

# FACTS AND REPORTS

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L1: Guardian (Br), 94 06 01

## South Africa sets limit to optimism

Chris McGreal

IN the fortnight since Nelson Mandela's inauguration as president, international organisations have rushed to suck South Africa in. Today South Africa rejoins the Commonwealth, a day after it was inducted into the Non-Aligned Movement. Pretoria's new flag flies at the Organisation of African Unity. The United Nations will not be far behind.

But as South Africa re-emerges on to the world stage, it is its neighbours which have most to gain and lose. After decades of an uncomfortable relationship in which economic interdependence survived cross-border raids and outright war, the frontline states can at last embrace their neighbour. They hope South Africa's renewal will be their own, but they also fear being swamped by their much stronger economy. Already the gravitational pull southwards is draining African nations of their best brains, and threatening to divert investment and aid.

In Pretoria, the foreign ministry's deputy director-general for Africa, Derek Auret, says a priority for President Mandela's government will be to establish political and economic stability in southern Africa. He says South Africa's negotiated transition might encourage a settlement with Unita rebals in Angola and reassure Mozambique, which is on its way to multi-party elections. But the key to stability, he argues, will be to ensure economic growth that spills over.

"Perhaps the best chance is in coming together around common economic objectives and achieving collective economic growth which will lead to all the benefits that this government would like to see accrue to South Africans but would also like to see accrue to all southern Africans.

"South Africa cannot be an island of prosperity in a sea of poverty and therefore I think it is exceptionally important that our focus in the first instance is southern Africa," Mr Auret said.

The failure of once promising powerhouses such as Nigeria, Zaire and Kenya to realise their potential has turned the continent's attention south. Other African countries hope South Africa will somehow revive

their fortunes. It is a view Pretoria is keen to discourage.

"There are exaggerated expectations of what South Africa can mean in terms of economic growth in the rest of the continent. South Africa's potential is a long term issue and won't have any immediate spinoffs," Mr Auret said.

Some of South Africa's new leaders feel a deep emotional debt to countries such as Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Angola for holding the line against apartheid and suffering at the hands of apartheid's militarism. They also recognise that assisting South Africa's neighbours is a protective measure, but one that will conflict with the ANC-led government's own interests and priorities.

With an economy three times larger than the seven frontline states combined, South Africa exports five times as much to the continent as it imports.

Among the few exports from the rest of Africa to South Africa are the continent's professionals. Doctors from Ghana and Zaire, managers from Nigeria, Zimbabwean teachers have all crept in. At the same time pressure is already building on President Mandela's government to stem the flow of unskilled migrant labour that Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi and Lesotho are happy to send because they are a vital source of remittances.

The issue of more than 2 million illegal immigrants will be crucial because they take jobs the ANC urgently needs for its own constituents.

Other African countries also fear Pretoria will suck in a sizeable chunk of what little foreign investment and Western aid comes into the continent.

For all the talk of regional co-operation, the key to South Africa's prosperity lies beyond the continent. Now the issue of apartheid is dead, southern Africa may be of no more consequence to the world than the rest of a marginalised continent.

Yet trade and South Africa's greatest single asset — Nelson Mandela — may keep attention focused. Just as the world heard out Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe because of the anti-apartheid struggle, if President Mandela chooses to tell the world it has a moral obligation not to turn its back on southern Africa, someone might listen.

L2: Guardian (Br), 94 06 13 (abr)

## apartheid's spies in ANC

Chris McGreal  
in Johannesburg

A SOUTH AFRICAN newspaper yesterday defied attempts by the new defence minister, Joe Modise, to prevent former intelligence officers from revealing that senior African National Congress officials had spied for the defunct white regime.

Despite Mr Modise's efforts, the Johannesburg Sunday Times yesterday published an interview with the two men, Clive Brink and Gerhard Jansen van Rensburg, it conducted in April. They claimed to control, or to have worked with, a significant number of ANC informants. Among them were top members of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), earmarked for senior positions in South Africa's new military force. Mr Modise is the former head of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The names of the informants were not revealed, nor the information they passed on. The Sunday Times did not say why it failed to publish the story at the time of the interviews.

Mr Brink and Mr Van Rensburg were members of the Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC), identified by the Goldstone commission of inquiry into political violence as being at the heart of "third force" attempts to destabilise talks on the transition to democracy.

The DCC was shut down and 23 officers, including a general, were forced into early retirement in December 1993 by the then president, F. W. de Klerk. He accused them of pursuing their own political agenda through murder, smuggling, kidnapping and other crimes.

