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FRICAN

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RGANISATION

CAPE TOWN BRANCH

Report To :

- ALL MEMBERS
- ALL BRANCHES
- SWAPO OFFICES IN  
WINDHOEK : NEW YORK  
CAIRO : DAR-ES-SALAAM  
LONDON.

The CAPE TOWN BRANCH OF SWAPO wishes to bring to the notice of all SWAPO Members and executives its displeasure and alarm at recent happenings inside the organisation.

Our leaders overseas do not give us the impression of acting in unity and in harmony with one another. We cannot follow in any way what are the wishes, feelings or plans of the National Executive (overseas). We are puzzled as to the precise tasks expected of members and branches.

We are also concerned over the obvious lack of contact between Branches and the National Executives (in and outside of SWA). We doubt whether it is known exactly how many branches are in existence and who are the recognized officials of each branch.

The Acting National Executive in Windhoek not only appears unable to rectify the situation, but also makes the position even worse. eg. important matters referred to Windhoek take so long to elicit replies (if at all) that this Branch cannot plan what its next steps are to be.

We wish to quote a few examples which add up, in our minds to our 3 greatest weaknesses at the present time i.e. Extensive internal disunity; profound lack of clarity as to the goal and the nature and methods of our struggle; widespread inefficiency and failure on the organisational level. Of these, the absence of about clear policy on our struggle is our biggest fault.

1. SWAPO - SWANU UNITY

We have received 2 separate and differing directives on this score. The first from Members of the Executive Mr. Kuhangua and Mr. Nujoma. Whereas the Kuhangua-Nujoma policy advocated immediate unity, the Kerina directive advocated a complete disbanding of all our political bodies and the formation of a National Independence People's Party. This Branch has given its attitude on this matter. What causes us concern is the fact that members of the Executive Committee (responsible members i.e. President, General Secretary and Chairman) should issue differing public statements. It is not politic, nor correct nor in the best interests of SWAPO that this should happen. Did the National Executive not, as a whole, discuss this? We would like to know the reason for so much disunity at the Top.

2. MR. KUHANGUA AND MR. HOLDEN ROBERTO

According to newspaper reports, backed by photographic evidence, Mr. Kahungua has concluded an alliance of solidarity with the leader of the U.P.A. in Angola, Mr. Holden Roberto. Was this at the instruction of the National Executive (overseas). We know The Acting National Executive (Windhoek) was completely in the dark as to this step; so they were not consulted. While supporting in principle the idea of solidarity with the revolutionary movements in surrounding territories, we feel that the Executive has not shown its responsibilities to SWAPO Branches by consulting them beforehand.

In addition, co-operation with the people of the UPA (and the MPLA) has a special meaning for the people of SWA, in so far as these Angolan organisations are actively engaged in MILITARY struggle.

Is our Executive aware of this implication? and the fact that SWAPO may be banned if the Authorities consider it to be preparing for an armed insurrection?

### 3. ATTENDANCE AT PASCO CONFERENCE

According to the latest information this Conference representative of the liberatory organisations of the High Commission Territories (Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland) plus representatives of SWA S.R. and S.A. will not be held. However, our attitude to the SWAPO decision to attend parallels that on the Angolan question. Branches of SWAPO have not been consulted, and even Branches close to the place of the Conference have not been asked or instructed to send delegates. Have the feelings and the attitude of SWAPO Branches no meaning to the National Executive?

### 4. SWAPO POLICY

Recent statements by both Dr. Kerina and Mr. Nujoma express present SWAPO policy thus: "Our people want immediate unconditional independence. Our situation is desperate. We know that we shall have to fight to attain our freedom."

----- Dr. Kerina 20 - 7 - 62.  
To African Group, UNO.

"We must achieve our national independence through our own united sacrifice with or without United Nations assistance."

Dr. Kerina 26 - 7 - 62.  
Memorandum on N.I.P.P.

"Freedom will not come ..... from the United Nations unless we the people..... take the initiative..... It is our view that whatever assistance could come from abroad can only be supplementary to our own efforts to free our country."

Page 1. Recommendation on SWAPO-SWANU Unity.  
Mr. Nujoma, Mr. Kuhangua et. al.

"Of course this is not the time for us to ask for the United Nations trusteeship. This is the time to demand immediate independence!"

Mr. Nujoma 29 - 8 - 62.  
Letter to Secretary,  
Cape Town Branch.

