering, especially for women."

She feeds her family by collecting firewood. "You leave early in the morning and come back at night. Many times you come back too late to sell and have to sleep until the next day."

"There are a lot of mines and you have to learn how to identify the areas," Simela says.

Maria Naneli is one of the unlucky women. Last week she stepped on a mine 30 km outside Kuito and lost her right foot.

"It was my first time in the area. I stepped off the path and into the bush," Naneli says.

"If I wasn't so hungry I would have stayed at home." — Irin.

Battles rage in Angola

BD 3/8/99

(5)

Government forces launch major offensive against Unita rebels

Nick Shaxson

LUANDA — Fresh battles have erupted in northern Angola in what could mark the start of a significant new bout of fighting.

The Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) have reportedly moved towards the key northern border town of Maquela do Zombo, which they lost to the Unita rebels in March. The army also claims to have captured Sanza Pombo and Cangandala, two small but strategically important northern towns. Large new weapons shipments have also recently been seen arriving in the capital Luanda.

"There are certainly more reports of fighting coming in from the north," said a diplomat in Luanda. It was unclear how crucial the latest battles would turn out to be.

The latest upsurge may represent a change of tack for the FAA, which for much of this year seemed set on capturing Unita's headquarters in the central highlands. Since December, two major FAA offensives against these towns have been repulsed.

"They are desperate to avoid another humiliation," a diplomat said in Luanda. "The theory of the minute is the FAA is slowly rolling out an offensive in the north. If it fails, they can play it down."

However, an FAA spokesman denied an offensive was under way.

Unita has enjoyed a string of successes since the collapse in December of a four-year peace agreement, but the military map has stabilised in recent weeks, with the FAA controlling all 18 provincial capitals, and Unita holding most of the countryside. The FAA have also held on to their oil facilities and main diamond mines in the north, though the humanitarian situation remains desperate as United Nations (UN) pilots brave persistent insecurity to land food planes in the war-ravaged interior.

The subject of negotiations perhaps constitutes the biggest long-term political battle now being played out between the old foes. Though most observers believe this war unwinnable, the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos says it cannot trust Uni-

ta leader Jonas Savimbi and has issued a warrant for his arrest.

Its position has been boosted significantly in recent months. Oil production is at 800 000 barrels a day and rising fast; oil prices have risen sharply in recent months; this year Unita is expected to mine less than last year's \$200-\$250m worth of diamonds, and the UN is looking into ways of tightening its sanctions against Unita.

If Savimbi can keep up the military pressure long enough, creating an unsustainable social situation in government-controlled urban centres, he believes he can force a new dialogue.

A successful Unita attack last month on the government town of Catete, just 70km from Luanda, delivered a significant psychological blow to the government's strategy. Civil groups in Luanda and the Angolan diaspora in Portugal and elsewhere are increasingly calling for new talks. "Savimbi will continue to make life miserable for millions of people," a diplomat said. "I don't think he's strong enough to force government to talk to him".

Waging war to end war

THE alleged rivalry between South Africa and Zimbabwe for supremacy in Southern Africa obfuscates the issues with which this region and indeed the continent is faced.

According to a recent report, Zimbabwe intends to propose a Southern African Development Community (SADC) military intervention in Angola in aid of the besieged Angolan government.

This proposal flows from a military pact signed by Zimbabwe, Namibia, Congo and Angola, in which they agreed to come to each other's aid in case of a military threat.

However, having committed some of their troops in the Congo conflict, there is a realisation that they may not be able to assemble enough troops and logistics to mount a successful military offensive against Unita.

It is on the basis of this realisation that Zimbabwe seeks to bring other SADC countries, especially South Africa, on board.

With its military prowess and political clout, South African involvement will not only guarantee a military victory but also give international credence to such an operation.

Early reports, however, suggest that South Africa is less eager to cooperate. A foreign affairs official reportedly said: "It is part of an ongoing quest for prestige (by Mugabe)."

Let us assume for a while that this is indeed Mugabe's motive. Does it therefore automatically mean this option should not be considered?

Regardless of Zimbabwe's ulterior motive, the bottom-line is that there should be a shift in thinking in the region – in favour of a military action instead of an overwhelming reliance on political and diplomatic actions.

This does not suggest we do not believe in peaceful resolution of conflicts on the continent. The fact is that for 25 years this option was tried and tested in Angola without positive result.

Isn't it time other options are considered? There is a high probability that the new round of sanctions, which include measures to limit Unita's access to legitimate diamond markets, will not work. Even if they worked, it will take a long time before Unita will feel the effects.

Numerous initiatives were undertaken to stop the Angolan war and were all fruitless. The most recent was the Lusaka Protocol of 1994. It raised hopes that at last a permanent solution was found. This followed the 1992 elections in Angola, which were won by the MPLA.

A process of integration at all levels of government was initiated, characterised by Unita members assuming their rightful seats on the opposition benches and its leader, Jonas Savimbi, being installed as deputy president (although he never went to Luanda to take up his

Peace in Angola can be realised only through diplomatic *and* military means, suggest **Claude Kabemba** and **Mcebisi Ndletyana** (5/8) *Sanetam 4/8/99*



Women and children waiting for food to be distributed at a refugee settlement camp in San Joao, near Huambo.

PIC: AFP

position).

Soon after the Lusaka Protocol, confirming the cessation of war and as the mark of the birth of a new democratic nation, both government and Unita forces embarked on a process of military integration.

But the celebrations were shortlived as war resumed in December 1998. As is the case with all wars, innocent people continue to be maimed, killed and impoverished – all because of the caprice of one individual: Savimbi.

Events in Angola have developed to an extent that the debate can no longer centre on who the culprit is in the conflict.

The outcome of the elections of 1992 legitimated the Eduardo dos Santos government, on the one side, while it criminalised any possible future military attacks by Unita, on the other side.

It is not surprising that the Mauritius SADC summit declared Savimbi a war criminal. Even the United States – a one-time staunch Unita supporter – has chosen to disassociate itself from Unita.

In light of all this, has the time not come to intervene decisively to end the carnage in Angola? The bottom-line is we cannot continue doing the same thing (or, in this case, not doing anything at all) and yet expect a different outcome.

The South African Government cannot continue to insist on a political settlement as a per-

manent solution to the Angolan conflict. The success of any political negotiations, as the South Africans themselves know quite well, depends on two prerequisites.

Firstly, all parties involved should be sincere in finding a peaceful resolution to the problem. Secondly, there should be trust among the parties that each will abide by the terms of the negotiations, particularly the outcome of an electoral process.

Neither of these prerequisites exist in the Angolan situation. Unita has shown itself to be extremely untrustworthy. Why then does South Africa continue to insist on a diplomatic solution?

South Africa was part of the SADC summit which declared Savimbi a war criminal. However, foreseeing that such a characterisation might be followed by a military offensive, the Government has sought to backtrack from that position.

Yet, in allowing the Angolan conflict to continue, have we not ourselves become Savimbi's accomplices? With the failure of active diplomacy and the havoc which the reckless struggle for power is causing in Angola, it has become clear that more forceful methods will be appropriate as was the case in Liberia, Lesotho and Sierra Leone.

The proposition here is not for South Africa to go in alone, but with other SADC member states. The door should also be opened to other African non-SADC states to join the coalition.

A military option will not necessarily mean the door to diplomacy is closed. A two-track approach is now necessary.

A more dynamic diplomacy like the one applied in the Congo should be accompanied by an African invasion force with a mandate to do combat, if necessary, to bring peace and order to Angola.

(The authors are policy analysts, at the Johannesburg-based Centre for Policy Studies.)

On the wrong side of the front line

Chris McGreal in Luanda

There are not many prisoners of war who have it as good as Jaka Jamba. He has no need of the Geneva Convention, nor Red Cross parcels as he dines at some of the better restaurants in Angola's capital, Luanda. He doesn't even call himself a POW. But that is what he is.

Jamba is a member of Angola's Parliament. He is also a member of Unita, a war machine which has the upper hand in its latest war on the government.

Like the other 70 members of Unita's legislative delegation elected seven years ago, Jamba found himself stranded on the wrong side of the front line last year when Jonas Savimbi once again favoured bloodshed.

Trapped in what is essentially enemy territory, Jamba straddles a very uncomfortable fence. He bubbles with enthusiasm for Parliament to save himself from a far less attractive alternative.

But he and his colleagues cannot take it too far. Many have family members in Unita-held territory who are hostage to Savimbi's notorious sensitivity to any perceived lack of loyalty.

"It is a very difficult situation. It's not one I expected," Jamba says wryly.

Luanda may technically still be the capital

of a fairly large country of 10-million people, but Savimbi has turned it into little more than a crumbling city state which maintains fragile air links to war-ravaged cities across Angola. Almost everything in-between belongs to Unita.

Savimbi's marauders emphasised just how miserable they can make life in Luanda last week by cutting off the water supply to the sweltering city crowded with refugees. The official press leaves no one in any doubt as to who is to blame with full-page caricatures of Savimbi as a pirate.

Yet for all the misery Unita has inflicted, there's no policeman at Jamba's door — either to protect or control him — and no overt sign that he is being watched. He is not spat on in the street, and his neighbours don't harass him even though he has spent long years fighting with the devil incarnate.

The neighbours don't mention the war either. The government doesn't need to watch too closely. There's really no means for Jamba and his family to slip away unnoticed. He is a prisoner of the Luanda city state.

Jamba is partly in the manner of privileged Africans who live a lot better than those they govern. His caution shows, but so does his desire to explain his position. He paints an idealised picture of Parliament as a font

of sound administration.

"We do a good job of trying to make sure the laws are well written," he says.

The truth is less palatable. Parliament counts for little in the grand scheme of Angolan governance. It ponders non-existent social security schemes and a budget devoid of figures while the country — or what little of it the government controls — is run by the president and his clique.

When the fighting resumed, Unita parliamentarians quickly saw the perks of office evaporate. The government confiscated their cars. The usual gratuities, which made up for dire pay, were no longer on offer.

"We were forbidden to leave the country. It was very difficult," Jamba says.

Then came what the government calls "clarification". The ruling MPLA demanded that all Unita MPs denounce the war. Those who refused, the government argued, backed Savimbi's insurgency and were therefore rebels themselves.

On the face of it, it left Jamba and his colleagues in an impossible position. So they opted for criticising the principal of war, without naming names. And to avoid being seen to side with either Savimbi or the government, they

chose the novel argument that their loyalty is solely to Parliament.

That worked up to a point.

The government flung a few of the lesser-known Unita parliamentarians into jail for allegedly maintaining secret contact with Savimbi. The others got the message.

Jamba was allowed to make a foreign jaunt in May. He went to Britain on an inter-parliamentary visit with a group of his MPLA colleagues. Jamba observed that perhaps the fledgling Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly offer an example to Angola. It was an oblique reference to another unmentionable for the government — the partition of the country.

The MPLA tried to undercut Unita by engineering a breakaway faction in Parliament. It pressured Jamba and his colleagues to join. A few did and quickly collected their rewards with new cars and extra cash. But the plan faltered when the Supreme Court showed an unusual streak of independence and killed government attempts to remove Unita parliamentarians from their seats.

Last month, the Angolan government issued an arrest warrant for Savimbi. He faces a myriad of charges — from rebellion and mass murder to common assault — if anyone can find him.

Jamba and his fellow parliamentarians have decided not to comment.

(5)

MTG 6-12/8/99

Angola to open aid corridors

DD JA 18/99

LUANDA — The Angolan government says it will unilaterally open corridors controlled by army and police forces to ship emergency food and medicine to people cut off by the civil war.

Social Welfare Minister Albino Malungo told state radio RNA on Tuesday that the moves would be done without any co-ordination with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebels, but gave no timetable.

Since a four-year-old peace pact unravelled in December, countryside battles, road ambushes and rebel shelling of provincial airports have hampered aid deliveries to most areas.

The UN Food and Agriculture Organisation recently said that Angola was the worst-off among 16 countries requiring emergency food aid.

In the central city of Huambo, 400 000 people, comprising residents and displaced, face starvation. In northern Malanje, several children die each day from hunger.

After full-scale war flared anew, the rebels drove rural people out of their villages, pushing them into overcrowded and besieged cities controlled by the government.

Meanwhile, Angolan security officials again detained several journalists for questioning on Tuesday after their radio station rebroadcast a politically sensitive interview

with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi. from London, in full late on Sunday night.

Independent Catholic Radio Ecclesia rebroadcast the interview, originally conducted by the British Broadcasting Corporation's Portuguese service, despite the detention and questioning of three of its journalists for airing it on Monday.

Half an hour later, officials from the Department for National Criminal Investigations arrived at Radio Ecclesia's studios in Luanda and took three journalists, including production editor Paulo Juliao, for questioning a second time.

"Yesterday we were surprised by the police who came here to take some of our people, so today we used the interview again," Netto Junior, a reporter with Radio Ecclesia, said as his colleagues left in a car followed by security personnel.

"Savimbi has not spoken for about two years. We wanted to inform the Angolan people that he is still in the bush fighting against the Angolan people," he said.

Savimbi has not been seen in public since the early 1990s, rarely gives interviews and spends most of his time in Unita-controlled areas.

The government has declared him a war criminal and is seeking an international warrant for his arrest.

The BBC Portuguese service first broadcast the half-hour interview, conducted by satellite phone

At one point Savimbi denied that Angola, where 10% of the population is homeless and thousands are starving, was in crisis.

"There is not a humanitarian catastrophe in the country, they are lying. We are the ones who are winning the war," he said.

Extracts from the interview were made available to several Angolan media outlets. Radio Ecclesia played it on its noon news programme on Monday and throughout the afternoon. The journalists were detained at 8pm.

They were questioned for several hours and released. A compact disc carrying the interview was confiscated, they said.

On Tuesday the authorities confiscated a second disc and took Juliao, the station's director Father Antonio Jaka and a third, unidentified man for questioning.

Radio Ecclesia said later it had not decided whether to run the interview yet again. "We have to have a meeting this afternoon to discuss what to do next. We all know that it can be very dangerous," it said.

Soon after fighting resumed in December, the rebels looked to have made ground against the government's forces, but in recent months the conflict seems to have bogged down almost to a standstill. — Sapa-AP, Reuter.

Journalists detained after Savimbi interview

(5) MGT 13-19/8/99

Ivor Powell

Nine Angolan journalists from the Catholic Radio Ecclesia were detained by the security police this week as Angolan authorities clamped down on what they term "a fifth column fighting a rearguard action against the government".

The nine were taken into custody

after they rebroadcast a BBC interview with Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi. In the interview — his first in several months — Savimbi said he was willing to enter into peace negotiations with the MPLA government. He also denied that areas under his control were experiencing a humanitarian disaster of the magnitude claimed by the United Nations

and the Angolan authorities. The interview was granted to a BBC correspondent in Portugal after the Angolan MPLA government issued a warrant for Savimbi's arrest as a war criminal. The MPLA is trying to whip up international support for the warrant and intensification of UN sanctions against Unita.