The men are suing the government for wrongful dismissal. The former government's own report into the DCC's activities remains a secret. Although President Nelson Mandela demanded its release before he came to office, he has yet to make it public.

The defence minister threatened to obtain a court order preventing publication of anything to do with the case. It was backed by a long affidavit from the head of South Africa's military, General George Meiring.

Mr Modise came under a barrage of criticism for behaving in the manner of the old apartheid state. His explanation, that

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L3: Guardian (Br) 94 06 14

## Farms confiscated

Zimbabwe's government has told 17 farmers it is taking over their farms but has not told them how much it will pay for them, farming sources said yesterday. — Reuter.

L3A: Guardian (Br) 94 06 14

## reporter held

A reporter for the BBC, Christopher Simpson, aged 31, was arrested for sneaking into an Angolan prison to interview South African prisoners, police said yesterday. — AP.

he "did not wish to read in the newspapers about covert matters pertaining to my department about which I had not yet been briefed" was derided even by the ANC.

It joined the Communist Party and the trade union confederation, Cosatu, in condemning the intrusion into press freedom and the attempt to cover up past crimes.

L4: SouthScan (Br), 94 05 27

**Relief flights suspended**

The government has announced the suspension of relief flights to the central highlands town of Huambo, Angola's second city and the stronghold of Jonas Savimbi's armed opposition. Minister of Assistance and Social Reintegration Albino Malungo said on Sunday that the decision was taken after Unita forces looted UN food warehouses in the centre of the city. Unita on Monday shelled the government-held town of Malanje in the north of the country, causing the UN to suspend further relief flights. A UN plane delivering food aid came under artillery fire as it tried to land last Friday, officials said.

Malanje alone hosts more than 240,000 people displaced by the war, according to UN figures.

L6: Guardian (Br), 94 06 02

**Unita tightens grip on Angolan cities**

Victoria Brittain

**H**EAVY fighting has spread in Angola as Unita tightened its sieges of three key cities and government forces retaliated with a bombing raid on its headquarters at Huambo in the Central Highlands.

The intensified fighting reflects Unita's attempt to gain a quick military advantage against the background of increasing isolation since the South African elections cut off one of its sources of supplies and support.

Unita is also under pressure from the United States to accept government concessions offered in peace talks which resumed in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, yesterday.

In the city of Cuito, in the Central Highlands, the World Food Programme (WFP) manager, Hans Peter Vikola, and a team from Médécins Sans Frontières yesterday spent their sixth day holed up in the International Committee of the Red Cross bunker.

In a radio report they said there were few lulls in the Unita shelling, and that the situation was very serious for civilians in the small government-held area. "There are a lot of wounded and we are running out of medicines," the report said. The WFP food store has

been hit and what food there was left destroyed.

Unita artillery has killed 125 people and wounded at least 300 more in a five-day barrage of Cuito, Angolan radio reported. There has been no clearance from either side for the United Nations to attempt an evacuation.

Despite a promised safe passage, a clearly marked white UN plane trying to evacuate relief workers from the encircled town of Malange came under fire from Unita artillery on Tuesday and aid workers had to sprint across the tarmac before it took off hastily.

In what aid officials described as a tit for tat response, government planes bombed the airstrip at Huambo, minutes after the UN plane touched down. The staff of Save the Children Fund, Caritas and WFP were brought out successfully.

Twelve days of bombardment of Malange by Unita have prevented food deliveries. Aid officials warn that the shortage is so critical that women are likely to begin looking for food in the heavily mined fields outside the city.

"The casualty rate will rise again to the hundreds of casualties we saw before the massive aid operation started late last year," an aid official said.

Late on Tuesday, the Security Council unanimously approved

LUANDA. — Angolan guerrillas launched fresh attacks yesterday, from the northernmost oil enclave of Cabinda to besieged Cuito in the central highlands.

Independent sources in Cabinda reported shelling of the towns of Belize and Chimbuandi, where government forces have regularly been attacked by FLEC separatist guerrillas.

A new bridge between Belize and Buco-Zau was destroyed last week, the sources said.

It was not clear who

had carried out the attacks, but the sources said FLEC (Front for the Liberation of Cabinda Enclave) had been co-operating with UNITA rebels since late May.

Cabinda, separated from the rest of Angola by a 40 km strip of Zairean territory, is responsible for around 60 per cent of Angola's 500 000 barrels per day oil production which accounts for nearly all the country's exports.

**new attacks**

Attacks by FLEC, which has been waging a low-level struggle for independence, have almost never affected offshore output.