From the quotations it is clear that responsible members of the National Executive Committee have passed through the strategy of asking for UNO Trusteeship to the new policy of Independence now! If this is so, allow us to point out that

- a) no SWAPO members or Branches have been consulted as to whether a new policy was required,
- b) SWAPO members and Branches have still not been informed officially that there is a new policy in existence,
- c) the theoretical basis and reasons for doing away with the old policy and advocating the new have not been explained,
- d) there has been no attempt made to review or discuss at a national conference the revision of the accepted SWAPO Constitution.

The net result of this is widespread confusion as to the policy of SWAPO. The further result is that our workers in the field do not know what to inform the masses, and cannot organise effectively!

## 5. EASTER SWAPO NATIONAL CONFERENCE

This Branch has already issued a statement on this subject; our attitude is that we will accept the validity of the Conference (alt hough most Branches were neither informed nor represented there) in good faith, and to co-operate with the Acting National Executive (Windhoek) in the interests of SWAPO. We made a stern demand for another, fully represented SWAPO Conference. In spite of a wide circulation of our views, the National Executive has not taken up our suggestion nor are we aware that other SWAPO Branches are making plans in this direction. Without planning future strategy how can SWAPO advance?

## 6. The KUTUKO - WITBOOI LIBEL CASE

The support of the 2 chiefs Hosea Kutuko and Samuel Witbooi for SWAPO is a fact of high propaganda value. However the exact relation of the Chiefs Council to SWAPO has never been clarified. This recent case in which the two chiefs are being sued for incorrectly reporting that a man had been murdered by a Native Commissioner is serving to demarcate the wide gap existing between SWAPO and the Chiefs Council.

Official SWAPO attempts to co-operate in the defence of the two chiefs have been summarily dismissed. The Chiefs Council has made it clear that it neither desires nor requires the help of the SWAPO National Executive (Report of Acting Secretary General Windhoek). Yet we have proof that the same Council has applied to the racialistic, reactionary Liberal Party of S.A. for assistance via the Defence and Aid Fund!

It is high time to make certain that the Chiefs Council is not trying to use SWAPO to boost its own prestige, while not being interested in the struggle for freedom.

The sad organisational state of affairs just described makes a very black picture indeed. But the picture is even blacker when viewed in relation to the situation at home in SWA.

OUR REPORTS SHOW THAT OUR PEOPLE ARE MORE EAGER THAN EVER TO ENGAGE FULLY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY AND INDEPENDENCE! THIS ENLIGHTENED ATTITUDE IS DUE TO :

- a) The fine and stirring example set by the emerging states of Africa, especially (recently) Angola and Algeria.
- b) Pressure put on our people by the Afro-Asian Bloc of nations - we must make our own energetic efforts to maintain their support and sympathy.
- c) Progressive disillusionment in the UNO as a liberating force. Sixteen years have passed with only the ridiculous performance of Dr. Carpio to show as a form of assistance.
- d) Advancement in our thinking past the stage where we require UNO Trusteeship to an awareness that we are as able to run our own affairs as other states in Africa. Therefore the growing demand for independence NOW!

e) The reaction to the deliberate and merciless police offensive against those speaking out against the government. The increase in the number of political arrests, and deportations (eg. Mbaeva - Walvis Bay; Nicodemus - Keetmanshoop; Mbrumba - Luderitz), the arbitrary obstruction of SWAPO work (eg. confiscation of SWAPO Bank Book in Windhoek), the continued harassment of our members (eg. prosecution of members in Walvis Bay for holding an "illegal" meeting), the brutal stifling of legitimate protests (eg. arrest of the leaders of a demonstration in Windhoek against forced removals to Katutura) and the widespread interference with the post (eg. every single person in SWA receiving a copy of "The Commentator" through the mail has been asked to see the local Postmaster) all are leading to a rapid loss of patience on the part of the oppressed. The question heard in every part of SWA is "for what are we waiting?"

For all these reasons sited, superimposed on the basic, day-to-day oppression and the misery of life under an apartheid-system devised and applied by those insane with a racial madness, our people are awakening to the realisation that freedom will only come if they are willing to fight for it. And this new awareness of their own great task is spreading like wildfire through the ranks of all who only yesterday were losing faith and hope.