The journalists — who include the

off between the Catholic church in Angola and the MPLA government of President José Eduardo dos Santos.

In recent months the Catholic Church has joined Protestant churches in protesting against the 30-year civil war. At the end of July the Catholic bishops' synod issued a statement condemning both sides in the conflict.

The recent detentions follow action against other journalists earlier this year. Among those targeted were journalists from Radio Morena in Benuela province, as well as the correspondents of the Portuguese Expresso and the Voice of America.

director of Radio Ecclesia, Father Antonio Jaka, the station's editor, Paolo Juliao, as well as announcer Laurinda Tavares — have been charged with "disseminating dangerous information". They were released after several hours of interrogation and the confiscation of their tapes.

The clampdown on Radio Ecclesia comes in the midst of a growing stand

The wars according to Garp

(5) MGT 13-19/8/99

Mercedes Sayagues

The Angolan Group of Reflection for Peace (Grupo Angolano de Reflexão para a Paz — Garp) is organising a national convention for peace to be held in September.

Garp is a coalition group of churches, intellectuals, trade unions,

journalists and other members of Angola's infrastructure.

The second is moral and psychological, tearing the social fabric of Angolan society, eroding the sense of patriotism and national sovereignty. The majority of people have succumbed to survival strategies which sustain the culture of violence, says Garp.

The third war is part of global

economics which has turned vices such as corruption and greed into values. This has legitimised the culture of violence by reinforcing its values of individualism and selfish security.

Part of this war is the mortgage of Angola's future by trading its oil and diamonds for dollars and weapons. These deals and contracts

weaken the technical and administrative capacity of state institutions, with the acquired equipment and funds channelled towards personal gain.

In the cities, bureaucrats rob the state. In the countryside, soldiers steal from people. The war of dis-possession has reached a stage which makes everyone vulnerable in the face of the power of the gun.

The national convention for peace aims to become the national platform of groups and individuals working together for peace. Garp is led by pastor and theologian Daniel Ntongi Nzinga.

ANGOLA

UN plans to turn Savimbi's treasure to dust

ET (AA) 7/19/99

(5)

WILLIAM MACLEAN

Cursed by wealth, African treasure trove Angola is suffering fresh wounds from a civil war driven by a global lust for its mineral riches.

A deadly mixture of oil and diamonds has long helped nourish the near 25-year conflict, lending the former Cold War sideshow an economic immunity to the attentions of successive generations of peacemakers.

But one of the war's main financial pillars may be about to get a jolt from a fresh United Nations (UN) bid to curb diamond sales by the rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita).

"Profiteers who help supply Unita, if allowed to continue their mischief today, will create death and suffering elsewhere tomorrow," said Peter Burleigh, until recently the acting head of the US mission to the UN.

A parallel attempt will be made by the UN to slow the flow of gasoline and diesel to Unita tanks and armoured vehicles.

Sanctions against Unita and its bid to topple the formerly Marxist government have been tried without success for years, despite the crumbling of support from the US and then apartheid South Africa in the early 1990s.

The curbs, which ban the import of Angolan gems without a government certificate of origin and ban oil and arms sales and financial support to Unita, have been little more than a joke to determined profiteers. They can buy support through out large swathes of central and west Africa and ignore its porous borders with impunity.

But this time around,



Western governments appear strongly supportive of the UN sanctions bid. Their commitment is heightened by a concern to protect investments in big petroleum finds by the world's largest oil companies in government-controlled areas.

The plan, led energetically by Canadian diplomat Robert Fowler, would entail naming and shaming the countries and companies involved in the traffic of arms and fuel for Unita gems mined from Angola's northern diamond badlands.

"If one really wants to get to the sources of conflict in Africa one can probably start very usefully with (Unita leader Jonas)

Savimbi," Fowler recently told the UN Security Council. "Unita has had a destabilising influence throughout central and southern Africa for decades, and I believe it is truly incumbent upon us in this council to stop this as best we can."

Other momentum has come from the collapse of the last vestiges of US government sympathy for Savimbi after he ignored a 1994, US-backed peace pact by re-arming thousands of his fighters using diamond profits.

"I see absolutely zero possibility of providing any sort of US support to Savimbi," said Paul Hare, the US special envoy to Angola from October 1993

until July 1998. "The emphasis now is on isolating Unita to try to make the sanctions policy more effective."

Many believe that only a coordinated effort from governments hosting the world's main diamond markets will be able to stop rebel gem sales, which have earned Unita \$2-\$4 billion in the past eight years.

The UN's aim is to force Savimbi to the negotiating table by reducing the scope and profitability of his diamond sales, in part using intelligence from Western countries.

Methods considered include deploying monitors in countries suspected of sanctions busting.

The curbs also need a credible system of certifying Angola as the origin of the diamonds.

Unita, which controls most of the countryside, is believed to smuggle diamonds through neighbouring Zambia, Namibia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Some reports also say diamonds are bartered for weapons.

Fowler would ideally like aerial surveillance of Angola by hired Awacs planes to detect sanctions-busting flights.

But sanctions have critics. They say the curbs will only boost domestic sanctions busting, tempting some corrupt state officials to raise the price of

illegal fuel sales to Unita. The curbs can only work if they target a murky web of graft that crosses the battle lines, the critics say.

And even if Savimbi comes to the negotiating table, the process will be hampered by international distrust of a leader widely seen as bent on power with a track record of using peacewalks as a tactic to buy time and by-arm.

"It's the same intractable problem: what do you do with 'Limpus Savimbi?'" said Gerald Benoit, an Angola expert at the University of Southern California.

"He won't stop at anything. Given that fact, the government had no choice but to fight."

"People can fight wars with bows and arrows. The personality of Savimbi would be there whether Angola had oil to buy sophisticated weapons or whether they had machetes."

De Beers Consolidated Mines, the diamond company which controls 70 percent of the world's rough diamond trade through its London-based Central Selling Organisation, says it will not buy diamonds from Angola without a state certificate of origin.

But De Beers believes that only a concerted effort by governments could halt Unita diamonds from end markets.

"I'm not among the optimists," said Ali Macrui, an African scholar at the State University of New York.

"I see a 30-year war continuing to a dramatic conclusion only early in the next century because money from the country's resources is going to fuel conflict for quite a while longer." - Reuters

Angolan civilians speak up

(5) CT 13/9/99

LUANDA: Human rights workers, academics and church leaders have launched a peace movement to represent the millions caught between the two sides in the civil war.

ANGOLA'S return to civil war has lit a fuse of anger among civilians trapped in a profiteers' conflict that is enriching the elite and sapping hope among a long-resilient people.

Risking careers and repeated arrest, peace activists in government-held areas have begun to raise their voices against a 25-year-old power struggle that is condemning increasing numbers to starvation and disease.

"Angolans are reaching the extremes of suffering, barbarism, social humiliation and perversion of the use of power," said the Manifesto for Peace in Angola, issued by 150 academics, churchmen and activists working to strengthen civil society. "Those who possess might are looting Angola's wealth, with the help and complicity of other countries and foreign adventurers."

The activists said they were speaking on behalf of a majority silenced by fear of reprisals from the government and Unita.

They said massive graft on both sides of the battle lines had turned the conflict into a sophisti-



MUST GO: Jonas Savimbi

cated business that had long since lost any ideological foundation.

"The people feel betrayed by politicians," Vacarias Kamvenho, bishop of the southern city of Lubango, said in an interview.

"Those caught between the government and Unita struggle to make themselves heard ... This is why we have to set up the peace movement and explain that peace is the only way."

Kamvenho said he agreed in part that Luanda, its population swollen by refugees, had lost some of its resilience and had moved

closer to political instability. Some Angolans fear that, at worst, there could be a recurrence of the mass killings of 1992.

"Elsewhere in Africa, when people reach extremes, they stone ministers' cars," Kamvenho said. "Angolans don't do this, not because they're afraid of the police but because they still have hope. The authorities should see how people are suffering and help."

The government holds many of the cities and funds many of its operations from the booming oil industry. Unita holds more than two-thirds of the countryside and finances its activities through illegal diamond sales. Residents of Luanda note wryly that it is fairly peaceful in the diamond badlands in the north-east where Unita and the government have fields that provide lucrative sidelines for generals on both sides.

The conflict has brought starvation in the countryside, the return of polio and other diseases and the collapse of the currency. Government services, already hobbled by graft and incompetence, have deteriorated.

Diplomats say although fear of Unita remains a unifying influence, loyalty to the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola has been eroded.

The government has lavished weaponry on an army shaken by its defeats, but is incompetent in paying and feeding its troops.

The country is almost bereft of a middle class. There is a yawning gap between the elite who shop abroad and the poverty-stricken millions who live in hovels.

Kamvenho said he saw no sign that the government was using the income from oil to improve the lives of ordinary people.

"I see only misery and starvation," he said. "Where the money goes, I have no idea."

Some see a glimmer of hope in the attentions of the international oil industry, which has political clout and an allergy to instability. Yet this will not produce a peace dividend as the oil barons have moved in precisely because Angola's energy riches lie offshore, far from the conflict.

The government's defenders say that even if it could improve its governance, the intractable problem of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi would remain.

"Many people believe the only answer is for Savimbi to disappear," said Margaret Anstee, the United Nations secretary general's special representative to Angola in 1992-9. "But he's a great survivor, and ruthless." — Reuter

Unita gets helping hand in Luanda

(N) M 15/9/99

Senior officials are said to be helping rebels move fuel and diamonds, writes **Claire Pickard-Cambridge**

SENIOR Angolan government officials are among those who have broken a United Nations (UN) embargo against Unita by helping the Angolan rebel group to procure fuel and sell diamonds.

According to a five-year study by international monitoring body Human Rights Watch, fuel and diamonds have been essential to Unita's military efforts. Although much of Unita's fuel has come from outside the region many reports indicate official complicity in channelling Unita's goods.

The report, which documents the peace process since the Lusaka accords in 1994, says both the government and Unita committed widespread human rights violations. The UN, in turn, effectively wasted \$1.5bn by turning a blind eye to breaches of the accords and by failing to implement embargoes against Unita.

The report says truck drivers reported last year that on orders of the governor of Malanje province, Flavio Fernandes, the fuel trucks of state oil company Sonangol were driven past Malanje city to Quela, where their contents were siphoned off by Unita. This went on for many months, and diplomats in Luanda reported that they raised the issue with government, "which did nothing".

Only in December last year, after Malanje came under Unita siege, were senior city policemen arrested on charges of facilitating fuel sales to Unita.

According to O Independente, fuel is purchased on behalf of Unita from the Sonangol storage facilities at Lobito port and transported through intermediaries. Angolan officials admit that several hundred people, including some army officers, have been arrested for such activity. According to the Angolan media, Unita has also been acquiring fuel from northern Namibia.

Human Rights Watch says that without fuel, Unita's ability to operate on several fronts at the same time and maintain a semi-conventional military fighting option would have been more limited. "For example, Unita's counteroffensive against the government and its siege on Kuito in January ended because its forces ran out of fuel."

The report notes that the Angolan government has been reluctant to tighten up its system of certificates of origin for diamonds. "This may be because ... senior government officials have played a significant role in unofficial diamond production in Angola and this trade would be threatened by more rigorous controls."

Moreover, diamonds from Unita-held areas have also been traded to government officials in significant quantities. Between

1995 and 1998, government officials regularly engaged in deals with Unita, arranging local transactions while claiming in Luanda that the diamonds were obtained from mines in government-held areas.

The organisation says an Angolan diamond trader boasted in July this year that government-issued certificates of origin were for sale in Luanda, but it warns that the trader's claims need to be verified.

Ambassador Robert Fowler of the UN sanctions committee highlighted in his July 29 report the "importance of working with the Angolan government to tighten controls on the buying and selling of diamonds within Angola and diamond exports, including through the redesign of government-issued certificates of origin".

Fowler said the UN's monitoring of embargoes on Unita was not systematic.

Human Rights Watch notes that the dominant position of De Beers in the diamond market makes it central to the implementation of embargoes. The sanctions committee should ask De Beers and the Central Selling Organisation to describe and document the measures taken by its buying offices regarding the embargo, it says.

It says government leaders must be held accountable for crimes against humanity. Government abuses that undermined Unita's confidence in the peace process included torture and executions, particularly of Unita supporters in areas where government control was newly established in 1998; harassment and censorship of the media; and harassment of political opponents. Unita also committed "horrendous human rights abuses" and failed to fulfil a pledge to demobilise and transfer control to government of all territory it was meant to hand over.

Unita financed the rebuilding of its military through its control of diamonds, most of which were smuggled to Europe via the two Congos, although SA, Namibia, Rwanda and Zambia have also been conduits.

It calls on diamond companies and dealers to refuse to purchase diamonds suspected of being acquired in violation of the embargo and to inform the police and UN of their source; to help with monitoring and certification schemes; to allow the UN access to diamond purchase records; and to help the UN establish how the origin of Angolan rough diamonds can be identified.

It recommends that oil companies urge government to reach a "shadow agreement" with the International Monetary Fund — an audit that ensures oil profit remittances are spent in a transparent manner and not for covert arms purchases or loan repayments.

Happy birthday, Mr President

While the president parties, scores of Angolans are dying daily of starvation, writes Mercedes Sayagues

In an Angola ravaged by war-induced famine, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos celebrated his 57th birthday with a week-long splash of lavish events in Luanda

At one such event, held on August 28 at a soccer school next to the presidential palace of Futungo, hundreds of well-fed, shod, clean children, sporting the blue and white T-shirts of the president's foundation, Fundacao Eduardo dos Santos (Fesa), danced, sang and demonstrated step aerobics, karate and traditional dances, while the first family watched.

Guest of honour was Brazilian TV star Tais Duarte, who plays Xica da Silva in a soap opera Angolans love to watch. "Never mind the war," chirped the 22-year-old starlet, flown in especially for Dos Santos's birthday. Wearing platform shoes and a bright and tight turquoise pants suit, Duarte danced with the president under the not very amused eyes of the first lady. French champagne flew freely, served by waiters in black bow ties.

While Dos Santos danced, Angolans were — and still are — dying of something they had not encountered before. Somali-style starvation. In Malange, Kuito and Huambo, skeletal children can barely stand. Adults are painfully thin. Pellagra, a disease caused by a severe deficiency of vitamin C, makes children's skin look like an elephant's. If untreated, pellagra causes diarrhoea, dementia and death.

Until aid agencies started flying food into Malange and Huambo last month, scores of people were dying every day. Some are still so weak they collapse on the streets.

"Malnutrition and poverty are worse than ever before," says Jenny McMahon, a nutritionist with the Red Cross.

Since 1984, the Red Cross has kept malnutrition records in Huambo. At more than 30%, malnutrition has never been so bad, even in drought years.

In 1994, in the middle of war, the average size of a family receiving food aid was 5.2. Today it is 3.8, and this is not because Angolan women are having fewer babies, as family planning is unheard of. Families are smaller because people have died from hunger, disease and war.

Among a group of 540 people who fled fighting 120km away to Malange in August last year, about 100 have died, says traditional chief Lazaro Fonseca. They camp out in an abandoned factory near Malange's railway tracks. One elderly woman, breathing laboriously, will not last long.