Elsewhere, state-run radio said shelling by UNITA of the battered highland city of Cuito killed more than 10 people yesterday morning. One person earlier died of hunger.

No independent confirmation was immediately available.

Several hundred people have died in nearly two weeks of bombardments in the government-held town which has been besieged since January 1993, independent sources say.

"The situation in Cuito could be described as critical," the radio said, adding that more people would die of famine unless relief flights suspended due to the fighting resumed.

It said UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) snipers fired at residents as they searched the streets for food, water and firewood.

L7: Radio Report, 94 06 06 (abr)

**Clashes in Bengo Province reportedly kill 71 UNITA soldiers**

*Radio Nacional de Angola, Luanda, in Portuguese 1900 gmt 6 Jun 94*

delivered by parachute from government cargo drops.

The ironic ties that bind the two sides become evident at the government-held Cuito airport where cargo planes sent by the UN World Food Programme (WFP) are unloaded on to two lorries, one destined for the MPLA part of town and a second for a warehouse in the Unita zone.

The WFP hands over about 150 tons a week to each side, enough to give 50,000 people a minimum diet. But when there is fighting, as there has been this week, no flights can arrive.

The food aid has worked, with the incidence of starvation and malnutrition falling dramatically since aid agencies gained access to the city last October. Now several groups, such as Médécins Sans Frontières and the WFP are helping people who once survived on grass and leaves.

There are about 30,000 civilians on the government side but virtually none on the Unita side of town. The rebel warehouse where the supplies are delivered is near a Unita logistics base south-west of the city. There is no way to monitor how that food is distributed. To obtain the aid, Unita and the MPLA must co-operate with each other. About one mile from the airport is the first Unita checkpoint, run by Captain Pepe, whose task is to ensure that the rebels get their fair share of the aid. A Unita driver boards one of the lorries to drive towards the rebel warehouse. The other makes its way past a government checkpoint and into town to a WFP warehouse.

At the Unita checkpoint there is a sign that reads "Savimbi is our man". The government checkpoint displays posters of President dos Santos with the slogan "O futuro certo" — the certain future.

At military checkpoints around the city troops of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) government and rebel soldiers engage in cheerful banter and sometimes even play cards, gambling salt for firewood.

So regular has trade between the erstwhile enemies become that units of Mr Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) have set up makeshift breweries to produce *cachipembe*, a potent maize-based liquor for sale to the government-

held section of town. Sometimes the drink is exchanged for salt and clothes, as is firewood, fruit, and vegetables brought in from the rebel-controlled countryside.

Unita territory is the source of much of the goods, such as firewood and potatoes, sold in the markets set up in the remnants of buildings shattered by Unita mortar shells in the government-controlled half of the city. Other items sold, such as maize flour and soap, come courtesy of aid shipments from the United Nations, while still others, like salt and sugar, are

L8: Independent (Br), 94 06 02

**Government and rebel soldiers engage in cheerful banter, gambling salt for firewood**

WHEN THE 18-month rebel siege of Cuito takes a break, as it inevitably does, it is time for troops loyal to Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement to begin fraternising with their sworn enemies: the government troops holding half of the central highland city.

L9: SouthScan (Br), 94 06 03

## Luanda offers more posts as pressure mounts on warring parties to reach deal

Pressure is mounting on the two warring parties in Angola to come to an accord soon.

Fighting has been intensifying, an indication that the government and Unita are seeking battlefield success before a ceasefire and peace deal. But already they have been warned by the UN security council that it is only extending the mandate of the UN 80-member UN mission until June 30 despite a call from secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali for a three-month renewal.

As an additional lever, the security council reiterated previous threats to consider imposing trade and travel restrictions on Unita, in addition to an arms and fuel embargo enacted last September.

Washington has also been pressing the Luanda government to be more

flexible. And the previously tight-lipped SA arms industry has issued a statement saying it is not supplying Zaire with weapons because they were being passed on to the rebel Unita forces. "We suspect Zaire is a conduit for weapons to (Unita leader) Mr Savimbi and we will not provide weapons to Zaire until we are satisfied where they are going," Peet Smith, marketing director for Armscor, told a news conference.

SA has not previously admitted selling to Zaire. Asked when the embargo on sales to Zaire went into effect, Smith said: "Since the (Pretoria) government decided not to support Mr Savimbi...at least two or three years ago."

Luanda made public its latest offer to Unita on the eve of the security council meeting - offering four relatively low level cabinet ministries: health, tourism, geology and mines, and commerce.