Our people therefore are eager to engage themselves totally in the liberatory struggle. And what is our leadership doing at this critical and inspiring time?

LET US BE QUITE CLEAR ON THIS - IF THE EXECUTIVE DOES NOT SET THE LEAD THEN IT IS ACTING AS A BRAKE ON THE PROGRESS OF THE WHOLE ORGANISATION! If it does not formulate a clear policy now; then the government will step in, take advantage of our indecision and disunity and smash SWAPO completely!

In answer to the vital, urgent and important questions; What is SWAPO? What is its programme? What is its strategy? and What are the pressing Organisational Tasks expected of it? This Branch of SWAPO offers its replies.

#### WHAT IS SWAPO?

SWAPO is the national political organisation of the oppressed and exploited people of SWA which will unite and lead them in the struggle to establish an independent nation based on equality and full democratic rights for all. SWAPO is a national movement i.e. it urges all who are suffering under Apartheid and S.A. domination to rise up and strive for independence. It covers every part of SWA and it will bring freedom to every corner of our land. It does not seek the advantage of one class over another class, nor of any one section of our people over another section. It strives to form one nation of all the men and women in SWA; and to grant equal rights to all of them, regardless of height, weight of race.

SWAPO bases its struggle on the soil of SWA. It is odd that this should be stressed. But the peculiar circumstances of SWAPO makes this emphasis essential. The major efforts of the past have been to build up SWAPO overseas. A rude remark, possibly containing a grain of truth, is that "SWAPO has more branches outside than

inside SWA!" The duty of SWAPO is to liberate SWA, and it must cease to revolve around a New York - Dar-es-Salaam axis. The proper foundation on which to build SWAPO rests on a line from Walvis Bay through Windhoek to Ondangua!!

SWAPO has not been formed to introduce minor improvements in the system of oppression; nor does it seek to lift the burden of oppression here and there. It is dedicated to the eradication of all that is evil in our society and the building up of a new and better society according to our wishes.

### WHAT IS SWAPO'S PROGRAMME?

Our Programme has three main points.

#### 1. INDEPENDENCE NOW:

SWA is an International Trust Territory. This means that the nations of the world, via the UNO should see to its progress and development. At present SA is administering the Territory on behalf of the nations of the world.

We know how SA is abusing its right of foster-mother to our country. Instead of, as stated in its Mandate "ensuring the material and spiritual progress of the indigenous people!"

SA has made us all into slaves from whose labour she enriches herself. We therefore recognize it as obvious that to ensure our future development as well as our future prosperity we must be in control of our own affairs. This means that our people, as represented in a government elected by our people will plot and plan the affairs of our nation. There will be no foreign interference in our affairs, nor will our country be made to act as slave to any other country. Without complete independence we will be doomed forever.

Nor by independence from SA do we mean rule by some other imperialist nation or nations. This is what is implied by UNO Trusteeship. We have no need for another foster-mother! We are an adult nation and able to manage our own affairs. UNO Trusteeship will mean that one, or a group of imperialist nations; or nations acting for imperialist nations will dominate our country. To ask for UNO Trusteeship in place of SA domination is to prefer one master to another master. We do not want another master; we want to be free, independent of all masters, and to cast off the shackles of slavery forever!

#### 2. FULL DEMOCRACY:

A democracy has been defined as a country which has a government of the people, by the people, for the people. This is what we demand for SWA; and not a government of SA, for SA, against our people.

In our democracy we will enjoy these rights

- a) The right to vote, and the right to be voted for. (i.e. The Franchise). Every adult man and woman will have these rights, irrespective of colour, tribe, religion or race.

- b) The right to be treated as the equal of every other person, without any unjust discrimination (eg. no privileges for the "civilized" and not the "uncivilized!")
- c) Freedom to move around freely, (no passes), to stay where one wishes (no reserves, locations, compounds), and to meet freely, (without having to get special permission).
- d) Freedom to criticize constructively. to speak fearlessly; to disagree without malice and to print or disseminate opinions without hindrance.

### 3. RAISING OF OUR STANDARD OF LIVING:

This implies firstly the abolition of APARTHEID and all forms of privilege, baaskap, and separate development.

Without apartheid those who live off the toil of others will be made to do their full share. Without apartheid the enormous expenditure devoted solely to "keeping the black man in his place" will be used for the benefit of our country.