Across Angola, 1.7-million people are displaced. Squalid camps of straw huts and dusty tents have sprung up on the outskirts of besieged provincial capitals. The middle class fled to Luanda and a mass of ragged peasants replaced them.

Except for Luanda and Lubango, all the other provincial capitals, including the port of Lobito, are ghost towns, with no economic life, accessible only by air, with a safe perimeter of 20km to 40km.

Fighting erupts erratically. Uige is a hot spot these days. Waves of displaced and wounded people testify to it. Huambo may be shelled twice a week. Kuito twice a month. Unita ambushes truck convoys in the diamond-rich Lundas, in cattle-rich Huila, or in the maize-growing central highlands.

Just as during the war of 1963/94, Dos Santos presides over 30% of the country (teeming with 70% of the country's 12-million population), a narrow coastal strip, the capital Luanda, and a dozen garrison towns, islands in an empty hinterland where the state neither rules nor protects its citizens from marauders. So they flee.

The levels of destitution among the displaced people are also a record. They fled attacks by Unita, or were told by the government to leave the area with only the clothes they were



Never mind the war; President José Eduardo dos Santos and his wife (above) indulge in birthday celebrations, while many Angolans suffer from starvation (left). PHOTOGRAPHS: MERCEDES SAYAGUES



wearing. The few remaining town residents are not any better.

"There is no food left in the fields, everything has been looted by armed men, or by the displaced," says Sister Maria Jose Fernandes. She has lived in Malange for 35 years and has never seen such poverty.

Last week, the Catholic bishop and missionaries of Huambo issued a public letter: "Never before has such misery and hunger befallen our people," they said. Echoing a polemical pastoral letter issued by all the bishops of Angola last July, they called for peace through dialogue between the enemies. This signals a change in the church's cozy relationship with the MPLA government.

The government refuses. "There is no way the Angolan government will start new negotiations with somebody who did not fulfil pre-

vious negotiated settlements," said Deputy Minister for External Affairs Georges Rebelo Chicoty, in Luanda last week.

Before I interviewed Chicoty, he asked for news of Huambo and Malange. "We are so busy we never go there, we get our news from the media," he said. So does his boss. Dos Santos has not travelled to the provinces since the 1992 election campaign.

On August 23, four heads of United Nations relief agencies briefed the UN Security Council on the catastrophe awaiting Angola. They urged the council to seek an agreement from both Unita and the government to allow the safe flow of aid countrywide. Some three million people in Unita-controlled territories are inaccessible to relief, and probably in dire need of it.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has said on radio interviews that he would consider such a move and that he is ready to talk.

Dos Santos prefers the military option — a decisive victory that will crush Unita or at least humiliate it. In any case, no negotiations except from a position of power. Yet, up to now, the initiative, whether military or in communication, belongs to Savimbi.

The government tried to take Unita's headquarters at Bailundo and Andulo in December and again in March, but did not succeed. Its announced dry season offensive never materialised. The rainy season, due next month, traditionally favours Unita.

One can understand the government's frustration. Two peace agreements were signed in 1991 and 1994. Neither held. The government let its army fall to pieces twice, in 1991 and after 1994. Twice it has had to retreat, recruit and re-equip to fight Unita's armed insurrection.

But war, seasoned by oil and diamonds, is good business. It has brought astonishing affluence to the elite of Angola's rich and powerful. At the celebrations, they sat under the blue and white dais with Dos Santos and watched the children sing and dance.

The birthday extravaganza was organised by the president's foundation, Fesa. It included a four-day technical and scientific conference attended by 1 700 people, held at the National Assembly and at the Karl Marx Theatre. Its title: *How to Fight Hunger and Misery in Angola*.

Since it was launched in 1996, Fesa has steadily

grown into state machinery, generously endorsed by private business and state enterprises such as Sonangol, an oil company and Endiama, a diamond concern. Anybody who wants to do business in Angola gives to Fesa.

In a disorderly way, Fesa funds seminars and publications, restores ancient churches, supports Aids, landmines and environmental awareness, sends generators to hospitals, cars to the police and food to the poor. White Angolan hospitals, schools and infrastructure rot for lack of funds. Fesa has plenty to give away, to children, amputees, churches and traditional chiefs.

It is never said how much of the work Fesa takes credit for involves public or private funds. Effectively the borders between the state, Fesa and Dos Santos are blurred.

Fesa thrives on the decline of the state. It also hastens its demise. While the national University Agostinho Neto ails, its professors underpaid and on strike, maintained only through foreign donors, Fesa, in association with Sonangol, is planning a new university specialising in technical and scientific disciplines, "dear to the heart of engineer Eduardo dos Santos".

In a recent study, French sociologist and Angolan expert Christine Messiant described Fesa as the last instance of the privatisation of the state in Angola, a reinforcement of presidential powers and an instrument to co-opt and neutralise civil society.

At the end of the Fesa party a marvellous birthday cake was brought. About 2m long and 1m wide, it was minutely decorated as three soccer fields with tiny sugar players, surrounded by 57 candles. Eighteen children, representing Angola's provinces, each received a piece of cake.

Then, the toast with Mums champagne. Nobody talked about the starving, destitute peasants, about the malnourished children, about people who step on landmines, or about Luanda's squalor and filth.

Sang the children: "We never get tired of playing and singing, our song will fill up the city with joy, this is magic, so fantastic."

It reminded one of Savimbi's eloquent description of Luanda and its elites: Luandalandia, Angola's fiction world. Happy birthday, Mr President.

IMF contemplates Angolan programme

Public finances are likened to a 'Bermuda triangle', writes Nicholas Shaxson from Luanda

A HIGH-level team from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has just returned from Luanda after a visit that the embattled Angolan government hopes could pave the way for a long-coveted structural adjustment programme.

At first glance the MPLA government's chances of securing such a deal have improved sharply in recent months.

"We think we are in good shape for beginning a programme monitored by the fund from January 2000," IMF delegation leader Paulo Newhouse said as they departed.

The price of oil, which accounts for more than 50% of exports, has doubled this year. Since May the government has also received about \$1.5bn in new loans and bonus payments from the oil companies for the rights to explore in three large deep-water areas.

Finance Minister Joaquim David has also managed to do what none of his predecessors managed — closed the gap between the official and black market exchange rates. This gap has for years allowed vested interests to juggle the books and divert large flows of money.

The possible "shadow agreement" is a programme lasting for probably six months of tight economic monitoring by the fund which, if successful, could lead to



Rising oil prices may help Angola's president in his quest for assistance with reforms.

the system. Niggling worries about the long-term political stability of the notoriously corrupt Luanda government have added a layer of extra demand for dollars.

Now that \$100 worth of 5-million kwanza notes no longer fits comfortably in a trouser pocket, the government has suggested that it will introduce another new currency.

A structural adjustment deal would offer Angola little in terms of money. Economists say an eventual agreement, if ever attained, would be little more than \$75m, though it could trigger larger sums of donor financing and the reshuffling of some of the country's \$12bn foreign debt.

This is still peanuts compared to the oil revenues, an economist said. "Nobody can put pressure on this regime. There are people in power here who could provide \$75m from their own personal bank accounts."

Despite the obstacles the IMF is persisting doggedly. Believing that no solution to the war is in sight, it is now all the more important to try

to alleviate staggering misery by restoring economic distortions that have plunged the salaries of low-level government employees to less than \$10 a month.

With such huge investments in the oil industry, countries such as the US and France are supportive of the government and have put considerable pressure on the IMF to relax its conditions.

The formula for reform has changed little this decade. Interest rates must be liberalised, inflation is to be brought under control, inter-bank instruments such as treasury bills should be introduced, corrupt banks closed and the cartel-like import regime, which has helped make Luanda one of the world's most expensive cities, must be crunched open.

An audit of public finances is needed to peer into a web of funds sloshing about between the treasury, the central bank and state oil company Sonangol. This murky network, known sometimes as the "Bermuda triangle" — where nobody can disappear without trace — is the IMF statisticians' nemesis.

What is most worrying for the IMF is that to push through the reforms President Jose Eduardo dos Santos must fight against many powerful vested interests in politics and the army. "He needs to use a big fist, and we have not seen that," a diplomat said. "It all comes down to leadership."

But accumulated inflation has reached 225% in the first eight months of this year alone, and although the total exchange rates have stuck more or less together since they were officially liberalised in May, the kwanza is spinning downwards, from less than 2 million: \$1 in May to about 6 million: \$1 today. The government is printing kwanza notes while failing to introduce enough dollars into

made available this year is mostly being spent on the war.

Some targets set by an earlier IMF mission in March have already been broken. "The centerpiece of the proposed policy package would be a significant reduction in the government deficit in 1999," the March end-of-mission document said. It suggested that an inflation target of 90% should be set for the year.

Even before the collapse of the 1994 Lusaka peace agreement with Unita rebels at the end of last year, spending was hopelessly out of control with the current account deficit estimated by the IMF at \$1.5bn, or almost a quarter of total gross domestic product in 1998, despite rapidly growing oil production which has already reached nearly 800 000 barrels a day. The government now says the defeat of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is its first priority and the new money

made available this year is mostly being spent on the war.

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Angola tries to break Unita's grip

Chris McGreal

Tens of thousands of Angolans are flooding into overcrowded cities to escape fighting during the latest government offensive to break the siege of major centres by the Unita rebels.

The predicted assault to recover ground lost during a disastrous army offensive earlier this year comes amid increasing international pressure on the Angolan administration to open new talks with the Unita leader, Jonas Savimbi.

The government is apparently keen first to strengthen its hand militarily, by rolling back some rebel gains. But if the offensive were to fail or stall, it could prove a severe blow to the administration's war effort and political survival.

"There was an inevitability about this," an aid worker in Luanda said. "I can't say we welcome more fighting, but it is difficult to see what the government could do if they weren't to leave people to starve in the trapped cities."

The main attacks have come from the besieged cities of Kuito, Huambo and Malange toward the heavily fortified rebel headquarters at Andulo and Bailundo. Unita has accused the government of using napalm and phosphorous bombs, but there was no independent evidence to back up the charge.

The government is claiming some success around Kuito, saying it has driven Unita back about 30km. But the city continues to come under rebel shellfire.

Aid agencies say about 40 000 people poured into Kuito last weekend to escape the fighting. The city — largely ruined by shelling years ago — was already coping with more than 150 000 refugees.

The regional governor, Luis dos Santos, said there was an acute food shortage and too few tents just as the rainy season was about to begin.

The number of malnourished children is rising rapidly.

But the United Nations refugee agency has warned that many more Angolans are too weakened by hunger to flee the fighting. "They lack the physical strength to move. People are suffering in a way that seems indescribable," said the assistant high commissioner for

refugees, Soerren Jessen-Peterson.

The humanitarian situation is little better in the other besieged cities which receive supplies intermittently.

Almost one in five of Angola's 11-million people have been forced from their homes by the war. The UN estimates that 200 people a day are dying from starvation, and 400 000 are said to be malnourished. There are another three million in Unita-held territory whose fate is unknown.

The Angolan government has come under pressure from South Africa and Portugal in recent days to open negotiations with Unita.

President José Eduardo dos Santos said last Friday that his administration was willing to talk to Unita representatives but that its leader could not be trusted. Dos Santos described Savimbi as a continual cause of instability after he took the country back to war when he lost the 1992 election and when he breached the 1994 Lusaka peace accord.

The Angolan government has responded to South African pressure by accusing it and other countries of permitting Unita to break UN sanctions. Last week the Angolan Foreign Minister, George Chicoty, called for sanctions against South Africa, Ukraine and Uganda for selling weapons to the rebels.

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Aziz Pahad denied South Africa is breaching the arms embargo.

Savimbi has been able to re-equip his forces with tanks and artillery using billions of dollars raised from illegal diamond sales.

The Angolan government is also under pressure from a collapsing economy. Many shops and street traders are refusing the latest high-denomination bank note printed by the government to keep up with soaring inflation. A shortage of foreign exchange has further devalued the currency.

A Unita member of Parliament, João Galangombe Jacob, was shot dead in the Angolan capital at the weekend.

Even though the organisation is at war with the government, 70 Unita MPs continue to sit in Parliament. Their movements are restricted and four are held in prison, accused of maintaining secret contact with Savimbi.

PERSPECTIVES

The murky Angolan diamond trade

Unita and Luanda officials exploit tattered certification system, writes Nicholas Shaxson

EFFORTS to tighten United Nations (UN) sanctions against Angola's Unita rebels appear to have received an important boost with a recent government announcement that it is overhauling its chaotic certification system for diamonds.

The UN blames Unita for the collapse last year of the 1994 Lusaka peace agreement. An embargo prohibits the sale of Angolan diamonds without a government certificate of origin. But Unita easily bypasses this system as corrupt officials among Angola's ruling elite make money by obstructing the embargo against their enemy.

"You could buy a certificate of origin anywhere or even just a photocopy of one," a UN official said, though he did not know exactly what the latest government announcement meant, or whether it would translate into a credible new certification system.

Some diamonds are mined in central and southern Angola, but 80%-90% come from the wild north-east, where a patchwork of local agreements has largely preserved a fragile peace this year. Official companies here run large industrial operations in areas defended by the army and private firms, while smaller-scale diggers work nearby for Unita or other bosses.

It remains to be seen whether apparent government military suc-

cesses in late September near Huambo and Kuito in central Angola will disrupt this relative calm. The largest government mine, Catoca, is run by a consortium involving Brazil's Odebrecht, Russia's Alrosa, Israel's Leviev and state diamond company Endiama.

The only kimberlite diamond formation being exploited in Angola, Catoca now produces diamonds worth about \$6m a month. Though many other kimberlites have been found, with the potential for a huge expansion in national production, the insecurity and large investments needed to mine them mean none will be producing for some years. For now, most of Angola's mined diamonds are alluvial, or deposited by rivers, and so are scattered over large areas.

SLM, a group involving Australia's Ashton Mining, Endiama and Odebrecht, has so far announced only thin pickings from a year of alluvial production in the Cuango valley in Lunda Norte province, but says new river diversions since June and \$10m in extra investment will boost output.

Canada's Diamondworks has restarted production after a nine-month hiatus, which followed a fatal Unita attack on its Yetwene mine near Luçapa in November, and the company now mines about \$2.5m-\$3m of diamonds a month.

In restructuring and liquidating after the attack, Diamond-

works has acquired a stronger SA flavour, and announced in June that fledgling empowerment group New Mining Corporation would take over its largest shareholder, Ekuseni Resources.

De Beers is not mining in Angola, although it has a shareholding in Codiam, a licensed diamond buyer. Its buying presence has contracted since local representative Ken Kempson was shot and badly injured in a 1997 robbery. In mid-1998 — about the same time UN sanctions were applied — the company handed over ownership of Codiam to its Antwerp-based partner Steimmetz. De Beers is now building a \$30m sorting and evaluation office in Luanda and is looking for new kimberlite deposits.