The pill is being sweetened with seven deputy ministries - public works, defence, agriculture, finance, social administration, media, and internal affairs. Whether any of these will suit rebel leader Jonas Savimbi is still uncertain. Unita will also get five embassies (though none key) and 140 local administration posts, according to Lisbon reports.

The government has as yet only conceded a deputy governorship for Huambo province, Unita's heartland and seat of its capital.

Despite moves to a deal observers have noted continuing distrust, with both sides continuing to buy arms.

South Africa and Angola last Friday raised their diplomatic relations to ambassadorial level, concluding the normalisation of ties. The agreement was signed in Cape Town by South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo and his Angolan counterpart Venancio de Moura.

L10: Radio Report, 94 06 03

### UNITA radio "may soon become a commercial station"

*Radio Nacional de Angola, Luanda, in Portuguese 1200 gmt 3 Jun 94*

*Excerpt from report from Lusaka by correspondent Alves Antonio (AL/2013 A/4 [9])*

Good afternoon. The government and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] negotiators this morning concluded talks on the Vorgan [Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel, the UNITA radio] issue, which had lasted about 15 days. It is presumed that Vorgan may soon become a commercial station, even though its modes of operation have not been made public. Fortunately this obstacle has been overcome. As a result, the government and UNITA will this afternoon return to the Mulungushi Conference Centre to discuss the issue of swearing in UNITA deputies...

L13: SouthScan (Br), 94 05 27

### Vatican group proceeds with mediation effort

The Santo Egidio church group in Rome is continuing with its plans to mediate between the two warring sides in Angola.

Angolan church of the Holy Spirit priest Bernard Bongo said in a press interview in Brussels that Angola would remain divided, despite the peace process in Lusaka and the Bicesse agreements. So far the two sides have agreed to participate and Unita's Paris and Brussels representatives Paulo Gato and Alcides Sakala have been received by the second most senior official in the Holy See, Cardinal Cheli.

According to a Belgian report, Angola's President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos has also agreed to collaborate.

Despite the success that the church group had in securing agreement in Mozambique, the UN and the US are believed to have reservations about its involvement. [Own correspondent]

L11: Radio Report 94 05 30 (abr)

### UNITA suspends Lusaka talks on 30th May in protest at government raid on Huambo

*Televisao Popular de Angola, Luanda, in Portuguese 1930 gmt 30 May 94*

L12: Radio Report, 94 06 06

### "Unproductive day" reported at peace talks; swearing-in of deputies discussed

*Radio Nacional de Angola, Luanda, in Portuguese 1900 gmt 6 Jun 94*

#### Text of report

Yet another unproductive day was reported in Lusaka today. The government-UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] talks are still bogged down on the issue of swearing in UNITA members of parliament. Our Lusaka correspondent Alves Antonio has the details:

The UNITA negotiators claim they are still considering the issue that was placed on the negotiating table on 3rd June. This afternoon the two negotiating teams were at the Mulungushi Conference Centre to once again try to find a way out to that issue, but to no avail. Meanwhile, efforts continue to be made to overcome the obstacles so that other aspects relating to national reconciliation can be addressed. It was not a productive day, but the delegations are still eager to negotiate.

L14: Radio Report, 94 05 25

### Eight people killed in clash between army and riot police in a bar in Luanda

*Radio Mozambique, Maputo, in Portuguese 0900 gmt 25 May 94*

#### Text of report

The Portuguese news agency, Lusa, reports that eight people, including three children, died when elements of the Angolan Armed Forces and Anti-Riot Police clashed in Luanda. The incident occurred in a bar frequented by members of the two forces, who had just returned from an operation which resulted in the occupation of N'dalatando. They had received their allowances.

L15: Mmegi (Bots), 94 06 03

## Media under further pressure

THERE have been further incidents of intimidation and harassment of Angolan media workers, reaffirming the belief that sections of the government are eager to enforce an official clamp-down on the media.

On May 19, Leopoldo Baio, editor of the daily *Imparcial Fax* newsletter, was summoned by the police and questioned about information sources for a story exposing police involvement in the corrupt sale of cars. Baio refused to disclose the sources, and the following Monday, May 23, *Imparcial Fax* Director Ricardo De Mello was also called in for questioning. De Mello says he, too, was asked to disclose the sources of the car sales story, but refuses. De Mello was then quizzed about family and friends working in the police force.