Without apartheid the tremendous energy wasted in applying it, can be used for the building up, improvement and progress of our whole society.

The abolition of apartheid laws as applied to the land and agriculture together with a complete agrarian reform in the interests of our people living on the land is an essential (in fact the most essential) demand on our programme. Today the mines, white farms and fishing industry (key pillars of SWA economy) depend entirely on Contract Labour. Contract Labourers are forced into this merciless system because they are restricted to occupying land in Ovamboland, where they are unable to support themselves and their families. Even if they do raise enough cattle they are forbidden by law to sell them outside Ovamboland. So to pay their taxes and to feed their families our people are compelled to become Contract Labourers. Therefore part of our Land Reform must mean the abolition of the Reserves, which will lead to the abolition of the Contract Labour System. When our people are not forced to work as Contract Labourers for 15 cents a day then they can demand higher wages to do the very same work. This is but one aspect of the many ways in which a reform of the law governing the land will benefit our people.

The standard of education must be raised. There must be sufficient schools, for all children, with the same type of education given equally to all. All education must be run by the state and fully paid for by the state.

Taxes must be applied fairly and equally to all, and the rich must be made to shoulder their fair share of the tax-burden. The 9 separate taxes that most of our people pay must be abolished.

All laws must be purged of racial discrimination; and the courts must judge fairly and free of racial bias. All laws applied to the workers must ensure that they have the basic right to demand and campaign for higher wages, to form trade unions, to strike and to be treated equally without racial privileges.

The health of our nation must be a major concern, and all necessary steps must be taken to ensure the eradication and prevention of disease.

Via these ways every section of our people, freed of the stranglehold of apartheid will be able to give of its best to our country and receive its just reward. The privileged few will be deprived of privilege, and the mass of our people will gain in return.

Our people, as a nation, through our democratic government must dedicate themselves to the eradication of poverty, ill-health, disease, illiteracy and ignorance, and the establishment of a prosperous, and modern existence for ourselves and all generations to come!

### WHAT IS SWAPO'S STRATEGY?

Our strategy is the overall plan we must adopt to bring about the programme mentioned above.

Once we are clear on our goal (i.e. Independence, Democracy, Abolition of Apartheid) then our strategy presents itself in a logical way.

Our basic aim must be to forge the maximum unity of all the forces able and willing to fight for our rights; this means that all those now labouring under SA domination in SWA must be brought into SWAPO. Our programme is of advantage to all but a privileged parasitic few; therefore there can be no reason why the majority of our people do not join SWAPO. Quislings and collaborators must be exposed and isolated. Peasants, contract-labourers, urban workers, teachers, students, and women must all be made to realize that SWAPO is their organisation, that it strives for their liberation and that it is their duty to themselves and to their families to join it. Anyone who stands against SWAPO stands against our liberation!

ALL political plans must be based on the foundation that we are an oppressed nation seeking independence. SWAPO must regard itself as the leader of this nation. And all future schemes must be worked out from this national perspective. No more can one section of our people or one area proceed into the dangerous future alone. We must all together go forward as one. Personal, tribal and sectional rivalries must be made subordinate to the interests and well-being of the whole nation. Attacks from the government should be resisted not only by the persons directly affected but by the whole nation. This national outlook will be death-blow to the system of divide and rule which has kept us disunited and oppressed up to now. **BOYCOTT** The Coloured Council, and Advisory Board; **do not** work for the Coloured Affairs Department or be a Headman or Chief in the pay of and working for Verwoerd. To do so is to betray your own people, and to forfeit your right to liberation! We must therefore work against those who work for SA and keep far away from these treacherous Councils.

How does our national strategy affect our relations with refugees and with SWAPO members overseas, and with liberatory movements outside SWA, and with the UNO?



Many refugees from SWA are not interested in our struggle from liberation. If they were, they would not be refugees. The fact that SWAPO in SWA has virtually nothing to show as a result of the numerous refugees who have fled the country is a tragic phenomenon. The hundreds of discussions, tours, meetings, conferences, committees and pacts made overseas have in reality no meaning and importance to the average SWAPO member. In 99 times out of a 100 he never even hears of these. Most refugees have an idealised, unrealistic and quite out-of-this-world impression of conditions at home. This Branch can be a witness to the fact that each month a new directive to be applied in SWA arrives here. "The Blitz Plan", "The Youth League", "The Disciplinary Force", "The European Problem", and pamphlets on extraordinary subjects enclosed with a note "Translate into 5 languages, print 5,00 copies of each and distribute, "reveal that those behind these directives have forgotten the conditions under which SWAPO members at home have to work. It would be an achievement if one directive could even be transmitted to all members; it would be more than a miracle if it were carried out!