History has important implications for future production. When Unita took over the Cuango valley in 1992, it inherited huge river diversions and mining infrastructure just installed by Odebrecht. This enabled the rebel movement to mine at an enormous rate — \$750m worth about \$700m to \$750m in 1996 and close to that the following year, equivalent to about 10% of world supply.

Unita rebel chief Jonas Savimbi ate the fat of the Cuango valley, an industry official in Luanda said. But those mines were exhausted in late 1997 and Savimbi then handed over the main mines. This

move, perhaps more than anything else, deluded people into thinking Unita was weak and suit committed to the 1994 Lusaka agreement, which Savimbi had wanted to pre-empt at the time because he was using it as a convenient shield behind which to re-arm in secret.

Savimbi now has to rely on ruthless control over tens of thousands of informal diggers, making it hard to raise production quickly without substantial military action.

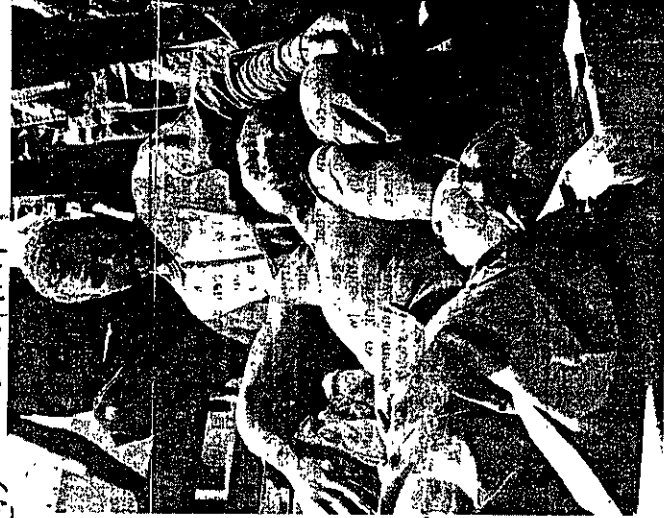
Analysts say his mines produced diamonds worth only \$200m-\$250m out of a national total of about \$700m last year, and expect to see less this year.

The government publicly estimates that last year about \$190m came from its official mines, mostly in the northeastern provinces of Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul. Official diamond buyers soaking up stones sold by a plethora of small-time diggers and others, bought diamonds worth about \$240m.

But few things are clear in the murky world of Angolan diamonds, and it is likely that some Unita channels even pass through Luanda, throwing official statistics further into doubt.

Considering the chaos, the local market is surprisingly sophisticated and many inexperienced speculators have lost money. "Today you are lucky to make a few per-

cent profit on diamonds," an Angolan businessman says.



An Angolan army soldier on the back of a truck after being injured during clashes with Unita. Hundreds of thousands have been killed in Angola in one of the longest-lasting civil wars in Africa.



Angola's peace plan

(5)

ANGOLA is at a political stalemate: The Angolan People's Liberation Movement (MPLA) government has a policy of non-negotiation with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) to end hostilities.

Instead it plans to try to win a military victory, having stockpiled weapons and attempted to recruit fresh troops to its 30 000-strong army.

Despite recent successes in its attacks on Unita strongholds in the central region, if past offensives are anything to go by, it is highly unlikely that it will defeat Unita in the field.

Unita, on the other hand, is using its 20 000-strong army to apply increased military pressure on the main cities and has taken to sabotage of the Angolan army's main logistical routes.

It has also prepared its defences with a plan for military action against Luanda, Soyo and the diamond-producing areas of Lunda Norte and the Cuango River Valley.

The ongoing restructuring of its internal and external political structures is aimed partly at increasing its support among the general population, especially in Luanda.

While the war is intensifying, the population caught in the middle is suffering. There has been an increase of nearly one million internally displaced people (from a population of 11 million) since fighting broke out again in December last year.

This has been paralleled by worsening poverty, a rise in crime, and, in a more positive vein, by increased support for non-party peace initiatives led by concerned Angolans including intellectuals, exiles, clerics, and the media.

Abel Chivukuvuku (41) has been a life-long member of Unita: once he was a guerrilla commander (reaching the rank of Brigadier-General), diplomat and adviser to Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Badly wounded in an ambush in 1992 after the collapse of the electoral process, since 1997 he has headed the moderate Unita parliamentary opposition faction.

Chivukuvuku's relationship with Savimbi, once close, has been strained since 1994. Yet he has been touted as a future leader of Unita and, possibly, president of Angola.

To hear his views on how the Angolan peace process might move forward was at once encouraging and depressing given that there is so much ground to cover.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Savimbi have, in his words, "a mutually exclusive mentality" where "the two have attained a definitive incompatible and irreconcilable situation".

Chivukuvuku has listed five prerequisites for peace

- The formulation of a new constitution – required by law by November 2000 – in which

Given the political stalemate, groups like the Church and NGOs are vigorously pursuing other avenues for peace in Angola, writes **Greg Mills**

Sowetan 29/9/99



Flashback: Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi in his headquarters in Bailundo... But yesterday Angolan army units entered the Unita stronghold after heavy fighting in the area over the past fortnight.

PHOTO: PICTURENET

events recently. Most important is the development of a ground-swell of public opinion in response to the present political and military stalemate.

It is significant that the Catholic Church is part of the process, especially given that it is "now in favour of mediation of the conflict and not just in opposition to the war".

Here both the Angolan Group for Peace and the Peace Manifesto are important.

The Peace Manifesto has been signed by over 150 political figures and politicians, including Chivukuvuku.

The South African Government, he argues, could play a particularly important role in leading a Southern African Development Community initiative.

He foresees a peace process possibly being led by a troika of Portugal, the United States and Russia, and joined by a contact group comprising South Africa, France and the United Nations, which would have to "explore possibilities and options".

The troika by itself was not enough in the past and lost credibility as there has been an emphasis on securing strategic economic interests, while the UN is blamed by both Unita and the MPLA for being partial.

Contact with Unita would only in reality start, however, if some sanctions – such as those on travel permitting contact – were lifted.

Likewise, Unita would have to come to the party, for example, by allowing safe corridors for the delivery of humanitarian assistance and extending an undertaking not to shell civilian areas.

Chivukuvuku is sober minded in realising that dialogue has already failed three times – the Alvor (1974) and Bicesse (1991) accords and the Lusaka Protocol (1994).

But he also realises that the cost of the continued political divide and the war would ultimately lead beyond a political impasse to a humanitarian catastrophe and financial and economic exhaustion.

What both parties and, especially, both leaders require now is a face-saving mechanism that will allow them and other political actors to come to a solution.

But this solution must also include mechanisms for their gracious retirement.

(The writer, Dr Greg Mills is the national director of the South African Institute of International Affairs based at Wits University.)

there would be by necessity highly decentralised and autonomous provinces/state units.

- The establishment of a positive working framework in terms of which there is a need for the Angolan army to be fundamentally restructured.

- The setting up of a three-phase process for elections, starting at intervals over a three-year period with local, national and then presidential elections, making more difficult any derailment of the process by political actors.

- The creation of a non-executive presidency. At the moment, all power is vested in the presidency, making it virtually impossible for Dos Santos' opponents, especially those within his own party, to oppose him.

- Embarking on a strategy to tackle military and political stability and to engage, particularly, with the donor community, given their potentially central role in rebuilding Angolan society.

There have been a number of encouraging

SA can play a vital role in ending the Angolan conflict

Despite the raging war the time has come to talk peace, write Stephen Laufer and John Dluđu

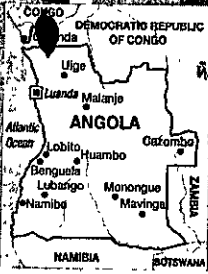
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EDUARDO DOS SANTOS



JONAS SAVIMBI



Once again, Angola is a land of loud hollers and trumpets. After months of military setbacks, the MPLA government in Luanda claims victory in the battle for Bailundo, sometime headquarters of Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita movement. A great victory for the progressive forces, Luanda says, although Unita still disputes that government troops control the town.

On the other side of the fence, the big man in the beret gives his first interviews in ages — to the BBC and the Voice of America, radio stations with a worldwide reach.

Successful in battle, but declared a war criminal and subject to increasingly stringent international sanctions, Savimbi says it is time for peace.

In Pretoria, a high-level emissary carrying a confidential note from Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos is received personally by President Thabo Mbeki.

Savimbi's ambassadors worldwide, recently called for consultations with him, are talking to anyone who will listen. Is this the storm before the calm? Do the claims of military victory foreshadow prospects for peace?

It is time once more to listen out for the quiet notes in between the burst of fanfare. Nobody is giving much away publicly. However, there are several reasons why those interested in peace and stability in southern Africa — the precondition for stronger inward investment, economic growth and prosperity — should seize the moment and push for peace.

For SA, there may be a particularly important role in helping opponents deafened by decades of gunfire to talk to each other about a common future.

This may not be a popular message in Luanda, Bailundo-Andulo, Harare, Windhoek, Pretoria or at the United Nations (UN) in New York.

Too many have been the bitter disappointments with efforts towards peace in Angola. Too complicated the rivalries, power battles and fears of a regional domino effect if rebels with a disregard for international treaties and the legitimacy of sitting governments are allowed to share power.

However, if agreement can be reached in Sierra Leone between a government claiming legitimacy and a

rebel movement willing to chop off children's arms in its bid for power, then dialogue must be possible in Angola too. It is certainly preferable to the 25 years of post-colonial destruction, poverty, disease, illiteracy and death which are the story of the ordinary people of Angola.

For a start, it is time to recognise that there is not a good and a bad side in Angola any more, no rights inherently superior to the many wrongs.

Whatever the assumptions about who owned the moral high ground in the past, the post cold war era has revealed crooks, bandits, and mercenaries on all sides.

Angola has been taken hostage. Here by a rebel cabal with an iron grip on diamond production. There by a government clique grown fat on oil revenues. Bereft of ideology, the old Soviet rigidity remains.

Like their forefathers who suffered the brutalities of Portuguese colonial rule, ordinary Angolans pay the price of the criminal behaviour of those claiming to be their leaders.

Pressed into years of military service, they have seen their towns and villages sink in a sea of destruction.

With the collapse of the Lusaka accord which would have included Savimbi in a coalition government, came the Hades school of thought: arm both sides and let them fight it out to a blazing finish. This may seem a way out to a world gasped by the granite brains of each side. However, it will not deliver lasting solutions to the Angolan crisis.

If any proof is needed, the recent conflicts in Iraq, Yugoslavia and the latest round of fighting in Angola — possibly the fiercest ever — show that wars are rarely won quickly and decisively. Savimbi has shocked Luanda in the past few months with the sophistication of his weaponry, including air power and missile technology, and his ability to use it to devastating effect.

With Angolan government forces restricted to urban areas, many military analysts believe Luanda has been his for the taking for months. However, the

old fox knows that to do so is to ask for the kind of intervention which has stiffened Laurent Kabila's spine in the Democratic Republic of Congo for more than a year.

As strong as he is, it makes eminent sense now for Savimbi to talk his way into power rather than risk a broader war against several opponents.

This is why the world should listen carefully before deciding to dismiss his latest public pronouncements on wanting to talk peace with the MPLA.

But he has done this all before. The angry voices on New York's East river can be heard saying The UN supported a process at great cost which could have seen him in the vice-presidential slot. He threw it all away.

However, did Luanda act in good faith? The stories of Unita politicians walking into ministries controlled by MPLA loyalists suggest once again that there were no good guys really determined to make the Lusaka accord work.

The distrust of the Lusaka process — now shared by both sides — indicates it is dead. If there is to be a renewed attempt at a negotiated settlement, it must start from a clean slate.

Can the MPLA leadership accept this? The last party congress saw the removal of those in favour of dialogue.

The hardliners around dos Santos appeared to have won the day and were looking for victory on the battlefield while at the same time chanting the Lusaka mantra as confirmation of their moral superiority.

Whatever the spin-off from Bailundo, dos Santos should not fool himself as he has before. The rainy season, previously an advantage for Savimbi, is about to start. Besides, there has been little evidence in recent months that Luanda can sustain an effective military campaign.

Rather than lose everything, dos Santos would do well to start thinking seriously about talking. Can he muster the necessary flexibility?

Information on his thinking is hard to come by, say those whose job it is to understand him. Like dictators before

him, he has increasingly isolated himself from his country's realities and it is unclear who advises him.

This is where the international community, which has abandoned Angola, must come back. Equally, there must be a role for the MPLA's former comrades in arms, particularly Mozambique's Frelimo, Namibia's Swapo and the African National Congress.

Portugal and Russia — once influential in Luanda — have little access. However, the US and France, through their oil companies, are able to talk home truths with dos Santos as few others can.

In a world of turmoil, it must be as much in their interests as in those of the region to move the country towards stability.

Still, while the US and France can put pressure on a vacillating dos Santos, he and Savimbi may feel more comfortable talking Turkey on their own continent. Several venues present themselves. They can go back to Lusaka. However, the Zambian capital will arouse mixed feelings at best. Besides, Zambian President Frederick Chiluba might be a little tired after the recent effort of the Congolese peace talks.

Then there are Nigeria and Algeria, newly emerged as continental players in the efforts towards stability, peace and democracy. However, they are far away from this region and its specifics.

By siding with Luanda in the Congo war, Zimbabwe and Namibia have ruled themselves out. Mozambique, with its own history of integrating a vicious rebel movement, may have much to offer the process, but perhaps lacks the capacity to stage delicate talks. Still, President Joachim Chissano, with a former rebel opposition in parliament, may have a contribution to make.

What about SA? There can be few countries SA's foreign policy establishment understands better than Angola.

Given a real will for compromise from both sides in the conflict, Pretoria could play a crucial role in bringing them to the table.

However, there are huge sensitivities on all sides. This should be a cautious and confidential process.

Those who want peace in Angola should accept that there will be no fanfare at Johannesburg International Airport and no loud hollers at the Union Buildings.

After 25 years of war there is no good or bad side left in this conflict

Government bombs destroy



Angolan government forces may have won a crucial victory in Unita's 'zone of control', writes

Chris Gordon in Luanda

Ⓢ MFG 17/10/99

The Angolan government has destroyed Unita's stronghold in the city of Bailondo two weeks after starting a new and long-awaited military offensive. The Angolan air force unleashed its recently acquired Su-27 planes in a massive aerial bombardment backed by a ground attack. This new government counter-offensive

against Unita was launched without publicity, right at the end of the dry season, though most analysts believed that there would be no push against the rebels this year.

Unita representative Carlos Morgado claimed on Portuguese radio that Bailondo had been virtually destroyed by the bombardment, in which "hundreds" had died. But there is no

independent confirmation of the widely reported fall of Bailondo to government forces.

A Luanda-based diplomat says he is not aware of any official statement announcing the capture of the city by the FAA, the Angolan army. The United Nations only confirmed there is heavy fighting in the region.

Jackie Potgieter of the Institute for Security Studies has been trying to establish the truth of the claims. Potgieter says the FAA will only say it "has control of the situation on the ground in Bailondo."