Also on or around May 19, Ric Kinayelako - editor of an opposi-

tion party newspaper *Batuque Amaná* - was attacked in his home by people wearing army uniforms. The armed attackers seized documents and money, and smashed a camera. It is thought Kinayelako was about to leave for neighbouring Zaire to oversee the printing of his paper, which is printed outside the country because the MPLA government controls all the newspaper presses in Angola.

Meanwhile, journalists in the southern Angolan city of Lubango have complained of police harassment following publication of stories alleging police involvement in organised crime.

Furthermore, sources report that Angolan Prime Minister Marcelino Moco wants the directors at state-run television TPA and the government-owned daily newspaper *Jornal de Angola* to be sacked, after both media carried interviews

on May 12 with economist Jose Cerqueira. In the interviews, Cerqueira criticised government economic policy, as well as World Bank and International Monetary Fund programmes for Angola.

These incidents follow the interrogation by police of *Jornal de Angola* reporter Joao Mavinga on May 6, and subsequent assault by police officers of two TPA journalists (see Action Alerts of May 11 and May 13 - check).

Observers in Angola say there is mounting pressure from within the ruling MPLA for a clamp-down on the media, in particular privately-owned publications and Angolans working for foreign media. This is apparently being resisted by government moderates who stand by existing legislation which - in theory - allows for media freedom.

[MISA]

L15: Radio Report, 94 05 25

### MPLA Central Committee session ends, new members of Political Bureau announced

*Televisao Popular de Angola, Luanda, in Portuguese 1930 gmt 25 May 94*

The Central Committee of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] ended its session yesterday. The Political Bureau [words indistinct] recommendations on the strengthening of the Central Committee's role among militants and sympathizers. The session also discussed Angolan security and made specific recommendations to the government delegation taking part in the Lusaka talks. MPLA spokesman Norberto dos Santos has the details:

[Dos Santos - recording] The Central Committee recommended that the Political Bureau should assess the activities of the party in all echelons and take the necessary steps to strengthen party activities within the Political Bureau, the Secretariat, intermediate structures and grass-roots organizations. So, it is necessary to revamp party activities involving militants and to increase the flow of information on the political and socioeconomic situation.

[Unidentified reporter] We have learned that the MPLA Political Bureau has new members. Would you like to name them?

[A] Of the 12 nominees, comrades Venancio de Moura and Anastacio da Voca [phonetic], the first secretary for Huambo Province, have been admitted as permanent members. Comrades Joao Chippingue [phonetic], the first secretary for Huila Province; governor of Moxico Province Joao Ernesto dos Santos Liberdade; governor of Benguela Province Paulo Teixeira Jorge; and Carlos Ferreira Pinto, a former first secretary for Moxico Province, have been elected as candidate members. Comrade Carlos Ferreira Pinto has also been elected coordinator of the Discipline and Audit Committee. The Political Bureau now has 21 members, of which 17 are permanent and four are candidate members.

L17: Mmegi (Bots), 94 05 27

### UN appeals for food

NEW YORK: The United Nations' food aid operation has appealed for urgent aid for more than 3.3 million Angolans. World Food Programme regional information officer Mercedes Sayagues said the crop harvest had been better this year than previously but that "the situation is extremely fragile."

L19: New Bridge, no.12 1994,

(Suppl. to Fin.Mail) (SA)

## DISPUTE OVER RUSSIAN HELICOPTERS IN ANGOLA

Moscow's arbitration court is hearing a \$1-million claim filed by the Pechora Aircraft Plant against Satex Development Corporation for the latter's failure to comply with the terms of an agreement concluded with the intermediation of the defendant.

The plant had leased five Mi-8 helicopters to the Angolan government for use during elections in the country. According to a report published in the Moscow newspaper *Commersant*, the Angolan government was represented by Westminster Consolidated S.A., and Satex Development Corp. acted as the lessor. The helicop-

### Diamonds guarantee Ivorian friendship

ABIDJAN/ One of the routes used by the Angolan rebel movement Unita to move diamonds from the eastern part of Angola is to the Ivorian capital, where the new president Henri Konan Bedie continues to provide support.

Many Unita representatives, such as the Brussels-based Alcides Sakala, continue to travel on Ivorian passports, and Unita's representative in Abidjan, Kakumba Marques, who is also Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's financial representative abroad, still boasts of many facilities in the Ivorian capital where Savimbi is protected by Ivorian army red berets. Analysts here told *SouthScan* the reason Bedie is continuing the pro-Unita policy of his predecessor, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, lies with the diamond trade.

According to Paris reports Marques has used the private Ivorian airline GATL to travel between Abidjan, Kinshasa and Huambo.

L18: SouthScan (Br), 94 06 03