All SWAPO - members outside SWA must be brought under the control and guidance of the organisation inside SWA. In this way the role played by refugees can be a valuable and constructive one. For one thing, money collected overseas, should be sent to carry on our work inside SWA. This is, of course, a complete reversal of present practice where funds raised in SWA flow out to subsidise those overseas. Is this necessary in the presence of many reports of states, political organisations and people overseas who pledge their support for and willingness to help SWAPO?

The liberatory movements in SWA and SA must pave the way to a direct link-up between our forces. This is a unique situation not applicable between us and the forces of Angola or Bechuanaland or Rhodesia. No attempts have been made in the past to bring about a firm, organic unity of the struggle in SA and SWA. Many fine resolutions have been passed and then relegated to the bottom-drawer. The only concrete attempt at unity was via the SA United Front and even then this had absolutely no effect on the position at home. (The Front has since broken-up).

We have much to learn and much to gain by uniting our forces with those of the people of SA against our common oppressor. This unity will shorten the struggle for both of us, and will prepare the ground for a union of the people's of Southern Africa.

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## WHAT OUR IMMEDIATE ORGANISATIONAL TASKS?

The ember of enthusiasm for liberty now smouldering in our people must be fanned into a raging fire. Liberty must be the intense and deeply-felt urge common to all our people. With this common desire, and with a nationwide enthusiasm for, and willingness to participate in our struggle we can go far very quickly. (Without the support of the oppressed we can go nowhere.) Therefore an urgent task is to carry the programme and policy of SWAPO to the people, to awaken their liberatory ardour and to fan the fires of their resistance to SA domination. When we have our people behind us, and with us, then we must succeed! The oppressed and exploited people must become members of SWAPO, and it is our duty to bring them in.

SWAPO must be reorganised from the bottom up. The basis for this reorganisation must be the acknowledgement that SWAPO is essentially an instrument in our hands. It is an instrument, a machine by means of which we get our freedom. The best machine is a efficient machine, in which all parts work well and in conjunction with other parts. The technical inefficiency inside SWAPO must be removed by hard work on the part of all members. When SWAPO consists of dedicated persons, willing to sacrifice their utmost for liberty then this becomes an easy task.

When we realise that SWAPO is an instrument in our hands, then we will know how best, where and when to use it. Then our schemes for future work (eg. a national anti-SA campaign) makes sense and stand a greater chance of being successful.

Our general plans and strategy must be made known to all SWAPO leaders at home. In this way we function as one huge team; all working together; pulling our weight in unison. This makes the battle easier. To make possible this movement and activity on a national scale we must improve our lines of communication i.e. the Branches must keep in regular and effective contact with each other, and with the national executive. In spite of difficulties with the post this can be done.

A strong effective national executive must be elected, fully representative of all SWAPO Branches. This national executive must have powers which enable it to control and direct our organisation, (with the certainty that its directives will be carried out) to formulate policy as we move ahead, and to handle relations with other political groups, to make pacts, and to enforce discipline. This executive should also be in supreme control of funds. All money, raised for SWAPO (inside and outside SWA) must be referred to the national executive. Thus as it makes plans for work in the future it can also determine where the money will be needed. Refugees, whose activities must fall under the control of the national executive, will receive their instructions from and have their financial problems handled by it.

Propaganda must be stepped-up; and this goes hand-in-hand with the building-up of the organisation. A clear formulation of SWAPO policy should be issued and discussed by all Branches. Regular public meetings must be held where possible; otherwise non-public meetings will be necessary. All issues facing our people must be taken up and the discontent of our people must be directed towards achieving our political goal. SWAPO must lead in every sphere of action. The meaning and purpose of SWAPO must be taught to all so that our whole nation is aware of all the phases of the struggle; this will facilitate national action.

A regular SWAPO newspaper must be brought out. The problems of finance and distribution can be solved by a rejuvenated organisation. Here we may mention the appearance of the newspaper "Solidarity" issued from Cairo, as an official SWAPO newspaper. However this has no voice for the masses; it is only in English (the language least understood in SWA) and there is no planned system of distribution. But "Solidarity" is a sound foundation on which to build. A newspaper which educates our people in the politics of liberation will do much to weld SWAPO together and to raise its liberatory ability.