Potgieter believes FAA ground forces are being held back by Unita on the other side of the main river crossing, 7km south of the city. He pointed out that Unita has major lines of defence around Bailondo, which is very diffi-

cult to capture. "There are extensive minefields and trenches defending the town against ground attack," says Potgieter.

A diplomat said there could be reasons for the government not announcing the fall of Bailondo: "We do not know whether Unita made a tactical withdrawal from Bailondo, or what else Unita might have up its sleeve."

Unita has as yet made no counter-attack, despite the FAA's capture of Catchlungo, just south of Bailondo, a few days earlier.

Bailondo has been Unita's military headquarters since 1994. The town is of great historical significance to Unita and its leader, Jonas Savimbi. It was once the seat of an Ovimbundu chieftom to which Savimbi has family links.

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NEWS 13

Unita stronghold

Bailondo is one of the four key towns in Unita's main "zone of control" in the central highlands. The rebels' refusal to hand these areas back to government control last year was one of the triggers for the current round of fighting.

The destruction of the town is a serious blow to Unita, but probably not as strategically significant as the government had hoped. Diplomats in Luanda described the FAA's tactics as launching a medium-scale offensive, with more limited objectives — to destroy Unita's regular forces, leaving Unita with only guerrilla capacity.

Unita's conventional warfare capabilities had marked a new phase in Angola's war, with its troops better equipped than the run-down government army for the first time. Unita's motorised military capacity was based around

the Bailondo region and used with great success to repel previous government attacks on the town. But according to the ISS, the three motorised brigades have been moved — one north of Andulo, one to Moxico province and the last protecting Unita's northern corridor through Malange and Uige.

Does the assault on Bailondo offer the government the military success it needs so badly? Between May, when support for the government came under increasing attack for what is now being described as "super-corruption", and for its failure to deliver even a minimum of security to its neglected populations. A military victory will strengthen the government's weakened position, if the army can deliver one.

Corruption within the army means, for instance, that private aviation companies owned by the generals — there are more than 50 registered in Luanda — are used to ferry arms and men into the interior, and to carry out private business interests at the same time.

Lacking enough food and basic necessities, FAA soldiers live off the land and local peoples, as do Unita troops, adding to the starvation in the interior.

There is no doubt, though, that some attacks on the government have been fuelled by a "black" propaganda campaign, as part of Unita's strategy to cause an implosion in Luanda and to regain international legitimacy. The real corruption gets obscured amid un-sourced allegations.

Unita claims the FAA was successful in destroying Bailondo as a result of using chemical weapons, including napalm, exfoliants and phosphorus bombs.

A UN representative says the government denies using chemical weapons. Arms procurement experts have not identified the presence of these weapons in the FAA's armoury.

However, the Institute for Security Studies believes the FAA may have used fuel-air bombs, which are not illegal weapons under the Geneva Conventions, in Bailondo.

Potgieter says a civilian witness account of the bombing run, seen from the road between Bailondo and Andulo, indicates that fuel-air bombs were used, from the description of the canisters and the behaviour of the explosives. The witness was said to be close enough to see these details — smoke from these bombs, for instance, looks like napalm from a distance.

Fuel-air bombs were last used in Angola in 1994 by Executive Outcomes, and a cache was thought to have been left behind.

It is clear that expert verification on the ground is needed, but this is unlikely to be forthcoming.

'The poor don't matter, and their misery persists'

Mercedes Sayagues

Hang around the tarmac at Luanda's airport while you'll get a crash course in the politics and economy of Angola. The relief plane has to wait. Aid is not a priority. Military planes are. Every four minutes one roars by. Unmarked Ilyushin and Antonov 12s and 26s, Air Azerbaijan and dozens of Alada, whatever that is, with yellow, red and blue stripes; battered blue-and-white Russian Mi helicopters, camouflage-painted Swiss-made P-9 jet fighters, in non-stop take-off.

They are ferrying weapons and supplies to the troops who have been fighting a four-pronged offensive against Unita's headquarters of Bailondo in the central highlands since September 12. They'd better hurry: the rains are starting.

A sleek, red-and-white corporate Gulf Stream jet taxis close to the main building. Two American-looking businessmen in shorts step out. Two Angolan officials escort them to the VIP entrance. Big business is doing fine.

Two military cargo planes land. Soldiers in fatigues disembark, leading goats tied together. Big, fat, healthy goats on the tarmac at Luanda's airport. Then it is chicken time. One soldier has a dozen hanging around his neck. His comrades carry large baskets brimming with chickens. Stealing from Angolan peasants goes on nicely, thank you.

Two hours later, tower control says we can take off for Malange.

Malange is an eerie carcass of a town. Under the Portuguese, it thrived on rice and maize. After independence, it was mostly a conduit for diamonds from the Lunda provinces.

So far this year, Malange has been shelled almost daily by Unita. Its residents fled to Luanda, 350km to the west. The city is dead, its shops boarded up, its pastel-coloured colonial villas and drab apartment blocks empty.

The middle class have gone, but Malange has filled up with about 150,000 starving peasants. Until a month ago, they camped out in abandoned warehouses and schools. They shat everywhere.

Last month, many were moved to a site 20km along the road to Luanda. It looks like a medieval settlement, a mass of low straw-and-grass shelters teeming with 10,000 families on a treeless plain. There are no cars — just the odd tank, truck or aid agency 4x4 clattering down the potholed streets. At night, a dozen artillery-mounted vehicles silently cross the deserted town. You can hear shelling in the hills. The safe perimeter is 20km at most.

Malange and Huambo have an uncanny *Blade Runner* feel to them — cast-off people living among urban ruins, industrial detritus and forgotten technology. Inside pock-marked factory shells, ragged peasants cook a bit of mealie meal on twig fires. They have a shell-shocked, hungry, hopeless look.

After visiting a centre for severely malnourished children with my United Nations minder, Maria, we went for lunch. Over a plateful of



Daily bread: In 40 soup kitchens scattered around Malange, crowds of Angolans wait every day for their food handout

golden chips she lamented her lack of will-power in following a diet. Oh, how she wanted liposuction to get rid of the rolls of fat on her hips and thighs. On and on she went, oblivious of the thin famished children we had just seen. She reminded me of President José Eduardo dos Santos, toasting with French champagne while scores die — as they did when no aid reached

Malange in June and August because of shelling. Today, a precarious lifeline keeps starvation at bay.

In August, the World Food Programme base manager complained in an interview with *Voice of America* stringer Isalao Soares that police and soldiers stole food aid from people. The reporter was briefly detained by army com-

mandos and now faces criminal charges.

Soares (30), a thin, reserved man, says he doesn't dare to walk alone or at night on the streets. His sources avoid him. His career is shot.

Behind the heavy handed response is the lord of Malange, governor Flavio Fernandes. He runs Malange as a feudal fief, committing gross abuses. "Authoritarianism, corruption, theft, maltreatment of civil servants, violations of human rights," ticks off an aid worker who does not want to be identified for fear of jeopardising his NGO.

During the siege of Malange in 1993/94, Fernandes controlled the lucrative salt market. Upset that the World Food Programme flew in free salt, Fernandes threatened its base manager with deportation if salt kept coming. She resisted but, after receiving death threats, had to be pulled out of Malange.

Angola Unravels, a recent book by Human Rights Watch, describes how Fernandes sold fuel to Unita. A number of truck drivers told a Human Rights Watch researcher that, on the governor's orders, fuel trucks were driven past Malange to Quela, where their contents were siphoned off by Unita. This went on for many months.

Diplomats in Luanda told Human Rights Watch they had raised the issue with the government, which did nothing. Only when the latest siege of Malange began in late 1998 was the police sub-chief arrested for facilitating the sale.

This is one reason why the parastatal Sonangol has only one plane to supply fuel to provincial capitals. The government reckons that, if the depots are full, some might find its way to Unita. When the plane goes for maintenance to South Africa, fuel supply stops. Aid agencies must airlift their own.

A pro-MPLA (government) weekly in Luanda, *Angolense*, named Fernandes the most corrupt among all governors. In one scheme, Fernandes was paid by the treasury for 10,000 civil defence militias. Under investigation, he could only produce a few hundred. Reports of his dealings in diamonds and fuel reached the presidential palace of Futungo, where they were quashed.

Only two shops are open in Malange. One is a pharmacy, which reportedly belongs to a top official. Another is a bar where army officers, NGO staff and visiting journalists consume cold beer and French fries with sizzling *findungo*, Angola's spicy condiment.

By the railway tracks, a young woman sits dejectedly behind her shop, a rusty ironing board, neatly covered with an old flower print sheet. She sells four handfuls of broken maize gathered from food aid split from trucks.

In 40 soup kitchens scattered among the town, crowds of gloomy, war-weary, thin Angolans wait patiently for their daily food handout.

Says the Bishop of Malange, Luis Perez de Onraita: "The poor don't matter. The authorities and the institutions don't care about them. This is why their misery persists."

Saving lives or feeding war?



Could international aid be keeping Angola's 25-year civil war going, asks Mercedes Sayagues in Malange

Long lines of peasants, trucks loaded with maize bags the Red Cross food aid distribution in the outskirts of Huambo is well organised. As it was last year. And the year before. As it has been for the past 20 years, since the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) began working in Angola's central highlands.

By now, Angolan peasants know how to queue, how to hold on to their ration cards and, probably, how to manipulate the aid system that sustains them every time their country erupts into war, again.

"Twenty years of work and the people are worse off than ever," sighs an aid official.

But aid workers don't have time to dwell on the moral and political complexities of their work. The emergency is here, among the skeletal children and their destitute families, in the bloody mess of bone and tissue in the stumps of landmine victims, in the prosthetic legs the ICRC keeps manufacturing, stubbornly under shelling and under sieges, in Kuito and Huambo.

But could it be that aid, in its worthy goal of saving lives, is also feeding Angola's 25-year-old civil war, Africa's longest-running war after Sudan's? "It's a good theoretical question," says Carlos Batallas, head of the ICRC delegation in Huambo. "But look at these people: it's a matter of life or death. Our mandate is to save lives, not to solve the problem."

This month, the United Nations World Food Programme plans to feed nearly one million people in Angola. The ICRC gives food, seeds and tools to 85 000 families in Huambo.

Without this aid, many of these people would die. During the months when no relief planes could land in Malange, Kuito and Huambo,

pounded by Unita's long-range artillery, many thousands died of starvation and disease.

But aid also relieves the government of its responsibility towards its people. The Angolan government can afford to buy more weapons because aid keeps Angolan people alive.

It could be argued that Luanda would not spend any more on poor Angolans. It would let them die, out of sight, out of mind. But it would continue with arms purchases that rake in juicy commissions for the generals and the *nomenklatura* — an elite of 500, according to Richard Cornwall of the Institute for Strategic Studies in Pretoria.

So the aid agencies throw in more aid, save many lives and sustain the war.

During Unita's two mock demobilisations, in 1991/92 and in 1995/97, food and other aid given to soldiers in the quartering areas and when they went home was a boon to Unita.

After a \$1-million-a-day peacekeeping operation, Unita emerged in better fighting fettle than ever before. After 20 years of humanitarian aid in the central highlands, its people are poorer than ever.

That the UN turned a blind eye to so many violations of the Lusaka accords and so many human rights abuses undermined the peace process. The Angolan people pay.

One could argue that, since it shares responsibility for the failure of the Lusaka accords, the UN should keep pouring aid into

Angola. But consider this: most of the expensive demining done between 1995 and 1998 is lost owing to remaining. Should donors keep funding mine clearance?

Food aid for Malange appears in Luanda's markets. Police and soldiers steal food aid from peasants. But can you ignore children too weak to stand on their own, pure bones sticking under wrinkled skin. You want the food planes to keep landing.

Donor countries show similar contradictions. A Belgian charity sends doctors to Angola while dealers in Antwerp buy Unita's illegal diamonds.

Tightening sanctions against Unita in a \$1-million operation is the latest fad in the UN. Why not sanction the government's massive arms purchases? And isn't the looting of Angola's oil revenue while people starve equally criminal?

One corporate security analyst estimates that President José Eduardo dos Santos rakes in a cool \$350-million a year. Diamond sales will earn Unita a paltry \$200-million this year, says De Beers, compared to peak earnings of \$760-million in 1996.

This week in Luanda, the Angolan Reflection Group for Peace is calling for an immediate ceasefire to allow the delivery of humanitarian aid countrywide.

Says its leader, Pastor Daniel Ntont-Nzinga: "We don't want humanitarian corridors if the

guns are not silent. Otherwise, humanitarian aid feeds the war."

Aid will feed soldiers, it will end in the markets, it will sustain the civilian population while allowing both armies to keep shelling towns, murdering villagers, looting their meagre assets and stealing the food in the fields.

In Huambo, the ICRC is handing out soap to 15 000 displaced families camped out, ironically, in the ruins of a soap factory from Portuguese times.

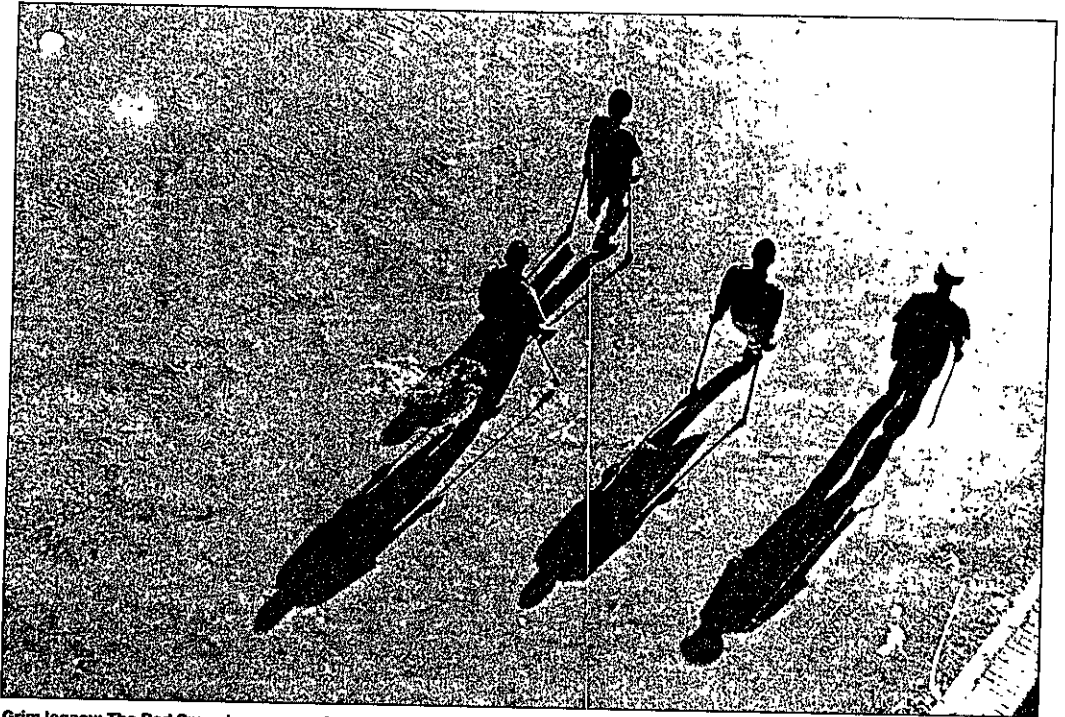
By a nearby stream, the displaced cultivate small vegetable patches with tools and seeds from the Red Cross. I watch with a couple of aid workers from a bridge. If they could breathe life into the budding plants to make them grow overnight like in a cartoon, they would.

"If the crops grow, there will be less need for food aid in the next months," says one wistfully.

If soldiers don't loot the gardens; if there is no shelling; if the rains are good; if there is peace, maybe one million displaced people will go home and grow their own food. If the kleptocracy in Luanda and bellicose Unita gave a damn for their own people, aid workers need not be here.

But this is a taboo subject. The ICRC is mandated to be neutral. The UN is bound by the rules of non-intervention in government affairs. Many NGOs don't dare upset the status quo or their work permits may be revoked.

Emergencies are good for NGOs: they are assured of jobs and funding while Angola collapses.



Grim legacy: The Red Cross keeps manufacturing prosthetics for landmine victims, but demined areas have recently been re-mined. PHOTOGRAPHS: MERCEDES SAYAGUES

De Beers to stop buying Angola gems

Move backs Unita sanctions

ARG 8/10/99

New York - A key United Nations diplomat has welcomed diamond industry leader De Beers' decision to stop buying Angolan gems as an "enormously symbolic" move to enforce sanctions against rebel leaders in that country's civil war.

"The message will be received by a number of other people," Canadian Ambassador Robert Fowler said, adding that he hoped other buyers of Angolan diamonds would follow De Beers' lead. Angola accounted for 6% of world diamond sales.

"I hope UNITA will receive the announcement as well," he said.

Mr Fowler is chairman of the Security Council's sanctions committee on Angola, which supervised embargoes against UNITA, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

They include a ban on diamond sales, an arms embargo and travel and financial curbs.

The Security Council has largely blamed UNITA for the breakdown of a 1994 peace accord with the Angolan government, which was designed to end more than two decades of civil war. The peace pact dissolved in December and an all-out war resumed.

The government is funded mainly by oil revenues, while UNITA occupies most of the diamond mining districts, which have funded its fighters during

the past 25 years.

To distinguish among the diamonds, the Angolan government months ago was to have issued certificates of origin from the gems it exported, and Mr Fowler said Luanda was working to improve its certification programme.

The New York-based Human Rights Watch last month alleged that the government had been reluctant to issue certificates because some of its officials were trading with UNITA.

Mr Fowler estimated that diamonds had earned Unita between \$3-billion and \$4-billion in the past eight years, but that annual sales had now fallen to between \$150-million and \$200-million from between \$300-million and \$400-million four years ago.

De Beers said on Wednesday it would stop buying Angolan diamonds, except those governed by a contract with the Angolan government.

De Beers announced its decision after an extensive campaign by Mr Fowler, and shortly after a new effort by European activists to stop diamond firms from buying smuggled gems that help fund rebel armies.

Mr Fowler set up panels to study ways of clamping down on sanctions-busting, and last summer met De Beers managers, as well as diamond industry officials in Belgium, Britain and Ukraine. - Reuters

DEBEERS, South Africa's diamond conglomerate, has effectively declared war on Angola's rebel movement by banning the purchase of the stone from any sources not approved by the government in Luanda, writes **CHRISTOPHER MUNNION**.

Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel movement depends on sales from the diamond fields it controls in northeastern Angola to finance its war against the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. By placing an embargo on all illicit diamonds from Angola, De Beers, which controls the world's diamond industry, could help to end the 30-year civil war, which has claimed at least a million lives.

One diplomat said: "Only De Beers has the worldwide influence to pull the carpet from under Savimbi's feet. If they can succeed in cutting off Unita's arms supplies, this dreadful conflict can end sooner than we thought possible."

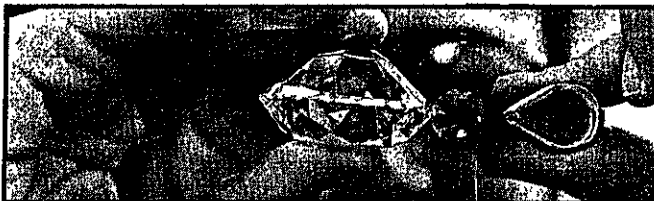
The move by the company, which appears to have been prompted by UN pressure to end the war by economic sanctions against Unita, has been welcomed by Washington and London. The company has also been under pressure from international human rights groups to review its diamond-buying operations in other strife-torn African countries like Sierra Leone, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Africa's "diamond wars", with their huge toll in human suffering, have proved an increasing embarrassment to international firms whose financial interests in the continent have tended to override humanitarian concerns.

Gary Raffe, the managing director of De Beers, tried to sum up the dilemma by saying that "legitimate business, particularly in developing countries, should not be damaged by efforts to reduce income flowing into the coffers of a rebel movement".

The UN, which has all but

DIAMONDS OF



DEATH



END OF THE ROAD: An armoured car belonging to Unita, which uses diamond sales to fund its war

But ban on
blood-soaked
stones may
help end civil
war in Angola

(5) ST 10/10/99

washed its hands of the Angolan conflict, accepts that Dos Santos's formerly Marxist government has also been guilty of human rights abuses, including torture and the massacre of civilians suspected of being Unita sympathisers.

Meanwhile, **CHRISTINA LAMB** writes that an international campaign has been launched calling on consumers to boycott diamonds used to finance some of

the bloodiest wars in Africa.

The "Fatal Transactions" campaign, opened last weekend in the diamond centres of London, Antwerp, Milan and New York, hopes to make the public aware that many diamonds sold in jewellery shops originate from Angola, Congo, Sierra Leone and Liberia, where they finance rebel armies.

"We want people when they buy a diamond to ask where it was

mined to ensure it is a combat-free stone," said Alex Yearsley of Global Witness, one of four European human rights groups leading the campaign. "Most people would be horrified to learn that their jewellery has financed the purchase of landmines or guns in one of Africa's brutal conflicts."

The campaign coincides with the London government's first moves to impose international

controls on the \$26-billion-a-year trade. Recently, Robin Cook the UK's Foreign Secretary, told a fringe meeting at the Labour Party conference that he was proposing international controls on the sale of uncut diamonds in an attempt to stop the money from illegal sales being used to buy arms.

He said there was evidence that internal conflicts in at least two African countries — Angola and Sierra Leone — had been worsened by the sales. Both Cook and Peter Hain, the Foreign Office minister, have recently been in talks with De Beers.

The US is the world's largest diamond market but Britain is considered a key player because it is the headquarters of De Beers.

Human rights agencies such as Global Witness are demanding that diamonds be bar-coded or issued with a radioactive tag to enable a "chain of custody" from the mine to the customer. A premium could then be put on stones from stable diamond-producing countries like Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Canada and Australia.

But Andrew Lamont, a spokesman for De Beers, said: "The annual world diamond production is 120 million carats, which is billions of stones, so to tag individual stones would be as ridiculous as counting grains of sand on a beach."

Until recently, De Beers, which buys up much of the open-market diamond production to maintain its monopoly, has said that diamonds cannot be identified by country of origin. It has now dropped this claim and insists that it is no longer buying diamonds from rebel armies like Unita.

Lamont admits "stopping such sales is a tricky problem but we're absolutely committed to this process" He added, "What we really need is for the Angolan government to wrest control of the areas which are producing diamonds."

— © The Telegraph, London

Unwritten rules ensure jobs

An informal market named after a soap opera provides a safety net in Luanda, writes Nick Shaxson

LUANDA — Walk past the whitewashed embassies and through part of Luanda's tumble-down Sambizanga district towards the cliff top overlooking the port and you will suddenly step into a labyrinth of tents, people and noise.

Pass the drunken whores in the stinking brothel near the cliff edge and you are likely to find piles of hairy pigs' legs with the trotters still attached, or long shiny lines of fridges next to an open-air factory making baby coffins.

Roque Santeiro is one of the biggest markets in Africa and for many people constitutes the pulsating heart of the Angolan capital.

The market, named after a romantic Brazilian soap opera, presents some puzzling questions. It is odd that the only people selling plastic bags are small boys, or that all the hairdressers are young Bakongo men from the north.

How did the strong-minded British aid worker who paid cash for an expensive stereo in the market manage to get his money back, without a receipt, when it did not work properly?

Why do the biscuit sellers buy in dollars but retail their packets to the public in the nearly worthless kwanza currency, while the chewing gum sellers never

touch dollars at all? The powerful unwritten rules organising the tens of thousands of people working here provide a few clues as to what is holding people together not just in Roque, but throughout the city.

"You might have six agents doing six separate transactions, in what is really a job one person could do," said Mary Daly of Development Workshop, a Canadian nongovernmental organisation providing credit in the market. "There are social regulations as to who can do what, and this creates the jobs."

A lorry bringing imported Portuguese biscuits to Roque is owned by one person, loaded at the port by another, driven by a third person and unloaded by a fourth.

A wholesaler will buy the biscuits and sell to a larger retailer, who may sell again to a smaller retailer. To carry your biscuits, you need to find a small boy with plastic bags.

Though inflation has not reached the levels of July 1996, when it briefly touched 12 000% at an annual rate, it is rising again and has already knocked most public service salaries to below \$7 a month, enough to buy 2kg of snub-nosed local cockerel-fish.

But Angola's corrupt rulers, feasting off the revenues from oil production which has almost reached 800 000 barrels a day, know there will not be food riots here. Though an estimated 70% of urban Angolans live below the poverty line, Roque's robust social structures help prevent outright starvation by spreading more widely the money leaking into this city of 4-million people.

The United Nations estimates that up to three quarters of economically active people in Luanda have some form of employment.

Social codes provide ways not only to spread money, but to create it too. Many people in the market, usually women, play "kixiquila" — clubbing together in trusted groups of five or six for larger purchases. Wealthier groups may put together the \$50 000 to \$100 000 needed to import a container of goods.

To do this, another game must be played down the hill at the port, whose rules date from before Marxist-Leninism was officially abolished in 1990, when unofficial markets like Roque were not allowed.

Soon after independence from Portugal in 1975 the central planners set up a nest of rules and regulations which

still thrives. Import licences are restricted, and this allows powerful vested interests to control the supply of goods. This, along with huge wages from the oil and diamonds sectors, has pushed prices up, making Luanda one of the world's most expensive capitals.

Those with access to licences often then hire them out to small importers and a long process begins to move the goods through the port. Each of the stamps needed requires "fees" that pay the salaries of the network of officials.

The resilience of this system lies not in the regulations but in the robust human networks they have created at the port. This system's strength has also helped thwart efforts by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and others to liberalise Luanda's pernicious and corrupt import regime.

"In the old days of central planning they thought the stumps would just disappear," a local aid worker said. "For the IMF, too, it seems that the informal market should just be ignored, and it will eventually just melt away."

Put do anything that negatively affects the way the informal systems work and you could turn this crisis into a disaster.

Exploiting Africa's wars

⑤ *source: 11/10/99*

NOT ONLY is Angola the war zone which seems to have the heaviest casualties in the world now – from fighting, land mines and starvation – it is also a warning to the rest of the continent about how profiteers, particularly arms dealers, exploit conflicts in Africa to the detriment of Africans.

This year both warring parties in Angola have acquired new weaponry, including sophisticated fighter planes and anti-tank missiles, presently deployed in the military offensive on the Central Highlands.

"They have set an arms race going in miniature in Angola, where weapons are sold to one side, then the other," said Richard Cornwell, the head of the Africa Early Warning Programme at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS).

He was one of three ISS speakers at a seminar hosted by the institute in Pretoria last week on the topic, Angola: War against the People?

"Arms dealers are able to operate beyond the reach of the state. This has implications for the future of Africa," said Cornwell.

He said unless the problems of the proliferation of arms and escalation of conflict were seriously addressed, Africa was at risk.

"We have seen this already in the Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Sudan."

The countries which have been associated with arms dealing in Angola include South Africa, Zambia, Brazil, Portugal, France, Russia, the Ukraine and the United States.

"Countries may not be responsible, but certain individuals and financial interests are increasingly noticing there are profits to be made from civil wars," said Cornwell.

He sketched the political and diplomatic dimensions of the current crisis, while senior ISS researcher Hannelie de Beer spoke of the humanitarian catastrophe overwhelming Angola.

ISS executive director Jakkie Cilliers gave an update on military operations in Angola, reflecting the conflicting versions that have emerged since MPLA government troops launched their latest offensive against the rebel stronghold of Bailundo.

Angola's return to war last November signalled the final collapse of the peace process which began five years earlier in Zambia with the Lusaka Protocol.

Contrary to Portuguese news reports from the region, Cilliers' latest information indicated that the MPLA's renewed attempt to force the Unita rebels from their stronghold in the Central Highlands has not, in fact, succeeded.

Meanwhile, the MPLA does have the psychological advantage of using aerial bombardment at night against its enemy, with its newly-acquired fighter planes. "The SU-27 SMK is the

Arms dealers and other unscrupulous people are fuelling the civil war in Angola at the expense of civilians.

Feature writer **Claire Keeton** explains why ...



11.7 million people have been displaced inside Angola while 300 000 have left the country where continued civil war has had devastating effects. PHOTO: AP

best plane on the continent," Cilliers said.

Despite their new weaponry, Cilliers said the MPLA has failed twice to dislodge Unita from its stronghold since last November.

"They launched ill-prepared offensives and lost. Their second attempt in March to move into Bailundo on the plateau met with the same fierce resistance and results."

He said by the end of August Unita was dominating the rural areas and had cut off the MPLA's access to certain strategic routes. It is clear that Luanda does not run the country, given that there is no governance across large sections of the country.

Significantly, in the diamond-producing north-eastern region of Angola around Lucapa, there is effectively a truce between supporters of the MPLA and Unita.

Cilliers observed: "It is currently very stable there, though under threat. The diamond-producing areas of the country are very tolerable, not like the rest of the country."

This underlined his point that the Angolan war was "a war about resources and power".

It was a positive sign, therefore, that diamond giant De Beers announced last Thursday it

would stop buying diamonds from Angola since "some of the funds which had fuelled the war had been derived from the illegal sale of diamonds by the Unita rebel movement".

Diamonds and oil sales have been a critical source of income for both warring parties, despite a United Nations embargo on arms and oil transfers to the rebels.

Meanwhile, Roman Rollnick from the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs said humanitarian organisations did not have enough resources to respond to the escalating crisis in Angola.

"We are extremely concerned about this," Rollnick said. "We are fighting for humanitarian access and it becomes more and more difficult. Every day it gets worse."

Contrary to the view that Angola was not a priority for the UN, Rollnick insisted there was a great deal of concern in the office of UN Secretary General Kofi Annan.

The International Red Cross said Angola was facing its worst year since the war started, with malnutrition bound to get worse. At the moment about 200 people die daily from starvation and 90 percent of the people in Luanda live below the poverty line.