We must be fully aware of the possibility that SWAPO will be legally and officially banned in the near future. Even the present situation where we are supposed to be allowed to function legally but where most of our work must be carried on underground for the sake of survival is too much of a problem for the government. So it will ban us, and we must prepare for this. The best preparation is to implant our politics deep in the hearts of all who want liberation. They can ban SWAPO but they cannot ban our desire to be free! We note that while we are growing stronger all the time, the SA government is growing weaker. It shows many signs of internal fighting; it is subject to pressure from nations overseas, it is faced by the rising tide of the oppressed in SA itself. We, on the other hand, are becoming more united and stronger, we are being assisted by the freedom-loving peoples of the world, and we will have the direct support of our brothers in SA. Freedom and independence Must come to us!

Unity of the struggle must not only be adopted as a resolution, but must be followed up by definite attempts made to ensure it. We must establish a firm basis on which to collaborate with SWANU; and this must be seen as a prelude to a firm organic union of our organisations. Furthermore we must take positive steps to unite and to work with our fellow-fighters in SA. This procedure, neglected for too long, is now a matter of urgency.

Finally, though not least important, we propose again the necessity for having a National Conference. And the need for such a conference is all the greater because of the work to be done. Very few of the organisational tasks mentioned above can be undertaken unless we start by assessing the position of SWAPO, its future policy and chose a competent and capable national executive. This is the great function of a national conference. To delay on this matter is to forsake the struggle; and all Branches should make up their minds to work towards a Conference right away.

TO SUM UP: This Branch has made public the poor state of health SWAPO is in today, and we have attempted to show the signs and symptoms of disease which have led us to make this diagnosis. We are confident that our diagnosis approximates to the truth. We have shown how a conflict between a new policy being surreptitiously introduced and the old policy for so long in practice can only lead to confusion and a waste of energy. We have contrasted our organisational weakness with the realities of our country, and we trust that our opinion that the way we are going about things is no way to run a liberatory-struggle has been widely accepted.

Our solutions to the problems facing us are based on the premise that we must first of all be aware of ourselves and of our political goal. We have given, in brief outline only, a programme which could rally all our people into SWAPO. against SA and for liberation. Finally we have mentioned a few of the necessary tasks awaiting our immediate attention.

SWAPO today stands poised on the threshold of a great future. It lies in our hands to determine whether we march with history and liberate our country; or whether we bungle the struggle and give the SA Herrenvolk a longer lease of life. If this pamphlet does as much as start our SWAPO members and leaders thinking about themselves and of the struggle and if it makes us all very eager to plunge into work for SWAPO then it has more than fulfilled its purpose.

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We are certain of this, our antagonism to SA domination does in no way antagonize us towards the people of SA who suffer as we do. We demand the expulsion of the SA government, but we regard the oppressed of SA as our friends and allies.

The departure from the desire for UNO Trusteeship does not render valueless the presence of SWAPO representatives at UNO. Following a precedent set by the Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN) of Algeria we could use the UNO as a forum to keep the struggle before the eyes of the people of the world. In this way the support of the freedom-loving people of the world (as apart from the hypocritical imperialists) will be maintained. The UNO will enable us to keep international pressure on SA, spotlighting its every more, curbing its fascist ruthlessness, delaying its action here and there. But this is the sum total of what we should demand or expect from the UNO. Essentially it is an instrument of the imperialists possessions; therefore any direct UNO intervention in SWA will lead to the annihilation of SWAPO. To ask for UNO intervention is to ask for death. There is no easy way to liberty for us; the struggle will be hard, but it is our struggle and we must be prepared to overcome all difficulties on our own.

Two further points; firstly refugee members <sup>must help</sup> the organisation at home as far as possible AND RETURN WHEN THEY ARE NEEDED! Naturally a part of the leadership will be more useful overseas, but it is absurd and useless when the whole leadership is away!

Secondly the fullest co-operation must be sought between SWAPO and the progressive movements of the people of Africa. This is especially important in regard to co-operation between SWAPO and the liberatory movements on the borders of SWA. We hope to see a SWA - SA unity movement arising in the near future.