Around a tenth of the 11.7 million population are internally displaced and there are 300 000 refugees outside Angola.

Cornwell urged the international community to continue pressuring both parties to end hostilities and move towards a peace settlement.

"There must be sanctions over weapons sales to both parties and it should exploit its common point of leverage," he said, referring to humanitarian relief to Angola.

Cornwell suggested humanitarian organisations push for access and safe corridors to supply relief to people, especially since they will need to provide more aid next year – no crops are being planted and thousands more people are expected to die.

He said the establishment of "humanitarian corridors require military agreements" to be reached.

"Talks around a humanitarian cause, not a peace settlement, could open the way for further talks. If the negotiations around relief achieve even a moderate level of trust, that could pave the way for negotiations," he said.

"This is a way forward, however incremental. If we wait until both parties sign a (peace) agreement, it will be too late."

Unita is left cold in face of De Beers ban

DD 19/10/99 (5)

Curbing illegal trade in Angolan diamonds will not be easy

Francois Misser

BRUSSELS — Unita rebels have vowed to continue selling their diamonds despite De Beers' recent announcement of an embargo on all Angolan diamonds except those it buys from the government's Endiama-Ashton joint venture.

"We shall continue to sell diamonds," Unita's secretary-general, Gen Paulo Lukamba "Gato", said. Unita had never been selling them to De Beers, he said. "Usual buyers of Unita diamonds are faithful and unconditional and we shall maintain the same relationship with them because diamonds are as necessary for them as the air they are breathing."

Brussels-based Unita representative Azevedo Kanganje says those who declared the embargo fail to admit that Unita has "the support of the people" in a "war effort against a one-party state". He calls the embargo "cynical and unilateral" because it ignores the fact that the ruling MPLA has violated the Lusaka peace pact since it launched its offensive on December 5.

He claims De Beers and its partners never cared about the Angolans' suffering and should not use the United Nations (UN) sanctions as a pretext to control the diamond market.

Those who want to curb the illegal diamond trade would have difficulty because many

garimpeiro — wildcat digger generals of the MPLA party who are partners with mercenaries in diamond mining — are involved in the smuggling, he says.

Implementation of the embargo will not be easy. The British nongovernmental organisation (NGO) Global Witness disclosed in a December 1998 report that false certificates of origin were issued in Zambia.

Sources close to the diamond sector in Antwerp say false certificates are also being issued in Congo-Brazzaville, where there are no diamond mines, and in Angola itself. False Congolese certificates of origins are also likely to appear.

Diamond industry experts also have doubts about the efficacy of De Beers' embargo. They say that through its London-based Central Selling Organisation (CSO) subsidiary, De Beers supplies barely one-third of the gems imported into Antwerp, where about 80% of the world's rough diamonds are traded.

One of the key problems in curbing the fraud will be identifying the violations and monitoring the sanctions.

If De Beers's embargo "is to be more than just an exercise in public relations, De Beers must publicly announce what controls it will put in place to ensure that diamonds originating from rebel armies across Africa do not enter into the market centres of Tel Aviv, Antwerp and

London", challenged Global Witness on October 8.

There is no control mechanism in place yet, despite the declaration of the UN embargo in June last year.

The Antwerp Diamond High Council claims to respect the embargo and no violation has been exposed yet. The UN sanctions team of experts, which has to investigate Unita's financial links, arms and fuel supplies and diamond exports, started its mission only early this month.

So far it has met Swiss bankers, Interpol in Lyon, Belgian customs officials and diamond dealers in Antwerp. A meeting is also scheduled this week with the CSO in London.

The team also plans to conduct investigations in Angola, Botswana and SA next November. However, experts do not yet have the mandate to visit Zambia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo-Brazzaville or Uganda, which have been mentioned as possible routes for smuggling or fraud.

By the time they finish their inquiry, many things may have happened in Angola. This is why European NGOs would like to speed up the process.

However, NGO sources say a security company operating in Angola, and linked to private mining interests, offered to assist them with information on Unita's connections. However, the offer was turned down.

Luanda steps up campaign against media

Journalists beaten and arrested

(5) ARG 23/10/99

ANNA RICHARDSON
Luanda

Journalism is a risky business in Luanda these days, and the risks are roughly proportional to the government's fortunes in war. As the government's military campaign to annihilate Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel movement became bogged down, so it stepped up its campaign against journalists who did not toe the party line that Unita should be exterminated and not talked to.

Journalist Rafael Marques, a slightly built, softly-spoken, bespectacled 28-year-old intellectual type, (and a former correspondent for the Independent Foreign Service) is the latest victim of this vicious propaganda war.

At 5.50am last Saturday 10 members of Angola's Rapid Intervention Police, known locally as the Ninjas, surrounded Marques's small house in a middle class district of the capital.

The Ninjas, dressed from head to toe in black with matching mirror sunglasses and armed with semi-automatic weapons, stood guard while five plainclothes policemen gave Marques three minutes to get dressed.

He was sent to a high security jail for political prisoners. He has been allowed no visitors and has been denied access to his lawyer, who himself has been threatened with disbarment if he continues to represent the journalist.

Marques has now gone on hunger strike in protest. His only crime is to be a journalist who writes what he thinks.

Marques was told when he was arrested that he was being picked up on the orders of Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

The journalist is being charged with slandering the head of state in an article which was published in the independent newspaper, Folha Oito, in July.

In the article, entitled, "The



DOSSANTOS: a dictator?

Dictatorship's Lipstick", Marques called Mr Dos Santos a dictator and accused him of using Angola's never-ending civil war as an excuse for bad governance and theft of public funds.

Such are the occupational hazards of journalism in Angola at present. Marques is just the latest victim of a government campaign to silence anybody who calls for peace and accountability in the country.

Since last December the armed forces have been embroiled in what the government dubs the "last war for peace", intended to exterminate Unita.

The government anticipated a short, sharp victory, but has instead found itself pouring billions into what is widely agreed to be an unwinnable war.

Initially journalists were called upon to support the government's policy of rejecting all peace talks with the rebels and holding out instead for a total victory.

As the war has dragged on, and successive government offensives have faltered, the official line has changed somewhat - journalists are now under orders to pretend that there is no war at all.

The state-controlled media all conform obediently to the authorities' demands. Listening to state

radio one could be forgiven for believing that Angola is a stable country with a caring government and a healthy, happy population.

Nothing could be further from the truth. A few brave, independent journalists, like Rafael Marques, continue to try to report reality, or at least keep the word "war" in the headlines. The more daring actually call for peace.

The Minister of Information, Hendrik Vaal Neto, has, on the record, threatened to resort to violence against these journalists, calling them "bad nationalists" and "mercenaries in the pay of Savimbi".

Dozens have been arrested, threatened, beaten up and offered bribes to shut up. The government has resorted to absurd, desperate measures in its campaign for silence - for example, journalists in the besieged, starving cities of the interior were reprimanded for reporting that Unita shells were falling in the cities, killing civilians.

They have been banned from reporting anything "political or military in nature". Which begs the question - what else can they report?

Unfortunately for Rafael Marques he appears to have been singled out to serve as a warning to other outspoken journalists.

He has certainly gone further in his criticisms than his counterparts. Where they merely try to report events as they unravel, Marques has written editorials directly targeting Angola's untouchable - the president.

Other harassed journalists have been intimidated, interrogated, maybe kept in police holding cells for a few days but ultimately released.

None of them has been formally charged with a crime. The fact that Marques has been charged with defamation and sent straight to jail does not bode well for him. - Independent Foreign Service

Military gains mean little in Angola

SA, Mozambique and US could help the rich, but crippled, country hobble towards peace, writes Greg Mills

20 27/10/99 (5)



When will this end? Angola's people face more war and devastation before peace can become a lasting reality.

THE two major Unita rebel strongholds of Andulo and Bailundo on the central highlands have reportedly been captured by Angolan government forces.

Breaking weeks of silence over its offensive, the government has also claimed military gains in Moxico and Malanje provinces.

Three questions arise from these events. First, why has the apparently well-equipped and armed Unita not put up more of a fight?

Second, does this signal hope for peace at last in Angola? Third, what role should SA now play in trying to establish peace?

The long awaited offensive against Unita on the Planalto commenced on 14 September, with the activation of three fronts towards Bailundo, northeast from the cities of Huambo and Cuito/Bie, and southeast from Malanje.

Luanda has been under considerable political pressure to mount a counteroffensive to return Unita's gains of the past 12 months.

To this end, its 20 000 combat troops (of a 90 000-strong force overall) were re-equipped with high-tech weaponry including Sukhoi Su-27 fighters from Ukraine, 70 T-54 and T-72 tanks with laser-

guided sighting systems and new radars. Additional recruits have been sought to bolster the 2 000 returnees from Congo-Brazzaville.

Nonetheless, it has been surprising that Unita's 25 000 combat ready troops have simply backpedalled and the conventional warfare tide has turned so dramatically and suddenly. There are two possible reasons. First, that the Angolan Air Force's total domination of the skies and the intensive use of chemical, fuel-air and napalm bombs by day and night from the Sukhois and Mig-23s could not be countered by the rebels.

It seems that Unita no longer possesses leftover Stinger ground-to-air missiles from the days of its close relations with Ronald Reagan's America, or it is unwilling to use them. The cost of employing its sophisticated Konkurs-M anti-tank missiles at \$15 000 a throw against the reactive armour of the T-72s, may also have helped the decision.

The second reason is that Unita simply melted away to fight another day, drawing government forces into undefendable positions, leaving their long logistical supply lines vulnerable to attack.

Unita is now reportedly attempting to reorganise in the far-eastern province of Moxico close to the Zambian border with some units heading north towards the Cuanza river valley. The rainy season has started, making it difficult for the army to pursue those retreating and regrouping.

But does this military victory offer better prospects for peace?

This depends simply on whether the government is willing to negotiate with Unita's Jonas Savimbi, a man who has reneged on settlements before.

The answer to this, according to well-placed government sources, is a resounding no.

This uncompromising position creates the possibility of, at best, a split in Unita, with elements breaking off from the veteran guerrilla leader to talk and the remainder fighting it out. At worst, Unita will in its entirety follow its president.

The rebel movement is a past master at insurgency tactics, and has kept the majority of its forces intact. Moreover, it has already infiltrated special forces elements closer to the capital, Luanda, and the sole onshore oil-producing region at Soyo. It is also believed to still be on the hunt for recruits in SA to fight alongside the 50-plus mercenaries already believed to be in its ranks.

This is bad news of course for Angola's 11-million people who have suffered enormously in the 35 years of conflict. Both the MPLA and Unita have squandered an estimated \$3.4bn each of oil and diamond revenues respectively since 1992 on arms, with little to show for it except broken bodies and fat personal bank accounts.

The years of civil war and misappropriation has seen little spent on basic services, including

schools, hospitals and civil servants wages. Only 32% of the population has access to safe water, life expectancy at birth is 46, and the annual income of just \$260 a person in 1997 had slipped on average by 10% each year since 1990.

A win-win scenario is that Unita and the ruling MPLA now utilise this opportunity to forge a path towards negotiations. Here some in Luanda see SA playing a major part in spite of regional sensitivities and suspected personality differences between presidents Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Thabo Mbeki.

According to sources close to the government in Luanda, this process should also involve Mozambique, given its status as chair of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and as a fellow former Portuguese colony, as well as the United States. The latter was recently drawn closer to Luanda through the inauguration of the Bilateral Consultative Commission (BCC) this month, which is designed to initiate a new era of co-operation and consultation between the two countries.

If a long-lasting settlement is to be negotiated, it will be necessary, as one foreign diplomat says, "to make everyone a winner". Making peace in this situation takes imagination and leadership to convince both parties to negotiate.

Greg Mills is the national director of the SA Institute of International Affairs.

ANGOLA The civil war has created many scarcities, but anyone with cash can still buy

Capitalism squeezes into Roque's dirty streets

LUKE BAKER

Luanda - Angola may be suffering the strains of a seemingly endless civil war but the universal law of capitalism, "money talks, everything else walks", still holds.

Whenever there's a scarcity of something, there's usually somewhere you can still get it, just as long as you can cough up the cash.

In Angola, with 25 years' experience of war and scarcity, that place is a heaving, stinking eyesore not far enough from downtown Luanda called Roque Santeiro.

"You've never seen anything like this," says Luigi, the driver, not altogether reassuringly, as he inches the car through a foot of festering refuse towards Roque, as it's called.

His watch already stolen from his wrist by a burly thief as the car crept through the onslaught of traffic, Luigi parks next to a pig, leaving a mountain of trash on the other side, and begins his nostril-assailing tour.

Roque lies on the side of a hill which slides into the Atlantic Ocean north of Luanda.

Stretching two kilometres alongside a dirty road a few hundred metres back from the sea, it looks more

like a rubbish tip with stalls than any kind of market.

There's an intricate structure. On the lower edges, accessible only by twisting down a maze of lanes as tight as a Moroccan Medina, are peasant women selling fruit and vegetables.

Holes dug in the dirt, lined with plastic and filled with brackish water, keep the lettuce and tomatoes from going limp in the sun.

Next come second-hand clothing stalls, then knock-off Nike and Reebok equipment, followed by watches, make-up, ghastrly living room furniture, micro-wave ovens, Lebanese biscuits, Korean dental floss and 10 kg tubs of Italian mixed greens.

At each turn grubby boys thrust out old garbage bags for any shopping. Everywhere fingers are licked as soiled wads of the local currency, the kwanza, are counted, adding new meaning to the term filthy lucre.

Edging deeper into the heart of this darkness, past fly-covered fish lying on tables on top of smouldering compost, Luigi explains what else can be bought that's not immediately visible: satellite dishes, 10-year-old Scotch, drugs, bodyguards, a 16-wheeler Mack truck.

"You can get a woman, and

probably a room to take her to," he says. Arms are also said to be available but no one is giving away clues as to where.

Roque has been around for only eight or so years, but thanks to a century of civil war which has made it next to impossible to get hold of many essentials, it is the best place for Angolans to get whatever they didn't know they needed.

A well-dressed woman, obviously not from the neighbourhood, tip-toes through the throng, one armed and uniformed soldier behind her, another in front, each laden with several bags of shopping. A young nun in a pristine white habit, but without any adornment that might be stolen, strolls the other direction.

At the centre of the mayhem, in a clearing almost their own, are the Kurtzes of this Conradian horror: the hi-fi salesmen.

Japanese stereos are the business - an item everyone wants and is prepared to pay a price for that makes it more remunerative than selling beans.

Young men wearing Adidas tracksuits and gold-capped smiles listen to gangsta rap while they wait for their custom.

where. Roque says this is where Roque has won a reputation for rough justice - anyone caught trying to steal from these stalls is unlikely to get out of the market alive.

Here is also where the day's entertainment is.

Angola's civil war, pitting the government against the Unita rebel movement, has destroyed towns, villages, families and people's sanity and, possibly, their sensitivity.

On a sunny Saturday, visitors to Roque have paid 500 000 kwanzas (about 10c) for a bit of fun.

In the middle of a jostling circle of young men, a dwarf is dancing to a rumba while slowly performing a striptease.

Swaying back and forth, eyes tightly closed, she begins removing her clothes. The crowd is transfixed.

Reaching the climax of the show, she lifts her T-shirt over her head, hips still sashaying to the beat, and, to peals of laughter from the crowd, reveals a huge hump on her back.

Fighting in Angola's civil war is likely to go on for years, and demand for goods means Roque will continue to grow. But it could be a while before a more debased mediaeval freak show is found to keep the crowds happy.

Reuters

The eyesore looks more like a rubbish heap with stalls than any kind of market

Trouble in Angola's oil-pumping paradise

As offshore crude flows and Chevron executives play golf, government keeps a lid on poverty-ridden province, writes Nicholas Shaxson

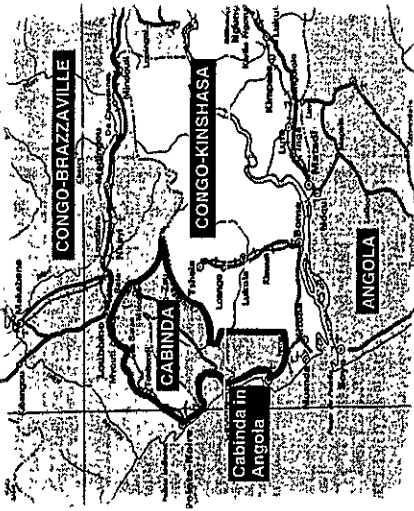
of easy sanctuary near Cabinda. Unita no longer has any forces big enough to threaten Malongo closer than Angola's Uige province, about 300-400km and two border crossings away.

A DIRTY stone pillar near the town of Cabinda has unusual political significance for this impoverished Angolan enclave. It is the Simulambuco monument, a powerful symbol for the Frente para a Libertacao do Enclave de Cabinda (Flec). Its guerrillas are fighting an armed struggle against the ruling MPLA government in a miserable sidestown to Angola's main war with Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel.

History looms large in Angola's most northerly province. Just before the 1885 Berlin conference that formalised the colonial carve-up of Africa, Portugal signed an agreement with local leaders at Simulambuco to create Cabinda as a distinct protectorate, separated from Angola by a thin strip of land belonging to a predecessor of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The political separatism was lost at independence in 1975, but now Flec wants it back. "The situation in Cabinda is shameful," said Paulino Madeira, bishop of Cabinda town. "I blame Portugal."

But Angola will not let Cabinda go. Five minutes' helicopter ride off the coast of Cabinda town, in seas filled with giant rays, jellyfish and hammerhead sharks, Chevron's oil production platforms pump at



most 500 000 barrels each day, two-thirds of Angola's output. Large recent discoveries further offshore will boost output sharply in the next decade.

Like large metal mosquitoes, the platforms pipe oil offshore to the huge Malongo terminal, which sports a nine-hole golf course and

its own big vegetable patch. "I feel as safe here as I do back home," says Terry Hurst, a senior American Chevron official. Because oil operations are offshore or in the easily protected Malongo terminal, Chevron has seen little of the community unrest that has plagued oil companies in Nigeria.

Padre Congo says these and other differences explain the long-simmering anger among the province's 250 000 inhabitants. "Armed conflict can be justified here because the MPLA talks only to armed movements," he says. "We are not interested in autonomy, but complete independence."

To counter such bad feeling, other less visible defences protect Malongo. Social programmes, on which Chevron says it spends \$5m a year, temper a little of the resentment. The government says it pays \$6m a month beyond its normal budget for social programmes in the province.

Other lines of defence encircle Cabinda against attack by Unita, an enemy potentially far more dangerous than Flec. When Luanda's troops intervened in 1997 to help topple Unita's allies — Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire (now the Congo) and Pascal Lissouba in Congo-Brazzaville — it deprived Savimbi

Cabindans, who share more ethnic and family links with people in neighbouring states than with the MPLA's Kimbundu support base or Unita's Ovimbundu core.

At night in Cabinda town's lively Feira area, Congolese music and French conversation can be heard as patrons quaff Primus beer from Kinshasa.

The government's final defence is bribery, which it has used successfully to splinter Flec. The strongest fragments, Flec-Renewed in southern Cabinda and Flec-FAC in the north, boast just a few hundred active fighters. They earn a little money from occasional ransoms for fishermen as well as small timber and gold operations.

Continued rebel deflections reflect Luanda's success in turning a military battle into a struggle for cash, in which the oil-rich MPLA has a decisive advantage.

"It is all about money. That is why official complaints. That is why Flec is weak."

Government call for aid for Angolans

DD 16/11/99 (5)

Support voiced for bid to restrict gem trade which helps Savimbi

John Dlugielu

DURBAN — As fighting continued in Angola, governments of the Commonwealth called on the international community to support efforts to end the conflict.

At the end of the biennial meeting, heads of government called on the international community to step up humanitarian aid, especially to the people who have been displaced by the war between the government forces and Unita, the rebel movement of Jonas Savimbi.

Leaders also called for global support for the work of the United Nations' (UN's) sanctions committee on Angola.

The committee wants to increase control over the diamond trade, which is used to fund Unita's campaign against the government of Eduardo Jose dos Santos.

This week's call follows a pledge by international mining companies, including De Beers, of support for efforts to stifle the

diamond trade in the Unita-held parts of Angola.

However, predictably, the heads of the 54-nation bloc, who still blame Savimbi for the breakdown of the Lusaka peace process, said nothing about military support for the Angolan government.

The United Nations, one of several key sponsors of the peace process in the Democratic Republic of Congo, was asked to "speedily deploy a peacekeeping force in the (Democratic Republic of Congo)".

A joint communiqué called on the international community to extend the "necessary support to the Organisation for African Unity and the joint military commission to carry out their mandate without further delay".

The joint military commission was set up as a result of the Lusaka ceasefire plan that was mapped out for the Congo.

Though the Congo is not a member of the Commonwealth, which is

made up of the UK and, mostly, its former colonies, three members of the organisation — Uganda, Namibia and Zimbabwe — are involved in the conflict.

After expressing support for the Lomé peace plan that ended Sierra Leone's deadly conflict, the Commonwealth leaders called for its "immediate, full and effective implementation" in the wake of recent violations.

The leaders took a tough line on terrorism and called on the UN to implement "deterrent measures ... against states, entities and organisations which harbour and train terrorists or promote international terrorism".

They called for the adoption at the UN of the International Convention on the Suppression of Acts of Terrorist Financing.

And they targeted the present session of the United Nations as the period in which these anti-terrorism measures should be adopted.

Angola to end its monopoly of insurance

© CT (PR) 24/11/99
FROM SAPA-AP

Luanda - The Angolan government on Monday unveiled plans to liberalise the insurance sector as part of its pledge to reform the country's crippled economy in line with recommendations from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

The government has also agreed to privatise the telecommunications and customs sectors as part of the reforms.

The planned reform of the insurance sector would end the 21-year monopoly of the state-run National Insurance Company of Angola, or Ensa.

It was not clear when parliament would vote on the proposal.

The Angolan insurance sector was privately run until Ensa was created in 1978, three years after the country's independence from Portugal when the government began pursuing Marxist policies.

Under the liberalisation plan, foreign investors will have to find local partners to move into the market.

World financial bodies say aid to Angola depends on the introduction of free-market reforms. Angola's total foreign debt is estimated at \$13 billion.

Angola is sub-Saharan Africa's largest petroleum producer after Nigeria, but a two-decade civil war has drained state funds.

The government dropped its Marxist policies after the collapse of the Soviet Union, its main sponsor, and is gradually moving towards liberal economic policies.

Hopes rise in Angola's bank sector

Exchange rate reforms boost private institutions, writes Nicholas Shaxson

COMPARED with the horrendous operating conditions of just a few months ago, these are auspicious times for Angola's two fledgling private local banks.

The banks hope that recent, little-publicised changes in banking rules could mark a turning point, after nine years of trying to shake off central planning inefficiencies.

Angola's armed forces have since September inflicted a set of stinging defeats on their rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola foes. The fiendish demand for dollars to pay for weaponry seems to be easing, at least for now.

The price of oil, which flows at almost 800 000 barrels a day, and accounts for more than 90% of exports, has risen sharply. Money is beginning to move again in an import-dependent economy which was until recently almost completely starved of funds.

The chairman of the Banco Africano de Investimentos, which counts SA's Investec bank among its correspondent banks, announced on its third anniversary in mid-November a set of big expansion plans.

By the end of November, the only other private Angolan bank, the even younger Banco Comercial Angolano, (BCA), hopes the council of ministers will approve a major injection of capital from Portugal's Caixa Geral de Depositos, which will enable it to boost its activities substantially.

Angola's reformist central bank governor, Aguilardo Jaime, abolished the dual exchange rates in May. They were used for years by the privileged elite to buy cheap dollars. Other recent reforms include measures which bankers elsewhere take for granted, but are unheard of in Angola.

Most banking transaction taxes were removed in September, in an effort to attract large flows of money outside the formal banking system. Negative real interest rates are to be liberalised. The banks, which also include Portugal's Banco do Fomento Exterior, Banco Totta e Açores, Banco Espírito

Santo and Banco Português do Atlântico, as well as the Angolan state-owned Caixa Agro-Pecuária e Pescas (CAP), Banco de Poupança e Crédito and Banco de Comércio e Indústria (BCI), can now buy and sell dollars between themselves in a basic interbank market.

Any open foreign exchange position above \$500 000, must now be closed through interbank trade by the end of each day or sold back to the central bank — an innovation that requires banks to manage their finances more efficiently.

Banks can buy dollars from the central bank at weekly sessions. This will probably soon become a daily market because there is no longer an implicit subsidy in official sales of foreign exchange.

The corrupt jockeying for power that characterised previous central bank foreign exchange auctions has faded.

Angola's kwanza currency, which spiked downwards to 8-million kwanza to the dollar in September, has now recovered and has been stable for some weeks at about 5,3-million kwanza to the dollar. Jaime has announced a currency change, but unlike the infamous trocade moeda in 1990 when such a change was accompanied by a freeze on 95% of bank deposits, new notes are being phased in gradually, with no loss of value.

This change will bring something that Angolans, used to pockets full of worthless notes, have long forgotten about coins.

A plan to introduce treasury bills has so far been undermined by the kwanza's recent spectacular gyrations, although if powerful figures at the presidency refrain from old habits of whimsically printing money, the bills could quickly become useful.

The import regime is being shaken up too. Until a few months ago, importers needed an import licence, known as a BRI, and then had to provide the necessary sum in kwanzas to the central bank. If they were well enough connected, the central bank would then pay the foreign supplier, at the

privileged official rate. This system allowed powerful importers not only to get cheap dollars, but also to squeeze out competitors by preventing them from getting BRIs.

Import licences today only need be provided after imported goods have arrived, and importers no longer have to apply to the central bank for funds but can buy foreign exchange at any commercial bank. Trade minister Victorino Hossi said on November 12 that BRIs would soon be eliminated altogether. Some customs duties are also being reduced.

But huge problems remain. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is trying to work out where billions of dollars of oil money has gone, and the lack of transparency in a murky network of offshore accounts may yet thwart Angola's latest efforts to secure an IMF "staff-monitored programme" — six months of economic supervision prior to any eventual structural adjustment deal.

The government has again promised to open up its account, but since Marxism-Leninism was officially abolished in 1990 many finance ministers central bankers and reform programmes have disappeared after early successes, and the oil accounts have remained stubbornly opaque.

This chaotic system of extra-budgetary finance often involves loans repaid with crude oil through secure offshore accounts, and remains largely the preserve of foreign non-Portuguese banks, such as Paribas, HSBC Equator and Citibank.

The government has also promised that it will close the heavily indebted state bank CAP, a fund for easy loans to government cronies. But parallel plans to create a \$150m "social and economic development fund," ostensibly to provide credit for local business, has raised a few local eyebrows.

A Luanda banker said about the proposed new fund. "Opportunists have jumped in ... and adulterated everything. Everyone knows state institutions here do not work."

'Remove Savimbi, and peace will come to Angola'

MTG 10-16/12/99 (G)

Chris Gordon

One year after the Angolan government launched its first offensive against the headquarters of Unita chief Jonas Savimbi and full-scale fighting returned to this traumatised country, Western powers are now determined to isolate Savimbi to end the war.

The visit to Angola by Richard Holbrooke, United States ambassador to the United Nations, is the most recent public demonstration of the major powers' new-found determination to strengthen UN sanctions against the rebels. The British government has also put its weight behind strengthened sanctions. In London, Foreign Office Minister Peter Hain told the British Parliament that armaments from the Ukraine are still reaching Savimbi. He said he has warned the Ukrainian government to take urgent action to stem the flow of arms and has

talked to the Zambian and Ugandan governments about the connivance of regional states in arms and fuel supplies to the Angolan rebels.

Both the US and Britain have roundly condemned Savimbi as an obstacle to peaceful settlement, but are equally expecting improved governance in Angola, as the MPLA also comes under international fire for its lack of accountability.

Hain said: "We must get Savimbi out of the conflict; he controls Unita with an iron grip. This is a priority; there is no movement on the war without this."

In his view, unless the international community intervenes effectively against Savimbi, it remains complicit in the war it maintained for so long.

For international players the issues involving Angola are now clear: remove Savimbi from the equation and peace talks become more of a probability. If reports circulating in Luanda

last week are credible, then Unita itself is considering whether Savimbi should continue as leader; a party congress is being mooted. The idea that there may be some division within Unita has been cautiously expressed by Abel Chivukuvuku, a senior Unita general and parliamentarian who has remained in Luanda since the ill-fated Government of National Unity was formed in 1997.

Interviewed by Reuters, Chivukuvuku — who did not back the officially recognised break-away "opposition" party Unita Renovada — called on Unita to become a serious political party, and urged that the different strands that make up the organisation be recognised. Within Angola, João de Matos, the influential chief of staff of the Angolan armed forces (FAA), has also made it clear that the war is against Savimbi, not Unita, and will end when Savimbi is no longer the party's leader. But it is not clear whether this is official policy.

The army De Matos commands is engaged in fighting Unita along the Namibian border, close to Savimbi's old headquarters at Jamba. A month ago, a portion of Unita's forces — two columns, according to some assessments — retreated back to the region following the fall of Bailondo and Andulo, Unita headquarters. The rebel-held town of Cuangar was taken by the FAA, but fighting was reported to be continuing, and the Namibian government has expressed concern at the possible destabilisation of Caprivi. Rundu, a "wild west" border town in Namibia, is one of Unita's longest-standing supply routes.

Despite the government's recent military successes, which knocked out Unita's communications systems, the rebel movement still poses the potential threat of guerrilla action. It is not known how much of its conventional battle capacity Unita was able to get out of its headquarters before the government attack, though it is clear that it suffered a severe blow.

The unspoken alternative to adding to the international pressure on Unita is the possibility of a long guerrilla-war, further threatening a population impoverished and dispossessed by decades of war.